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CULTURAL AND LINGUISTIC ADAPTATION
AMONG JAPANESE WOMEN MIGRANTS
IN NEW ZEALAND

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in Modern Languages at
Massey University

BARRY ANTONY NATUSCH

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ABSTRACT

A survey of the cultural and linguistic adaptation of 76 married Japanese women in New Zealand was carried out by means of interviews and language tests. Two basic sub-groups were identified: those who were married to Japanese husbands (INTRA subjects) and those who were interculturally married (INTER subjects). A number of marked differences, in particular those related to age and marriage type, were observed to exist between these INTRA and INTER groups.

The INTER subjects appeared to have made a smoother cultural adaptation to life in New Zealand than those in the INTRA group. The INTRA subjects all identified themselves culturally as Japanese as did the more recently arrived INTER subjects. However, some of the INTER group who had lived in New Zealand for many years appeared to have a cultural identity which was neither fully Japanese nor western.

The migrants continued to maintain the Japanese language for communicating among themselves although it did not seem to be passed on to the children of the INTER subjects. A considerable shift from Japanese to English was observed among the INTER subjects but was less evident among subjects in the INTRA group.

Levels of oral proficiency in English were not particularly high among the subjects, ranging between 0+ and 3+ on the Foreign Service Institute (FSI) assessment scale. Most of the INTRA group were assessed between level 0+ and 1+ on the scale whereas the majority of INTER subjects scored between levels 2 and 3+. This difference in oral proficiency was due mainly to influences associated with intercultural marriage.

An analysis of the subjects' oral English revealed that the INTRA subjects had higher frequencies of error in their English than the INTER subjects. Many phonological errors appeared to be due to interference from Japanese. An analysis of grammatical errors involving noun morphology, verb morphology and article usage, however, suggested several possible causes of error including interference, oversimplification, the learners' false hypotheses, faulty instruction and idiosyncratic variation. The nature and frequency of these errors resulted in pidgin-like characteristics being observed in the subjects' English. Lexical errors and communication strategies employed by the subjects were also described.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	iv
LIST OF TABLES	x
DEFINITION OF TERMS	xv
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER ONE THE JAPANESE IN NEW ZEALAND	3
1.1 PRE-1941	6
1.1.1 Population Numbers	6
1.1.2 The Early Arrivals	10
1.1.3 Citizenship	12
1.1.4 Intercultural Marriage	15
1.2 POST-1945	16
1.2.1 Population Numbers	16
1.2.2 The Post-1945 Arrivals	20
1.2.3 Citizenship	23
1.2.4 Intercultural Marriage	27
1.3 SUMMARY	29
CHAPTER TWO REVIEW OF LITERATURE AND FORMULATION OF HYPOTHESES	32
2.1 CULTURAL ADAPTATION	32
2.1.1 Theoretical Approaches to Cultural Adaptation	33
2.1.2 Studies of Japanese Migrants	34
2.2 SOCIOLINGUISTIC CONSIDERATIONS	40
2.2.1 Language Variation Among Migrants	41
2.2.2 Language Maintenance	43
2.2.3 Language Shift	46

2.3	MIGRANTS' ORAL PROFICIENCY IN ENGLISH	48
2.3.1	Determining the Second Language Oral Proficiency Levels of Migrants	49
2.3.2	Factors Affecting Oral Proficiency	51
2.4	ANALYSIS OF MIGRANTS' ENGLISH LANGUAGE USE	55
2.4.1	Error Analysis	55
2.4.2	Issues Arising from Error Analysis	60
CHAPTER THREE	METHODOLOGY	62
3.1	PLAN OF STUDY	62
3.1.1	Identification of the Target Population	63
3.1.2	Interview Design	67
3.1.3	English Language Testing	71
3.2	DATA COLLECTION	77
3.2.1	Contacting the Subjects	77
3.2.2	Pilot Study	79
3.2.3	Main Study	80
3.3	DATA ANALYSIS	82
3.3.1	Grouping the Subjects	82
3.3.2	Procedures of Analysis	83
CHAPTER FOUR	BIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS RELATING TO THE SUBJECTS	85
4.1	AGE OF SUBJECTS	85
4.2	BIRTHPLACES	88
4.3	FAMILY SITUATION IN CHILDHOOD	89
4.4	EDUCATION	91
4.5	RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION	94
4.6	EMPLOYMENT IN JAPAN	96
4.7	MARITAL STATUS	96
4.8	EXPERIENCE OF LIVING IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES	101
4.9	SUMMARY	103

CHAPTER FIVE	CULTURAL ADAPTATION IN NEW ZEALAND	105
5.1	CULTURAL ADJUSTMENT	106
5.1.1	Feelings of Being "Comfortable"	106
5.1.2	Sources of Irritation	108
5.1.3	Occupations	112
5.2	IDENTIFICATION	115
5.2.1	Feelings of Acceptance	115
5.2.2	Citizenship	118
5.2.3	Friends	119
5.2.4	Group Membership	124
5.3	CULTURAL COMPETENCE	129
5.4	ROLE ACCULTURATION	131
5.4.1	Attitudes to Japanese and New Zealanders	131
5.4.2	Role Behaviours	135
5.5	SUMMARY	139
CHAPTER SIX	LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE AND LANGUAGE SHIFT	142
6.1	LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE	144
6.1.1	Japanese Language Use	144
6.1.2	Japanese Language Maintenance	148
6.2	LANGUAGE SHIFT	155
6.2.1	Private Use of Language	155
6.2.2	Language Use Within the Family	159
6.2.3	Language Use Outside the Family	166
6.3	SUMMARY	169
CHAPTER SEVEN	ENGLISH LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY	172
7.1	ASSESSMENT OF PROFICIENCY	173

7.1.1	FSI Oral Proficiency Levels	173
7.1.2	EPT Assessment	175
7.1.3	Correlations between Proficiency Perceptions of Subjects and FSI Scores	177
7.2	DISCUSSION OF DIFFERENCES IN PROFICIENCY	177
7.2.1	Subjects' Level of English at Time of Entry into New Zealand	178
7.2.2	Intercultural Marriage	179
7.2.3	Age at the Time of Exit to Live Abroad	180
7.2.4	Feelings of Acceptance in New Zealand	182
7.2.5	Level of Formal Education	183
7.2.6	Length of Residence in English Speaking Countries	184
7.3	INCREASING PROFICIENCY	185
7.3.1	The Plateau Effect	185
7.3.2	Need to Improve	187
7.3.3	Learning Strategies	190
7.4	SUMMARY	193
CHAPTER EIGHT	PATTERNS OF SELECTED PHONOLOGICAL AND SYNTACTIC ERRORS	196
8.1	PHONOLOGICAL ERRORS	197
8.1.1	General Patterns of Errors	198
8.1.2	Causes of Errors	205
8.1.3	Frequencies of Selected Vowel and Consonant Errors	207
8.1.4	Observations on the Phonological Systems of Subjects	211
8.2	GRAMMATICAL ERRORS	213
8.2.1	Main types of Grammatical Errors	213
8.2.2	Noun Morphology	216
8.2.3	Morphology of Verbs	220
8.2.4	Articles	224
8.2.5	Review of Grammatical Features of Subjects	227

CHAPTER NINE	OTHER FEATURES OF THE SUBJECTS'	
	ENGLISH LANGUAGE USE	230
9.1	LEXICO-SEMANTIC ERRORS	231
9.1.1	Use of Japanese Words	232
9.1.2	Direct Translation of Japanese Expressions	234
9.1.3	Collocational Restraints	236
9.1.4	Review of Lexico-Semantic Errors	238
9.2	COMMUNICATION STRATEGIES	238
9.2.1	Avoidance	239
9.2.2	Code Switching	240
9.2.3	Use of Fillers	240
9.2.4	Seeking Repair	241
9.2.5	Monitoring	242
9.2.6	Use of Stock Phrases	243
9.2.7	Circumlocution	244
9.2.8	Review of Communication Strategies	245
CHAPTER TEN	CONCLUSIONS	246
10.1	EVALUATION OF RESEARCH METHODS	246
10.2	RESULTS OF THE STUDY	251
10.2.1	Main Groups of Japanese in New Zealand	251
10.2.2	Differences between the Groups of Japanese in New Zealand	252
10.2.3	Cultural Adaptation	253
10.2.4	Japanese Language Maintenance and Language Shift	255
10.2.5	Oral Proficiency in English	259
10.2.6	English Language Use	262
10.3	FINAL COMMENTS	264

BIBLIOGRAPHY		266
APPENDIX 1	INTERVIEW SCHEDULE	301
APPENDIX 2	THE FOREIGN SERVICE INSTITUTE ORAL INTERVIEW	315
APPENDIX 3	ENGLISH PLACEMENT TESTS: FORMS A AND G	320
APPENDIX 4	EXAMPLES OF ERRORS IN NZE DISCRETE PHONEMES MADE BY SUBJECTS	327
APPENDIX 5	EXAMPLES OF GRAMMATICAL ERRORS MADE IN ENGLISH BY SUBJECTS	329

LIST OF TABLES

1.1	Numbers of Japanese-born persons in New Zealand, 1878-1936	8
1.2	Numbers of Japanese-born persons on the <u>New Zealand Alien Register</u> , 1921-1935	8
1.3	Arrivals and departures of persons born in Japan, 1928-1941	9
1.4	Dates of arrival, names and other characteristic data concerning Japanese-born persons on the <u>Register of Aliens</u> , 1917	11
1.5	Entry into New Zealand by purpose and sex of persons whose last country of permanent residence was Japan, 1921-1941	13
1.6	List of Japanese persons granted New Zealand citizenship, 1905-1939	14
1.7	Numbers of Japanese-born persons in New Zealand, 1945-1976	18
1.8	Numbers of Japanese-born persons on the <u>New Zealand Alien Register</u> , 1956-1975	18
1.9	Arrivals and departures of persons born in Japan, 1946-1975	19
1.10	Entry into New Zealand by purpose and sex of persons whose last country of permanent residence was Japan, 1946-1970	21
1.11	Entry into New Zealand by purpose of persons whose country of last permanent residence was Japan, 1971-1979	22
1.12	Japanese tourists arriving in New Zealand classified by intended length of stay and sex, 1976-1979	24
1.13	Numbers of Japanese-born persons granted New Zealand citizenship, 1956-1978	26
1.14	Marriages in New Zealand of Japanese-born persons 1973-1977	28
3.1	Number of Japanese residents in New Zealand according to the Japanese Embassy list dated March, 1979	65
3.2	Numbers of intraculturally married and inter-culturally married subjects identified in Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch	66
3.3	FSI Reliability Study	75

4.1	Mean age of subjects at time of interview, at first marriage and at departure from Japan to live abroad	87
4.2	Prefectures in which subjects were born (percentages)	88
4.3	Occupations of the subjects' fathers (percentages)	90
4.4	Educational background of the subjects (percentages)	93
4.5	Religious affiliations of the subjects (percentages)	95
4.6	Occupations held in Japan by subjects (percentages)	97
4.7	Marital status of subjects (percentages)	99
4.8	Birthplace of first husband (percentages)	99
4.9	Country where subjects met their first husband (percentages)	100
4.10	Socioeconomic status of present husbands classi- fied according to the Elley and Irving scale (percentages)	100
4.11	Subjects' experience of living in other foreign countries (percentages)	102
5.1	Countries in which subjects felt most comfortable living (percentages)	107
5.2	Aspects of life in New Zealand which intracultur- ally married (INTRA) subjects found irritating (percentages)	111
5.3	Aspects of life in New Zealand which intercultur- ally married (INTER) subjects found irritating (percentages)	111
5.4	Subjects' New Zealand occupations involving the the use of the Japanese language (percentages)	113
5.5	Subjects' feelings of acceptance/non-acceptance in Japan and in New Zealand (percentages)	117
5.6	Citizenship of subjects (percentages)	119
5.7	Area of residence of subjects' close friends (percentages)	121
5.8	Ethnicity of subjects' close friends (percentages)	121
5.9	Marriages of subjects' close friends (percentages)	123

5.10	Number of associations, clubs or classes of which subjects were a member (percentages)	128
5.11	Subjects' perceptions of Japanese and New Zealanders' cultural traits (percentages)	134
5.12	Amount of Japanese food prepared by subjects (percentages)	136
5.13	Amount of food sent from Japan to subjects (percentages)	136
5.14	Subjects' removal of shoes prior to entering the house (percentages)	138
6.1	Subjects who thought they had experienced a decline in their Japanese language (percentages)	147
6.2	Features of Japanese language in which subjects thought they had experienced some decline (percentages)	147
6.3	Counteractive measures to Japanese language attrition taken by subjects who felt some decline (percentages)	149
6.4	Proportions of Japanese (J) and English (E) spoken by subjects to their children daily around the time of the interview (percentages)	151
6.5	Proportions of Japanese (J) and English (E) used by subjects' children to the subjects daily around the time of the interview (percentages)	151
6.6	Proportions of Japanese (J) and English (E) spoken by subjects to their children during the children's pre-school years (percentages)	152
6.7	Japanese (J) and English (E) reading materials read by subjects around the time of the interview (percentages)	157
6.8	Use of Japanese (J) and English (E) by subjects in their writing of letters around the time of the interview (percentages)	157
6.9	Use of Japanese (J) and English (E) by subjects in their thinking around the time of the interview (percentages)	158

6.10	Use of Japanese (J) and English (E) by subjects when speaking to husbands (percentages)	161
6.11	Use of Japanese (J) and English (E) by subjects' husbands when speaking to subjects (percentages)	161
6.12	Change in proportions of normal Japanese (J) and English (E) language use by subjects when arguing with husbands (percentages)	163
6.13	Feelings of subjects towards foreigners speaking Japanese with near native speaker proficiency (percentages)	163
6.14	Change in subjects' proportions of normal Japanese (J) and English (E) language use when chastising their children (percentages)	165
6.15	Use of Japanese (J) and English (E) by subjects when talking to their friends (percentages)	167
6.16	Use of Japanese (J) and English (E) by subjects when talking to their Japanese friends (percentages)	167
6.15	Use of Japanese (J) and English (E) by gainfully employed subjects at their workplaces (percentages)	169
7.1	FSI ratings of subjects' oral proficiency in English (percentages and means)	176
7.2	Mean group scores for EPT results	176
7.3	Correlations obtained from the subjects' ages at time of exit from Japan to live abroad and their FSI proficiency ratings	181
7.4	Correlations obtained from the subjects' feelings of acceptance in New Zealand and their FSI proficiency ratings	182
7.5	Correlations obtained from the subjects' length of formal education and their FSI proficiency ratings	183
7.6	Correlations obtained from the subjects' length of residence in English speaking countries and their FSI proficiency ratings	184
7.7	Reasons given by subjects for wishing to improve their English language proficiency (percentages)	189

7.8	Frequency of need felt by subjects to improve their English language proficiency (percentages)	189
7.9	Strategies for learning oral English most preferred by subjects (percentages)	191
7.10	Subjects who read at least one newspaper, magazine or book written in English each week (percentages)	192
8.1	The phonemes of New Zealand English: the Hawkins-Holmes system	200
8.2	The phonemes of Japanese: based on Kohmoto's (1969) description	201
8.3	Examples of New Zealand English phonological errors made by subjects	203
8.4	Comparison of the correct use vs replacement of New Zealand English phonemes by subjects	204
8.5	Mean frequencies of errors involving nine New Zealand English phonemes made by subjects (percentages)	208
8.6	Examples of noun morphology errors made by subjects	218
8.7	Mean frequencies of errors involving plural <s> and possessive <s> made by subjects (percentages)	219
8.8	Examples of errors involving verb morphology made by subjects	221
8.9	Mean frequencies of errors involving the verb morphemes <s>, <ed> and <ing> made by subjects (percentages)	222
8.10	Examples of errors involving articles made by subjects	225
8.11	Mean frequencies of errors involving articles made by subjects (percentages)	226
9.1	Examples of errors involving <u>gairaigo</u> items made by subjects	233
9.2	Examples of errors which were direct translations of Japanese expressions made by subjects	235
9.3	Examples of errors involving subjects' lack of understanding regarding collocation	237

DEFINITION OF TERMS

The field of language contact requires the use of certain terms whose definitions are not necessarily constant among all linguists. Key terms defined according to their use in the present study are therefore listed below:

BILINGUAL:

Haugen (1961) has defined a bilingual in broad terms as a person who may have any degree of ability in two or more languages or dialects irrespective of the degree of proficiency in either language or dialect. This definition will be used when referring to bilingual subjects in the present study (p.396).

CODE SWITCHING:

Clyne (1982) defines the act of switching from one language to another in the middle of a text or sentence, due either to sociolinguistic factors or to trigger words, as code switching (p.106).

COMMUNICATION STRATEGY:

This term will refer to "the unconscious employment of verbal or nonverbal mechanisms for communicating an idea when precise linguistic forms are for some reason not readily available to the learner at a point in communication" (Brown, 1980, p.178).

CULTURAL ADAPTATION:

The concept of cultural adaptation is described by Taft (1977) as being the adaptation of human behaviour associated with coping in a new and unfamiliar culture (p.146).

ERROR:

Chomsky (1965, p.11) stated that native speakers frequently produce utterances which would be judged to be "ungrammatical" by other native speakers. It is necessary, therefore, to distinguish between the momentary lapses of a native speaker and the habitual mistakes made by second language learners who do not yet have a complete knowledge of the rules of the new language. It is this latter type of habitual mistake made by second language learners that are called errors by writers such as Corder (1971) and George (1972).

INTERFERENCE:

In language contact situations, interference between the languages may occur in the speech of individuals who use both languages. Weinreich (1953) describes interference as being "those instances of deviation from the norms of either language which occur in the speech of bilinguals as a result of their familiarity with more than one language" (p.1).

INTERLANGUAGE:

This is a term coined by Selinker (1972, p.209) to refer to the intermediate stages of learning which a learner passes through between his native language the target language. An incomplete knowledge of the rules of the target language may result in the learner making errors (e.g. those of overgeneralisation) which are distinctly different to interference errors described above. This phenomenon of interlanguage has also been defined by Nemser (1971) as an "approximative system" (p. 115).

LANGUAGE ACQUISITION vs LANGUAGE LEARNING:

Krashen (1981) makes a distinction between language acquisition which requires meaningful and natural interaction in the target language and where speakers are not concerned with the form of their utterances but with the messages they convey and language learning which involves more formal study and is marked by planned language input, presentation of rules and correction of learners' errors (p.1).

LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE:

Fishman (1964) proposed the term language maintenance to emphasise active and self-conscious efforts made by migrants to prevent their native languages from becoming extinct as the migrants become more and more acculturated within the host society (p.32).

LANGUAGE SHIFT:

Fishman (1966) has given the term language shift to the situation where two languages come into contact and where "the languages sometimes replace each other among some speakers in certain types or domains of language behaviour and under some conditions of intergroup contact" (p.5).

LINGUISTIC ADAPTATION:

Weinreich (1953) makes the point that language contact is an important aspect of culture contact and that linguistic adaptation by an individual is necessary when he enters a different linguistic group. In almost all situations where migrants enter a new language community, there are the three interrelated processes involving acquisition of the new language, maintenance of the migrants' native language and, over a period of time, shift from the native language to that of the host community (p.6).

NATIVE LANGUAGE vs SECOND LANGUAGE:

The native language or mother tongue has been defined by Quirk et al. (1972,p.3) as the first language acquired by an individual. Usually, the native language remains the dominant one for life although Christophersen (1974,p.32) notes several situations where this may not always hold true. The second language is often used in language contact situations to refer to the language of the host community and which the migrant must learn if he is to interact effectively within that society.

PERFORMANCE:

Chomsky (1965) differentiates between competence (the knowledge that the native speaker-hearer has about the rules of his language) and performance (the actual use made of language by the native speaker-hearer in real-life situations). It is this performance aspect which is referred to at various points in the present study (p.4).

PROFICIENCY:

The use of the term proficiency will refer to the level of ability demonstrated by subjects to use the English language in oral situations.

INTRODUCTION

The past few years have seen a marked increase in the amount of intercultural exchange between Japan and New Zealand. In 1971, for example, the number of Japanese who entered New Zealand totalled 3,414 but by the end of the decade in 1979 this figure had risen to 13,568 (New Zealand Statistical Report on Population, Migration and Building, 1971-1979). This considerable increase may continue into the future and more intercultural contact between New Zealanders and Japanese could, as a result, occur. It therefore seems important to examine some issues surrounding intercultural communication between the two countries. The present study concentrates on the cultural and linguistic adaptations which Japanese migrants make when they reside in New Zealand society for extended periods. Although the focus is on Japanese women, many of the results are likely to be generalisable to problems associated with intercultural communication which takes place at the interpersonal level among New Zealanders and other groups of migrants.

The study has the following objectives:

- (1) to describe the Japanese community in New Zealand,
- (2) to describe ways in which and the extent to which Japanese migrants culturally adapt to life in New Zealand,
- (3) to investigate the role which the Japanese language plays in the subjects' lives,
- (4) to determine the extent of language shift from Japanese to English among the subjects,
- (5) to assess the oral language proficiency of the subjects in English, and
- (6) to describe the oral English of the subjects, particularly in terms of the phonological and grammatical errors they make.

In Chapter One, a survey of the Japanese community in New Zealand will be presented from the closing years of the 19th century until 1979/1980 (the time when the survey was carried out). Chapter Two summarises the background literature to the main study and covers research into cultural adaptation, language maintenance and language shift together with studies

on the oral proficiency of migrants in English as a second language and error analysis. In this chapter, hypotheses which will be used as a framework to guide the research enquiry will also be formulated. Chapter Three gives an account of the methodological procedures followed. Chapter Four describes the background details relating to the lives of the subjects while Chapter Five explores aspects of the subjects' lives in New Zealand. Chapter Six discusses the maintenance of Japanese by the subjects as well as their language shift from Japanese to English. Chapter Seven is an analysis of the subjects' oral proficiency in English and some reasons for differences in levels of attained proficiency are also discussed. In Chapter Eight, selected phonological and grammatical errors made by the subjects in their oral English will be discussed in terms of their cause and frequency of occurrence. Chapter Nine briefly describes the lexical errors and communication strategies found in the subjects' English. Finally, in Chapter Ten, the results of the study are summarised and some comments are offered about the methodology and findings of the survey.

CHAPTER ONE

THE JAPANESE IN NEW ZEALAND

This chapter provides a brief historical survey of Japanese migration to New Zealand covering the period from the latter part of the nineteenth century up to 1979/1980 (the time when the survey was carried out). Numerous studies have been made of the Japanese settling in such places as Hawaii and the United States (Hosokawa, 1969; Petersen, 1971; Conroy and Miyakawa, 1972; Daniels, 1972; Kitano, 1976; Ogawa, 1978a, 1978b). There have also been accounts of the Japanese in South America, particularly Brazil (Staniford, 1973; Rossi, 1978; Smith, 1979) and in Australia (Curson and Curson, 1982) but no substantial study of the Japanese in New Zealand has been carried out. It was decided, therefore, that a general description of the Japanese in New Zealand would be necessary as a background to the present study. In addition, this survey could assist the study in certain specific ways. First, the number of Japanese who have migrated to New Zealand could be established. Second, a summary of relevant statistics on Japanese migrants (such as the stated purpose of migration to New Zealand and the number who have been granted New Zealand citizenship) would provide useful data for comparison with the results of the present study; third, the New Zealand Japanese migration experiences could be compared with Japanese migration to other countries such as the United States, Brazil and Australia.

In order to carry out this preliminary survey, the following official New Zealand sources were investigated:

(i) Census Records

The Census of New Zealand (1878-1976) provided statistics on the number of Japanese (defined by birthplace and race) in New Zealand, as well as their sex and age compositions, duration of residence and occupations.

(ii) Immigration Records

Immigration statistics, as published in the Statistical Report of Population, Migration and Building (Census and Statistics Office, Wellington) were used for determining the purpose of entry into New Zealand of Japanese-born persons.

(iii) New Zealand Alien Register

Alien Registration statistics (also published in the Statistical Report of Population, Migration and Building) provided further annual figures on Japanese persons in New Zealand.

(iv) Register of Aliens, 1917

This alien register (compiled under the direction of John Cullen, Commissioner of Aliens, 1918-1919) provided some biographical information on early Japanese migrants in New Zealand.

(v) The Register of Persons Granted New Zealand Citizenship

This register, compiled by the Department of Internal Affairs, Wellington, was used for determining the number of Japanese persons who have been granted New Zealand citizenship. These records also yielded some biographical information on Japanese settlers.

(vi) Vital Statistics

The Department of Statistics publication Vital Statistics provided an annual summary of the number of marriages taking place in New Zealand where a Japanese-born person was one of the partners.

The census volumes and Statistical Reports on Population, Migration and Building were available from the Massey University Library. One problem encountered when using these records was that Japanese persons have never been present in New Zealand in large numbers and were occasionally classified under the category of "Others", which resulted in data on the Japanese not being available for certain years (see, for example, Table 1.3, 1933). Another problem was that census data for

persons with Japanese citizenship and for persons of Japanese race were available prior to 1941 but there were none for the post-1945 period. Since census data for persons born in Japan were more consistent for the periods before and after World War II, "birthplace" was accordingly adopted for describing aspects of Japanese settlement in New Zealand. It must, however, be remembered that birthplace is not necessarily an indication of ethnicity or of citizenship. It is possible for an individual who is neither ethnically Japanese nor a Japanese citizen to be classified in the records as a person born in Japan. For example, it was noted (from records of the Department of Internal Affairs) that there were cases of persons born in Japan whose parents were Dutch, Russian or British citizens temporarily resident in Japan.

The Register of Persons Granted New Zealand Citizenship and the Register of Aliens, 1917 were available for inspection at the Department of Internal Affairs, Wellington. The Massey University Library holds a copy of the Register of Persons Naturalised in New Zealand Before 1948 as well as a copy of the Register of Aliens, 1917. Neither of these records presented any major problems in the search for Japanese-named or Japanese-born persons.

An inspection of the abovementioned records showed quite different trends occurring in Japanese migration to New Zealand prior to December, 1941 (i.e. when Japan entered World War II) and after 1945 when hostilities ceased. The period up until 1941 will be surveyed first and will be followed by an account covering the period from 1945 up to the time of the survey.

1.1 PRE-1941

In this section, Japanese migrants in New Zealand before World War II will be described in terms of their numbers, their purpose for travelling to New Zealand, areas of settlement, occupations, citizenship and intercultural marriage.

1.1.1 Population Numbers

Various records were consulted to establish the size of the pre-1941 Japanese population in New Zealand. The number of persons who stated that they were born in Japan, at each New Zealand census taken from 1878 to 1936, is summarised in Table 1.1. The number of Japanese on the New Zealand Alien Register and immigration records were also used as supportive data (see Tables 1.2 and 1.3).

There are two major problems associated with using raw census data as a basis for determining the number of Japanese people in New Zealand. The first problem (noted earlier) concerns the use of "birthplace" as an indication of ethnicity or of citizenship. The second problem is that the census count does not differentiate between individuals who are staying in New Zealand for a short term and those who are staying in the country for a longer period. Thus all Japanese persons, irrespective of whether they are seamen, tourists, businessmen or permanent residents of New Zealand, are included in the census count under "Persons born in Japan". For example, at the time of the 1916 census, 39 Japanese seamen on a ship in Port Chalmers were included in the census count and this had the effect of more than doubling the number of Japanese-born persons in New Zealand at that time.

Census records establish that Japanese-born persons were in New Zealand from as early as 1878 but it is not clear how many of these were ethnic Japanese and how many were persons of other ethnic origin who had been born to parents temporarily resident in Japan. It is known, however, that by 1900 at least one ethnic Japanese had entered New Zealand and settled (see Table 1.5).

Even a cursory inspection of the census records reveals that the number of Japanese in New Zealand has never been high, an observation which is supported by a note in the 1936 Census: "The Japanese community in New Zealand has never attained large numbers. In 1916 the numbers reached 59, in 1921, 38; in 1926, 59; and in 1936, 111. These numbers were occasionally swollen by the presence of Japanese vessels in New Zealand ports and by temporary residents, 52 of the 111 recorded in 1936 were not permanent residents of New Zealand" (Census of New Zealand, 1936, Vol IX, ii).¹

Further evidence of the small size of the Japanese community in New Zealand up to 1941 is to be found in the New Zealand Alien Register.² The total number of Japanese recorded in the alien register ranges from seven in 1921 to a maximum of 61 in 1930 and again in 1933 (Table 1.2). Similar figures were recorded in the 1921 and 1926 Censuses (Table 1.1). Both the census data and the alien register clearly show that there were always more Japanese males than Japanese females in New Zealand throughout this period.

A comparison of the arrivals and departures of persons born in Japan (Table 1.3) shows that very few Japanese-born males entered New Zealand between 1928 and 1941. The number of Japanese females entering the country at this time was insignificant, ranging from one in 1934 to 11 in 1939. Departures each year tally closely with the number of arrivals which suggests that most Japanese entering New Zealand were sojourners rather than settlers and that New Zealand, unlike the United States (see Kitano, 1976; Ogawa, 1978b) or Brazil (Smith, 1979), was not gaining a Japanese population of any significant size during this period. In fact, in the two years prior to the entry of Japan into World War II, more Japanese were leaving New Zealand than were entering each year.

Table 1.1

Numbers of Japanese-born persons in New Zealand, 1878-1936

Census Year	Males	Females	Total
1878	2	4	6
1881	2	5	7
1896	7	8	15
1906	17	8	25
1916	53	18	71
1921	26	14	40
1926	*	*	59
1936	85	21	106

* Male and female figures for 1926 not available.

Source: Census of New Zealand, 1878-1936. Census and Statistics Office, Wellington.

Table 1.2

Numbers of Japanese-born persons on the New Zealand Alien Register, 1921-1935

Year	Males	Females	Total
1921	7	-	7
1922	*	*	*
1923	28	6	34
1924	29	6	35
1925	29	7	36
1926	41	18	59
1927	*	*	*
1928 (estimated)	38	20	58
1929 "	38	20	58
1930 "	40	21	61
1931 "	40	20	60
1932 "	41	19	60
1933 "	43	18	61
1934 "	40	18	58
1935 "	36	19	55

* Figures not available for 1922 and 1927.

Source: Statistical Report on Population, Migration and Building, 1921-1935. Census and Statistics Office, Wellington.

Table 1.3

Arrivals and departures of persons born in Japan, 1928-1941

Year	Arrivals		Departures		Gain/Loss	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
1928	41	5	74	5	-33	0
1929	7	2	10	3	-3	-1
1930	21	3	18	3	+3	0
1931	11	2	9	2	+2	0
1932	12	2	16	3	-4	-1
1933	*	*	*	*	*	*
1934	26	1	23	2	+3	-1
1935	23	4	29	5	-6	-1
1936	79	7	60	3	+19	+4
1937	61	5	67	7	-6	-2
1938	84	5	88	7	-4	-2
1939	77	11	76	5	+1	+6
1940	50	9	67	10	-17	-1
1941	29	8	46	11	-17	-3

* Figures for 1933 not available.

Source: Statistical Report of Population, Migration and Building, 1928-1941. Census and Statistics Office, Wellington.

1.1.2 The Early Arrivals

The Register of Aliens, 1917 provided useful information for identifying early Japanese settlers, the areas they settled in and their occupations. Additional information was obtained from both census records and immigration records.

The earliest recorded instance of Japanese settlement in New Zealand was in the 1878 Census. At that time there were six Japanese-born persons in New Zealand: two males and two females in Wellington and two females in Otago. In the 1881 and 1896 Censuses, Japanese-born persons were again recorded but it is not known who they were or whether they were short-term sojourners or long-term settlers. Nor is there any documentation to prove that they were Japanese by ethnic origin.

The earliest documented Japanese migrant in New Zealand was Kazuyuki Kiyohai Tsukigawa, a seaman who arrived in Dunedin in 1895 aboard a British ship. According to his memoirs (Tsukigawa, 1937), the captain of the ship refused Tsukigawa an advance of wages to buy protective clothing. Tsukigawa walked off the ship and worked at various jobs in Otago, went back to Japan briefly in 1903-1904 but could not find work there so he returned to Balclutha. He became the master of a steamer on the Clutha River, a sergeant-major in the Salvation Army, married a Caucasian woman in 1913, and appears to have been a respected and popular member of the Balclutha community where he settled. In 1936, he once again returned to Japan where he presented samples of New Zealand produce to the Japanese Emperor and the Japanese government. He later reported on the trip to the New Zealand Prime Minister, Mr Savage. Tsukigawa died in 1948 but is survived by descendants who still live in Balclutha.³

Other Japanese men began arriving in New Zealand during the early years of the twentieth century and several appear to have settled. The Register of Aliens, 1917 gives the names of nine Japanese living in the country during World War I

Table 1.4

Dates of arrival, names and other characteristic data concerning Japanese-born persons on the Register of Aliens, 1917

+Arrival in NZ	Name	Sex	Age	Marital Status	Occupation	Address
1882	*James Campbell	M	64	W	Watch- maker	Turkish Baths, Wellington.
1889	*Grace Ophelia Clarke	F	36	M	Domestic duties	Hamara St. Narrow Neck.
1889	*William Hawke	M	49	M	Silk importer	Nelson.
1892	*Ellen Fisher	F	35	W	Domestic duties	35 Symonds St. Auckland.
1895	Kazuyuki Kiyohai Tsukigawa	M	43	M	Seaman	Balclutha.
1901	Chino Koogin	M	39	NM	Hair- dresser	Tokomaru Bay.
1902	Hughie Tatsuki	M	39	NM	Cook	Grand Hotel, Wellington.
1904	Sentaro Furne (probably Furune)	M	33	NM	Cook	Kaipara Steamship Co. Helensville.
1907	*Edith Coote	F	23	M	Domestic duties	Motueka.
1908	Hakuichi Kunioka	M	29	M	Shop- keeper	Te Araroa.
1910	Charlie Tomey	M	52	M	Cook	45 Clarence Rd. Addington.
1915	Kiejo Kameda	M	29	NM	Miner	Blackball, Grey County.
1916	Karajono Morinosuke	M	23	NM	Hair- dresser	Te Araroa.
?	Harry Bonj	M	54	M	Chef	Grand Hotel, Westport.

* Japanese ethnicity doubtful.

+ Estimated on the declared number of years residence in New Zealand from 1916 census data.

Note: This list does not include 37 Japanese seamen on the SS Buyo Maru in Port Chalmers at the time the Alien Register was compiled.

Source: Register of Aliens, 1917.

(Table 1.4). These early Japanese settlers were scattered throughout New Zealand and were predominantly employed as hairdressers, cooks, seamen, road construction workers and shipping employees.

In addition to these settlers, there were also businessmen who occasionally visited New Zealand. Immigration records (Table 1.5) show that in 1927, for example, 40 Japanese businessmen entered the country. However, annual numbers decreased during the Depression years. According to the Japanese Ambassador in Wellington, Mr T. Oyamada, most of these businessmen were based in Sydney. A very small number of tourists were also recorded pre-1941 with the maximum in any one year of 25 Japanese tourists visiting New Zealand recorded in 1936.

1.1.3 Citizenship

Data on the number of Japanese who were granted citizenship during the period 1905 to 1941 were obtained from the records of the Department of Internal Affairs, Wellington.

From 1905 until 1941 only 12 persons born in Japan were granted New Zealand citizenship (Table 1.6). One, Harry Bing, although born in Kobe, was probably at least part Chinese. All the twelve were males and nine of these were granted citizenship between 1905 and 1913. After about 1913, Japan was regarded by the New Zealand government with increasing suspicion because of fears of Japanese expansionism in the Pacific (Lissington, 1972) but there was no evidence to suggest that this prevented those Japanese who applied from becoming New Zealand citizens.⁴

One can only speculate on the motives of these men for taking out citizenship in New Zealand. Of the nine who had been granted citizenship up until 1913, five appeared on the Register of Aliens, 1917 (cf Table 1.6 with Table 1.4). For these

Table 1.5

Entry into New Zealand by purpose and sex of persons whose last country
of permanent residence was Japan, 1921 - 1941

Date of Entry	Tourism		Business		Official & Transit Other		Intended Permanent Residence		Not Stated		Total	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1921	2	1	4				1				7	1
1922	4	3	2		3						10	3
1923	4	4	2			1					6	4
1924	4		2		2		1	2			12	2
1925	4	3	7			1					12	4
1926	1	2	1		2		2	4	2	2	8	4
1927	4	2	40				2				46	7
1928	7	3	29	1							36	3
1929	5	6	4					1			9	7
1930	13	2	5				2				18	3
1931	6	1	5								13	1
1932	5	1	7								12	1
1933	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1934	3		13								18	1
1935	7	1	13				1	1			21	2
1936	21	4	40		12						75	6
1937	11	2	29		5		1	1	1		51	3
1938	9	11	48		15		2	3			77	16
1939	11	2	30	1	12		4	5			59	9
1940	15	6	11		6		3			1	41	10
1941	6	3	6		1		8	13			23	23
Total	142	57	301	3	58	-	23	17	27	30	3	554
												110

* 1933 figures not available.

Source: Statistical Report of Population, Migration and Building, 1921-1941.
Census and Statistics Office, Wellington.

Table 1.6

List of Japanese persons granted New Zealand citizenship,
1905-1939

Name	Date of birth	Place of birth	Occupation	Residence	Date NZ citizenship granted
Chino Koogin	1877	Shinoo, Kitokomagun	Labourer	Makarewa	13. 5.1905
Harry Bing	1861	Kobe	Cook	Auckland	11.11.1905
Thomas Kodama	1879	Tokyo	Circus Performer	Auckland	31.10.1906
Sentaro Furne (prob. Furune)	1881	Kobe	Cook	Auckland	14.12.1906
Kazuyuki Kiyoei Tsukigawa	1873	Konoura, Nagasaki	Seaman	Balclutha	18. 1.1907
Sam Nakano	1878	Kobe	Cook	Dunedin	15. 8.1907
Noda Asajiro	1869	Nagasaki	Farmer	Ohinewai	27.10.1908
Charlie Tomey	1866	Kobe	Cook	Bluff	10. 1.1912
Hakuichi Kunioka	1888	Hiroshima	Labourer	Hicks Bay	15. 9.1913
Yas Abbe	1867	Tokyo	Chef	Cambridge	? . 4.1929
Kiyo Kamed (prob. Kameda)	1888	Aomori	Seaman	Wellington	21.4.1937
Ryugoro Fukushima (also R. Shima)	1885	Tochigi	Physical Culture, Ju-jitsu Instructor & Masseur	Christ-church	20.11.1939

Source: Records of Persons Granted New Zealand Citizenship.
Department of Internal Affairs, Wellington.

men, New Zealand citizenship may have been of assistance in gaining employment or acceptance in the community. Some of the other four may have taken out citizenship to gain access to other countries more easily than might have been the case if they had retained Japanese citizenship.

1.1.4 Intercultural Marriage

Intercultural marriage between early Japanese settlers and New Zealand citizens is of special relevance to the main body of this study which deals with Japanese women migrants, many of whom were interculturally married to non-Japanese husbands.

Four of the Japanese on the Register of Aliens, 1917 claimed to be married. None of their wives appeared on either the Register of Aliens, 1917 or in the naturalisation records. It is possible that the wives were not in New Zealand, but it is equally possible that these men had married New Zealand women, especially Maori women, for in the 1926 Census (Vol. VI, 3) this note appeared:

"A new feature in the statistics for 1926 is the appearance of descendants of Indian-Maori and Japanese-Maori parentage. The numbers yet recorded are small but the fact is significant". The numbers were indeed small: six males and three females. Apparently the threat of Japanese-Maori miscegenation did not become too serious for in censuses conducted after World War II, notes on Japanese-Maori people ceased to appear. In 1971, the number of persons classified in the census as being of Japanese-Maori origin numbered 13 males and 12 females and this included descendants of those counted in the 1926 Census.

1.2 POST-1945

During World War II, migration from Japan to New Zealand ceased and the few Japanese who remained in the country were interned in camps at Pahiatua and on Somes Island (New Zealand Society of Friends Reports, 1943-45). There were also 805 Japanese prisoners-of-war who were held in a camp at Featherston. During an uprising on 25 February, 1943, 43 of these POWs were killed and the remainder were repatriated back to Japan in 1945 (Carr-Gregg, 1978). It was not until the early 1950s that the migration of Japanese persons to New Zealand began again and since then their numbers have steadily increased each year. These migrants will be described, in a manner similar to the pre-1941 migrants, in terms of their numbers, purpose for travelling to New Zealand, occupations, citizenship and intercultural marriage.

1.2.1 Population Numbers

Census records from 1945 to 1976 were the main source for determining the Japanese population in New Zealand for this period (Table 1.7). The number of Japanese in the New Zealand Alien Register and in immigration records were also used as supportive data (Tables 1.8 and 1.9).

All three sources indicate a progressive annual increase in the number of Japanese coming to New Zealand from the late 1950s to 1975-1976. Not all of these would be ethnic Japanese for some would very likely be the children born in Japan of New Zealand military personnel, businessmen, missionaries, teachers, diplomats or interpreters. The rise in this population can be seen at each census; the number increasing from 132 in 1956 to 1173 in 1975 (Table 1.7). This is also reflected in the number of Japanese-born persons on the alien register where 23 were recorded in 1956, rising to 351 in 1975.

There are two possible reasons why there are more Japanese-born persons recorded each census than for corresponding years in the alien register. First, the census count is based on all Japanese-born persons in New Zealand on the night of the census whether their stay is long-term or short-term, whereas the alien register records only those who are staying in New Zealand long-term. Second, Japanese-born persons who had been granted New Zealand citizenship would not be included in the alien register.

It is difficult to specify from these statistics exactly what the population of Japanese residents has been in any given year. It is most likely to be greater than the figures in the alien register yet smaller than the number of Japanese counted in the census. In 1971, this would mean that there were between 192 and 901 Japanese-born persons living long-term in New Zealand. In 1976, there were probably between 351 (the figure given in the last available alien register, 1975) and 1173.

Finally, more Japanese females appear to be settling in New Zealand long-term than Japanese males. Immigration statistics (Table 1.9) show that in certain periods (e.g. 1955-58, 1964-65 and 1974-75), New Zealand gained more Japanese-born females than Japanese-born males. The alien register also reveals that from 1956 until 1975 (the year when alien registration was discontinued) there were always more Japanese-born females on the alien register than Japanese-born males. For example, in 1956 there were 147 males compared with 204 females. Evidence will be produced later in this survey to show that these were Japanese women who had married New Zealand men and had settled in New Zealand.

These three trends (the progressive annual increase in the number of Japanese coming to New Zealand, the rise in the number of Japanese who settle and the fact that more of these Japanese settlers are women than men) all contrast sharply with the characteristics of pre-1941 Japanese migration to New Zealand.

Table 1.7

Numbers of Japanese-born persons in New Zealand, 1945-1976

Census Year	Males	Females	Total
1945	27	21	48
1951	27	20	47
1956	80	52	132
1961	234	66	300
1966	437	170	607
1971	628	273	901
1976	704	469	1173

Source: Census of New Zealand, 1945-1976. Census and Statistics Office, Wellington.

Table 1.8

Numbers of Japanese-born persons on the New Zealand Alien Register, 1956-1975

Year	Males	Females	Total
1956	3	20	23
1957	2	42	44
1958	2	47	49
1959	10	50	60
1960	5	50	55
1961	4	41	45
1962	19	48	67
1963	23	46	69
1964	22	49	71
1965	25	53	78
1966	32	67	99
1967	37	71	108
1968	64	83	147
1969	71	98	169
1970	80	106	186
1971	83	109	192
1972	103	145	248
1973	125	165	290
1974	127	178	305
1975	147	204	351

Source: Statistical Report on Population, Migration and Building, 1956-1975. Census and Statistics Office, Wellington.

Table 1.9

Arrivals and departures of persons born in Japan, 1946-1975

Year	Arrivals		Departures		Gain/Loss	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
1946	1	2	1	1	-	+
1947	2	1	3	1	-	-
1948	1	2	1	-	-	+
1949	4	4	4	1	-	+
1950	4	4	3	4	+	-
1951	4	2	5	6	-	-
1952	18	10	15	5	+	+
1953	61	7	58	6	+	+
1954	84	12	76	6	+	+
1955	92	9	98	4	-	+
1956	93	22	93	6	-	+
1957	130	45	121	12	+	+
1958	135	15	137	12	-	+
1959	232	38	213	24	+	+
1960	301	26	290	15	+	+
1961	486	63	469	62	+	+
1962	425	40	436	40	-	-
1963	483	49	472	41	+	+
1964	975	116	976	96	-	+
1965	920	100	910	79	+	+
1966	921	136	883	112	+	+
1967	1107	179	1126	157	-	+
1968	1602	216	1516	201	+	+
1969	1686	335	1722	312	-	+
1970	2184	485	2223	464	-	+
1971	2978	606	2928	569	+	+
1972	4251	1506	4249	1413	+	+
1973	4503	1212	4489	1226	+	-
1974	5969	1787	5963	1738	+	+
1975	6685	2274	6756	2215	-	+
Total	36337	9303	36236	8828	+101	+475

Note: Since 1976 arrivals and departures of migrants born in Japan are classified under "Asia".

Source: Statistical Report of Population, Migration and Building, 1946-1975. Census and Statistics Office, Wellington.

1.2.2 The Post-1945 Arrivals

Immigration records were the main source contributing to this section which describes the occupations and purposes for migration to New Zealand of post-1945 Japanese migrants.

Since the mid-1950s the number of Japanese entering New Zealand has steadily risen each year, increasing from a total of 151 arrivals in 1955 to a 1979 total of 13,568. During the 1970s, the number of Japanese arrivals has been increasing at a more rapid rate than at any other time and, as shown in Table 1.10 and 1.11, this may be attributed almost totally to the increase in Japanese tourists. The majority of these tourists stay in New Zealand for less than a week and most of the rest depart within a month (see Table 1.12). Japanese businessmen form the second largest group, most of whom stay in New Zealand for only a short period.

A small number of Japanese do stay in New Zealand for more than one year but it is difficult to determine their purpose from the immigration records. Mr T. Suzuki, Cultural Attache at the Japanese Embassy in Wellington, has suggested, however, that the Japanese living in New Zealand fall into three basic groups as regards their purpose for being in New Zealand. First, there are the Japanese employees of large Japanese trading companies who are in New Zealand for sojourns of between one and five years. These men are often accompanied by their families, but some families remain in Japan so as not to interrupt the children's formal education. Mr Suzuki stated that according to the Embassy list of Japanese residents in New Zealand (see Section 3.2.1), there were about 80 Japanese businessmen, mainly in Auckland and Wellington, in 1979. About 50 of these were accompanied by their wives. No children of these families were included on the list although it is known that the children of some families do travel to New Zealand and attend school there. Thus, the Japanese businessmen's community in 1979 probably numbered between 150 and 200 persons.

Table 1.10

Entry into New Zealand by purpose and sex of persons whose country of last permanent residence was Japan, 1946-1970.

Year	Tourists		Business		Entertain- ment		Education		Working Holiday		Other & Official		In Transit		Intending permanent residence		Total	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1946											2	6			3	2	2	6
1947	1		1								2		1		8	5	2	
1948	5	1	1								2		3	2	9	17	20	7
1949	7	5	1												3	4	14	11
1950	7	5	3								1				3	3	18	8
1951	2	4	15									2	2		2	2	10	10
1952	10	3	13								2	1	1		3	3	30	10
1953	12	9	49								4		3		14	3	82	13
1954	9	8	70		1						9	3			2	4	90	15
1955	21	14	65		1						22		1		14	12	123	28
1956	10	11	60				1				19		4		21	17	115	28
1957	13	12	85								23	1	3		12	32	141	46
1958	21	12	105								33		1		10	15	173	27
1959	47	11	118								26	1	1		22	29	217	42
1960	63	17	180				2				92	5	2		15	9	352	33
1961	107	46	336		1	2	1		3		11	1	4		10	11	473	63
1962	77	27	255		36		2		1		48	1		1	20	15	507	59
1963	78	35	293		39		2		1		66		10		21	20	1087	118
1964	165	51	531		145		3		1		218	1	2		32	30	927	145
1965	245	107	479		1		5		2		154	5	7		27	33	944	137
1966	241	92	586		28		2		2		46		6		20	28	1111	194
1967	365	144	629		11	6	8		14	2	58	3	6	2	58	21	1617	232
1968	447	187	877		5	5	27		3	8	137	5	15	6	46	39	1720	355
1969	597	283	863		9	5	6		3	35	177	12	6	2	36	36	2173	492
1970	773	395	1246		15	14	7		5	16	65	22	3	2				
Total	3328	1479	6861		69	332	73	64	18	90	1215	69	83	18	418	385	12391	2124

Source: Statistical Report of Population, Migration and Building, 1946 - 1947, Census and Statistics Office, Wellington.

Table 1.11

Entry into New Zealand by purpose of persons whose
country of last permanent residence was Japan, 1971-1979

Year	Holiday	Stay with relations friends	Enter- tain- ment	Business Private, Official	Temp. or working Holiday	Formal Educ'n	In Transit	Other	Total
1971	1358	111	14	1682	140	14	74	21	3414
1972	3544	119	50	1509	118	16	77	41	5474
1973	2956	143	56	1954	167	26	85	34	5421
1974	4467	198	80	2061	113	35	112	75	7141
1975	5331	194	96	2033	139	11	119	95	8018
1976	6894	170	66	1770	42	14	90	230	9276
1977	7532	164	56	1854	46	20	260	384	10316
1978	9792	164	20	2028	48	36	360	440	12888
1979	9664	236	120	2224	116	12	224	972	13568
Total	51538	1499	558	17115	929	184	1401	2292	75516

Source: Statistical Report on Population, Migration and Building, 1971 - 1979,
Census and Statistics Office, Wellington.

Second, there are a number of Japanese who have married New Zealanders. According to Mr Suzuki, migrants in this category are almost all women, it being apparently rare for Japanese men to marry interculturally and settle abroad. Evidence presented previously seems to support this view. Interculturally married women enter New Zealand as permanent residents and in certain years (e.g. Table 1.10: 1957 to 1959 inclusive) there were more Japanese females than Japanese males entering New Zealand with the intention of residing permanently. However, as an Immigration Department official pointed out, the official tables are compiled from immigration cards and not from visas issued. In the case of many immigrants, the declared intention may not result in permanent residence being granted. The Japanese Embassy list contained the names of about 150 Japanese women married to New Zealanders. These women were mainly resident in Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch (see Section 3.2.1). There were only four Japanese males on the Embassy list who were known to have married New Zealand females.

Finally, the third group consists of a small number of Japanese staying in New Zealand long-term who are not Japanese company employees on an overseas assignment, or the families of company employees, or interculturally married women. This group is less easy to categorise in terms of their declared purpose on entry but is known to include a few researchers and teachers.

1.2.3 Citizenship

Data on the number of Japanese-born persons who were granted New Zealand citizenship between 1945 and 1978 were obtained from the Department of Internal Affairs in Wellington and are summarised in Table 1.13.

No Japanese were granted New Zealand citizenship during World War II and up until 1956. Since 1956 there has been a very small annual number of Japanese-born persons granted citizenship, however. Between 1956 and 1978, a total of 101 such individuals became New Zealand citizens which is an average of about four persons per year.

Table 1.12

Japanese tourists arriving in New Zealand classified by intended length of stay and sex, 1976-1979

Duration of Stay	1976		1977		1978		1979		Total
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
< 1 week	2924	1586	3444	1778	4294	2408	4276	2280	22990
1 wk <2	1108	640	1042	672	1408	1004	1500	1172	8456
2 wks <3	182	122	154	146	200	172	144	140	1260
3 wks <4	84	76	108	54	136	108	92	60	718
1 mth <6	162	104	144	100	92	112	108	88	910
6 mths <12	44	32	32	22	20	52	24	16	242

Source: Statistical Report on Population, Migration and Building, 1976-1979. Census and Statistics Office, Wellington.

The actual number of ethnic Japanese born in Japan who have been granted New Zealand citizenship is lower than is shown in Table 1.13, because some non-Japanese persons born in Japan are included. For example, in 1971, eight Japanese-born persons became New Zealand citizens. However, the Internal Affairs' records revealed that this figure included a family of four Dutch children (three boys and one girl) who were born in Japan between 1954 and 1963. If such non-Japanese are deleted from Table 1.13, the total number is decreased to about 77 persons.

When one compares the persons granted citizenship before and after World War II, one important difference becomes evident. Before the war, all Japanese persons who became New Zealand citizens were males whereas after the war virtually all were females. According to the Department of Internal Affairs' records, only four Japanese adult males became New Zealand citizens between 1945 and 1978. A similar finding has been reported in Australia where, in 1978-1979, three Japanese males were granted Australian citizenship as compared with 24 Japanese females (Australian Department of Immigration, 1979).

The fact that only a small number of Japanese have become New Zealand citizens may be due in part to the eligibility criteria applied by the Department of Internal Affairs when an individual applies for citizenship status in New Zealand. These include length of residence in New Zealand, whether the applicant possesses vocational skills needed in the country or whether the applicant is married to a New Zealand citizen (personal communication, Department of Internal Affairs, Wellington). It appears likely that the majority of Japanese who become New Zealand citizens do so because of their marriage to New Zealanders since 74.2 per cent of the Japanese-born persons granted New Zealand citizenship between 1956 and 1978 were interculturally married women.

Table 1.13

Numbers of Japanese-born persons granted New Zealand citizenship, 1956-1978

Year	Males	Females	Total
1956		1	1
1957		1	1
1958		1	1
1959		3	3
1960		4	4
1961		9	9
1962		5	5
1963		4	4
1964		3	3
1965		5	5
1966		1	1
1967		5	5
1968		3	3
1969		3	3
1970	1	2	3
1971	3	5	8
1972		3	3
1973	1	6	7
1974	1	2	3
1975	1	3	4
1976		2	2
1977	4	13	17
1978	2	4	6
Total	13	88	101

Source: Register of Persons Granted New Zealand Citizenship, 1956-1978. Department of Internal Affairs, Wellington.

1.2.4 Intercultural Marriage

This section is of special relevance to the main study since it will show that in New Zealand a much greater number of Japanese females marry interculturally than Japanese males. This finding supported the decision to confine the main study to a comparison between intraculturally and interculturally married Japanese women.

The Department of Statistics publication Vital Statistics summarises the number of marriages which take place in New Zealand where one or both partners were born outside New Zealand. Table 1.14 shows the number of marriages registered in New Zealand where either the bride or the groom had been born in Japan. However, these statistics do not give an accurate picture of all Japanese-New Zealand intercultural marriages for at least two reasons. First, the figures are compiled on the basis of birthplace (not ethnicity or nationality), so non-Japanese persons who happened to be born in Japan may be included in the numbers given. Second, there is the strong probability that many marriages between Japanese and New Zealanders took place in Japan or in other foreign countries. It was not, however, possible to obtain statistics for such marriages.

A notable intercultural exchange between Japan and New Zealand occurred shortly after World War II and resulted in a substantial number of intercultural marriages between Japanese and New Zealanders. Some 4,300 New Zealand soldiers (known as Jayforce) were stationed in Japan between 1946 and 1948 as members of what was part of the British Commonwealth Occupation Force (McLintock, 1966) and some of these soldiers married Japanese women. Other New Zealand soldiers serving in the 1,000 strong Kayforce in Korea from 1951 to 1957 also met and married Japanese women while in Japan on leave.⁵ The ultimate effect of such marriages is reflected in the greater number of Japanese females than Japanese males entering New Zealand, in the period 1946 to 1957, and intending to reside permanently (Table 1.10).

Table 1.14

Marriages in New Zealand of Japanese-born persons, 1973-1977

Birthplaces of Brides and Bridegrooms	Japanese Grooms	Japanese Brides
In-group	16	16
Out-group		
Australia	3	3
Germany	1	1
Italy	-	1
Netherlands	-	1
New Zealand	26	35
South Africa	-	1
United Kingdom	1	16
United States	-	1
Other	-	6
Total Out-group	31	55
Grand Total	47	71

Source: Vital Statistics, 1973-1977.
Department of Statistics, Wellington.

A clear trend is discernible when the pre-war situation is compared with the post-war period. Pre-1941 census statistics showed that only Japanese males married interculturally in the pre-war period. By contrast, after the war, Japanese-born females married interculturally to a much greater extent than Japanese-born males (Table 1.14). Further evidence for this is found in the list of Japanese persons resident in New Zealand compiled by the Japanese Embassy (see Section 3.2.1). On this list there were 157 interculturally married Japanese women but only four interculturally married Japanese men.

It is recorded, however, that a total of 26 Japanese-born males married New Zealand females between 1973 and 1977 (Table 1.14). It is not clear where these couples made their homes but comments by Mr Suzuki of the Japanese Embassy and subjects interviewed in the main study suggested that these Japanese men rarely settle in New Zealand. Japanese women, on the other hand, appear to be more likely to settle in New Zealand after marriage to New Zealanders.

1.3 SUMMARY

This survey, based on a variety of official sources, has shown that Japanese migration to New Zealand was certainly never substantial before World War II. It began just before 1900 and, up until 1941, long-term residents probably at no time numbered more than 10 or 20. Japanese visitors included occasional businessmen and seamen. During the war years, internment camps accommodated the very few Japanese in the country (along with other "enemy aliens" i.e. Germans and Italians) and, from 1943 to 1945, there were also some 800 Japanese prisoners-of-war who were held in a camp at Featherston.

After World War II, and particularly since 1970, Japanese migrants have begun to arrive in New Zealand at an increasing rate. Two groups of short-term transients especially stand out: the tourists and the businessmen, most of whom stay only a few days. Among the longer-term residents, at least another two prominent groups can be identified. First, there are the Japanese company employees on foreign assignment, who generally stay two or three years and who are often accompanied by their families. Second, there are the Japanese women who have married interculturally and settled in New Zealand.

Notes

1. Numbers quoted here are at slight variance in some cases (1916, 1921, 1936) with numbers of Japanese-born persons counted each census. The discrepancy may have been caused by the figures quoted in the 1936 Census being taken from the number of persons who claimed to be of Japanese race each year.
2. The New Zealand Alien Register was first compiled from police files of all aliens in New Zealand in 1916. Aliens had to notify police of their changes of address. However, from 1928, the alien register as published in the Statistical Report of Population, Migration and Building was calculated from census data.
3. Documents in Japanese relating to the life of Tsukigawa are held by the Tsukigawa family, Balclutha.
4. Department of Internal Affairs advisory officer, Teresa Czocpaneka, could find no reference in the New Zealand nationality law about restrictions to prevent Japanese persons from acquiring New Zealand citizenship. It should be pointed out, however, that the department could have been operating under a cabinet directive passed down by the Minister.

5. Mr Robert Eaddy, Historian for the Ministry of Defence, in a personal communication noted that "Jayforce commanding officers were given some discretionary powers to approve marriages between Jayforce personnel and Japanese women although the general directive stated 'Marriage with Asiatics and other non-Europeans. Refuse consent'. In Kayforce, the authorities operated under no written policy, rather a 'convention' to discourage intercultural marriages".

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF LITERATURE
AND FORMULATION OF HYPOTHESES

In this chapter, research which relates to cultural and linguistic adaptation of migrants (with particular reference to Japanese groups) will be reviewed. A number of hypotheses which serve the purpose of guiding the present study will be formulated as the review progresses. These hypotheses will refer to "subjects" in the present study who are identified in Chapter Three. Two groups of subjects will be mentioned: "INTRA" (intraculturally married Japanese women) and "INTER" (interculturally married Japanese women). In the first section, studies of the cultural adaptation of migrants in new environments will be introduced and this will be followed by a brief summary of research into language maintenance and language shift. The third section is concerned with factors affecting the oral proficiency of migrants in English as a second language. The review will conclude with an outline of the major issues associated with analysing second language performance.

2.1 CULTURAL ADAPTATION

There are many reasons which motivate people to migrate. Some of these reasons could be described as political; others might, for example, be classified as economic, social or psychological. For many individuals, the act of migration can result in vocational, social and personal rewards but for others, leaving one's own country, or any place where one has settled for some time, can result in feelings of disorientation, culture shock, alienation and later, even loss of cultural identity in the new environment. Discussions of these general effects of migration on individuals can be found in the works of Wentholt (1956), Oberg (1958), Borrie (1959), Hall (1959), Stonequist (1965), Scott (1968), Brody (1970), Tabori (1972), Adler (1972, 1974, 1975), Bochner (1973), Brislin and van Buren (1974), Brislin and Pedersen (1976) and Brislin (1981).

2.1.1 Theoretical Approaches to Cultural Adaptation

There have been several different sociological approaches taken to describe the process of cultural adaptation which occurs among migrants in a new environment. Many of these approaches define the adaptive process in terms of the integration or ultimate assimilation of the migrant group within the host culture. An early model which has been used to investigate the assimilation of minority groups is that of Park (1928). Gordon's (1964) model also describes how a migrant group moves through stages of acculturative behaviour to a final stage where the migrant group is indistinguishable from the host community and can be said to be totally assimilated. Stonequist (1965) viewed the migrant as an individual on the boundaries of society who gradually shed this sense of marginality as he became more assimilated. Approaches such as these may be considered as linear models since they describe the integration or assimilation of migrants as occurring along one dimension.

However, some researchers have shown that assimilation is a more complex process than can be described by a simple linear model. Taft (1966) discussed a number of factors leading to assimilation and differentiated between primary and secondary identification with a host culture. Primary identification, according to Taft, occurs when a migrant is satisfied with his new environment, desires to stay and identifies himself as a member of the host culture. Secondary identification is characterised by a migrant being able to use the language of the host culture and behave as a member of the new society while still identifying himself as a member of the original migrant group. Along similar lines, Johnston (1966) distinguished between what she called external and subjective assimilation. This approach classified migrants according to whether they were assimilating along both, one or neither of these dimensions. Another non-linear model of assimilation which was designed by Lebra (1972) included a socio-cultural dimension (describing the migrant's social interaction within

the host society) as well as provision for describing the migrant's feelings of psychological identity. This implies that the disciplines of both sociology and psychology would be involved in the use of such a model.

The approaches to cultural adaptation discussed so far have included scant consideration of the major role which language plays in helping a migrant adapt. Taft (1977), however, proposes a model to describe the adaptive process which measures a number of variables including the use of the host society language and the migrant's own first language. In Taft's view, adaptation by migrants in new environments can be described in terms of four basic processes which he has called cultural adjustment, identification, cultural competence, and role acculturation. Also built into this model are subjective indicators which refer to the self-perceptions of the migrant and objective indicators which measure the observable behaviours of the migrant. Since this particular model provides a multi-dimensional description of the adaptive process by measuring several objective as well as subjective indicators (among them the use of first and second language), it was accordingly selected as the most appropriate to describe the acculturation of Japanese migrants in New Zealand. Further explanation of Taft's model is given at the beginning of Chapter Five.

2.1.2 Studies of Japanese Migrants

In this section, specific aspects of the Japanese migration experience which have relevance for the present study will be discussed. Japan has a relatively short history of migration both into and out of the country. It was closed to foreigners from 1603 until 1853 and during that period very little information about the outside world that might encourage migration was available. After 1885, the Japanese were permitted to travel abroad (Kitano, 1976) and their migration experience has, in many respects, been quite unique and distinct from the

experiences of other migrant groups such as the Chinese. The major areas to which the Japanese have migrated include Hawaii and the United States mainland (see studies by Hosokawa, 1969; Petersen, 1971; Conroy and Miyakawa, 1972; Daniels, 1972; Ariyoshi, 1973; Kitano, 1976; Ogawa, 1978a, 1978b) and areas of South America such as Brazil and Argentina (Staniford, 1973; Rossi, 1978; Sato, 1978; Smith, 1979). These researchers have all commented on the apparent "success" of the Japanese migration experience in terms of the migrants' willingness to work hard and achieve higher levels of educational and economic success than the national average. Reasons for their success as an ethnic minority have been attributed to attitudes and values (in particular, the respect for education) which have been handed down through the generations.

An understanding of Japanese culture is an important first step in describing the adaptation of Japanese migrants in new environments. Since the end of the nineteenth century, many descriptions of Japanese culture have appeared. Early western writers such as Hearne (1896, 1904) and Chamberlain (1904) structured their observations along a term and definition approach on topics ranging from family relationships to folk tales. In 1946, Benedict published one of the first attempts to describe Japanese people and Japanese culture in terms of a frame or model. This study placed considerable emphasis on the notions of order, hierarchy and social obligation as key concepts in an understanding of Japanese cultural psychology. This was followed by the work of researchers such as Nakane (1970, 1972) who described Japanese group organisation and Doi (1976) who proposed the concept of amae (dependence). One feature which Benedict, Nakane and Doi identify as being central to an understanding of Japanese cultural psychology is the fact that the Japanese form groups which do not readily admit outsiders. This is also an important fact to consider when studying the interactional patterns of Japanese living outside Japan.

Japanese migrants can be classified into several distinct categories. Studies of Japanese migrants in the United States, for instance, have revealed the presence of three major sub-groups. By far the largest of these is the sub-group of about 600,000 Japanese and their descendants who are permanent residents of the United States (Ogawa, 1978a; Smith, 1979). In addition to this, there is also the smaller sub-group of an estimated 60,000 Japanese women (De Vos, 1973; Smith, 1979) who have married Americans (usually servicemen) and settled permanently in the United States. A third substantial sub-group is that of Japanese company employees and their families who are essentially sojourners since their stay is only temporary and they eventually return to Japan (Maykovich, 1976). In Brazil, the major sub-group of Japanese was reported by Smith (1979) to number about 300,000 settlers and their families with a small number of Japanese company employees. New Zealand and Australia, on the other hand, differ from the United States and Brazil in that their established Japanese populations are composed largely of Japanese company employees (and their families) and some interculturally married women (Bolitho, 1976; Crawford, 1979; Curson and Curson, 1982 and Chapter One of the present study). The lack of an established Japanese minority comparable to the Japanese-American or Japanese-Brazilian communities may be attributed to immigration policies in both New Zealand and Australia which are particularly restrictive with regard to Asians (Lissington, 1972; Rivett, 1975; Curson and Curson, 1982).

Members of Japanese minorities may also be classified into the generational groups of issei, nisei, sansei and yonsei (first, second, third and fourth generations). The issei generation is defined as the original migrants who were born in Japan. The nisei individuals (second generation) are the children of the original migrants, sansei are the grandchildren while yonsei are the great-grandchildren (Hosokawa, 1969; Maykovich, 1972; Kitano, 1976). The issei hold values that are close to those held by native Japanese. This may be attributed to the fact that members of this generation were born and raised in Japan. The cultural behaviour of subsequent generations, however, appears progressively to come closer to that of the host culture.

The sub-groups of Japanese migrants so far described have certain outstanding characteristics which clearly differentiate them. For example, Maykovich (1976) found that sojourning Japanese company employees tend to be of a higher social status than most Japanese migrants who enter the United States with the intention to settle. De Vos (1973) showed that Japanese war-brides were more likely to hold rebellious impulses or to be non-conformists than Japanese women in Japan. Hosokawa (1969), Maykovich (1972) and Kitano (1976) compared the personalities of issei, nisei and sansei generations of Japanese in the United States and showed them to be markedly different from each other. It was found, for example, that issei identify themselves strongly with Japan but nisei and sansei do so to a much lesser extent. The fact that these sub-groups of migrants have considerable differences in their background, education and character can also lead to problems of communication between members of the sub-groups as has been reported in the United States by Ervin-Tripp (1967) and Kitano (1976) and in Australia by Curson and Curson (1982).

It was shown in Chapter One that in New Zealand there are basically two main types of Japanese migrant, namely the Japanese company employees (and their families) and the inter-culturally married women. In view of the notable differences which have been observed to exist between similar groups studied by other researchers, the first hypothesis was formulated as follows:

Hypothesis 1 There are likely to be marked differences between the INTRA and INTER subjects in terms of their respective family, educational and socioeconomic backgrounds.

There have been a number of studies of Japanese migrants who are in the process of adapting to new environments. Most of these focus on the integration of the migrant group into the host society and the patterns of cultural identification among members of the group. Hosokawa (1969), Petersen (1971), Kitano (1976) and Ogawa (1978a, 1978b) all support the view that Japanese-Americans have successfully integrated into American society. Similar conclusions have been reached for the Japanese in Brazil by Staniford (1973) and Smith (1979). Furthermore, Bolitho (1976) and Curson and Curson (1982) have found that the relatively small number of Japanese in Australia have integrated well.

Studies of an ethnic minority are frequently concerned with the question of cultural identity. Migrants may largely retain their original cultural identity or adopt an identity which reflects more of the flavour of the host culture. The identity may be preserved with the assistance of community associations and informal networks. Hosokawa (1969), Petersen (1971), Kitano (1976) and Maykovich (1976) have reported that in the United States, organisations such as the Japanese Association, Japanese-American Citizens' League, kenjinkai (provincial origin groups) and Japanese language schools have all played an important role in helping to maintain Japanese cultural identity, particularly among the issei and nisei. At the same time, however, these researchers have observed that succeeding generations of Japanese-Americans (the sansei and yonsei) identify themselves increasingly as Americans rather than Japanese.

The relationship between integration and identity has been the focus of some other studies with considerable differences emerging between sojourners and settlers. It has been found by Kong (1975) and Maykovich (1976), for example, that Asian sojourners (including Japanese) appear to integrate rapidly into western society while at the same time retaining their own ethnic identity intact. Somewhat different results have been obtained for Japanese settlers (in particular, interculturally

married women) in western countries. De Vos (1973) and Kitano (1976) have commented that the rapid integration of Japanese war-brides into American society had resulted in the loss of cultural identity among many of the women. Recent studies by Crawford (1979) and Curson and Curson (1982) indicate, however, that Japanese settlers in New Zealand and Australia neither integrate rapidly nor quickly relinquish a Japanese identity. Possibly war-brides entering western countries after World War II were less easily accepted than they are today which could account for the differences between the American and Australasian studies.

Clearly then, wherever they settle, Japanese migrants can be classified into several distinct groups, each with its own unique character, cultural identity and pattern of integrating into the host culture. It was anticipated that the present study would probably reveal differences between the groups of Japanese migrants in New Zealand. In order to present a detailed account of the migrants' cultural adaptation within New Zealand, Taft's (1977) model was accordingly adopted as an investigative framework in four hypotheses as follows:

- Hypothesis 2 The INTRA subjects will not adjust to New Zealand as well as the INTER subjects will.
- Hypothesis 3 The INTRA subjects will feel that they have more of a Japanese cultural identity than the INTER subjects.
- Hypothesis 4 The INTRA subjects will have less cultural competence in New Zealand than the INTER subjects.
- Hypothesis 5 The INTRA subjects will demonstrate less acculturation to New Zealand in terms of role behaviour than the INTER subjects.

2.2 SOCIOLINGUISTIC CONSIDERATIONS

A sociolinguistic approach to language study involves the comparison of sociological and linguistic variables to explain systematic variations in language use between people belonging to different groups. Introductions to sociolinguistic theory include those provided by Burling (1970) who stresses how non-linguistic cultural factors affect language use and Robinson (1972) and Milroy (1980) who show how social behaviour is related to language use. Pride (1971) and Trudgill (1974) take a more linguistic approach whereas Fishman (1970) and Bell (1976) attempt to integrate the several disciplines involved in sociolinguistic research. There are also many collections of papers available which focus on a defined range of sociolinguistic themes (see: Hymes, 1964, 1967, 1971; Fishman, 1966, 1968, 1971; Lane and Zale, 1967; Lieberman, 1968, 1980; Rubin and Jernudd, 1971; Giglioli, 1972; Gumperz and Hymes, 1972; Pride and Holmes, 1972; Turner, 1972; Shuy and Fasold, 1973; Hornby, 1977; Hill, 1978; Giles and St Jacques, 1979). Despite their differing orientations, almost all these works provide models for describing variation in language, rules for language use, stylistic variation in language, issues in bilingualism, and, at an applied level, language planning.

Sociolinguistic studies can generally be classified into two basic groups: those which are micro- and those which are macro-sociolinguistic in orientation. A micro-sociolinguistic study emphasises the interplay of social factors and language use by an individual. This type of approach is typified by the work of researchers such as Birdwhistell (1970) who devised a detailed system for the description of nonverbal communication, Ervin-Tripp (1964) who made a study of the interaction between language, topic and speaker, Searle (1965) who classified speech acts or Crystal and Davy (1969) who carried out an investigation into English stylistics. Macro-sociolinguistics, on the other hand, deals with patterns of communication within groups. As such, it is more concerned with demographic data and with questions of dialect (e.g. Labov, 1966, 1969), the use of two or more languages by ethnic minorities as in the studies carried out by Fishman (1966) or larger scale issues such as those affecting national language planning (e.g. Rubin and Jernudd, 1971).

A second major distinction which can be made between sociolinguistic studies is that some studies deal with first language usage (e.g. stylistics) whereas others reflect an emphasis on the use of more than one language (e.g. studies of bilingualism). Since the present investigation deals with the use of two languages by a Japanese minority in New Zealand, attention will focus mainly on macro-sociolinguistic studies which deal with the phenomenon of variation in the use of two languages by bilingual individuals. More specifically, this will involve the selection of a model and consideration of factors influencing maintenance of the first language by migrants and their shift in usage from a first to a second language.

2.2.1 Language Variation Among Migrants

When migrants enter a new community, several language-related processes may occur. First, the migrants will generally begin to learn the language of the host community particularly for their dealings with members of the host society. (This aspect will be dealt with separately under Section 2.3 on oral proficiency in English.) Second, the migrants often maintain their own language for use in certain situations such as interactions between themselves. Third, language shift is likely to occur as the migrants begin habitually to use less of their first language and more of their second language. Literature relating to these two latter aspects of language maintenance and language shift will be reviewed in this section.

Much of the groundwork in the study of languages in contact was carried out by Weinreich (1953) and Haugen (1953) who explored the problems of bilingualism among minority groups in the United States. Advances in theoretical issues such as the diglossia/bilingual distinction proposed by Ferguson (1959) and Mackey's (1965) extensive list of criteria for describing bilingual performance contributed towards a firmer theoretical base for the description of bilingualism within ethnic communities.

Perhaps the most influential recent researcher in the field of language adaptation of migrants has been Fishman who, in a number of works (1964, 1966, 1968, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1978) has both developed a framework for description and collected together a number of investigations of specific minority languages in the United States. Fishman's approach is concerned in part with the ultimate questions of whether the ethnic language will survive (language maintenance) and to what degree and under what circumstances migrants employ their first and second languages (language shift). To answer these questions, Fishman proposes a basic model (1964) which takes as its cornerstones the measurement of the degree of bilingualism (including reference to interference, switching and relative use made of the two languages) and the locations of language interactions (called domains). Consideration of these factors can generate a "dominance configuration" which is basically an identification of which language is used most in any given situation. This dominance configuration can be used as an index to express the degree of language maintenance or language shift which may be occurring among the speakers of any minority language.

There are numerous studies of language maintenance and language shift which have been carried out along approaches similar to that suggested by Fishman. In the United States, these include studies made of German (Gilbert 1965, Kloss, 1966), Greek (Diebold, 1963; Orlowski, 1971; Seaman, 1972), Italian (Di Pietro, 1971), Japanese (Ervin-Tripp, 1964, 1967; Nagara, 1972), Norwegian (Haugen, 1953; Ravem, 1978), Spanish (Lance, 1969), Swedish (Hasselmo, 1961) and Yiddish (Weinreich, 1962; Rayfield, 1970). Studies in this field of migrant languages in other countries include the work of Haugen (1961, 1978), Rubin (1962), Gumperz (1964), Scheff (1965), Fishman et al. (1968), Myers (1973), Wolck (1973), Fishman (1978), Baetens-Beardsmore (1981), and Dittmar (1982).

Within Australasia, some research has been carried out on a wide variety of migrant languages. One of the most prominent writers has been Clyne (1968, 1970, 1972, 1976, 1977, 1980, 1982) who has documented and commented on the maintenance and shift of migrant languages in Australia. Clyne (1980, 1982) draws extensively on census data to establish populations for speakers of migrant languages with Italian, Dutch, Greek and German being among the most widely spoken after English. As far as Japanese is concerned, Clyne (1982) notes that apart from a large temporary population, there are relatively few speakers of this language (e.g. 1,785 in Sydney). In New Zealand, some studies have reported on language maintenance and language shift which has occurred among ethnic minorities such as the Chinese (Fong, 1959; Cheung, 1972), Dutch (Kroeff, 1977), Greek (Jamieson, 1980), Japanese (Crawford, 1979), Yugoslavs (Jakich, 1976) and Tokelauans (Jamieson, 1976, 1980). The general conclusion reached by most New Zealand studies is that ethnic languages are maintained by the first generation but that there is also a substantial shift to English (particularly where the minority language is similar to English as is the case with Dutch). Although the children of the migrants appear to be able to understand the ethnic language, they do not seem to use it in most situations.

2.2.2 Language Maintenance

Studies of language maintenance typically investigate one or both of two fundamental issues. There is the question first of all of whether the migrants continue to use their native language in the host society and second, whether the migrant language is transmitted from one generation to the next. Studies of the maintenance of minority languages (particularly Japanese) in various host communities will be reviewed and hypotheses relevant to the present study will be put forward.

The first step to be taken in any survey of language maintenance is to establish what the native language of the migrant group is. Quirk et al. (1972) have described a native language as that which is the first to be acquired by an individual. It seems reasonable to assume that if a group of migrants have lived in a monocultural and monolingual country (e.g. Japan) from birth to adulthood prior to migration, then those migrants could be described as native speakers of that country's language and that they would be recognised as such by other native speakers. It was accordingly postulated in the present study that:

Hypothesis 6 The subjects will all be recognised as native speakers of Japanese by other Japanese native speakers.

A number of factors have an influence on the maintenance of a minority language. Probably the primary reason any group of migrants have for maintaining their native language is ease of communication between themselves. The language may also be maintained to promote feelings of cultural identity (see: Fishman, 1966; Johnston, 1966; Myers, 1973; Smolicz, 1980; Clyne, 1982; Dittmar, 1982; Jamieson, 1982). There are other factors, too, which encourage language maintenance. Kloss (1966) for example, argues that the existence of linguistic enclaves, attendance at a school in which the teaching is in the minority language and experience with language maintenance before migration are all related to the retention of a minority language. Clyne (1982) discusses the role of the educational level of the migrant, numerical strength of the ethnic group and attitude of the host society to the minority language or group.

There are a number of different measures which may be taken by the minority group to ensure the preservation of their native language. These measures include setting up language schools, printing and circulating ethnic newspapers, broadcasting on radio and television channels in the minority language, establishing clubs and developing informal social networks (Fishman, 1966). In the United States, the Japanese have taken

all these steps to help maintain their cultural and linguistic diversity. They have set up language schools (Petersen, 1971; Kitano, 1976; Maykovich, 1976; Ogawa, 1978b), established newspapers (Reynolds and Kalish, 1976; Ogawa, 1978a), and broadcast radio and television programmes in Japanese (Ogawa, 1978b). They have also formed associations such as the Japanese-American Citizens' League together with many informal social networks (Hosokawa, 1969; Petersen, 1971; Kitano, 1976; Maykovich, 1976). Measures such as these have certainly assisted the issei migrants to maintain their Japanese. Without such support, however, it is possible that Japanese migrants could actually experience a decline in their native language proficiency as has been pointed out by Miller (1977). First language attrition among other migrant groups has also been the focus of studies by Gardner (1982), Levy (1982), and Lambert and Moore (1984). Because there were relatively few opportunities for Japanese migrants to come into contact with the Japanese language in New Zealand, it was hypothesised that the migrants would feel that they were experiencing some degree of decline in their native language proficiency.

Hypothesis 7 The subjects will, after a few years living in New Zealand, feel that their ability to use the Japanese language has suffered a decline.

A final aspect of language maintenance to be considered in this study concerns the future of the Japanese language in New Zealand. Will it be maintained by the children of the Japanese settlers? Maykovich (1976) reported that most nisei in the United States cannot speak Japanese and Ervin-Tripp (1967) and De Vos (1973) have also noted that children of the Japanese war-brides in the United States generally cannot use Japanese. This is a trend which is reflected in studies of other ethnic communities whose language is not passed on resulting in a language death in some cases (Leopold, 1971; Dressler and Wodak-Leodolter, 1977; Schlieben-Lange, 1977; Hill, 1978; Dorian, 1980; Lambert and Freed, 1982).

A similar pattern has also been observed among migrant groups in New Zealand. Kroeff (1977) carried out a study of language maintenance and language shift among the Dutch in New Zealand, and found that only the first generation migrants could use Dutch with any degree of proficiency. However, the Chinese language appears to be retained slightly longer as shown by the studies of Fong (1959), Greif (1974), Kong (1975) and Nair (1976). It appears that many second generation Chinese are bilingual in English and at least one dialect of Chinese, but the third generation use English almost exclusively. The situation of the New Zealand interculturally married Japanese women was not considered to differ greatly from that of the interculturally married Japanese women living in the United States and Hypothesis 8 was accordingly proposed.

Hypothesis 8 The Japanese language will be passed on to the children of the INTRA subjects but not to the children of the INTER subjects.

2.2.3 Language Shift

In many migrant communities language maintenance efforts may also be accompanied by a language shift from the migrants' native language to that of the host community. This language shift generally takes place over a period of several years. A complete shift resulting in members of the migrant community using only the language of the host community is not usually seen until the second or third generation. The present study, with its focus on issei Japanese, is concerned only with the degree of shift from Japanese to English among the first generation.

A comparison of studies of Japanese war-brides and Japanese families reveal different patterns of home language use occurring in each of the two groups. For example, both Ervin-Tripp (1967) and De Vos (1973) in their studies of Japanese war-

brides in the United States found that Japanese was not spoken by any of the American husbands. Furthermore, Curson and Curson (1982) report that Japanese families in Sydney retain Japanese as the sole home language whereas the war-brides had shifted to using only English with their families. Since the groups of Japanese in New Zealand were similar to those described above, it was hypothesised that home language situations similar to those found in the United States and Australian studies, would also be found in New Zealand.

Hypothesis 9 The preferred home language of the intracultural Japanese family will be Japanese and the preferred home language of the intercultural family will be English.

The major aim of language shift studies is to chart the nature and direction of the shift to determine which language dominates language interactions in given situations or "domains" (Fishman, 1964). Systematic analyses of migrants' first and second language use in a variety of domains include those of Rubin (1962), Scheff (1965), Kloss (1966), Haugen (1969), Myers (1973), Kroeff (1977) and Clyne (1982). The basic finding of these studies is that migrants begin to use their second language initially in the more public domains (e.g. the workplace). Later, the language is used increasingly in the more personal domains such as the home.

This general movement of language shift from the sphere of outside activities to those within the home may be true for Japanese migrant families since Petersen (1971), Nagara (1972), Kitano (1976) and Maykovich (1976) have all commented that issei Japanese in the United States retain Japanese as their first language throughout their lives, particularly in the home. However, if Hypothesis 9 is able to be accepted then the two groups, INTRA and INTER, will differ markedly in their patterns of language shift.

Hypothesis 10 The shift to the English language for INTRA subjects will progress from the public domain through the family domain and finally to the private domain whereas for INTER subjects the shift will begin simultaneously in the public and family domains then proceed to the private domain.

2.3 MIGRANTS' ORAL PROFICIENCY IN ENGLISH

When an individual migrates to a foreign country one of the first tasks facing him is the acquisition of the language used in the host society. Two important issues connected with second language acquisition or learning receive the attention of this study: the measurement of oral proficiency in a second language and a consideration of factors which influence the degree of oral proficiency attained in a second language by migrants.

There are a considerable number of studies which describe some aspect of the acquisition of oral proficiency in English by Japanese migrants. These include works by Ervin-Tripp (1964, 1967, 1968), Kawasaki (1969), Nagara (1972), De Vos (1973), Dickerson (1975, 1976), Hakuta (1976), Chihara and Oller (1978), Kimizuka (1980), Koo and St Clair (1980), Murakami (1980), Busch (1982), Curson and Curson (1982), Murray (1982) and Saunders (1983). Other works which refer to the difficulties Japanese learners have in attaining high levels of proficiency in English include those by Spolsky (1969), Wagatsuma (1974), Condon and Saito (1974), Goldstein and Tamura (1975), Hiraizumi (1975), Van Zandt (1976), Kunihiro (1976), Miller (1977), Taylor (1979), Milward (1980), Coulmas (1981), Furuhashi (1981) and Loveday (1982). These works will be referred to in the following two sub-sections which review literature and formulate hypotheses relating to the oral proficiency in English of subjects in the present study.

2.3.1 Determining the Second Language Oral Proficiency Levels of Migrants

This section will introduce the basic procedures adopted for measuring second language oral proficiency in the present study and then move on to a discussion of the levels of oral proficiency attained by different groups of Japanese migrants in other studies.

To determine the level of oral proficiency reached by learners in their acquisition of a target language, some means of testing is obviously necessary. There are many different tests of oral proficiency and a discussion of the relative advantages and disadvantages of the various types is included in Chapter Three which deals with methodology. It was decided that a test which involved interviewing subjects then assessing their spoken performance in terms of a level on an oral proficiency scale would be the most appropriate type of test for this study. Oral proficiency tests designed along these lines include the Foreign Service Institute Oral Proficiency Test (ETS, 1970), the Australian Language Proficiency Rating Scale (Ingram, 1979) and the Adult Migrant Education Service Proficiency Descriptions (Brindley, 1983). The FSI test was adopted for use in the present study and details relating to its administration and scoring are included in Chapter Three and in Appendix 2.

The testing of the oral proficiency of language learners generally shows that some individuals have greater skill in using the language than others. Different levels of English proficiency have been observed among various groups of Japanese migrants by several writers. Kawasaki (1969), for example, claimed that Japanese businessmen and their families living in foreign countries generally have little proficiency in English. Ervin-Tripp (1967) and De Vos (1973), on the other hand, did not observe such low levels of proficiency among Japanese war-brides in California. It was accordingly postulated that migrants living within Japanese families in New Zealand would also not attain the same levels of proficiency as those reached by migrants who were interculturally married.

Hypothesis 11 The oral proficiency in English of the INTER subjects is likely to be markedly superior to the oral proficiency in English of the INTRA subjects.

In order to gain a better understanding of the results of an oral proficiency test in a second language, it is useful if the researcher has some understanding of the migrant group's background in the learning of that language and the likely level of proficiency the migrants may have at the time of entry into the host society. There are many opportunities for Japanese people to learn English within Japan. English is a compulsory subject throughout the six years of high school and it is taught extensively in universities, colleges and language institutes. Radio and television stations broadcast programmes in English and newspapers, magazines and books are also widely available in English. Despite the effort expended on English language instruction and the availability of resources, however, it has been reported by various researchers that most Japanese learning English in Japan do not attain high levels of proficiency, especially with respect to oral language (Kawasaki, 1969; Hiraizumi, 1975; Miller 1977 and Taylor, 1979). The difficulty which Japanese experience in learning English is attributed to a number of reasons, including the relative geographic isolation of Japan from the English-speaking world and the monoculturism of the Japanese (Kawasaki, 1969); the difference in the way of thinking of the Japanese when compared to other people in the world (Kunihiro, 1974, 1976); the difference in the function and structure of the Japanese language and English language (Kunihiro, 1974, 1976; Miller, 1977) and the methods by which foreign languages are taught in Japan (Hiraizumi, 1975). For whatever reasons, the fact remains that Japanese are noted for generally having low levels of proficiency in English and this becomes particularly apparent when they leave Japan and travel to a foreign country for the first time (Kawasaki, 1969; Miller, 1977; Kimizuka, 1980; Curson and Curson, 1982).

2.3.2 Factors Affecting Oral Proficiency

In recent years there has been considerable research interest in factors which influence second language learning. Some of these studies investigate the role played by certain aspects of the learner's background (e.g. their age at the time of learning the language); some studies have looked at the relationship between psychological factors, such as attitudinal differences; others have focused on learning variables (e.g. the amount of time spent learning the language). Several factors relevant to the situation of Japanese migrants acquiring oral proficiency English will now be discussed.

A number of studies have investigated the role played by age as a factor in second language proficiency. The studies of Penfield and Roberts (1959) and Lenneberg (1967) followed a neurological approach while Krashen (1973) made cognitive links between the critical period of language development and the onset of the Piagetian "formal operations" stage in a learner. Schumann (1975) argued that younger learners have an affective advantage over older learners and studies by Macnamara (1973) and Carroll (1975) suggest that younger learners may have more opportunities for learning an L2 than older learners. Other studies which tend to support this view include those by Fathman (1975), Krashen (1981) and Dittmar (1982). However, there are also studies (e.g. Guiora et al., 1967; Asher and Garcia, 1969; Larsen and Smalley, 1972; Burstall, 1975; Stern, 1976; Stern and Weinrib, 1977) which suggest that there may in fact be no optimal age for L2 learning and that given the right opportunities, older learners can be at no disadvantage in acquiring a second language. It was decided to test the notion of whether subjects in the present study who had departed from Japan when they were younger (e.g. in their 20s) would attain higher levels of oral proficiency in English than those who departed from Japan when they were older. Accordingly, Hypothesis 12 states that:

Hypothesis 12 There will be a correlation between the age at which subjects left Japan and their attained oral proficiency in English.

Links between attitudinal variables and second language proficiency have been examined by a number of researchers to determine, for example, whether learners having a positive attitude towards native speakers of a target language will reach higher levels of proficiency in that language than learners holding negative attitudes. The early work in this field came from studies of English speakers learning French in Canada (see: Gardner and Lambert, 1959, 1972; Gardner, 1960, 1980, Gardner et al., 1976; Tucker et al. 1976). These studies provide some evidence for the view that when an individual feels accepted within a language community, this will assist him in making good progress in learning the language of that community.

Much of the work which has been carried out on attitudinal variables has been concerned with the distinction between two types of motivation: integrative vs. instrumental. Integrative motivation can be described as the learning of a language in order that the learner can identify himself more closely with native speakers of the target language. By contrast, instrumental motivation is the desire to achieve proficiency in a language for utilitarian or practical reasons. Several researchers have found that integratively motivated learners attain higher levels of proficiency than instrumentally motivated learners. This is a finding which has been predominantly observed in situations where access to the target language is freely available as French is, for example, in parts of Canada, or English is in the United States (see: Gardner and Lambert, 1959, 1972; Gardner, 1960; Spolsky, 1969; Teitelbaum et al., 1975; Tucker et al., 1976; Bialystok and Frohlich, 1977; Oller et al., 1977). On the other hand, some studies have shown that integrative motivation seems to have less relationship to language proficiency in a foreign language learning context such as the situation that applies when English is learned in Japan (Gardner and Lambert, 1972; Chihara and Oller, 1978). However, as the learning of English in New Zealand takes place in an English speaking country, a prediction was made for subjects in the present study that feelings of acceptance within New Zealand would be associated with higher levels of oral proficiency in English.

Hypothesis 13 There will be a positive correlation between the subjects' feelings of acceptance in New Zealand and their attained oral proficiency in English.

Another factor which may favourably influence second language acquisition is the level of formal education which the learner has received. In fact, Ervin-Tripp (1967), Carroll (1975) and Kroeff (1977) found that the number of years of formal education completed by an individual positively correlated with the degree of proficiency attained in a second language. In order to test whether a similar situation existed among subjects in the present study, Hypothesis 14 was postulated.

Hypothesis 14 There will be a positive correlation between the subjects' level of formal education and their attained oral proficiency in English.

The variable of time has been shown in an extensive study by Carroll (1975) to be an important factor in second or foreign language learning. Basically, Carroll found that language proficiency improves as a simple function of time; that is, the more time an individual invests in learning a language, the higher the level of proficiency he attains. This is a conclusion which is supported by writers such as Macnamara (1973) Saegert et al. (1974) and Kaplan (1980). Murakami (1980) also found that for Japanese students, length of stay in the United States positively correlated with attained English proficiency. However, Krashen (1981) raises a valid point when he comments that in the case of migrants learning a second language, the actual time spent learning is very difficult to measure. Despite this argument, it was decided to investigate whether the migrants in the present study continued to improve in oral English proficiency the longer they stayed in New Zealand using the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 15 There will be a positive correlation between the subjects' length of residence in English speaking countries and their attained oral proficiency in English.

Several other aspects have received the attention of recent researchers. These include such factors as strategies for learning a second language and personality variables. The inquiry into strategies involved in acquiring or learning a second language well has centered on the tactics followed by a "good" language learner and which might include, for example, extensive use of bilingual dictionaries or the learning of target language items one at a time (see: Upshur, 1968; Rubin, 1975; Krashen and Seliger, 1975; Carroll, 1977; Schumann and Schumann, 1977; Naimon et al., 1978; Crymes, 1979; Bialystok, 1981; Krashen, 1981). A number of studies have explored the relationship between a learner's personality (as measured by psychological tests) and his second language proficiency (see works by Guiora et al., 1967; Taylor et al., 1970; Guiora et al., 1972; Fathman, 1975; Gardner et al., 1976; Tucker et al., 1976; Carroll, 1977; Heyde, 1977; Diller, 1980; Krashen, 1981). However, there appears to be little consensus among researchers as to which personality variables assist in the learning of a second language. For example, Chastain (1975) and Wesche (1980) showed that extraverted individuals tended to attain higher proficiency in a second language than more introverted learners whereas the results of Naimon et al. (1978) and Busch (1982) indicated that the extraverted learner did no better than others. These factors were not formally investigated in the present study by means of testable hypotheses but some of these works will be referred to when the data reveals any relevant trends.

2.4 ANALYSIS OF MIGRANTS' ENGLISH LANGUAGE USE

When an individual uses a second language, his performance is likely to differ in certain respects from that of a native speaker. The analysis of these differences may focus on errors made by the learner or could also be concerned with the unique ways in which the learner communicates in the second language. There have been several error analyses which deal with the difficulties faced by Japanese when they communicate in English. Some describe phonological errors (Kohmoto, 1969; Nilsen and Nilsen, 1971; Nagara, 1972; Dickerson, 1975, 1976; Loveday, 1981a and Murray, 1982), others focus on syntactic errors (Nagara, 1972; Taylor, 1979; Kimizuka, 1980; Milward, 1980; Yamada and Matsuura, 1982; Saunders, 1983), lexical errors (Higa, 1972 and Miura, 1979) and errors associated with sociolinguistic causes (Kunihiro, 1974, 1976; Loveday, 1981b, 1982 and Takemoto, 1982). In the first section which follows, literature relating to the theoretical background of error analysis will be introduced and will cover topics such as the classification of errors, their possible causes, frequency of occurrence and their gravity. In the second section, attention is directed towards issues arising out of error analysis: namely, strategies employed by learners when they attempt to communicate in English and the variation, pidginization and fossilization of error forms in the English of second language learners.

2.4.1 Error Analysis

The theoretical background to error analysis has undergone a radical shift in approach over recent years due to certain empirical findings in the field of second language learning. During the 1950s and 1960s, the notion of contrastive analysis influenced much of the theory and practice of second language teaching and learning. Proponents of the contrastive analysis hypothesis emphasised the differences between languages and

took the view that learning a new language is simply a matter of learning those language items which are different from items in a learner's native language. A second important concept of the contrastive analysis hypothesis was that the first language interferes with second language acquisition and is the primary cause of learners' errors. The hypothesis was for some time an influential force on language learning theory and research and was commonly stated in one or other of two forms. The strong form, put forward by Lado (1957), stressed the predictive quality of the notion, i.e. that if one knows all the differences between two languages, then errors which second language learners make can be predicted in advance. Lado extended this argument to propose that second language instructional materials should be designed to concentrate on the items in the target language which were different to those items in the learner's native language. In its weaker form (proposed by Wardhaugh, 1970), the contrastive analysis hypothesis was moderated to become merely a technique for helping to explain errors after they had been observed in the performance of a learner, a stand which became necessary after empirical studies showed that not all errors were caused by interference from the mother tongue (Ritchie, 1967; Duskova, 1969).

At about the same time as the contrastive analysis theory was being moderated, a new perspective on learners' errors in a second language was put forward; that learners have their own unique systems of rules governing their use of the target language. The errors an individual makes are reflective of his incomplete system but as he acquires more of the language, the learner modifies his system so that it progressively becomes more like that of the native speaker. Three terms were proposed to describe this intermediate system: interlanguage (Selinker, 1972) idiosyncratic dialect (Corder, 1971) and approximative system (Nemser, 1971). Of these, Selinker's term, interlanguage, has become the most widely used and will be used in the present study. Despite their differences in terminology, all these writers stressed the view that the second language learner does not formulate a rule system based on his first language nor on the second language but adopts a compromise between the two systems.

Errors made by a learner in a second language may be classified according to several criteria. One basic distinction recognized by almost all researchers is that of determining whether errors affect phonological, syntactic or lexical aspects of the learners' second language output. Furthermore, errors may be broadly categorised as being those of omission, unnecessary addition or misuse (Burt and Kiparsky, 1972; Seet, 1977; Corder, 1978; Mukattash, 1981a; Bander, 1982.) Richards (1974), however, argued for a somewhat more comprehensive taxonomy involving descriptions of specific syntactic errors. There has also been considerable research interest in classifying errors according to their gravity or seriousness. Olsson (1973) showed that the distinction between syntactic and semantic errors must first be made clear, Nickel (1973) and James (1974, 1977) followed an approach which is based on an assessment of the number of syntactic rules which are broken while Palmer (1979) argued that the number of errors which occur is a measure of gravity. In Burt and Kiparsky's (1975) work, errors are classified into two basic groups: global errors which involve sentence structure and local errors which occur in smaller syntactic units. Noss (1979) introduced a three-part model in which he classified errors as being mistakes, mismatches and gaps. More recently, some studies have attempted to establish a hierarchy of gravity among errors by soliciting judgements from native speakers (Tomiyama, 1980; Hughes and Lascaratou, 1982; Vann et al., 1984; Webb and Wheeler, 1984).

Developments in the background theory of error analysis resulted in a shift in the focus of error source. Whereas during the 1950s and 1960s most errors were attributed to interference from the first language, more recent studies now claim that certain types of error occur as a result of the learner's incorrect inductive generalisations about the target language. In addition to these sources of error, faulty instruction as well as the strategies employed by the learner to communicate in the target language have been identified as other possible causes of error (Selinker, 1972; Scovel, 1974; Corder, 1978; Brown, 1980). In the present study, all possible causes will be considered when discussing the subjects' errors in English.

Interference from the first language has long been recognized as a major source of phonological errors in a second language (Haugen, 1953; Weinreich, 1953; Lado, 1957; Mackey, 1965; George, 1972). However, interference may not be the sole cause of all phonological errors as studies by Briere (1966), Selinker, (1972) and Dickerson (1975, 1976) have shown and at least two studies (Eckman, 1981 and Altenberg and Vago, 1983) have advocated a broader and non-contrastive approach to determining the causes of phonological errors. Nevertheless, research into the phonological errors made by Japanese speakers of English have generally identified interference as being a major cause of error (Ervin-Tripp, 1967; Kohmoto, 1969; Nagara, 1972 and Loveday, 1982). Taking this premise as a starting point, then, Hypothesis 16 was formulated for investigating the cause of phonological errors made by subjects in the present study.

Hypothesis 16 Phonological errors made by the subjects will mainly be attributable to interference from Japanese.

As far as the cause of syntactic errors is concerned, however, research evidence provides few conclusive results. Many studies have emphasised the role of intralingual transfer as a source of error (Burt and Kiparsky, 1972, 1975; Dulay and Burt, 1974; Richards, 1974, 1976, 1978; Burt, 1975; Krashen and Pon, 1975; LoCoco, 1975; Taylor, 1975; Hakuta, 1976; Hyltenstam, 1977; Lapkin and Swain, 1977; Jordens, 1980). Other studies, notably those following a contrastive analysis approach, have produced findings to support the view that interference from the first language can also cause certain kinds of syntactic error (Buteau, 1970; Levenston, 1971; Nickel, 1971; Grauberg, 1971; George, 1972; Chan, 1975; Rammuny, 1976; Al Kasimi, et al., 1978; Sheen, 1980; Fisiak, 1981; Steinbach, 1981). There have also been some recent studies (Abbott, 1980, 1981; Jordens, 1980 and Bunte and Kendall, 1981) which caution against attempting to ascribe the cause of error too readily to any single cause. These researchers suggest that in any corpus, evidence can be found to support a case for an error being caused by interference, intralingual transfer or faulty instruction.

Since the field of grammatical errors is very broad, attention in the present study will focus on three grammatical features known to give Japanese learners of English considerable difficulty: namely, verb morphology, noun morphology and article usage. Many studies have established that noun and verb morphemes (e.g. <s>, <ed>, <ing>) are often omitted or misused, particularly by certain groups of Asian learners (see works by George, 1972; Nagara, 1972; Palmer, 1974; Scovel, 1974; Jones, 1979; Ubol, 1981; Leech, 1983 and Abraham, 1984). Omission and misuse of these features of English grammar is not confined to only noun and verb morphemes, however. In an experiment on article usage, Yamada and Matsuura (1982) demonstrated that the definite article "the" was used correctly by Japanese students more often than the indefinite article or no article with similar results having been reported by Wilcott (1978), Jafapur (1979) and Kharma (1981) for other groups of English learners. The reasons for such errors occurring among noun and verb morphology and article usage in the above studies have been variously attributed to interference from the native language, complexities within the English morphological system and inadequate language instruction. Because no clear cause of error could be identified among the studies, Hypothesis 17 will provide a starting point for errors discussed in the present study.

Hypothesis 17 No clear indications of cause of errors involving noun morphology, verb morphology or articles will be discerned.

The evaluation of errors according to a frequency analysis has been carried out in studies such as those by Johansson (1973), Olsson (1973), James (1974, 1977), Palmer (1979), Steinbach (1981), Mukattash (1981a), Ubol (1981), Morrissey (1983), and Rogers (1984). In addition to these studies, tests such as the FSI Oral Proficiency measure (used in the present study) also take into consideration the frequency of errors in order to determine proficiency levels. Generally, the more proficient a learner becomes, the fewer errors he is likely to make, and with this in mind, Hypothesis 18 was postulated as follows:

Hypothesis 18 Higher proportions of phonological and grammatical errors will be observed in the English of the INTRA rather than the INTER subjects.

2.4.2 Issues Arising from Error Analysis

Analysis of linguistic performance has, up until recently, been mainly concerned with the investigation of phonological, syntactic and lexical errors which learners make in a target language. Some researchers have, however, turned their attention to the communication strategies learners employ to express themselves in the target language despite their limited proficiency in the language. Several distinct strategies have been identified. One of the most common is the case where the learners avoid using certain difficult phonological, syntactic or lexical items in the target language (Schachter, 1974). Tarone (1977) has also observed instances where individuals omitted sections of their sentences when they could not recall the appropriate words to express themselves. In addition, there is the work of Krashen (1977a, 1977b, 1981) which has described how learners monitor or observe their own language performance. This part of the monitor theory is also connected to the notion of communication strategies in that the language learners who use their monitoring capability will revise and correct their performance to clarify their message. Another strategy adopted by learners who experience difficulty in expressing themselves is to seek assistance or repair from their interlocutor (Tarone, 1977). Others may attempt instead to refer obliquely to the word or phrase they are trying to communicate by means of circumlocution (Tarone, 1977) while the use of stock phrases is yet another strategy employed by learners to carry on communication despite their difficulties in using the target language (Hakuta, 1976; Brown, 1980). Although the present study does not seek to test any hypotheses pertaining to communication strategies, evidence of their use in the subjects' oral English will be presented.

The analysis of learners' errors and the communication strategies they employ can lead to insights into the second language learning process itself. Error analysis has revealed, for example, that an interlanguage is a variable system and that learners often regress to using earlier forms of their interlanguage (Selinker, 1972; Bailey, 1973; James, 1974; Bickerton, 1975; Dickerson, L., 1975; Dickerson, W., 1976; Corder, 1978). This suggests that learning does not always follow a smooth progression from the beginning to more proficient levels.

Several researchers have explored the ways in which learners simplify their second language performance. A common tendency has been observed, for instance, for learners to simplify the rules of their second language by omitting many elements such as verb tense markers or articles which may not be essential to transmission of the message (Richards, 1972; Taylor, 1975). Other studies have developed this further by drawing a parallel between second language acquisition and the evolution of a pidgin language (Ervin-Tripp, 1967; Clyne, 1968, 1972, 1982; Ferguson, 1971; Schumann, 1974, 1976, 1978; Traugott, 1978). These writers have shown that the interlanguages of learners have simplified syntactic systems and incorporate words from both their first language and second language and Ervin-Tripp (1967) actually describes the English of Japanese war brides interviewed in her study as a "transitional pidgin". The errors in the English as used by subjects in the present study will be analysed to determine whether there was any evidence of pidgin-like features in their grammar using the following hypothesis:

- Hypothesis 19 Pidgin-like characteristics will be found in the subjects' English grammar.

RESTATEMENT OF HYPOTHESES

- Hypothesis 1 There are likely to be marked differences between the INTRA and INTER subjects in terms of their respective family, educational and socioeconomic backgrounds.
- Hypothesis 2 The INTRA subjects will not adjust to New Zealand as well as the INTER subjects will.
- Hypothesis 3 The INTRA subjects will feel that they have more of a Japanese cultural identity than the INTER subjects.
- Hypothesis 4 The INTRA subjects will have less cultural competence in New Zealand than the INTER subjects.
- Hypothesis 5 The INTRA subjects will demonstrate less acculturation to New Zealand in terms of role behaviour than the INTER subjects.
- Hypothesis 6 The subjects will all be recognised as native speakers of Japanese by other Japanese native speakers.
- Hypothesis 7 The subjects will, after a few years living in New Zealand, feel that their ability to use the Japanese language has suffered a decline.
- Hypothesis 8 The Japanese language will be passed on to the children of the INTRA subjects but not to the children of the INTER subjects.
- Hypothesis 9 The preferred home language of the intracultural Japanese family will be Japanese and the preferred home language of the intercultural family will be English.
- Hypothesis 10 The shift to the English language for INTRA subjects will progress from the public domain through the family domain and finally to the private domain whereas for INTER subjects the shift will begin simultaneously in the public and family domains then proceed to the private domain.

- Hypothesis 11 The oral proficiency in English of the INTER subjects is likely to be markedly superior to the oral proficiency in English of the INTRA subjects.
- Hypothesis 12 There will be a correlation between the age at which subjects left Japan and their attained oral proficiency in English.
- Hypothesis 13 There will be a positive correlation between the subjects' feelings of acceptance in New Zealand and their attained oral proficiency in English.
- Hypothesis 14 There will be a positive correlation between the subjects' level of education and their attained oral proficiency in English.
- Hypothesis 15 There will be a positive correlation between the subjects' length of residence in English speaking countries and their attained oral proficiency in English.
- Hypothesis 16 Phonological errors made by the subjects will mainly be attributable to interference from Japanese.
- Hypothesis 17 No clear indications of cause of errors involving noun morphology, verb morphology or articles will be discerned.
- Hypothesis 18 Higher proportions of phonological and grammatical errors will be observed in the English of the INTRA rather than the INTER subjects.
- Hypothesis 19 Pidgin-like characteristics will be found in the subjects' English grammar.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

There were three basic phases in this research project: planning the study, collecting the data and analysing the data. The initial planning stage was further divided into three distinct tasks. First, a list of Japanese persons in New Zealand was compiled so that subjects could be contacted and their cooperation gained for the collection of data. Second, an interview schedule, designed to be conducted in Japanese, was devised to gather information about the subjects' cultural and language behaviour. Third, two tests designed to assess the subjects' oral proficiency in English were adopted.

The beginning of the second phase of data collection was marked by contacting the subjects in the study. This led to the testing of the interviews and language assessment procedures in a pilot study conducted with nine subjects. The performance of these instruments was evaluated and they were then modified before being used in the main study which involved 76 subjects.

In the third stage, the subjects were classified into five separate groups. The data collected from the interviews and the language tests were then analysed, with the help of a computer, to make some comparisons between the groups. These steps will be described in greater detail in the three sections which follow.

3.1 PLAN OF STUDY

In the initial stages of planning the study, certain preliminary steps were taken which included an investigation of the Japanese in New Zealand (see Chapter One) and a review of literature relating to cultural and linguistic adaptation which generated a set of hypotheses (Chapter Two). Building on the conclusions and hypotheses of these chapters, this section describes the steps taken to identify specific subjects for the study together with the instruments designed to gather data.

3.1.1 Identification of the Target Population

At the beginning of the study, it was not exactly clear how many Japanese persons were living in New Zealand. As a result, a survey of official statistics was carried out and the results of this survey are reported in Chapter One. However, estimates of the Japanese population in New Zealand were not sufficient for this study, as actual names and addresses of potential subjects were needed for the purpose of data collection.

The Japanese Embassy in Wellington is the only known institution which holds a comprehensive list of Japanese persons resident in New Zealand. Mr T. Suzuki, Cultural Attache at the Embassy, said he understood that the list carried the names of most of the Japanese residents in the main metropolitan and provincial cities but added that he did not know whether the list carried the names of all Japanese residents living in rural areas of the country. The embassy list was obtained and this served as a starting point for identifying potential subjects.

The list gave no indication of how long the Japanese had lived in New Zealand or which individuals were still present in the country. Mr Suzuki identified six Japanese company employees and their families whom he knew had been in New Zealand for only a few months. These individuals did not conform to the basic requirement of the study that subjects would have resided in New Zealand for more than one year. It was also discovered that 30 persons on the embassy list had returned to live in Japan permanently. Most of these were company employees and their families whose positions had been taken by other Japanese. This latter group of arrivals had not, for the most part, been living in New Zealand for as long as one year and were therefore not included as subjects. As the study progressed, subjects interviewed were asked whether they knew of any other Japanese who had lived in New Zealand for more than one year and this resulted in five more names being added to the list. None of the Japanese listed had arrived in New Zealand before World War II, nor were there any Japanese, Japanese-Caucasian or Japanese-Maori children.

After inspecting the list, it was decided to limit the study to married Japanese females who had been residing in New Zealand for more than one year. This decision was made for a number of reasons. First, 72.3 per cent of the Japanese residents on the list were married Japanese females. Second, by more clearly defining the target group of the study, the number of variables to be controlled could be reduced. Third, since many Japanese men often work long hours at their companies, it was considered that Japanese women, especially if they were housewives, might have more time available for a sociolinguistic research interview.

Another limitation was placed on the target population. Since the majority of women on the list (81.0 per cent) lived in Auckland, Wellington or Christchurch, it was decided to focus the research on subjects living in these urban centres. This also had the advantage of keeping the interview locations within three cities thus reducing travel time and cost of the interviewing phase. Furthermore, because many subjects lived in close proximity to each other and had established social networks, the researcher was able to gain introductions to many of the subjects through intermediaries (see Section 3.2.2).

It proved to be very difficult to compile lists of Japanese women living outside of the major urban centres because the number of Japanese women living in provincial and rural areas is thought to be very small. However, a list was compiled of the names of 17 married Japanese women living in the Hawkes Bay, Manawatu and Wanganui areas. This group was later used for the pilot study.

The number of adult Japanese residents in New Zealand according to the embassy list dated March 1979, is summarised by region in Table 3.1. There are three major groups: interculturally married (53.7 per cent), company employees and their wives (42.0 per cent) and teachers and their wives (4.3 per cent). It should also be noted that the large proportion of females on the list (72.3 per cent) was clearly due to the presence of a large number of interculturally married Japanese women.

Table 3.1

Number of Japanese residents in New Zealand according to the Japanese Embassy list dated March, 1979

Location	Interculturally married		Company employees and wives		Teachers and wives		Total	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Auckland (Whangaparaoa to Clevedon)	4	77	40	29	5	4	49	110
Hamilton		3				1		4
Whitianga			2	1			2	1
Tauranga		4						4
Rotorua		1						1
Tokoroa		1						1
Napier-Hastings		7	2	2			2	9
Palmerston North (incl. Feilding and Woodville)		8			1	2	1	10
Wanganui		2						2
New Plymouth (incl. Hawera)		3						3
Wellington		27	26	19			26	46
Nelson		3	1				1	3
Christchurch		20						20
Dunedin		1	2	2			2	3
Total	4	157	73	53	6	7	83	217

Finally, a list containing the names of intraculturally married Japanese women (those married to Japanese husbands) and interculturally married Japanese women (those married to non-Japanese) who had been living in Auckland, Wellington or Christchurch for more than one year was compiled. This list was used as the basis for non-random subject selection in this study (see Section 3.2.1) and numbers in each of the three cities are summarised below in Table 3.2. It can be seen that the majority were interculturally married (75.7 per cent) compared with the 24.3 per cent who were intraculturally married.

Table 3.2

Numbers of intraculturally married and interculturally married subjects identified in Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch

Intraculturally married:	Auckland	22	
	Wellington	19	
	Total		41
Interculturally married:	Auckland	77	
	Wellington	31	
	Christchurch	20	
	Total		128
Overall Total			169

3.1.2 Interview Design

In order to test the hypotheses, information relating to the subjects' personal background and aspects of their cultural and linguistic adaptation in New Zealand had to be collected. It was thought that this information, which was largely experiential in nature, would be most efficiently and reliably gathered by means of a series of questions. Two possible data collection devices were considered: a mailed questionnaire and a face-to-face interview.

The mailed questionnaire had the advantage of being relatively inexpensive and efficient to administer. It could also be sent out to the entire known population. The main disadvantage of this method was that a questionnaire arriving unsolicited from a person one had never met before, or who had not been introduced by a common acquaintance, would be very unlikely to receive the close attention of a Japanese person (see Section 3.3.1). Other serious disadvantages of the mailed questionnaire were that it would have been extremely difficult to collect information on attitudinal aspects of the subjects' behaviour as well as to make any assessment of their language proficiency. For these reasons, the use of a mailed questionnaire was rejected as a means of collecting data.

The face-to-face method appeared to be a more appropriate technique for gathering information, especially since data on attitudes could be collected and because the subjects' English language proficiency could be more readily assessed. A further advantage of interviewing was that subjects who had been interviewed could provide introductions to more subjects (see Section 3.3.1). However, there were certain difficulties associated with this method too, the main one being cost. It is very expensive in terms of time, transportation, accommodation and employment of interpreters to mount an interview programme of this nature when each interview takes between one and two hours and the subjects are scattered throughout three cities in New Zealand. Despite these disadvantages, it was felt that a substantial amount of good quality data could be collected in a face-to-face interview followed by a language test.

The interview questions covered details relating to the subjects' background, their personal characteristics, their adaptation to life in New Zealand and aspects of their language use. A variety of direct and indirect questions were designed to elicit this information (for the full interview schedule see Appendix 1).

Questions which related to the subjects' place and date of birth, family background, education, occupation, marriage, nationality, children, religion and length of residence in New Zealand were placed at the beginning of the interview. This information was factual and direct questions were asked (e.g. What is your date of birth? What jobs have you had since completing your education? How many children do you have by your present marriage?). Most questions had several sections to ensure that as much information as possible was obtained on the subjects' lives (e.g. What is your present nationality? What nationality were you previously? Why did you change your nationality?). Answers to these questions were used to gather background information on the subjects and test Hypothesis 1.

Questions 10 to 18 elicited information on the subjects' cultural adaptation to New Zealand (Hypotheses 2, 3, 4 and 5). Questions 10 to 16 were again direct questions (e.g. How often do you feel cut off from Japanese culture and events?) and required subjects to express their responses on a frequency scale (e.g. Constantly, Often, Sometimes, Rarely, Never). Reasons for responses to YES/NO type questions were also sought (e.g. If you don't feel cut off, can you explain why?).

Questions 17 and 18 differed from the others in that they were designed to measure attitudinal variables. The issue of validity in attitude measurement as applied to research in language learning has been explored in works by Spolsky (1969), Oller (1979) and Gardner (1980) who suggest that one way to measure affective variables is to use indirect questioning. Question formats similar to those used by Lambert and Gardner (1972) and Oller et al. (1977) were therefore used (e.g. Do you feel that Japanese or New Zealanders most often exhibit the following qualities? Friendliness, Sense of humour, Thriftiness, Intelligence, Sincerity, Sociability, Stability, Honesty, Kindness, Dependability).

The remainder of the interview, together with background questions 1 to 9, was used to collect information on the subjects' language behaviour (Hypotheses 6 - 19). Questions 19 to 20 were direct questions and concerned with Japanese language use (e.g. How well does your husband speak Japanese?). Subjects were required to respond on a quality scale (e.g. None, A little, Some, Quite well, Native speaker standard) or to select from a list of options (e.g. If you feel that your Japanese language proficiency is declining, in which feature of language do you most often experience this feeling: understanding spoken Japanese, using spoken expressions, recognizing kanji, writing kanji, or other aspects). Question 21 was similar to ones used by Scheff (1965) and Myers (1973) in their studies of the use of more than one language by bilinguals. This was a direct question asking subjects to specify which language they used for such linguistic activities as reading, talking to their husband, talking to their children, talking to their friends, talking to their workmates. Subjects expressed their response on a quantitative scale (95-100% English/0-5% Japanese, 75% English/25% Japanese, 50% English/50% Japanese, 25% English/75% Japanese, 0-5% English/95-100% Japanese. Questions 22 and 23 were concerned with the acquisition of English and were mainly phrased directly (e.g. When did you last take an English course? What have you found to be the most effective way of learning conversational English?). For these questions, subjects responded to a variety of options including a quantitative scale, a frequency scale and a rank list. Questions 24 and 25 were indirect questions which explored the subjects' attitudes towards Japanese and English languages (e.g. What language(s) did you teach your children?) and required a response on a quantitative scale.

The interview was designed to be administered orally in Japanese by a Japanese interviewer. This was considered to be necessary in order to put the subjects at their ease and to thus ensure good communication between the interviewer and the subject. Translation of the interview was carried out by a native speaker of Japanese and this translation was checked by Mr P.S. Knight, Head of the Japanese Section, Department of Modern Languages at Massey University.

The interview forms were set out so that the subjects' responses could be easily classified and recorded by the interviewer. Each page of the interview schedule was divided into two. The questions were printed on the left side while on the right, there were appropriate boxes and spaces for subjects' responses to be recorded and coded. Questions were read out by the interviewer and the subjects' responses were noted by the interviewer directly on to the interview form. Very few questions were open-ended; most required the subject to select a response (e.g. from a frequency scale) which facilitated ease of recording. The interview took between 50 and 60 minutes on average to complete. Tape recordings were made of the interviews so that data could be checked later as well as to provide an alternative means of data storage in the event of a loss of interview forms.

The subjects' oral performance in Japanese was also observed for the purpose of determining, first, whether all subjects were indeed native speakers of Japanese according to Quirk's (1972) criteria previously discussed on page xvii, and second, whether the subjects showed any evidence of native language attrition. Since all subjects had lived most of their lives in Japan and had migrated to New Zealand as adults, it was anticipated at the outset that all subjects would at least sound like native speakers of Japanese. The Japanese interviewers (who were trained in using the FSI oral proficiency scale; see Section 3.1.3) were instructed to use the interviews and tape recordings to make judgements on subjects with regard to answering these questions.

Two adult female native speakers of Japanese were used as interviewers. Both had previous experience of interviewing in Japanese; one in Japan and the other in the United Kingdom. Both were fully briefed on the purposes of the research and on the intention behind each question in the interview schedule. They were given practice sessions in classifying responses and noting down comments by subjects. They were also trained in the use of the tape recording equipment and told to explain to the subjects that tape recordings were necessary for later verification of responses.

3.1.3 English Language Testing

The emphasis of this part of the study was on the oral English proficiency of Japanese women in New Zealand. It was envisaged that an oral test could be administered after the Japanese interview previously described in Section 3.1.2. However, the test had to meet several theoretical and practical criteria.

Two theoretical considerations were the traditional criteria of validity (that the test can be shown to measure what it sets out to measure) and reliability (that the test consistently produces similar results on different occasions under similar circumstances). Another theoretical consideration involved the distinction between discrete point language tests (those which test the component parts of a language) and integrative language tests (which assess the learner's ability to use several items of the language at one time). Oller (1976, 1979) has argued that language abilities cannot be separated and that integrative tests are more valid than discrete point tests when a learner's everyday language use is being evaluated. It was decided, therefore, that what was required for the present study was a valid and reliable integrative test of oral English.

There were two criteria of practicality. First, since the subjects were initially interviewed for one hour in Japanese, the English language test had to be limited to within one hour so as to avoid the effects of fatigue on the subjects or the loss of their interest and cooperation. Second, it was suspected that the subjects would not feel comfortable about having their language proficiency tested. What was required, then, was a language test of fairly short duration and which could, if possible, covertly measure the subjects' English language proficiency.

One of the best-known tests of oral proficiency is that used by the United States Foreign Service Institute (FSI) where the examinee is engaged in conversation on a number of topics by two or more judges. The FSI oral interview is employed to determine the proficiency of diplomatic service personnel in foreign languages and is also used by Peace Corps for similar purposes. Jones and Spolsky (1975) describe the FSI as a highly valid test of general speaking proficiency while Clark and Swinton (1979) advocate its inclusion in the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL). The FSI test also appears to be a very reliable instrument according to Clark (1972) who found it to be reliable in approximately 95 per cent of cases tested. The test is relatively easy to administer and score and can be completed in 15 to 30 minutes. Because this test seemed to meet the validity, reliability and practical conditions of this study, it was adopted as the primary instrument for measuring the oral proficiency of the subjects in English.

The FSI test is a structured conversation which takes place between an interviewer and an examinee for the purpose of assessing the examinee's performance in the target language. The tester begins the interview by asking questions which are simple in content and in linguistic sophistication (e.g. on simple autobiographical topics). As the test progresses, questions requiring more preparation, longer answers and greater linguistic proficiency are asked (questions relating to social and vocational matters for example). There are also questions which are designed to evaluate the examinee's knowledge of grammatical structures (such as verb tenses or conditional constructions). The interview continues until the examinee has been able to demonstrate his or her highest level of speaking proficiency. Questions used in the present study are listed in Appendix 2.

The examinee's performance is then assessed on a scale ranging from 0 to 5 where 0 represents no proficiency in the target language and 5 denotes a command of the language equivalent to that of an educated native speaker. Each level is defined by a number of functional criteria aimed at describing what a candidate at that level is able to do. At Level 1, for example, the criteria defining a candidate's linguistic capabilities are:

"Able to satisfy routine travel needs and minimum courtesy requirements. Can ask and answer questions on topics very familiar to him; within the scope of his very limited language experience can understand simple questions and statements, allowing for slowed speech, repetition or paraphrase; speaking vocabulary inadequate to express anything but the most elementary needs; errors in pronunciation and grammar are frequent, but can be understood by a native speaker used to dealing with foreigners attempting to speak his language. While elementary needs vary considerably from individual to individual, any person at level 1 should be able to order a simple meal, ask for shelter and lodging, ask and give simple directions, make purchases and tell time." (Educational Testing Service, Manual for Peace Corps Testers, 1970).

The 0 to 5 scale also includes "+" values for each level (except 5) which increases the number of points on the scale to 11: 0, 0+, 1, 1+, 2, 2+, 3, 3+, 4, 4+ and 5. Assessment involves the tester scoring the examinee's target language performance in terms of accent, grammar, vocabulary, fluency and comprehension. Each of these aspects carries a different weighting (grammar, for example, has a maximum score of 36 compared with the maximum of accent of 4 points). The candidate's total score is then converted to a rating on the 0 to 5 scale. Full details explaining the criteria for each level of the scale, as well as the procedures for scoring and conversion, are included in Appendix 2.

The FSI oral interview does have some shortcomings. The primary and most obvious disadvantage is that it takes place in the rather formal situation of a face-to-face interview which cannot be said to represent real-life linguistic environments such as a home, a shop or a workplace. Furthermore, Clark and Swinton (1979) report that the FSI test does not replicate psychological and affective aspects of everyday communication which include motivation, communicative intent and status roles of the interacting participants. However, in terms of the theoretical and practical criteria discussed above, and in view of its established reputation and continuing use by numerous United States agencies (including the Foreign Service Institute and Peace Corps), the FSI's advantages appear to outweigh its disadvantages.

The test was administered in the present study as follows. After the Japanese interview had been completed, the interpreter brought into the room a native speaker of English who was introduced as "the second interviewer." The subject was then told that the New Zealander knew no Japanese language and the Japanese interviewer would then leave the room. The New Zealander (who had been trained in administering the FSI test) then proceeded to introduce him/herself and explain that he/she wanted to ask the subject some questions in English. If a subject showed any signs of nervousness, she was reassured that the questions would not be difficult. In cases where an examinee failed to understand a question, it was repeated and if she still did not understand, the tester went on to the next question. Not all the questions on the schedule were asked of all subjects. Some examinees whose English proficiency was very low understood only very simple questions and could not respond at all to more complicated ones. Other subjects showed a willingness to talk at length and consequently produced a good quantity of English for assessment so that it was not necessary to ask them all the questions. The test took 10 to 15 minutes to administer to subjects with a very low proficiency in English but about 25 to 30 minutes were necessary to assess the examinees who demonstrated higher proficiency levels. The interviews were tape recorded for later score verification with the other tester.

Two testers were used throughout the study: one male (the researcher) and one female (a university student), both of whom had been trained in the administration of the FSI test. In order to reduce the subjects' levels of anxiety (which might cause some to perform poorly), only one tester administered the test to each subject. The tape recording of the oral test was then played later to the second tester, so each subject's performance was rated by two judges according to FSI procedures.

To ensure that the two judges did assess the subjects' language performance reliably, a comparative rating exercise was carried out on a sample of the subjects' recorded interviews as follows. A panel of five independent judges (all university lecturers, each with many years of experience in language teaching) was introduced to the FSI rating procedure. The panel then listened to two sample recordings of Japanese women speaking English and then rated the performance of each speaker. A discussion of the results followed. For the reliability test, the panel listened to tape recordings of four subjects in the study. Each taped extract was between three and four minutes long and after hearing each extract, the judges evaluated the accent, vocabulary, grammar, fluency and comprehension of the subject and then converted the scores to an FSI rating. These results are set out in Table 3.2. The mean rating of the panel members was the same as the assessment made by the two testers for Subjects 2 and 4 and was extremely close for Subjects 1 and 3. These results indicate a high level of agreement between the FSI assessments of the panel and those of the two judges.

Table 3.3

FSI Reliability Study

	Subject Number			
	1	2	3	4
Panel Judge 1	2+	1+	3	2+
Panel Judge 2	1+	1+	3+	2
Panel Judge 3	3	1+	4	1+
Panel Judge 4	2	1+	3	3
Panel Judge 5	3	2	3	3
Panel Mean	2+	1+	3-3+	2+
Interviewers	3	1+	3	2+

Evidence has been cited to suggest that integrative tests such as the FSI test may give a more valid picture of a subject's language proficiency than a discrete point testing procedure. Nevertheless, the capacity of discrete point tests to assess knowledge of the components of language has not been disputed. In order to investigate the subject's knowledge of English grammar, a discrete point test of English grammar was included in the testing programme.

The test adopted was a commercially available item: the English-Second-Language Placement Test (EPT) designed by Ilyin (1973). This test (see Appendix 3) had two versions: the beginner's Test A and the more advanced learner's Test G. Test A was given to subjects who were assessed at below level 2 on the FSI scale and Test G was given to subjects who were assessed at above level 2. Both were 30 minute 50 item multiple-choice tests. Test A was found to be .92 reliable and Test G .89 reliable in studies carried out by the Alemany Community College, San Francisco (Ilyin, 1973).

Subjects were shown how to take the test by practising on three sample questions on the test cover sheet. They were instructed to place a cross beside the correct sentence in each question (e.g. A. I is here. B. I am here. C. I are here.). The subject was then told that they had 30 minutes to complete the test.

Questions in Test A investigated the subjects' knowledge of simple English grammar rules such as negative verb forms (A. They not Chinese. B. They aren't Chinese. C. They no Chinese.), present continuous tense (A. A girl is sit on the train. B. A girl sit on the train. C. A girl is sitting on the train.), order of sentence elements (A. I got him a sandwich. B. I got a sandwich him. C. I got to him a sandwich.). Test G contained questions on more complex grammatical rules such as those governing comparatives (A. I think tennis is interesting than dancing. B. I think tennis is interesting as dancing. C. I think tennis is as interesting as dancing.), passives (A. A bridge is being built near my home. B. A bridge is being building near my home. C. A bridge is building near my home.), causatives (A. He made us wait. B. He made us to wait. C. He made us waited.). The tests were examined for grammatical differences between American and New Zealand English but none were observed.

3.2 DATA COLLECTION

This stage of the study began with the practical considerations of contacting the subjects. The interview and the language tests were then trialled in a pilot study before being put into use to gather data from the 76 subjects in the main study.

3.2.1 Contacting the Subjects

Although the embassy list of Japanese residents in New Zealand included their addresses, contacting potential subjects proved to be a problem. Mr A. Matsuo, of the Japanese Section at Massey University and Mr T. Suzuki, of the Japanese Embassy in Wellington both expressed the view that if the researcher personally contacted the subjects, he would find very few Japanese who would consent to an interview. Mr Matsuo and Mr Suzuki suggested that there would be a better chance of securing the subjects' cooperation if the Japanese custom of shokai (introduction) was followed. This meant that the researcher should be introduced to potential subjects he had not met previously by an intermediary who was acquainted with both parties. A large number of introductions could be gained by linking into the informal social networks as Bolitho (1976) and Crawford (1979) had successfully done in their research among Japanese. It was therefore decided to follow their example.

Contacting the Japanese women proceeded in the following way. First, the individuals already known to the researcher and Japanese interviewer were contacted and invited to be interviewed about aspects relating to their cultural and language adaptation in New Zealand. At the conclusion of the interview, these subjects were asked to introduce the researcher to their Japanese friends. Most subjects cooperated by telephoning two or three acquaintances and arranging a time and a place for subsequent interviews to take place. These friends in turn introduced the researcher to more subjects and in this way, the contacting process followed a "snowball" approach.

Some of the Japanese women living in the Hawkes Bay and Palmerston North areas were known to the researcher and Japanese interviewer and nine were successfully interviewed for the pilot study in April, 1980. Sixty-eight subjects in the main study were contacted through the networks and interviewed between May and October, 1980. After all possible subjects had been approached through the introduction system described above, subjects who remained on the list were contacted by mail. There was a 27.1 per cent response to letters sent out, of which 12.5 per cent replied saying they were willing to be interviewed. As a result, interviews were arranged with these subjects in November, 1980. The other replies showed that subjects were not available on the dates suggested for an interview, that some had returned to Japan, and others had moved leaving no forwarding address.

Linking into the social networks proved to be an efficient and convenient method of contacting subjects. The wives of the Japanese company employees in Auckland and Wellington were particularly cooperative, partly because none of these women had jobs in New Zealand and also because the researcher was able to contact key individuals or leaders in the Auckland and Wellington networks. These leaders took it upon themselves to arrange times and places for interviews after the researcher had identified potential subjects on the embassy list. There were some cases of women who could not be interviewed because of illness or because they had some other engagement. Some were not able to be contacted despite several telephone calls. Three were known to be overseas at the time.

The interculturally married women were also cooperative but not as easily contacted as the wives of the company employees. This may be explained by the fact that there were a greater number of networks which did not overlap and also because many of the interculturally married women had jobs and were therefore quite busy. Again, there were several women who claimed to be ill or too busy to be interviewed and others who could not be contacted for a variety of reasons such as being overseas.

The main difficulty associated with using social networks was the danger of interviewing only a narrow, non-representative cross-section of the community. However, when the number of interviews obtained through the networks (40.2 per cent of all subjects) is compared with those arranged by writing letters (4.2 per cent), it is clear that the introduction system yielded a far higher proportion of the total population.

As a result of contacting subjects in the manner described, 76 subjects living in Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch were interviewed out of a total of 169 possible subjects. This meant that 44.9 per cent of the total known population of married Japanese women living in these cities were interviewed.

3.2.2 Pilot Study

This was a small scale study carried out with nine Japanese women living in the Hawkes Bay and Palmerston North areas. The aims of the pilot study were to test the interview and language assessment procedures and to give the interviewers and testers practice in using the data collection instruments.

Some questions asked during the pilot study proved to be rather too open-ended for the subjects to answer effectively (e.g. What have you found to be the most effective way of learning conversational English?) and resulted in the subjects hesitating for long periods before volunteering a non-committal answer (e.g. "I don't know."). For the main study, it was decided to present the subjects with a list of options wherever possible, while still maintaining an opportunity for them to express their own ideas whenever they wanted to (e.g. the question "What have you found to be the most effective way of learning conversational English?" had the following options added: meet native speakers of English; self-study a tape-recorded English course; self-study an English grammar text; watch tv; listen to the radio; learn from a teacher; read widely in English; read newspapers in English; self-study an English conversation text; study something in English; other).

Despite the fact that the FSI assessment is a test, it has the appearance of being a conversation. Perhaps this relative informality of the FSI, when compared with formal written tests, contributed to its acceptance by the subjects and hence to its successful application. On the other hand, the first intimations of problems with the written test arose when three of the pilot study subjects refused to do it. In one case, a subject did not have sufficient knowledge of English to be able to read the test questions. The other two became very nervous when asked to do a test of English. One claimed that she had "bad eyes" and the other said that she had had "bad experiences" of tests at school. It was thought that the main study subjects might be persuaded to attempt the written test if the introduction was more euphemistically presented. The term "test" was deleted from the explanation and the word "quiz" was used instead. It was also decided to stress that all results of the interview and especially those of the "quiz" were strictly confidential.

Finally, the pilot study also showed that it would be difficult to keep to an organised timetable for interviewing. Under favourable conditions the interviews and tests could be administered in about an hour and half but it usually took much longer than this due to the need to engage in a preliminary chat with the subjects to put them at their ease, answer their questions and deal with interruptions. It was found that only four or five interviews could be managed in a full day.

3.2.3 Main Study

Arranging times for the interviews was a continuing problem due to many of the interculturally married subjects having jobs and consequently little time to spare for other appointments. However, the strategy of linking into the social networks and being introduced ensured that most subjects contacted were cooperative in making themselves available for interviewing.

The duration of the interviews ranged, as anticipated, between one and a half and two hours. Subjects who quickly grasped the idea of what was being asked usually responded precisely, but there were some subjects who needed to be drawn out and others who needed to have several questions repeated or explained to them. There were other women who appeared to be lonely and who took advantage of the opportunity to talk.

On three occasions, husbands of interculturally married women were present and in each case they indicated that they would have liked to stay and listen. It was pointed out to each husband that his presence would be likely to distort the responses given by subjects and each withdrew. No Japanese husbands were at home when the interviewing took place.

An interesting feature of group behaviour occurred among the intraculturally married women who sometimes met at one house, usually in groups of two. Whenever this occurred, subjects were separated by holding their interviews in different rooms. This situation did not occur among the interculturally married women.

As had been encountered in the pilot study, there was considerable opposition expressed by subjects to taking a language test even though it was introduced as a "quiz." In 35 cases out of the total of 76 subjects, the interviewers had to leave without the subject attempting the written test. It was felt that it would be unwise to insist on these tests being completed because the Japanese community is tightly knit and alienating even a few subjects could have jeopardised the chances of further contacts within the network. This opposition towards doing the written tests may be understood in the light of the negative associations many Japanese have towards taking tests. Several recent studies (e.g. Cummings et al., 1979) have criticised the Japanese examination-oriented education system and the damaging psychological impact it has on many students.

After each interview, the subject was sent a note to thank her and in December, 1980, each subject was sent a five-page mimeographed summary of some of the preliminary findings of the study. Feedback indicated that many appreciated this.

3.3 DATA ANALYSIS

In this section, the classification of subjects into five separate groups will be described. This will be followed by a brief introduction to the procedures used to analyse data obtained from the interviews and tests.

3.3.1 Grouping the Subjects

On the basis of the findings of other studies of Japanese migrants (Ervin-Tripp, 1964, 1967; Petersen, 1971; De Vos, 1973; Bolitho, 1976; Maykovich, 1976; Smith, 1979; Curson and Curson, 1982), it was considered that there might be considerable differences between Japanese migrants in New Zealand according to whether they were intraculturally or interculturally married and how long they had lived outside Japan. For the purpose of discussing the results in a meaningful way, subjects were divided into five groups as follows:

1. Those who were intraculturally married and who had (except for three subjects) between one and five years experience living outside Japan: 29 subjects identified as the "INTRA" group.

2. Those who were interculturally married and who had between one and five years experience living outside Japan (i.e. who had departed from Japan between 1974 and 1979). Since this group had lived outside Japan for a similar period to almost all the INTRA subjects, these two groups will be frequently compared throughout the study: 12 subjects identified as the "INTER 1-5" group.
3. Those who were interculturally married and who had between six and 17 years experience living outside Japan (i.e. who had departed from Japan between 1962 and 1973): 24 subjects identified as the "INTER 6-17" group.
4. Those who were interculturally married and who had more than 18 years experience living outside Japan (i.e. who had departed from Japan during the 1950s up to 1962). This group may be described as the war-bride generation since their husbands were all servicemen of Jayforce or Kayforce at the time of their marriage: 11 subjects identified as the "INTER 18+" group.
5. Groups INTER 1-5, INTER 6-17 and INTER 18+ were combined into a single group in order to obtain overall results for all interculturally married women: 47 subjects identified as the "TOTAL INTER 1-18+" group.

3.3.2 Procedures of Analysis

During the interview, the subjects' verbal responses were recorded onto the interview schedule sheets and coded as numerical expressions for statistical analysis. All information was entered as a database on the Massey University Burroughs 6700 and Prime computers. Frequencies and correlations were then calculated by the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (using the Nie et al., 1975, handbook). The findings of the interview are presented and discussed in Chapters Four, Five and Six.

FSI assessments and English test scores were also entered into the database. These results, together with some correlations between the FSI scores and interview data are presented in Chapter Seven.

Finally, the tape recordings of the subjects speaking English during the FSI test were transcribed and analysis of the errors made by subjects was carried out. Theoretical considerations governing the description and classification of errors as well as the error analysis itself are presented in Chapters Eight and Nine.

CHAPTER FOUR

BIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS RELATING TO THE SUBJECTS

This chapter describes important biographical details of the subjects' lives such as their age, birthplace, family situation, educational background, religious affiliation, employment, marital status and experience of living in foreign countries. These aspects will be analysed particularly with regard to the testing of the first hypothesis:

Hypothesis 1 There are likely to be marked differences between the INTRA and INTER subjects in terms of their respective family, educational and socioeconomic backgrounds.

These biographical details will also be used later in the study for discussing the subjects' cultural behaviour and language use in New Zealand.

4.1 AGE OF SUBJECTS

In this section, the mean age of subjects at the time of the interview, at the time of their first marriage and at the time of their departure from Japan to live abroad will be presented. The data is summarised in Table 4.1.

At the time of the interview, all subjects were aged between 27 and 62 years. The mean age of the intraculturally married subjects (39.7 years) was very close to that of the interculturally married women (40.3 years). Predictably, the youngest of the interculturally married subjects were amongst the more recent arrivals (INTER 1-5) while the older subjects were predominantly found among the longer term residents (INTER 18+).

The INTRA subjects had, on average, married at an earlier age (24.9 years) than the interculturally married subjects (27.6 years). Two of the older INTER subjects mentioned that World War II had disrupted and delayed their plans for marriage but this does not fully explain the difference in age at the time of marriage between the two groups since even the younger INTER 1-5 subjects had married later on average than the INTRA subjects.

Major differences become apparent when the subject's age at the time of departure from Japan is considered. The mean age of the INTRA subjects at this time was 34.7 years as compared with 27.9 years for the INTER subjects. There may be important differences in attitudes and life experience between a woman of 34 and one of 27 which could have implications for cultural adaptation and language learning. Furthermore, it appears that all the INTRA subjects left Japan several years (9.8 years on average) after their marriage whereas most of the INTER subjects departed from their homeland either just before or just after marriage.

Finally it is interesting to note that on average the INTER 18+ and INTER 6-17 subjects married prior to leaving Japan whereas many of the younger generation of INTER 1-5 subjects married after leaving the country. This may possibly be due to the fact that it has been increasingly common for Japanese females to travel abroad and marry interculturally in recent years whereas, immediately after the war, most intercultural marriages occurred as a result of military personnel being stationed in or visiting Japan on leave (see Section 1.2.4).

Table 4.1

Mean age of subjects* at time of interview, at first marriage and at departure from Japan to live abroad

	INTRA	INTER			TOTAL SUBJECTS	
		1-5	6-17	18+	TOTAL 1-18+	
Age at interview	39.7	32.6	37.6	50.8	40.3	40.0
Age at first marriage	24.9	28.9	25.9	28.1	27.6	26.2
Age at departure from Japan	34.7	28.6	26.4	28.7	27.9	31.3
N	29	12	24	11	47	76

* Hereafter, for most tables the subjects will be divided into five subgroups (INTRA, INTER 1-5, INTER 6-17, INTER 18+ and TOTAL INTER 1-18+) on the basis of their type of marriage and the length of time they had lived outside Japan as explained in Section 3.3.

4.2 BIRTHPLACES

Nearly half (48.3 per cent) of the INTRA subjects had been born and lived most of their lives in Tokyo (Table 4.2) compared with only 19.1 per cent of the INTER subjects. Furthermore, 41.4 per cent of the remainder of the INTRA women had lived in Tokyo immediately prior to coming to New Zealand. Since approximately one tenth of the total Japanese population lives in Tokyo (10 million out of 117 million), this city appears to be disproportionately represented among the INTRA subjects.

Birthplaces of the INTER subjects were far more widespread, with most prefectures in Japan being represented. However, two interesting characteristics were observed. First, 36.3 per cent of the INTER 18+ group were born and grew up around Hiroshima. These were the women who had married New Zealand Jay-force soldiers stationed near Hiroshima after World War II. Second, the birthplace and home of a high proportion (66.7 per cent) of INTER 1-5 subjects included several provincial centres in the remoter areas such as Hokkaido, Kyushu and Sanin regions. This may be a small indication of a lessening of opposition to intercultural marriage in the provincial areas assuming, of course, that more "conservative" attitudes are still to be found in such areas.

Table 4.2

Prefectures in which subjects were born (percentages)

Prefecture	INTRA	INTER			TOTAL SUBJECTS	
		1-5	6-17	18+	TOTAL 1-18+	
Tokyo	48.3	8.3	29.2	9.1	19.1	30.3
Osaka	3.4	16.7	16.7	-	12.8	9.2
Hiroshima	3.4	8.3	12.5	36.4	17.0	11.8
Others	44.9	66.7	41.6	54.5	51.1	48.7
N	29	12	24	11	47	76

4.3 FAMILY SITUATION IN CHILDHOOD

This section investigates the home background of the subjects during their childhood paying particular attention to whether either of the parents was absent from the home (over any long period), whether or not the mother was employed, the size of the family and the father's occupation.

Among the INTRA subjects, almost all (93.1 per cent) said that both parents were living at home during their childhood compared with 83.0 per cent of the INTER subjects. In all but one case it was the father who was absent and the reasons given included death, divorce and (especially for INTER 18+ subjects) military service during World War II.

A small proportion of INTRA subjects (17.2 per cent) reported that their mother was employed during their childhood compared with 34.0 per cent of the INTER subjects. Nearly half of the INTER 1-5 subjects (41.7 per cent) reported that their mothers worked which may reflect the change in post-war Japanese society with regard to women entering the workforce. Kuroda (1973) has shown that because of economic difficulties experienced after the war, real national income per capita stood at only half the pre-war level so many women found a job to help support their families.

There was very little difference in the size of the families in which INTRA and INTER subjects were brought up. However, INTER 18+ women grew up in families of an average size of 4.6 children while the INTER 6-17 subjects were raised in families averaging 3.7 children. The INTER 1-5 subjects (the group in which the youngest interculturally married women were to be found) grew up in families of an average of 3.2 children. This progressive decline in the average number of children per family reflects the decline in Japanese family size since World War II as reported by Kuroda (1973).

Table 4.3

Occupations of the subjects' fathers (percentages)

	INTRA	INTER			TOTAL 1-18+	TOTAL SUBJECTS
		1-5	6-17	18+		
Professional (e.g. lawyer, teacher, engineer)	20.7	16.7	16.6	18.2	17.0	18.4
Administrative (e.g. director, director, manager)	17.2	25.0	37.5	36.3	34.0	27.6
Skilled (e.g. bank clerk, carpenter, mechanic, farmer)	62.1	50.0	45.9	27.3	42.6	50.0
Unskilled (e.g. factory- worker, labourer)	-	8.3	-	18.2	6.4	4.0
N	29	12	24	11	47	76

Each subject was asked about her father's occupation during her childhood but it was sometimes difficult to identify exactly what the occupation was. In what Nakane (1970) calls an "attribute-oriented society", such as Japan, more importance is placed on the name of the company one works for than what one actually does in that company. Hence the initial response to the question "What was your father's occupation?" was frequently something along the lines of "He worked for X company" or "He worked in an engineering firm." It sometimes required further questions to identify specific jobs. These occupations were classified into the categories of professional, administrative, technical and unskilled with percentages in each group being set out in Table 4.3. The majority of subjects in all groups described their father's job as one which required technical skills while very few said that their father had a relatively unskilled occupation such as that of a factory worker or a labourer. This result is similar to that of De Vos (1973) who found that few Japanese war-brides in the United States were from labouring or peasant families.

4.4 EDUCATION

All the women interviewed claimed that they had attended high school. However, nearly half of the older INTER subjects stated that they had not completed their high school education due to the disruptive effects of World War II (see Table 4.4). The INTRA women had the highest proportion (69.0 per cent) of tertiary level graduates compared with 66.7 per cent of the INTER 1-5 group. However, the proportions of INTER 6-17 and INTER 18+ were somewhat lower (45.8 per cent and 36.4 per cent respectively).

These results should be interpreted with an eye to the increase in importance attached to education in Japanese society since 1945. Tertiary level education is now widespread in Japan with almost half of the young people in the nation receiving some education beyond the secondary level (Kitamura, 1979). It seems, therefore, that the proportion of INTRA and INTER 1-5 subjects who were university or college graduates (69.0 per cent of INTRA; 66.7 per cent of INTER 1-5) is slightly higher than the Japanese national average.

A further point that should be made is that the act of marrying interculturally is generally regarded in Japan to be a nonconformist and somewhat controversial act (Ervin-Tripp, 1967; De Vos, 1973; Wagatsuma, 1974; Tseng et al., 1978). Determining educational background by a conventional measure such as high school or tertiary level graduation may be misleading in the case of non-conventional persons because at least one important factor not taken into account is the educating effect of residence in a foreign country, a fact which has been pointed out by Adler (1975), Brislin and Pedersen (1976) and Brislin (1981). Many of the interculturally married women who had never gone to university or college nevertheless gave the impression of being highly adaptable and capable people. One older subject, who was about to enter university in 1941, said that she had joined the Red Cross instead. "That seemed to be more important at the time," she said, but when the war was over, she was too old to enrol in a university. After the war, the Constitution of Japan was rewritten so that women would have opportunities equal to those of men to continue education beyond high school and this did result in more women entering universities or colleges. Other factors, however, could still prevent women from continuing their studies. One of the younger subjects reported that she was about to begin her university course when her father fell ill so she remained at home to look after him. When he recovered, he sent her on a trip to Europe. She found a job with the BBC, gained considerable experience as an interpreter but had forfeited her chance of entering university in Japan.

Table 4.4

Educational background of the subjects (percentages)

	INTRA	INTER			TOTAL SUBJECTS	
		1-5	6-17	18+	TOTAL 1-18+	
Did not graduate from high school	-	-	4.2	45.5	12.8	8.0
Graduated from high school	31.0	33.3	50.0	18.2	38.3	35.5
Graduated from college or university	69.0	66.7	45.8	36.3	48.9	56.5
N	29	12	24	11	47	76

4.5 RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION

In many societies organised religion plays an important guiding role in the people's values and experiences. Subjects in this study were consequently asked whether they had any religious affiliation, either Japanese or western. Adherence to a faith was classified according to whether it was short-term (less than ten years) or long-term (more than ten years) and the results are summarised in Table 4.5.

Almost all of the INTRA subjects (93.1 per cent) claimed to have no religious affiliation as compared with 65.9 per cent of the INTER subjects. Very few INTRA or INTER subjects showed any strong affiliation to a Japanese religion. These results appear to support the observation of Cummings et al. (1979), based on a Japanese public opinion poll, that only a small fraction of Japanese are willing to say that they have a religion.

Although Christianity was first brought to Japan by St. Francis Xavier in 1549 it has failed to attract a large following. Today, it is estimated that about 1 per cent of the total population is Christian (Earhart, 1974) and yet 27.8 per cent of all the INTER subjects claimed that they were Christians. Reasons given by these subjects for becoming Christians were that their husbands attended church regularly (mainly the longer-term residents - INTER 18+) while the majority of younger women reported that their interest in religion had begun to develop before they left Japan, often through contact with missionaries who gave English classes. For these younger women, this interest in Christianity may be indicative of a more general nonconformist identity, a speculation which is supported by De Vos's (1973) finding that interculturally married Japanese women in California tended towards a nonconformist psychological identity.

Table 4.5

Religious affiliations of subjects (percentages)

	INTRA	INTER			TOTAL SUBJECTS	
		1-5	6-17	18+	TOTAL 1-18+	
No religious affiliation admitted	93.1	66.7	66.7	63.6	65.9	76.3
Japanese religious affiliation <10 years	-	8.3	-	-	2.1	1.3
Japanese religious affiliation >10 years	-	-	4.2	-	2.1	1.3
Western religious affiliation <10 years	-	8.3	8.3	27.3	12.9	8.0
Western religious affiliation >10 years	6.9	16.7	16.6	9.1	14.9	11.8
Other religious affiliation >10 years	-	-	4.2	-	2.1	1.3
N	29	12	24	11	47	76

4.6 EMPLOYMENT IN JAPAN

The subjects were asked what occupations they had been engaged in while they had lived in Japan. Results obtained are listed in Table 4.6.

Nearly half of the INTRA subjects (41.4 per cent) reported that they had never been employed. Such women may be described as ojōsan, that is, young women who did not enter employment and who remained at home with their families until marriage. Considerably fewer of the INTER subjects (17.0 per cent) had experienced this style of upbringing.

Of the women who had been employed, almost half (48.2 per cent of INTRA and 48.9 per cent of INTER) had held semi-skilled jobs such as those of secretary or clerk prior to their marriage. Most of these subjects reported that they had given up work when they married. Considerably fewer held positions requiring extensive training or jobs which called for only a small amount of training. It was noted, however, that 36.4 per cent of the INTER 18+ women had held unskilled jobs, especially factory work, which might reflect the kind of work available to women during and after World War II. Only 5.3 per cent of all subjects said that they had continued with the same kind of occupation after migrating to New Zealand.

4.7 MARITAL STATUS

In this section details relating to the marriages of the subjects, including birthplaces and occupations of the husbands, are described.

All the INTRA subjects were married to and living with their first husband with this also being the case for INTER 1-5 subjects (see Table 4.7). Of the other two groups of interculturally married subjects, only two thirds of the women in each group were still living with their first husband. The remainder were either divorced or had married a second time, while two women were widowed.

Table 4.6

Occupations held in Japan by subjects (percentages)

	INTRA	INTER			TOTAL SUBJECTS	
		1-5	6-17	18+	TOTAL 1-18+	
Professional (e.g. teacher)	10.3	8.3	4.2	-	4.3	6.6
Skilled/ Technical (e.g. artist actress, interpreter)	-	25.0	12.5	18.2	17.0	10.5
Semi-skilled (e.g. secret- ary, clerk, air hostess)	48.3	58.4	54.2	27.3	48.9	48.7
Unskilled (e.g. factory worker, bar hostess)	-	-	8.3	36.3	12.8	7.9
Did not enter employment	41.1	8.3	20.8	18.2	17.0	26.3
N	29	12	24	11	47	76

This survey did not probe the reasons for marital breakdown but it was noted that three of the nine divorced and remarried subjects reported that they had grown up in families where the parents were divorced. Overall only four of the 76 subjects said that their parents had been divorced. It naturally proved difficult in the interviews to explore fully the issue of divorce but it was established that all nine of the divorced husbands were New Zealand-born Caucasians and that all three of the second husbands were also Caucasians. It is interesting that these divorced subjects had chosen not to return to Japan but to remain in New Zealand and enter a second intercultural marriage.

By definition, all of the INTRA subjects were married to Japanese husbands, all of whom had been born in Japan (Table 4.8). Two thirds (70.3 per cent) of all the interculturally married husbands were born in New Zealand while 17.1 per cent were born in the United Kingdom. Six other countries were also represented. The interculturally married husbands were almost all Caucasians with the exception of three husbands who were Chinese, Indian and Indonesian.

The question arises as to where the women, particularly those who were interculturally married, met their husbands. All the INTRA subjects met their husbands in Japan (Table 4.9) but an interesting trend emerged among the INTER women. The older INTER women (INTER 18+) had all met their husbands in Japan. These were the war-brides, that is, women who had married soldiers stationed in Japan after World War II and during the 1950s. On the other hand, 55.5 per cent of the younger INTER 1-5 and INTER 6-17 women met their husbands in New Zealand or in other countries (19.5 per cent), notably in the United Kingdom. This is probably a result of certain changes which occurred in Japanese society during the 1960s, viz. the rise in affluence and greater freedom given to women which have resulted in Japanese women being able to travel by themselves to foreign countries. The remaining 25 per cent of INTER 1-5 and INTER 6-17 subjects met their future husbands in Japan. These men were mostly New Zealand civilians such as officials, businessmen, teachers or students who had travelled to Japan for reasons connected with their work.

Table 4.7

Marital status of subjects (percentages)

	INTRA	INTER			TOTAL SUBJECTS	
		1-5	6-17	18+	TOTAL 1-18+	
First Marriage						
Current	100.0	100.0	70.8	63.6	76.6	85.5
Divorced	-	-	16.7	18.2	12.8	7.9
Widowed	-	-	4.2	9.1	4.2	2.6
Second Marriage	-	-	8.3	9.1	6.4	4.0
N	29	12	24	11	47	76

Table 4.8

Birthplace of first husband (percentages)

	INTRA	INTER			TOTAL SUBJECTS	
		1-5	6-17	18+	TOTAL 1-18+	
Japan	100.0	-	-	-	-	38.2
New Zealand	-	75.0	62.5	81.8	70.3	43.5
U.K.	-	8.3	29.1	-	17.1	10.5
Australia	-	-	-	9.1	2.1	1.3
Indonesia	-	-	4.2	-	2.1	1.3
Latvia	-	-	4.2	-	2.1	1.3
Pakistan	-	8.3	-	-	2.1	1.3
South Africa	-	8.4	-	-	2.1	1.3
U.S.A.	-	-	-	9.1	2.1	1.3
N	29	12	24	11	47	76

Table 4.9

Country where subjects met their first husband (percentages)

	INTRA	INTER			TOTAL 1-18+	TOTAL SUBJECTS
		1-5	6-17	18+		
Japan	100.0	25.0	20.8	100.0	40.4	63.2
New Zealand	-	58.3	54.2	-	42.5	26.3
Other	-	16.7	25.0	-	17.1	10.5
N	29	12	24	11	47	76

Table 4.10

Socioeconomic status of present husbands* classified according to the Elley and Irving scale (percentages)

	INTRA	INTER			TOTAL 1-18+	NEW ZEALAND NORMS†
		1-5	6-17	18+		
Level 1	27.6	16.7	26.3	12.5	20.5	5.8
2	72.4	33.3	36.8	37.5	35.9	19.3
3	-	25.0	26.3	25.0	25.6	13.3
4	-	8.3	5.3	-	5.1	28.2
5	-	16.7	5.3	-	7.7	21.3
6	-	-	-	12.5	2.6	12.1
Retired	-	-	-	12.5	2.6	-
N	29	12	24	11	47	

* Table excludes subjects who were widowed or divorced and who had not remarried.

† Percentage of male labour force in each socioeconomic level for New Zealand as a whole (Elley and Irving, 1972).

Subjects were asked about their husband's occupation and the information provided was then classified in terms of socioeconomic status according to a scale developed by Elley and Irving (1972). Results are presented in Table 4.10. It was found that the husbands of all INTRA subjects held high status jobs, being directors, administrators, managers or university teachers (levels 1 or 2 of the Elley and Irving scale). The range of occupations of the husbands of the INTER subjects was much wider. Half of the men were classified in levels 1 or 2 of the scale and these were mainly teachers, engineers, lawyers, businessmen and administrators. The other half held jobs which could be classified in the lower levels (3 to 6) of the scale and included such occupations as technician, cook, bus driver, glass-blower and waterside worker. It is thus clear that the husbands of most of the Japanese women (particularly the INTRA subjects) are more strongly represented in the upper levels of the socioeconomic scale than men in New Zealand as a whole. This contrasts, therefore, with De Vos's (1973) study of Japanese war-brides in California whose husbands were generally of lower socioeconomic status.

4.8 EXPERIENCE OF LIVING IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES

About half (51.7 per cent) of the INTRA subjects had lived in other foreign countries before coming to New Zealand (Table 4.11). All these women reported that they had this experience as a result of their husband being assigned to a position abroad by his company. These sojourns were generally for between two and three years. Considerably fewer (36.1 per cent) of the INTER subjects said that they had lived abroad in countries other than New Zealand. Several INTER subjects in their late thirties had lived in the United Kingdom and a small number had lived in the United States, Australia and France before their marriage.

Table 4.11

Subjects' experience of living in other foreign countries
(percentages)

	INTRA	INTER			TOTAL 1-18+	TOTAL SUBJECTS
		1-5	6-17	18+		
N.Z. only	48.3	75.0	58.3	72.7	65.9	59.2
UK,US, Austr	27.6	8.3	41.7	18.2	27.7	27.7
France	6.9	16.7	-	-	4.3	5.3
India	6.9	-	-	-	-	2.6
Hong Kong	6.9	-	-	-	-	2.6
Yugoslavia	3.4	-	-	-	-	1.3
Samoa	-	-	-	9.1	2.1	1.3
N	29	12	24	11	47	76

4.9 SUMMARY

At the beginning of this chapter the following prediction was made:

Hypothesis 1 There are likely to be marked differences between the INTRA and INTER subjects in terms of their respective family, educational, and socioeconomic backgrounds.

In order to test this hypothesis, evidence already presented will be briefly summarised to show that there were indeed certain clear differences between the INTRA and INTER subjects.

(1) Data relating to marriage revealed major differences between INTRA and INTER subjects. First, and obviously, all INTRA subjects were married to Japanese while all the INTER subjects' husbands were non-Japanese - nearly all of whom were Caucasians born in New Zealand. Second, all the INTRA subjects were currently married to their first husband but this was true for only 76.6 per cent of the INTER subjects. Third, all the INTRA subjects had met their husbands in Japan compared with only 40.4 per cent of the INTER subjects who had done so. Finally, all the Japanese husbands had occupations of high socioeconomic status compared with only half (55.4 per cent) of the non-Japanese men.

(2) Details on the age of subjects revealed that INTRA subjects had, on average, married younger (at 24.7 years) than had INTER subjects (27.6 years). Furthermore, the INTRA subjects had all been married for several years (6.8 years on average) before departing from Japan to live abroad. Most of the INTER subjects, on the other hand, left Japan when they were much younger (27.9 years on average) and for many, this coincided with about the time of their marriage.

(3) More than two-thirds (69.0 per cent) of INTRA subjects were tertiary level graduates compared with only 48.9 per cent of INTER 1-18+ subjects who had graduated from university or college. Among the INTER subjects, the INTER 18+ group had, generally as a result of the war intervening, received considerably less formal education than the other INTER subjects.

(4) A higher proportion of INTRA subjects (41.4 per cent) had never had a job in Japan compared with 17.0 per cent of INTER subjects as a whole and only 8.3 per cent of the INTER 1-5 group. The majority of subjects who had been employed, however, had worked in secretarial-clerical positions.

(5) Very few (6.9 per cent) of the INTRA subjects claimed affiliation to any Japanese or western religion, but 34.1 per cent of the INTER subjects were adherents of some faith (mainly Christianity).

(6) Some differences were noted in the distribution of the birthplaces, with 48.3 per cent of the INTRA subjects being born in Tokyo compared with 19.1 per cent of the INTER group. Birthplaces of the INTER subjects were widely dispersed throughout Japan.

(7) Overall, the home environments in which subjects had been brought up appear to have been similar except for a slightly higher proportion of the younger INTER subjects who reported that their mothers had been employed.

On the basis of these findings, therefore, it can be said that there were several marked differences between INTRA and INTER subjects. This allows Hypothesis 1 to be accepted. Many of the results obtained here appear to be in agreement with those found in other studies, particularly those of Ervin-Tripp (1964, 1967), De Vos (1973) and Curson and Curson (1982) who have commented extensively on the background of Japanese migrants in the United States and Australia.

CHAPTER FIVE

CULTURAL ADAPTATION IN NEW ZEALAND

This chapter discusses the subjects' cultural adaptation to life in New Zealand in terms of the framework proposed by Taft (1977). Taft views the adaptive process experienced by immigrants as involving four basic processes which he has described as cultural adjustment, identification, cultural competence and role acculturation. Cultural adjustment involves feelings of comfort in the new environment and a smooth integration of personality and culture. Identification refers to the migrants' feeling that they belong in and identify with the host society. Cultural competence is based on a knowledge of the host society's culture and language and the ability to demonstrate appropriate cultural and linguistic behaviour. Role acculturation centres around the convergence of the migrants' attitudes and beliefs towards those of the host culture. Each process has a subjective component which refers to the migrant's self perceptions and an objective component referring to observable behaviours of the migrant and the perceptions of members of the host culture.

Data gathered from the interviews will be used to discuss the four adaptive processes and to test the following hypotheses:

- Hypothesis 2 The INTRA subjects will not adjust to New Zealand as well as the INTER subjects will.
- Hypothesis 3 The INTRA subjects will feel that they have more of a Japanese cultural identity than the INTER subjects.
- Hypothesis 4 The INTRA subjects will have less cultural competence in New Zealand than the INTER subjects.
- Hypothesis 5 The INTRA subjects will demonstrate less acculturation to New Zealand in terms of role behaviour than the INTER subjects.

5.1 CULTURAL ADJUSTMENT

According to Taft (1977) subjective feelings of cultural adjustment include those of "emotional comfort, feeling 'at home' in the society and satisfaction with life." Objectively, the migrants should be able to function within the society by having a means of support and being able to seek help, through friends or groups to which they belong, when everyday problems arise (p. 147).

The subjects' cultural adjustment to life in New Zealand will be measured in terms of their subjective feelings (which country they feel most comfortable living in), and objectively in terms of their occupations in New Zealand.

5.1.1 Feelings of Being "Comfortable"

In order to determine the subjects' feelings of cultural adjustment, they were asked whether they felt more comfortable living in New Zealand, Japan, New Zealand and Japan equally, or any other country. The responses are summarised in Table 5.1.

About half the INTRA subjects (55.2 per cent) stated that they felt most comfortable living in New Zealand, 34.5 per cent said that they felt equally comfortable in New Zealand or Japan while only 10.3 per cent selected Japan. The reasons given for preferring New Zealand included the higher standard of housing (most Japanese families lived in large, comfortable houses in Auckland and Wellington compared with small apartments in Tokyo), the fact that the family could spend more time together (husbands could return home from work by 7 or 8 o'clock each evening compared with 10 or 12 o'clock in Tokyo), and freedom from Japanese social obligations.

The majority (76.6 per cent) of INTER subjects reported that they felt more comfortable living in New Zealand than in Japan. Most of them said that what appealed to them was the relaxed way of life with less emphasis on social customs, etiquette and rules which they found constraining in Japan. A few cited other reasons such as the lack of pollution.

Table 5.1

Countries in which subjects felt most comfortable living (percentages)

	INTRA	INTER			TOTAL SUBJECTS	
					TOTAL	
		1-5	6-17	18+	1-18+	
New Zealand	55.2	66.7	79.2	81.8	76.6	68.4
Japan	10.3	25.0	8.3	9.1	12.8	11.9
NZ Jpn equal	34.5	8.3	4.2	9.1	6.4	17.1
United Kingdom	-	-	8.3	-	4.2	2.6
N	29	12	24	11	47	76

5.1.2 Sources of Irritation

While it appears that most of the subjects (particularly the interculturally married group) had achieved a relatively successful adjustment to the New Zealand way of life, there were still aspects of New Zealand culture that they found difficult to accommodate. A majority of all subjects (89.5 per cent) reported that there were certain irritations associated with life in New Zealand which they were then asked to identify from a list of potential cultural irritants (see Appendix 1). Tables 5.2 and 5.3 list the ten most commonly cited cultural irritants for INTRA and INTER subjects respectively.

This exercise was not designed to measure the intensity of the irritation felt by the subjects but merely to identify those aspects of New Zealand culture to which subjects found some difficulty in adjusting. Most subjects said that they could "put up with" the cultural differences which irritated them but there were a few who reported that they "really disliked" or "couldn't get used to" some New Zealand customs such as the use of handkerchiefs or not rinsing detergent off dishes. Members of the INTRA and INTER groups basically agreed on the ten most commonly cited cultural aspects of irritation in New Zealand, but the proportions between the groups varied somewhat. INTER subjects appeared to become progressively less affected by cultural differences the longer they lived in New Zealand (see Table 5.3).

In Japan, over recent years, considerable attention has been given in the news media to pollution-related illnesses (e.g. Minamata Disease and cadmium poisoning) and the harmful effects of detergents on human health. The Japanese, raised from birth on foods which have a very subtle taste in many cases, are quick to notice the taste of detergent which remains on a dish after washing. This sense of taste appears to be more acute among the more recent arrivals (INTRA and INTER 1-5) than among the longer-term residents (INTER 6-17 and INTER 18+). In

Japan, housewives are usually careful to rinse dishes after washing up and many women who had lived in New Zealand for some years had had double sinks installed in their kitchens for this purpose. Others had adopted a washing up procedure which involved a bowl of detergent and water in the sink and in which dishes were first immersed before being rinsed under running water.

The subjects generally disliked the use of handkerchiefs for blowing noses, favouring instead disposable tissues. Encountering the custom of using handkerchiefs was irritating for 41.4 per cent of INTRA and 40.4 per cent of INTER subjects. Among the INTER group, there is evidence that this irritation progressively declines over the years and 18.2 per cent of INTER 18+ subjects said that they now used handkerchiefs in the western manner.

The lack of public transport in New Zealand did not affect the INTRA group to the extent that it affected the INTER subjects (13.8 per cent of INTRA compared with 40.4 per cent of INTER). This may, in part, be due to the fact that 93.1 per cent of the INTRA subjects had driving licences whereas comparatively fewer INTER subjects (65.9 per cent) were able to drive. It was also observed that a higher proportion of INTRA subjects (as compared with the INTER group) had more than one car in their households. Some interculturally married subjects stated that the lack of public transport had been a serious frustration for them prior to obtaining a licence and being able to use a car.

About one third (34.0 per cent) of the INTER group referred to the lack of entertainment in the form of restaurants, shows and festivals in New Zealand. A smaller proportion (17.2 per cent) of the INTRA group commented on this lack of entertainment but many of the other Japanese company employees' wives said that they were frequently involved in entertaining and being invited out by visiting Japanese or local business people.

Some subjects (notably INTRA) criticised what they called a "lack of variety" in New Zealand cooking but relatively few claimed that they were seriously inconvenienced by this in their own home. It became more of an irritation when they went out for meals.

About a quarter of all subjects (INTRA, 24.1 per cent; INTER, 29.8 per cent) disliked the lack of variety of goods, and the high prices of many commodities, in New Zealand shops.

The Japanese, considering streets and outdoor walkways to be dirty, remove their shoes before entering their houses. For similar reasons, they seldom go outdoors without shoes because they believe that bare feet pick up dirt and carry it inside. It is also considered highly dangerous to walk outside without shoes for fear of cutting or injuring the feet. Even subjects who had lived in New Zealand for a relatively long period (INTER 18+) still claimed to be upset by the wearing of shoes inside the house and by the sight of children and adults being in danger of receiving injuries from broken glass or nails when walking barefoot outdoors.

Other aspects of New Zealand culture which some subjects identified as being sources of irritation included: children's education; the difference between western-style and Japanese-style baths; the lack of respect young people have for their elders in New Zealand; the presentation or arrangement of dishes for New Zealand meals; the manner in which guests are treated (i.e. with less respect than in Japan); the fact that children in New Zealand are given less financial help by parents than in Japan; the greater freedom of New Zealand society (interpreted by one subject as sexual freedom); the use of knives and forks instead of chopsticks; the difficulty experienced in obtaining appropriate sizes in clothing; New Zealanders not returning borrowed articles; lack of knowledge about Japan among New Zealanders; and the lack of a sense of duty or obligation (giri) among New Zealanders.

Table 5.2

Aspects of life in New Zealand which intraculturally married (INTRA) subjects found irritating (percentages)

Detergent taste on dishes	62.1
Use of handkerchiefs	41.4
Different taste in food	37.9
Children barefoot outside	27.6
Lack of variety and high prices of commodities	24.1
Difference in baths	20.7
Lack of entertainment	17.2
Lack of seasonal variation	17.2
Children's education	13.8
Public transportation	13.8

N

29

Table 5.3

Aspects of life in New Zealand which interculturally married (INTER) subjects found irritating (percentages)

	1-5	6-17	18+	TOTAL 1-18+
Use of handkerchiefs	58.3	37.5	27.3	40.4
Public transportation	50.0	50.0	9.1	40.4
Lack of entertainment	41.7	37.5	18.2	34.0
Lack of variety and high prices of commodities	33.3	41.7	-	29.8
Lack of seasonal variation	50.0	20.8	27.3	29.8
Children's education	8.3	29.2	36.4	25.5
Wearing shoes inside	16.7	16.7	45.5	23.4
Children barefoot outside	16.7	16.7	36.4	21.2
Detergent taste on dishes	50.0	12.5	9.1	21.2
Different taste in food	16.7	20.8	18.2	18.9

N

12

24

11

47

Although it is not strictly a cultural aspect, New Zealand weather (especially the daily changeability and lack of seasonal variation) was identified by some subjects (17.2 per cent of INTRA and 29.8 per cent of INTER subjects) as being a source of irritation. In Japan, the seasons are more sharply defined and many foods, customs and festivals are associated with a particular season. (It is to be noted in passing that many of those who expressed dissatisfaction with the weather lived in Wellington which is well-known for its strong winds and sudden storms.)

5.1.3 Occupations

Taft (1977) identifies the ability to secure employment in a new society as an objective indicator of cultural adjustment and in order to obtain data on this subjects were asked to describe their occupation(s). However, it is difficult to make generalisations on cultural adjustment based on this measure as only 56.6 per cent of all subjects were employed. Of those who were not employed, it is not known how many were housewives by choice and how many were unable to find a suitable job. Almost none of the INTRA subjects had appropriate immigration visas which would have allowed them to work in New Zealand, which accounts for the 93.1 per cent of this group who described themselves as housewives. All the INTER subjects were permitted to work in New Zealand but about one third (34.0 per cent) of this group described their occupation as "housewife." The discussion of occupations will, therefore, be concerned with only the INTER subjects.

The most important point relating to the employed subjects' occupations (Table 5.4) is that 58.1 per cent of jobs involved some Japanese language proficiency (such as tour guides or interpreters). Several subjects commented that they felt a lack of confidence in competing for jobs against New Zealanders and consequently concentrated on positions where they would face less competition such as those which required some Japanese language proficiency. Five subjects also mentioned that they held qualifications gained in Japan which were not recognised in New Zealand.

Table 5.4

Subjects' New Zealand occupations involving the use of the
the Japanese language (percentages)

	INTRA	INTER			TOTAL SUBJECTS	
		1-5	6-17	18+	TOTAL 1-18+	
Occupations involving Japanese language	50.0	62.5	56.3	57.2	58.1	57.6
Occupations not involving Japanese language	50.0	37.5	43.7	42.8	41.9	42.4
N	2	8	16	7	31	33

Occupations which involved the use of Japanese language included seven positions in the travel industry dealing with parties of Japanese tourists in New Zealand. A further eight subjects were employed in New Zealand businesses where they came into contact with Japanese businessmen or tourists - one owned a shop, two were receptionists and five were shop assistants. There were also three teachers of Japanese. Subjects who reported that they did not require the use of the Japanese language in their work included three owners of shops, a steel saleswoman, two secretaries, two shop assistants, two dress-makers and two part-time cleaners.

This tendency for the subjects to find employment where they could capitalise on their Japanese language knowledge has also been noted among interculturally married Japanese women in California. Ervin-Tripp (1967) observed that a large number of these women obtained jobs in California's Japanese restaurants. Such places give the women an opportunity to use their Japanese language and to work in a Japanese environment but in New Zealand, opportunities like these are very limited since there are only two such restaurants in the country (both in Auckland).

Based on a consideration of mainly subjective indicators, a tentative conclusion can be reached regarding the cultural adjustment of the migrants in New Zealand. Fewer INTRA than INTER subjects reported that they felt comfortable living in New Zealand. However, INTRA subjects were slightly less irritated by aspects of New Zealand culture though this may have been due to their relative lack of exposure to certain features of the country. Almost none of the INTRA group were able to work in New Zealand due to visa restrictions and this denied them the opportunity to be aided in their adjustment by working. It can be concluded, then, that the INTRA subjects found it more difficult to adjust to life in New Zealand than the INTER subjects did.

5.2 IDENTIFICATION

Migration may induce changes in the cultural identity of migrants (Stonequist, 1965; Taft, 1966, 1977; Lebra, 1972; Bochner, 1973; Adler, 1975; Brislin, 1981) and this has important implications for both their cultural and linguistic adaptation. Taft (1977) has argued that if migrants identify themselves as members of the host society then they are likely to adapt more rapidly and fully to life in the new environment. The identity of Japanese migrants has been investigated by researchers such as Hosokawa (1969), Maykovich (1972, 1976), Petersen (1971) and Kitano (1976) in the United States and in Brazil by Smith (1979). Overall, their findings suggest that first generation Japanese migrants tend to retain a Japanese cultural identity, although there are indications that some are able to attain a state of cultural pluralism, particularly war-brides in California (Ervin-Tripp, 1964, 1967).

Taft (1977) states that a migrant's feeling of acceptance in the host culture is one of the most significant subjective indicators of identification. For objective indicators, he places weight on formal membership (e.g. citizenship) or whether the migrant has friends in the host society. The cultural identification of subjects in the present study was accordingly determined by considering (a) whether they felt accepted in New Zealand society, (b) whether they held New Zealand or Japanese citizenship, together with (c) a description of the close friends and the associations to which subjects belonged.

5.2.1 Feelings of Acceptance

All INTRA subjects reported that they felt accepted in Japan (see Table 5.5) compared with only 61.7 per cent of the INTER group. There is also a suggestion that feelings of acceptance in Japan may be progressively weakened the longer an individual stays in New Zealand. Subjects who felt that they were not accepted in Japan attributed this to the fact that they were

interculturally married and had lived for long periods outside Japan thus losing contact with family and friends. Only 27.6 per cent of the INTRA group said that they felt accepted in New Zealand, compared with 61.7 per cent of the INTER group. Among the INTER subjects, only 25.0 per cent of INTER 1-5 said that they felt accepted compared with 90.9 per cent of the longer-term residents (INTER 18+); a difference which strongly suggests that the longer an interculturally married subject lives in New Zealand, the more likely it is that she will feel that she is accepted in the country.

It would seem that as feelings of acceptability in Japan decline the longer a migrant remains in New Zealand, concurrently the feelings of being accepted in New Zealand progressively rise. It would also appear that it takes longer than five years for feelings of acceptance in New Zealand to develop in a Japanese migrant. This time factor may be significant because it takes a number of years for members of a host community to understand outsiders, while the outsiders in their turn take some years to form close relationships with members of the host society.

By contrast, other studies of first generation Japanese migrants in both the United States (Maykovich, 1972) and Brazil (Smith, 1979) have shown that the first generation never felt completely accepted in their new environment but that they continued to feel accepted in Japan. Maykovich (1976) has also found that Japanese company employees and their families in the United States feel accepted in both America and Japan. De Vos (1973), on the other hand, reports that Japanese war-brides in California felt less accepted in Japan because of their intercultural marriage. The conclusion here seems to be that the act of marrying interculturally can promote feelings of acceptance in the host culture but can also contribute to feelings of unacceptability back in Japan, particularly among the war-bride generation.

Table 5.5

Subjects' feelings of acceptance/non-acceptance in Japan and in New Zealand (percentages)

	INTRA	INTER			TOTAL SUBJECTS	
		1-5	6-17	18+	TOTAL 1-18+	
<u>In Japan:</u>						
Feel accepted	100.0	66.7	62.5	54.5	61.7	76.3
Feel partly accepted	-	33.3	16.7	18.2	21.3	13.2
Do not feel accepted	-	-	20.8	27.3	17.0	10.5
<u>In New Zealand:</u>						
Feel accepted	27.6	25.0	66.6	90.9	61.7	48.7
Feel partly accepted	48.3	66.7	16.7	9.1	27.6	35.5
Do not feel accepted	24.1	8.3	16.7	-	10.7	15.8
N	29	12	24	11	47	76

5.2.2 Citizenship

Citizenship may not, by itself, be a reliable indicator of cultural identity since there are many reasons for changing one's nationality other than simply to identify oneself as a member of that country. However, some trends which support the subjective indicators just discussed were evident from an examination of the citizenship held by subjects.

As might be expected, the INTRA subjects had, without exception, retained Japanese nationality (Table 5.6). These subjects were sojourners who were in New Zealand for between one and five years and all fully intended returning to Japan at the end of their "tour of duty", as some called it, or holiday", as others described it.

Most of the 81.8 per cent of INTER 18+ subjects who had become New Zealand citizens had done so between three and five years after migrating to New Zealand. (According to the Department of Internal Affairs, a migrant cannot become a New Zealand citizen until he or she has resided in the country for three years but this condition may be waived when a migrant is married to a New Zealander.) The migrants' motivation to become New Zealand citizens may well have been connected with a loss of pride in Japan after its defeat in World War II. Support for this view has been provided by Maykovich (1972) who observed that a large number of first generation Japanese-Americans applied for American citizenship after the war for this reason. The majority of younger subjects, on the other hand, had retained Japanese citizenship. Only six INTER 6-17 women had become New Zealand citizens (again all between three and five years after arrival). The war-bride generation in New Zealand, therefore, appear to be a somewhat unique Japanese sub-group in their wish to become New Zealand citizens shortly after migration.

Table 5.6

Citizenship of subjects (percentages)

	INTRA	INTER			TOTAL SUBJECTS	
		1-5	6-17	18+	TOTAL 1-18+	
Japanese	100.0	100.0	70.8	9.1	63.9	77.6
New Zealand	-	-	25.0	81.8	31.9	19.8
UK	-	-	4.2	-	2.1	1.3
US	-	-	-	9.1	2.1	1.3
N	29	12	24	11	47	76

5.2.3 Friends

Subjects were asked to describe their three closest friends in terms of their sex (male or female), the city they lived in, their race (Japanese, Caucasian or other) and marriage (intra-cultural or intercultural). Not all subjects were willing to describe as many as three friends, claiming that they had only one or two friends they would describe as "close." Less than half (44.8 per cent) of the INTRA group said that they had at least three close friends whereas considerably more of the INTER group (63.9 per cent) described as many as three friends. This result may be attributed to the fact that since most of the INTRA group had been in New Zealand for no more than two or three years, they had not had sufficient opportunities to develop close friendships.

All the INTRA subjects described only women friends and, with the exception of six individuals (12.7 per cent), this was also the case with the INTER group. Benedict (1946) has observed that in Japanese society, male-female roles are clearly differentiated, Nakane (1970) has described how Japanese

men and women often attend segregated social gatherings while Martin (1954), Alfonso (1971) and Loveday (1981a) have documented a considerable number of differences in the varieties of Japanese language used by men and women which are reflective of differences in social behaviour. It is possibly for reasons such as these that so few subjects admitted to having men as close friends.

The INTRA subjects had a higher proportion of close friends in Japan and a lower proportion of close friends in New Zealand when compared with the INTER group (see Table 5.7). This suggests that the intraculturally married subjects, perhaps because they were fully aware that they would return to Japan shortly, continue to maintain contact with their friends there, whereas the interculturally married subjects who have opted for staying long-term in New Zealand, retain fewer friends in Japan. Furthermore, the results imply that "close" friends tend to live within the same town or at least in close geographical proximity to one another, and that once migration occurs, new friendships can displace old ones relatively quickly.

An important question asked was whether the subjects formed close friendships with other Japanese or whether they tended to make friends with non-Japanese. Responses indicated a clear tendency for subjects to have more Japanese close friends than individuals of other ethnic origins (see Table 5.8). The majority of both INTRA and INTER subjects said that two out of three of their close friends were Japanese and that the other one was a New Zealand Caucasian. This result is also consistent across all five sub-groups which shows that it is a pattern which does not vary according to length of residence in New Zealand. This may be compared with the finding of Bolitho (1976) who identified three basic types of social networks among Japanese women living in Melbourne. Some women favoured having only Japanese contacts, others had more Japanese and fewer Australian and the third group had more Australian than Japanese contacts. The evidence presented here strongly suggests that as far as close friends were concerned, most subjects, whether intraculturally or interculturally married, favoured Japanese rather than New Zealanders as close friends.

Table 5.7

Area of residence of subjects' close friends (percentages)

	INTRA	INTER				TOTAL FRIENDS DESCRIBED
		1-5	6-17	18+	TOTAL 1-18+	
Same city in NZ	59.2	76.7	78.1	80.0	78.1	71.0
Elsewhere in NZ	-	6.6	4.7	4.0	5.1	3.2
Japan	36.6	16.7	10.9	16.0	13.4	22.1
Other country	4.2	-	6.3	-	3.4	3.7
N	71	30	64	25	119	190

Note: "N" here shows the total number of close friends described by subjects in each group.

Table 5.8

Ethnicity of subjects' close friends (percentages)

	INTRA	INTER			TOTAL FRIENDS DESCRIBED	
		1-5	6-17	18+	TOTAL 1-18+	
Japanese	70.4	63.4	62.5	64.0	63.0	65.8
Caucasian	29.6	33.3	34.4	36.0	34.5	32.6
Other	-	3.3	3.1	-	2.5	1.6
N	71	30	64	25	119	190

Note: "N" here shows the total number of close friends described by subjects in each group.

Subjects were also asked whether the friends they described were intraculturally married, interculturally married or single and these responses are summarised in Table 5.9. It is immediately striking how few close friendships existed between the INTRA group and the INTER group. Only 4.2 per cent of the INTRA subject's close friends were interculturally married Japanese women and only 9.5 per cent of the INTER subjects had friends who were intraculturally married Japanese women.

In addition to this finding that close friendships were extremely uncommon between INTRA and INTER subjects, few of the INTRA group appeared to even be acquainted with any interculturally married Japanese women and vice versa yet their existence as groups was mutually known. In Chapter Four it was shown that members of these two groups of Japanese women had considerable differences in terms of age, area of origin, home background, education, religious affiliation and socioeconomic status. There were also differences in the lives led by INTRA and INTER subjects when they came to New Zealand. INTRA subjects, for example, appeared to enjoy a higher standard of living than most of the INTER group and there were also other differences in life styles and future plans. Given such differences between the groups, it is not surprising that there was so little communication between intraculturally married and interculturally married Japanese women.

This is a result which is confirmed by the findings of other studies. Ervin-Tripp (1964, 1967) and De Vos (1973) observed that war-brides in California tended not to associate with members of the Japanese-American community or Japanese businessmen's families. Bolitho (1976) has also shown that the wives of Japanese company employees in Melbourne associated with other Japanese businessmen's wives rather than with interculturally married Japanese women.

Table 5.9

Marriages of subjects' close friends (percentages)

	INTRA	INTER				TOTAL FRIENDS DESCRIBED
		1-5	6-17	18+	TOTAL 1-18+	
Not married	4.2	20.0	9.4	4.0	10.9	8.4
Japanese intra-cultural	64.8	-	12.5	16.0	10.1	30.5
Caucasian intra-cultural	26.8	26.7	26.6	36.0	28.6	27.9
Other intra-cultural	-	6.6	3.1	-	3.4	2.1
Japanese inter-cultural	4.2	46.7	48.4	44.0	47.0	31.1
N	71	30	64	25	119	190

Note: "N" here shows the total number of close friends described by subjects in each group.

5.2.4 Group Membership

The final objective indicator of identification is the group membership of subjects. First, evidence for the existence of informal communicative networks will be discussed and this will be followed by a description of the associations, clubs and classes to which the subjects belonged.

It has been shown that INTRA subjects tended not to associate with the INTER subjects but instead to form separate informal communicative networks. These networks appear to have two basic functions. First, the networks provide a source of advice about New Zealand culture so that members can learn about the procedures of buying or renting a house, purchasing items such as food or clothing, seeking information on matters such as banking, taxation, transport, education, entertainment or vacations. Second, the networks also function as a mini-Japanese society especially adapted to local conditions. For example, members of the networks were frequently observed to share imported Japanese food among their friends; they often met at each other's houses, had Japanese tea and cakes and prepared Japanese food together. Japanese books and magazines frequently circulated among network members.

The subjects were asked how frequently they had contact with Japanese persons (other than family). It was found that INTRA subjects had contact with another Japanese every three or four days on average but for INTER subjects this contact occurred on average about every twelve to fourteen days. Little variation was noted between the three INTER sub-groups which suggests that most of the migrants maintain contact with other Japanese for many years after settling in New Zealand. This difference in frequency of contact between members of the INTRA and INTER groups may be due to two possible reasons. Japanese families in Auckland and Wellington generally live in close proximity to each other (e.g. in Auckland almost all Japanese company employees live in Postal Zone 5, i.e. Remuera and St. Heliers) which facilitates frequent visiting. Furthermore, virtually none of these INTRA subjects had visas which allowed them to work while in New Zealand and they therefore had more leisure time than many of the INTER group.

One other feature of the networks is worth mentioning here. Most networks appeared to have at least one or two influential members who acted as informal leaders or spokeswomen for the group. These network leaders were generally senior in age to the others or their husbands had higher status (e.g. a senior embassy official). Not all members of the networks accepted these leaders and some subjects volunteered accounts of competition for leadership which had occurred in two of the networks. Several subjects also described the existence of rival factions which existed within the networks. It is perhaps only to be expected that when a small group of expatriates settle in a new society, there will be differences of opinion, personality clashes and rivalry. In conclusion, it can be said that while the networks held the potential for assisting the Japanese migrants to adapt to life in New Zealand, there was also a tendency for some to split into small independent factions with little intercommunication between them.

Associations, clubs and classes may be distinguished from informal communicative networks as being formally organised groups which meet regularly for some defined purpose. It was found that 65.5 per cent of INTRA subjects (Table 5.10) belonged to one or more associations, clubs or classes while 53.2 per cent of the INTER group were in one or more such groups. Among the INTER subjects, however, it appears that the longer a migrant stays in New Zealand, the greater the number of groups she is likely to join. None of the INTER 1-5 subjects, for example, belonged to more than two groups whereas 20.8 per cent of the INTER 6-17 and 45.5 per cent of the INTER 18+ subjects were members of three or more groups.

INTRA subjects belonged to a wide variety of groups. Almost a third (31.0 per cent) were members of Ikebana International, 10.3 per cent were in the Japan-New Zealand society and 10.3 per cent had joined a golf club. Other groups to which these women belonged included fitness classes, teachers' associations, Federation of University Women, staff wives' clubs, UNICEF, various religious organisations, classes at university, and evening classes in Chinese painting, weaving, jewelry-making and western-style flower arrangement.

Two thirds of INTER 1-5 subjects said that they did not belong to any associations, clubs or classes. The reasons given were mainly that they held either full-time or part-time jobs, or had young families which kept them too busy for other activities. Most of those who had joined formal groups said that they belonged to only one and these included Playcentre, Plunket Society, YWCA and Polytechnic English classes. One half of the INTER 6-17 group reported that they did not belong to any formal groups due to work or family commitments, but the other half were (on average) members of at least two groups. These included social clubs, church groups, Plunket Society, Meals on Wheels, travel clubs, debating societies, and various sports and hobbies activities. Only 18.2 per cent of the INTER 18+ subjects said that they did not belong to any associations, clubs or classes. The majority had joined two or three groups which included social clubs, Antarctic Society, Winemakers Society, Lady Lions Club, UNICEF, parent-teacher associations, church groups, staff wives' clubs, women's business groups, bridge clubs, table tennis clubs, and guitar, pottery and painting classes.

When the groups to which the subjects belonged are considered in terms of Japanese membership, only two attracted any number of Japanese women: Ikebana International and Sangatsukai. Ikebana International is a flower arranging club to which 31.0 per cent of the INTRA group belonged. This club appeared to provide a formal setting in which the wives of the Japanese company employees could meet. It is worth while noting, by way of contrast, that only one INTER subject said that she had ever been a member of this society and that she had ceased attending after one visit. Wellington was the only city with a club which was attended by a substantial number of INTER subjects. This was the Sangatsukai (named "March Club" because it was established in March, 1979) which had evolved from a social network into a formally constituted association with approximately 20 members who meet about once every three months to listen to speakers, see films, participate in cultural activities such as flower arranging classes, leatherwork classes and picnics. Because Sangatsukai organises both Japanese and western activities, it may be seen to be assisting its members to understand more about New Zealand society while maintaining

links with Japanese culture. Since Ikebana International attracted only INTRA women, and Sangatsukai was composed only of interculturally married women, the memberships of formal groups may be cited as further evidence that INTRA women tend not to associate with INTER women. This tendency for Japanese to form groups based on common interest is also to be found in the United States. Kitano (1976) has observed that Japanese associations there are generally composed of migrants from a single generation, for example, issei, nisei or sansei.

The subjects in almost all the rest of the clubs mentioned above stated that they were the only Japanese member. The motive for joining such clubs may have been that the women wished to pursue a particular interest or it may also have been to establish contacts in New Zealand society. Whatever the motive, joining such groups would give the women the opportunity to meet New Zealanders and learn about the local culture.

In conclusion, the INTRA subjects' feelings of identity were clearly Japanese since they felt more accepted in Japan than in New Zealand, they were all Japanese citizens and most of their friends were Japanese. The more recently arrived INTER 1-5 subjects also appeared to identify themselves as Japanese for similar reasons. However, the INTER subjects who had lived in New Zealand for longer periods, particularly the INTER 18+ group, appeared to have entered a transitional phase where their identity was neither a fully Japanese nor a fully New Zealand one. The older women, for example, felt accepted in New Zealand but less so in Japan, they were almost all New Zealand citizens, but at the same time, most still counted Japanese among their close friends.

Support for these results is also to be found in several other studies. The strong retention of Japanese identity by INTRA subjects, for example, is also present among Japanese sojourners in the United States (Maykovich, 1976) and the tendency for INTER subjects to retain both Japanese identity and demonstrate a degree of westernization has also been observed among interculturally married Japanese women in the studies of Ervin-Tripp (1964, 1967), De Vos (1973) and Crawford (1979).

Table 5.10

Number of associations, clubs or classes of which subjects were a member (percentages)

	INTRA	INTER			TOTAL SUBJECTS	
		1-5	6-17	18+	TOTAL 1-18+	
Number of associations of which a member						
None	34.5	66.7	50.0	18.2	46.8	42.1
1	20.7	25.0	12.5	27.2	19.1	19.7
2	37.9	8.3	16.7	9.1	12.8	22.4
3 or more	6.9	-	20.8	45.5	21.3	15.8
N	29	12	24	11	47	76

5.3 CULTURAL COMPETENCE

This aspect of the migrant's adaptation involves knowledge of the language and culture of the host society and the ability to use this knowledge appropriately to function within the new environment. A major difficulty associated with the assessment of cultural knowledge is that it requires a substantial test which includes items on customs, traditions and behaviours. Taft (1977), however, does not confine his description of cultural competence to merely knowledge of the culture but places great emphasis on language proficiency as an indicator of cultural competence. Support for this approach is to be found in the work of Hymes (1964, 1972, 1974), Fishman (1966, 1972, 1978) and Labov (1972a) who have all described the close relationship which exists between language and culture. In linking language proficiency and cultural knowledge in this way, it can be argued that the more proficient migrants become at using a second language, the more understanding they will have of the new cultural background.

The subjective indicator to be used in assessing the subjects' cultural competence will be what Taft (1977) calls "self-perceived competence in the language" while the subjects' oral proficiency in English will be taken as an objective indicator. The English proficiency of the subjects is fully described in Chapter Seven and so, at this point, only the basic differences in proficiency levels observed between INTRA and INTER subjects will be mentioned.

It was found that most subjects were able to self-rate their own level of proficiency in English quite accurately (see Section 7.1.3 for details). All subjects acknowledged some limitations in their oral English proficiency and most of the INTRA group said that they had serious problems with communication in English. The objective measure of the subjects' oral English proficiency was the FSI rating scale (see Section 7.1.1). Results showed that almost all the INTRA group had

a low level of proficiency, with 82.0 per cent being assessed at level 0 or 1 on the five point scale (Table 7.1). The INTER group, on the other hand, demonstrated much greater proficiency with 93.7 per cent being assessed at level 2 or 3.

If the line of reasoning proposed by Taft (1977) is followed, that is, that language proficiency is an indicator of cultural competence, then there is a clear implication that INTRA subjects (who were almost all found to have low levels of oral proficiency in English) would have less knowledge of New Zealand culture than the INTER subjects. This implication is also supported by evidence from the Japanese interviews. Many of the interview questions probed aspects of the subject's life in New Zealand (e.g. "Do you feel accepted in New Zealand society?" or "Do you ever have the feeling that certain aspects of life in New Zealand irritate you in any way?"). While answering this type of question many INTRA subjects showed that they did not know about or held misconceptions regarding specific aspects of New Zealand culture such as the meaning of public holidays (e.g. Anzac Day), the education system, how to deal with banks or pay accounts and the rights and obligations of tenants and landlords. The INTER subjects appeared to be much better informed but even within this group, however, knowledge of the culture was not complete. Some of the more recent arrivals (INTER 1-5) mentioned during the interviews that they were not familiar with the workings of the New Zealand health system or the ways of obtaining housing loans. It is likely, therefore, that the low oral proficiency in English of these subjects had hindered their learning about the local culture.

In conclusion, although there is no quantitative evidence to prove the link between language proficiency and cultural competence, the impressions of the interviewers tended to confirm the view that those subjects who had the greatest proficiency in oral English also had a higher degree of cultural competence.

5.4 ROLE ACCULTURATION

Role acculturation refers to the process by which the attitudes and beliefs of migrants converge towards those held by members of the host society. It is manifested in role behaviour such as food habits, dress or actual language use (Taft, 1977). As a subjective indicator, the migrants' attitudes towards New Zealanders and Japanese were measured by means of an indirect testing procedure similar to that used by Gardner and Lambert (1972), Oller et al. (1977) and Chihara and Oller (1978). The data from this will be considered together with objective indicators such as food, dress and language use to determine the role acculturation of the subjects.

5.4.1 Attitudes to Japanese and New Zealanders

Subjects were asked the question, "Do you feel that Japanese or New Zealanders most often exhibit the following traits: friendliness, humour, thriftiness, intelligence, sincerity, sociability, stability, honesty, kindness and dependability." Responses will be discussed in terms of whether subjects associated these traits with Japanese people or with New Zealanders (see Table 5.11).

The clearest result was obtained for the trait of intelligence where 62.1 per cent of the INTRA group said that Japanese people exhibited this trait but only 3.4 per cent selected New Zealanders. A strikingly similar result was obtained for the INTER subjects (65.9 per cent for Japanese and 2.2 per cent for New Zealanders). None of the other traits produced such a marked result in favour of the Japanese as this. Oller et al. (1977) report a similar finding for Chinese subjects who rated Americans as more "successful" but considerably less "clever"

and less "intellectual" than Chinese people. Some ethnic groups may feel that they are better endowed with intelligence than other groups but such a result could also be explained by the fact that attitudes towards "intelligence" or "cleverness" may be very close to a minority groups' cultural core (Smolicz, 1980). As the cultural identity of a migrant changes to become more like that of members of the host society, so too may the migrant's views on intelligence change. Only INTER 18+ subjects had a slight majority who believed that intelligence is a trait which is found equally among Japanese and New Zealanders.

A majority of all subjects said that New Zealanders were more thrifty and had more of a sense of humour. However, many of these subjects also commented that they did not regard thriftiness as a desirable trait, saying that they felt New Zealanders were often too thrifty (such as not reciprocating in a gift-giving exchange). Subjects did, on the other hand, feel that a sense of humour was a desirable trait and that it was more of a New Zealand characteristic than a Japanese one.

The INTER subjects tended to see Japanese people as being more stable than New Zealanders (48.9 per cent for Japanese compared with 23.4 per cent for New Zealanders). This may be reflective of the Japanese being taught not to express their feelings as openly and frankly as westerners. The INTER group, living closer to westerners, would have more opportunity than the INTRA group to see New Zealanders expressing emotions such as happiness, anger or disappointment. Similarly, a majority of INTRA subjects (62.1 per cent, cf 38.3 per cent of INTER) regarded Japanese as more dependable than New Zealanders. However, some of the longer-term INTER residents perceived New Zealanders to be more dependable, presumably because the links of these women with friends and relations among Japanese had weakened and been replaced by New Zealand ties.

A majority of INTRA and INTER 1-5 subjects said that they felt New Zealanders were more friendly, more sociable and kinder than Japanese. However, the majority of the longer-term residents (INTER 6-17 and INTER 18+) regarded Japanese as equally friendly, sociable and kind. The two remaining traits, those of honesty and sincerity, produced no distinctive trends except that the longer-term INTER subjects tended to perceive Japanese as less sincere which again may be due to their decreasing contact with Japan and Japanese people.

It is relevant at this point to make two observations about this kind of attitude measuring device. First, certain traits close to the cultural core (such as intelligence) may have greater potentiality for attitude measurement. Second, there are other traits (e.g. humour) which may be more of a part of a certain culture than others. In retrospect, it is considered that the list contained several New Zealand oriented traits (notably thriftiness and humour) and this may have influenced the results to some extent. It is suggested that had the traits of introversion, modesty or filial piety, for example, been presented to the subjects they would probably have claimed that Japanese demonstrate these traits more than New Zealanders. This clearly shows the need in such attitudinal testing to make a careful selection of traits which are not part of the stereotyped cultural make-up of one culture or the other.

Taking these points into account, some conclusions can be drawn here. Perhaps the most significant is that the majority of subjects favoured Japanese in three traits which could be considered to be important human social virtues (particularly in the context of a migrant group). These were intelligence, stability and dependability. The implication here is that subjects predominantly had a Japanese rather than a New Zealand cultural identity. Second, the responses of the INTRA subjects often differed sharply from those of the INTER group. This seems to have been due to the INTRA subjects having less intimate contact with, and fewer opportunities to develop friendships with New Zealanders than the INTER subjects had.

Table 5.11

Subjects' perceptions of Japanese and New Zealanders' cultural traits (percentages)

Trait	INTRA			INTER									TOTAL					
				1-5			6-17			18+			1-18+					
	Jpns	Equal	NZ	Jpns	Equal	NZ	Jpns	Equal	NZ	Jpns	Equal	NZ	Jpns	Equal	NZ			
Intelligence	62.1	34.5	3.4	75.0	25.0	-	70.8	25.0	4.2	45.5	54.5	-	65.9	31.9	2.2	64.5	32.9	2.6
Thriftiness	3.4	-	96.6	25.0	8.3	66.7	12.5	8.3	79.2	27.3	9.1	63.6	19.2	8.5	72.3	13.1	5.3	81.6
Humour	6.9	27.6	65.5	8.3	25.0	66.7	4.2	37.5	58.3	9.1	27.3	63.6	6.4	31.9	61.7	6.6	30.2	63.2
Honesty	13.8	55.2	31.0	8.3	66.7	25.0	29.2	45.8	25.0	18.2	54.5	27.3	21.3	53.2	25.5	18.4	53.9	27.7
Stability	34.5	20.7	44.8	50.0	25.0	25.0	37.5	33.3	29.2	72.7	18.2	9.1	48.9	27.7	23.4	43.4	25.0	31.6
Dependability	62.1	27.6	10.3	50.0	33.3	16.7	37.5	33.3	29.2	27.2	36.4	36.4	38.3	34.0	27.7	47.7	31.6	21.0
Friendliness	13.8	27.6	58.6	16.7	-	83.3	16.6	41.7	41.7	-	72.7	27.3	12.8	38.3	48.9	13.1	34.2	52.7
Kindness	3.4	41.4	55.2	25.0	33.3	41.7	8.3	58.4	33.3	9.1	72.7	18.2	12.8	55.3	31.9	9.2	50.0	40.8
Sociability	6.9	17.2	75.9	8.3	8.3	83.4	12.5	20.8	66.7	-	45.5	54.5	8.5	23.4	68.1	7.9	21.0	71.1
Sincerity	6.9	69.0	24.1	41.7	41.7	16.6	20.9	45.8	33.3	18.2	54.5	27.3	25.5	46.8	27.7	18.4	55.3	26.3
N	29			12			24			11			47			76		

5.4.2 Role Behaviours

According to Taft (1977), objective indicators of role acculturation refer to the observable behaviours of migrants and include customs relating to food, dress, language use and religion. Studies of the Chinese in New Zealand, notably that of Fong (1959), have been based on objective indicators such as these. It is proposed to take three markers, namely food, dress and language use to determine whether the role behaviour of the subjects is Japanese-oriented or New Zealand-oriented.

Clear evidence is presented in Table 5.12 that INTRA subjects prepared Japanese food more often than INTER subjects, undoubtedly because the INTRA subjects' family members were all Japanese. Many INTRA subjects reported that they did not feel that a meal was complete without a bowl of rice whereas some of the interculturally married group said that their husbands did not like Japanese food and that their children had not developed a taste for it.

A fundamental problem associated with the preparation of Japanese food is the obtaining of proper foodstuffs. As Japanese food is not readily available and is also expensive in New Zealand, many subjects had food sent to them from Japan. Some of the INTRA group received up to 60 per cent of their food from Japan (Table 5.13). This food is commonly sent through company channels (some companies, e.g. Mitsubishi, have their own ships), or else the food is sent from Japan by relations, or brought by Japanese (such as other company employees) visiting New Zealand. Almost all of the interculturally married group reported that they received less than 20 per cent of their food from Japan and that this was generally sent by relations.

Table 5.12

Amount of Japanese food prepared by subjects (percentages)

	INTRA	INTER			TOTAL 1-18+	TOTAL SUBJECTS
		1-5	6-17	18+		
0-20%	3.4	41.7	50.0	45.5	46.8	30.3
20-40	17.3	41.7	16.7	18.2	23.4	21.1
40-60	58.6	16.6	16.7	27.2	19.2	34.2
60-80	17.3	-	12.4	9.1	8.5	11.8
80-100	3.4	-	4.2	-	2.1	2.6
N	29	12	24	11	47	76

Table 5.13

Amount of food sent from Japan to subjects (percentages)

	INTRA	INTER			TOTAL 1-18+	TOTAL SUBJECTS
		1-5	6-17	18+		
0%	6.9	41.7	33.3	45.5	38.3	26.3
1-20	37.9	58.3	62.5	45.5	57.4	50.0
21-40	31.0	-	4.2	9.0	4.3	14.5
41-60	24.2	-	-	-	-	9.2
N	29	12	24	11	47	76

Although traditional Japanese kimonos are sometimes worn by women in Japan, none of the subjects interviewed were wearing kimonos at the time of the interview. A few said that they had brought kimonos with them to New Zealand but very seldom wore them. However, one aspect of dress in Japan which is practised by almost all Japanese is that of shoe removal prior to entering a building. Houses, apartments and even hospitals and schools are especially designed with a sunken genkan (entrance hall) to allow residents and guests alike to remove their shoes and put on a pair of slippers after stepping up inside. Interviewers surveyed the retention of this custom among the subjects in this study and the results are summarised in Table 5.14.

More than half of all INTRA and INTER subjects said that they always removed their shoes before entering their homes. Reasons given for not doing this were that the New Zealand houses subjects were living in did not have proper facilities such as a genkan or a kutsubako (shoe storage box) for convenient shoe removal. INTER 1-5 subjects showed the greatest reluctance to adopt the New Zealand custom of wearing shoes inside the house with only 8.3 per cent saying that they never took off their shoes at the door. The longer-term residents were more accepting of the western custom, but it is worth noting that even among the interculturally married group who had lived in New Zealand for more than 18 years only 36.4 per cent claimed that they never removed their shoes. In some houses, special architectural features such as the genkan and kutsubako had been built and indoor slippers provided to replicate the Japanese custom. No doubt the INTER group, since they were in New Zealand long-term, had taken these positive steps to ensure that the practice of removing shoes at the door was retained. The New Zealand husbands of many of the INTER subjects were also observed to remove their shoes on entering the home. Shoe-removal may, therefore, be a reasonably enduring aspect of Japanese culture and one which may even be adopted by receptive New Zealanders.

Table 5.14

Subjects' removal of shoes prior to entering the house
(percentages)

	INTRA	INTER			TOTAL SUBJECTS	
		1-5	6-17	18+	TOTAL 1-18+	
Always remove shoes	58.6	75.0	50.0	54.5	57.4	57.9
Sometimes remove shoes	3.5	16.7	12.5	9.1	12.8	9.2
Never remove shoes	37.9	8.3	37.5	36.4	29.8	32.9
N	29	12	24	11	47	76

Language use is a complex behaviour to examine and is described in detail in Chapter Six. Briefly, it was found that subjects used only English when interacting with New Zealanders, such as when they were out shopping, at work or talking to friends and neighbours. Within families there was a clear distinction between the INTRA subjects who used Japanese almost exclusively whereas English was used by almost all the INTER group when communicating with their family members. Furthermore, the INTRA group used mainly Japanese in private activities such as thinking, reading and writing letters while the INTER subjects tended to use Japanese at certain times and English at others.

Finally, it can be said that the objective indicators of food preparation, shoe removal and language use showed clearly that the INTRA subjects were much more Japanese in their role behaviour than the INTER subjects. This appears to follow the trend observed in other studies of first generation Japanese migrants where sojourners have retained Japanese-type role behaviours (Bolitho, 1976) but interculturally married women have demonstrated both Japanese and western role behaviours (Ervin-Tripp, 1964, 1967; De Vos, 1973).

5.5 SUMMARY

The concern of this chapter has been to describe the cultural adaptation of Japanese women migrants to life in New Zealand. Taft's (1977) model of cultural adaptation proved to be a useful framework for the discussion particularly since it takes into account the important role which language plays in cultural adaptation (an aspect which will be investigated in greater depth in Chapters Six, Seven, Eight and Nine.) Four hypotheses, focusing on the aspects of cultural adjustment, identification, cultural competence and role acculturation were postulated. Results will be briefly summarised in relation to the appropriate hypotheses formulated for this study.

Hypothesis 2 The INTRA subjects will not adjust to New Zealand as well as the INTER subjects will.

On the basis of the subjects' feelings of comfort and their occupations in New Zealand, it would appear that the INTER group had adjusted better to life in New Zealand than had the INTRA subjects. Consequently, Hypothesis 2 is supported.

Hypothesis 3 The INTRA subjects will feel that they have more of a Japanese cultural identity than the INTER subjects.

The INTRA and INTER 1-5 subjects appeared to have strong Japanese identities but evidence of Japanese-western identity was observed among many of the longer-term residents. This hypothesis is, therefore, supported with the qualification that it is the longer-term INTER residents who have less of a Japanese identity.

Hypothesis 4 The INTRA subjects will have less cultural competence in New Zealand than the INTER subjects.

Evidence based mainly on the difference in language proficiency between the two groups suggested that INTRA subjects had considerably less cultural competence in New Zealand society than INTER subjects. Hypothesis 4 is therefore upheld.

Hypothesis 5 The INTRA subjects will demonstrate less acculturation to New Zealand in terms of role behaviour than the INTER subjects.

The INTRA group demonstrated in their role behaviour, particularly in their preparation of Japanese food and use of Japanese language, that their behaviour was much more Japanese-oriented than that of the INTER subjects, many of whom appeared to be equally Japanese and western in their cultural orientation. This hypothesis is also supported.

The overall conclusion is that the INTRA subjects had not adapted to New Zealand as well as the INTER subjects had. Both groups demonstrated patterns of cultural adaptation similar to those which have been observed by other researchers. The adaptation of INTRA subjects, for example, paralleled that of sojourning Japanese company employees and their families in the United States (Maykovich, 1976) and in Australia (Bolitho, 1976) whereas the experience of the INTER subjects had much in common with that of interculturally married Japanese women in the United States as described by Ervin-Tripp (1964, 1967) and De Vos (1973). A key factor in assisting the process of adaptation appears to be that of intercultural marriage. The INTER subjects, because of their intention to reside in New Zealand long-term and because of their closer contact with New Zealanders, were clearly at an advantage when it came to cultural adaptation. Finally, the process of adaptation appears to take several years since it was found that the INTER 1-5 group had not adapted to New Zealand as well as the longer-term residents (INTER 6-17 and INTER 18+) had.

CHAPTER SIX

LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE AND LANGUAGE SHIFT

The main emphasis of this chapter falls on the Japanese language use of the subjects and investigates issues related to language maintenance and language shift.

The first point to be established is whether all subjects were indeed native speakers of Japanese and this will be discussed in terms of the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 6 The subjects will all be recognised as native speakers of Japanese by other Japanese native speakers.

This will lead on to a consideration of the maintenance of Japanese among the group. The issue of language attrition in Japanese is explored particularly in the light of recent research into language loss among some first generation ethnic minorities (Miller, 1977; Gardner, 1982; Levy, 1982).

Hypothesis 7 The subjects will, after a few years living in New Zealand, feel that their ability to use the Japanese language has suffered a decline.

Language maintenance is also concerned with the transmission of the migrant group's language to succeeding generations. There have been many studies which have found that ethnic languages may not be passed on (e.g. Fong, 1959; Leopold, 1971; Dressler and Wodak-Leodolter, 1977; Schlieben-Lange, 1977; Hill, 1978; Dorian, 1980; Lambert and Freed, 1982). The use of the Japanese language certainly does not seem to last beyond the first generation of migrants according to the studies of

Ervin-Tripp (1967), De Vos (1973), Maykovich (1976) and Smith (1979). In line with these findings, the following hypothesis is used as a starting point for the discussion of language maintenance among the Japanese in New Zealand.

Hypothesis 8 The Japanese language will be passed on to the children of the INTRA subjects but not to the children of the INTER subjects.

The second section of this chapter will investigate language shift among the migrants beginning with the assumption that Japanese will be replaced by English under certain conditions of intergroup contact. A difference in the choice of language used within the homes of INTRA and INTER women was predicted based on the observations of Ervin-Tripp (1967), De Vos (1973) and Curson and Curson (1982).

Hypothesis 9 The preferred home language of the intracultural Japanese family will be Japanese and the preferred home language of the intercultural family will be English.

Finally, the shift from Japanese to English will be described in terms of "domains" following an approach used in a number of studies such as those carried out by Scheff (1965), Fishman (1966), Kloss (1966), Haugen (1969), Myers (1973) and Kroeff (1977).

Hypothesis 10 The shift to the English language for INTRA subjects will progress from the public domain through the family domain and finally to the private domain whereas for the INTER subjects the shift will begin simultaneously in the public and family domains then proceed to the private domain.

6.1 LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE

This section deals with the migrants' performance in Japanese, their feelings of language attrition or decline and their attempts to maintain their native language actively both for their own use and for the benefit of their children.

6.1.1 Japanese Language Use

Quirk et al. (1972) define a native language as that which is the first language acquired by an individual. There can, of course, be problems associated with describing a native language as the "first" to be acquired as Christophersen (1973) has pointed out but these problems are less relevant when considering a monolingual country such as Japan in which virtually everyone learns only one language from birth. All subjects in the present study could, therefore, be classified as native-speakers of Japanese since all had been born into Japanese families where the primary language throughout childhood and adolescence had been Japanese. However, to test this assumption, the two Japanese interviewers and one other Japanese person were asked to listen to each tape recording of the interviews and to say whether they thought the subject could be described as a native-speaker of Japanese. Although such a judgement is clearly intuitive and subjective, there are, nevertheless, many characteristics of pronunciation, vocabulary and syntax which allow one native speaker to recognise another. Furthermore, researchers such as Guiora et al. (1967) and Pawley (1980) have argued for and used such intuitive approaches to investigations of language problems such as establishing whether an individual is a native speaker of a language. The result of the investigation in the present study was conclusive. According to the judges, all subjects sounded as if they were native-speakers of Japanese.

The judges reported that they heard only two subjects in the main study (both INTER 18+) make extensive use of a local dialect (Hiroshima-ben) in terms of accent, words and structures, while all other subjects spoke standard Japanese. There were no cases of subjects who resorted to using English to cover poor quality of spoken Japanese or a dialect which might have betrayed peasant origins as reported in the study of Japanese-Americans by Conroy and Miyakawa (1972).

Despite the fact that all subjects were native-born Japanese, many had lived outside Japan for much of their adult lives (more than 20 years in some cases). It can reasonably be asked, therefore, whether these long periods of residence abroad had affected the subjects' Japanese language performance. Some writers have reported cases of language attrition or decline among Japanese migrants (see observations made by Tsukigawa, 1937; Nagara, 1972; Miller, 1977). Such attrition usually occurs after many years of residence in non-Japanese speaking areas and often manifests itself in, for example, the inability to recall certain words or forgetting how to write kanji. Although there was no evidence of any subjects having "lost" or "forgotten" how to speak Japanese during the interviews, most subjects did express some concern with certain aspects of their Japanese language. Table 6.1 shows that nearly half of the INTRA subjects (44.8 per cent) and the majority of the INTER group (80.8 per cent) reported that they felt a decline in their Japanese language performance. It is likely that fewer of the INTRA subjects perceived some erosion in their Japanese language performance because these women had more opportunities than the INTER group to use Japanese. INTRA subjects, for example, used Japanese more extensively within their families (see Section 6.2.2), met other Japanese persons (non-family) more frequently (Section 5.2.3) and read more in Japanese (Section 6.1.2) than the INTER subjects. It is also evident from Table 6.1 that the longer an interculturally married subject lives in New Zealand, the more likely it is that she will feel that her Japanese language performance is deteriorating.

Table 6.1

Subjects who thought they had experienced a decline in their Japanese language (percentages)

	INTRA	INTER				TOTAL SUBJECTS
		1-5	6-17	18+	TOTAL 1-18+	
	44.8	66.7	83.3	90.9	80.8	67.1
N	29	12	24	11	47	76

Table 6.2

Features of Japanese language in which subjects thought they had experienced some decline (percentages)

	INTRA	INTER				TOTAL SUBJECTS
		1-5	6-17	18+	TOTAL 1-18+	
Writing <u>kanji</u>	61.5	62.5	75.0	60.0	68.4	66.7
Speaking Japanese	15.4	37.5	20.0	30.0	26.4	23.5
Both equally	23.1	-	5.0	10.0	5.2	9.8
N	13	8	20	10	38	51

Note: N here refers to the number of subjects who thought they had experienced some decline in their Japanese language.

In addition to these data, there was also the case of two women interviewed during the pilot study who claimed that they had "forgotten" their Japanese. Both women, when spoken to by the Japanese interviewer, frequently used English words, began sentences in Japanese but completed them in English, were silent for long pauses while mentally phrasing a response, often simply abandoned sentences completely and generally showed a preference for speaking English rather than Japanese. There were several common features in the backgrounds of these two women. They had both spent several years of their childhood in Manchuria prior to World War II and their schooling had been interrupted to the extent that neither had graduated from high school. Both had left Japan in their early 20s, had been in New Zealand for more than 20 years, and they had no Japanese friends and only very occasionally used Japanese language. Furthermore, these women were not highly proficient in English either, being assessed at level 2 and 2+ respectively on the FSI scale. A disturbing implication here is that migrants can lose the fluent use of their native language while only reaching a low level of proficiency in their second language. However, these may be isolated examples and personal language attrition may not be a critical problem facing most first generation Japanese living in New Zealand.

Subjects who felt that their ability to use Japanese had declined since coming to live in New Zealand were also asked to identify which particular features of the Japanese language caused them trouble by choosing from a list of options which included: understanding spoken Japanese, speaking Japanese, recognizing kanji and writing kanji. The results obtained are set out in Table 6.2. The majority of subjects who reported concern with their Japanese language performance identified the major problem area as the recall and writing of kanji (61.5 per cent of INTRA and 68.4 per cent of INTER subjects). Reading kanji appeared to cause few problems. However, many subjects commented that in having to recall and write down characters in letters and reports they found themselves having to consult a Japanese dictionary on frequent occasions. By contrast, only 15.4 per cent of the INTRA group and 26.4 per

cent of the INTER group claimed to have some difficulty in speaking Japanese. (This appears to support the view of Miller (1977) that the Japanese writing system has more difficulties in connection with learning and retention than alphabetic scripts such as English.)

6.1.2 Japanese Language Maintenance

Japanese language maintenance will be discussed in terms of the efforts individual migrants were making to keep their language alive both for their own use and for the benefit of their children.

Probably the most significant indicator of language maintenance is the degree to which the language is used by the migrants themselves (Fishman, 1966). The subjects' use of the Japanese language in New Zealand is described in detail in Section 6.2 where it will be shown that they all reported that they used the language in private activities such as reading, letter-writing and thinking, as well as in interactions with other Japanese people. In short, since virtually all the subjects appeared to be making extensive use of Japanese each day (see Tables 6.7, 6.8 and 6.9), they were maintaining their native language for their own use.

Another potential indicator of language maintenance is the deliberate steps taken by migrants to maintain their language performance. As already mentioned, many subjects reported that they felt some decline in their Japanese language performance after a few years living in New Zealand. About half of the INTRA and INTER subjects who felt a decline (61.5 per cent and 47.4 per cent respectively) reported that they had initiated some sort of counteractive behaviour (see Table 6.3). The strategy favoured by most of these women (37.6 per cent of INTRA and 61.2 per cent of the INTER group) was the reading of Japanese books, magazines and newspapers while the second most popular strategy was the use of a Japanese dictionary (37.6 per cent of INTRA and 27.8 per cent of INTER subjects).

Table 6.3

Counteractive measures to Japanese language attrition taken by subjects who felt some decline (percentages)

	INTRA	INTER			TOTAL SUBJECTS	
		1-5	6-17	18+	TOTAL 1-18+	
Reads Japanese newspaper, magazine or book	37.6	33.2	63.7	75.0	61.2	53.9
Uses Japanese dictionary	37.6	66.8	18.1	25.0	27.8	30.9
Visits Japanese friends	-	-	9.1	-	5.5	3.8
Telephones Japanese friends	12.4	-	-	-	-	3.8
Keeps a diary	12.4	-	-	-	-	3.8
Writes letters in Japanese	-	-	9.1	-	5.5	3.8
N	8	3	11	4	18	26

It was earlier shown that a majority of the subjects were concerned at the decline in their Japanese literacy skills and these counteractive strategies reflect this. For example, the use of the dictionary in writing Japanese is especially important to ensure that kanji are correctly written and since "spelling" is more complicated in Japanese than it is in English, Japanese dictionaries often need to be consulted by many users of Japanese. Some subjects admitted to referring to a Japanese dictionary two or three times in the course of writing a single letter to a friend which would hardly be necessary for a native speaker writing in English. One INTER subject reported that she often read Japanese books out loud to herself while another was taking a Japanese reading course.

It is therefore clear that these first generation migrants were maintaining the use of the Japanese language. A similar situation has been reported among Japanese company employees and their families in the United States (Maykovich, 1976) and Australia (Bolitho, 1976; Curson and Curson, 1982), and among interculturally married Japanese women in the United States (Ervin-Tripp, 1964, 1967; De Vos, 1973) where the Japanese language is also extensively used.

There is also the question of whether Japanese was passed on to the children of the migrants and in order to determine this subjects were asked three questions. The first of these questions asked what proportions of Japanese and English were used by subjects when speaking to their children in daily conversation around the time of the interview (Table 6.4). The majority of INTRA subjects reported that they used mainly Japanese whereas English was most widely used by the INTER group. It was also asked what proportions of Japanese and English the children used when speaking to the subjects (see Table 6.5). Responses to this question corresponded to the answers to the first question with the majority of the INTRA subjects' children speaking mainly Japanese to their mothers and most of the INTER subjects' children generally using English. A third question investigated the proportions of Japanese and English spoken by subjects to their children during the children's pre-school years (Table 6.6). In this case, there was a greater tendency among the INTRA subjects to use Japanese in communicating with their children probably because most of

Table 6.4

Proportions of Japanese (J) and English (E) spoken by subjects to their children daily around the time of the interview (percentages)

Language	INTRA	INTER			TOTAL SUBJECTS	
		1-5	6-17	18+	TOTAL 1-18+	
95-100%J 0-5%E	63.0	-	5.3	-	2.9	29.5
75%J 25%E	18.5	-	-	-	-	8.2
50%J 50%E	11.1	28.6	10.5	-	11.8	11.5
25%J 75%E	-	42.8	15.8	-	17.6	9.8
0-5%J 95-100%E	7.4	28.6	68.4	100.0	67.7	41.0
N	27	7	19	8	34	61

Note: "N" here refers to the number of subjects who had children.
These proportions were estimates made by the subjects themselves.

Table 6.5

Proportions of Japanese (J) and English (E) used by subjects' children to the subjects daily around the time of the interview (percentages)

Language	INTRA	INTER			TOTAL SUBJECTS	
		1-5	6-17	18+	TOTAL 1-18+	
95-100%J 0-5%E	63.0	-	-	-	-	27.9
75%J 25%E	18.5	-	5.3	-	2.9	9.8
50%J 50%E	11.1	28.6	10.5	-	11.8	11.5
25%J 75%E	-	42.8	15.8	-	17.6	9.8
0-5%J 95-100%E	7.4	28.6	68.4	100.0	67.7	41.0
N	27	7	19	8	34	61

Note: "N" here refers to the number of subjects who had children.
These proportions were estimates made by the subjects themselves.

Table 6.6

Proportions of Japanese (J) and English (E) spoken by subjects to their children during the children's pre-school years (percentages)

Language	INTRA	INTER			TOTAL SUBJECTS	
		1-5	6-17	18+	TOTAL 1-18+	
95-100%J 0-5%E	81.4	28.5	10.5	-	11.8	42.6
75%J 25%E	11.1	-	21.1	12.5	14.7	13.1
50%J 50%E	7.4	57.2	31.5	-	29.4	19.7
25%J 75%E	-	-	26.3	-	14.7	8.2
0-5%J 95-100%E	-	14.3	5.3	87.5	26.5	14.8
Other	-	-	5.3	-	2.9	1.6
N	27	7	19	8	34	61

Note: "Other" here refers to one subject who spoke Japanese, English and Russian to her children.

"N" here stands for the number of subjects who had children.

These proportions were estimates made by the subjects themselves.

these families would have been living in Japan during the children's pre-school years. The INTER subjects, on the other hand, mostly seem to have used a combination of English and Japanese to interact with their offspring when the children were young.

There were at least two reasons which could account for these differences in results between the two main groups. First, the INTRA subjects were less proficient than the INTER subjects in speaking in English (see Chapter Seven) which possibly meant that the INTRA subjects felt more confident using Japanese than English. Second, almost all the INTRA subjects were only temporarily resident in New Zealand and would eventually return to Japan. Their children would therefore be expected to resume their education in a Japanese school. Four INTRA subjects reported that they were deliberately using only Japanese to their children at home so that the children could maintain their Japanese language and re-enter Japanese schools with fewer of the language adjustment problems facing the children of Japanese company employees returning from extended sojourns abroad (see Furuhashi, 1981).

The passing on of the Japanese language to children was not constant across all the sub-groups of the INTER subjects. All of the INTER 18+ subjects and a majority of the INTER 6-17 subjects said they used English almost exclusively when speaking to their children in daily conversation around the time of the interview. However, the INTER 1-5 subjects who had not been in New Zealand as long said they used considerably more Japanese when talking to their children. This result may, of course, be simply due to the INTER 6-17 and INTER 18+ subjects being more proficient at English than the more recent arrivals. However, there is also evidence (Table 6.6) to suggest that the longer-term residents, especially those belonging to the war-bride generation, had spoken mostly English to their children during the children's pre-school years whereas the INTER 1-5 and INTER 6-17 subjects had used both English and Japanese. Comments by two war-brides are revealing here. One woman held the view that learning two languages "confused the mind" and another believed that a second language "took too much time to learn." Three others expressed the view that English was a "simpler" language and avoided teaching their children any Japanese. Among the INTER 1-5 group, two stated that they were attempting to bring

up their children bilingually so that they could communicate with relatives in Japan when they were older. Crawford (1979) has also found that Japanese women who have married interculturally and settled in New Zealand since the 1970s are more inclined to raise their children bilingually than the war-bride generation. Of course, younger children, especially those below school age, may be more inclined to use two languages than older children but it would require a longitudinal study to determine whether those children who were being taught both Japanese and English continue to be able to use both languages after entering the monolingual environment of most New Zealand schools.

It is possible that the New Zealand attitude towards bilingualism and to the Japanese language has changed in recent years so that, at present, it is considerably easier to bring up children to speak both English and Japanese than it was in the 1950s. In 1981, for example, Chartwell School in Wellington initiated a programme which involved teaching pupils in both English and Japanese. In contrast with this was the experience of one of the older women who explained that when she married after World War II, she felt that she would stand a better chance of being accepted in New Zealand by using English as much as possible and bringing up her children to be monolingual speakers of English. She added that her children, now in their early 20s, were "annoyed" that they had not been taught any Japanese when they were young. They had evidently come to perceive some advantage in English-Japanese bilingualism.

In summary, then, the evidence presented here has shown that Japanese was being passed on to the children of the INTRA subjects but was perhaps not being passed on to the children of the INTER subjects. This non-transference of Japanese from first generation interculturally married Japanese migrants to their children has also been observed in other places. In California, for example, Ervin-Tripp (1967) found that most Japanese war-brides brought up their children to speak only English. However, in New Zealand, there are some signs that the situation is changing, and in the future Japanese migrants may be more likely to attempt to pass on their language to their children.

6.2 LANGUAGE SHIFT

Useful parameters for the description of language shift have been proposed by Fishman (1966) which draw on the concept of "domains" or situations where language interaction takes place. Three widely used domains are the private, family and public domains. In the present study, the private domain will refer to situations where the subject was not involved in a direct interaction with another person, the family domain will describe interaction with family members and the public domain will be used for interactions with other individuals outside the family. Studies which have described language shift in terms of these domains (e.g. Scheff, 1965; Fishman, 1966; Kloss, 1966; Haugen, 1969; Myers, 1973; Kroeff, 1977) have shown that for migrant families, language shift occurs first in the public domain (such as the workplace) and later in the family domain. Results of the present study showed a similar trend among the INTRA subjects while a different pattern of language shift was observed among the INTER subjects.

6.2.1 Private Use of Language

Activities such as reading, writing letters and thinking may be considered to be representative of the private language use of an individual and the reported proportions of Japanese and English used by subjects in these activities are listed in Tables 6.7, 6.8 and 6.9 respectively.

The first indicator of private language use to be discussed will be reading. As can be seen in Table 6.7, most of the INTRA subjects read more newspapers, magazines and books in Japanese than they did in English. These subjects appeared to be able to obtain Japanese publications through company channels and through their networks of friends. Many of the INTER subjects, by contrast, reported that they did half their reading in Japanese and half of it in English. Some of these women said that they found it difficult to obtain Japanese reading materials in New Zealand (it will be recalled that INTRA and INTER subjects did not mix together) and this could have influenced the result. There is also the possibility that the INTER subjects were more proficient at reading in English than the INTRA group.

In letter writing (see Table 6.8) a much higher proportion of the INTRA group (86.3 per cent) as compared with the INTER group (40.4 per cent) stated that almost all their correspondence was in Japanese. Most subjects said that they wrote letters to maintain contact with family and friends in Japan but occasionally had to write notes to New Zealand friends or to children's teachers. Two INTER subjects admitted that they did not like writing letters in English because they were afraid of "making mistakes." Another said that although she enjoyed reading widely in English, she found that the productive skill of writing in English was more difficult for her.

Another aspect of private language use involves the role of language in the thinking process. Admittedly, there are problems associated with investigating the language of thought or as Vygotsky (1962) called it, "inner speech." It is very difficult, for example, for bilingual individuals to report which language(s) they use for thinking since most of this inner speech activity takes place at the subconscious level. Nevertheless, a question designed to determine the relative proportions of Japanese and English used by subjects in their thinking was included in the interview schedule in order to obtain the views of the subjects on this issue. A summary of responses is set out in Table 6.9. More than three-quarters (79.3 per cent) of the INTRA subjects said that they did almost all their thinking in Japanese while on the other hand, 72.4 per cent of the INTER group reported that half or more of their thinking was in English. Even if the women were unable to assess accurately the proportions of Japanese and English they used in their mental activity, it is nonetheless interesting that most of the long-term residents were under the impression that they were using more English than Japanese.

These results indicate that in the domain of private use of language, INTRA subjects used Japanese very extensively whereas the INTER subjects employed both Japanese and English. There is also the possibility that a positive relationship might exist between the subjects' length of residence in New Zealand and their increasing use of English.

Table 6.7

Japanese (J) and English (E) reading materials read by subjects around the time of the interview (percentages)

Language		INTRA	INTER			TOTAL SUBJECTS	
			1-5	6-17	18+	TOTAL 1-18+	
95-100%J	0-5%E	41.5	-	8.3	18.1	8.5	21.1
75%J	25%E	31.0	33.3	25.0	27.3	27.6	28.9
50%J	50%E	17.2	41.7	33.3	27.3	34.2	27.6
25%J	75%E	10.3	25.0	29.2	27.3	27.6	21.1
0-5%J	95-100%E	-	-	4.2	-	2.1	1.3
N		29	12	24	11	47	76

Note: These proportions were estimates made by subjects themselves.

Table 6.8

Use of Japanese (J) and English (E) by subjects in their writing of letters around the time of the interview (percentages)

Language		INTRA	INTER			TOTAL SUBJECTS	
			1-5	6-17	18+	TOTAL 1-18+	
95-100%J	0-5%E	86.3	58.3	29.2	45.4	40.4	57.9
75%J	25%E	10.3	25.0	29.2	18.2	25.5	19.7
50%J	50%E	3.4	16.7	29.2	9.1	21.4	14.5
25%J	75%E	-	-	8.2	18.2	8.5	5.3
0-5%J	95-100%E	-	-	4.2	9.1	4.2	2.6
N		29	12	24	11	47	76

Note: These proportions were estimates made by the subjects themselves.

Table 6.9

Use of Japanese (J) and English (E) by subjects in their thinking around the time of the interview (percentages)

Language	INTRA	INTER			TOTAL SUBJECTS	
		1-5	6-17	18+	TOTAL 1-18+	
95-100%J 0-5%E	79.3	25.0	4.2	9.0	10.6	36.9
75%J 25%E	13.8	41.7	12.5	-	17.0	15.8
50%J 50%E	6.9	33.3	37.5	45.5	38.3	26.3
25%J 75%E	-	-	33.3	45.5	27.6	17.1
0-5%J 95-100%E	-	-	12.5	-	6.5	3.9
N	29	12	24	11	47	76

Note: These proportions were estimates made by the subjects themselves.

Fishman (1966) has stressed that in studies of multilingual behaviour the role of the family is a very crucial one. He also argues that an effective way to describe language use within the family is to differentiate between role relations such as husband to wife or mother to child. This approach will be taken in this section and will focus on the language used in the following dyads: wife to husband, husband to wife, mother to children and children to mother.

Language Use with Husband

The subjects were asked which language they used when conversing normally with their husbands, which language the husbands used when speaking to them and which language subjects used when arguing with their husbands. Responses are presented in Tables 6.10, 6.11 and 6.12 respectively.

All the INTRA subjects reported using only Japanese in speaking to their husbands and reported that their husbands invariably used Japanese to communicate with them (Table 6.10 and 6.11). The reason why the Japanese families did not seem to use English at home may have been because they felt themselves to be in the middle of a foreign environment and as a result attempted to make their home a linguistic island of Japanese in which they could feel comfortable and secure. Kloss (1966) describes a similar tendency in the case of Germans in the United States.

The situation of the intercultural families was quite different to that of the INTRA subjects' families with very little Japanese being used between husbands and wives (Table 6.10 and 6.11). A high proportion (61.5 per cent) of the INTER subjects said that they used 95-100 per cent English when talking to their husbands. It should also be pointed out that the 17.0 per cent of the INTER group who were divorced or widowed and who had not remarried at the time of the interview all said that only English had been used in communication between spouses dur-

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ing the period of their marriage. Further evidence which suggests that English was the primary language used in most intercultural families is presented in Table 6.11 where it can be seen that 92.2 per cent of the husbands habitually used 95-100 per cent English in conversations with their wives.

Since 92.2 per cent of the interculturally married husbands used mainly English in speaking to their wives compared with 69.3 per cent of the INTER subjects who said that they themselves used only English when speaking to their husbands, occasions must therefore have arisen in some intercultural families when two languages were used in a conversation, i.e. the wife would use Japanese and the husband would reply in English. This suggests that some husbands had at least a little understanding of the Japanese language.

Language use may change when the relationship between the users of the language alters. For example, some language teaching methodologists have argued that it is difficult for learners to use a second language in situations which are stressful (e.g. Wilkins, 1974; Finocchiaro, 1976). Subjects were accordingly asked which language they used when they engaged in an argument with their husband, a situation which was considered to be stressful enough to cause a loss of concentration in the second language production and a lapse into the subject's first language (see Table 6.12). As might be expected, the INTRA subjects, who reported using only Japanese when speaking to their husbands continued to do so when arguing with their spouses. Similarly, the majority of INTER subjects (82.0 per cent) reported no change in their normal proportions of Japanese and English when they were engaged in an argument. Only 5.1 per cent stated that they used more Japanese than English than in normal conversation while 12.9 per cent said that they used more English. This trend towards using more English was noted only among INTER 6-17 subjects, all of whom explained that when they became involved in an argument with their husband, they felt an increased urge to make their point of view more clearly understood, which they could not do if they used Japanese.

Table 6.10

Use of Japanese (J) and English (E) by subjects when speaking to husbands (percentages)

Language	INTRA	INTER			TOTAL SUBJECTS	
		1-5	6-17	18+	TOTAL 1-18+	
95-100%J 0-5%E	100.0	-	-	-	-	42.6
75%J 25%E	-	8.3	5.3	-	5.1	2.9
50%J 50%E	-	8.3	15.8	12.5	12.8	7.4
25%J 75%E	-	16.7	10.5	12.5	12.8	7.4
0-5%J 95-100%E	-	66.7	68.4	75.0	69.3	39.7
N	29	12	19	8	39	68

Note: "N" here refers to those subjects who were currently married at the time of the interview.
These proportions were estimates made by the subjects themselves.

Table 6.11

Use of Japanese (J) and English (E) by subjects' husbands when speaking to subjects (percentages)

Language	INTRA	INTER			TOTAL SUBJECTS	
		1-5	6-17	18+	TOTAL 1-18+	
95-100%J 0-5%E	100.0	-	-	-	-	42.6
75%J 25%E	-	-	5.3	-	2.6	1.5
50%J 50%E	-	-	5.3	-	2.6	1.5
25%J 75%E	-	-	5.3	-	2.6	1.5
0-5%J 95-100%E	-	100.0	84.1	100.0	92.2	52.9
N	29	12	19	8	39	68

Note: "N" here refers to those subjects who were currently married at the time of the interview.

These proportions were estimates made by the subjects themselves.

The question arises as to why so little use was made of Japanese in husband-wife interaction in the intercultural families. One possible reason might be that the subjects had almost all had at least six years of compulsory English study throughout high school whereas Japanese was not available as a school subject to any of the husbands while they were at school. There was, therefore, a considerable difference in the amount of exposure to the two languages between the wives and the husbands during the important years of formal education. This could explain why many subjects commented that their New Zealand husbands could not speak Japanese and the finding that 82.0 per cent (Table 6.11) of the INTER husbands used only English to their wives. Furthermore, the interviewers felt that many of the INTER husbands were not as proficient in Japanese as subjects claimed.

Another possible reason could be related to the fact that English is the only language spoken by the majority of people in New Zealand. Possibly some husbands perceived Japanese as an interactive language to be less useful than English and this may in turn have lessened any motivation they had to learn Japanese. For example, one husband commented, "We originally intended to use both English and Japanese at home but now we seem to use only English, especially since our surroundings are all western. When I ask, 'Pass the rhubarb,' I have to say 'rhubarb' because there isn't a convenient Japanese name."

A further factor which inhibited the use of Japanese may have been that the women themselves attempted to use English as often as possible. Several INTER subjects said that they preferred using English when conversing with their husbands because it helped them to become more proficient in the language. However, there could also be a deeper psychological reason for this preference of the subjects to speak English and which involved negative feelings towards foreigners speaking Japanese. Hiraizumi (1975), for example, claims that the Japanese view foreigners who speak Japanese fluently as "strange creatures". Miller (1977) puts the case even more strongly by proposing a "law of inverse returns" for foreigners learning the language. By this he means that the better the learner becomes at using Japanese, the less likely he is to be accepted in Japanese society. In order to test this view, subjects were asked to

Table 6.12

Change in proportions of normal Japanese (J) and English (E) language use by subjects when arguing with husbands (percentages)

	INTRA	INTER			TOTAL 1-18+	TOTAL SUBJECTS
		1-5	6-17	18+		
Use more J	-	8.3	5.3	-	5.1	2.9
Use more E	-	-	26.3	-	12.9	7.4
No change	100.0	91.7	68.4	100.0	82.0	89.7
N	29	12	19	8	39	68

Note: "N" here refers to those subjects who were currently married at the time of the interview.
These proportions were estimates made by the subjects themselves.

Table 6.13

Feelings of subjects towards foreigners speaking Japanese with near native speaker proficiency (percentages)

Feeling	INTRA	INTER			TOTAL 1-18+	TOTAL SUBJECTS
		1-5	6-17	18+		
Admiration	24.1	25.0	20.8	36.4	25.5	25.0
Interest	34.6	33.3	29.2	27.2	29.8	31.6
Surprise	24.1	33.3	33.3	36.4	34.0	30.3
Unease	17.2	8.4	16.7	-	10.7	13.1
N	29	12	24	11	47	76

Note: These proportions were estimates made by the subjects themselves.

state how they felt (choosing from a list which included admiration, interest, surprise and unease) when they heard a foreigner speaking with near native speaker proficiency in Japanese. These feelings are presented in Table 6.13. While a majority of subjects (especially among the INTER 18+ group) said that they experienced positive feelings towards foreigners who could speak with near native speaker proficiency in Japanese, there was a considerable proportion of subjects who said that they felt surprised or uneasy. If some of the INTER group held negative or even only neutral feelings towards foreigners speaking Japanese, it is possible that this directly or indirectly discouraged husbands from learning or using the Japanese language.

Subjects' Language Use With Their Own Children

With the exception of two mothers (both university teachers' wives) who often used English, most of the INTRA subjects said they used mainly Japanese when speaking to their own children. There was, however, a greater variety of response from the interculturally married group. INTER 18+ subjects, for example, reported using only English when communicating with their children except for the occasional word or phrase in Japanese (see Table 6.4) and in this regard these women appeared to be similar to the Japanese war-brides in California who tended to use only English when speaking to their children (Ervin-Tripp, 1967). On the other hand, the rest of the INTER subjects (particularly those in the INTER 1-5 group) claimed to use both English and Japanese in their homes.

In order to determine whether a potentially stressful situation might affect language use when speaking to children, subjects were asked what language they used for chastising their offspring (Table 6.14). All INTRA subjects said they used only Japanese for this purpose which resulted in 37.0 per cent of this group shifting to their L1. All the INTER 18+ subjects, on the other hand, used only English which was not a shift from their normal pattern. Most of the INTER 1-5 and INTER 6-17 subjects also tended to use the same mixture of Japanese and English as they did in normal everyday interactions with their children. Some reported that they used more English while only two subjects said that they used more Japanese. This result

probably reflects two different motives for shifting language when chastising children. First, some mothers may wish to ensure that their children clearly understand and, as a result, opt for English. Second, the two who shifted to Japanese may perhaps have found it easier to express themselves in their native language in order to transmit their feelings rapidly despite the risk of not being fully understood.

On the basis of reported language use between subjects and their husbands and children, it can be concluded that language interaction within the INTRA families was almost always in Japanese. This contrasts sharply with the experience of the INTER subjects, however, whose family interactions took place mainly in English.

Table 6.14

Change in subjects' proportions of normal Japanese (J) and English (E) language use when chastising their children (percentages)

	INTRA	INTER			TOTAL SUBJECTS	
		1-5	6-17	18+	TOTAL 1-18+	
Use more J	37.0	14.3	5.3	-	5.9	19.7
Use more E	-	28.6	21.0	-	17.6	9.8
No change	63.0	57.1	73.7	100.0	76.5	70.5
N	27	7	19	8	34	61

Note: "N" here indicates the number of subjects who had children.

These proportions were estimates made by the subjects themselves.

6.2.3 Language Use Outside the Family

Studies of the language behaviour of migrants (e.g. Scheff, 1965; Fishman, 1966; Kloss, 1966; Myers, 1973; Haugen, 1978; Clyne, 1982) suggest that language shift takes place extensively first in the public domain which includes interactions occurring in the community such as in shops or at work. To compare these results with the New Zealand situation, subjects were asked to describe the proportions of Japanese and English they used when talking to friends, neighbours or strangers when they were out shopping and when they were at work. The results clearly show that there was a shift occurring from Japanese to English among all subjects in public interactions.

Some language shift towards the use of English was evident in the case of the subjects' conversations with their friends. "Friends" here included Japanese, New Zealanders and others. Table 6.15 shows that more than half of the INTRA subjects (55.2 per cent) used a mixture of 75 per cent Japanese and 25 per cent English whereas a similar proportion of the INTER group (53.2 per cent) reported that their language use with friends was half Japanese and half English. Clearly some shift from Japanese towards English had occurred in the INTRA group and even more with the INTER subjects.

It is understandable that the subjects used English when talking to their New Zealand friends, but language shift could be considered to be well advanced if the subjects were using English to converse amongst themselves. Subjects were therefore asked what proportions of English and Japanese they used when talking to their Japanese friends (Table 6.16). All the INTRA group reported that they always used Japanese. A third (36.2 per cent) of the INTER group, on the other hand, said that they often found themselves using English words, phrases or sometimes even a whole sentence in a Japanese conversation. Here is a strong suggestion, then, that code switching was occurring in informal conversations between the INTER subjects although it was not observed during the formal interviews.

Table 6.15

Use of Japanese (J) and English (E) by subjects when talking to their friends (percentages)

Language	INTRA	INTER			TOTAL SUBJECTS	
		1-5	6-17	18+	TOTAL 1-18+	
95-100%J 0-5%E	24.1	8.3	4.2	9.1	6.4	13.2
75%J 25%E	55.2	16.7	4.2	18.2	10.6	27.6
50%J 50%E	20.7	33.3	62.4	54.5	53.2	40.8
25%J 75%E	-	41.7	16.7	9.1	21.3	13.2
0-5%J 95-100%E	-	-	12.5	9.1	8.5	5.2

N 29 12 24 11 47 76

Note: These proportions were estimates made by the subjects themselves.

Table 6.16

Use of Japanese (J) and English (E) by subjects when talking to their Japanese friends (percentages)

Language	INTRA	INTER			TOTAL SUBJECTS	
		1-5	6-17	18+	TOTAL 1-18+	
95-100%J 0-5%E	100.0	75.0	62.5	54.5	63.8	77.7
75%J 25%E	-	25.0	33.3	27.3	29.9	18.4
50%J 50%E	-	-	-	9.1	2.1	1.3
25%J 75%E	-	-	4.2	-	2.1	1.3
0-5%J 95-100%E	-	-	-	9.1	2.1	1.3

N 29 12 24 11 47 76

Note: These proportions were estimates made by the subjects themselves.

Another area of the public domain where many INTER subjects spent a considerable amount of time was the place where they worked. (As stated in Section 5.3.1, this involved 56.6 per cent of all subjects, only two of whom were INTRA subjects). Of the subjects who were gainfully employed, 42.4 per cent (Table 6.17) said they used 95-100 per cent English at work. A further 45.5 per cent claimed that in their jobs, they used half Japanese and half English; most of these occupations were related to servicing the needs of Japanese tourists. Only 3.0 per cent of the subjects said that they used more Japanese than English in their work. In the occupational domain, then, it appears that some language shift from Japanese to English had occurred among the INTER group although it was by no means a complete shift for all subjects and was influenced by the particular requirements of the work situation.

It was earlier hypothesised that the shift from Japanese to English for the INTRA subjects would take place first in the public domain, then in the family domain and finally in the private domain. The evidence presented here shows that this is indeed a valid paradigm for the INTRA subjects who, as members of migrant families, tended to encounter English first in the outside community and retained Japanese for family interactions and private language use. It was also conjectured that the INTER subjects would begin to shift from Japanese to English in both the public and family domains simultaneously. The evidence suggests that this was occurring among the INTER group and that after several years of living in New Zealand, some subjects appeared to be using English when talking to Japanese friends or even when thinking which indicates a much greater shift from Japanese to English than was observed among any of the INTRA subjects. Naturally, for all subjects, this language shift was not a conscious choice on their part but was caused by the overall lack of Japanese speakers in the community.

Table 6.17

Use of Japanese (J) and English (E) by gainfully employed subjects at their workplaces (percentages)

Language	INTRA	INTER			TOTAL SUBJECTS	
		1-5	6-17	18+	TOTAL 1-18+	
95-100%J 0-5%E	-	-	-	-	-	-
75%J 25%E	-	-	-	14.4	3.2	3.0
50%J 50%E	50.0	25.0	56.3	42.8	45.2	45.5
25%J 75%E	-	37.5	-	-	9.7	9.1
0-5%J 95-100%E	50.0	37.5	43.7	42.8	41.9	42.4
N	2	8	16	7	31	33

Note: These proportions were estimates made by the subjects themselves.

6.3 SUMMARY

This chapter has explored Japanese language maintenance among subjects in this study and their shift in use from Japanese to English. Findings in these areas show that all five of the hypotheses proposed received some measure of support.

Hypothesis 6 The subjects will all be recognised as native speakers of Japanese by other Japanese native speakers.

Hypothesis 7 The subjects will, after a few years living in New Zealand, feel that their ability to use the Japanese language had suffered a decline.

All subjects appeared to be native speakers of Japanese which supported Hypothesis 6. No evidence of serious language attrition was observed among subjects in the main study but many subjects reported that they had experienced difficulty in recalling Japanese kanji while writing. This finding upheld Hypothesis 7. Many appeared to be making attempts to maintain their Japanese by using their native language when talking to Japanese friends and by reading newspapers, magazines, and books written in Japanese.

Hypothesis 8 The Japanese language will be passed on to the children of the INTRA subjects but not to the children of the INTER subjects.

Whereas INTRA subjects claimed to have used mainly Japanese when speaking to their children during the children's pre-school years, the INTER subjects appeared to have used a mixture of both Japanese and English. Among the INTRA group at the time of the survey, Japanese seemed to be the primary language of communication between subjects and their children so it would appear that the language had been passed on successfully. In contrast to this however, very little Japanese seemed to be used between INTER subjects and their children. While this does not prove that the language was not passed on to the INTER children, there is some suggestion that this was the case particularly for the INTER 18+ group. Some of the more recent arrivals appeared to be making an attempt to teach their children both Japanese and English as was similarly reported by Crawford (1979) for interculturally married Japanese women in Wellington. Hypothesis 8 was therefore partially supported.

Hypothesis 9 The preferred home language of the intracultural Japanese family will be Japanese and the preferred home language of the intercultural family will be English.

Hypothesis 10 The shift to the English language for INTRA subjects will progress from the public domain through the family domain and finally to the private domain whereas for the INTER subjects the shift will begin simultaneously in the public and family domains then proceed to the private domain.

The proportions of Japanese and English used by the subjects were investigated with a view to determining the degree of language shift from Japanese to English and evidence was found to support both Hypotheses 9 and 10. Considerable differences were observed in the patterns of shift for INTRA and INTER subjects. The INTRA subjects said they used only Japanese for their private activities (such as reading, letter-writing or thinking) and mainly Japanese within family interactions. The INTER group, on the other hand, claimed to use both English and Japanese in their private activities but demonstrated a considerable shift towards English in family interactions. The INTRA and most of the INTER subjects claimed to converse only in Japanese with their Japanese friends but shifted to English for interactions in the public domain such as talking to neighbours or shopkeepers. Overall then, the INTER subjects demonstrated a greater shift from Japanese to English than the INTRA subjects. This may have been connected with the INTER subjects' higher level of oral English proficiency which is dealt with in the following chapter.

CHAPTER SEVEN

ENGLISH LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY

In the first part of this chapter, the subjects' oral proficiency in English will be described in terms of the FSI assessment scale (see Appendix 2). A formal written test was also used to test the subjects' English proficiency and the outcome of this will be reported. The results of the FSI and written test will be compared with the prediction made earlier, based on other studies of Japanese migrants such as those of Ervin-Tripp (1967) and Maykovich (1976), that the INTER subjects would have higher levels of oral English than those in the INTRA group.

Hypothesis 11 The oral proficiency in English of the INTER subjects is likely to be markedly superior to the oral proficiency in English of the INTRA subjects.

Prior to investigating the reasons for differences in levels of oral proficiency among the subjects, there will be some discussion on their level of English at the time they entered New Zealand.

The remainder of the first section is given over to a discussion of factors which may have had some influence on the oral proficiency in English among the subjects and is directed towards the testing of the following hypotheses (see Chapter Two for details regarding their formulation):

Hypothesis 12 There will be a correlation between the age at which subjects left Japan and their attained oral proficiency in English.

Hypothesis 13 There will be a positive correlation between the subjects' feelings of acceptance in New Zealand and their attained oral proficiency in English.

- Hypothesis 14 There will be a positive correlation between the subjects' level of formal education and their attained oral proficiency in English.
- Hypothesis 15 There will be a positive correlation between the subjects' length of residence in English speaking countries and their attained oral proficiency in English.

Finally, there will be some less formal investigation into other factors (the need to improve proficiency, learning strategies, affective variables and the amount of correction) which may have had some relationship with the levels of proficiency in English.

7.1 ASSESSMENT OF PROFICIENCY

The results of the two measures of English language proficiency, the FSI test and the EPT assessment are reported here together with a survey of the subjects' perceptions of their own proficiency.

7.1.1 FSI Oral Proficiency Levels

The oral English proficiency of all subjects was assessed by using the FSI oral testing procedure. This is a test which determines an individual's oral language proficiency on a five-point scale as follows:

- 0 No proficiency in the target language.
- 1 Able to satisfy routine travel needs and minimum courtesy requirements.
- 2 Able to satisfy routine social demands and limited work requirements.

- 3 Able to speak the language with sufficient structural accuracy and vocabulary to participate effectively in most informal conversations on practical, social and professional topics.
- 4 Able to use the language fluently and accurately on all levels normally pertinent to professional needs.
- 5 Able to speak at a proficiency level equivalent to that of an educated native speaker.

In addition to these, "+" values are also able to be given to score levels of 1, 2, 3 and 4. The "+" value is awarded to candidates whose performance is considerably better than the standard for a given level but does not quite meet all the requirements of the next level. Full descriptions of the levels, the test itself and testing procedures are included in Chapter Three and in Appendix 2. The FSI results for each subgroup are set out in Table 7.1.

It is clear that, as a group, the INTRA subjects had the lowest level of oral proficiency in English since 82.7 per cent were assessed at 0+, 1 or 1+. These subjects could be described, therefore, as having very minimal proficiency in English since at level 1 of the FSI scale, an individual is only able to do such things as "order a simple meal, ask for shelter or lodging, ask and give simple directions, make purchases and tell time" (ETS, 1970: 10).

On the other hand, the mean level for all INTER subjects was 2.657 or about 2+ which means that, according to the FSI scale, these women could "handle with confidence but not facility most social situations including introductions and casual conversations about current events, as well as work, family and autobiographical information" (ETS, 1970:10). Furthermore, a third of all the INTER subjects (36.1 per cent), mainly those who were long-term residents, were assessed at 3 or 3+. At this level of proficiency, the subject's "comprehension is quite complete for a normal rate of speech; vocabulary is broad enough that he rarely has to grope for a word; accent may be obviously foreign; errors never interfere with understanding and rarely disturb the native speaker" (ETS, 1970:10).

Overall, the levels of proficiency were not high, with 77.6 per cent of all subjects being assessed at or below 2+, 22.4 per cent at 3 or 3+ and none at 4 or 4+. Clearly then, the INTRA subjects generally had the lowest oral proficiency in English while those who demonstrated the highest levels of proficiency were the INTER subjects.

7.1.2 EPT Assessment

As has been explained in 3.1.3, subjects were also asked to do a written English Second Language Placement Test (EPT) in order to test their knowledge of English grammar. Subjects who were assessed below FSI level 2 were given the EPT beginners' version (Test A) and those who were assessed at or above FSI level 2 were given the more advanced Test G. The difficulties encountered in persuading the subjects to take the written tests (described in Section 3.2.2) resulted in only 53.9 per cent of all subjects consenting to do the tests. The scores they attained are presented in Table 7.2. Since such a substantial proportion of subjects did not take this test, it would be unwise to attach any significance to the results but the distribution of scores reflects a pattern across the groups similar to the FSI results. Most INTRA subjects did the easier Test A with a mean score of 32.54 being attained for the group as whole. A mean score of 33.0 on the more difficult Test G, however, was calculated for the INTER group. Among the INTER subjects, the more recent arrivals (INTER 1-5) did not score as highly as the longer-term residents. Of the subjects who did these tests, then, it would appear that the INTRA subjects had less knowledge of English grammar than the INTER group. Furthermore, the INTER group were differentiated according to their length of residence in New Zealand with the subjects who had lived for the shortest length of time in the country having less knowledge of English grammar than the longer-term residents.

Table 7.1

FSI ratings of subjects' oral proficiency in English
(percentages and means)

FSI Level	INTRA	INTER			TOTAL 1-18+	TOTAL SUBJECTS
		1-5	6-17	18+		
0	-	-	-	-	-	-
0+	24.2	-	-	-	-	9.2
1	48.3	-	-	-	-	18.4
1+	10.3	8.3	8.3	-	6.3	7.9
2	6.9	50.0	8.3	18.1	21.4	15.8
2+	10.3	33.4	33.4	45.5	36.2	26.3
3	-	8.3	37.5	36.4	29.8	18.4
3+	-	-	12.5	-	6.3	4.0
4	-	-	-	-	-	-
4+	-	-	-	-	-	-
5	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mean Level of Group	1.310	2.416	2.875	2.681	2.657	1.983
N	29	12	24	11	47	76

Table 7.2

Mean group scores for EPT results

	INTRA	INTER			TOTAL 1-18+	TOTAL SUBJECTS
		1-5	6-17	18+		
Test A	32.54	-	-	-	-	32.54
Test G	32.25	25.42	39.56	32.66	33.00	32.62
N	15	7	15	4	26	41

Note: Scores in Test A and Test G were both out of a total of 50. These results, of course, are based only upon the performance of those respondents who consented to completion of the tests.

7.1.3 Correlations Between Proficiency Perceptions of Subjects and FSI Scores

As was reported in Section 5.3, the subjects were asked to rate their English on a five-point scale. These self-evaluations were correlated with corresponding FSI scores for each subject. For INTRA subjects a high correlation of 0.7044 was obtained which suggests that these women were well aware of their lack of proficiency in English. A reasonably high correlation was also obtained for the INTER subjects overall (0.5145). This is a finding similar to that reported by Ervin-Tripp (1967) for war-brides in California. Kroeff (1977) also found that the Dutch people in New Zealand were generally capable of assessing their own language performance accurately. No subjects considered themselves to be of native speaker standard which suggests that all these migrants acknowledged some limitations in their oral English.

7.2 DISCUSSION OF DIFFERENCES IN PROFICIENCY

There are many possible reasons for differences in attained levels of language proficiency among the members of any group. In this section, some factors which appeared to be related to differences in oral proficiency among the subjects will be considered. These factors include their level of English at the time of entry into New Zealand, the effect of intercultural marriage, age at the time of exit from Japan to live abroad, feelings of acceptance in New Zealand, level of formal education and length of residence in English speaking countries. Since the sample of subjects was not randomly chosen, the correlations presented in this section will be only described as "strong", "moderate" or "weak" with no judgement being made as to their statistical significance.

7.2.1 Subjects' Level of English at Time of Entry into New Zealand

It has been claimed by some writers such as Kawasaki (1969), Hiraizumi (1975) and Miller (1977) that the Japanese do not generally seem to reach a high level of proficiency in English despite a six year exposure to the subject throughout their high school education. If this were so, it could be that Japanese migrants arriving in New Zealand directly from Japan might have little oral proficiency in English.

There are obvious difficulties associated with accurately determining levels of past proficiency in a language but some implications can be drawn from the FSI results. As Table 7.1 shows, subjects who had arrived in New Zealand only recently, i.e. those in the INTRA and INTER 1-5 groups, had lower levels of oral English proficiency than those in the INTER 6-17 and INTER 18+ categories. Many of the INTER 18+ subjects commented that they had had difficulty in understanding and expressing themselves in English when they first arrived in New Zealand. Based on a comparison between the relative proficiency of recent arrivals and longer-term residents, then, and assuming that there is some improvement in proficiency over time (see Section 7.2.6), many of the subjects may well have arrived in New Zealand directly from Japan with minimal communicative skills in English (i.e. FSI level 0 or level 1).

However, there are certain circumstances under which a subject may have arrived in New Zealand with some proficiency in English. For example, 27.6 per cent of the INTRA subjects reported that they had lived in the United Kingdom, United States or Australia before coming to New Zealand (see Table 4.11). Another factor which could have influenced the subjects' level of English prior to arrival in New Zealand was length of their marriage to an English speaking husband. Factors such as these may possibly have had some influence on the subjects' levels of English on arrival in New Zealand though it is not known to what extent since they were not tested on arrival in the country.

One factor which certainly appears to have had a strong positive influence on the oral English language proficiency of subjects is intercultural marriage. It has already been pointed out that INTRA subjects were much less proficient in oral English than the INTER group (see Table 7.1). A relevant comparison is between the two groups of INTRA and INTER 1-5 whose members had all been in New Zealand for between one and five years. In the case of the INTRA women, the mean level of oral proficiency was 1.310 compared with a mean level of 2.416 for the INTER 1-5 subjects. The question arises as to what advantages the INTER group had which allowed them to reach higher levels of oral proficiency in English than the INTRA subjects.

One possible reason for this may lie in differing types of motivation. In order to communicate effectively with family members and friends in New Zealand, to join groups and classes, find employment, and to be accepted in New Zealand society, a reasonable standard of English is necessary (Jakich, 1976; Hawley, 1978; O'Reilly, 1979; Kaplan, 1980; Jamieson, 1982). There were several factors which may possibly have lessened the motivation of INTRA subjects to improve their English. First, they required only Japanese and no English to communicate with members of their families. Many joined clubs such as Ikebana International where they could use Japanese. Only two of them were employed and they were almost all short-term sojourners who intended returning to Japan within two or three years. One INTRA subject commented that she did not feel any need to learn English since there would be no necessity for her to use it back in Japan. In short, the motivation of the INTRA subjects to learn English could be considered to be relatively low. By contrast, the INTER subjects needed English to communicate daily with their families and to interact with their New Zealand friends. Many of the employed subjects (Table 5.4: 42.4 per cent) had jobs which involved only the use of English, and many subjects had joined groups where English was the only language of communication. Above all, the INTER women were com-

mitted to living in New Zealand on a permanent basis and, no doubt in reaching such a decision, had realised that proficiency in English was a necessary social skill. Factors such as these, then, suggest a much higher motivation among the INTER group to improve their English.

Another reason why INTRA subjects were less proficient in oral English than those in the INTER group is that the INTRA women had less opportunity for learning English. There are obvious difficulties in accurately measuring a variable such as "opportunity for learning", especially in the acquisition of a second language in an unguided context. However, it has been shown (in Section 6.3) that INTRA subjects were not exposed to nearly as much English as the INTER subjects were. This was particularly true of the home situation where almost all the INTRA subjects appeared to use mainly Japanese for communicating with family members whereas the INTER subjects used mainly English. Krashen (1981) and Dittmar (1982) have identified opportunities for target language use as being an important factor determining success in learning the target language. It is likely, then, that these two factors of motivation and opportunity accounted for the considerable difference between the INTRA and INTER groups with regard to English oral language proficiency.

7.2.2 Age at the Time of Exit from Japan to Live Abroad

It has sometimes been observed that younger learners, particularly children, appear to be able to acquire a second or foreign language more quickly than older learners. Empirical studies, however, have tended to produce inconclusive results (compare, for example, the findings of Asher and Garcia, 1969; Burstall, 1975; Fathman, 1975; Stern, 1976; Stern and Weinrib, 1977 and Dittmar, 1982). In order, therefore, to test whether the age at which the subjects began learning English had had any effect on their attained oral proficiency in English, the subjects' ages at the time of their exit from Japan to live abroad were correlated with their FSI proficiency ratings. Obviously, this was not the point at which they began learning English since it has already been established that most

of the subjects had taken six years of English during their high school education. However, it can be argued that their age at the time of departure from Japan to live abroad was a significant point since it was then that subjects would have entered a changed language environment necessitating the acquisition of some communicative skills in English.

Overall, some negative correlations between the age at the time of exit from Japan to live abroad and English proficiency were found in all the sub-groups (see Table 7.3). However, only in the case of the INTER 18+ subjects was a moderate correlation obtained (-0.649). This means that for this group, subjects who left Japan when they were younger generally attained higher levels of oral proficiency in English than those who departed from Japan when they were older. A curious feature of the results is the very weak amount of negative correlation evident between these two variables for the INTER 1-5 and the INTER 6-17 groups compared with the moderate negative correlation of -0.406 for the INTER subjects overall. This can occur when a number of sub-groups with weak correlations are combined into one larger population and seems to be the case here. In conclusion, these results seem to suggest that the age at the time of exit from Japan to live abroad may have had a little influence on the levels of oral proficiency attained by some of the INTER subjects.

Table 7.3

Correlations obtained from the subjects' ages at time of exit from Japan to live abroad and their FSI proficiency ratings

	INTRA	INTER				TOTAL SUBJECTS
		1-5	6-17	18+	TOTAL 1-18+	
r	-0.168	-0.367	-0.265	-0.649	-0.406	-0.524
N	29	12	24	11	47	76

7.2.4 Feelings of Acceptance in New Zealand

Subjects' feelings of acceptance in New Zealand were correlated with their FSI scores. A moderate positive correlation was obtained for the INTRA group (see Table 7.4: 0.555) which indicates that feelings of acceptance within the host culture (New Zealand) assist members of Japanese families to improve their oral English language proficiency. Chihara and Oller (1978) reached a similar conclusion when they found a positive correlation between affective variables and English language proficiency attained by Japanese learners in Japan. In contrast to this was the result obtained for the INTER 1-5 group where a strong negative correlation of -0.750 was recorded. There is no ready explanation for this apparent tendency among the newly arrived interculturally married subjects with greater oral proficiency in English to feel less accepted in New Zealand. For the other INTER sub-groups, little correlation was found between this affective variable and their oral English proficiency. Feelings of acceptance in New Zealand did therefore appear to correlate with the INTRA subjects' attained oral proficiency in English but this was not found to be generally true for INTER subjects.

Table 7.4

Correlations obtained from the subjects' feelings of acceptance in New Zealand and their FSI proficiency ratings

	INTRA	INTER			TOTAL 1-18+	TOTAL SUBJECTS
		1-5	6-17	18+		
r	0.555	-0.750	-0.132	0.335	-0.016	0.414
N	29	12	24	11	47	76

7.2.5 Level of Formal Education

Weak correlations were found between the level of formal education and the oral English language proficiency of INTER subjects (Table 7.5). This suggests that the English language instruction the women received during high school and college was of some assistance in their later acquisition of English in New Zealand, perhaps by promoting an understanding of the rules of English. It is a result which is also borne out by the study of Ervin-Tripp (1967) who found some correlation between length of formal education and skill with English morphology among Japanese women in California. While these correlations are not conclusive, there is an implication that formal education, probably because it included English language instruction, had some positive influence on the subjects' proficiency in oral English.

Table 7.5

Correlations obtained from the subjects' length of formal education and their FSI proficiency ratings

	INTRA	INTER			TOTAL SUBJECTS	
		1-5	6-17	18+	TOTAL 1-18+	
r	0.215	0.324	0.357	0.369	0.242	0.252
N	29	12	24	11	47	76

7.2.6 Length of Residence in English Speaking Countries

A correlation was carried out between the two variables of length of residence in English speaking countries (including New Zealand) and the subjects' FSI proficiency ratings. No strong correlations were obtained for any of the sub-groups (see Table 7.6). The most likely reason for this result is that the subjects all had widely differing rates of learning, particularly since their acquisition of English took place mainly in an unguided context. This in turn may have been due to differences in motivation and opportunity for learning. An INTER subject, for example, with a young family, few New Zealand friends and a husband who uses Japanese in speaking to his wife, may not learn English as rapidly as a subject who is employed, has several New Zealand friends and whose husband uses only English. A similar result is reported by Dittmar (1982) who also found no correlation between length of residence and proficiency in German among Spanish and Italian migrants in Germany. There was, therefore, no evidence to support the notion that the subjects' level of oral English are directly linked with their length of residence in English speaking countries. To investigate this factor more thoroughly, however, a longitudinal study would be necessary to investigate the apparent plateau phenomenon described in the following Section 7.3.1.

Table 7.6

Correlations obtained from the subjects' length of residence in English speaking countries and their FSI proficiency ratings

	INTRA	INTER			TOTAL 1-18+	TOTAL SUBJECTS
		1-5	6-17	18+		
r	0.228	-0.426	-0.014	0.333	0.154	0.379
N	29	12	24	11	47	76

The subjects' levels of oral proficiency in English have been described and some factors influencing differences in proficiency have also been considered. There remains the general question relating to the improvement of the subjects' English. Although a longitudinal approach would usually be employed to explore this issue, this was not possible in the present study. Instead, data taken from the interviews and tests will be reviewed to describe the irregular pattern of increasing proficiency, the subjects' needs to improve their oral English skills and their strategies for doing so.

7.3.1 The Plateau Effect

It was shown (in Section 7.2.6) that there did not appear to be a uniform increase in oral English proficiency from year to year over the period which subjects had lived in English speaking countries. In fact, many subjects seemed to have ceased improving their English and had reached a learning "plateau" of the kind described by Selinker (1972) and Corder (1978) and which is also described in terms of "fossilization" by Schumann (1974, 1976, 1978) or "petrification" by Dittmar (1982). This plateau effect was particularly apparent among the INTER 18+ group, who, despite more than 20 years residence in New Zealand, were orally no more proficient (and in some cases had a lower level of proficiency) than the INTER 6-17 subjects. Since this was not a longitudinal study, factors such as the duration of the plateau, or the types of individuals who might experience a learning plateau could not be investigated.

The reasons for migrants not improving their oral English over a period of years may, however, be connected with the communicative situations they need to be able to handle. For example, at FSI level 2, the learners are able to "satisfy routine social demands and limited work requirements" while at level 3, they can "participate effectively in most formal and

281
informal conversations on practical, social and professional topics" (ETS, 1970). It is possible that these levels of proficiency were perceived by the migrants to be quite adequate for their everyday social or work-related interactions.

Another reason for the plateau effect may lie in the kind of feedback given to subjects by native speakers of English. For instance, one New Zealand husband told interviewers that his wife's English was equivalent to that of a native speaker when in fact the woman made many errors and was rated at FSI level 2+. In this case, the husband was probably accustomed to her English, did not notice the errors, and as a result, the woman herself possibly felt little motivation to improve her English since she was being understood. Another form of feedback is the correction of errors. About half of the subjects (44.8 per cent of INTRA and 51.2 per cent of INTER) reported that they received some correction to their English from family members. Some women were doubtful whether such correction had helped them to improve their English because they continued to make the same errors. Krashen (1981) has also noted that the presence of linguistic correction may not result in any improvement of second language proficiency. The hypothesis of Vigil and Oller (1976) may be of some help in explaining this phenomenon. They have identified two kinds of feedback transmitted from an audience to a speaker which they describe as affective feedback (usually transmitted by non-verbal channels) and cognitive feedback (generally encoded in verbal elements). Vigil and Oller have suggested that various combinations of affective and cognitive feedback are possible but one in particular is relevant to this study. The Vigil and Oller proposition suggests that when second language learners make a grammatically erroneous utterance, they may nonetheless receive positive affective and cognitive feedback from native speakers. For example, a Japanese woman might say "Tomorrow will be rain" to which her New Zealand husband might reply "Probably will." The woman thus receives positive affective and cognitive feedback, i.e. the husband signals that he has understood her message and that he agrees with her. Vigil and Oller argue that positive affective and cognitive feedback received in response to a grammatically erroneous message is

likely to reinforce the error and cause it to "fossilize". It may, therefore, be extremely difficult to correct these fossilized errors if the learner continues to receive positive feedback for their grammatically incorrect performance. This could in turn result in a learning plateau.

7.3.2 Need to Improve

This section explores the question of whether the subjects felt a need to improve their English. They were asked two questions: first, whether their command of English had ever prevented them from getting a job, joining a club or talking to people (Table 7.7), and second, how often they experienced some need to improve their English (Table 7.8).

The proportion of INTRA subjects who felt dissatisfaction with their present level of English was very high. A substantial majority (89.7 per cent) said that they felt their English prevented them from talking to New Zealanders and 82.8 per cent felt that low English proficiency would prevent them from getting a job in New Zealand (even if visa regulations would allow this). Over half (55.2 per cent) also reported that they felt that their level of English stood in the way of their joining a club. This serious overall lack of proficiency sensed by the INTRA group was also reflected in the frequency with which they felt a need to improve their English. Table 7.8 shows that as many as 62.1 per cent of the INTRA subjects reported that they either often or constantly felt that they needed to improve their English. Clearly then, many of the INTRA subjects were conscious of their low level of English proficiency, felt handicapped socially to a serious extent by this and were aware of a need to improve their proficiency.

The INTER subjects, on the other hand, generally felt much less need to improve their English. Overall, only a very small proportion of this group reported that their standard of English had prevented them from talking to people or joining a club (Table 7.7: 17.0 per cent and 10.6 per cent respective-

ly). However, even among these subjects, there was a strong feeling among more than half (53.2 per cent) that their command of English prevented them from getting a job. This suggests that the INTER subjects perceived employment-related language to be more difficult to learn than the language used for social interactions between friends and acquaintances. It is possible that employment-related language presents certain learning problems for migrants, a view which is supported by Kaplan (1980) who observes that vocation-related language involves not only the ability to use general language functions but also a complete range of specialised functions. On the FSI scale (see Appendix 2), the highest levels are reserved for those who are able to use the language fluently and accurately for professional purposes. The subjects themselves also commented on this. For example, one woman said that although she had qualified as a nutritionist in Japan, she felt that she could not apply for such a position in New Zealand because of her low English proficiency. There are, of course, different levels of English required for certain occupations. This was noted by another subject, a shop assistant, who thought that her English proficiency level was sufficient for her present job but felt that it would not be of a high enough level for her to become a teacher.

Finally, it was also found that the INTER subjects were not as concerned about improving their English as the INTRA group were. For example, 44.7 per cent of the INTER women (Table 7.8) reported that they often or constantly felt a need to improve their English compared with 62.1 per cent of the INTRA subjects. This is probably related to the INTER women's generally higher level of English which allowed them to meet their everyday needs and communicate adequately within New Zealand society whereas the INTRA group had more difficulty in this regard. In conclusion, the INTRA subjects, probably as a result of their lower oral proficiency in English, felt a greater need to improve their proficiency than the INTER subjects.

Table 7.7

Reasons given by subjects for wishing to improve their English language proficiency (percentages)

	INTRA	INTER			TOTAL SUBJECTS	
		1-5	6-17	18+	TOTAL 1-18+	
Felt command of English pre- vented her from:						
getting a job	82.8	66.7	33.3	63.6	53.2	64.5
talking to people	89.7	50.0	8.3	-	17.0	44.7
joining a club	55.2	8.3	8.3	18.2	10.6	27.6
N	29	12	24	11	47	76

Note: In this table, all subjects responded to three options: getting a job, talking to people and joining a club.

Table 7.8

Frequency of need felt by subjects to improve their English language proficiency (percentages)

Need felt	INTRA	INTER			TOTAL SUBJECTS	
		1-5	6-17	18+	TOTAL 1-18+	
Never	6.9	-	29.2	27.3	21.3	15.8
Rarely	3.4	16.7	-	9.1	6.4	5.3
Sometimes	27.6	41.7	20.8	27.3	27.6	27.6
Often	27.6	33.3	16.7	27.2	23.4	25.0
Constantly	34.5	8.3	33.3	9.1	21.3	26.3
N	29	12	24	11	47	76

7.3.3 Learning Strategies

The subjects were presented with a list of strategies for acquiring or learning oral English in New Zealand and asked to rank order the three strategies they most preferred using. Since not all subjects listed three strategies, only the first most preferred strategies have been presented in Table 7.9. "Meeting native speakers of English" proved to be the most popular choice of the subjects in both groups (72.4 per cent of INTRA and 44.7 per cent of INTER) which suggests that they favoured an informal approach to gaining proficiency in English. However, "learning from a teacher" was the next most favoured strategy (17.3 per cent of INTRA and 21.3 per cent of INTER subjects), perhaps indicating recognition of a need to follow up informal communicative interactions with a more formal learning approach. The desire to learn from a teacher may also be understood in the context of the respect which Japanese people have for teachers generally and learning something from an "expert". Some 24.1 per cent of INTRA subjects and 48.9 per cent of the INTER group had actually attended English classes in New Zealand (mainly at the language schools of the Auckland Technical Institute and the Wellington and Christchurch Polytechnics).

There is a common denominator in the two strategies referred to above which distinguishes them from the other strategies listed in the questionnaire (i.e. read widely in English, listen to the radio, read English newspapers, study a tape-recorded English course, study something through the medium of English, watch tv). Both involve direct interaction with another person whereas in the case of the other strategies, communication occurs primarily via the medium of print, radio or tv. The conclusion here is that the subjects strongly preferred to acquire or learn oral English in "face-to-face" situations or possibly that they doubted the effectiveness of other approaches.

It is of some interest to note that among the media-oriented approaches, the subjects favoured reading as a means of learning oral English over other, more obviously oral strategies such

Table 7.9

Strategies for learning oral English most preferred by subjects (percentages)

	INTRA	INTER			TOTAL SUBJECTS	
		1-5	6-17	18+	TOTAL 1-18+	
Meet native speakers of English	72.4	41.7	54.2	27.3	44.7	55.3
Learn from a teacher	17.3	16.7	20.8	27.3	21.3	19.7
Read widely in English	6.9	8.3	8.3	9.1	8.6	7.9
Listen to the radio	-	8.3	-	36.3	10.6	6.6
Read English newspapers	-	16.7	8.3	-	8.5	5.3
Study tape recorded English course	-	8.3	4.2	-	4.2	2.6
Study something in English	-	-	4.2	-	2.1	1.3
Watch television	3.4	-	-	-	-	1.3
N	29	12	24	11	47	76

as listening to the radio or studying a tape-recorded English conversation text. One woman explained that she preferred reading because she could study new vocabulary and sentence structures at her own pace. Most subjects appeared to be able to read to some extent in English (almost all had had six years exposure to English through high school) which probably accounts for the 62.1 per cent of INTRA and 80.8 per cent of INTER subjects (see Table 7.10) who reported that they read one or more English language newspapers per week. Even though the subjects may not have understood all they read, nevertheless the habit of regular reading in English may well have had a positive influence on their oral performance. Ervin-Tripp (1967) reached a similar conclusion when she found that inter-culturally married Japanese women in the United States who read widely in English also tended to be more proficient in their use of oral English than those who did not read widely in English.

Table 7.10

Subjects who read at least one newspaper, magazine or book written in English each week (percentages)

	INTRA	INTER				TOTAL SUBJECTS
		1-5	6-17	18+	TOTAL 1-18+	
Newspaper	62.1	66.7	91.7	72.7	80.8	73.7
Magazine	6.9	-	12.5	18.2	10.6	9.2
Book	3.4	-	12.5	9.1	8.5	6.6
N	29	12	24	11	47	76

7.4 SUMMARY

In this chapter, the subjects' oral proficiency in English was described. This led on to a discussion of reasons for the differences in proficiency among the subjects and support was found for some of the hypotheses postulated. Finally, issues relating to improvement of proficiency were examined.

Hypothesis 11 The oral proficiency in English of the INTER subjects is likely to be markedly superior to the oral proficiency in English of the INTRA subjects.

It was first established that all subjects were assessed within the range of 0+ to 3+ on the FSI scale with no migrant being observed to perform near the level of the educated native speaker. It was also shown that the INTRA subjects were significantly lower in oral proficiency than the interculturally married subjects. Furthermore, the migrants who had lived in New Zealand for several years were generally more proficient than those who had arrived more recently. These findings supported Hypothesis 11.

Hypothesis 12 There will be a correlation between the age at which subjects left Japan and their attained oral proficiency in English.

Hypothesis 13 There will be a positive correlation between the subjects' feelings of acceptance in New Zealand and their attained oral proficiency in English.

Hypothesis 14 There will be a positive correlation between the subjects' level of formal education and their attained oral proficiency in English.

201
Hypothesis 15 There will be a positive correlation between the subjects' length of residence in English speaking countries and their attained oral proficiency in English.

The differences in English oral proficiency were caused by a complex interplay of several factors. Intercultural marriage was found to be closely associated with higher oral proficiency mainly because it increased the motivation of those subjects to learn English as well as affording them more opportunity to use the language. Some degree of negative correlation was found between age at the time of exit from Japan to live abroad and attained oral proficiency in English (which gave support to Hypothesis 12). Feelings of acceptance within New Zealand society were found to correlate with oral proficiency attained by INTRA subjects but not INTER subjects (which lent limited support to Hypothesis 13). There was also a weak positive correlation between length of formal education and oral English proficiency but this was hardly strong enough to give any support to Hypothesis 14. Because most subjects appeared to reach a plateau in their learning of English after several years of living in New Zealand, no correlation was found between their length of residence in English speaking societies and oral proficiency in English, resulting in the rejection of Hypothesis 15. The majority of the subjects who reached higher levels of English were thus found to share certain common characteristics. They had left Japan while still in their early twenties, married interculturally and spent at least seven to ten years living in English speaking countries. In addition, they had settled permanently in New Zealand and most were employed at the time of the interview. Those who demonstrated the lowest levels of English oral proficiency, on the other hand, were the INTRA subjects, particularly those who were older when they left Japan to live abroad. These women had generally been in New Zealand for only a short time and had made few New Zealand friends. Furthermore, they were often "homesick" for Japan and their social life in New Zealand was usually confined to within the Japanese community.

The subjects' levels of English did not appear to improve beyond 2+ and 3+ after seven to ten years residence in English speaking societies. It was suggested that one cause of such a learning plateau may be that the subjects found their language at this level to be adequate for their social and vocational interactions. Another reason could be that the subjects received both affective and cognitive feedback which caused their habitual errors to fossilize. An exploration of the subjects' needs to improve their English revealed that the INTRA group, probably as a result of their lower oral proficiency in English, felt a greater need to improve than the INTER group. Finally, the two most favoured strategies employed by the subjects to improve their oral English were "meeting native speakers" and "learning from a teacher". These two strategies differed from others in that they were both face-to-face approaches whereas others were all centred on the presentation of English through some sort of printed or electronic media.

CHAPTER EIGHT

PATTERNS OF SELECTED PHONOLOGICAL AND GRAMMATICAL ERRORS

In this chapter, a broad description of phonological and grammatical errors made by the subjects is presented and it will be shown that certain patterns existed among the errors observed. Discussion will focus both on the causes and on the frequency of selected errors giving rise to some conclusions regarding certain patterns in the subjects' Japanese-English phonology and elements of pidginization in their grammar. The following hypotheses as formulated in the literature review will be tested:

- Hypothesis 16 Phonological errors made by the subjects will mainly be attributable to interference from Japanese.
- Hypothesis 17 No clear indications of cause of errors involving noun morphology, verb morphology or articles will be discerned.
- Hypothesis 18 Higher proportions of phonological and grammatical errors will be observed in the English of the INTRA rather than the INTER subjects.
- Hypothesis 19 Pidgin-like characteristics will be found in the subjects' English grammar.

Before starting out to discuss the phonological aspects of a second language learner it is necessary to establish a system of symbols to denote discrete units of sound produced by the learner. Since the present study deals with the use of New Zealand English by Japanese subjects, symbols used to describe the sounds of both these languages will be referred to. Two separate systems will be used: the symbols devised by Hawkins (1973) for New Zealand English which are listed in Table 8.1 and Kohmoto's (1969) account of Japanese phonology in Table 8.2. Although Hawkins (1978) acknowledges that there are differences between "broad", "general" and "cultivated" New Zealand English, he does not identify which phonemes belong to these categories. It could be suggested that /dei/ (day) in "general" NZE, for example, may become /dai/ in the broader variety. Nevertheless, the major NZE phonemic distinctions are contained in the 1973 list which makes it suitable for the purposes of the present study. Kohmoto (1969) likewise bases his description on standard Japanese (the dialect of Tokyo) and does not make any reference to regional or social dialectal differences, but again, the major phonemes of Japanese are in his list making it quite adequate for the present study.

In addition to the symbols used to denote speech sounds, and in line with the framework proposed by Haugen (1953) for describing the performance of second language learners, the following symbols will also be used:

- (1) The slashes / / enclose the symbol for a phoneme (e.g. /i/ or enclose a broad phonemic transcription of a word (e.g. /3li/).
- (2) The brackets [] enclose the phonetic transcription of a sound or word uttered by subject (e.g. [ɔli]).
- (3) Capital letters preceding the slashes indicate a language variety, for example, NZE = New Zealand English.

- (4) The arrow > will be used to indicate when a substitution of a target phoneme takes place. For instance, in the expression NZE/ɪ/>[i], the New Zealand English phoneme /ɪ/ becomes [i] in the phonological system of the subjects.
- (5) The dash _ represents the environment of occurrence. For example, NZE /t/>[t\$] _[i] means that the subject substituted [t\$] for the New Zealand /t/ before the vowel [i].

The phonetic description of the subjects' English language performance which follows will necessarily be a broad one. A narrow phonetic analysis would have required the use of very sensitive recording equipment. Since such a machine is difficult to carry around and its presence could have made some subjects nervous, the data was recorded relatively unobtrusively on normal cassette tapes. This equipment proved to be adequate for revealing instances where a subject, instead of producing the appropriate NZE phoneme, used an inappropriate speech sound, for example, where [a] was used in place of /ɜ/ resulting in [wak] for /wɜk/ (work).

The approach taken in this phonological section of the study will begin with a general description of the major types of errors with examples. Possible causes will be considered and error frequencies of selected phonemes will be presented for all groups of subjects. Finally, the causes and frequencies of errors will be referred to in a discussion of the features of a "Japanese accent" in the subjects' English.

8.1.1 General Patterns of Errors

Errors were observed in the subjects' English among the major phonological features of vowels, diphthongs, consonants and suprasegmentals. Table 8.3 contains samples of these errors while a full list of errors is given in Appendix 4.

Out of a total of 44 vowels, diphthongs and consonants in New Zealand English, no conspicuous and consistent phonological errors were observed in the subjects' taped FSI interviews among 20 phonemes (45.4 per cent). These were the vowels /i/, /e/, /a/, /ɒ/ and /u/; the diphthongs /ei/, /ai/, /au/, /ɔi/, and /eə/; and the consonants /p/, /b/, /k/, /g/, /ʃ/, /m/, /n/, /ŋ/, /tʃ/ and /dʒ/.

Consistent errors (cases where more than three subjects made the same kind of error) were observed to occur among seven out of the 12 vowels (58.3 per cent), three out of the eight diphthongs (37.5 per cent) and 14 out of the 24 consonants (58.3 per cent). Errors involving the incorrect production of discrete phonemes were almost all of the replacement type. That is, subjects would replace the appropriate NZE speech sound with a non-standard one as in, for example, [ɸud] for the NZE /fud/. Much rarer were instances where sounds were actually omitted or where a subject pronounced a word the way it is spelt. The overall pattern of the subjects' NZE phonology, therefore, was that they were able to correctly produce 20 out of the 44 NZE speech sounds but replaced the others with non-standard sounds.

Among the NZE vowels, /æ/, /ʌ/, /ɜ/ and /ə/ were replaced by [ɑ]. The nucleic vowel /ə/ of unstressed syllables by itself accounts for almost 15 per cent of all NZE speech sounds (Hawkins, 1973) which suggests that the intrusion of [ɑ] was a prominent identifying feature of the subjects' NZE phonology. The remaining vowels /ɪ/, /ɐ/ and /ʊ/ were replaced by [i], [o] and [u] respectively.

Among the NZE diphthongs, subjects made very few conspicuous errors. The most noticeable and widespread error involved the replacement of the NZE /əu/ by [o:]. The other diphthong errors were the rendering of the NZE /uə/ as [uɑ] and NZE /iə/ as [iɑ]. In these centering diphthongs the intrusion of [ɑ] is again evident.

Table 8.1

The phonemes of NZ English: The Hawkins-Holmes system

Vowels			Diphthongs		
/i/	/bit/ /ɪti/	beat, city	/e ⁱ /	/de ⁱ t/	date
/ɪ/	/bɪt/	bit	/ə ^u /	/də ^u t/	dote
/e/	/bet/	bet	/a ⁱ /	/bɑ ⁱ t/	bite
/æ/	/bæt/	bat	/a ^u /	/ba ^u t/	bout
/ɑ/	/pɑt/	part	/ɔ ⁱ /	/bɔ ⁱ t/	boy
/ɒ/	/pɒt/	pot	/e ^ə /	/be ^ə /	bear, bare
/ɔ/	/pɔt/	port	/i ^ə /	/bi ^ə /	beer
/ʌ/	/bʌt/	butt	/u ^ə /	/tu ^ə /	tour
/ʊ/	/put/	put			
/u/	/but/	boot			
/ə/	/bʌtə/ /əpɑt/	butter, apart			
/ɜ/	/pɜt/	pert			
Consonants					
/p/	/pæt/	pat	/m/	/mɑk/	mark
/b/	/bæt/	bat	/n/	/net/	net
/t/	/tɒt/	tot	/ŋ/	/rɪŋ/	ring
/d/	/dɑk/	dark	/l/	/liv/	leave
/k/	/kæt/	cat	/r/	/red/	red
/g/	/ge ⁱ t/	gate, gait	/w/	/wɑ ⁱ n/	wine
/f/	/fɪt/	fit	/j/	/jɑd/	yard
/v/	/və ^u t/	vote	/h/	/he ⁱ t/	hate
/s/	/se ⁱ k/	sake	/tʃ/	/tʃɪn/	chin
/z/	/zil/	zeal	/dʒ/	/dʒɪn/	gin
/θ/	/θɪn/	thin			
/ð/	/ðen/	then			
/ʃ/	/ʃɪn/	shin			
/ʒ/	/meʒə/	measure			

Note: The symbols tʃ, dʒ (*chin, gin*) are intended as digraphs, not as the sequences t + ʃ, d + ʒ. We have kept to the British tradition here rather than the American, which uses the symbols ċ, ĵ for these two phonemes. tʃ and dʒ, like diphthongs, are units phonemically but complex phonetically.

Table 8.2

The phonemes of Japanese: based on Kohmoto's (1969) description

Phoneme	Japanese example	English translation
Vowels:		
/a/	/aki/	autumn
/i/	/iSi/	stone
/u/	/utSi/	house
/e/	/enpitsu/	pencil
/o/	/oto/	sound
Consonants:		
/p/	/pan/	bread
/b/	/baSjo/	place
/t/	/te/	hand
/d/	/denki/	electricity
/k/	/kagu/	furniture
/g/	/gaQko:/	school
/t͡ɕ/	/t͡ɕusen/	balloon
/ts/	/tsuki/	moon
/s/	/sakura/	cherry
/z/	/zubon/	trousers
/ʃ/	/ʃika/	deer
/tʃ/	/tʃizu/	map
/dʒ/	/dʒju/	ten
/m/	/matsu/	pine
/n/	/naSi/	pear
/ŋ/	/hoŋ/	book
*/ɸ/	/ɸiŋgo/	apple
/w/	/waSi/	eagle
/j/	/hjaiku/	hundred
/h/	/ha/	tooth
/Q/	/juQkufi/	slowly

* The Japanese /ɸ/ is an alveolar flap and not continuous as in English.

The pattern of consonant errors was a little more complex but basically two major types of error were identified. The first type involved the replacement of the NZE speech sounds /f/, /v/, /θ/, /ð/, /ʒ/, /l/ and /r/ in all phonetic environments with non-standard variants. A second type of error occurred among NZE /t/, /d/, /s/, /z/, /j/, /w/ and /h/. It was observed that subjects generally managed to produce these sounds correctly but in certain phonetic environments they would substitute non-standard sounds. Reasons for the occurrence of these errors will be discussed in the following section on causes.

In addition to errors occurring with discrete phonemes, there were also non-standard patterns evident in the subjects' suprasegmental phonology. One commonly observed feature was the strong presence of a syllable-timed intonation pattern in the English of some subjects. That is, they were frequently observed to emphasise each syllable equally rather than following the stress-timed pattern of English as in [ɪŋɡʊrɪʃu bʊkʊ] for NZE /ɪŋɡlɪʃ bʊk/ and [ɛbəri deɪl] for NZE /ɛvri dei/. This syllable-timing produced other effects too, resulting in the insertion of vowels into consonant clusters as in [furomu] for the NZE /frɒm/ and [ɪŋɡʊrɪʃu] for NZE /ɪŋɡlɪʃ/. Affected in a similar way were consonants at the ends of words. Many subjects followed these consonants with a vowel so that /dɪp/ became [dʒɪpu], for example, and /dʒɪs/ was uttered as [dʒɪsu] and /nʒuzɪlənd/ became [nʒudʒɪrændɔ]. Some went so far as to enclose the final consonant between a glottal stop and a vowel as in [bʌQgu] for /bæg/ and [tʌQpu] for /təp/.

Most of these errors did not by themselves disturb communication between the subjects and interviewers. Examples of the rare cases where mispronunciation resulted in an interviewer requesting clarification were where one subject had said [wak] instead of /wɜk/ and another who said [klɔud] when she meant /kraud/. Misunderstanding between subjects and interviewers generally occurred as a result of several phonological and/or syntactic errors occurring in close proximity to each other and reducing the opportunity for the message to be obtained from context.

Table 8.3

Examples of New Zealand English phonological errors made by subjects*

Error	Example	Corrected form
Vowels:		
NZE /ɪ/ > [i]	[ɪn]	/ɪn/ (in)
NZE /æ/ > [a]	[dʒapənizu]	/dʒæpəniz/ (Japanese)
NZE /ɔ/ > [o]	[θo:t]	/θɔ:t/ (thought)
NZE /ʊ/ > [u]	[put]	/pʊt/ (put)
NZE /ɜ/ > [a]	[wak]	/wɜ:k/ (work)
NZE /ʌ/ > [a]	[ap]	/ʌp/ (up)
NZE /ə/ > [a]	[westən]	/westən/ (western)
Diphthongs:		
NZE /əu/ > [o:]	[o:nli]	/əunli/ (only)
NZE /iə/ > [ia]	[kɔriənz]	/kɔriənz/ (Koreans)
NZE /uə/ > [ua]	[puə]	/puə/ (poor)
Consonants:		
NZE /t/ > [tʃ] _[i]	[tʃitʃa]	/titʃə/ (teacher)
NZE /t/ > [ts] _[u]	[tsua]	/tuə/ (tour)
NZE /d/ > [dʒ] _[i]	[dʒipu]	/dip/ (deep)
NZE /f/ > [ʃ]	[ʃud]	/fud/ (food)
NZE /v/ > [b]	[bɔvʌntʃiəru]	/vɔlɒntiə/ (volunteer)
NZE /s/ > [ʃ] _[i]	[ʃesito]	/rəsit/ (receipt)
NZE /z/ > [dʒ] _[i]	[njudʒirando]	/njuzilənd/ (New Zealand)
NZE /θ/ > [s]	[siŋk]	/θɪŋk/ (think)
NZE /ð/ > [z]	[fæzə]	/fæðə/ (father)
NZE /ð/ > [dʒ]	[dʒis]	/ðis/ (this)
NZE /ʒ/ > [dʒ]	[judʒəri]	/juʒəli/ (usually)
NZE /l/ > [ʃ]	[ʃigəlu]	/liɡəl/ (legal)
NZE /r/ > [ʃ]	[ɔʃait]	/ɔraɪt/ (all right)
NZE /w/ > [u] _[i]	[ui]	/wi/ (we)
NZE /j/ > [j] _[i]	[iazu]	/jiəz/ (years)
NZE /h/ > [ʃ] _[u]	[ʃu]	/hu/ (who)
Consonant Clusters:		
NZE /fr/ > [ʃur]	[ʃuromu]	/frɒm/ (from)
NZE /kl/ > [kur]	[kurabu]	/klʌb/ (club)
NZE /zb/ > [zub]	[hazubənd]	/həzbənd/ (husband)
Syllable Timing:		
	[wʌn sɑ wɪkʊ]	/wʌns ə wɪk/ (once a week)
	[ɪŋɡlɪʃ bʊkʊ]	/ɪŋɡlɪʃ bʊk/ (English book)

* For full list of discrete phonological errors, see Appendix 4.

Comparison of the correct use vs. replacement of New Zealand English phonemes by subjects

NZE phoneme	No con- sistently observed errors	Replacement sound	Source of Replacement	
			in both NZE & Jpns	only in Japanese
Vowels:				
/i/	✓			
/ɪ/		[i]	✓	
/e/	✓			
/æ/		[a]	✓	
/a/	✓			
/ɒ/	✓			
/ɔ/		[o]		✓
/ʌ/		[a]	✓	
/ʊ/		[u]	✓	
/u/	✓			
/ə/		[a]	✓	
/ɜ/		[a]	✓	
Diphthongs:				
/ei/	✓			
/əu/		[o:]	✓	
/ai/	✓			
/au/	✓			
/ɔi/	✓			
/eə/	✓			
/iə/		[ia]		✓
/ua/		[ua]		✓
Consonants:				
/p/	✓			
/b/	✓			
/t/		[tʃ] [i]	✓	
		[tʃ] [u]		✓
/d/		[dʒ] [i]	✓	
/k/	✓			
/g/	✓			
/f/		[ʃ]		✓
/v/		[b]	✓	
/s/		[ʃ] [i]	✓	
/z/		[dʒ] [i]	✓	
/θ/		[s]	✓	
/ð/		[z]	✓	
		[dʒ]	✓	
/ʃ/	✓			
/ʒ/		[dʒ]	✓	
/tʃ/	✓			
/dʒ/	✓			
/m/	✓			
/n/	✓			
/ŋ/	✓			
/l/		[r]		✓
/r/		[r]		✓
/w/		[u] [i] or [e]		✓
/j/		[i] [i]		✓
/h/		[ʃ] [u]		✓
44	20		16	10

8.1.2 Causes of Error

The question of the cause of phonological errors in the speech of L2 learners has been of particular interest to many researchers over the past few years. Several writers including Haugen (1953), Weinreich (1953), Lado (1957), Mackey (1965), George (1972), Nagara (1972) and Loveday (1981a) have identified interference as the primary cause of phonological errors. The main evidence for this view arises from the observation that learners substitute speech sounds in their L2 with sounds from their L1. An objective investigation of phonological errors should not, however, begin with the assumption that phonological errors are necessarily caused by interference from the L1. The first step is to examine a list of phonological errors which are observed to occur consistently among L2 users. The next consideration is whether the replacement sounds are to be found in the learners' L1 or L2, both their L1 and L2 or neither their L1 or L2. If there is a consistent pattern of learners replacing the target language phonemes with sounds that only occur in their L1, then this may be taken as evidence of interference. If there is no pattern of L1 sounds being substituted for L2 sounds, then the cause of error is not direct interference from L1. In the situation where replacement sounds may be found in both the L1 and the L2, the cause of error cannot be ascribed with any certainty.

It was noted earlier that subjects either produced the appropriate NZE sound or they substituted it with a non-standard one. A comparison between the correct use and replacement of NZE phonemes made by subjects is set out in Table 8.4. No consistent errors were recorded among the five vowels /i/, /e/, /a/, /ɒ/ and /u/. Since these are similar to the five vowels of Japanese, may be conjectured that subjects were able to transfer these across from their L1 for use in their L2. Among the other seven NZE vowels which do not occur in Japanese, however, almost all replacement sounds observed occur in both NZE and in Japanese. Of the three diphthong errors, however, two of the replacement sounds ([iɑ] and [uɑ]) are found only in Japanese. For vowels and diphthongs, then, the underlying cause of errors is not very clear; while there is some suggestion that interference from Japanese was one possible cause, there is no definite proof of this for most errors.

The situation is a little clearer with respect to the consonants, however, with several factors suggesting interference to be at least a partial cause of error. First, for 10 of the sounds which occur both in NZE and Japanese (/p/, /b/, /k/, /g/, /ʃ/, /tʃ/, /dʒ/, /m/, /n/ and /ŋ/) no consistent errors were recorded suggesting that subjects were able to transfer these sounds across from their L1 to their L2. Second, for three of the seven NZE phonemes which do not occur in Japanese (/f/, /l/ and /r/), Japanese sounds were substituted. The third point concerns the NZE consonants of /t/, /d/, /s/, /z/, /h/, /w/ and /j/. When these consonants occurred in certain phonetic environments, variant forms replaced the appropriate phoneme (e.g. /t/ became /tʃ/ when it occurred before /u/ resulting in [tsuə] for "tour"). There were eight such variant forms observed. In four of these cases where a NZE phoneme occurred in a phonetic environment which would result in a variant form in Japanese, the Japanese variant consistently occurred. Here, then is some evidence that interference from Japanese was the cause of many of the consonant errors observed.

It should be pointed out, however, that for /θ/, /ð/, /ʒ/ and /v/ which occur in NZE but not Japanese, the replacement sounds observed were to be found in both NZE and Japanese. Nor was the cause of the error clear with variant forms of /t/ > [tʃ] _[i], /d/ > [dʒ] _[i], /s/ > [ʃ] _[i] and /z/ > [dʒ] _[i] since the replacement sounds are found in both NZE and Japanese.

As mentioned earlier, the principal suprasegmental errors involved syllable-timing and this appeared to result in both the insertion of vowels into consonant clusters and the addition of vowels to final consonants. These errors may well have also been caused by L1 interference since syllable-timing is a feature of Japanese but not English which is a syllable-timed language.

To sum up, then, while there is some evidence, particularly among consonants and in the suprasegmental features, for interference being a substantial cause of error, there is no clear proof that it is the overall cause because replacement sounds were in many cases found in both NZE and Japanese.

8.1.3 Frequencies of Selected Vowel and Consonant Errors

It has been noted that phonological errors made by subjects occurred in more than half the NZE speech sounds. The next step is to determine which subjects made the errors and how frequently the errors occurred. Certain phonemes of English identified in other studies (Kohmoto, 1969; Nilsen and Nilsen, 1971; Finocchiaro, 1976) as being ones with which Japanese learners of English frequently make errors were selected for frequency analysis. These were the three vowels /ɪ/, /æ/ and /ɜ/, the diphthong /əʊ/ and the consonants /f/, /θ/, /l/, /t/ and /z/. Interviewers in the present study also confirmed that subjects experienced difficulty with these sounds.

The frequency analysis was carried out using data obtained from the FSI interviews. First a three minute section containing lengthy stretches of the subject's speech was selected from the middle of each tape. All instances where the NZE speech sound under scrutiny had clearly been replaced by another non-standard sound (e.g. where a subject had said [æli] instead of /ɜli/ for "early") were counted. All occasions when the subject was able to use the target phoneme were also totalled. Finally, the number of errors were divided by the total number of occurrences to give an error frequency expressed as a percentage. These error frequencies calculated for the phonemes /ɪ/, /æ/, /ɜ/, /əʊ/, /f/, /θ/, /l/, /t/ and /z/ are presented in Table 8.5.

The frequency data reveal two interesting trends with regard to the vowels. First, as might be expected, the subjects with less proficiency in English (the INTRA subjects in particular) substituted NZE vowels with non-standard ones far more often than the more proficient subjects. For example, the INTRA subjects used [æ] in place of the NZE /ɜ/ in 86.9 per cent of all occurrences whereas among the INTER 6-17 and INTER 18+ subjects, error frequencies of only 16.8 and 17.5 per cent were recorded.

Table 8.5

Mean frequencies of errors involving nine New Zealand English phonemes made by subjects (percentages)

NZE Phoneme	INTRA	INTER			TOTAL SUBJECTS	
		1-5	6-17	18+	TOTAL 1-18+	
NZE /ɪ/ > [i]	57.8	49.1	15.2	15.4	21.2	28.7
Occurrences	232	161	428	319	908	1140
NZE /æ/ > [a]	92.2	90.6	34.7	30.2	42.0	49.8
Occurrences	153	127	458	242	827	980
NZE /ɜ/ > [a]	86.9	78.4	16.8	17.5	30.1	42.9
Occurrences	69	51	125	63	239	308
NZE /əu/ > [o:]	100.0	94.0	79.8	86.7	84.3	87.8
Occurrences	181	116	336	165	617	798
NZE /f/ > [θ]	100.0	94.7	57.3	55.4	62.1	70.6
Occurrences	121	57	265	92	414	535
NZE /ð/ > [z] and [dʒ]	69.6	54.0	33.5	37.0	37.4	43.9
Occurrences	102	50	197	154	401	503
NZE /l/ > [ɹ]	100.0	100.0	68.4	76.0	75.4	80.7
Occurrences	151	94	335	121	550	701
NZE /t/ > [tʃ] _ [i]	77.8	63.1	11.8	21.2	19.3	31.5
Occurrences	45	19	119	33	171	216
NZE /z/ > [dʒ] _ [i]	61.1	44.0	21.1	27.3	25.3	33.9
Occurrences	54	25	123	22	170	224
N of subjects	29	12	24	11	47	76

Note: "Occurrences" here refers to the total number of correct and incorrect productions of the target phoneme.

Second, some vowels may be more difficult to learn than others. This is evident from a comparison of the error frequencies for the NZE /ɪ/ and /æ/. Subjects with low proficiency (INTRA) substituted [i] for /ɪ/ in 57.8 per cent of the occurrences while among subjects with higher proficiency (INTER 6-17 and INTER 18+) this dropped to 15.2 and 15.4 per cent respectively. In the case of the NZE /æ/, however, an error frequency of 92.2 per cent was recorded among INTRA subjects whereas the more proficient (INTER 6-17) still sometimes made errors (34.7 per cent). It would appear, therefore, that these Japanese learners had gained control over the NZE /ɪ/ before they had mastered the /æ/ vowel.

It was particularly noticeable throughout the interviews that the subjects' English was heavily marked by the intrusion of [ɑ]. The data here suggest that Japanese speakers may replace /æ/ and /ɜ/ very often with [ɑ] in the early stages of learning English but by the time the learner approaches FSI level 3 (the average level of INTER 6-17 and INTER 18+) this interference has considerably diminished.

Throughout the interviews one commonly recurring error involved the NZE diphthong /əu/ being replaced by [o:]. Evidently the subjects found difficulty in producing the movement from the central /ə/ to the high back rounded /u/ and opted instead for the mid-back rounded [o:] as a compromise. The error frequencies obtained revealed a rather striking result suggesting that the NZE diphthong /əu/ may be very difficult for Japanese learners to master. There was no correct occurrence recorded among the INTRA subjects and a high error frequency of 94.0 per cent was recorded for the INTER 1-5 group. More surprising, however, was the finding that even the more proficient subjects (INTER 6-17 and INTER 18+) substituted [o:] for the NZE /əu/ in 79.8 and 86.7 per cent of their occurrences respectively. The conclusion here is that the Japanese learner's production of English vowels and diphthongs might well be heavily marked by the overuse of the sounds [ɑ] and [o:].

Five consonant errors selected for frequency analysis included three NZE consonants which do not occur in Japanese: (/f/, /ð/ and /l/) and two other NZE consonants occurring in restricted phonetic environments: (/t/ > [tʃ] _[i] and /z/ > [dʒ] _[i]).

It was found that subjects experienced considerable difficulty with the NZE consonants /f/, /ð/ and /l/ for which they frequently substituted non-standard consonants. This occurred particularly among subjects with lower oral proficiency. For example, among the INTRA subjects, no correct instance of NZE /f/ or /l/ was recorded. The substitution of the Japanese flap /ɾ/ in place of the NZE /l/ appeared to be the most persistent consonant error since even among INTER 6-17 subjects intrusion by the Japanese sound was recorded in 68.4 per cent of the occurrences. On the other hand, NZE /f/ and /ð/ gave the higher proficiency subjects less trouble, with the error frequencies dropping to 57.3 and 55.4 per cent for /f/ among subjects in the INTER 6-17 and INTER 18+ groups and 33.5 and 37.0 per cent for /ð/ in the same groups.

The subjects had fewer problems with the NZE consonants /t/ and /z/ when these occurred in situations which replicated a Japanese phonetic environment. While subjects of lower proficiency (INTRA) substituted [tʃ] for /t/ before [i] (in 77.8 per cent of occurrences) and [dʒ] for /z/ before [i] (in 61.1 per cent of occurrences) this type of error occurred infrequently among subjects with greater oral proficiency.

In conclusion, the most frequent type of consonant error for these learners of English seemed to involve those consonants which do not occur in Japanese. Different rates of learning these consonants are also evident. For example, /ð/ appears to be mastered at an earlier stage than /l/. The other error type involves consonants which exist in Japanese but change in certain phonetic environments (e.g. /t/ becomes [tʃ] before [i]). The data show, however, that this type of error is less persistent than the first type.

8.1.4 Observations on the Phonological Systems of Subjects

Based on a study of the types of error, their cause and the frequency of their occurrence, certain conclusions can be drawn about the phonological features of this particular sample of Japanese learners of English.

It was first established that the subjects were able to produce 20 out of the 44 NZE phonemes as catalogued by Hawkins (1973). These included the vowels /i/, /e/, /a/, /ɒ/, /u/; the diphthongs /ei/, /ai/, /au/, /ɔi/, /eə/ and the consonants /p/, /b/, /k/, /g/, /tʃ/, /dʒ/, /ʃ/, /m/, /n/ and /ŋ/. No conspicuous and consistently recurring patterns of error were recorded among these phonemes. It was additionally noted that all of the above NZE speech sounds have similar counterparts in Japanese although they belong to different phonemic systems.

Three different types of phonological error were identified. The first of these occurred among those NZE phonemes which are not part of Japanese phonology (the vowels /ɪ/, /æ/, /ɔ/, /ʊ/, /ɜ/, /ʌ/, /ə/, the diphthongs /əu/, /iə/, /uə/, and the consonants /f/, /v/, /θ/, /ð/, /ʒ/, /l/ and /r/). This type of error was caused by the NZE phoneme being replaced by a similar sound from Japanese. The second type of error involved the NZE consonants /t/, /d/, /s/, /z/, /h/, /w/ and /j/. All these consonants do occur in Japanese but in certain phonetic environments they are changed to other consonants. Subjects with lower proficiency (INTRA and INTER 1-5) tended to use the Japanese variant when the NZE phonetic environment replicated a Japanese one which required a variant form. Finally, at the suprasegmental level, it was found that the lower proficiency subjects showed a marked tendency to impose the Japanese feature of syllable-timing onto their English. From the data collected, there is some evidence that interference from Japanese was a major cause of errors involving diphthongs, consonants and suprasegmentals. There is thus partial support for the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 16 Phonological errors made by the subjects will mainly be attributable to interference from Japanese.

A statistical analysis of selected phonemes revealed three interesting trends. First, considerable differences between subject groups and frequency of error were discovered. It was observed, for example, that the INTRA subjects had a much higher frequency of error (as high as 100 per cent for some sounds) than the INTER groups (particularly INTER 6-17 and INTER 18+) who tended to make far fewer phonological errors. This finding provides strong support for Hypothesis 18. Second, the fact that the frequencies of error varied considerably for individual phonemes suggests that some sounds (such as the vowels /æ/ and /ɜ:/ or the consonant /l/) are more difficult to master than others for Japanese learners. It was also shown that subjects had greater difficulty in learning phonemes which were completely new to them (i.e. did not occur in Japanese) than learning to use sounds which they already knew in a wider variety of phonetic environments. Third, the analysis showed that certain phonological errors (the use of [ɑ] for /æ/, /ɜ:/ and /ə/; [o:] for /əu/ and [ʃ] for /l/) are so persistent as to be found extensively even in the speech of the most proficient subjects interviewed. The widespread occurrence and high frequency of these errors suggests that they may be prominent features of "Japanese English".

While interference from Japanese was the cause of most of the phonological errors observed, there nevertheless remain a few, seemingly idiosyncratic, errors produced by seven subjects which cannot be satisfactorily explained by the theory of interlingual transfer. Examples of these errors included [hæzbando] (husband), [hɜ:m] (harm), [kuravu] (club) and [məsin] (machine). These subjects had mastered the NZE phonemes /æ/, /ɜ:/, /v/ and /ʃ/ (the first three do not occur in Japanese) but had not used them in appropriate places. Dickerson (1975) has also found variation of this kind in the speech of Japanese learners and was able to study them more deeply in a longitudinal study. In the present study, however, an insignificant number of this type of error was observed while the majority of errors made fitted into the patterns described above.

8.2 GRAMMATICAL ERRORS

In this section, there will first be a very brief description of the main types of subjects' grammatical errors in English. This will be followed by a discussion centering on three specific grammatical features (noun morphology, verb morphology and article usage) which will examine error frequencies to establish the extent of pidgin features in the English used by the subjects. Causes of these errors will also be discussed and major difficulties associated with determining the causes of errors will be identified.

8.2.1. Main Types of Grammatical Errors

An initial inspection of the subjects' English showed that their grammatical errors could be broadly classified along two dimensions. First, errors could be described as those involving word order, word class or word morphology. Second, these errors could further be classified in terms of whether they were omissions, redundancies or misuses (categories corresponding to these are included in error taxonomies proposed by Burt and Kiparsky, 1972; Seet, 1977; Corder, 1978; Noss, 1979; Mukattash, 1981a; Bander, 1982).

A general examination of the transcripts taken from the English interviews revealed the presence of a wide variety of errors involving subjects, objects, word order, noun phrases, verb phrases and functors such as articles and prepositions. Examples of these types of error will be given and a summary of all principal error types identified is listed in Appendix 5.

Word order is often cited as being a major difference between Japanese and English with the most noticeable variation relating to the placement of the verb in the sentence. In English, basic word order is Subject-Verb-Object but in Japanese it is Subject-Object-Verb. There are also differences between the two languages with respect to the arrangement of elements within phrases. Examples of errors involving word order within sentences included "That he did" or "Baby-time he get often sick" or phrase-level errors such as "red big ball." Nagara (1972) found that among speakers of Japanese-English pidgin in Hawaii Japanese word order was very common but this type of error was not found to be widespread in the present study. Few of the subjects in Nagara's study had received much formal education in either Japanese or in English whereas virtually all the subjects in the present study were high school or college graduates with extensive formal exposure to English grammar which may account for their general familiarity with the word order rules for English.

Errors involving two other major sentence-level elements were observed: subjects and objects. In most cases these were omitted as in "Buy New Zealand" (I buy it in New Zealand), "Because warm" (Because it is warm) or "He can put up" (He can put up with it). There were also cases where a redundant object pronoun was added inappropriately, for example, "In the buckets they put it water and rhubarb leaves."

Grammatically, noun errors were confined to faulty morphology: the omission or unnecessary addition of the plural <s> and omission of the possessive <s>. Omission of the plural <s> as in "There many many instant love hotel" was a more common error among subjects than adding a plural <s> unnecessarily, for example, "I did the washings". Errors involving the possessive <s> (e.g. "That husband car") occurred less often. A frequency analysis of errors associated with noun morphology is presented in Section 8.2.2.

English verb phrases are complex in that they rely on a variety of forms and combinations to carry meaning. Because of the complex nature of the English verb system, a wide range of errors can occur in the sentences of non-native speakers. Errors observed during the interviews involved the verb phrase itself, auxiliary verbs and the infinitive <to> as well as verb morphology. A frequency analysis focusing specifically on verb morphemes will be introduced in Section 8.2.3.

Omission was the most common error in both verb phrases and verb morphology. First, there was the omission of the verb phrase itself as in "Tokyo very crowded". In most cases, it was the copula which was omitted; this is often left out in spoken Japanese at the casual level. Second, there was the omission of auxiliary verbs such as in "Still house price going up" or "I be here all day". Third, there was omission of the infinitive <to> (e.g. "I don't want cook") and finally there was widespread omission of the verb morphemes <s>, <ing> and <ed> as in "My friend live in Tokyo", "She was complain", and "I join club last year".

There were other errors which were manifested by unnecessary addition of verb elements. Examples of these included the insertion of a redundant auxiliary verb (e.g. "He is belong to the Workers Club") or verb morphemes (e.g. "I belongs to Ikebana International", "It costed fifty dollar" or "I normally going with the neighbourhood"). In addition to these, there were also cases where the error would best be described as incorrect use of an auxiliary verb ("I been hayfever all summer"), the infinitive <to> ("It's worth to go") or verb morpheme ("I am interesting in ikebana"). In these latter examples, the error was more complex than a simple omission or unnecessary addition.

The articles <a> and <the> caused problems with most subjects often leaving out these functors (see frequency analysis in Section 8.2.4). Examples of omissions were "I'm not moralist" and "Still house price going up." There were also some instances of unnecessary inclusion as in "What a weather" and "He's working at the full-time."

Prepositions are a group of functors which differ somewhat from articles in that their collocational restraints are semantic rather than syntactic (common usage, for example, dictates that we travel in a car but on a ship). Omission of the preposition was commonly observed (e.g. "Before I went Japan" or "Buy New Zealand") as were cases where a preposition was added unnecessarily ("I miss to Tokyo" or "It suit with this room"). There were also sentences where the wrong preposition was selected as in "I want to go to trip" and "He has gone for business".

It is clear from the foregoing broad description of errors that omission of grammatical elements occurred very frequently. Since the kind of omission described above is also a prevalent feature of pidgin languages (Ervin-Tripp, 1967; Clyne, 1968, 1982; Ferguson, 1971; Schumann, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1978; Traugott, 1978), omission may be taken as a useful marker to establish the extent of pidgin features in the English of the subjects interviewed (Hypothesis 19). It might also be expected that the INTRA group (those who demonstrated the lowest levels of proficiency in English) would tend to make more errors than the INTER subjects as was postulated in Hypothesis 18. In the next three sections, therefore, frequency analyses of grammatical errors will be carried out to determine which subjects made the most errors and the kinds of errors which occurred most frequently.

8.2.2 Noun Morphology

Most English nouns are marked for plurality and possession by the addition of the morpheme <s>. There are exceptions to this, notably with irregular plural forms such as man --> men, child --> children or deer --> deer. The analysis carried out in this section, however, will be confined to a discussion of errors which occurred among the regular <s> noun inflections, examples of which are listed in Table 8.6.

Errors involving noun morphology were classified into three main types: omission of the plural <s>, unnecessary addition of plural <s> and omission of possessive <s>. These errors appeared to be widespread and an analysis was carried out to establish first, which subjects made the most errors and second, what the relative proportions were of the various error types. The analysis was conducted along lines similar to those already described in Section 8.1.1 and the results are presented in Table 8.7.

The subjects whose English contained the greatest proportion of plural <s> errors were those in the INTRA group. The mean proportion of correct utterances was 29.1 per cent for those subjects with the majority of their errors being omission of plural <s>. The INTER subjects, however, showed greater control of this morpheme (the mean proportion of correct instances for all INTER subjects was 53.8 per cent). Omission of the plural <s> was the most common error among all INTER subjects (32.2 per cent) with no marked differences between the groups.

There were fewer occurrences of the possessive <s> in the corpus (see Table 8.7) but again it was the INTRA and INTER 1-5 subjects who demonstrated least control of this structure by frequently omitting the morpheme (81.8 and 60.0 per cent respectively). The INTER 6-17 subjects who used the structure, however, showed good control of it by using it correctly in 83.3 per cent of the occurrences.

The cause of these errors is not entirely clear. Japanese is not normally inflected for plurals as English is and this could have caused subjects to pay less attention to plural inflections in their English. Errors of plural <s> omission could therefore have been due to interference from Japanese. The variety of redundant plural <s> errors showed evidence of incomplete knowledge of English plural inflections with regard to uncountable nouns (e.g. washings), mismatch between article and number (e.g. a topics) or not knowing certain idioms (e.g. two years old children). Japanese is inflected for possession in a somewhat similar manner to English (by means of the particle no) but, as has been shown, this did not seem to assist the subjects with lower proficiency in adding the possessive <s> in appropriate situations.

Table 8.6

Examples of noun morphology errors made by subjects

Error example	Corrected form
<u>Plural <s> omitted:</u>	
I just wash hand.	I'll just wash my hands.
I didn't use any book.	I didn't use any books.
We better check all door.	We'd better check all the doors.
There many many instant love hotel.	There are many many instant love hotels.
I'm not talking about uni-versity student.	I'm not talking about university students.
It was a number of people of different age group.	It was a number of people of different age groups.
<u>Plural <s> added unnecessarily:</u>	
I did the washings.	I did the washing.
We had a topics each week.	We had a topic each week.
There was a groups of the Christian.	There was a group of Christians.
I have two years old children.	I have two year old children.
<u>Possessive <s> omitted:</u>	
That husband car.	That's my husband's car.
It father brush.	It's his father's brush.
Secretary job.	It's the secretary's job.

Table 8.7

Mean frequencies of errors involving plural <s> and possessive <s> made by subjects (percentages)

	INTRA	INTER			TOTAL SUBJECTS	
		1-5	6-17	18+	TOTAL 1-18+	
<u>Plural <s>:</u>						
Correctly Used	29.1	44.3	56.6	54.0	53.8	49.5
Omitted	49.1	37.5	31.3	30.7	32.2	35.2
Added Unnecessarily	21.8	18.2	12.1	15.3	14.0	15.3
Occurrences	110	88	297	124	509	619
<u>Possessive <s>:</u>						
Correctly Used	18.2	40.0	83.3	66.7	65.6	58.3
Omitted	81.8	60.0	16.7	33.3	34.4	41.7
Occurrences	11	5	36	9	61	72
N of subjects	29	12	24	11	47	76

8.2.3 Morphology of Verbs

Three of the most common English morphemes which are used to inflect English verbs for tense are <s> (third person singular present simple), <ed> (simple past and past participles) and <ing> (continuous or progressive). Of these, <s> occurs somewhat less often than <ed> or <ing> (see Table 8.9) since it is only used to inflect the verb in cases of the third person singular present simple. Errors which may occur with these morphemes include their omission, unnecessary addition or misuse and examples of these are listed in Table 8.8. An analysis of the frequency of occurrence of these types of error is presented in Table 8.9. In a small number of cases, it was difficult to determine from the tape whether an error had actually occurred (e.g. did the subject say "I use to" or "I used to"?). In these instances the occurrence of the morpheme was not counted. Another problem was associated with the complete omission of the verb (particularly prevalent among the INTRA subjects) and in these cases too no count could be made.

Overall, the English of the INTRA subjects contained a higher proportion of errors than the INTER subjects with error patterns differing somewhat between the individual morphemes and between the groups. Omission was the most prevalent error among <s> and <ed> with the INTRA subjects making this type of error more frequently (93.3 and 63.0 per cent) than INTER subjects (35.8 and 31.0 per cent). As was the case with noun errors, the INTER 6-17 group generally made fewer errors overall than the INTER 18+ subjects which is also reflected in the FSI proficiency ratings for those groups. Analysis of the <ing> errors, on the other hand, showed that unnecessary addition or misuse was the most frequent error for all groups. Only the INTER 6-17 subjects demonstrated any degree of correctness in using this morpheme appropriately (62.0 per cent) while subjects in the other groups showed a marked tendency to overuse the form and occasionally omit it.

Examples of errors involving verb morphology made by subjects

Error example	Corrected form
<u><s> omitted:</u>	
My friend live in Tokyo. Some come from Japan. She seem to have very interest. He is belong to Workers Club.	My friend lives in Tokyo. Some comes from Japan. She seems to have a lot of interest. He belongs to the Workers Club.
<u><ed> omitted:</u>	
She didn't tell me until I finish. I join club last year. She came in and start to giving the food.	She didn't tell me until I had finished. I join club last year. She came in and started to give them food.
<u><ing> omitted:</u>	
She was complain. I read Drive Book. He's waste time. I am study English. If it's rain, nothing to do.	She was complaining. I am reading the Road Code. He's wasting time. I am studying English. If it's raining, there's no- thing to do.
<u><s> added unnecessarily:</u>	
I belongs to Ikebana Inter- national.	I belong to Ikebana Inter- national.
<u><ed> added unnecessarily:</u>	
It costed fifty dollar.	It cost fifty dollars.
<u><ing> added unnecessarily:</u>	
I normally going with the neighbourhood. I said, "Don't showing off." When will Alan coming home?	I normally go with a neighbour. I said, "Don't show off." When will Alan come home?
<u><ing> used incorrectly:</u>	
I think using to that. I am interesting in ikebana. The general sort of work, my husband doing.	I think I'm used to that. I am interested in ikebana. My husband does the general work.

Table 8.9

Mean frequencies of errors involving the verb morphemes <s>, <ed> and <ing> made by subjects (percentages)

	INTRA	INTER			TOTAL SUBJECTS	
		1-5	6-17	18+	TOTAL 1-18+	
<u><s>:</u>						
Correctly Used	6.7	10.7	79.7	77.3	61.5	54.8
Omitted	93.3	89.3	15.2	22.7	35.8	42.8
Added Unnecessarily	-	-	5.1	-	2.7	2.4
Occurrences	15	28	59	22	109	124
<u><ed>:</u>						
Correctly Used	25.9	20.9	81.5	67.1	68.3	64.6
Omitted	63.0	79.1	17.3	32.9	31.0	33.8
Added Unnecessarily	11.1	-	1.2	-	0.7	1.6
Occurrences	27	43	162	76	281	308
<u><ing>:</u>						
Correctly Used	13.4	29.2	62.0	44.4	49.5	38.6
Omitted	18.6	6.2	13.2	13.9	11.3	13.5
Added Unnecessarily	68.0	64.6	24.8	41.7	39.2	47.9
Occurrences	97	65	121	36	222	319
N of subjects	29	12	24	11	47	76

Verb morphology errors appeared to be due to a complex network of causes. To begin with, transfer from the first language was unlikely to have been a major source of error since Japanese verbs can also be inflected with a number of different morphemes to indicate the present (-te or -masu), the present continuous (-te iru) and past tense (-ta or -mashita). One possible cause of the omission of English verb inflections may be associated with the fact that these morphemes are generally unstressed in English and consequently cause problems of perception for learners. There is also the possibility that learners find it very difficult to recall inflectional rules at the speed of normal conversation. Both these explanations would have resulted (as was observed) in the subjects using simplified rules of inflection in their interlanguage. The inappropriate addition of <ing> to verbs has also been observed by other investigators (George, 1972, Scovel, 1974) who have suggested that this type of error may be caused by language programs which emphasise the use of continuous forms out of proportion to their actual occurrence in English. It was striking how the INTRA subjects especially used <ing> forms much more than <s> or <ed> (see Table 8.9). There was also some variation noted between individual subjects in terms of their personal patterns of verb morphology errors. One INTER 6-17 subject, for example, consistently omitted <s> and <ed> but added <ing>. In contrast to this, another INTER 6-17 subject demonstrated skill in using <ed> and <s> in certain common phrases (got married, lived) but omitted these morphemes consistently elsewhere (I went to Montreal and stop in the U.S.; It depend). Finally, there were some errors whose cause was not readily identified. For example, in the sentence "I am study English" the subject may have intended to say "I study English" (as a habitual action) or "I am studying English" (as an on-going activity in the present). Similarly, in "I think using to that" the speaker's meaning may have been "I think I am becoming used to that" (a gradual and continual process) or "I think I am used to that" (completed action in the past). Writers such as Abbott (1980, 1981), Jordens (1980) and Bunte and Kendall (1981) have certainly raised a valid issue when they suggest that many errors can be ascribed to a variety of causes including interference, intralingual transfer, faulty instruction or the learning of prefabricated patterns.

Errors involving the English indefinite and definite articles <a/an> and <the> occurred very commonly amongst all the subjects in the study <a/an> occurred more frequently in the corpus than <the> which was the reverse of analyses such as that by Kucera (1975) which was based on a variety of written texts). The corpus of the present study was, however, an oral interview marked particularly by questions which introduced new topics and this may well have accounted for the slightly lower incidence of the definite article (see Table 8.11) which often refers to topics already introduced and under discussion. As for the errors themselves, the two main types were those of omission and unnecessary addition and examples of these can be found in Table 8.10.

As was found with noun morphemes and verb morphemes, the most common type of article error was omission as in sentences such as "I'm not moralist" and "Tokyo is biggest city". Among INTRA subjects, the omission frequency of an appropriate <a/an> and <the> was 74.2 and 69.4 per cent compared with 36.8 and 35.0 per cent overall for the INTER subjects. For the longer-term residents, considerably lower frequencies of omission were recorded (INTER 6-17: 27.4 and 34.2 per cent for <a/an> and <the>; INTER 18+: 38.1 and 28.0 per cent) which is understandable considering their generally higher levels of English oral proficiency. This finding that omission was the most common type of error contrasts sharply with patterns of error made by Japanese students in written tests (cf. Yamada and Matsuura, 1982) and with results obtained by Kharma (1981) for Arab students. In those studies, it was found that omission of either article was not at all a common error. The difference in result probably lies in the data gathering method. When the testing device is a controlled elicitation method such as a written cloze test (used in both of the above cases) students will be encouraged to fill in the blanks with some response. However, such a method does not reveal the extent to which omission occurs when the subject is controlling the language output as is the case in an interview.

Table 8.10

Examples of errors involving articles made by subjects

Error example	Corrected form
<u><a> omitted:</u>	
I'm member.	I'm a member.
Doesn't make big difference.	It doesn't make a big difference.
I'm not moralist.	I'm not a moralist.
You'll get chance next time.	You'll get a chance next time.
I want to go to trip.	I want to go on a trip.
<u><the> omitted:</u>	
It is most famous castle.	It is the most famous castle.
Tokyo is biggest city.	Tokyo is the biggest city.
Still house price going up.	House prices are still going up.
Clothes is get dirty.	The clothes have got dirty.
I think she want learn piano.	I think she wants to learn the piano.
<u><a> added unnecessarily:</u>	
I have a two kids.	I have two kids.
I was a really upset.	I was really upset.
I had a hayfever.	I had hayfever.
What a weather.	What weather.
It make a sense.	It makes sense.
When I was a single.	When I was single.
<u><the> added unnecessarily:</u>	
I'm working at the full-time.	I'm working full-time.
He must stay in the bed.	He must stay in bed.
<u>Both <a> and <the> used:</u>	
If they take a the car.	If they take the car.
They suppose to have a the nursery room.	They are supposed to have a nursery room.
We had a the boat.	We had a boat.
<u><the> used in place of <a>:</u>	
I took the taxi.	I took a taxi.

Table 8.11

Mean frequencies of errors involving articles made by subjects (percentages)

	INTRA	INTER			TOTAL SUBJECTS	
		1-5	6-17	18+	TOTAL 1-18+	
<u><a/an>:</u>						
Correctly used	25.8	25.3	53.2	44.4	45.4	42.5
Omitted	74.2	60.4	27.4	38.1	36.8	41.8
Added Unnecessarily	-	12.1	17.4	15.1	15.7	14.0
Replaced by <the>	-	2.2	2.0	2.4	2.1	1.7
Occurrences	107	91	248	96	465	572
<u><the>:</u>						
Correctly used	30.6	34.1	55.9	54.7	50.7	46.7
Omitted	69.4	43.5	34.2	28.0	35.0	41.7
Added Unnecessarily	-	22.4	9.9	17.3	14.3	11.6
Occurrences	87	85	211	75	371	458
N of subjects	29	12	24	11	47	76

The only other significant type of error occurred when an article (usually <a>) was added unnecessarily as in "I have a two kids" and "I had a hayfever". Another much less common error was the use of both <a> and <the> together ("We had a the boat"). Probably errors such as these were due to a subject being momentarily confused and in a dilemma over which article to insert. Finally, there were very few instances where <the> was used where <a> would have been more appropriate. An example of this kind occurred when a subject was asked "How did you come here?" to which she replied "I took the taxi."

The cause of article errors is not clear. In Japanese, there is no distinction made between indefinite and definite articles as there is in English. The nearest equivalent syntactic devices in Japanese are the topic particle wa and the subject particle ga. All that can be said with regard to cause of article errors is that the subjects were unfamiliar with the notion of indefiniteness and definiteness among English nouns and that it is not surprising to find that much of the time they simply omitted <a> or <the>.

8.2.5 Review of Grammatical Features of Subjects

A number of significant results relating to the nature, frequency and cause of grammatical errors have been discussed. These results will now be summarised in order to test Hypotheses 17, 18 and 19 and compared with conclusions reached by other researchers about grammatical errors made by second language learners.

- | | |
|---------------|--|
| Hypothesis 17 | No clear indications of cause of errors involving noun morphology, verb morphology or articles will be discerned. |
| Hypothesis 18 | Higher proportions of phonological and grammatical errors will be observed in the English of the INTRA rather than the INTER subjects. |
| Hypothesis 19 | Pidgin-like characteristics will be found in the subjects' English grammar. |

Errors were observed among all grammatical categories from the order of sentence elements to inflectional morphemes. These errors involved noun phrases, verb phrases, verb morphology, article and preposition use and were generally able to be classified into three broad groups: errors of omission, unnecessary addition and misuse of grammatical elements.

The frequency analysis, which focused on noun morphemes, verb morphemes and articles, produced evidence for several concluding points. The first major finding supported Hypothesis 18 in that it was the INTRA subjects who had a much higher proportion of errors among their noun morphemes, verb morphemes and article use than the INTER subjects. Given the differences in oral proficiency between these two basic groups, this result implies that subjects with lower oral proficiency made a higher proportion of errors in their noun morphology, verb morphology and article use than those who were rated as having higher oral proficiency in English; a fact which indirectly confirms the reliability of the FSI as an oral assessment indicator.

The second important trend was that by far the most common type of error made by subjects in their attempts to use noun and verb morphemes and articles was the omission of these features. Similar findings have also been reported by other researchers describing the English language performance of Japanese learners (e.g. Ervin-Tripp, 1967; Nagara, 1972; Milward, 1980). These numerous omissions observed among all subjects had the effect of giving their English a distinctively pidgin-like quality; a finding which well supports Hypothesis 19. This grammatical characteristic has also been observed among other learners of English as a second language by Hymes (1972) and Traugott (1978). Ervin-Tripp (1967) described the English used by Japanese war-brides in California as a "transitional pidgin" while Nagara (1972) made an extensive inventory of the features of what he called "Japanese-English pidgin in Hawaii". The results of the present study, together with those of other researchers, therefore provide strong support for Schumann (1974, 1975, 1976, 1978) who has cast this notion into a theory of pidginization (see Section 2.4.2). This is a very useful concept since it suggests that

249

the strong tendency to simplify language is so prevalent that it is worthwhile considering it as a cause of error separate from either interference from the L1 or the notion that learners make false hypotheses about the rules of the L2.

Third, the results of the frequency analysis suggest that some grammatical features may be more difficult to learn than others. It can be argued that if all grammatical features were of equal difficulty, then it might reasonably be expected that similar error frequencies would be obtained for all features. However, subjects at all levels were found to make more errors with verb morphology and articles than with noun morphology which suggests that English verb morphology and articles may have been slightly more difficult for this particular sample of Japanese learners to master. Possibly a frequency analysis approach may again be used in a more comprehensive study for determining relative hierarchies of difficulty among grammatical categories although clearly an appropriate elicitation device would have to be used to circumvent problems such as the subjects avoiding the use of certain grammatical forms.

Finally, no conclusive evidence was found among the three grammatical categories investigated which identified any single cause of grammatical error but several possible sources were suggested. First, there was some evidence of interference from Japanese. Second, the large number of grammatical elements which were omitted indicated a marked tendency on the part of most subjects to oversimplify the rules of English. Third, many of the instances where grammatical features were used inappropriately were clearly not due to interference from Japanese nor oversimplification of English but were instead reflective of the false hypotheses subjects had formulated about English grammar. Fourth, there was some suggestion that faulty instruction may have caused certain types of error. Fifth, idiosyncratic variation among individual subjects appeared to be a cause of yet other patterns of error. Finally, there remained a number of errors which may have been due to a combination of several of these causes. Numerous error sources were therefore identified which well supported Hypothesis 17.

CHAPTER NINE

OTHER FEATURES OF THE SUBJECTS' ENGLISH LANGUAGE USE

Analysing the second language use of learners is not only a matter of investigating their phonological and grammatical systems. One other important research area concerns vocabulary: the number of words in a learner's lexicon, for example, or the ability to use general, subtechnical or specialized items appropriately. This can lead on to an analysis of lexico-semantic errors. Beyond the study of L2 errors, however, there is also a recently developed field of research which focuses on what learners can do with their L2 rather than the errors they make in expressing themselves. This involves a study of the communication strategies learners employ to help them communicate in the L2 despite not knowing the language well.

In this chapter, there will be a brief description of lexico-semantic patterns of error and some comments on communication strategies observed. These features were somewhat less in evidence than phonological and grammatical errors, probably because the subjects could avoid using certain lexical items or communication strategies whereas they might be obligated on, say, five or ten occasions during a three-minute speech sample to use specific speech sounds or syntactic structures. In order to carry out any statistically-based investigation into lexico-semantic errors or communication strategies, then, some kind of test specifically designed to elicit these features would need to be used. Because the FSI interview corpus appeared to offer a relative paucity of lexico-semantic errors and communication strategies, no statistical analysis was carried out. Discussion in this chapter will consequently be of a general nature and is intended to suggest directions for further research rather than to provide conclusions.

9.1 LEXICO-SEMANTIC ERRORS

In this section, attention will focus on the subjects' vocabulary errors. Unlike research into phonology and grammar, studies of the general issues of vocabulary acquisition of second language learners have been neglected (see reviews of the literature by Levenston, 1979; Meara, 1980). It is not surprising, therefore, to find that there have been few analyses carried out on lexical errors made by second language learners. In studies of L2 vocabulary acquisition (e.g. Leopold, 1949; Yoshida, 1978) the focus has been on the chronological development of the learner's lexicon. Lado (1957), however, made an attempt to categorise lexical errors in terms of three basic types which he called form, meaning and distribution. Lado's emphasis, in line with the guiding theory of the times, was on the prediction of errors based on a comparison of the first and second languages. The lexical analysis carried out in the present study will follow a somewhat similar pattern in that errors made by subjects will be classified into three basic categories which were formulated by considering the ideas of Lado (1957) Richards (1974), Levenston (1979) and Meara (1980). The first error type refers to cases where the subjects transferred words from their L1 to their L2, the second category covers errors which involved a direct translation of an L1 into the L2 while the third type reflected the learners' lack of knowledge about the collocational restraints of the L2 words.

9.1.1 Use of Japanese Words

The modern Japanese lexicon may be divided into (a) those words which are of Japanese origin (some being derived from Chinese) and (b) words which have recently been adopted from other languages such as English (Miura, 1979). There were no instances recorded where subjects used words of Japanese origin during the FSI interviews (those who couldn't understand or speak English well tended just to give up and wait for the next question). However, a few subjects were observed to use gairaigo (foreign loan-words). Possibly those subjects believed that Japanese gairaigo are all derived from English (which is not the case) or that the same pronunciation and meaning can be retained in the shift from Japanese to English (which again is a false assumption). Four basic types of error associated with gairaigo were observed in the speech of the subjects, examples of which are presented in Table 9.1.

The first type of error involved the mispronunciation of the gairaigo item because the subject used Japanese phonemes and prosody, e.g. "It's only purasuchikku" (It's only plastic). See also Section 8.1.1 for further discussion of this error type. The second variety of error was associated with the type of gairaigo item which had been redefined when it entered Japanese. (For example, manshon has the meaning of "apartment" in Japanese). A third erroneous use of gairaigo occurred when subjects used a loan-word coined originally from foreign sources but which had been changed in its form so that it now had no clear meaning in English. An example of this type was the word kone which was derived from the English word "connection". Finally, the women used some loan-words which had their origins in languages other than English such as arubaito (from the German arbeit; part-time job) or pan (from the French pain; bread).

Table 9.1

Examples of errors involving gairaigo items made by subjects

Error example	Corrected form
<u>Loan-word used with Japanese pronunciation:</u>	
It's only <u>purasuchikku</u> .	It's only plastic.
I used <u>howait</u> wool.	I used white wool.
Sometimes I <u>doraibu</u> myself.	Sometimes I drive myself.
<u>Loan-word with similar form to English original but a different meaning in Japanese:</u>	
Because I had three years <u>buranku</u> .	Because I didn't work for three years.
Can't find <u>manshon</u> here.	I can't find an apartment here.
But the <u>handoru</u> is very hard.	But the steering wheel is very stiff.
He talk <u>oba</u> .	He talks exaggeratedly.
<u>Use of Japanese word coined from loan-words:</u>	
I bought <u>depato</u> .	I bought it at a department store.
He goes by <u>otobai</u> .	He goes by motorcycle.
It was <u>kone</u> .	It was through a connection.
The <u>konsento</u> is different.	The wall-socket is different.
When I was <u>haitin</u> .	When I was a late teenager.
<u>Loan-word derived from non-English source:</u>	
I was doing <u>arbaito</u> last week.	I had a part-time job last week.
New Zealand <u>pan</u> is no good.	New Zealand bread is no good.
The <u>anketo</u> is finish?	Is the questionnaire finished?

9.1.2 Direct Translation of Japanese Expressions

Every language has certain expressions (often idiomatic) which cannot be translated word for word into other languages. In English, examples abound; if expressions such as "under the weather", "go for your life" or "sit on the fence" are translated into Japanese, for instance, they become at best very unusual expressions and at worst totally meaningless. L2 learners often make this kind of error and subjects in the present study were no exception. Below are some brief explanations of expressions which appear to have been translated directly from Japanese (see Table 9.2).

"If she work too hard husband pull her legs."

In Japanese, ashi o hipparu means to pull down a person who is attempting to rise up or achieve something.

"I took bath but it got water."

Mizu ni naru means to become water. In Japanese there are two separate words for hot water (oyu) and cold water (mizu). Mizu is, however, the general word for water, hence the use of water to mean cold water.

"It comes to head."

This is a translation of the Japanese expression atama ni kuru which means to be frustrated or annoyed.

"I read drive book."

In Japanese, the expression uten no hon means "driving instruction manual" but translates literally as "drive book". This particular subject was attempting to say that she was studying the Road Code in preparation for taking her driving test.

"Food is Japanese and western - half-half."

The Japanese phrase hambunhambun is translated directly into English as "half-half". In English the more normal expression used would be "half and half". A similar translation from Japanese which also did not incorporate a conjunction was "time-time" which may have been a direct translation of the Japanese tokidoki meaning "sometimes".

"He won't listen to his father's words."

Otoosan no kotoba ("father's words") has the connotation in Japanese of the content of a message and not just the words.

Table 9.2

Examples of errors which were direct translations of Japanese expressions made by subjects

Error example	Corrected form
If she work too hard, her husband pull her legs.	If she works too hard, her husband tries to interfere.
I took bath but it got water.	I took a bath but the water had turned cold.
It comes to head.	It makes me annoyed.
I read drive book.	I'm reading the driving instruction manual.
Food is Japanese and western - half-half.	Our food is Japanese and western - half and half.
He won't listen to his father's words.	He won't listen to what his father says.

9.1.3 Collocational Restraints

All words in a language have restrictions on the way in which they can be used. Put another way, the words have what can be called collocational restraints on their meanings. For example, in Japanese, the verb "drink" can be used with water, alcohol or tobacco whereas in English, "drink" can collocate with water and alcohol but not with tobacco. Almost all subjects demonstrated their incomplete knowledge of collocational restraints governing several English words, some examples of which are listed in Table 9.3.

In some cases, the subjects appeared to be transferring Japanese usage patterns to the English words. For example, the verb "do" tended to be overused by many women who employed it as a general purpose dynamic verb as in "Sometimes I do detective stories" ("do" standing in place of "read" here). In Japanese the verb suru is used more widely than "do" is in English. Another example of this transference of Japanese collocational rules was in the use of the verb "wish" which some subjects used to express the concept of both "hope" and "wish" (cf the Japanese verb negau which Kenkyusha, 1974, defines as "desire, wish, hope for, be solicitous for..."). Yet another example of this type of error stemmed from the Japanese verb sodatsu which has the meaning of "to grow up, to be brought up" (Kenkyusha, 1974). In English, however, two verbs are required which resulted in such errors as "I was grown up in the wartime."

In the case of adverbs such as "almost" and "very", on the other hand, subjects appeared to follow a strategy of omission of the following adjective (e.g. "She very criticised my father" and "It have very flavour").

Table 9.3

Examples of errors involving subjects' lack of understanding regarding collocation

Error example	Corrected form
<u>do:</u>	
I do now and again Japanese food.	I cook Japanese food now and again.
I'm not doing any activities.	I'm not taking part in any activities.
Sometimes I do detective stories.	Sometimes I read detective stories.
<u>wish:</u>	
I wish he be all right.	I hope that he will be all right.
I wish it be fine Saturday.	I hope that it will be fine on Saturday.
<u>grow up:</u>	
She was grown up in Chinese society.	She was brought up in Chinese society.
I was grown up in the wartime.	I was brought up during the war.
<u>almost:</u>	
Our food is almost western.	Our food is almost all western.
Almost myself I doing.	I am doing almost all of it myself.
Almost of the time I'll call.	I'll call almost every time.
<u>very:</u>	
She very criticised my father.	She criticised my father very hard.
We very need.	We have a very great need.
It have a very flavour.	It has a very good flavour.
It's very upset me.	It upset me very much.

9.1.4 Review of Lexico-Semantic Errors

In conclusion, the discussion of these lexico-semantic errors has shown that, in almost all cases, interference from Japanese was the most likely cause of error. It was observed (though not measured) that lower proficiency subjects seemed to be more prone to using gairaigo in inappropriate situations than those of higher proficiency. On the other hand, errors that involved translation of Japanese expressions directly into English and the use of certain English words in contexts appropriate in Japanese but not in English were observed among all subjects with no apparent concentration in any particular group. In order to test these impressions, however, some kind of testing device which specifically elicited gairaigo, Japanese translations or understanding of collocations would need to be used.

9.2 COMMUNICATION STRATEGIES

Errors made by the subjects were not the only features which distinguished their oral English from that of native speakers. There was also evidence that many subjects were employing strategies to help them communicate in English when they experienced difficulty. Researchers such as Schachter (1974), Rubin (1975), Hakuta (1976), Krashen (1977a, 1977b, 1981) and Tarone (1977) have described a number of strategies which learners use to assist them in using a second language. These include avoidance, code switching, the use of fillers, seeking repair, monitoring, the use of stock phrases and circumlocution, examples of which are presented in this section. For the reasons given in the introduction to this chapter, no statistical analysis of communication strategies was carried out; the following descriptions serve merely to demonstrate that the main types of communication strategies appeared to be used by some subjects.

9.2.1 Avoidance

Tarone (1977) showed that individuals who encounter difficulty in expressing themselves in a second language may practise avoidance on two levels. First, they may avoid talking about certain topics, for example, technical subjects requiring specialised vocabulary. Since the FSI tester in the present study initiated all topics of discussion, it was not possible to observe which topics the women chose to initiate or avoid. The second aspect of avoidance involves what Tarone describes as message abandonment and occurs when learners begin a sentence which they cannot complete because of an inability to produce the appropriate expression. This resulted in subjects omitting English words and phrases in such cases as:

"I will go to school to my children." ("pick up" omitted.)

"I normally going with the neighbourhood."
("someone in" omitted.)

In the above cases, the subject merely omitted the word but completed the sentence as best she could in the hope that she had included sufficient information for the listener to understand the content of the message. There were other instances, however, where the message was abandoned completely:

Subject	Yes, I found - ah - ah ----
Interviewer	By chance?
Subject	Yes - Yes.

Avoidance (or groping for a word) such as this was present in the oral English of many INTRA subjects but seemed rather less evident in the more confident speech of most INTER subjects.

9.2.2 Code Switching

Apart from the gairaigo used by subjects (see Section 9.1.1), there were no subjects in the main study who resorted to expressing whole phrases or sentences in Japanese. However, the following examples of language mixing were recorded in the speech of three women interviewed during the pilot study:

"Kekkyoku ni, we use all our savings."

(In the end, we'd use all our savings.)

"Kusarenai - never rotten because I should stir every day."

(It never gets rotten because I should stir it every day.)

"Ano hito ni yaru to - that's it."

(If you give it to him - that's the end of it.)

This may have occurred because these women were well known to the interviewer and were consequently a little more relaxed than the main study subjects. They were also aware that the researcher had some knowledge of the Japanese language. These may be more favourable conditions for observing the phenomenon of code switching.

9.2.3 Use of Fillers

Filler particles, particularly the Japanese long vowel /a:/, were used by several INTRA and INTER subjects as in the following examples:

"Yes - ah - no. Ah, I think - ah - using to them. Not taking - ah."

"I feel - ah - moral, yes, moral, ah sexual moral is ah - too free."

These filler particles served the purpose of allowing the subject to retain her hold on the conversation while organising the next phrase but they were also able to be inserted in place of articles:

"I belong to - ah - golf club."

In this case, it appeared that the subject was uncertain which article to use before "golf club" and opted for the filler "ah" which sounds like an article.

9.2.4 Seeking Repair

Some subjects were observed to seek repair from the tester by asking such questions as:

"What mean - association?"

"And you feel - what you say - tired?"

Utterances such as these may be a direct signal for assistance but there are others which might be thought of as a kind of monitoring process or a check to see whether the listener actually understands as in:

"So I - ah - buy? buy...."

The subject in this case appeared to be trying out the word "buy" on the tester to check whether it was the appropriate one. In interactions such as these, positive feedback of understanding and encouragement may indeed help the subject gain sufficient confidence to continue communicating.

9.2.5 Monitoring

Linguistic monitoring may be described as the learner's skill in observing his own language performance. Krashen (1976, 1977a, 1981) has argued that learners who monitor their language output are likely to be more effective language learners than individuals who do not monitor. Linguistic monitoring is evident when learners are observed to initiate self-repair to their language performance. This kind of repair involves corrections to the performance as illustrated by the following examples, all of which were produced by women of higher levels of oral proficiency in English as measured on the FSI scale.

"He don't - he doesn't."

"We eat most western food - mostly western food."

"That make me more happy - happier."

"I don't mean professional - prostitute."

"I'm just started to read the book in - read books in English."

"She was saying but she didn't explain me - she didn't tell me."

These subjects were able to use their monitoring skills to correct such syntactic and semantic errors but there were other long-term INTER subjects of high English proficiency whose monitoring skills allowed them to recast their words or add something which shifted their meaning into sharper focus:

"...put in, soaking in soy sauce."

"Oh yes, all different - mixture."

"Most of the things I er translated in Japanese already - most of the recipes."

There is a clear distinction here between repair for correction of an error and repair for clarification but in both cases there is evidence that the subjects were monitoring their output and taking steps to improve their communication with the listener.

9.2.6 Use of Stock Phrases

One feature of the subjects' oral English was the recurring use of certain phrases within sentences. These phrases constituted the "prefabricated patterns" identified by Hakuta (1976) or "lexicalised sentence stems" of the type described by Pawley (1980). Some examples were:

"that type of"
 "that kind of"
 "something like that"
 "from time to time"
 "half and half"
 "it upset me"
 "you know"
 "anyway"
 "we can"
 "I could have"
 "I was surprised to know"
 "I think"

There was nothing unusual in the construction of such phrases but they tended to be overused by many subjects as in:

"...I can say different taste because some of the New Zealand ladies cook very nicely and we can understand the taste and we can enjoy the meal itself very much - anyway, we can find the difference."

"...I'll teaching for children in Japanese crafts or some kind a a craft or origami or several kind a things I'll teaching - not every week or so - sometimes I'll go."

Subject: I have friend send from home and she give some of sort of things like that.

Interviewer: Do you take your shoes off before entering your house?

Subject: Use to, not now - some - I do if they get muddy or something like that, I can't just walk in, if the my shoes happen to be dirty something like that.

It is possible that subjects who overused expressions such as those listed above did so because they did not have a large number of synonymous words or phrases in their vocabulary. Some expressions may also have been used because they were direct translations of a common Japanese equivalent such as:

"half and half"	<u>hambunhambun</u>
"you know"	sentence tag <u>yo</u>
"that type of"	<u>sonna no</u>

It is difficult to account for the prevalence of other phrases such as "We can..." or "You must be..." which are not direct translations of Japanese expressions. It is, however, speculated that reliance on such patterns may be a result of what Selinker (1972) has termed a "transfer of training" since the above phrases commonly appear in Japanese high school English texts such as the New Prince Readers series.

9.2.7 Circumlocution

Circumlocution is a strategy that can be employed by individuals who do not know or who have forgotten an expression. This seemed to be more evident among subjects of higher proficiency (FSI level 2 or above) than those who were assessed as being less proficient. Presumably women who had greater proficiency in English would have had greater confidence in initiating parenthetical clauses into their speech than would subjects of limited English proficiency. Furthermore, subjects with higher proficiency would also be more likely to have a range of synonymous expressions at their disposal to define the word which was escaping them. The following are some typical examples of circumlocution which were observed:

"But some class - class - not class, for instance, my - my friends of my environment..." (subject was trying to say the word "group").

"She start to giving the sort of food - ah like Cheezels - not good food - ah you say - junk food?"

"We don't say professional, not the prostitute - but ah - you know - bar girl - that type you know?"

It is interesting to note that in the examples given above, circumlocution frequently occurred simultaneously with self-repair. This suggests that the individual was verbalising the self-repair as a way of suggesting other words with similar meanings to the listener in the hope that the native speaker might suggest the appropriate one. In such cases, it could be that self-correction may also be an indirect appeal for assistance.

9.2.8 Review of Communication Strategies

In conclusion, there was clear evidence of several communication strategies being used by the subjects. There is some suggestion that there may be a hierarchy of strategies since subjects at all proficiency levels employed strategies such as the use of fillers and stock phrases whereas other strategies such as monitoring or circumlocution appeared to be used only by subjects with higher levels of English proficiency. An experimental situation would, however, be needed to test out these impressions.

CHAPTER TEN

CONCLUSIONS

The general aim of this study has been to describe broadly the cultural and linguistic adaptation of married Japanese women migrants in New Zealand. The final chapter will show to what extent this objective has been reached beginning with a discussion of the suitability of the research methods employed. The results of the study will then be reviewed with special reference to the hypotheses previously tested. In the final section some suggestions will be offered for further possible research arising out of the findings of the study.

10.1 EVALUATION OF RESEARCH METHODS

In order to gather and analyse the sociolinguistic data needed for the present study, several different research methods were used. The relative strengths and limitations of these methods will now be discussed.

The employment of Taft's (1977) model of cultural adaptation provided a well-structured framework for investigating the subjects' acculturation in New Zealand. The use of this model also demonstrated that it is particularly well-suited to sociolinguistic studies since it takes into account the especially important role which language plays in the acculturative process.

Data on the subjects' language maintenance and language shift was obtained principally from the self-reports of subjects during the interviews in Japanese. This method turned out to be a convenient and efficient means of obtaining information although there is a limit to the accuracy of self-reported data (for example, estimating the proportions of Japanese and English used at home). In order to obtain a more objective set of data, observational studies of the kind carried out among children learning languages (see: Weir, 1962; Brown, 1973; Halliday, 1973) would provide material to compare with the results of the present study. Some kind of Japanese language proficiency test would also have been useful for obtaining comparative data on Japanese language maintenance among subjects and their children although (for reasons explained in Section 3.2.2) this was not possible in the present study.

The measurement of the subjects' English language proficiency on the FSI scale appeared to be a reliable and practical means of establishing oral language ability. However, there are three shortcomings associated with this particular test when used with a migrant group. The first problem relates to that the fact that the FSI levels are designed to measure the proficiency of diplomats and other individuals who may be expected to reach high levels or near-native speaker proficiency in a language. In the present study, 77.6 percent of all subjects were assessed below level 2+ on the five point scale. For migrants who have only recently arrived in a new language environment a modified version of the FSI scale could be created and employed to assess language proficiency particularly at the lower end of the FSI scale. In fact, Ingram (1979) has proposed some modifications to the FSI scale to make it more useful for measuring the language proficiency of migrants entering Australia. There is also a need for tests of oral proficiency in other fields such as the testing of second/foreign language course applicants or the assessment of employees' proficiency in a second or foreign language.

745
A second potential shortcoming of the FSI testing procedure is that it is conducted under formal interview conditions. As a result, it may not be capable of assessing certain socio-linguistic skills such as whether an individual is able to initiate or maintain a conversation or has the ability to select an appropriate topic or level of formality. Researchers such as Wilkins (1976) and Roulet (1978) have emphasised that second language learners need to acquire these skills.

A third problem associated with an interview such as the FSI is that subjects can avoid using features of the L2 with which they feel unfamiliar. These might include certain syntactic structures such as the use of the passive voice. Obviously there are certain features of language which an interview such as the FSI does force the testee to use such as social formulae, most verb tenses and vocabulary relating to everyday vocational and social routines. Nor could subjects avoid using the speech sounds of English. If, however, an in-depth study was made of rather low-frequency items (e.g. ability to use the past perfect), specialised elicitation devices would need to be used in order to yield sufficient data to carry out analysis.

Data on language learning were collected by having the subjects supply information and comment on their own experience of learning English. These data were then used for identifying factors which had some relationship with the subjects' attained proficiency in English. The main disadvantages associated with using self-reported data (e.g. the difficulty of establishing the accuracy of the information given) are very similar to those already mentioned in connection with the collection of data on language maintenance and language shift. In order to gain a deeper insight into the various factors affecting second language learning, this self-reported data could be supplemented with more objective observations. Ideally, these observations could include certain motivational and attitudinal measures employed in questionnaires designed by researchers such as Gardner and Lambert (1959, 1972), Oller et al. (1977), and Chihara and Oller (1978). There is a growing need (as has been pointed out by Gaies, 1985) for L2 acquisition

studies which investigate how a large number of environmental, social, personal and cognitive factors interact with each other to influence attained proficiency in a second language. To follow such an approach would also require more sophisticated methods of statistical analysis than were used in the present study.

The tape recordings made of the FSI interviews were useful not only as back-up for the language proficiency ratings but also provided an ample quantity of data for analysing the linguistic performance of the subjects. Three minor problems were encountered with the use of these tapes for the error analysis. First, subjects with very little proficiency frequently had difficulty in comprehending the interviewer's questions, replied haltingly and consequently did not produce extensive tracts of speech for analysis. For a more complete analysis of errors made by subjects with a proficiency of less than FSI level 1, it may be more productive to give the subjects a controlled elicitation test of the kinds described by Corder (1978). Given the natural reticence of most Japanese (which is particularly evident in those with little proficiency in English), it could be advisable to give the subjects a test which includes more visual stimuli instead of relying simply on aural cues. Second, it was occasionally difficult to determine from the tape recording whether or not a phonological error had occurred. The use of high quality sound tape or videotape equipment would be necessary if a detailed phonological analysis were to be carried out. Third, a small number of the comments made by subjects on the tapes were not able to be exactly understood because of faulty grammar. Although these instances did not upset the analysis of grammatical errors to any degree, it did highlight the fact that it is important to take into account what it is that the subject is attempting to say in order to accurately describe the error made. This may not always be possible when relying solely on tape-recorded data.

945

The analysis of the subjects' English language use focused on selected features of their phonology and grammar. In accordance with established practice, different approaches were followed in each field to determine causes of error. The theoretical approach for discussing phonological errors was that originally developed by Weinreich (1953) and Haugen (1953) and was linked with techniques of phonological description especially suited to Japanese (Kohmoto, 1969) and New Zealand English (Hawkins, 1973). This framework of investigation resulted in clear reasons being found for many of the phonological errors (generally interference from Japanese). However, the erroneous speech sounds used in some instances were to be found in both Japanese and English and establishing the cause of these errors proved to be beyond the capability of the investigative framework used.

The approach taken in discussing grammatical errors was an eclectic one and incorporated the ideas of many writers including Nemser (1971), Nagara (1972), Selinker (1972), Burt and Dulay (1973), Richards (1974), Taylor (1975), Corder (1978) and Abbott (1981). Given the complexity of English grammar, an approach to grammatical analysis should be broad enough in scope to accommodate several different sources of error. Clearly, it is inadvisable to adopt an analytical model (e.g. a contrastive analysis approach) which might favour one cause of grammatical error over others.

The frequency analysis proved to be useful in making some comparisons between the groups in the errors the subjects made as well as determining the different frequencies of various errors. Frequency analysis was also helpful in showing the extent of pidgin elements in the subjects' English grammar.

Lexical errors were described by following the ideas of Lado (1957), Richards (1976), Levenston (1979) and Meara (1980). By following this approach a useful taxonomy of categories was able to be used for classifying errors.

Communication strategies were classified under general headings suggested by the studies of Rubin (1975), Krashen (1976, 1977a, 1981), Tarone (1977), Crymes (1979) and Bialystok (1981). Since this is a field which has only recently developed, it is not surprising that none of the above studies offer a model which is adequate in all respects for classifying communication strategies. Notably absent, for example, is the organisation of strategies into a hierarchy of some kind.

10.2 RESULTS OF THE STUDY

In the six sub-sections which follow, the hypotheses will be restated and results summarised to give an overall view of the study. Findings will also be briefly discussed to show how they fit in with findings for other groups of Japanese migrants and other sociolinguistic theories.

10.2.1 Main Groups of Japanese in New Zealand

A survey of official records revealed that the number of Japanese entering New Zealand was very small up until about 1970. After that year, however, the number increased sharply. Several distinct short-term and long-term sub-groups were identified. The transient Japanese population was made up of mainly tourists and businessmen whose typical length of stay in New Zealand was only a few days. The longer-term group was composed basically of two types of migrants: Japanese trading company employees and their families whose sojourn in the country was generally two or three years, and a community of Japanese women who had settled permanently in New Zealand.

A comparison of these findings with studies of Japanese migration to areas of North America revealed several differences in the patterns of migration. Since Japanese began to migrate to the American continent around one hundred years ago, several generations (each with distinctive characteristics) have established themselves as a visible ethnic minority there. As a group, they have distinguished themselves as

being family-oriented, hard-working and high-achieving. There are, in addition to these Japanese-Americans, numbers of transients such as Japanese company employees and tourists. In Australia and New Zealand, however, Japanese migration did not begin until some years after World War II so the Japanese settlers in these countries are almost all of the first generation. The Japanese communities in these countries were for the most part composed of Japanese company employees (generally on sojourns of two to five years) and interculturally married Japanese women who had settled permanently. As in North and South America, there were also substantial numbers of transients such as Japanese businessmen or tourists who stayed only a few days.

10.2.2 Differences between the Groups of Japanese in New Zealand

Hypothesis 1 There are likely to be marked differences between the INTRA and INTER subjects in terms of their respective family, educational and socioeconomic backgrounds.

The main study focused on the wives of the Japanese company employees (INTRA subjects) and the interculturally married women (INTER subjects) and compared these two sub-groups in terms of their backgrounds. Most of the INTRA subjects had received some form of tertiary level education but only 58.6 per cent had ever been employed. It was also found that these women had married at an average age of 24.9 years and had departed from Japan to live abroad when they were in their 30s or 40s. Most expected to reside in New Zealand for only two or three years. By contrast, 83.0 per cent of the INTER subjects had some work experience and they had married later (on average at 27.6 years) than the INTRA subjects. Furthermore, most of the interculturally married women had left Japan to live abroad at an age which generally coincided with their marriage, had lived in New Zealand for several years and intended to settle permanently. These differences between the INTRA and INTER subjects supported Hypothesis 1.

The differing background experiences of the two main groups had an important bearing on other aspects of the study as will be pointed out in several subsequent sections. For example, the differing backgrounds of INTRA and INTER subjects perhaps partly accounted for the considerable differences observed between the two groups in cultural adaptation, Japanese language use and proficiency in English. The backgrounds of the INTRA and INTER subjects did not, therefore, differ in small superficial ways; there were marked differences between the two groups (which possibly contributed to a lack of interaction between the groups) and this provides a starting point for discussing their contrasting patterns of cultural adaptation and language use in New Zealand.

10.2.3 Cultural Adaptation

- Hypothesis 2 The INTRA subjects will not adjust to New Zealand as well as the INTER subjects will.
- Hypothesis 3 The INTRA subjects will feel that they have more of a Japanese cultural identity than the INTER subjects.
- Hypothesis 4 The INTRA subjects will have less cultural competence in New Zealand than the INTER subjects.
- Hypothesis 5 The INTRA subjects will demonstrate less acculturation to New Zealand in terms of role behaviour than the INTER subjects.

Differences between the two groups were notably apparent when it came to a consideration of the subjects' cultural adaptation within New Zealand. The four aspects of Taft's (1977) model of cultural adaptation (cultural adjustment, identification, cultural competence and role acculturation) were investigated in terms of four separate hypotheses. First, it was found that INTRA subjects had not culturally adjusted to life in New Zea-

land as well as the INTER subjects had. The INTER subjects, for example, felt more comfortable living in New Zealand than most of the INTRA subjects. Furthermore, many of the INTER subjects were employed while virtually none of the INTRA subjects had jobs (mainly due to visa restrictions). Findings such as these supported Hypothesis 2. Second, it was evident from an analysis of the subjects' citizenship statuses together with their feelings of acceptance within New Zealand that the INTRA subjects identified themselves as Japanese more strongly than INTER subjects who had been living in New Zealand for many years. Thus, Hypothesis 3, relating to identification, was found to be basically acceptable. Third, impressions gained mainly from the interviews suggested that INTRA subjects were not as culturally competent in terms of their knowledge of New Zealand society and conventions as the INTER subjects were. Possibly this was related to the fact that the INTRA subjects were not as proficient in English as the INTER subjects. Hypothesis 4 was to some extent upheld. Finally, the INTRA subjects demonstrated by their role behaviour (e.g. in the preparation of Japanese food and the use of the Japanese language) that they were more Japanese-oriented than the INTER subjects. This finding supported Hypothesis 5. As investigated via Hypotheses 2 to 5, it was clear that the INTRA subjects had not adapted to life in New Zealand as well as the INTER subjects had.

The question arises as to what caused these differences in cultural adjustment between the two groups. It has already been mentioned that most of the INTRA subjects had left Japan while in their 30s and 40s whereas most INTER subjects had migrated from Japan while in their mid-20s. The INTRA subjects were all married to Japanese husbands while the INTER group were all married to non-Japanese. There was also a clear intention on the part of almost all the INTRA group to return to Japan to live in contrast to the INTER group who had all made their permanent home in New Zealand. Background differences such as these no doubt partially accounted for the fact that the INTRA subjects did not culturally adapt to life in New Zealand as well as the INTER subjects did.

The pattern of cultural adaptation among Japanese migrants described here shares some similarities with experiences reported in other countries. In North America, for example, Japanese company employees identified themselves as Japanese more strongly than Japanese war-brides married to Americans. There were even more marked similarities between the Australian and New Zealand patterns of Japanese cultural adaptation. In Sydney, for example, Japanese company employees tended to be clustered in the same suburbs whereas the homes of interculturally married women were more widely separated as was also the case in the New Zealand cities of Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch. In both the Australian survey and the present study, Japanese migrants, particularly the Japanese company employees, had high educational and vocational qualifications. Yet another similarity between the Australian and New Zealand results concerned friendship networks where a higher proportion of the interculturally married Japanese women had established friendships with members of the host culture than with other Japanese migrants. This suggests that there are some constantly recurring patterns in Japanese migrant behaviour in host cultures.

10.2.4 Japanese Language Maintenance and Language Shift

- Hypothesis 6 The subjects will all be recognised as native speakers of Japanese by other Japanese native speakers.
- Hypothesis 7 The subjects will, after a few years living in New Zealand, feel that their ability to use the Japanese language has suffered a decline.
- Hypothesis 8 The Japanese language will be passed on to the children of the INTRA subjects but not to the children of the INTER subjects.

225

Hypothesis 9 The preferred home language of the intracultural Japanese family will be Japanese and the preferred home language of the intercultural family will be English.

Hypothesis 10 The shift to the English language for INTRA subjects will progress from the public domain through the family domain and finally to the private domain whereas for the INTER subjects the shift will begin simultaneously in the public and family domain then proceed to the private domain.

It was established that all subjects were native speakers of Japanese and were recognised as such by other Japanese native speakers. This finding supported Hypothesis 6.

It was also found that the subjects used Japanese as the primary language of communication when interacting with other Japanese. In a wider context, this suggests that the language was being maintained by members of the Japanese community in New Zealand. The maintenance of their first language no doubt assisted the subjects in keeping their Japanese identity as has been reported by researchers for members of other ethnic minorities. This was further borne out in a comparison between trends in cultural identity and Japanese language maintenance in the two groups. The INTRA subjects identified themselves strongly as Japanese and all of them used only Japanese when speaking to other Japanese whereas the INTER subjects identified themselves less strongly as Japanese and did not always use Japanese exclusively when conversing with their compatriots.

More than half of all subjects interviewed felt that their Japanese language had suffered some decline while living in New Zealand; this was a result which supported Hypothesis 7.

There was no evidence in the study of subjects actually "losing" their ability to use their native language in oral situations but many subjects reported that they experienced some difficulty in recalling kanji (Japanese characters) when writing letters and reports. It was not possible to test the subjects' ability in written Japanese. Such feelings of decline in the ability to use a native language have also been reported among other ethnic minorities.

Language maintenance also involved the passing on of Japanese to the children of the migrants with quite different patterns being observed between the INTRA and INTER groups. Japanese was generally used by most of the INTRA subjects when talking to their children which possibly reflected a greater proficiency and comfort in using Japanese rather than English on the part of the subjects. Furthermore, since subjects in this group were only temporarily resident in New Zealand and intended returning to Japan to live, there was perhaps a desire to maintain the children's knowledge of Japanese language so as to assist them in re-entering Japanese schools. Among the intercultural families, on the other hand, the children appeared to have had very little exposure to Japanese. Almost all the INTER 18+ subjects had brought up their children to speak only English. Some INTER 1-5 and INTER 6-17 subjects, however, had attempted to bring up their children bilingually in Japanese and English during the children's pre-school years although it did not seem that Japanese was being maintained by these children. This apparent lack of Japanese language maintenance among intercultural families seemed to be due to the dominant role of the English language in New Zealand and to the limited opportunities for using Japanese both within and outside the home. Under such circumstances, ethnic languages cannot be expected to survive beyond one or two generations and language loss occurs. The results obtained for the INTRA and INTER subjects clearly supported Hypothesis 8 and were fundamentally similar to conclusions reached about the passing on of the Japanese language among Japanese in America.

A shift in language use from Japanese to English in certain situations was observed among all subjects. The INTRA subjects used only Japanese for their own individual activities (such as reading or letter writing) and when interacting with members of their families. This contrasted sharply with the INTER subjects who used a mixture of Japanese and English for their individual activities, and mainly English for interacting with family members. The home language of the Japanese families was found to be Japanese while the home language of the intercultural families was English. This supported Hypothesis 9. Outside the home, somewhat similar patterns were observed among both the INTRA and INTER subjects. It was found that all INTRA subjects and most of the INTER subjects used only Japanese when talking to their Japanese friends but, naturally enough, English was the language used for interacting with members of the host community. In summary, then, INTRA subjects were maintaining Japanese to a greater extent than the INTER subjects who were in their turn demonstrating a considerable language shift (especially in family interactions).

Studies of migrant groups in the United States suggest that language shift takes place first in the public domain, then in the personal domain and finally in the private domain. The results of the present study suggest that this was indeed occurring in the case of the INTRA subjects. Among the INTER subjects, however, the progression of the shift was somewhat less even. Because both the community and home language was English, language shift began simultaneously in the public and family domains before proceeding on inwards to the private domain. For Japanese women who marry non-Japanese speaking men and settle in an English-speaking society such as New Zealand, it is quite possible that language shift will begin to occur away from Japanese simultaneously in the public and family domains and later progress to the private domain. In the light of these findings, then, Hypothesis 10 was supported.

10.2.5 Oral Proficiency in English

- Hypothesis 11 The oral proficiency in English of the INTER subjects is likely to be markedly superior to the oral proficiency in English of the INTRA subjects.
- Hypothesis 12 There will be a correlation between the age at which subjects left Japan and their attained oral proficiency in English.
- Hypothesis 13 There will be a positive correlation between the subjects' feelings of acceptance in New Zealand and their attained oral proficiency in English.
- Hypothesis 14 There will be a positive correlation between the subjects' level of formal education and their attained oral proficiency in English.
- Hypothesis 15 There will be a positive correlation between the subjects' length of residence in English speaking countries and their attained oral proficiency in English.

The oral proficiency in English of the subjects was measured in terms of the FSI assessment scale and it was found that the INTRA subjects had much lower levels of proficiency than the INTER subjects; a result which supported Hypothesis 11. The wide variation in proficiency between the two groups was mainly due to the fact that the INTER subjects had considerable opportunities and time available for learning English from their English-speaking husbands and families which was not the case for the INTRA subjects. Indications were that most subjects had arrived in New Zealand with very little proficiency in English despite the fact that some of them had lived for short periods in other English-speaking countries such as the United States, the United Kingdom or Australia before coming to New Zealand. These results were similar to those reported for Japanese

migrants arriving in Australia. Very few of the INTRA subjects had developed beyond the level of FSI 1+ (at which level they could handle only social formulae and produce simple, halting sentences in English). The INTER subjects, on the other hand, had reached FSI level 2 or 3 after living for between five and ten years in New Zealand. These subjects were able to talk confidently about various social topics and their work, but their English was nevertheless marked by distinctive accents, lack of vocabulary and syntactic errors. There was a high correlation found between the subjects' perceptions of their own proficiency in English and their actual oral proficiency as measured on the FSI scale. It was also shown that many of the INTER subjects did not continue to improve their oral English once they had reached FSI level 2 or 3; a finding which supports the notion that a learner acquiring a second language may reach a plateau beyond which they do not seem to improve.

Several factors were investigated for their possible relationship with the subjects' oral proficiency in English. As was postulated in Hypothesis 11, intercultural marriage appeared to be a situation more favourable to the attainment of higher proficiency in oral English than intracultural marriage. A second factor which appeared to have a strong relationship with oral language proficiency (particularly among the INTER subjects) was the age at the time of exit from Japan to live abroad. It was found that the younger a subject had been when she left Japan, the higher the level of proficiency she was likely to reach - a finding which supported Hypothesis 12. Feelings of acceptance within New Zealand society were also found to correlate with oral proficiency for INTRA subjects but not for INTER subjects. This finding therefore partially supported Hypothesis 13 and is also in keeping with the results of other research into the relationship between this affective variable and attained proficiency in a second language.

The two other factors which were hypothesised to have some relationship with oral proficiency in English were length of formal education and length of residence in English speaking countries. A weak correlation was found between formal education and oral proficiency. This relationship may be reflective of the fact that English is included in the school syllabus of all Japanese junior and senior high schools. The correlations obtained for each of the subgroups were not strong enough, however, to provide any substantial support for Hypothesis 14. A comparison between the length of residence and subjects' oral proficiency showed that, in general, subjects who had only recently arrived in New Zealand were not nearly as proficient as those who were long term residents. However, analysis revealed no strong correlations between these two variables, mainly because most of the longer-term residents (INTER 18+) appeared to have reached a learning plateau and were no more orally proficient in English than some of the INTER 6-17 subjects. Hypothesis 15 was, therefore, only partly supported.

The issue of improving English language proficiency was also explored. As has just been mentioned, subjects did not seem to increase their oral proficiency in English uniformly over the years they were resident in New Zealand but instead, appeared to reach a plateau of between FSI level 2+ and 3+. Possibly the subjects felt that their language at this level was adequate for their daily social and work-related communication. It is also feasible that the women were receiving both affective and cognitive feedback which may have encouraged the fossilization of habitual errors. An investigation of the subjects' need to improve their English revealed that the INTRA group felt a greater need to improve their oral English than the INTER subjects. Possibly the generally low level of communicative ability in English among the INTRA group had the effect of triggering a strong motivation to improve their proficiency in oral English. Finally, the two learning strategies most favoured by subjects for improving their oral English were found to be "person-to-person" approaches rather than those which rely on prepared materials presented through pictures or print.

10.2.6 English Language Use

- Hypothesis 16 Phonological errors made by the subjects will mainly be attributable to interference from Japanese.
- Hypothesis 17 No clear indications of cause of errors involving noun morphology, verb morphology or articles will be discerned.
- Hypothesis 18 Higher proportions of phonological and grammatical errors will be observed in the English of the INTRA rather than the INTER subjects.
- Hypothesis 19 Pidgin-like characteristics will be found in the subjects' English grammar.

Analyses were carried out on phonological and grammatical errors made by the subjects when speaking English during the FSI interviews. First, phonological and grammatical errors were described in terms of broad categories. Certain of these phonological and grammatical errors were then more closely investigated through discussion of their possible causes together with analyses of the frequency with which they occurred.

Subjects were observed to make phonological errors with more than half (24 out of 44) of the NZE vowels, diphthongs and consonants. The phonological errors were classified into three distinct groups. The first type involved the replacement of a NZE speech sound by another found only in Japanese. A second type of error involved the replacement of NZE speech sounds with Japanese variants in certain types of phonetic environments. Finally, the Japanese suprasegmental feature of syllable-timing was also observed. The cause of all three types of error would appear to be interference from Japanese but it was not possible to prove this in certain circumstances where the replacement speech sounds were found in both the NZE and Japanese phonological systems. Therefore, Hypothesis 16, while being supported to

some extent, was not fully proven. Interference has often been cited as the primary cause of phonological errors but this is a proposition that can only be proven in cases where the replacement speech sound in the target language is found only in the learner's L1, or where a sound is found in both the L1 and L2 but the pattern of occurrence is different.

A wide range of grammatical errors was observed in the English of almost all subjects but only those involving noun morphology, verb morphology and articles were selected for close investigation. Several possible sources of error were identified. Some errors appeared to be due to interference from the L1. A second cause was the over-simplification of English grammatical rules resulting in widespread omission of grammatical features. Third, some errors of over-generalisation reflected false hypotheses held by the subjects about English. Fourth, there was also some suggestion that faulty instruction was responsible for certain errors. Idiosyncratic variation was a fifth cause of error. Finally there were a number of errors whose causes were unclear or could have been due to a combination of the above causes. This last category is an important one in that it supports some recent observations that many grammatical errors may be due to more than a single cause. Hypothesis 17 is therefore well supported.

In the frequency analysis carried out on phonological and grammatical errors, it was consistently found that the INTRA group had the highest proportions of errors in their English compared with the INTER subjects. Hypothesis 18 was accordingly upheld. This was hardly a surprising result since the INTRA subjects were on average less proficient in English than the INTER subjects. The reason for the higher incidence of errors in the INTRA subjects' English is no doubt related to the opportunities they had in being exposed to and in using English.

The frequency analysis also provided the opportunity to make some general observations about "Japanese English" in New Zealand. Analysis of the subjects' phonology revealed that Japanese speech sounds intruded extensively into the subjects' English and that there was a marked tendency among subjects

to replace the English suprasegmental feature of stress-timing with the Japanese syllable-timing pattern. This resulted in the subjects' English being modified by a distinctive Japanese accent. Analysis showed that omission of plural and possessive <s>, the verb morphemes <s> and <ed> and the articles <a> and <the> occurred far more frequently than any other kind of error involving these grammatical features. These omissions (together with omissions of other features such as auxiliary verbs and prepositions which were not, however, statistically investigated) resulted in the speech of most subjects having a distinctively pidgin type of character. This provided support for the final hypothesis. This pidgin-like tendency to omit grammatical elements is not, of course, a feature which is unique to Japanese speakers of English since other researchers have also identified pidgin elements in the interlanguages of other learners of English.

Finally, the frequency analysis revealed that some errors occurred more frequently than others. For example, subjects in all groups frequently made errors with the NZE /æ/, /ɜ/ and /ɪ/ whereas INTRA and INTER 1-5 subjects made errors with NZE /ɪ/, /ɜ/ and /t/ more often than INTER 6-17 or INTER 18+ subjects. This suggested that certain errors were so persistent as to be found even in the speech of subjects who were of higher proficiency in English.

10.3 FINAL COMMENTS

This study has attempted to give a broad description of certain aspects of the cultural and linguistic adaptation of married Japanese women in New Zealand. It began with a short history of Japanese migration to New Zealand and an account of the various sub-groups of the Japanese community (Chapter One). Differences between these sub-groups were explored (Chapter Four) and the cultural adaptation of subjects was examined (Chapter Five). Features of the subjects' linguistic adaptation, which included their maintenance of Japanese and

shift in use from Japanese to English, were also described (Chapter Six) and an analysis was made of their oral proficiency in English (Chapter Seven). Finally, a detailed study of certain features of the subjects' English phonology and grammar was carried out (Chapter Eight) while patterns in lexico-semantic errors and communication strategies were described in general terms (Chapter Nine).

The research into background literature on Japanese migration revealed that some studies had been carried out in the United States, very few in Australia and almost none in New Zealand. It is hoped that the present study has made a small contribution towards an understanding of how Japanese culturally and linguistically adapt to life in New Zealand as well as suggesting some directions for further research. One direction points towards research in related areas such as analysing errors in other phonological or grammatical categories, or describing the migrants' sociolinguistic competence, code switching behaviour or intelligibility when speaking English. Certain areas dealt with in the present study could be narrowed down in a subsequent study; an example of this might be a rigorous classification and statistical analysis of lexical errors or communication strategies. A single cross-sectional study such as the present one cannot yield much information about the changes occurring within a group over a period of time. There is ample scope, therefore, for longitudinal studies to follow up the results of the present study, for example by investigating changes in the number of Japanese migrants in New Zealand, their proficiency in English, the passing on of the Japanese language to their children or the apparent fossilization of their error patterns. Research into the cultural and linguistic adaptation of Japanese migrants will not only serve the purpose of adding to the existing literature in this field but may also indirectly further intercultural understanding between Japan and New Zealand.

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APPENDIX 1

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE (ENGLISH)

1. Where were you born?

Country _____

Prefecture _____

City/Town _____

Where did you live during your
childhood?Where did you live prior to
coming to New Zealand?

What is your date of birth?

2. Where were your parents born?

If your parents were not Japanese,
what were their ethnic origins?

Mother _____

Father _____

How many children were in your
family?

Brothers _____

Sisters _____

Were both parents at home during
your childhood?

YES NO

If NO, give reasons _____

What was your father's occupation? _____

Was your mother employed?

YES NO

If YES, what was her occupation? _____

If YES, how long was she working? _____

3. Are you married?

YES NO

If NO, have you ever married?

YES NO

If YES, how many times have you
been married?

ONE TWO THREE _____

Give date(s) of marriage(s). _____

What is your present husband's
ethnic origin?Where was your present husband
born?What is your present husband's
nationality?Previous husband's ethnic origin,
birthplace and nationality.Where did you first meet your
husband(s)?

What is your present nationality? _____

What nationality were you previously? _____

Give dates of any nationality changes. _____

Why did you change your nationality? _____

4. How many children do you have by your present marriage? Give dates and places of birth.

Boys _____

Girls _____

How many children do you have by your previous marriage(s)? Give dates and places of birth.

Boys _____

Girls _____

5. Do you have a religion?

YES NO

If YES, what denomination? _____

How long have you practised this religion? _____

Did you have any religion before this one? _____

YES NO

If YES, what denomination? _____

How long did you practise that religion? _____

Does your husband have a religion? _____

YES NO

If YES, what denomination? _____

How long has he practised this religion? _____

6. Did you graduate from high school? YES NO

Was English one of the subjects taught at high school? _____

YES NO

What were your three favourite subjects at high school? _____

Do you have any higher educational qualifications? _____

YES NO

If YES, when did you receive your qualifications? _____

What were your major subjects at college or university? _____

7. How long have you lived in New Zealand? _____

How long have you lived in this city? _____

Where have you lived previously in New Zealand? Give dates. _____

When have you returned to Japan? Give dates. _____

When have you travelled to other countries? Give places and dates.

How long have you lived in English-speaking countries?

8. What jobs have you had since completing your education?

What is your husband's occupation?

9. Why did you come to New Zealand?

10. How often do you have the feeling of being cut off from Japanese culture and events?

Constantly Often Sometimes
Rarely Never

If you do feel cut off, what specific feature do you feel most isolated from?

___ Japanese food
___ Family
___ Friends
___ Language
___ Entertainment
___ Books
___ News of Japan
___ Shopping
___ Other

If you don't feel cut off, can explain why?

If you do feel cut off, do you take any steps to counteract the feeling?

___ Do nothing
___ Visit Japanese friends
___ Eat Japanese food
___ Talk to husband
___ Sing Japanese songs
___ Telephone Japanese friends
___ Read Japanese books/mag's
___ Read Japanese newspapers
___ Write letters to Japan
___ Other

11. Over the past six months:

How often have you met another Japanese other than family?

How often have you read a Japanese book?

How often have you read a Japanese newspaper/magazine?

How often have you received a letter from Japan?

How often have you written a letter to Japan?

Daily Weekly Monthly Less

---	---	---	---
---	---	---	---
---	---	---	---
---	---	---	---
---	---	---	---

- How often have you listened to Japanese broadcasts on short-wave radio? _____
- How often have you listened to Japanese tapes or records? _____
- How often have you contacted the Japanese Embassy/Consulate/Cultural Centre? _____
12. Do you feel more comfortable living in Japan or in New Zealand? JAPAN BOTH EQUALLY NZ
- Why do you feel more comfortable in the country chosen? _____
- Do you feel that you are accepted in Japanese society? YES HALF NO
- Do you feel that you are accepted in New Zealand society? YES HALF NO
13. What kind of food do you eat at home? Give percentages.
- Japanese _____
- Chinese _____
- Western _____
- Other _____
- Where do you get your Japanese food from? Give percentages.
- Japan New Zealand Other
- _____
14. Do you take your shoes off before entering your house? YES NO
15. What voluntary associations do you belong to? _____
16. Do you ever have the feeling that certain features of life in New Zealand irritate you in any way? YES NO
- If YES, select up to five of the following features which most irritate you.
- ___ Wearing shoes inside
- ___ Children barefoot outside
- ___ Difference in baths
- ___ Difference in beds
- ___ Different taste in food
- ___ Detergent taste on dishes
- ___ Lack of public transport
- ___ Lack of variety, high prices of goods
- ___ Lack of entertainment
- ___ Use of handkerchiefs
- ___ Lack of seasonal variation
- ___ Children's education
- ___ Difference in treatment of guests
- ___ Difference in male/female behaviour
- ___ Other _____

17. Do you feel that Japanese or New Zealanders most often demonstrate the following qualities?

Friendliness
Sense of humour
Thriftiness
Intelligence
Sincerity
Sociability
Stability
Honesty
Kindness
Dependability

	Jpns	Jpns/NZers Equally	NZers
Friendliness	---	---	---
Sense of humour	---	---	---
Thriftiness	---	---	---
Intelligence	---	---	---
Sincerity	---	---	---
Sociability	---	---	---
Stability	---	---	---
Honesty	---	---	---
Kindness	---	---	---
Dependability	---	---	---

18. Other than family, who are your three closest friends? Describe each, giving their:

Age
Sex
Ethnic origin
Where living (same area, NZ...)
Marriage (not married, INTRA, INTER)

	A	B	C
Age	---	---	---
Sex	---	---	---
Ethnic origin	---	---	---
Where living (same area, NZ...)	---	---	---
Marriage (not married, INTRA, INTER)	---	---	---

19. Do you ever have the feeling that your Japanese language proficiency is declining?

YES NO

If YES, in which feature of language do you most often experience this feeling?

___ Understanding spoken Jpns
___ Speaking Japanese
___ Recognizing kanji
___ Writing kanji
___ Other _____

Do you take positive steps to maintain your Japanese language?

YES NO

If YES, which one of the following procedures do you most often use?

___ Read Japanese books
___ Read Japanese magazines
___ Read Japanese newspapers
___ Talk to Japanese friends on telephone
___ Visit Japanese friends
___ Write letters in Jpns
___ Other _____

20. How well does your husband

	A	Very Native
	None Little Some Well Well Speaker	

speak Japanese?
read Japanese?
write Japanese?

speak Japanese?	---	---	---	---	---
read Japanese?	---	---	---	---	---
write Japanese?	---	---	---	---	---

21. Which language do you use for:	95-100%E	75%E	50%E	25%E	0-5%E
	0-5%J	25%J	50%J	75%J	95-100%J
thinking	---	---	---	---	---
reading	---	---	---	---	---
writing letters	---	---	---	---	---
talking to husband	---	---	---	---	---
arguing with husband	---	---	---	---	---
talking with own children	---	---	---	---	---
chastising own children	---	---	---	---	---
talking to friends	---	---	---	---	---
talking to neighbours	---	---	---	---	---
shopping	---	---	---	---	---
talking to strangers	---	---	---	---	---
Which language does your husband usually use when talking to you?	---	---	---	---	---
Which language do your children usually use when speaking to you?	---	---	---	---	---
Which language do your Japanese friends usually use when speaking to you?	---	---	---	---	---

	A			Very	Native	
	None	Little	Some	Well	Well	Speaker
22. How well do you understand spoken English?	---	---	---	---	---	---
How well do you speak English?	---	---	---	---	---	---
How well do you read English?	---	---	---	---	---	---
How well do you write English?	---	---	---	---	---	---
Have you studied English previously?	YES	NO				
If YES, where and for how long?	-----					
When did you last take an English course?	-----					
Do you feel that your command of English has ever prevented you from getting a job?	YES	NO				
talking to people?	YES	NO				
joining a club?	YES	NO				
other?	-----					
Do you ever feel pressure to improve your English?	Con-	Often	Some-	Rarely	Never	
within yourself	stantly		times			
from your husband	---	---	---	---	---	
from your children	---	---	---	---	---	
from relatives	---	---	---	---	---	
from friends	---	---	---	---	---	
from neighbours	---	---	---	---	---	
from work	---	---	---	---	---	

Does anyone ever correct your English errors?	Con- stantly	Often	Some- times	Rarely	Never
husband	---	---	---	---	---
children	---	---	---	---	---
relatives	---	---	---	---	---
friends	---	---	---	---	---
neighbours	---	---	---	---	---
work	---	---	---	---	---
other	---	---	---	---	---

Do you ever feel any pressure
to not use Japanese?

from husband	---	---	---	---	---
from your children	---	---	---	---	---
from relatives	---	---	---	---	---
from friends	---	---	---	---	---
from neighbours	---	---	---	---	---
from work	---	---	---	---	---
other	---	---	---	---	---

Which of the following have
you found to be the most
effective way of learning
conversational English?

- ☐ Meet native speakers of English
☐ Self-study a tape-recorded
 English course
☐ Self-study an English grammar
 text
☐ Watch tv
☐ Listen to the radio
☐ Learn from a teacher
☐ Read widely in English
☐ Read newspapers in English
☐ Self-study an English conver-
 sation text
☐ Study something in English
☐ Other _____

23. How often do you read the
following?

	<1/week	>1/week	1/month	Rarely	Never
an English newspaper	---	---	---	---	---
an English magazine	---	---	---	---	---
an English book	---	---	---	---	---

24. What language(s) did/do/
will/would you use to
yr children when they
were/are <5 years old?

95-100%E 75%E 50%E 25%E 0-5%E
 0-5%J 25%J 50%J 75%J 95-100%J

25. If you hear a foreigner
speaking Japanese with
native-like proficiency,
how do you feel?

Admiration Interest Surprise Unease

--- --- --- ---

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE (JAPANESE)

1. 出生地

国名 _____
 県名 _____
 市 町 村 _____

子供時代は、どこで過したか

ニュージーランドに来る前は、どこに
 住んでいたか

出生年月日は、

2. 両親の出生地は、
 両親が日本人でない場合
 何民族に属するか

母 _____
 父 _____

あなたの家族に、子供は、何人
 いたか

あなたは、何番目の子供に当るか

兄弟 _____
 姉妹 _____
 長男(女) 次男(女) 三男(女) _____

子供時代、両親と一緒に住んで
 いたか

一緒になかった場合、その理由は

父親の職業は、何だったか

はい / いいえ

母親は、仕事に従事していたか
 母親の職業は、何だったか

はい / いいえ

勤務していた期間は、どれ位
 だったか

3. あなたは結婚しているか(現在) はい / いいえ
 では、結婚した経験はあるか(いっえの場合) はい / いいえ
 何回結婚したか(はいの場合)

1回、2回、3回 _____

結婚した年月日は、いつか
 現在あなたの夫の人種名は、

現在あなたの夫の出生地は、どこか

現在のあなたの夫の国籍は、どこか

過去の夫の人種名、出生地、
 そして国籍は、どこか

あなたの夫に、どこで出会いましたか

あなたの現在の国籍はどこか

あなたの以前の国籍はどこだったか

国籍変更の年月日はいつか

国籍変更の理由は何か

4. 現在の結婚で何人の子供がいるか

子供が出生年月日と出生地を
あけよ。

男
女

以前の結婚では何人の子供が
いたか

その出生年月日と出生地と
のでも。

男
女

5. あなたは何か宗教を信ずるか。 はい/いいえ

宗教は何か(信ずる場合)
どれ位 その宗教にたずさわっているか(期間)

その宗教の前に他宗教を
信じていたか

はい/いいえ

その宗教は何だったか(ほいの場合)
どれ位長くその宗教にたずさわっ
ていたか

あなたは今 宗教を信じているか

はい/いいえ

その宗教は何か(ほいの場合)

どれ位長くその宗教にたずさわっ
ているか

6. あなたは 高校を卒業したか

はい/いいえ

英語は、高校で 課目の1つだったか

はい/いいえ

高校で、あなたの 3つの好きな課目を
のでも。

高校卒業後、進学したか

はい/いいえ

いつ それを終了したか

大学、又は専門学校で、あなたの
資格は

7. あなたは、ニュージーランドに、どれ位
住んでいるか

あなたは、この所に、どれ位 住んで
いるか

ここに来る以前、ニュージーランドでは、
どこに住んでいたか、年月日をのでも。

いつ日本に帰国したか

その年月日をのでも。

外国へ旅行をした事があるか。

その国と旅行した年。
英語が使われている国に
何年住んでいるか。

8. 卒業後、どんな仕事に就事したか。

あなただけの職業は何か。

9. 何故 あなたは ニーランドにきたか。

10. あなたは、どの程度 日本の文化や出来事から断絶を感じるか。

もし断絶を感じる時、どんな事柄にか。

いつも、しばしば、時々、ほとんどない、全くない。

— 日本食
— 家族
— 友人
— 言葉
— 慣習
— 本
— 日本のコース
— 買物
— その他

もしあなたが、断絶を感じない時、その理由は。

もしあなたが断絶を感じる時、どの様な手段で解消しているか。

— 何もしない。
— 友人と訪問する
— 日本食を食べる
— 夫と話す
— 日本の歌を歌う
— 日本人の友人に電話をする
— 日本の本、雑誌を読む
— 日本の新聞を読む
— 日本へ手紙を書く
— その他

11. 過去六ヶ月以上の経験から答えよ。

家族の他に、どの程度の割合で他の日本人に会ったか。

どの程度、日本の本を読んでいるか。

どの程度、日本の雑誌や新聞を読んでいるか。

どの程度、日本から便りを受け取っているか。

毎日 週末 毎月 ほとんどない

—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—

- どの程度 日本へ 住りを求めているか。 毎日 毎週 毎月 はほとんど...
- どの程度 日本へ 短波放送を聞いているか。 — — — —
- どの程度 日本へ テーマはレコードを聞いているか。 — — — —
- どの程度 日本へ 大使館 領事館、そして文化センターと接点があるか。 — — — —
12. ニュージーランドと日本では、どちらが居心地が良いか。 日本 ニュージーランド 同じ位
- その選択の理由は、
- ある方は、日本の社会に受け入れられていると思いますか。 はい 半分 いえ
- ある方は、ニュージーランドの社会に受け入れられていると思いますか。 はい 半分 いえ
13. 日本人を会場で 家で しているか。 その割合を答えよ。 日本食 中国料理 西洋料理 その他
- 日本食は ニュージーランドに 入れているか。 日本 ニュージーランド その他
14. 家に入る時、くつを脱ぐか。 はい いえ
15. どの程度 社会活動に 参加しているか。
16. ある方は、ニュージーランドの生活の中で、気に入ったり、気に入らない事があるか。 はい いえ
- はいと答える場合、次の項目の中から、その原因となるものを5つ選択する事。
- 室内でくつを脱ぐ事
 - 子供が戸外で裸足になる事
 - 風呂の差...
 - 寝具の差...
 - 食料の貯まり方...
 - 料理の差...
 - 交通機関の不便
 - 品物の種類と、その値段
 - 娯楽の不足
 - 鼻をハンカチでふく事
 - 季節感の乏しさ
 - 言葉の教育
 - 容姿整頓の仕方
 - 男性又は女性の手儀について
 - その他

17. 日本人と ニュージーランド人と比較して
どちらの国民の次の点でより特長を
表わすか:

友 情

ヒューモア

俊 秀 性

知 識 性

社 交 性

安 定 性

正 直 性

親 切 心

独 立 心

日本人/ニュージーランド人
同じ位

日本人	同じ位	ニュージーランド人
—	—	—
—	—	—
—	—	—
—	—	—
—	—	—
—	—	—
—	—	—
—	—	—

18. 家族以外であなたの最も親しい
友人 3人 の名前を述べよ。

年

性

人 種

住 居

結 婚

(同じ地域、ニュージーランド)
(社 会、国 際 結 婚)

A	B	C
—	—	—
—	—	—
—	—	—
—	—	—
—	—	—

19. あなたは、自分の日本語力が
高まって来たと感じた事があるか。

そんな場合、言語のどの要素で
特にそれを感 じるか。

はい/いいえ

— 会話の理解力において。
— 会話の表現力において。
— 漢字の記憶力において。
— 漢字の表記において。
— その他

あなたは、自分の日本語の維持について
特に何の努力をしているか。

はい/いいえ

はいと答える場合、次の中で、どのような事を
このように行っているか。

— 日本の本を読む事
— 日本の雑誌を読む事
— 日本の新聞を読む事
— 日本人と電話で話す事
— 日本人と質問する事
— 日本人の手紙を書く事
— その他

20. あなたの夫は、どの位日本語を

全は解い かし いくらか ない かなり良い 日本人
をわ:

話せるか。

読めるか。

書けるか。

—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—

21. 次の項目において、どちらの言語を
使用するか

95-100%(英) 75%英語 50%(英) 25%(英) 0-5%(英)
0-5%(日) 25%日本語 50%(日) 75%(日) 75-100%(日)

思考	—	—	—	—	—
読書	—	—	—	—	—
手紙	—	—	—	—	—
夫との会話	—	—	—	—	—
夫との口論	—	—	—	—	—
子供との会話	—	—	—	—	—
子供を叱る時	—	—	—	—	—
友人と話す時	—	—	—	—	—
隣人と話す時	—	—	—	—	—
買物	—	—	—	—	—
見知らぬ人と話す時	—	—	—	—	—
職場で	—	—	—	—	—
あるたけだけどちらの言語で 話しかけるか	—	—	—	—	—
子供は、どちらの言語で、あるたけ 話しかけてくるか	—	—	—	—	—
あるたけ日本人の友人はどちらの 言語で話しかけてくるか	—	—	—	—	—

22. あるたけ英語の会話を、どの位
よく理解するか

全く理解 少し いくらか 良い 大変良い 母国語と
同じ程度

あるたけ、英語を話せるか	—	—	—	—	—
あるたけ、英語を、どの位読めるか	—	—	—	—	—
あるたけ、英語をどの位書けるか	—	—	—	—	—

英語を、以前勉強した事か
あるか

はい/いいえ

はいの場合、どこで、どの位

あるたけ英語の最後の勉強は
いつだったか

あるたけ、自分の英語能力が、不十分において
陸軍に在ると感じるか

就職において、
人と話す時、
クラブに入る時
その他

はい/いいえ
はい/いいえ
はい/いいえ

あるたけ、自分の英語の習得において
圧力を感ずる事があるか。下記の項目に基
て

自分自身に	いつも	しばしば	時々	ほとんどない	決してない
夫から	—	—	—	—	—
子供から	—	—	—	—	—
親類から	—	—	—	—	—
友人から	—	—	—	—	—
隣人から	—	—	—	—	—
職場から	—	—	—	—	—

誰かあなたの英語を訂正する事があるか。

夫から
子供
親類
友人
隣人
職場の人
その他

いつも

しばしば

時々

殆どない

決してない

—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—

日本語を使う事に対して何か圧力を感ずるか。

夫から
子供から
親類から
友人から
隣人から
職場において
その他

—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—

次の項目の中で、どれが最も効果のある英会話の習得方法と
思ふか。

- 英語を母国語とする人に出会う
- 英語テープで独学する
- 英語のテキストで文法を独習する
- テレビを見る
- ラジオを聞く
- 先生から習う
- 英語でいふ事をいふと読む
- 新聞を英語で読む
- 英会話のテキストで独習する
- 英語で何かを勉強する
- その他

23. 次の項目の初と、どの位の割合で

読むか。
英字新聞
英語雑誌
英語の本

—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—

24. あなたの子供が5才以下の時、
どの言語を使用したか(又は
使用しているか) 使用するか)

75-100% (日) 75% (英) 50% (英) 25% (英) 0-5% (英)
0-5% (日) 25% (日) 50% (日) 75% (日) 75-100% (日)

25. もしあなたが外国人か、
自然な日本語を使用しているのを
聞いた時、どの様な感じを
受けるか。

尊敬 興味 驚く 不安

— — — —

APPENDIX 2

THE FOREIGN SERVICE INSTITUTE ORAL INTERVIEW

The Foreign Service Oral Interview (FSI) was used in the present study to assess the subjects' levels of oral proficiency in English. In this test, an interviewer asks questions to a candidate whose performance is assessed on a five point scale. The interview lasts for between 15 and 30 minutes. (In cases where the candidate has very minimal proficiency, the test may not take as long.) Interviews are tape-recorded. The following descriptions of the five FSI proficiency levels is taken from the Manual for Peace Corps Testers (Educational Testing Service, 1970).

- (1) Able to satisfy routine travel needs and minimum courtesy requirements. Can ask and answer questions on topics very familiar to him; within the scope of his very limited language experience can understand simple questions and statements, allowing for slowed speech, repetition or paraphrase; speaking vocabulary inadequate to express anything but the most elementary needs; errors in pronunciation and grammar are frequent, but can be understood by a native speaker used to dealing with foreigners attempting to speak his language; while topics which are "very familiar" and elementary needs vary considerably from individual to individual, any person at the S-1 level should be able to order a simple meal, ask for shelter or lodging, ask and give directions, make purchases, and tell time.
- (2) Able to satisfy routine social demands and limited work requirements. Can handle with confidence but not with facility most social situations including introductions and casual conversations about current events, as well as work, family, autobiographical information; can handle limited work requirements, needing help in handling any complications or difficulties; can get the gist of most conversations on non-technical subjects (i.e. topics which require no specialized knowledge) and has a speaking vocabulary sufficient to express himself simply with some circumlocutions; accent, though quite often faulty, is intelligible; can usually handle elementary constructions quite accurately but does not have thorough or confident control of the grammar.

- (3) Able to speak the language with sufficient structural accuracy and vocabulary to participate effectively in most formal and informal conversations on practical, social, and professional topics. Can discuss particular interests and special fields of competence with reasonable ease; comprehension is quite complete for a normal rate of speech; vocabulary is broad enough that he rarely has to grope for a word; accent may be obviously foreign; control of grammar good; errors never interfere with understanding and rarely disturb the native speaker.
- (4) Able to use the language fluently and accurately on all levels normally pertinent to professional needs. Can understand and participate in any conversation within the range of his experience with a high degree of fluency and precision of vocabulary; would rarely be taken for a native speaker, but can respond appropriately even in unfamiliar situations; errors of pronunciation and grammar quite rare; can handle informal interpreting from and into the language.
- (5) Speaking proficiency equivalent to that of an educated native speaker. Has complete fluency in the language such that his speech on all levels is fully accepted by educated native speakers in all of its features, including breadth of vocabulary and idiom, colloquialisms, and pertinent cultural references.

In addition to these general descriptions there are also separate scales relating to accent, grammar, vocabulary, fluency and comprehension. The separate levels in each of these areas are listed below:

Accent:

1. Pronunciation frequently unintelligible.
2. Frequent gross errors and a very heavy accent make understanding difficult.
3. "Foreign accent" requires concentrated listening and mispronunciations lead to occasional misunderstanding and apparent errors in grammar or vocabulary.
4. Marked "foreign accent" and occasional mispronunciations which do not interfere with understanding.
5. No conspicuous mispronunciations, but would not be taken for a native speaker.
6. Native pronunciation, with no trace of "foreign accent".

Grammar:

1. Grammar almost entirely inaccurate except in stock phrases.
2. Constant errors showing control of very few major patterns and frequently preventing communication.
3. Frequent errors showing some major patterns uncontrolled and causing occasional irritation and misunderstanding.
4. Occasional errors showing imperfect control of some patterns but no weakness that causes misunderstanding.
5. Few errors, with no patterns of failure.
6. No more than two errors during the interview.

Vocabulary:

1. Vocabulary inadequate for even the simplest conversation.
2. Vocabulary limited to basic personal and survival areas (time, food, transportation, family, etc.)
3. Choice of words sometimes inaccurate, limitations of vocabulary prevent discussion of some common professional and social topics.
4. Professional vocabulary adequate to discuss special interests; general vocabulary permits discussion of any non-technical subject with some circumlocutions.
5. Professional vocabulary broad and precise; general vocabulary adequate to cope with complex practical problems and varied social situations.
6. Vocabulary apparently as accurate and extensive as that of an educated native speaker.

Fluency:

1. Speech is so halting and fragmentary that conversation is virtually impossible.
2. Speech is very slow and uneven except for short or routine sentences.
3. Speech is frequently hesitant and jerky; sentences may be left uncompleted.
4. Speech is occasionally hesitant, with some unevenness caused by rephrasing and groping for words.
5. Speech is effortless and smooth, but perceptibly non-native in speed and evenness.
6. Speech on all professional and general topics as effortless smooth as a native speaker's.

Comprehension:

1. Understands too little for the simplest type of conversation.
2. Understands only slow, very simple speech on common social and touristic topics; requires constant repetition and rephrasing.
3. Understands careful, somewhat simplified speech directed to him, with considerable repetition and rephrasing.
4. Understands quite well normal educated speech directed to him, but requires occasional repetition and rephrasing.
5. Understands everything in normal educated conversation except for very colloquial or low-frequency items, or exceptionally rapid or slurred speech.
6. Understands everything in both formal and colloquial speech to be expected of an educated native speaker.

The ratings on the above scales are weighted differentially so that grammar, for example, receives the heaviest weighting while accent receives the lowest. There is also a table for converting totalled scale scores to an FSI level. The weighting table and the conversion table are set out below:

WEIGHTING TABLE

Proficiency Description	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Accent	0	1	2	2	3	4	---
Grammar	6	12	18	24	30	36	---
Vocabulary	4	8	12	16	20	24	---
Fluency	2	4	6	8	10	12	---
Comprehension	4	8	12	15	19	23	---
						Total	---

CONVERSION TABLE

Total Score (from Weighting Table above)	FSI Level
16 - 25	0+
26 - 32	1
33 - 42	1+
43 - 52	2
53 - 62	2+
63 - 72	3
73 - 82	3+
83 - 92	4
93 - 99	4+

Finally, the questions asked during the interview are designed to elicit major grammatical structures such as verb tenses and vocabulary pertaining to social and vocational topics. The list of questions suggested by the Educational Testing Service was adapted slightly in the present study to cater for the experience and interests of the subjects interviewed. The bank of basic questions which the interviewers worked from is listed below. Not all questions were asked of all subjects and supplementary questions were also asked when appropriate.

Schedule of Questions Used During FSI Oral Interview:

- Where do you live?
- Do you live in this house?
- Have you been in this house since you came to New Zealand?
- Are all your family living here in New Zealand?
- How long have you been living in this country?
- How long have you been living outside Japan?
- When will you return to Japan next? On vacation? Permanently?
- How long do you intend to stay in New Zealand?
- What other places have you lived in within New Zealand?
- What places have you visited in New Zealand?
- Why did you come to this country?
- Do you intend to visit any other countries soon?
- What part of Japan were you born in?
- Where did you spend most of your childhood?
- Do you prefer living in Japan or in New Zealand? Give reasons.
- What major differences do you feel there are between life in Japan and life in New Zealand?
- Did you ever have a job in Japan?
- Have you ever worked in New Zealand?
- Are you allowed to work in this country with the visa you have?
- Do you enjoy working? Give reasons. Describe your work.
- Is there any other job you would prefer to do here if you could?
- Are your Japanese educational/vocational qualifications recognized here?
- Do you feel happy living in New Zealand?
- What sort of problems have you experienced in adjusting to life here?
- Have you or any members of your family become seriously ill here?
- Have you been treated in a New Zealand hospital?
- Have your first impressions of New Zealand been supported or changed by your experience of living here? Which ones?
- If you had stayed in Japan, how do you think your life would be different to now?
- If you had a free choice of countries to live in, where would you like to live and why?
- Are you being taught English at present?
- Have you ever been taught English since arriving in New Zealand?
- What do you think is the most effective way to learn English?
- Have you learned any other foreign language besides English?
- Do you feel that your command of English is adequate for your everyday communicative interactions?
- Have you ever taught Japanese?
- Have you ever taught any other subjects?
- How many years have you been teaching and where?
- What proportions of Japanese and western food (or any other) do you eat at home?
- Where so you obtain your Japanese food from?
- How much do you spend on food each month?
- Do you have a car?
- Is the car supplied by your husband's company?
- Do you have a driving licence?

APPENDIX 3

ENGLISH PLACEMENT TESTS: FORMS A AND G

Name _____

Teacher's Name _____

Score _____

Placement Level _____

English — Second — Language Placement Test

by

Donna Ilyin

DO NOT OPEN THIS TEST

Read this sample question:

- A. I is here.
 B. I am here.
 C. I are here.

NOW, do these two sample questions:

Put the X on the letter of the best answer — only one X for each test question.

- Example 1. A. She goes to school.
 B. She go to school.
 C. She going to school.

- Example 2. What is that?
 A. She's a book.
 B. It's a book.
 C. You're a book.

Your teacher will look at your answers.

You will have thirty minutes to do the test. Work quickly. Do the test questions you know first. Then go back to the other questions.
 Do not use a dictionary or a book. Do not ask any questions after you open the test. Stay in your seat at all times.

Wait for your teacher.

Do not open this test!

Reliability .91

Form Correlation A+B .93

The test places students in one of the first three levels of English as a Second Language class referred to as EPT Levels: 100, 200, 300. Raw score: 0-19=level 100; 20-30=level 200; 30-40=level 300.

Standardization was done on students at Alemany Adult School under the direction of the principal, Mr. William Tresnon, and with the cooperation of Mr. Dalton Howatt and Mr. George Johnson of the San Francisco Unified School District.

Mrs. Jean Jacobs of Fremont Adult School in Sacramento and Dr. Gerald Jenson of the Imperial Valley Schools in El Centro, California, assisted in establishing State Norms made possible by a grant from S.W.C.E.L. through the State Department of Education.

1. A. Where does he do?
B. What does he do?
C. When does he do?
2. A. Mrs. Smith doesn't feels well.
B. Mrs. Smith doesn't feel well.
C. Mrs. Smith doesn't feeling well.
3. A. Weren't she and Don married?
B. Was she and Don married?
C. Wasn't she and Don married?
4. A. He is going to teacher.
B. He is going to study teacher.
C. He is going to be a teacher.
5. A. A girl is sit on the chair.
B. A girl sit on the chair.
C. A girl is sitting on the chair.
6. A. You isn't come to class late.
B. You don't come to class late.
C. You doesn't come to class late.
7. Does Marie eat lunch at school?
A. Yes, she does.
B. Yes, she eats.
C. Yes, she is.
8. A. They not Chinese.
B. They aren't Chinese.
C. They no Chinese.
9. A. Where John is studying?
B. Where is John studying?
C. Where John studying?
10. A. Doesn't she living here?
B. Doesn't she lives here?
C. Doesn't she live here?
11. A. He must to drive too fast.
B. He must be drive too fast.
C. He must drive too fast.
12. A. When do arrive the people?
B. When the people arriving?
C. When will the people arrive?
13. A. I got him a sandwich.
B. I got a sandwich him.
C. I got to him sandwich.
14. The student was reading a book.
It was new.
A. The new boy was reading a book.
B. The boy was reading a new book.
C. The new book was reading the boy.
15. A. Where you eat?
B. Where would you like to eat?
C. Where do you like eat?
16. A. Where were the boys?
B. Where were boys?
C. Where were the boy?
17. Can you carry this?
A. No, I can't do.
B. No, I can't do it.
C. No, I can.
18. A. He say me he would come.
B. He said me he would come.
C. He told me he would come.
19. A. Where it's?
B. Where is it?
C. Where it is?
20. John wants to dance on Saturday, but he may have to work.
A. If he have time, he will.
B. If he had time, he will.
C. If he has time, he will.
21. A. He ask me if I bought a hat.
B. He asked me if I bought a hat.
C. He asking me if I bought a hat.
22. A. I am talking to a friend of your.
B. I am talking to a friend of you.
C. I am talking to a friend of yours.
23. A. Was your brother comes to see me?
B. Was your brother came to see me?
C. Was your brother coming to see me?
24. A. Has David been there?
B. Been there David?
C. Has been David there?
25. A. He knew all the answers.
B. He know all the answers.
C. He knows all the answers.

26. A. I think I will go.
B. I think so I will go.
C. I thinking I will go.
27. I went to a movie.
A. that like me very much.
B. that I liked very much.
C. that me like very much.
28. A. That woman look sick.
B. That woman looks sick.
C. That woman looking sick.
29. A. These pencils are shorts.
B. These pencils no are short.
C. These pencils are short.
30. A. The policemen often have a dance.
B. The policeman's often have a dance.
C. The policeman often have a dance.
31. A. Mr. Martin goes for out his meals.
B. Mr. Martin goes out his meals.
C. Mr. Martin goes out for his meals.
32. She was cooking dinner
A. when my friends coming in.
B. when my friends came in.
C. when my friends come in.
33. For two hours
A. he was talk about her.
B. he was talking about her.
C. he was talked about her.
34. She is looking for the flower.
A. She was here on the table.
B. I was here on the table.
C. It was here on the table.
35. A. Had he driven the car home?
B. Was he driven the car home?
C. Did he driven the car home?
36. A. My book is blue dark cover.
B. My book has a dark blue cover.
C. My book is dark blue cover.
37. A. He gave her a present.
B. He gave to her a present.
C. He gave a present her.
38. A. The bus waited, didn't it?
B. The bus waited, was it?
C. The bus waited, wasn't it?
39. A. She needed to buy shoes.
B. She needed to bought shoes.
C. She needed to buys shoes.
40. A. My furniture is all brown color.
B. My furniture is all brown.
C. My furniture is all color brown.
41. A. We been here a week ago.
B. We have been here a week ago.
C. We were here a week ago.
42. A. Before to eat, he gets dressed.
B. Before he eats, he gets dressed.
C. Before he ate, he gets dressed.
43. He was away on business when
A. his wife called.
B. his wife is calling.
C. his wife calling.
44. They have been living in San Francisco
A. for five year.
B. for five years ago.
C. for five years.
45. John has already
A. finished the book, hadn't he?
B. finished the book, didn't he?
C. finished the book, hasn't he?
46. She is the girl
A. who wrote the letter.
B. she wrote the letter.
C. what wrote the letter.
47. What size desk is it?
A. It is not too big.
B. It is not too big desk.
C. It is not big one size.
48. A. This street has two miles long.
B. This street is two miles long.
C. This street have two miles long.
49. A. John can speak Chinese very well.
B. John can speaks Chinese very well.
C. John can speaking Chinese very well.
50. A. The taxi stopped, doesn't it?
B. The taxi stopped, does it?
C. The taxi stopped, didn't it?

Name _____
Teacher's Name _____
Score _____
Placement Level _____

English - Second - Language Placement Test

by

Donna Ilyin, Jeannette Best, Virginia Biagi

DO NOT OPEN THIS TEST

Read this sample question:

- A. I is here.
- B. I am here.
- C. I are here.

NOW, do these two sample questions:

Put the X on the letter of the best answer - only one X for each test question.

- Example 1.
- A. She goes to school.
 - B. She go to school.
 - C. She going to school.

- Example 2. What is that?
- A. She's a book
 - B. It's a book.
 - C. You're a book.

Your teacher will look at your answers.

You will have thirty minutes to do the test. Work quickly. Do the test questions you know first. Then go back to the ot
Do not use a dictionary or a book. Do not ask questions after you open the test. Stay in your seat at all times.

Wait for your teacher.

Do not open this test!

G Reliability .89

Form Correlation G & H .86

The test places students in one of the last three levels of English as a Second Language class referred to as ESL levels: 4
500, 600. Raw score: 0 - 19 (and over 40 on EPT 100 - 200 - 300) = level 400; 20 - 29 = level 500; 30 - 40 = level 600.

Standardization was done on students at Alemany, John Adams, Mission, and Pacific Heights schools under the direction
Mr. William E. Tresnon with the cooperation of Mr. James Dierke, Mr. George Johnson, Mrs. Evelyn Press, Mr. Francis J. Ba
and Dr. Alfred J. Azevedo of the Adult Division of the San Francisco Community College District.

Statistical work was supervised by Dean James L. Billwiller with the cooperation of Dr. T. F. Humiston and Mr. Elliot
Lerner of the City College Division of the San Francisco Community College District.

1. A. He wanted to know when can you to call him.
B. He wanted to know when you could call him.
C. He wanted to know when could you to call him.
2. A. John will tell you as soon as you arrived New York.
B. John will tell you as soon as you arrive.
C. John will tell you as soon as arrive New York.
3. Someone can correct your mistakes.
A. Your mistakes can be corrected.
B. Your mistakes can corrected.
C. Your mistakes can be correct.
4. A. Betty is too old enough to go to school.
B. Betty is enough old to go to school.
C. Betty is old enough to go to school.
5. A. This pencil is smallest than that one.
B. This pencil is smallest than another one.
C. This pencil is the smallest.
6. A. That woman was reading a detective story in the blue dress.
B. That woman in the blue dress was reading a detective story.
C. That woman was reading in the blue dress a detective story.
7. A. I hardly felt the earthquake last year.
B. I didn't hardly feeling the earthquake last year.
C. I didn't hardly felt the earthquake last year.
8. The reason she was worried was
A. although it had become so late.
B. that it had become so late.
C. since it had become so late.
9. A. How long must we to wait?
B. How long must we wait?
C. How long must be we wait?
10. Which one of your brothers
A. may be go to the conference.
B. are going to the conference.
C. is going to the conference.
11. A. I was studied English last year.
B. I was study English last year.
C. I was studying English last year.
12. What are the names of two stores in New York? Well, let's see.
A. In New York have Macy's and Sears.
B. In New York there Macy's and Sears.
C. New York has Macy's and Sears.
13. A. Even if you don't want to see him, you must go.
B. Even if you don't want to see him, you must to go.
C. Even if you don't want to see him, but you must go.
14. A. She remembered make small dolls.
B. She remembered making small dolls.
C. She remembered to made small dolls.
15. A. They like the books these are about history.
B. They like the books that are about history.
C. They like the books what are about history.
16. A. When I write to him, he is very happy.
B. When I write to him, he will being very happy.
C. When I write to him, he was very happy.
17. A. Before he fell asleep, the baby has been crying.
B. Before he fell asleep, the baby had been crying.
C. Before he fell asleep, the baby had been cry.
18. When did you get married?
A. I never get married yet.
B. I am not get married yet.
C. I am not married yet.
19. A. The stars had seen on clear nights.
B. The stars are seen on clear nights.
C. The stars should seen on clear nights.
20. A. She asked him don't buy her a sandwich.
B. She asked him to not to buy her a sandwich.
C. She asked him not to buy her a sandwich.
21. A. Before she came here, she had been studied English.
B. Before she came here, she had studied English.
C. Before she came here, she had studying English.
22. A. I think tennis is interesting than dancing.
B. I think tennis is interesting as dancing.
C. I think tennis is as interesting as dancing.
23. What do you plan to do in the future?
A. My plan is become a teacher.
B. My plan is going to become a teacher.
C. My plan is to become a teacher.
24. A. Guess what time it is.
B. Guess what time is it.
C. Guess what time is.
25. A. Every part of his body aches.
B. He aches in his body every part.
C. He aches every part of his body.
26. A. A bridge is being built near my house.
B. A bridge is being building near my house.
C. A bridge is building near my house.

27. Joan entered college last September. She goes to classes every day.
 A. She has been entering college since September.
 B. She has attended college since September.
 C. She has been college since September.
28. Although Peggy would like to ride with Ann, she never invites her,
 A. would she?
 B. does she?
 C. wouldn't she?
29. His mother said he couldn't buy a new car.
 A. He bought it even she had told him not to.
 B. He bought it anyway she had told him not to.
 C. He bought it although she had told him not to.
30. A. He is experienced in driving.
 B. He is experience in driving.
 C. He is experiencing in driving.
31. A. I went to the beach to fishing.
 B. I went to the beach for to fishing.
 C. I went to the beach to fish.
32. The man didn't believe the son and the wife didn't believe the son.
 The man didn't believe his son,
 A. but his wife didn't too.
 B. and his wife didn't either.
 C. and his wife either.
33. A. There are many red old brick buildings on this street.
 B. There are many old red brick buildings on this street.
 C. There are many old red bricks buildings on this street.
34. Even if Alice had wanted to sing,
 A. she might sing.
 B. she might be not sing.
 C. she might not have sung.
35. A. My brother weighs as much as I do.
 B. My brother weight the same as I do.
 C. My brother has the same weight as I am.
36. A. I'll eat if I'll be hungry.
 B. I wouldn't be hungry if I had eaten.
 C. I wouldn't be hungry if I have eaten.
37. A. The old car in front of the church broke down.
 B. The old car in front of the church is broke down.
 C. The old car in front of the church its broke down.
38. A. Rice is a food eaten in China.
 B. Rice is a food is eaten in China.
 C. Rice is a food that eaten in China.
39. Why did you go to Macy's?
 A. To see my friend working there.
 B. To see my friend who working there.
 C. To see my friend who work there.
40. Mrs. Kelly had him wash the car once a week.
 A. She had washed the car weekly.
 B. She had the car washed weekly.
 C. He washed her the car weekly.
41. Why are you going home?
 A. I am finished the work.
 B. I am finish the work.
 C. I am finished with the work.
42. If he hadn't gone to Chicago,
 A. he wouldn't had met her.
 B. he wouldn't have met her.
 C. he wouldn't met her.
43. A. I wish I had met that beautiful girl.
 B. I wish I have been meeting that beautiful girl.
 C. I wish I have met that beautiful girl.
44. A. Would you mind closed the door?
 B. Would you mind to close the door?
 C. Would you mind closing the door?
45. A. He looked as busy than he ever looked before.
 B. He looked busier than he had never looked before.
 C. He looked busier than he had ever looked before.
46. A. He made us wait.
 B. He made us to wait.
 C. He made us waited.
47. A. The beautiful vase which I bought downtown is on the table.
 B. The beautiful vase which I bought it downtown is on the table.
 C. The beautiful vase which I bought in downtown is on the table.
48. A. I have appreciated to go walking with you.
 B. I have appreciated going walking with you.
 C. I have appreciated to going walking with you.
49. Do the people you live with speak English?
 A. Yes, they speak English.
 B. Yes, they are speak English.
 C. Yes, I live with speak English.
50. A. Let me to congratulate you.
 B. Let me congratulating you.
 C. Let me congratulate you.

EXAMPLES OF ERRORS IN NZE DISCRETE PHONEMES MADE BY SUBJECTS

NZE Phoneme	Error example	Corrected form
Vowels:		
NZE /ɪ/ > [i]		
initial	[in]	/ɪn/ (in)
medial	[kidz]	/kɪdz/ (kids)
NZE /æ/ > [a]		
initial	[at]	/æt/ (at)
medial	[dʒapanizu]	/dʒæpəniz/ (Japanese)
NZE /ɔ/ > [o:]		
initial	[o:fəl]	/ɔfəl/ (awful)
medial	[θo:t]	/θɔt/ (thought)
final	[do:]	/dɔ:/ (door)
NZE /ʊ/ > [u]		
medial	[put]	/pʊt/ (put)
NZE /ɜ/ > [a]		
initial	[ali]	/ɜli/ (early)
medial	[wək]	/wɜk/ (work)
final	[prəfə]	/prəfɜ/ (prefer)
NZE /ʌ/ > [a]		
initial	[ap]	/ʌp/ (up)
medial	[kurabu]	/kɪʌb/ (club)
NZE /ə/ > [a]		
initial	[əbaut]	/əbaut/ (about)
medial	[westən]	/westən/ (western)
final	[batə]	/batə/ (butter)
Diphthongs:		
NZE /əu/ > [o:]		
initial	[o:nli]	/əunli/ (only)
medial	[ko:t]	/kəut/ (coat)
final	[no:]	/nəu/ (no)
NZE /ɔi/ > [oi]		
initial	[oil]	/ɔil/ (oil)
medial	[dʒoin]	/dʒɔin/ (join)
final	[soi]	/soi/ (soy)
NZE /eə/ > [e:]		
initial	[ke:fəl]	/keəfəl/ (careful)
final	[ðe:]	/ðeə/ (there)
NZE /iə/ > [ia]		
medial	[korianz]	/kɔriənz/ (Koreans)
final	[eria]	/eəia/ (area)
NZE /uə/ > [ua]		
final	[puə]	/puə/ (poor)

NZE Phoneme	Error example	Corrected form
Consonants:		
NZE /t/ > (i) [tʃ] _[i]		
initial	[tʃitʃə]	/titʃə/ (teacher)
medial	[sətʃi]	/θɜːti/ (thirty)
(ii) [ts] _[u]		
initial	[tsuə]	/tuə/ (tour)
NZE /d/ > (i) [dʒ] _[u]		
initial	[dʒipu]	/dip/ (deep)
medial	[midʒiəm]	/midiəm/ (medium)
(ii) [dz] final		
final	[bədzu]	/bɜːd/ (bird)
NZE /f/ > [f]		
initial	[fud]	/fud/ (food)
medial	[beʃə:]	/bəfə/ (before)
NZE /v/ > [b]		
initial	[boruntʃiaru]	/vɒləntiə/ (volunteer)
medial	[ebəri]	/evri/ (every)
final	[həb]	/hæv/ (have)
NZE /s/ > [ʃ] _[i]		
initial	[ʃitsu]	/sit/ (seat)
medial	[reʃito]	/rəsit/ (receipt)
NZE /z/ > [dʒ] _[i]		
medial	[ɲjudʒirando]	/ɲjuzilənd/ (New Zealand)
NZE /θ/ > [s]		
initial	[siŋk]	/θiŋk/ (think)
final	[basu]	/bæθ/ (bath)
NZE /ð/ > (i) [z]		
initial	[ze:]	/ðeə/ (there)
medial	[fəzə]	/fəðə/ (father)
(ii) [dʒ]		
initial	[dʒis]	/ðɪs/ (this)
NZE /ʒ/ > [dʒ]		
medial	[ʒudʒəri]	/juʒəli/ (usually)
NZE /l/ > [ɹ]		
initial	[ɹigəʃu]	/liɡəl/ (legal)
medial	[ɹɪŋɡlɪʃu]	/ɪŋɡlɪʃ/ (English)
NZE /w/ > [u] _[i] or [e]		
initial	[ui]	/wi/ (we)
	[uento]	/went/ (went)
NZE /j/ > (i) [ø] _[i]		
initial	[iazu]	/jiəz/ (years)
(ii) [i] _[e]		
initial	[iesu]	/jes/ (yes)
NZE /h/ > [f]		
initial	[fu]	/hu/ (who)

EXAMPLES OF GRAMMATICAL ERRORS MADE IN ENGLISH BY SUBJECTS

Error example	Corrected form
<u>Errors of Word Order:</u>	
Drawer pick up.	Pick up the drawer.
That he did.	He did that.
The bank I go myself.	I go to the bank by myself.
Beans kilo two dollar eighty.	One kilo of beans is two dollars eighty.
Baby-time he get often sick.	When he was a baby, he often got sick.
I tried to find very hard.	I tried very hard to find it.
He had a red big ball.	He had a big red ball.
We use our all effort.	We used all our strength.
I planted evergreen three trees.	I planted three evergreen trees.
I am going to read books more and research.	I am going to read more books and research.
<u>Missing Subjects:</u>	
But sometimes get from town.	I sometimes get it from town.
But sometimes eat meat.	But we sometimes eat meat.
Buy New Zealand.	I buy it in New Zealand.
Wouldn't finish it.	I wouldn't finish it.
All depends Peter.	It all depends on Peter.
Because warm.	Because it is warm.
<u>Errors involving objects:</u>	
<u>Object omitted:</u>	
I gave her.	I gave it to her.
He can put up.	He can put up with it.
I want see.	I want to see that.
Can you take to him?	Can you take it to him?
I tried very hard to find.	I tried very hard to find it.
I don't like.	I don't like it.
<u>Object added unnecessarily:</u>	
In the buckets they put it water and rhubarb leaves.	In the buckets they put water and rhubarb leaves.
From Nagoya to Tokyo, how long did you take it?	How long did you take from Nagoya to Tokyo?
I have some money which I haven't used it.	I have some money which I haven't used.
They have a big garden which they don't use it.	They have a big garden which they don't use.

Noun Errors:

Plural <s> omitted:

I just wash hand.
I didn't use any book.
We better check all door.

Mummy need Mummy slipper.
There many many instant love hotel.
I'm not talking about uni-
versity student.
It was a number of people
of different age group.

I'll just wash my hands.
I didn't use any books.
We'd better check all the
doors.
Mummy needs her slippers.
There are many many instant
love hotels.
I'm not talking about
university students.
It was a number of people
of different age groups.

Plural <s> added unnecessarily:

I did the washings.
We had a topics each week.
There was a groups of the
Christian.

I did the washing.
We had a topic each week.
There was a group of
Christians.

Possessive <s> omitted:

That husband car.
It father brush.
Secretary job.

That's my husband's car.
It's his father's brush.
It's the secretary's job.

Verb Phrase Errors:

Verb phrase omitted:

Tokyo very crowded.
Japan same things.

Beans kilo two dollar eighty.

Tokyo is very crowded.
Japan has the same kind of
things.
One kilo of beans is two
dollars eighty.

Auxiliary verb omitted:

She been sick.
I translated in Japanese
already.
Such things here you don't.

Still house price going up.

He won't back at night.
My husband working in the
Customs.
What he said?
What mean - association?

She has been sick.
I have translated it into
Japanese already.
Here you don't have such
things.
House prices are still going
up.
He won't be back tonight.
My husband is working in the
Customs.
What did he say?
What does association mean?

 Error example

 Corrected form

Verb Phrase Errors (continued):

Infinitive <to> omitted:

I want see.
 I don't want cook.
 I go play squash on Tuesday.

I want to see that.
 I don't want to cook.
 I go to play squash on Tuesday.

Modal Omitted:

I be here all day.
 In the future, more Japanese
 coming to New Zealand.

I will be here all day.
 In the future, more Japanese
 will be coming to N.Z.

Auxiliary verb added unnecessarily:

He is belong to Workers Club.

He belongs to the Workers Club.

Modal added unnecessarily:

When you will send let me know. When you send it let me know.

Auxiliary verb used incorrectly:

I been hayfever all summer.
 I'll teaching for children in
 Japanese crafts.
 Kids doesn't like it.

I had hayfever all summer.
 I'm teaching children Japanese
 crafts.
 The kids don't like it.

Infinitive <to> used incorrectly:

It's worth to go.
 I'm thinking to visit her
 Saturday.
 You don't mind for us to come
 your place?

It's worth going.
 I'm thinking of visiting her
 on Saturday.
 You don't mind if we come to
 your place?

Verb Morphology Errors:

<s> omitted:

My friend live in Tokyo.
 Some come from Japan.
 She seem to have very
 interest.
 He is belong to Workers Club.

My friend lives in Tokyo.
 Some comes from Japan.
 She seems to have a lot of
 interest.
 He belongs to the Workers Club.

Error example	Corrected form
<u>Verb Morphology Errors (continued):</u>	
<ed> omitted:	
She didn't tell me until I finish.	She didn't tell me until I had finished.
He come to February.	He came in February.
I join club last year.	I joined a club last year.
She came in and start to giving the food.	She came in and started to give them food.
<ing> omitted:	
She was complain.	She was complaining.
I read Drive Book.	I am reading the Road Code.
He's waste time.	He's wasting time.
I am study English.	I am studying English.
If it's rain, nothing to do.	If it's raining, there's nothing to do.
<s> added unnecessarily:	
I belongs to Ikebana International.	I belong to Ikebana International.
<ed> added unnecessarily:	
It costed fifty dollar.	It cost fifty dollars.
<ing> added unnecessarily:	
I normally going with the neighbourhood.	I normally go with a neighbour.
I said, "Don't showing off."	I said, "Don't show off."
When will Alan coming home?	When will Alan come home?
<ing> used incorrectly:	
I think using to that.	I think I'm used to that.
I am interesting in ikebana.	I am interested in ikebana.
The general sort of work, my husband doing.	My husband does the general work.

Preposition Errors:

<to> omitted:

I gave her.
Before I went Japan.
I wrote letter Mrs C.

I gave it to her.
Before I went to Japan.
I wrote a letter to Mrs C.

Error example	Corrected form
<u>Preposition Errors (continued):</u>	
<in> omitted:	
Buy New Zealand.	I buy it in New Zealand.
In Japan everybody live small house.	In Japan everybody lives in a small house.
When I was Japan I never have this kind of problem.	When I was in Japan I never had this kind of problem.
<on> omitted:	
All depends Peter.	It all depends on Peter.
<for> omitted:	
My mother couldn't understand me long time.	My mother couldn't understand me for a long time.
<to> added unnecessarily:	
I study to China painting.	I study Chinese painting.
I miss to Tokyo.	I miss Tokyo.
I go to shopping with my friend.	I go shopping with my friend.
<for> added unnecessarily:	
I'll teaching for children in Japanese crafts.	I'm teaching children Japanese crafts.
<with> added unnecessarily:	
It suit with this room.	It suits this room.
<to> used incorrectly:	
I want to go to trip.	I want to go on a trip.
He come to February.	He came in February.
I'm thinking to throw the toys to the dump.	I'm thinking of throwing the toys away in the dump.
<for> used incorrectly:	
Nothing wrong for that.	Nothing wrong in that.
He has gone for business.	He has gone on business.

Error example	Corrected form
<u>Article Errors:</u>	
<a> omitted:	
I'm member. Doesn't make big difference.	I'm a member. It doesn't make a big difference.
I'm not moralist. You'll get chance next time.	I'm not a moralist. You'll get a chance next time.
I want to go to trip.	I want to go on a trip.
<the> omitted:	
It is most famous castle. Tokyo is biggest city. Still house price going up.	It is the most famous castle. Tokyo is the biggest city. House prices are still going up.
Clothes is get dirty. I think she want learn piano.	The clothes have got dirty. I think she wants to learn the piano.
<a> added unnecessarily:	
I have a two kids. I was a really upset. I had a hayfever. What a weather. It make a sense. When I was a single.	I have two kids. I was really upset. I had hayfever. What weather. It makes sense. When I was single.
<the> added unnecessarily:	
I'm working at the full-time. He must stay in the bed.	I'm working full-time. He must stay in bed.
Both <a> and <the> used:	
If they take a the car. They suppose to have a the nursery room. We had a the boat.	If they take the car. They are supposed to have a nursery room. We had a boat.
<the> used in place of <a>:	
I took the taxi.	I took a taxi.