



Adaptation and resistance to Japanese acquisition in women married to Japanese men

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Reference Data:

Hosoya, J. (2007). Adaptation and resistance to Japanese acquisition in women married to Japanese men. In K. Bradford-Watts (Ed.), *JALT2006 Conference Proceedings*. Tokyo: JALT.

Narratives of Japanese learning and use, by women married to Japanese, who have lived here at least 5 years, show various imaginative strategies are used to resolve internal conflicts with Japanese speech norms experienced within different speech communities and situations. A follow-up survey provides perspective, demonstrating that often, strong initial resistance to using dominant ways to express femininity and politeness is self-reported to lessen over time, especially in the sub-group (6 out of 20 in this survey) of women who have been here from 10-20 years. However, resistance to Japanese as a means of self-expression seems to remain quite high in this group of women overall.

日本人と結婚した外国人女性による日本語の学習と使用についての語りは、日本語の語法と内面的葛藤の克服のために、異なった言語を用いるコミュニティや状況を経験した多様な自製の戦略が使われたことを示している。この継続的研究が明らかにしているのは、日本二十年から二十年居住する女性の小集団において、日本語で一般的に用いられる女性性や丁寧さの表現に対する初期的な抵抗が時間の経過とともに弱まるということである(20事例中の6例)。しかしながら、全体的に見て自己表現の手段としての日本語に対する抵抗は残存する。

A Personal Introduction

In my experience, being an Australian mother married to a Japanese man in Japan meant negotiating unfamiliar, implied or explicit, expectations about performing my gendered roles in Japanese speech interactions. Other challenges arose as I switched to thinking in Japanese and my ability to think at a higher level was limited by my intermediate language ability and by my immersion in local mothering-

related community environments. Increasingly, I felt a sense of dislocation of self during interactions. Simply put, I did not feel I could be me.

After a welcome sojourn of several years raising my children back home, I returned to Japan. Once again I invested in learning the interaction patterns of Japanese mothers, this time in the more upper middleclass kindergarten and school communities of our new neighborhood, in the hope that we would be accepted and my children could fully belong. As I emulated the interaction patterns around me (e.g., trying to chat pleasantly like my peers; implying intent and reactions, rather than stating them; performing a supplicating mother role as part of the group during class meetings), I started to readjust and to internalize the implicit cultural understandings needed to decode social meanings. Delighted by my Japanese friends, who seemed to anticipate and infer feeling responses during conversation, I was pleased to develop a similarly receptive way to interact and process social meanings.

However, frustration with gendered roles still characterized my encounters within different communities. I'd like to describe a rather dramatic experience that precipitated my research about gendered roles and speech. Perhaps you will recognize the following scene as a description of experience at a PTA (parent-school liaison body) meeting to elect officers:

Please imagine covered, hushed women sitting in a ring. We have been in attendance for hours already. We have individually explained our current commitments, making public some very private information to explain the degree of our

individual availability to serve on the PTA. One woman, for example, spoke about the recent death of a spouse and the need to start work. A couple of women have nominated themselves for PTA jobs, but some positions are still vacant. Women are weeping from the pressure because we have been told by current PTA position holders that we cannot go home until we have people for all the up-coming positions. Regardless of the pressure, no one else volunteers. Silence dominates. We are then directed to give our excuses again, after which we are told to nominate and vote for the people we think can best do the jobs, whether they wish to fill the positions or not. Group compliance is finally forthcoming. We vote some people into the remaining positions. Unfamiliar with this common procedure, I feel we should resist. The person who is unwillingly elected as PTA president protests and cries...

After attending this meeting, I believed that the content of the directives by officials would have been inconceivable in Australia. Correctly or not, I was also convinced that a group of Japanese men would have behaved very differently.

Later on, when I learnt that the woman who was involuntarily elected to be PTA president developed a brain tumor during her busy term and went blind in one eye, I felt upset. Certainly I felt in general that Japanese women were over identified with expected social roles. Trying hard to meet the expectations of the community as a woman seemed dangerously close to losing control of one's ownership of self.

Such experiences of sociopragmatic mismatch in values (Thomas, 1983) made me aware of my ambivalence about other gendered interaction patterns in Japanese contexts, although I had embraced some of these in practice. To reassert a positive sense of self-determination, I decided to retain and develop my voice and professional standing using my native tongue, by gaining my Masters studying applied linguistics. This led to my interest in research related to resistance to a second language in post-adolescents and adults living in a second culture. Especially I was interested in any overlap between my experience and that of other similarly located women.

From my reading, it seemed that aspects of Japanese, a language distinguished by distance in levels of status, and gender (Itakura, 2001) would be strongly resisted by many women learners, as indeed is higher pitch (Ohara, 2001). I wondered which aspects of Japanese are resisted by other foreign women married to Japanese and located within Japanese society. How do they react to and experience the language?

Review of Identity in Bilinguals

“When language learners speak, ... they are constantly organizing and reorganizing a sense of who they are and how they relate to the social world” (Norton, 2000). Little is known about this actual process of internalization during adult immersion, when L2 interacts with preexisting concepts held in L1 (Lantolf, 2003). Still it seems that there can be psychological barriers, such as a lack of investment in acquiring language that frames the self in ways the learner perceives as undesirable (Norton, 2000). In my sample, is

there evidence that some language acquisition is resisted because Japanese status and gender presentation are at odds with the women’s preexisting L1 identities? Are particular means to avoid identity conflict apparent in learner histories?

First, consider the unique challenges presented to all adults learning through immersion. True, constructing identity always requires the resolution of contradictory “internalized roles, statuses, norms and values” (Polkinghorne, 1988). However, bicultural identities are distinguished by an intensity of competing internalized and culturally imbued voices (Pavlenko, 1998; 2001 a, b and c).

How might this uncertainty over true voice be resolved? Not all individuals tolerate ambiguity equally well. Ways to simplify competing language-related elements in identity may include: a) claiming allegiance only to their former country and language or to their new one (Pavlenko, 1998); b) expressing a different personality in each of their languages (Koven, 1998); or c) living out some aspects of their life in one language and other aspects in another (Kanno, 2000). This latter I will refer to as jigsaw identity construction. Which of these bilingual identity constructions are common amongst women married to Japanese men? How do women find peace within themselves straddling two cultural worlds? Is one of these methods associated with inner resolution?

We can expect that the second language identity often acquires dominance in immigrants, as the language in which the rituals of adulthood are performed (Pavlenko, 1998). Additionally, the need for connection frequently outweighs reservations about second language ways to express gender (Pavlenko, 2001b). However, whilst this may often be true

for immigrants to countries where women presumably gain a higher level of personal freedom, will it be true for women immigrants to Japan?

Alternatively, can evidence of a conceptual resolution to identity conflicts be found? Ogulnick proposes a conscious strategy to ease identity conflict, that is, reflection upon tensions to see how language and culture shapes one in both desirable and undesirable ways. This awareness can provide clues as to how to resist aspects of linguistic behaviour we find damaging (Ogulnick, 1999). Strategies such as switching may be employed to control the identity during interactions (Pavlenko, 1998).

Additionally, reflection or speaking about ourselves as learners has further implications for identity formation, for it is through our unique internal, spoken (or written) narratives that the various aspects of our identity are integrated (Polkinghorne, 1988). Hence, I am interested in the transformational potential, for all study participants, of the process of articulation.

Method Overview of the Two Studies

The investigation consists of two studies. The first study was conducted through email interviews and discussion, within a group of 10 long-term resident women, over a period of 3 months. The group consisted of women from Australia, Germany, the U.S., and China. Half were mothers. They were all professional women, practicing or trained in areas such as architecture, engineering, scientific research, teaching, and linguistics. I asked questions to elicit personal narratives about Japanese acquisition and identity changes and offered

my own reactions to language, to initiate discussion about aspects of language usage. Both my own experience and my reading about bilingual research informed my questions. I sought historically contextualized evidence of identity change, internalization, and resistance in the texts. During the process, my interest grew to include the attitudes and strategies which women employ to shape their identities.

Next, emergent themes from the email material were selected. I devised a survey and gave it to a broader group of 20 women from the Association of Foreign Wives in Japan. This second study used open and Likert-type questions to evaluate the relevance of themes from the first discussion to their experiences.

Study 1

Firstly questions were posed about:

- what aspects of language were learnt, why, how, and from whom; and
- what feelings were reported about the language in the contexts in which it was acquired.

Organically arising subtopics included:

- the balance of self directed, immersion, and formal components in their learning;
- what they found most helpful to learn;
- how they related at first to Japanese gendered speech;
- how they related at first to hierarchical speech such as *keigo* and *kenjoogo*; and

- how their experiences affected their sense of identity.

With respect to current use, follow-up questions depended upon responses but covered:

- how they feel about their language now;
- when Japanese is used;
- if and when they think in Japanese;
- the times they feel conflicted or insincere when speaking Japanese;
- when they feel Japanese or not Japanese; and
- when they feel completely themselves.

Results

Japanese was not the preferred language, except possibly for a near balanced Chinese multilingual who accepted that no one language could express her essential self, a bilingual position that can be especially understood in the context of her multilingual upbringing.

Japanese came close to being an equally-valued language in cases where a woman participated in established roles in Japanese communities, such as living with an extended family. Others used the native tongue or English as a preferred tongue, as a conceptual tool to construct a sometimes academic bicultural framework such as Ogulnick (1999) described. This shows the central importance language maintenance can have for identity construction.

Identity construction is ambiguous and the way an individual frames identity is in flux, so I found I usually could not ascribe one type of identity construction to an individual. For example, most women employed different languages for different purposes as in Kanno (2000), but it emerged that, as stated above, usually concepts and attitudes developed in the native language orchestrated the personality (Ogulnick, 1999). So it was not a case of having either a language jigsaw type identity construction or having a dominant language.

Another example of the complexity of data shows how hard it is to class identity construction into simple types. One woman, Joan, described having a double personality, with different messages in different languages, as fit Koven's (2001) observations, but she also said with good friends from either culture, she spoke as her natural self, showing the split was not discrete. Furthermore, she elaborated key identity-orchestrating conceptual ideas using English, her native tongue. Joan says, as a result of living here, she realizes how arbitrary many aspects of culture are, and so feels it easier to assess constructive and destructive norms in relation to herself. So in Joan's texts, we have descriptions of double personality, a transcendent identity outside language, and a dominant native tongue.

Because of such complexity and contradictions, I decided it was not useful to consider bilingual identity resolution primarily according to described patterns of language use, but to use texts to find evidence of attitudinal and behavioral strategies employed by women to negotiate their position. Therefore, I will discuss the results in terms of the way women think and what they do to negotiate their sense of self.

Acquisition

The women were voluntary learners, having arrived here on exchange programs or scholarships. They studied formally and used pro-active preparatory strategies like preparing for aspects of pragmatic speech through TV, reading, and so forth. They learnt most through immersion experiences in Japanese families, offices, or schools, or later when raising children.

Connection and Identity

Connections (Pavlenko, 2001b) with individuals and communities were highly motivating for acquisition. On the other hand, experience with connections can act as a disincentive. Dierdre, for example, identifies with English communities only, avoiding Japanese engagement. This withdrawal strategy seems related to an inability to deeply connect with any Japanese mothers, in which case it dovetails with other accounts (in this study and in Pavlenko, 2001c; Norton, 2000), showing that when desired aspects of identity had no community context for recognition, a person experienced losing valued parts of self and withdrew.

An alternative, powerful adaptive counter-measure described to resolve experiences of confusion or loss was to gain a perspective on Japanese interactions by talking them over with other people in cross-cultural circumstances.

Resistance

Active resistance to learning can also be a strategy to protect preexisting core values in which the person has an investment (Norton, 2000). Gendered speech was resisted

by four participants and the case is similar for *keigo* (the two are often conflated), but over time the complexity of gender presentation and *keigo* use became clear, and a greater range of choice apparent. For example, Deborah says she no longer equates feminine speech with submissiveness although she did at first. She writes, “I don’t think I realized men also use *keigo*.” She also explains these early negative impressions have lingering effects. Despite her present understanding of *keigo* uses, she has not picked it up, and much to her regret she still “sounds like a truck driver” today.

Resistant strategies amongst the women included choosing gender-free neutral forms, male forms, and insincerely inflected (ironical) female forms. The strategy of adopting a nonstandard role was employed by Deborah in the 70s. She became an honorary male at parent gatherings, avoided the women in the kitchen (whom she characterized as talking about “Hello Kitty”), and joined the beer-drinking males.

Resistance may not always be so conscious. When I asked for examples of Japanese thought processes, I received many diminutive examples: of counting, cooking, or simple self-talk, despite one woman performing her work self in Japanese. This suggests strong unconscious resistance to internalization, given the high levels of proficiency and use.

Shamming

Strategies to alleviate internal conflict included strategies of conscious role-playing to alter power relationships and social distance. More than one woman reported acting *gaijin* (foreigner) to manipulate register downwards and reduce social distance. At meetings, Joan used Japanese-style

excuses, which she did not think seemed honest, to get out of coercive duties, but at other times she pretended to be an ignorant gaijin, as a ruse to directly offer an opinion outside normal Japanese constraints. Assuming instrumental roles, staying uninvolved, thus avoided internal conflict.

The Talking Cure

Although many accounts of early immersion experiences showed the women's joy at experiencing themselves in new ways (e.g., as freer, wittier, and more entertaining), marriage and motherhood may bring more burdensome social roles, which mean feeling less free. This is especially the case for Wendy, who married a Buddhist priest and lives in an extended temple family, as younger wife in relation to her mother-in-law. She thinks in Japanese, much of the time, which seems to add to her inner conflict about her true identity. She expressed an appreciation of the value of swapping narratives to resolve conflicting aspects of self. She responded to my posts, asking, "Can I play too? I think it might really help me pull my thoughts together."

Accepting the Conditions of Bilingualism

Most women said conflicting things about their identities and language behaviour during the 3 months. However, they are mainly comfortable about themselves in relation to language use now, except where Japanese has fossilized. Not so for Jenny, though, who has been here only 7 years, the shortest time of all participants. She feels her identity has splintered and feels no longer totally understood, at least in a monolingual context.

The same realization is experienced differently by Dong. She accepts that no one language can express her self. Her history growing up in a multilingual environment seems to explain why this realization causes her no conflict, whilst the same idea distresses Jenny. Dong says she thinks in a way distinct from most Japanese women so she expects the way she speaks seems strange, but she does not care, revealing an effective attitude of detachment which helps her serenity and does not detract from her language acquisition. Unlike some others she is un-pained by a schism with Japanese mothers. She is aware of and accepts differences on an emotional level.

Gaining Voice Through Cultivated Attitudes

Speaking from insight derived from experience in conjunction with studying bicultural identity issues, Tanya says that, although basic grammar is important, she takes liberties. "I see myself doing what I am doing; being who I am being; and I can change that. I let my personality come through.... I even invent words. I don't always speak Japanese like a Japanese." Rather than being detached like Dong, who also does not feel she must speak like a Japanese, Tanya delineates a sense of identity (the same ends) by engagement. Hence satisfying outcomes of identity continuity can be a result of interplay between experience and deliberated attitudes developed in the native tongue.

Study 2

A profile of learning history was obtained using multiple choice and open questions. Using a Likert-type scale, I tested

attitudes towards language and the strategies and defenses derived from Study 1 to see if these were representative of a larger group of foreign wives. I also persisted in data collection from individual email exchanges where responses seemed contradictory. Where there was weakness or ambiguity in the survey design, this follow-up helped to clarify the nature of feedback.

Discussion

From the survey results it can be seen that most women say they use language to express their gender and social position in ways that are perceived to be within Japanese norms despite initial high resistance when new to the language. Figure 1 is derived from numbers of responses agreeing with statements 4, 5, 10 and 12 in the survey (see Appendix). However, if we count those both agreeing and mainly agreeing with those statements, of the 20 respondents, 17 used to be uncomfortable with feminine language, 14 are comfortable with it now; 14 used to be uncomfortable placing self in the social hierarchy, and 14 are now comfortable doing so.

As Pavlenko (2001) suggests, most women adapt. However, explicitly stated levels of present resistance to gendered speech, although lower than initial negative reactions reported against aspects of the language, cannot be ignored (Table 1). Open responses cannot be fully summarized here, but one woman adds a response outside the delineated comments sections: “If I talk and act like a Japanese woman my age, it would be like a different person and it makes me physically sick.” This demonstrates the strength of some women’s resistance to Japanese women’s

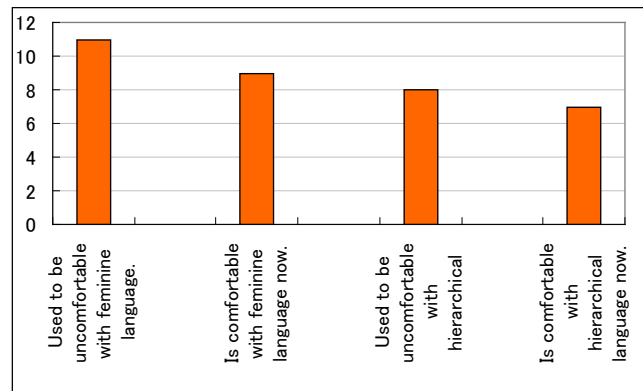


Figure 1. Contrast between strong initial discomfort reported about language and current levels of acceptance (for feminine speech and language to express social hierarchy)

speech. As resistance is not necessarily conscious and may need to be inferred from less direct evidence, such as the paucity of examples given of significant thought processes conducted in Japanese (study 1), resistance may be higher than study 2 results indicate.

Table 1. Participants who use gender free language

Years in Japan	Number in sample	Agree	Mainly Agree	Undecided	Mainly Disagree	Disagree
20+	8	1	1	1	4	0
10-20	6	2	0	1	1	1
5-10	5	1	0	2	1	1
2-5	1	0	0	0	0	1

Note: A fifth to a quarter of the sample do.

It seems hierarchical language, rather than gendered language, is nominated as the primary cause of discomfort in using Japanese for many of these long-term women residents. However, it is arbitrary to draw a clear distinction between language expressing gender and language expressing status, so caution is necessary interpreting the results.

What are common means to protect the identity? Characteristically this group agrees that one should know the basic rules of interaction but need not worry if one produces language that does not sound native (Figure 2). Such an attitude seems to lessen anxiety and facilitate communication, which can accommodate the existent identity. Hence perhaps the tendency to express opinion more readily than Japanese people do (Table 2). Note: In total 12 or 13 agree or mainly agree that they express their opinion more than their Japanese peers, so this attitude tends to characterize the group. Many women choose to retain established aspects of self by enacting them during conversations, for example, “Even when I role-play, I still keep some *gaijinness* in me. I am not trying to be Japanese... I just do what is necessary for both parties.”

Table 2. Participants who break the rules to express their opinions more directly

Years in Japan	Number in sample	Agree	Mainly Agree	Undecided	Mainly Disagree	Disagree
20+	8	4	2	1	0	1
10-20	6	3	Sometimes	2	0	0
5-10	5	1	1	2	1	0
2-5	1	0	1	0	0	0

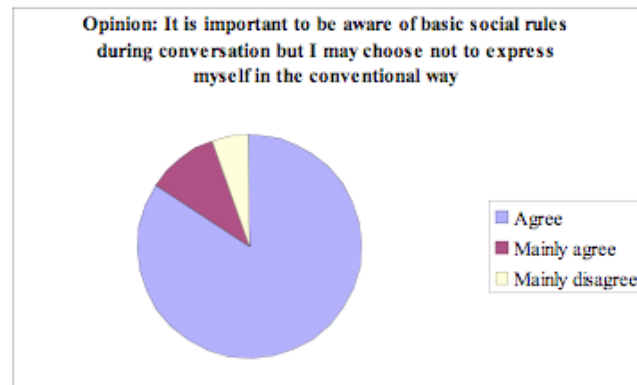


Figure 2. Common negotiation of Japanese norms

On the other hand, unengaged role-playing (Figure 3) which includes both compliance with conventional Japanese interaction patterns and also deliberately acting the *gaijin* (Figure 4) seems to be one conscious strategy serving to provide a buffer from identification with Japanese interaction styles. Out of 20, 16 indicated that they sometimes deliberately acted like a *gaijin* so that they can ignore conventions and speak as they pleased. Five women responded that they role-played without a sense of engagement quite a lot, and 11 answered sometimes. One woman explained that role-playing allowed her to keep her privacy. A follow-up question for a future survey would be to further investigate how commonly compliance with norms is actually used as a distancing strategy, to minimize deeper interaction.

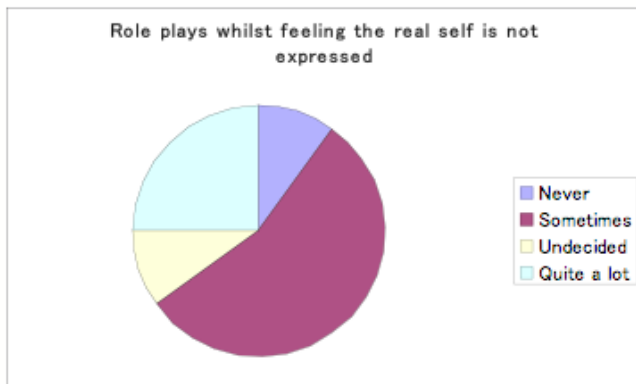


Figure 3. Participants who role-play without engagement

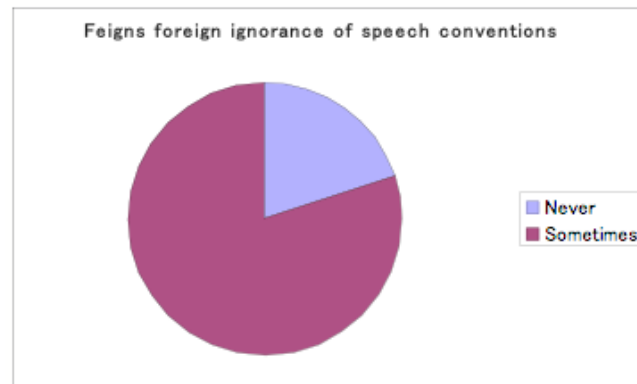


Figure 4. Participants who feign ignorance of speech conventions

The women who have been here 10-20 years tend to agree they perform parts of themselves in Japanese. This would be expected considering they often became full adults in Japan (Pavlenko, 2000) and shop and so on in Japanese. It is mysterious that no one, even amongst those who have been here more than 20 years, fully agrees. No one totally agrees either that they think like a Japanese (Table 3) but interestingly, more people who have been here 10-20 years mainly agree they think like a Japanese, as opposed to those in the 20+ years sub-group.

One explanation may be that the younger group is busy child raising. Is child raising often accompanied by temporary adaptation to Japanese norms for the sake of the children? Or perhaps the difference between people who have been here 2 decades or more and those who have been

Table 3. Opinion: "I now think like a Japanese when I speak the language"

Years in Japan	Number in sample	Agree	Mainly Agree	Undecided	Mainly Disagree	Disagree
20+	8	0	1	2	4	1
10-20	6	0	4	1	1	0
5-10	5	0	0	3	0	2
2-5	1	0	0	1	0	0

here 10-20 years indicates that sociolinguistic constraints faced by the older group were more restrictive in the past and hence led to greater resistance.

The relationship between variables such as the eras experienced in Japan (e.g., because of shifts in usage, ideology about correctness, and prevailing attitudes towards foreigners of the time), roles played, age, length of exposure

to Japan as a second culture, and the degree of identification with the language beg deeper investigation.

It may be reflective of high general resistance that expression of the “real” self in Japanese (Table 4) is assessed as far less common than in the native tongue, which remains the preferred tongue for most women, despite living in immersion (Table 5). No one agrees and only three people who have been here one or more decades mainly agree that their real self is expressed in Japanese. This would seem to contrast with findings for woman immigrants to America who seem to adapt English as their own language (Pavlenko, 2000).

Table 4. Opinion: “My real self is expressed in Japanese.”

Years in Japan	Number in sample	Agree	Mainly Agree	Undecided	Mainly Disagree	Disagree
20+	8	0	2	1	1	3
10-20	6	0	1	1	3	1
5-10	5	0	0	0	1	4
2-5	1	0	0	0	1	0

Table 5. Opinion: “My real self is expressed in my native tongue.”

Years in Japan	Number in sample	Agree	Mainly Agree	Undecided	Mainly Disagree	Disagree
20+	8	3	4	1	0	0
10-20	6	2	1	2	1	0
5-10	5	4	1	0	0	0
2-5	1	0	0	1	0	0

Conclusion

An indication of the attitudes of women users of Japanese, living in Japan and married to Japanese men, has been obtained through interviews, surveys, and follow-up questioning. Most women do not feel bound to speak Japanese like a Japanese person and although there is a shift towards identifying with the language in some learners, the respondents often resist using language according to group norms, for example, by expressing opinions more directly than Japanese peers in meetings, or by developing their own formulaic statements to replace established ones which do not express their own sentiments.

The final stage of this project will be to give feedback to the survey respondents. There is a rich database from which to select stories and comments from resilient learners, who negotiate or retain a sense of self throughout interaction. As one respondent commented, “I hate to see foreigners that speak great Japanese but have been washed of any existence of whoever they were.” The learner accounts collected can provide an antidote for such identity loss and models of how expressive identities can be constructed. There is information in this study and elsewhere showing how a strengthened trans-cultural identity can be cultivated, and there are many learning strategies, and strategies to protect one’s sense of identity, that may provide a useful resource.

Possible practical implications for the teaching of Japanese to women are: explain the actual benefits of *keigo* in interaction early on before resistance sets in and hinders acquisition; explain the different uses of *keigo* besides in polite women’s speech so it is not identified totally with gender; and introduce diverse ways Japanese can negotiate

social identity during interactions so that women have an effective command of the language to express their own meanings. As a result of the feedback received, I am convinced it can be beneficial to learn to speak Japanese well, to participate optimally in Japanese society, and yet to nurture and shape one's identity in the way one chooses.

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Appendix. The survey on language

Hello. The following questionnaire, which I estimate will take about 20 minutes, is part of my research for a Distance Applied Linguistics Masters Program with the University of Southern Queensland. I would like to ask about your attitudes and feelings towards learning a second (or third, etc.) language, in particular the Japanese language. Here is an example of the response of one language learner to her second language. This example is taken from an autobiography of a Polish woman, Eva Hoffman, who learnt English during adolescence.

For Eva English, not Japanese, is her second language. Everyday as a newcomer, she learnt new words and expressions. She reacted to these in interesting ways because language also transmits cultural differences. She says, “There were some turns of phrase to which I developed strange allergies. ‘You are welcome,’ for example, strikes me as a *gaucherie*, and I can hardly bring myself to say it. I suppose because it implies there is something to be thanked for, which in Polish would be impolite. The very places where language is at its most conventional, where it should be taken most for granted, are the places where I feel the prick of artifice. Then there are words to which I take an equally irrational liking...”

You may feel very differently to Eva, when you are acquiring Japanese. Some women I have spoken to about Japanese acquisition pick and chose what they learn, others actively resist using Japanese if they can and prefer their native tongue, and others have embraced the language.

My objective:

I hope to gauge your reactions to learning how to use Japanese in society and to find out to what degree you feel Japanese is your language—a language with which you can express yourself. I aim to learn a little about how you think now about the Japanese language all around you, to find out if these attitudes have changed over time, and to get an idea if these attitudes are reflected in the Japanese you speak.

Name _____ (Voluntary information. I can ask you follow-up questions to learn more if I have your name).

How long have you been in Japan?

- A) Less than 2 years
- B) 2-5 years
- C) 5-10 years
- D) 10-20 years
- E) More than 20 years

Can you speak more than two languages?

- A) Yes
- B) No

Which languages? _____

What is your native tongue? _____

Did you attend formal Japanese language classes?

A) Yes

B) No

And/or did you choose your own materials and study on your own?

A) Yes

B) No

And/or did you learn to speak Japanese through picking it up from the people around you?

A) Yes

B) No

Do you have non-Japanese email or phone contact with other foreigners

A) Daily or almost daily

B) Weekly or almost weekly

C) Monthly

D) Less often than monthly

Do you meet face to face with other foreigners

A) Daily or almost daily

B) Weekly or almost weekly

C) Monthly

D) Less often than monthly

What language/s do you use for email, phone calls and meeting with foreigners? _____

Did you come to Japan primarily:

To learn about the language and culture

Because of the opportunity to earn money overseas

Because your partner was Japanese

Other _____

Please rate your agreement or disagreement with the following statements by circling or otherwise marking the letters corresponding to your opinion. (A—agree; MA—mainly agree; U—undecided; MD—mainly disagree or don't think so; D—disagree).

- 1) In the Japanese language, I correctly use conventional phrases to get daily routines achieved e.g. greetings, offering/receiving favours, making requests. A MA U MD D
- 2) I try to place myself in the social hierarchy in the conventional ways (putting myself down or others up or down) by choosing vocabulary (e.g., *yaru* or *ageru* when offering food and by choosing between plain form, *masu* form and honorific forms, e.g., *yaru/yarimasu*, *ageru/agemasu*, *sashiagemasu*. A MA U MD D
- 3) I have sufficient language to do this in most situations. A MA U MD D
- 4) I feel comfortable with such language use now. A MA U MD D
- 5) I used to feel uncomfortable placing myself in a social hierarchy. A MA U MD D

- 6) Actually I feel conflicted when I use language putting myself or my family and our acts down in relation to others. A MA U MD D
- 7) When I use conventional language, such as saying that a present I give someone is “*tsumaranai mono desu ga—nothing much,*” I feel genuine. A MA U MD D
- 8) I speak in ways Japanese consider feminine, e.g., higher pitch, less direct, sentence endings such as *yo*, use of more polite Japanese, word choice avoiding masculine forms such as *boku*. A MA U MD D
- 9) I have acquired the basic conventional language to do so. A MA U MD D
- 10) I feel comfortable about such language use now. A MA U MD D
- 11) I chose to use forms of Japanese which are gender free. A MA U MD D
- 12) I felt uncomfortable about how Japanese women speak when I started to learn Japanese. A MA U MD D
- 13) I wish to acquire more ways to express gender in speech A MA U MD D
- 14) In meetings such as PTA, local meetings, work meetings, and so on I make contributions. A MA U MD D
- 15) I have the accepted polite conventional language to do so. A MA U MD D
- 16) I break the rules to communicate my opinion more directly than a Japanese would. A MA U MD D
- 17) I fit in with consensus decision making. A MA U MD D
- 18) I wish to pick up Japanese ways to express my opinion skillfully in group situations. A MA U MD D
- 19) It is important to observe Japanese and learn to communicate as they do. A MA U MD D
- 20) It is important to be aware of the basic social rules during conversation but I may choose not to express myself in the conventional manner. A MA U MD D
- 21) I now think like a Japanese when I speak the language. A MA U MD D
- 22) Some parts of myself are expressed better in Japanese. A MA U MD D
- 23) My real self is expressed in my native tongue. A MA U MD D
- 24) No single language can express my experiences and thoughts. A MA U MD D
- 25) My real self is expressed in Japanese. A MA U MD D
- *****
- Please circle a response about how you feel about your Japanese use.
1. I role-play in conversation while feeling that I am NOT expressing the real me (e.g., I act like a dutiful teacher, woman of a certain age, or mother, etc., according to customs.
 Never Sometimes Not sure Quite a lot All the time

2. I deliberately act like a *gaijin* who doesn't know the conventions so I can speak as I wish.

Never Sometimes Not sure Quite a lot All the time

3. I don't worry too much whether I relate to others like a Japanese as long as I communicate.

Never Sometimes Not sure Quite a lot All the time

4. I feel myself when I speak, whether in Japanese or my native tongue.

Never Sometimes Not sure Quite a lot All the time

What has been especially useful to help you adjust to being surrounded by Japanese on a daily basis e.g., reading about cultural differences or biculturalism so you can understand the different conflicting cultural expectations, having particular friends or groups of friends, participating in society because you raise children here/work, etc.?

Comments on the survey _____
