

# Language Acquisition of Mixed Roots Individuals in Japan

Takara K. Allal  
Konan University

## Reference Data:

Allal, T. K. (2014). Language acquisition of mixed roots individuals in Japan. In N. Sonda & A. Krause (Eds.), *JALT2013 Conference Proceedings*. Tokyo: JALT.

In this study, individuals who have not only Japanese roots but also other ethnic roots (commonly referred to as *haafu* in Japan) were interviewed regarding their language proficiency and language acquisition experiences in Japanese society. There are high expectations in Japanese society regarding the language ability of mixed root individuals (MRIs). The aim of the study was to identify factors that influenced MRIs' process of language acquisition. People in Japan often believe that children of international marriages can naturally and easily learn two languages. However, all MRIs interviewed said that they have experienced inferiority complexes while attempting to maintain their language abilities, while trying to improve them, or because of social friction, reflecting how their experiences with language acquisition was neither natural nor easy. Their language acquisition has been affected by the society surrounding them, and this in turn influenced psychological factors.

本研究では日本と日本以外の両方にルーツをもつ人々（主に日本においてハーフと呼ばれる人々）を対象に、言語能力と習得経験についてインタビューを行った。日本社会において、国際結婚家庭に生まれた子ども達は容易く自然に二言語を習得するといった言語習得に関する誤った認識が多々ある。本研究の目的は彼らの経験の一部を紹介し、日本の社会が彼らの言語習得にどのように影響しうるか、その要因を探ることである。インタビューを通し、全ての被験者が言語習得、保持の過程で劣等感を感じた経験をしており、彼らは決して自然に、また容易に言語を習得、保持しておらず、彼らの言語習得過程において、社会環境、つまりここでは他者からの反応や評価と実情とのギャップが言語習得、保持の際に心理的に影響していることが分かった。

**I**N THE midst of increasing internationalization, international marriages have been on the rise in Japan. According to the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare (2013), out of the 668,869 couples who registered their marriages in 2012, 23,657 couples included a foreign spouse. As a result, the number of mixed root (racially or culturally mixed, or both) children is also rising.

Although there are many individuals with mixed roots in Japan (hereinafter MRIs), there are still many misconceptions about their characteristics and attributes, one of the most common being about their language abilities (Haefelin, 2012). There are many factors that interact to influence language acquisition—in the case of MRIs, race or nationality can be one of these factors as it may become a reason to acquire language, but its effects may be limited or indirect and we cannot say that MRIs automatically become bilingual. Many people in Japan seem to believe that MRIs are naturally bi- or multilingual (Haefelin, 2012). This misconception, also a



social expectation, may affect MRIs' attitudes towards not only their language acquisition but also their identity. In spite of the growing population of MRIs and several studies on bilingual education, there seem to be few studies that focus on the psychological factors of MRIs' language acquisition and identity.

### Definition of Mixed Root Individuals

In Japan, there are many words that describe people who are mixed in terms of race, ethnicity, nationality, or culture such as *haafu* (half-Japanese), *double*, *hapa*, and *Amerasian*. In the last decade or so, there has been a trend to avoid using the word *haafu* for these individuals because the word seems to evoke an image of a person who is lacking something or cannot completely adapt to society. So some people have promoted the use of the word *double* (Life, 1995). However, recently other people have claimed that *double* does not suit them because they may know only one language or culture, and they are afraid of the high expectations of *double* (Singer, 2000). The word *mixed root* was chosen in this research because it is the most positive word—it does not enforce an obligation for cultural proficiency like *multicultural* and is less restrictive than *multiethnic* but allows one to identify him or herself as having multiple roots. The phrase has been taken up in parts of Japan and has also been embraced on the West Coast of the United States, as seen by the rise of such groups as Mixed Roots Japan (<http://www.mixroots.jp>) and Mixed Roots Fest (<http://www.mixedrootsfest.org>). In the current study, MRI refers specifically to an individual who is of mixed Japanese and foreign roots.

### Definitions of Bilingual

The word *bilingual* has various definitions, depending on factors such as proficiency level, language skill, developmental processes, culture acquisition, the interaction between an indi-

vidual's L1 and the dominant language in a given society, and categorization based on language community and education style (Nakajima, 2008). In this study, the participants' bilingualism was categorized based on proficiency level and skill.

### Proficiency Level

Peal and Lambert (1962) described different types of bilinguals based on proficiency levels. An individual whose two languages have reached a proficiency level appropriate to their age is called a *balanced bilingual*. If one of an individual's languages (usually L1) has reached their age level but the other has not, he or she is called an *L1-dominant bilingual* (Baker, 2011). Finally, an individual who understands and uses only one language is called *monolingual*. In this study, many participants were multilingual, but bilingual and monolingual are used in reference to their two first two languages.

### Four Skills of Language

Nakajima (2008) defined *bilateral* as an individual who has age-appropriate ability in all four skills (i.e., listening, speaking, reading, and writing) in two languages. According to Döpke (1992), an individual who can understand two languages, but can only speak in one language is called a *passive bilingual*, whereas an individual who can speak in two languages is called a *productive bilingual*.

### Society and Bilingualism

Some people seem to think bilingualism depends only on each family's commitment, and home environment may indeed have a large impact on language acquisition (Yamamoto, 1996). However, both society and community also influence bilingualism. First of all, each society has a dominant language. The dominant

language in Japan is Japanese. Even little children can distinguish the dominant language when they start to join society, for example in kindergarten. If MRI children realize that their home language is different from the dominant language, they may try not to use their home language because of the desire to join in a group of friends, feel that it is embarrassing to use a language that others do not use, and feel alienated (Yamamoto, 1996).

It is also important whether a particular society is tolerant towards deviants or not, and tolerance in Japanese society is not very high for deviant individuals (Yamamoto, 1996). Because many MRIs experience being treated as deviants because of their names and appearance, some try not to use their home languages as a kind of psychological self-defense to de-emphasize their alien natures (Yamamoto, 1996). The language of schooling also affects bilingualism. MRIs get much more Japanese language input than input of their other language if they go to Japanese schools. This makes a difference in their literacy proficiency and their dominant language for academic content.

### Psychological Factors

According to Schumann (1975), factors that influence language acquisition include age, aptitude, teaching method, and affective factors, especially those of motivation, attitude, and empathy. The factors related to learners' sense of self also influence their language acquisition. Rogers (1951) defined self-esteem as "the precepts and concepts of the self in relation to others and to the environment, the value qualities which are perceived as associated with experiences and objects, and goals and ideals which are perceived as having a positive or negative valence" (p. 136). Gardner and Lambert (1972) claimed that learners who have high self-esteem exhibit better language operation. Individuals with high self-esteem can endure things that threaten their existence, and their wall of self-defense is low. On the other hand, individuals with low self-esteem try to keep their wall of

self-defense high to protect themselves (Hayashi, 2004). According to Stevick (1976), learners become critical against their own errors internally, and externally they start to think that others evaluate them negatively. Moreover, when they make a mistake, they feel that others are also judging their personality.

There are three psychological factors that affect language acquisition. Two of them are unconscious functions, *filter* and *organizer*, and the third is a conscious function, *monitor* (Dulay, Burt, & Krashen, 1982). The filter consists of affective factors and is strongly influenced by the social environment. Language learners do not acquire everything they hear, and the things they hear are sifted by the learner's motivation, needs, attitude, feelings, and so on through this filter. Everything the learners hear is called *input*, and the information that makes it through the filter is called *intake*. The filter affects language learning speed and content. A learner's psychological condition is part of the filter as well. Anxiety is a notable factor. Low anxiety leads to more unconscious acquisition. The filter of a learner with low anxiety is so loose that much of the input can be processed as intake. In contrast, the filter of a learner with high anxiety is so fine that much of the input is blocked unconsciously (Dulay et al., 1982). How MRIs receive and respond to the reactions from society towards their language proficiency may have an impact on their language acquisition and identity.

The sense of belonging to a social community stimulates motivation for learners who want to learn the language that is used in the society to which they belong. Moreover, Dulay et al. (1982) claimed that the sense of belonging to society is more powerful even than integrative motivation.

### Identity

There are many kinds of identity, including individual identity, cultural-linguistic identity, ethnic identity, and social identity

(Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). In addition, there is an identity that is chosen by oneself as well as an identity that is imposed on one by others (Nakajima, 2008). The identity of MRIs may be even more complicated. Lambert (1977) claimed that motivation, attitude, and aptitude directly affect language acquisition, and identity is related to the level of language acquisition attained. In addition, in a study of Canadian Japanese youths, Oketani (1997) found that identity and achievement of proficiency in two languages are strongly related, and balanced bilinguals who have achieved good proficiency in both languages have a stable identity and can switch languages depending on the situation. However, when L1-dominant bilinguals switch their languages, their identity also switches. Thus, they feel a sense of discomfort when they use their L2.

### Research Questions

The aim of this research was to investigate how social environment affects the language acquisition of MRIs. In two studies, I sought to answer the following research questions:

1. What expectations do people have regarding the language acquisition of MRIs, and are those images realistic?
2. How does the reaction from society towards an MRI's language acquisition affect MRIs?

### Methodology

#### Preliminary Study: Images of MRIs

To investigate what images people in Japan have towards MRIs, a free description questionnaire was conducted. Participants were 54 Japanese university students. They were asked to write down as many images or keywords relating to *foreigners*, *MRIs*, and *Japanese* as possible. The responses were divided into two groups: one related to language and the other not related to

language. The 54 university students came up with 320 keywords for foreigners and 241 keywords for Japanese in total; only about 5-6 % of the words were related to language. On the other hand, 12.3% of the 146 keywords for MRIs were related to language (see Table 1). Some of these images or keywords were used in interviews in the main study.

**Table 1. Japanese University Students' Images of MRIs Related to Language, N = 54**

Student comment	# of times
They can speak two or more languages.	8
They can speak both Japanese and English.	2
They are good at English.	1
They cannot speak two languages.	1
They can speak only one of their parents' native languages.	1
They speak only the language that is spoken in their resident country.	1
I wonder if they can speak a foreign language.	1
I wonder if they can speak Japanese.	1
They are told not to speak English by their parents.	1
Their appearance and their spoken language are not matched.	1

#### Main Study: Interviews of MRIs

To compare the expectations towards MRI language acquisition with reality and to investigate how those expectations affect language acquisition, interviews of 15 MRIs about their backgrounds, languages, and identities were conducted orally in Japanese (see Appendices for questions asked: Appendix A is English translations; Appendix B is the original Japanese

questions). All translations in this paper are by the author. The interviewees were solicited from members of Mixed Roots Japan and HAPA Japan through the Internet. Their ages ranged from 24 to 34. Each MRI has one Japanese parent and one non-Japanese parent. Because society and environment were important in this research and each country has different social influences towards MRIs (some countries are overtly multiethnic and others not), interviewees were chosen who had either grown up in Japan or had lived in Japan for more than 5 years.

## Results

### Language Proficiency Level of the Participants and Categorization

To estimate the participants' L2 (and English as L3) proficiency levels, participants self-evaluated their pronunciation and the four skills (listening, speaking, reading, and writing) in terms of communicative and academic language skills on a 5-point scale. The participants were categorized as high-productive bilingual,

Table 2. MRIs' Self-Evaluated Proficiency in Each Skill of Each Language

Level	Part.	Root Country	L1***	L2	Second Language (L2)										English									
					BICS					CALP					BICS					CALP				
					L	S	R	W	P	L	S	R	W	P	L	S	R	W	P	L	S	R	W	P
HP	A	Algeria	Japanese	French	4	4	4	4	2	2	2	2	4	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	
	B	Argentine	Japanese	Spanish	4	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	2	3	3	3	2	2		
	C	Poland	Polish	Japanese	4	4	4	3	4	3	3	3	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	
	D	Venezuela	English	Japanese	4	4	3	1	4	4	3	0	4	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	
L1 Dominant	E	Algeria	Japanese	French	2	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	F	Brazil	Portuguese	Japanese	2	3	2	1	2	1	2	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	G	Germany	English	German	4	3	4	1	4	2	4	1	4	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	
	H	Germany	Japanese	German	1	0	2	1	1	0	2	1	1	1	2	2	2	1	1	2	2	2	2	
	I	Honduras	Japanese	Spanish	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	
	J	Honduras	Japanese	English	2	2	3	2	2	2	2	2	3	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	
	K	Taiwan	Japanese	Chinese	2	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	
	L	Turkey	Japanese	Turkish	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	
	M	USA	Japanese	English	3	1	3	3	3	2	2	1	2	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	
	ML	N	UK	Japanese	English	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**
O		Austria	Japanese	German	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	

Notes. Participants rated their own language abilities on a scale of 4 = native, 3 = nonnative but no problem, 2 = intermediate, 1 = beginner, 0 = none. \* Not applicable because English is L1. \*\*English is their L2 (see L2). \*\*\* All participants are fully proficient in L1. HP = High productive bilingual; ML = Monolingual.

L1-dominant bilingual, or functionally monolingual, based on the participants' self-evaluations (see Table 2). Although all the productive bilinguals and many of the L1-dominant bilinguals are actually multilingual, their proficiency levels vary. Some are highly proficient in their L3, but the L3 of others is much less proficient than their L1 or L2. Thus the term *productive bilingual* is used in this paper instead of *productive multilingual*.

As this research investigated how the participants' interactions within Japanese society and their psychology impact their language acquisition, participants were also asked whether they self-identified as bilingual or multilingual, resulting in the following categorizations: (a) those who identify themselves as bilingual (participants A, B, C, and D); (b) those who identify themselves as monolingual (participants N and O); and (c) those who identify themselves neither as bilingual nor monolingual and identify as being in-between (participants E, F, G, H, I, J, K, L, and M). Participants C and D are highly proficient in four skills in two languages but have difficulty in writing *kanji* (Japanese characters). Because these participants, as well as participants A and B, are somewhere between bilateral and productive bilinguals, I placed them in an original category, *high-productive bilingual*.

All the participants' L1 proficiency levels have reached native level. Table 2 shows the participants' self-evaluation of L2 proficiency. In addition, English is taught as a foreign language in schools in Japan, and there are high expectations about English ability for MRIs in Japanese society, so the table also shows the participants' self-evaluations of their English proficiency.

### **Experience of Language Acquisition**

First of all, as Table 2 shows, the participants' L1 or L2 was not necessarily their heritage language (participants D, G, and J). On the other hand, for some participants, their L1 or L2 may be a

third culture language. Among the high-productive bilinguals, participants A and B had only Japanese education in Japan. Participant A went to a high school that had a special English course. Participants C and D went to international schools or went to a regional school and Japanese school in non-Japanese countries, and in addition, joined ESL and Saturday schools. On the other hand, all L1-dominant bilinguals and monolinguals had Japanese education in Japan. None went to continuation schools such as ESL and Saturday schools. All high-productive bilinguals speak and are spoken to by their parents in each of their parents' languages. Thus they use at least two languages at home. All L1-dominant bilinguals used Japanese for communication with their Japanese parent. However, in communicating with their non-Japanese parent, three use their other language, two use only Japanese, and the other four speak and are spoken to in both their L2 and in Japanese.

No high-productive bilinguals were forced to use a particular language at home. In contrast, three L1-dominant bilinguals were forced to do so. In addition, all high-productive bilinguals had bedtime stories read to them when they were children in at least two languages, however five L1-dominant bilinguals had bedtime stories and the rest of them did not. This question was asked because it is difficult to make children use two languages separately. However, listening to a bedtime story is different from forcing children to use a particular language, because children enjoy bedtime stories and through them, become interested in language.

When asked what they think about their language acquisition, the high-productive bilinguals said, "Being bilingual is not a special thing," "Changing languages is the same as changing dialects such as between standard Japanese and the Kansai dialect for me," and "It is difficult to maintain my language ability and I don't want others to think that I became bilingual naturally and without effort." On the other hand, L1-dominant

bilinguals said, “Even though I like English and am good at it in school, I have an inferiority complex because I feel I am expected by others to achieve more than just getting an A in school,” “My cultural roots are not from an English speaking country but I felt that I had to be good at English because I was *haafu*,” and “Learning language is not only learning language but also feeling something lacking as *haafu*.” Monolingual participant N claimed, “I have an English allergy.”

On the other hand, in response to the question as to whether they would like their children to become bilinguals, all participants answered, “Yes.” In addition, all said that they have frequently been asked about their language abilities because of their backgrounds, especially when they meet someone new.

### **Attitudes of MRIs Towards Language**

When the MRIs were asked whether they have ever felt an inferiority complex in regards to either their language, culture, or identity, 13 out of 15 participants replied yes for language, seven participants replied yes for culture, and eight participants replied yes for identity, reflecting a higher sensitivity in regards to language than towards their culture or identity.

When asked about the reactions of others towards their L2 ability, all high-productive bilinguals reported receiving positive reactions such as “I respect you,” “I envy you,” and “Cool!” Monolingual participants have received negative reactions such as “Why didn’t you try harder?” and “What a waste!” On the other hand, L1-dominant bilinguals tend to change how they describe themselves depending on the situation, for example according to the person they are talking to, and so L1-dominant bilinguals received positive reactions when they called themselves bilinguals but they received negative reactions when they said that they were not bilinguals. The interviewees were also asked how they feel when they receive others’ reactions towards

their language ability. Three out of the four high-productive bilinguals reported not feeling anything; participant A said that he felt “a little bit good” when getting a positive reaction, but he continued, “I was ashamed to be praised when I was a child.” On the other hand, seven of the 11 L1-dominant and monolinguals claimed that they feel sad, miserable, or irritated when they get negative reactions; one does not feel anything; and the remaining three did not respond.

### **Identity**

All MRIs in this study had a sense of belonging to Japan to varying degrees. Because they have lived in Japan for a long time and have a home base in Japan, the MRIs have only a sense of affinity towards their other heritage country instead of a sense of belonging. Moreover, in response to the question about how they describe themselves based on nationality or in any other category, eight participants described themselves as MRIs, three described themselves as Japanese, and the rest did not self-describe. All the high-productive bilinguals described themselves as MRIs.

According to participant B, her parents are divorced and she has lived with a Japanese parent in Japan for a long time except between the ages of 3 and 6. Her Japanese father had negative feelings towards her other root country, so she did not have a chance to learn the other country’s culture and language. However, she experienced an identity conflict and went to the other country when she was 26 and met her mother and relatives after an interval of 20 years. This experience led to a high motivation towards language acquisition and so she became a high-productive bilingual. Participant B mentioned how learning the other country’s culture and language seemed to her to be a sign of resistance or disrespect towards her father, and therefore when she was younger she purposefully did not try to learn.

## Discussion

### Awareness Towards Language

Language forms a large part of cultural identity for everyone. For families of international marriages, not only languages but also cultures and sets of customs exist individually or mixed together. However, the results from these interviews show that many MRIs seem to be more sensitive about their language ability than about their culture or identity. This seems to be equally true regarding images that the 54 Japanese university students in the first study had of MRIs, with many responses associating MRIs with language ability.

The images of MRIs identified by the Japanese university students in the preliminary study and the experience of MRIs reported in the interviews do not always seem to corroborate. Although many participants had the image that MRIs can speak two languages, proficiency levels actually vary according to the individual. Some MRIs in the study seemed to feel much pressure and expectation and may suffer from the gap between those images and reality. Even if the participants like English and are good at it in school, they have an inferiority complex because they feel others expect them to achieve more than just getting an A in school. In addition, as Participants H, I, J, L, M, N, and O mentioned in the interview, some people may have the image that “Half = Bilingual” and “Bilingual = English,” although not all MRIs’ heritages are from English-speaking countries.

The bilingual MRIs in this study are evaluated positively, but if MRIs are not bilinguals, they receive negative reactions in Japanese society. Most interviewees who had experienced a negative reaction felt that their self-esteem had been damaged. Individuals who are hurt by negative words and reactions start to feel pressure towards language acquisition and may become less able to receive positive recognition and effective feedback.

This in turn influences their attitude towards language acquisition. As mentioned before regarding the interaction between input and filter, this anxiety might affect not only input but also output such as speaking.

The L2 proficiency level of each participant varied, but all of them felt a sense of affinity towards both of their root countries. The sense of belonging is affected by the period of living and home base, but identity is not necessarily affected by those factors and MRIs can develop a separate identity regarding their individual roots or alternatively develop an identity of mixed heritage and mixed roots. According to Murphy-Shigematsu (2002), Amerasians may realize that they can claim their identity as *haafu* with confidence if they have attained the cultural knowledge, such as English, that others in society expect them to have. Affirmative answers to the question whether MRIs wish their own or future children to become bilinguals reflect how important they feel it is to be bilingual to live as MRIs in Japan, regardless of their own level of language acquisition.

## Conclusion

As mentioned before, people seem to believe that children of international marriages can learn two languages naturally and easily. However, at least for the participants in this study, this is not the case.

All interviewees responded that they had experienced inferiority complexes. Even though their proficiency in two languages may be high, the MRIs experienced inferiority complexes while trying to maintain their language ability or trying to improve it or when facing social pressure, reflecting how such individuals do not necessarily acquire language naturally and easily.

In the case of the L1-dominant bilinguals, the interaction between social and psychological factors emerged clearly. Their attitudes towards comments about and reactions to their language



ability or inability markedly affected the interviewees' attitudes towards language learning. Language is not just one subject at school or just a communication tool for MRIs. Languages are clearly connected with their roots and identity. There are high social expectations towards language ability for MRIs in Japanese society. If they are not bilinguals, they receive a negative reaction. Individuals who cannot say confidently that they are bilinguals develop a negative view towards not only language, but also towards themselves, even if those around them are only referring negatively to their language ability. Some interviewees claimed that learning languages does not only mean a development of their knowledge, but that it is also necessary for filling something they feel is lacking in themselves as MRIs. Furthermore, when others make negative evaluations regarding the level of an MRI's language ability, the MRI's anxiety increases. Anxiety raises the filter and makes language learning more difficult. This vicious circle continues and it depends on the individual as to when and by what catalyst they can escape.

Not everyone can acquire languages in an ideal environment because of issues about time, finances, and so on. However, reducing anxiety and stress can help increase confidence, which can lead to a positive synergetic effect towards both language and identity, and this seems to be important for both MRIs and non-MRIs in Japan to understand each other and create a less stressed environment, especially for MRI children.

### Bio Data

**Takara K. Allal** has an MA in applied linguistics and English language teaching from the University of Nottingham. She teaches at Konan University. She lives in Kobe and is currently interested in language acquisition of mixed roots individuals, motivation, vocabulary acquisition, and neurolinguistics.

### References

- Baker, C. (2011). *Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism* (5th ed.), Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Bucholtz, M., & Hall K. (2005). Identity and interaction: A sociocultural linguistic approach. *Discourse Studies*, 7, 585-614.
- Döpke, S. (1992). *One parent one language: An interactional approach*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Dulay, H., Burt, M., & Krashen S. D. (1982). *Language two*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Gardner, R., & W. Lambert. (1972.) *Attitudes and motivation in second-language learning*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- Haefelin, S. (2012). *Haafu ga bijinnannte mousou desukara!!* [It's a delusion that "halfs" are pretty!!]. Tokyo: ALC.
- Hayashi, K. (2004). *Gaikokugogakushuu ni eikyō wo oyobosu oya to ko no komyunikeishon* [Communication between parents and children that influences foreign language learning]. Tokyo: Kazama Shobou.
- Lambert, W. E. (1977). The effects of bilingualism on the individual: Cognitive and sociocultural consequences. In P. A. Hornby (Ed.), *Bilingualism: Psychological, social, and educational implications* (pp. 15-27). New York: Academic Press.
- Life, R. (Producer). (1995). *Doubles: Japan and America's intercultural children* [Video documentary]. US: Lifecycle Productions. Available from [www.globalfilmnetwork.net](http://www.globalfilmnetwork.net)
- Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare. (2013). *Jinkou doutai chousa: Fufu no kokusekibetsu ni mita nenjibetsu konninkensuu* [Demographic survey: Annual marriage statistics by nationality]. Retrieved 6 January 2014 from <http://www.e-stat.go.jp/SG1/estat/List.do?lid=000001112811>
- Murphy-Shigematsu, S. (2002). *Amerajian no kodomotachi: Shirarezaru mainoriti mondai* [Amerasian children: Understanding the minority problem]. Tokyo: Shumeisha Shinsho.
- Nakajima, K. (2008). *Bairinngarukyouiku no houhou* [Pedagogy of bilingualism]. Tokyo: ALC.

- Oketani, H. (1997). Canada's human resources: Additive bilinguals. A case of postwar Japanese Canadian youths. In K. Nakajima & M. Suzuki (Eds.), *Japanese as a heritage language: The Canadian experience* (pp.109-118). Ontario, Canada: Editions Soleil.
- Peal, E., & Lambert, W. E. (1962). The relation of bilingualism to intelligence. *Psychological Monographs*, 76, 1-23.
- Rogers, C. R. (1951). *Client-centered therapy: Its current practice, implications, and theory*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin.
- Schumann, J. (1975). Affective factors and the problem of age in second language acquisition. *Language Learning* 25, 209-235.
- Singer, J. (2000). Japan's singular "doubles." *Japan Quarterly*, 47(2), 76-82.
- Stevick, E.W. (1976). *Memory, meaning and method*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- Yamamoto, M. (1996). *Bairinngaru ha donoyounishite gengo wo shuutoku suruka* [How bilingual individuals acquire language proficiency]. Tokyo: Akashi Shoten.

## Appendix A

### Interview Questions

(Interviews conducted in Japanese. English translations provided.)

1	Sex
2	Where and when were you born?
3	What is your nationality?
4	What are your parents' nationalities?
5	In which country or countries have you lived so far, and when?
6	Who are your family members?
7	What type of schools have you attended? (local public or private school / international school / foreigner school / other)

8	Have you ever attended any other school after your regular school? If so, which type of school? (Saturday school / religious school / ESL / JSL / other)
9	What is your first, second . . . language?
10	When did you learn those languages and from when to when did you use them?
11	How did you acquire those languages? (at school / at home / social environment / other)
12	What are your parents' first, second . . . languages?
13	What language do your parents use when they talk to each other?
14	What language does each of your parents use when they talk to you?
15	What language do you use when you talk to each of your parents?
16	What language do you use with your siblings?
17	What language was used at each of your schools?
18	What language was used among friends at each of your schools?
19	How did you learn and try to maintain your languages? (e.g., environment or strategy)
20	Do you feel any differently when you understand or produce each language? Or do you think you have some kind of "switch" when you use each language?
21	Have you ever been forced to speak a particular language at home?
22	Did your family members read you some bedtime stories when you were a child? If so, who read them and in which language?

23	Evaluate your proficiency in each language at each skill. (4 = native, 3 = nonnative but no problem as a second or other language, 2 = intermediate, 1 = beginner, 0 = none) (Skills: Pronunciation, Listening, Speaking, Reading, Writing in terms of communicative language skills; Listening, Speaking, Reading, Writing in terms of academic language skills)
24	When others inquire, do you say you are bilingual, multilingual, monolingual or other?
25	Why did you learn these languages? (Communication / entrance examination / immigration / identity / interested in its culture / interested in language / at school / no reason / other)
26	If you have children, do you wish them to be multilingual? If so, what languages?
27	What was your parents' attitude towards your language acquisition?
28	What is your attitude towards your own language abilities, and what do you think about your language acquisition?
29	Besides your own and your family's attitudes, what are others' reactions towards your language ability?
30	Have you ever been treated as a foreigner or an outsider in Japan?
31	Were there any positive or negative influences from your upbringing towards your language acquisition?
32	Have you ever felt fear or an inferiority complex because of your languages?
33	Have you ever felt fear or an inferiority complex because of your culture?
34	Have you ever felt fear or an inferiority complex because of your identity?
35	What do you think you are? (e.g., Nationality / mixed / never thought . . .)
36	Do you have a sense of belonging towards Japan?
37	Do you feel and how much do you feel an affinity to any other country? If so, has it evolved with time?

38	Do you become conscious of your mixed race when learning languages?
39	When you tell about yourself to others, how often have you ever been told, "So can you speak those languages?" (often · sometimes · seldom · never) After you answer this question, what is the others' reaction and how do you feel?

## Appendix B

### Interview Questions (Japanese original version)

1	性別
2	生まれた年と場所
3	あなたの国籍
4	あなたの親の国籍
5	今までに生活した国とその開始から終了年と期間
6	家族編成
7	各学校形態(公立私立学校・インターナショナルスクール・外国人学校・その他)
8	言語の補習校に行ったことがあれば、その学校形態 (サタデイスクール・宗教学校・E S L・J S L・その他)
9	あなたの第一言語、第二言語・・・
10	習得言語の習得または使用開始年齢と使用年数
11	習得言語の習得方法(学校教育・家庭・社会環境・その他)
12	親の第一言語と第二以降の言語
13	両親同士の使用言語
14	各親からあなたに対しての使用言語
15	あなたから親に対しての使用言語
16	兄弟姉妹間の使用言語
17	各学校で授業中使用された言語
18	各学校で友人間で使用された言語
19	各言語をどのように習得し(環境や教授法)維持したか
20	習得している各言語においてその記憶や理解の仕方、使用時に違いを感じるか
21	家庭において使用言語の強制はあったか
22	子どもの頃本の読み聞かせはなされたか、またそれは何語であったか

23	あなたの各習得言語についての習得度(目安:4 = ネイティブ, 3 = ネイティブではないが第二言語または外国語として特に問題ない, 2 = 中級, 1 = 初級, 0 = 不可能) (技能:発音、日常生活における聞く、話す、読む、書く行為、学校教育や学術的内容における聞く、話す、読む、書く行為)
24	他者からあなたはバイリンガルかと聞かれた際、どのようにこたえるか
25	各言語の習得理由、目的(コミュニケーション、受験、移民、アイデンティティ、文化に興味、言語に興味、学校、何となく、その他)
26	もし自身に子どもがいたら、彼らに2つ以上の言語を習得して欲しいか、またそれはどの言語か
27	親のあなたの言語習得に対する態度
28	あなたの言語に対するあなた自身の態度や意見・思い
29	あなたの言語に対する他者(あなたと家族以外の者)の態度や意見
30	日本において今までに外国人として、またはよそ者として扱われたことはあるか
31	あなたのバックグラウンドが言語習得に対してプラスまたはマイナスに影響したことはあったか
32	言語に対して不安感や劣等意識があるか、または過去にあったか
33	文化に対して不安感や劣等意識はあるか、または過去にあったか
34	アイデンティティに対して不安感や劣等意識はあるか、または過去にあったか
35	あなたは自分自身を何人または何者と感じているか
36	あなたは日本に帰属意識を持っているか
37	あなたは自身の日本以外のルーツの国に対して今どれほど親近感を感じているか、 またそれは以前と変化があったか
38	言語習得、学習の際、自身のバックグラウンドを意識するか
39	あなたが自身のバックグラウンドについて話した際、他者から「じゃあ○○語は話せるの?」と聞かれたことが、(よくある・たまにある・殆ど無い・全く無い)またその質問に対してあなたが答えた際の他者の反応と、その反応に対してあなたがどう感じるか