会話テスト用の Warm-Up Activities

中村　行子

Warming Up is necessary to allow nervous children to relax at the beginning of the test. Not only children, but also testers must be relaxed, as children are very sensitive and may be easily influenced by the testers' facial expressions, tone of voice, intonation, rate of speech, eye, mouth and body movements. Testers always have to be aware of helping children in order to get the best results. Without question, a comfortable and enjoyable atmosphere will affect them positively. Make the warming-up exercises as lively and fun as possible and give children a lot of opportunities to laugh. Please remember that WARMING UP IS NOT THE TEST; therefore, children are allowed to make mistakes. Use their good work as well as mistakes to make the atmosphere even more active and energetic. Warming Up should occupy no longer than 10 minutes. You are the "KEY" to the children's best results.

Warming-up Activities I

1. "Touch your knees...."

Sit down face to face. You tell the child the name of a body part (in Japanese) and he/she touches it. (e.g. "T ouch your knees, touch your chest, touch your back," toes, chin, forehead, eyebrow, etc.)

2. "Shoulder Massage"

Give each other a relaxing massage, while having a simple conversation. (e.g. Ask each other about family, a favorite sport, food, movie, etc.)

3. "Nose, nose, nose....Game"

Sit down or stand up face to face. You say "NOSE" three times with the action of tapping the tip of the nose, and then suddenly change to another part of the body. (e.g. "Nose", nose, nose....Mouth," touching "EYE" instead. The word you say and the part you touch are different.) You try to do this as quickly and smoothly as possible to make the child confused. Allow the child to enjoy making mistakes. However, encourage him/her to listen carefully and touch the part he/she hears.

4. "Stick out your Tongue"

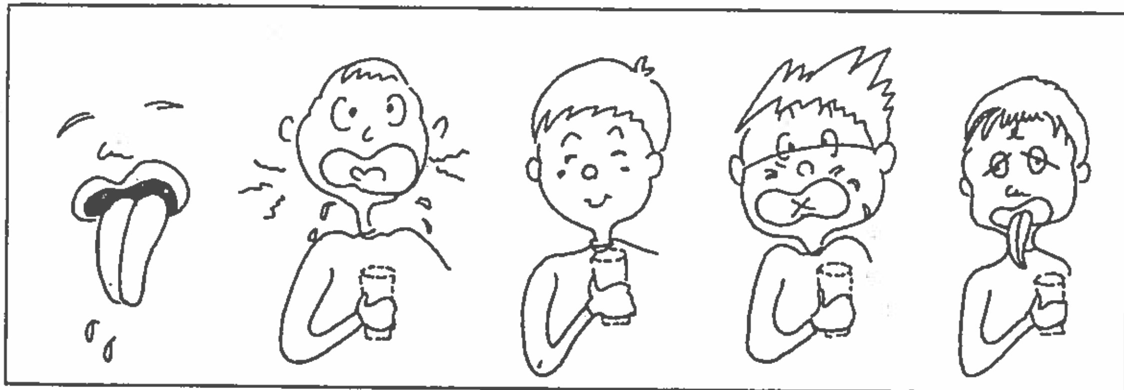
Sit down face to face. Both of you stick out your tongue as much as possible and try to touch your nose with your tongue. If the child hesitates, you show him/her how to do it first. Rotate the tongue to relax the mouth. Ask the child to keep looking at his/her tongue so that he/she can rotate his/her eyes at the same time.

5. "Write a letter on the back of the child"

Write a letter (or Kanji script) on the back of the child with your finger. Let the child guess what the letter is. If the child does well, give him/her a short word (e.g. 'dog' or 'inu', 'cat' or 'neko', etc.).

6. "Imaginary drink"

Sit down face to face. You have an imaginary drink, such as hot tea, cold milk, salty water, vinegar, etc. You have a sip, and the child guesses what kind of drink you have. Try to make a face in order to give the child a hint. Then the child has a chance to do the same thing while you guess.



7. "Mirror Game"

Sit down or stand up face to face. You become a person first and the child is a mirror. The mirror copies exactly what the person does. The movements must be very slow. The child becomes a person next and creates his/her movements, and you are the mirror. This exercise can be used to stretch a stiff body.

8. "Guessing Game"

Sit down face to face. Create an imaginary object in your hands and pass it to the child. Let the child guess what the object is. Without talking, the child passes it back to you. Then the child tells you what he/she thinks he/she has received from you. You tell him/her what you have received at the end as well as your original idea of the object. The object may change while being passed. The object can be anything, such as a bird, baby, smelly sock, bell, egg, strawberry, needle, rock, chewing gum, etc.

9. "Feeling Game"

Make the child touch an object in a bag without looking inside. Ask the child to feel the shape, weight, texture, temperature and to guess what the object is. You may ask the child to describe the object using words while touching it (e.g. It is long and cold, flat...very light...etc.).

10. "Finger-Wrestling"

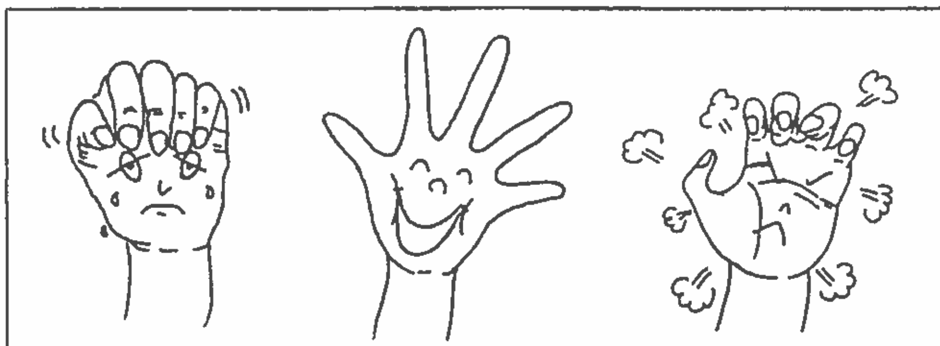
Wrestle with the thumbs. If you can hold the child's thumb for 10 seconds, you will be the winner. (Count out loudly.) However, winning is not important. Try to keep moving your thumb so that both of you can have fun.

11. "Find the Fly"

There is a noisy fly flying in the room. You keep telling the child where the fly is. (Pretend that you are a broadcaster describing a "very famous Fly." For example, "The fly is on the ceiling walking.... Oh, it flies to the window moving side to side looking for the exit. Now it is above you flying in a big, big circle...., etc.) The child chases it with his/her eyes without moving his/her head. At last you make the fly land on your nose (his/her nose, one fly on each of you). You smash your fly on your nose with your hand, saying "Now, smash it!" At the same time, the child smashes his/hers. Do it as quickly as possible and smash both flies at the same time. Enjoy the pain!!

12. "Make a sad, happy and angry face with your hand"

Make a sad, happy and angry face with your hand. The child does the same action with you (e.g. Happy-stretch your hand as much as possible; Sad--open your hand a little bit and wriggle it; Angry--bend your fingers with tension). Encourage the child to say the adjectives with you.



13. "Three Changes"

Sit down face to face looking at each other for a little while. Ask the child to turn around while you change three parts of your clothing. (e.g. unbutton a button, roll down your socks, untie a shoe lace, take off your watch, etc.) The child finds out three changes you have made.

14. "Stand up and become the biggest thing in the world"

Stand up and become the biggest thing in the world. (Then the smallest, the strongest, the heaviest, the lightest...etc.)

15. "Head Shoulders"

Sing it together touching the parts of the body. (e.g. "Head, shoulders, knees and toes, knees and toes, knees and toes... Speed up gradually.)

Warming-up Activities II

1. "Association Game"

You take turns (e.g. 1. cake--2. sweet--1. chocolate--2. valentine--1. heart--2. red).

2. "Word Guessing Game"

Think of one word in your mind. Let the child ask you YES/NO questions. (e.g. Is it big? Is it heavy? Can we eat it?, etc.) If the child takes too long to guess, you give him/her a few hints. (e.g. You see it in this room. It is bigger than you. It is made of wood., etc.)

3. "Shiritori"

kodomo-mochi-chikyuu-uma-masuku-kusuri-risu..., etc.

4. "Give the child one word, such as 'animals', 'colors', etc."

Give the child one word, such as 'animals,' 'fruits,' 'sports,' 'countries,' 'hobbies,' 'vegetables,' and so on. He/She names as many words as possible (e.g. tiger, lion, dog, cat, rabbit, bear, etc.).

5. "Name what you see"

Let the child look around the room and name what he/she sees (e.g. a desk, windows, chairs, books, etc.).

6. "When you go on a picnic, you bring..."

Take turns planning a picnic and add one thing each time. You start saying... "When you go on a picnic, you bring sandwiches." Then the child adds one thing. "When you go on a picnic, you bring sandwiches, juice." And both of you continue adding things until it becomes difficult for the child to remember all of them.

7. "Make a sentence and draw"

The child makes a sentence. For instance, "There are three birds flying in the sky." And you draw the picture quickly. It does not have to be art. It can be very bad so that you can make the child laugh. If the child wants to draw, you make a sentence for him/her.

8. "Think of small things in the world"

Think of small things in the world. Make the child name some words. (e.g. baby, rice, ring, tears....etc.) Try big, pointed, flat, hard, soft, salty, sweet, expensive, heavy...things.

9. "Picture Cards"

Show the child picture cards. He/She tells you what they are. Later, the child counts the cards he/she can name.

10. "What sound is it?"

The child closes his/her eyes and listens to the sound you make. (e.g. clap your hands, stamp your feet, open and close the door, etc.) You may use recorded sounds. (e.g. a baby crying, a fire truck, a telephone ringing, cars, buses, trains, drums, etc.) The child explains what the sound is.

11. "Riddle"

Take turns. A few riddles for both of you. The first one must be very easy so that the child will be able to answer.

12. "Conversation using hand puppets"

Make a short conversation using hand puppets (one for both of you). You ask each other basic questions, such as "What's your name?" "Tell me about your family." "What's your favorite sport?" If the child is talkative, give him/her a chance to make a short story using the puppet. (e.g. Hi! I am Maggie, the bear. I am 5 years old and love blueberries very much. One day, my sister and I went on a picnic....)

The Challenge of Raising a Child Bilingually

Katsue Reeve

In *Mirror of Language,* Kenji Hakuta maintains that the choice of whether the child is to be raised bilingually or not is not a free choice but "bilingualism is a phenomenon that comes about as the result of different social and familial circumstances."[1] The decision to raise our daughter Mika in English and Japanese was both a conscious decision and a circumstantial outcome as a consequence of her having an English-speaking Canadian father and a Japanese-speaking mother. Having observed among our friends both success and failure in raising children bilingually and drawing on our own experiences as a language teacher and as an immigrant respectively, we deliberately and consciously set out to achieve the most positive, enriching result possible for our daughter's bilingual experience. Sonia Nieto suggests that looking at a particular situation through a case study can help illustrate some general problems in education.[2] I would like to present our ethnic and linguistic experiment as a way to explore some problems which schools and society are facing today and to raise questions for future discussion. At the same time, I hope our experience will give encouragement to other parents and children to pursue bilingualism.

We firmly believe that the childhood acquisition of English and Japanese language skills will enrich our daughter's life not only in terms of personal growth, but also in terms of humanistic, economic and political values in an increasingly interdependent global society which needs understanding and respect for diversity amongst peoples and cultures. In order to ensure a positive outcome, we considered two things: one was to foster an inner motivation which, we thought, was absolutely necessary if the child was to learn and continue to learn a language not used by anyone else but her mother in her ordinary daily life, and the other consideration was to enlist the support of schools and society both in Canada and Japan, or at least to find a way to avoid a negative reaction from people with whom our daughter came into contact.

To promote the inner motivation, we encouraged the establishment of strong family ties with Japanese relatives in order to let her experience the fact that Japanese is a living and useful language for her to learn. We took our daughter to Japan at age one-and-a-half, three-and-a-half, and every year from the time she was five years old. To expose her as a child to Japanese culture and also to nurture friendship with children of the same age, we sent Mika to school in Japan. First she enrolled in a private Kindergarten from April to July when she was five-and-a-half years old. There, she learned the basic social skills of being a member of the group in Japanese society. From grade one to six, she attended for one month every year (except grade one when she spent two months at school) the elementary school from which I graduated.

The enlistment of positive support from schools and society in general needed a little more effort and consideration on our part. Research evidence shows that out society responds to various forms of difference with prejudice and discrimination which are practiced not only by individual people on the basis of ignorance or fear, but are embedded within a social structure itself as a historical manifestation of the economic, political and social power struggle among various groups.[3] Despite the liberal rhetoric to reduce the inequalities of opportunity and condition created by society and to supply high-quality education for all students, the school, as a fundamental social institution, has been claimed by the Marxist, the Structuralist and the Reproduction theorist alike to be acting as an assimilating, confirming or reproducing

agent of what is normally assumed to be "the way it is."

In effect, we also accepted the reality of "the way it is" and tried not to change schools and social attitudes but to find the best possible way for Mika not to appear different since "otherness" would make her a target for discrimination. We never considered monolingualism (only Japanese) to be an alternative as is the case with some parents who insist on teaching their children only their ethnic language, rather than teaching as well the dominant language employed in the schools and society where they live. Through our experience, however, we realized that it is very difficult to achieve bilingualism in its true meaning. We wanted our daughter to be bilingual in the sense that she would be fluent in the native language (English) but at the same time she would be as proficient as possible in a second language. English was the natural choice as her mother tongue since we lived in an English-speaking environment and she was born in Canada. Also economically, academically and linguistically it is advantageous to have fluency in English not only in terms of actual usage but also in terms of perceptions and the value people put on the language itself. We selected Japanese as the second language for personal and cultural reasons, even though we definitely felt that a knowledge of Japanese language would also be economically and academically beneficial for our daughter in the future.

We communicated with our daughter only in Japanese for the first two years, not with the intention of establishing a mother tongue in Japanese, but as a means to counteract the dominance of English. After two years, however, Mika's Japanese surpassed her father's ability to communicate in that language, and we switched to a more convenient way of communication: bilingualism. As a consequence she had no language problems when she started nursery school in Canada just before turning three-years old. Still, we had to find a particular nursery school to accommodate the behavioral and psychological patterns which resulted from her cultural upbringing. (A strong bond had developed between mother and child since she had never experienced any prolonged separation from her mother--she had never had a baby-sitter.) Fortunately we found one co-op nursery school which catered to an international community and which accepted and valued our feelings. When it came to choosing an elementary school for our daughter, we tried to find one which had a diversity of students in terms of race, nationality, language, economic and social background, and had a reputation for good teachers. We did not want Mika to be the only child in a school who speaks a different language, has an oriental mother and goes to visit relatives in a foreign country each year. The support of her teachers and principal were needed to let her miss some part of the school year here in order to attend school in Japan. as well the atmosphere of the school, i.e., a positive attitude on the part of both students and teachers towards a different language and culture, was a very important consideration. For instance, we hoped that our daughter would hear from her teachers and her fellow students how fortunate she was to be able to speak Japanese and to spend some time in Japan and hence that she would not face resentment or be teased for being different. Fortunately, we found a school which met our concerns and the Board of Education's " no boundary " policy allowed Mika to attend this particular school in town, as long as we assumed responsibility for her transportation.

During six years of schooling in Canada, our daughter did not encounter any problems regarding her second language. Teachers and friends showed a positive attitude towards the fact that she is bilingual. Mika never went through the stage where she resented or was ashamed to speak Japanese and wanted to speak only the dominant language, English, a stage which so many bilingual students usually go through. It is true that the support and understanding of her family, teachers and friends contributed greatly to her positive attitude, but, at the same time, there were two major advantages Mika had which the

majority of ethnic children usually do not have. First, she was fluent in the language of her schooling; she actually did not have any opportunity to use her second language in the classroom. For teachers and other students, the fact that Mika speaks a second language was never an issue and they automatically accepted it as an asset rather than a hindrance, comparable to ability in music or sport acquired outside of school. Second, the Japanese language enjoys a generally positive and advantageous perception because of Japan's economic and political status in our global society. Nieto refers to the effect of linguistic differences in students' learning as follows: "Linguistic differences per se are not necessarily barriers to learning, but the history of linguicism in our society has resulted in making them so."[4] Language and culture also reflect the stratified relationship of inequality in our society. Some languages and cultures are valued while others are cast aside and acquire negative stigmas. The fact that the Japanese language and culture are on the whole perceived positively must have contributed to our daughter's positive experience.

Even though she did not have any problems linguistically, she did encounter some difficulties at school which might have had their origin in cultural difference. It is very difficult to determine whether or not certain behavior of a child is the result of a congenital personality trait or of his/her cultural upbringing. However, there were definite discrepancies worthy of mention between the assessment of Mika by Canadian and Japanese teachers. In Japanese culture, we do not put too much emphasis upon oral ability as a true expression of one's capability. On the contrary, quietness is viewed as a virtue, and one must not show one's talent overtly. One's true ability will shine through in time without self-advertisement since people have the sensitivity to recognize it. A talent for leadership by Japanese standards is not so much the ability to take the initiative or to lead a group, but rather to meditate or to find common ground among different opinions and to set an ethical example which other should seek to follow. All of Mika's Japanese teachers, within the short period of time they taught her, assessed her as being a very capable, considerate and independent child. However, in Canada especially before an outside assessment demonstrated her abilities and potential, teachers categorized her as "a nice child for a teacher to have in the class" because she was quiet and created no disturbance, but also as "a bright but not bright enough child" because she did not participate actively or verbally in class, nor did she raise her hand to answer questions eagerly. The Japanese cultural virtues our child had acquired were not considered assets for her in Canadian schools or in society in general.

On the Japanese side, it was almost impossible not to be different in such a homogeneous society. When we sent her to a Japanese Kindergarten and elementary school, we made sure that she started on the first day when everyone was new to each other so that she would not be particularly singled out as the new student from Canada. Once she had established friendships with classmates, she always went back in June to the same school each year at the end of the first Japanese semester after she had almost completed her year at her Canadian school.

Since Mika speaks Japanese, acts like a Japanese girl, and has subdued oriental features in an attractive way, she enjoyed positive rather than negative attention. Also the fact that her mother graduated from the same school and the fact that her grandparents were actively involved in the community made it easier for the school's staffs and the other students' parents to feel that Mika was not a total stranger or outsider, but rather a familiar member of their community.

Because Mika was bilingual, there were no linguistic problems until she was in grade four in Japan when her reading and writing skills started to trail behind her peers. We had successfully established the inner motivation for Mika to speak and comprehend Japanese. However, it proved to be more

difficult for her to recognize the need for a continuing effort to learn Chinese ideographs (Kanji) which are an essential part of the Japanese writing system. We encouraged her to correspond with her friends and relatives and to read Japanese books, but reading and writing Japanese in Canada proved to be far more irrelevant to her everyday life. Also the complexity of the written Japanese system which requires a major part of the curriculum even for Japanese children living in Japan (learning 2000 Chinese ideographs in nine years) further complicated the matter. We finally made a decision not to force Mika to learn any more Chinese characters (she knew about 350 of them plus the two basic Japanese phonic alphabets and could therefore theoretically express herself in written form). We felt that it was not worthwhile to run the risk of creating a resentful feeling in her towards Japanese and that if she so desired, she could always learn Chinese ideographs later in life. Needless to say, her failing in this one area of Japanese language skills created a problem at school. Every subject depends on the ability to read and write at an appropriate level in the Japanese school system. Since she had no problem in comprehension, as long as her friends or teacher read the questions to her in Japanese, she could answer them. Unfortunately, the lack of interest on the part of one Japanese teacher to accommodate Mika's difficulty resulted in an unpleasant and frustrating experience at the fourth-grade level. The situation changed drastically when she had a different teacher in grade five and six, one who understood her weakness in reading and writing Japanese and resorted to oral instruction whenever it was necessary. This teacher also encouraged her to use English in composition if she felt more comfortable doing so and asked her to be a resource person in geography to talk about Canada in class. Academically Mika felt she was treated fairly because she could learn new materials and express her ability despite her reading and writing handicap. Also she believed that she was not a target for teasing or treated as someone different, but rather that she was regarded a genuine contributor to the class. What she knew and experienced as a Canadian was valued by her teacher and classmates. This experience confirmed Nieto's view on the importance of "affirming diversity" as a positive impact on learning at school. If teachers and schools accept the language, culture and experiences which a student brings to school as legitimate and valuable resources and adopt the instructional methods to accommodate the needs and differences of students, the learning outcome for all students will inevitably be enriched.[5]

Now Mika attends the French late-immersion school. The environment of this school, which validates the learning of a language other than the dominant language, reinforces the value of bilingualism in general. Linguist Werner Leopold suggests some of the advantages of bilingualism in his study of his daughter Hildegard:

> Thus apart from the accomplishments of understanding and using two languages, which nearly everyone would rate as again, I see in early bilingualism the advantage that it trains the child to think instead of merely speaking half mechanically. Of course, I see the other side. A monolingual develops, through the compelling influence of his single language, a simpler and therefore more forceful view of the world. I do not overlook the difficulties inherent in growth nourished from a split root instead of a single strong tap root. It will lead to conflicts, which can wreak a weak personality, but will improve the mettle of a strong one, who can overcome difficulties. The difference is the same as between a highly educated and an uneducated person. Ignorance and superstition make the decisions of life simple. Education does not make life easier, but better and richer. Few would condemn education for this reason. Bilingualism should be seen in the same light.[6]

We encountered various educational and social problems along the way. People's perceptions, established customs and habits, and public policy regulations are very difficult to change. They seem to be somehow entrenched in a structure. Despite the fact that the odds seemed to be against us according to some research evidence and our friends' experience, we have so far found sufficient room to maneuver in order to achieve our goal within the system. Schools and societies, we discovered, are neither as static nor deterministic as the Marxists and the Reproduction theorists would make us believe. We need not be the passive victim of a given system, nor accept the position that conforming to the norm is the only alternative available to us. Schools and societies are not entities isolated from human activities but are a dynamic contesting ground capable of change.[7] Indeed, we found that the pursuit of a little girl's bilingualism had an influence, no matter how small, on the schools she attended and on the teachers, friends and people with whom she came into contact.

Mika has already experienced and will continue to experience some of the difficulty but also much joy and empowerment of being bilingual. As parents we hope these experiences will enrich her life, make her more tolerant and sensitive towards others and ultimately contribute to the betterment of global society.

NOTES

1 Kenji Hakuta: *Mirror of Language. The Debate on Bilingualism*. New York: Basic Books, 1986, p. 57.

2 Sonia Nieto: *Affirming Diversity The Sociopolitical Context of Multicultural Education*. New York: Longman, 1992, pp. 7-8 & p. 166

3 *Ibid*, p.23.

4 *Ibid*, p.166.

5 *Ibid*, p.2 p.165

6 Werner Leopold: sited in Kenji Hakuta's *Mirror of Language*, p.57

7 John R. Mallea: "Cultural, Schooling and Resistance in a Plural Canada" in *Breaking the Mosaic*, John Young, edit. Toronto: Garamond Press, 1987, pp. 53-56.

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Canada's Human Resources, "Addititive Bilinguals": A Case of Post-War Japanese Youths

Hitomi Oketani

Introduction

In countries of increasing cultural and racial diversity, it is essential for education systems to promote equal human rights and mutual respect for other cultures. Thus the development of multilingual and multicultural education policies is becoming important in many countries. It often has been said that "Canada, our multilingual and multicultural country ... is distinct from the American melting pot." This kind of ideology leads Canadians to assume that Canada can play a leading role in the world globalization process that emphasizes mutual understanding and respect between different cultures and countries through its advanced multilingual and multicultural programs, which can serve as models.

In Canada, the subsequent implementations of multicultural education and anti-racist education policies in classrooms across the country since the 1971 declaration of an official policy of 'multiculturalism within a bilingual framework' probably helped immigrants to settle and to feel that they were no longer strangers in Canada. The fact that "every language in the world is taught somewhere in Canada" demonstrates some success in the government's efforts (Canadian Education Association, 1991:47). Currently in Ontario, the Program has an enrollment of over 120,000 students.

"Sixty-eight school boards and minority language sections provide more than 4,500 heritage language classes in 62 different languages" (Canadian Education Association, 1991:9). International Language Programs for the secondary-school level including an Ontario Academic Course level (OAC) are also provided in Ontario. In spring 1994, the name "Heritage Language" was changed to "International Language: (Elementary)" in order to dispel the negative connotation associated with the term and to stress the importance of language in the world (Goossen, 1994).

As Cummins and Danesi have indicated, "linguistic resources are economic resources just as surely as Canada's oil or forests are" (1990:77); bilingual and multilingual abilities will become increasingly important for a diverse Canadian population. Aside from language policy and program issues, however, we need to consider the following questions. How effectively have the programs been put into practice? Currently more than 120,000 students attend the International Language Programs which are taught two and a half hours per week (total: 80 hours per year) in Ontario (Canadian Education Association, 1991). How well do students perform in the programs? Do the students acquire sufficient foundation for heritage language abilities from 80 hours of class per year? In the High School International Language Programs, do the students develop abilities which are worthwhile resources for Canada?

In this article, the author describes the phenomenon of 'additive bilinguality' in which linguistic-minority students possess a high degree of bilinguality and positive socio-psychological attitudes towards their ethnicity and multiculturalism in the case of post-war second-generation Japanese-Canadian youths in the Toronto area.

Definition of Additive Bilinguality

The definition of bilingualism differs among scholars (Bloomfield, 1933; Macnamara, 1967; Hamers and Blanc, 1989). In a popular view, being bilingual equals being able to speak two languages perfectly; this was also the approach of Bloomfield

(1933:56) who defined it as "the native-like control of two languages." On the other hand, Macnamara (1967) proposed that a bilingual is anyone who possesses a minimal proficiency in one of the basic language abilities in a language other than his or her mother tongue. Hamers and Blanc described bilinguality as compared with bilingualism. The main questions of the present article are framed in terms of bilinguality; bilinguality is considered as an individual state, and bilingualism is taken to be a social state. Lambert (1975) defined a characteristic of bilingual students by using the terms 'an additive form of bilingualism' and 'a subtractive form of bilingualism.' It is said that additive bilinguality can be seen among mixed-lingual families or students who take school instruction in their second language such as French immersion school in English-dominant society. On the other hand, subtractive bilinguality occurs especially for minority students who do not have first language educational support for their first language literacy development; therefore, the level of bilinguality reflects "some stage in the subtraction of the ethnic language and the associated culture, and their replacement with another" (Lambert, 1977:19). Cummins (1986) emphasized the importance of first language development for minority students to achieve high levels of competence in their second language (the majority language), especially in literacy-related academic abilities. The study of Landry and Allard indicated that "for low vitality groups, the best results in terms of an additive type of bilingualism are obtained by maximum teaching in L1" (1991:20). Based on Landry (who used different terminology), one identifies linguistic, cognitive, affective and social dimensions of the additive bilinguality:

> "[Additive bilinguality] should encompass: (a) a high level of proficiency in both communicative and cognitive-academic aspects of L1 and L2; (b) maintenance of a strong ethnolinguistic identity and positive beliefs toward one's own language and culture while holding positive attitudes toward the second language; and (c) the opportunity to use one's first language without diglossia, that is without one's language being used exclusively for less valued social roles or domains of activity" (Landry, 1987: 110)

In this article, the author follows the usage of Hamers and Blanc, combined with the insights of Landry (1987): additive bilingualism is considered as a social state and additive bilinguality as an individual state.

According to Kralt and Pendakur's study (1991), the further generations go, the less people sustain their heritage language in general. As in the Sansei's (third generation's) case, social factors strongly influence their perspectives and eventually their life-styles as well. Because the social factors are so powerful, we find the outcomes for the Sansei's perspectives are very similar. When we consider, however, the second-generation people, the socio-psychological components (i.e., their perspectives and actual behavior towards their languages, ethnicity, cultures and society) seem much more complex. We have difficulty defining which social factors have influenced students' perspectives and behavior, especially for the post-war second-generation students who are in multilingual and multicultural surroundings. Based on social contexts, their perspectives and behavior are constructed. In other words, social factors are considered to be independent factors; yet clearly socio-psychological and psychological factors are interdependent factors. Further social factors are influenced by human beings' socio-psychological and psychological factors, and so on. In fact, social, socio-psychological, psychological and language behavior have different features that change as time goes on. It has to be noted that the students' identity and beliefs, contact with people, and language behavior change reciprocally in terms of frequency, quality and density of the mobile social, cultural and psychological contacts in which they participate.

Japanese Communities and Their Language Schools

The number of post-war immigrants from Japan has varied according to changes in the Canadian immigration policies (Ueda, 1978; Kobayashi, 1989). As the Canadian government first provided significant support to Japanese immigration in 1962, most post-war Japanese immigrants arrived after that date. The differences between pre-war and post-war immigrants are significant. Ueda described post-war immigrants as follows: "their average age is 33.8. In other words, these immigrants did not experience the last world war. They grew up with post-war Japan's economic recovery and development, rapid urbanization, educational reform and the collapse of traditional family structure" (1978:39-40). As a result, the post-war immigrants can generally be described as highly educated, independent from traditional social structures, competitive, career focused and relatively prosperous. Japan developed rapidly in its technical know-how and expertise. Consequently immigrants to Canada included large numbers of technicians and engineers, known as gijutsu-imin or technician- immigrants.

The post-war immigrants settled and established themselves quite independently in Canadian society after their arrival. Their residences are spread throughout cities, contrasting with pre-war immigrants (Issei, first generation) who established their own strong Japanese Canadian community enclaves focusing on their heritage and maintaining their traditions with strong social networks. They originally settled close together as in Vancouver's Japan Town. By contrast, the post-war immigrants formed their community organization with a leisure orientation but without similar strong social community networks.

More recently, increased international trade and business cooperation have caused many businessmen and their families to live overseas. The Japanese business community in Toronto is no exception and can be recognized as a third Japanese community with few ties to the two Japanese-immigrant communities indicated above. Their residency in Canada is generally temporary in nature.

The above-mentioned Japanese communities in Canada, have established their own language schools. The Japanese business community, in general, attempts to have their children maintain a Japanese curriculum which matches as closely as possible the general curriculum in Japan. The pre-war Japanese immigrants are now in their third or even fourth generation. Their home language shifted from Japanese to English while some maintain their Japanese culture at home and in the community. As Kobayashi (1989:33) indicated in her report, "in the under-37 age group, or the Sansei generation, about 90.2 per cent of women and 88.4 per cent men marry partners of another ethnicity," it is expected that they will not transmit their language to the next generation. In Ontario, among the pre and post-war Japanese language schools, some schools are now governed by the Ontario Ministry of Education within the International Language Programs - Elementary. Due to the parents' different perspectives towards children's language education, some other schools continue to be run only by parents or community groups.

In short, it is very clear that these three types of Japanese ethnic cohorts organize very distinctive communities and Japanese-language institutions in Toronto. Consequently it is expected that the children's and parents' perspectives towards Japanese language education, language maintenance, Japan, and Japanese culture differ according to the three different groups and over generations within each group.

The Phenomenon of Additive Bilinguality

Within the policies which stress the common interests of diverse multilingual and multicultural populations in Canada, how have linguistic-minority students developed their Japanese-English bilinguality and their socio-psychological characteristics through Canada's education systems?

In order to examine the questions, firstly the author divided students (N=42) into four groups according to their levels of bilinguality and explored significant different factors among the groups, in particular differences in their identities and beliefs according to the degree of their bilinguality. The groups are: Group I) English High/Japanese High, Group II) English High/Japanese Low, Group III) English Low/Japanese High, and Group IV) English Low/Japanese Low. Reading testing materials which were used were the Japanese Language Proficiency Test Level 2 and 3 published by the Japan Foundation (1991) and the Verbal Section (reading comprehension) of the Graduate Record Examination (GRE) published by the Educational Testing Service for the Graduate Record Examination Board (1992). The results of student interviews are discussed according to the following three questions:

Q 1) What kind of perspectives do they have towards their multicultural society?

Q 2) How do they see themselves? (i.e., a definition of "Canadian")

Q 3) What kind of comments/suggestions do they have to post-war second-generation Japanese-Canadian children?

Results

Responses to Q1

The students, in general, felt positive towards Canada's multicultural society which they symbolized as "tossed salad" or "salad bowl," compared to the U.S. "melting pot" and Japan's homogeneous society. They felt more harmony in their society (Canada) and they felt able to keep some of their ethnic identity. They did not feel strongly as minority members themselves in their society, but some felt that the white culture is dominant. Overall, students sought to continue and further develop equal human rights with elimination of discrimination within their society.

Responses to Q2

In general they pointed to the trend in which Japanese "ethnic" people try hard to blend in with the White society. They also pointed out how others see them differently according to who the others are. For instance, Canadians of other ethnic backgrounds see them as "Japanese," "Chinese," or "Oriental"; Americans see them as "Japanese," "Japanese-Canadians," or "Canadians"; their parents see them as "Japanese-Canadians" or "Canadians"; and Japanese in Japan see them as "Henna Nihonjin (strange Japanese)".

As indicated earlier, most students had multicultural perspectives, respecting other ethnicities as well as appreciating their own ethnicity. They shared very similar experiences in their childhood such as minor bullying and peer pressure, because something about them was different from peers of other ethnic backgrounds (mainly the White). This is not only because of different ethnicity, but also because of usual bullying among peers to single out specific characteristics or behaviour (e.g., 'you are short,' 'you have slanted eyes,' or an unusual Japanese lunch box "Onigiri, a rice ball wrapped in seaweed"). They described these kinds of incidents as a normal process of growing up, which all children have to face as a matter of fact. The degree of their peer pressure was obviously different according to where they lived, even though all students were living in Metro Toronto areas. The diversity of ethnicity in their schools contributed in some degree to the severity of students' peer pressure. Sometimes students had a bad discriminatory experience (i.e., being called "Chink," "Jap" or "Nip"), but one student pointed out that this kind of discriminatory situation is getting less at schools as students are becoming more aware of this issue. Some students regretted that their peers could not differentiate between Japanese and Chinese ethnicity. The students indicated conflicts with parents about their behaviour, thoughts and life style. They stated that this issue is, in addition to the common generation gap conflict, due to parents' expectations towards them as Japanese-background youths. However some students remarked that their parents are quite liberated in rules and expectations. Given these interesting similarities, there are very

significant differences in views towards their own identity among the four different groups of students.

Group I students saw themselves as "Canadians with Japanese ethnicity," in which "Canadian" came first but holding a very strong and positive Japanese ethnicity in the essential part of their identity. Most students indicated that they recognized themselves as "Canadians" when they went to Japan and lived there for a couple of months. They preferred to be seen as "Canadians" without any special designation, rather than being seen as "Japanese-Canadians" which they perceived as somewhat less "Canadian" while too strongly emphasizing "Japanese" ethnicity. Simultaneously they saw themselves as representatives of Japan, as they wanted to be able to respond properly to questions about Japanese culture. They felt a certain pride about their Japanese ethnicity. One student commented; "When you live here you are not the same as the Japanese living in Japan even though you are still a Japanese. It's just that you are a different kind of Japanese. So you don't assimilate, maybe you evolve. You evolve without forgetting your ethnicity. How shall I put it--it's not Japanese and it's not Canadian, something of your own (that's unique.)." Group I students saw themselves as international human beings, beyond the issue of what particular identity they held, because they could use both languages and could observe both cultures while also being part of both cultures. One student said, "To me, because especially in Toronto, you find people from all over the world, Canadian means everyone living in Canada. [It is better therefore], to call everyone a Canadian instead of using hyphenated Canadian." In Group I, where students performed well in both English and Japanese reading tests, most students felt they are "Canadian" with a "Japanese" ethnicity. However the two identities do not exist separately and rather coexist in their minds. One student said, "I don't think that there are two identities, it is more like a combination of both." They pointed out the differences between them and Japanese in Japan. They described themselves as evolving beings or global/international human beings without forgetting their own ethnicity, which creates a very unique personal identity.

To summarize, Group I students see themselves firstly as "Canadian" citizens, which comes along with certain responsibilities to contribute as a good citizen, and simultaneously they see their "Japanese" background as a backbone of their identity. This combination gives them a more powerful international perspective which reaches beyond the multiculturalism; they want to contribute to the Canadian society as a "bridge between two cultures."

Group II students saw themselves as "Canadian," although the connotation of the word "Canadian" is rather different from the one that Group I students presented. Like Group I students, Group II students also pointed out the vagueness of the definition of "Canadian" in most people's perspectives in Canada.

It is apparent from students' comments that Group II students felt more detached from the Japanese culture than did Group I students. One student described her identity: "I think that the two identities are so different that they are really separate with little overlap." It is important to note that almost all Group II students switched from the Japanese language to English during the interview as they were uncomfortable or were not able to continue speaking in Japanese. Compared with Group I students, Group II students have fewer relatives in Japan (most relatives live in Canada) or have less interest in Japan.

Although Group II students' Japanese is no longer strongly maintained in reading, they still practice traditional cultural activities like Kendo, Taiko (Japanese drum) or in eating habits. One student said, "The rice ritual has stuck in me to this day. Even if I move out, I'll probably get a rice-cooker. That is really a staple you grew up with, it is like the bread of other cultures."

Group III students had rather opposite perspectives about themselves, as compared to Group II students. Their connotations of "Canadian" and "Japanese Canadian" were

different from Group I and Group II students. Group III students viewed themselves rather positively as being "Japanese Canadians" with a strong sense of Japanese ethnicity. They have strong views and high motivation to maintain Japanese language and culture. It is, however, difficult to draw a conclusion because of the small number of subjects in Group III.

Within Group IV, students saw themselves very differently across the individuals in the group. Although there were several different perspectives among Group IV students, their connotations of "Canadians," "Canadian-Japanese" and "Japanese - Canadians" were similar. "Canadians" are, in general, persons who were born in Canada and contribute to the country in some ways. "Japanese Canadians" are landed immigrants from Japan. They still speak Japanese and maintain Japanese culture in their daily life. Interestingly, this is the only group which mentioned "Canadian Japanese." "Canadian Japanese" are Canadians who have Japanese ethnic background. They don't practice Japanese language or culture any longer, but they look like Japanese and may still have Japanese last names.

The students across the four different groups see themselves quite differently. Group I students see themselves as "Canadian" with very strong balanced, overlapping, positive Japanese ethnic background. Group II students see themselves as "Canadian" with respect to ethnicity although they do not feel a very strong tie to Japanese ethnicity. Group III see themselves as "Canadian" who regard Japanese ethnicity as much more conflicting with Canadian ethnicity than do the other groups. Group IV students differ within their group by defining themselves as "Canadian," "Canadian-Japanese" or "Japanese-Canadian." It seems that Group IV students' identities are disparate, including elements of the other three groups' students' identities, although the vitality of their identities is rather weak compared to the other three groups' students.

Thus the definition of "Canadian" varies mostly according to the group. Group I see "Canadians" as citizens who may or may not have ethnic background and who do not promote their ethnicity excessively. But if they have an ethnic background, they firmly maintain it as the backbone of their identity. In other words, for Group I, "Canadians" are themselves, and their definition is their hope of what "Canadians" are supposed to be. Group II defines "Canadians" as those who are citizens of Canada and who no longer practice their own ethnic culture. Group III students define "Canadian" as mainly those who were born in the country. In Group IV, there is no systematic and definite definition for "Canadian." One student indicated that "Canadian" equals "native Canadian Indian," and one differentiated the other citizens who came from all over the world by defining them as "modern Canadians." Most students agreed that, literally, "Canadian" is anybody who was born in Canada, but some students hesitated to say that they are "Canadian" for the reason that "if I said Canadian, they would ask what my parents were." In this case, "they" can be interpreted as Caucasions or people from other ethnic groups.

It should be noted that students in almost all groups referred to the vagueness of the definition of "Canadian."

Responses to Q3

Group I and Group III students clearly stand out in their responses to this question. Their answers showed definite and very contrasting perspectives.

Group I students gave the next generation a detailed and well developed challenge to consider their Canadian and Japanese identities and cultural heritage in a meaningful balance. They expressed the importance of loyalty to Canada's society, and simultaneously emphasized that "Canadian" plus "Japanese" does not add up to "Japanese Canadian" or "Canadian" or "Japanese" but that it adds up to something more meaningful and personality enriching. They suggested the next generation should not be based on being either "Canadian" or "Japanese," but on being themselves, and recognizing others and other cultures as equal

and all part of the society in which "a new Canadian identity begins to emerge... ." They recommended learning both Canadian and Japanese cultures, as well as understanding other cultures with an open mind.

Group III students' comments to the next generation all included strong suggestions to know about their Japanese heritage, to learn, study and expose themselves to Japanese language and culture. The comments were very much focused on Japanese heritage and language with little or no reference to Canadian or other cultures.

The comments of the other subjects like Groups II and IV were less specific and varied from person to person. Group II students provided a varied range of suggestions. Some suggested that everyone should be themselves, but that it would be good to learn about their heritage culture and language. Some also spoke of balance, of avoiding "Japanese supremacy," of eliminating racism. The Group II students provided suggestions that were balanced, but without specifying in detail any particular direction, as seen among Group I and III subjects.

Group IV students' suggestions ranged from "Do whatever you want to do" to "You should learn about your own background as well as other cultures." Many Group IV students provided open-minded suggestions with balanced perspectives towards pre-war Japanese Canadians as well as other cultures.

Discussion

Edwards (1988) asserted that "identity can be maintained through periods of language shift" (1988:203) and that the language-identity connection may be a prerequisite for continuing identity. From a much broader point of view on language shift and identity maintenance, many research studies confirm the point that identity remains longer than language in general. Yet in investigating how identity is maintained through periods of language shift, intriguing findings were obtained from the present sample. The qualitative results clearly indicate the strong relation between bilinguality and students' identity formation.

Lanca, Alksnis, Roeses and Gardner's study (1994) investigated whether language preference and acculturation attitudes are related. Their findings indicated that language preference was associated with ethnic identity. Feuerverger (1991) found a strong sense of being "Canadian" along with a favorable view of own ethnicity from pre-war third-generation students who have various, ethnic backgrounds, including Japanese. In the present study on second-generation Japanese-Canadian youths, all students perceived their identities as of importance, although the degrees of such perceptions differed. Nonetheless, the students' perspectives on how they see themselves (identity) varied according to their degree and type of bilinguality.

It was significant that the four student groups defined their identities with different terminologies and connotations. It accords with Clément and Kruidenier's suggestion that research should find out "who learns what in what milieu" (1980:288), it also has to be emphasized that this current study was carried out in the Metropolitan Toronto area where multiculturalism is promoted more enthusiastically than in other areas. The students felt comfortable living in Canada's multicultural society and did not see themselves as a disadvantaged minority even though they grew up in a linguistic-minority situation. Although all students had fairly similar educational and social backgrounds, it appears that students who scored lower on the Japanese reading test, have less positive impressions of Canadian attitudes towards Japanese ethnic language and culture. It is expected that the students' identity is somewhat influenced by how they perceive being seen by the dominant society, and these issues also relate to their bilinguality and vice versa. The present results suggest a synergistic effect between bilinguality and identity; language development promotes students' identity and vice versa. At the same time, non-development of language detracts from self identity and vice versa in a bilingual situation. Therefore it is necessary to

emphasize that both languages and identities should be developed positively in a balanced way in order to promote additive bilinguality.

Clément and Noels (1992) raised the question whether bilingual individuals have the capacity to perform "identity-switching," that is switching in and out of group memberships as the situation and norms demand. It can be expected from this current study that the more proficient in both languages the students are, the more spontaneously and appropriately they can switch their languages and behaviour according to the situation. In other words, students who are more competent in both languages are able to control their language and cultural behaviour according to their interlocutors and situation. During the interviews, students who were categorized as balanced additive bilinguals responded very well to the interviewer verbally and non-verbally according to which language the interviewer used. Yet, their simultaneous reactions did not seem to be based on "identity-switching" but rather on "skill-switching," which strongly relates to their degree of bilinguality.

In this study, there appears to be a reciprocal relationship between self identity and the development of language proficiency; specifically, those who identify strongly with their Japanese cultural heritage develop strong Japanese reading skills, but weak cultural identification is associated with weaker development of Japanese skills. It is not, however, possible to specify the direction of any causal relationships that might be operating based on the present study. There is also evidence of more awareness and a more positive orientation towards the benefits of a multicultural society among students who developed an additive bilingualism.

In short, the findings of the present study strongly support the effort to encourage minority language students to maintain their L1 skills. Under the circumstances of Canada's present policies, the students generally seem to support multiculturalism and the maintenance of their ethnic community. In order to develop students' additive bilinguality to help them become "Canadian Human Resources," cooperation among parents, educators, administrators and political leaders is essential since this developmental process will not only lead in a positive direction for students themselves, but also for Canadian society at large.

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