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Language management and language problems

Part I

Edited by Björn Jernudd



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**This volume  
is dedicated to  
Professor J. V. Neustupný  
to celebrate his contribution to  
language management**

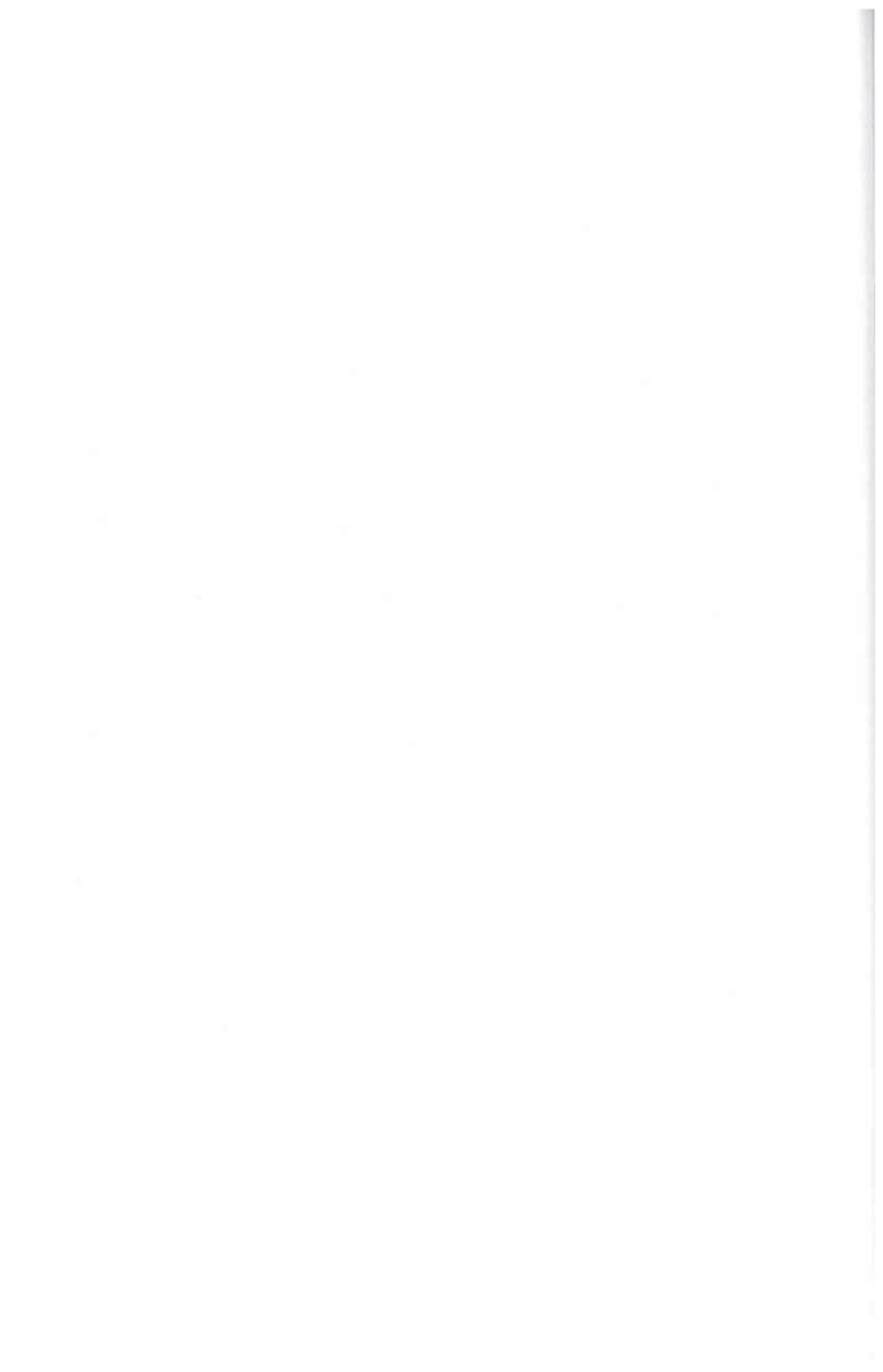




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# Language management and language problems

## Part 1

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This paper is an introduction to language management and to the papers in this and the next volume of the Journal. It refers to contributors' papers as the text evolves. It discusses first management of problems in discourse, then directed management with the help of a mini-case study and some examples, then surveys sources of language problems and their solutions according to a selection of functions of language. In the first volume, it brings up the communicative, symbolic, social and entertainment functions as sources of language problems. In the second volume, it continues with a discussion of the development function as a source of language problems. The paper then brings together discourse and behavior towards language in their socio-economic context in a unified restatement of the theory.

The division of volumes is necessarily arbitrary, yet, each volume can be read independently of each other. This and all the papers together celebrate J. V. Neustupný's contribution to language management.

### 1. Discourse language management is a necessary component of language use

Language problems are a normal part of daily life. People have always had cause to manage language. Whenever people talk, people manage their language. Here is an example from a weekly staff meeting in a company in Hong Kong:

Director: How d'they cue the print?  
Specialist: Er...

- Director: Acid dye?  
 Specialist: Yes they have keep + a... a machine to cue the fabric + + How to say?  
 Director: What's the print process? They steam it?  
 Specialist: Yes they steam it yes just like baking right? This is circle right? The fabric is fit inside and then a pressure steam  
 ||... something like that  
 Director: ||Oh  
 Oh I know

(from Jenny Chow's MA thesis 1996: 84, *A Study of Communication in a Textile Quality Management Services Company*)

All utterances in this extract from a discussion of a factory that the Specialist had inspected illustrate language management of discourse. The Specialist signals lack of understanding of the Director's question who provides a cue with 'Acid dye?'. The Specialist can now answer but has difficulties finding the correct term, clearly signalled by pauses, repetition of 'a' and the direct question 'How to say?'. The management process generates the message entire.

The transcribed record is a very primitive rendition of what actually occurs in the process of communication between two people, but at least some of the evidence of the details of the communicating parties' mutual dependencies of generating and managing their respective talk have been captured. The management is entirely positive in that all management acts contribute to enabling continued communication.

When people write, people of course also manage their language. We need hardly offer an example because readers will realize how they pause and think and erase and rewrite themselves.

Management helps construct discourse and evolve text. This is altogether positive in the sense that participants have not made capital out of interpreting each others' relative social merits as reflected in language use. As we well know, in all speech communities, people also manage what is good and what is bad, what is appropriate and what is inappropriate language.

*(Although repair of appropriate and inappropriate language is the focus of the paper on Hong Kong Cantonese conversation by Jernudd and Ho, the very idea that participants cooperate to construct discourse and thereby make continued communication possible by management of speaking underlies their interpretation of those particular repair behaviors.)*

The celebrated example from Gail Jefferson (1973) is well worth repeating here because the speaker makes use of an act of correction of the socially less



appropriate word, cop, into the socially more appropriate, officer, to express contempt of the police if not of the court in which he is speaking:

...When thu ku-[=self-interruption] officer...

The speaker uses a management routine as an interaction resource in generating his utterance, which consists of deliberately beginning to pronounce the inappropriate 'cop' and deliberately interrupting it before completion so as to issue the appropriate word 'officer' making it seem a correction of a mistake — which it was not.

If you make it a point to think about your own speaking and writing (and this is easier for some people to do than for others) you will realize the extent to which you manage your own language. You deliberate on the right choice of word and expression, the correct spelling, the flow of expression to get the right meaning. And if you make it a point to think about your own listening and reading, you will realize the extent to which you manage your interpretation of the other's language. In discourse, you relate constantly and inevitably to the other, who integrates his/her reaction to yours constantly and inevitably into his/her speaking. This relationship opens opportunity to overtly react to each others' language. A simplest example is a request for reissue of an utterance: "What did you say?" Language behavior as generation of utterances is accompanied by behavior towards language as management. The former is shaped by and allows overt expression of the latter. The latter behavior is language management. The interaction of management with language generation results in language use in a circular process of causation which is sustained by and embedded in the interaction of participants in the communicative situation.

## 2. Directed language management is determined by the conditions of the society

At remove from discourse, evidence of directed and systematic language management surrounds us. For example, in almost every issue of almost any newspaper, there is an imprint of language management.

The Hong Kong English language newspaper the *South China Morning Post* on 16 September 1997 printed a picture of a man sitting backwards on a donkey carrying placards that read

"ENGLISH IS MY FATHER TONGUE".

The caption explained that his 'Donkeywork' protests the domination of English in India over Indian languages. The protest wants English removed, somewhere and somehow and for some reasons. This illustrates an act of language management.

*(The flooding of Czech with English that František Daneš discusses in his paper offers ample opportunities for puristic protest or passive acceptance of these potentially destabilizing foreign borrowings, in the context of complex psycho-social beliefs about and behaviors towards the foreign. Can and do people manage the language norm, and how?)*

On the same day, the International Herald Tribune carried a feature on inventing palindromes which substituted for Mr. William Safire's regular column on cultivating English language use.

Or consider this news headline in *The Japan Times* on 15 August 1997:

"CHECHNYA LAWMAKERS ADOPT CHECHEN AS OFFICIAL LANGUAGE".

The newspaper text said that "Chechnya's Parliament voted to make Chechen the official language of the southern republic and declared Russian a foreign language". The Parliament made policy by declaring how Chechen and Russian should be used in their republic. This decision was "the latest move to assert the territory's self-proclaimed independence." Chechnya has declared independence from Russia, and therefore its Parliament feels that it has to overturn the use of Russian which was the official language when Chechnya was a part of Russia. Instead, the indigenous language should be declared the official language in order to authenticate Chechnya's claim to independence.

The overt problem was apparently that Russian was still the declared official language or also that Russian remained in use in government offices. The former language problem is a symbolic one. The latter may to an extent be a communicative one, if the use of Russian got in the way of work and prevented some people from participating in relevant communications because some people didn't know Russian or didn't know it well. It is unlikely (although not entirely impossible) that members of Parliament in Chechnya would have waited to speak in their native Chechen until the use of Chechen was declared official. We can at the very least assume that if speakers had had any particular difficulties with the use of Russian, they would have switched to Chechen without regrets also before the policy was declared, at least in face-to-face communications. But in records-keeping and other contexts of writing it would not be that easy to avoid Russian if it had been customarily used before.

The declaration demoted Russian to a status of foreign language, something



which strongly reinforces the boundary between the native Chechen speakers and the foreign Russian speakers. For someone to know to speak only Russian and not also Chechen has now become available as a criterion to tell who is a national and who is not. This again is symbolic with very concrete consequences on a person's standing in the polity.

A symbolic problem with symbolic consequence has found symbolic solution. The solution was implemented by a Parliamentary vote in favor of the particular policy. The solution removed an anomaly which was symbolically important, namely, to remove Russian in favor of one's own language as the language of the republic. The policy declared Chechen the authenticating language of the Chechnya nation, just as a flag flies symbolically for one's country.

The policy, however, had some additional content and further mandates "all government agencies [to] draft measures to switch business correspondence to Chechen [from Russian]". Parliament need not have sought to implement the use of Chechen in particular domains. The state machinery and many individuals in Chechnya may still continue to use Russian for actual communicative purposes, because they may not feel ready to use Chechen in many contexts of writing. For one thing, individuals may simply not be proficient in written Chechen and especially not in bureaucratic language. This is plausible because we read in the text of the news that "only two hours a week have been devoted to the Chechen language in village schools and it has not been studied in city schools at all". We learn from the article that a Chechen-speaking population has not had an opportunity to be educated in their own spoken language except in a minimal way. The absence of education in and about Chechen is now going to be rectified. However, it takes time to gear the teachers up to function comparably well throughout the school system in their use of Chechen and to design language teaching materials and texts and tests and what have you.

The policy implicates a whole new set of language problems. Among others, it leads to language problems for the individuals who have to function in an educational system that is now governed by a legally required use of Chechen. The equivalent situation will be true for the state administration and for the legal system. How will individuals cope in their particular speech situations that constitute their working day? Do judges and lawyers share authoritative and interpretable legal texts in Chechen and if they do not, what do they do? Do teachers throughout the school system manage to speak about, demonstrate on the blackboard, mark essays and grade examinations in Chechen in each their particular subject?

Presumably, the Chechen state will now engage language professionals in a

concerted attempt to plan the transition from Russian to Chechen, and if not, it will have to deal with a constant flow of language problems at any and all levels of administration, education and law that arise in consequence of the way in which Parliament want the policy to be implemented. These problems that will inevitably come to the attention of state offices have their origin in the individual speech acts of all of the people who are embraced by the new policy.

The removal of one kind of problem, the symbolic one, would lead to noting a wide range of individual difficulties with the use of Chechen that would have to be overcome to ensure the smooth and continued use in actual communication of Chechen. The individual and the institutional, the symbolic and the communicative, are inextricably linked and managed.

Thus, implementing a decision that mandates the future use of an official language and a new medium of instruction in all schools leads to a whole host of language problems as a consequence of the first decision. People must take responsibility for new formulations and new vocabulary to produce new texts in the language, texts for which Russian and not Chechen was used before. There is of course also the matter of enabling individuals to use Chechen by supporting individual acquisition of proficiency and by helping them with reference materials, e.g., with availability of texts to model their own language use, and much else.

To the extent that a Russian-speaking minority of ethnic Russians would remain in Chechnya, the republic now also faces the potential need for a policy towards this minority. Should special provisions be made for children from this minority in the educational system?

*(Australia is very different indeed from Chechnya: there is no policy to curtail the use of Japanese, and it hardly needs telling that the sociopolitical circumstances are radically different. But children's right to acquire, use and find support for the use of minority family languages in communities in which some other language is all-dominant, in and out of school, is very much a concern in both situations. Kuniko Yoshimitsu's paper offers a case study of management of language maintenance for children of Japanese-speaking sojourners and settlers in Melbourne.)*

The break-away province's language planning act of policy formulation made news perhaps because Chechnya is already in the news; but it also made the news because state interests are involved. The context is one of conflict between the might of the Russian State and a former province, therefore it concerns other states; and from a different perspective, if the decision is implemented, the consequences concern a lot of people and their daily discourse.



### 3. The key questions of language management

A theory of language problems can be developed to predict what language problems are likely to appear under what societal conditions, and how these problems will be managed. The key questions of a theory of language management are:

- What are language problems  
(= where do they come from?);
- How are language problems managed?  
(= who attends to what problems when where and how?).

#### 3.1 Where do language problems come from?

The central function of language is communication. By logic of implication, language management serves the same function (and many others). Linguists deal first of all with the role of language in its communicative function to accomplish and maintain interaction. However, people claim that there are language problems also when there is no immediate motivation in discourse. People even implement solutions to language problems although there is no discourse problem for them to solve when they go about their daily communicative business. In particular, at remove from discourse, people evaluate language and seek solutions to problems that arise out of these non-communicatively motivated problems. All these language problems could be regarded as inventions if discourse were to be postulated as the only permissible source of problems. Of course, nobody can legislate permissibility in this manner and the facts are that people manage language for a variety of reasons, beginning the process sometimes at the point of applying principles of evaluation to language systems, sometimes at the point of implementation. Regardless of how a management process got started, there is nevertheless the possibility that the process will run on and have an impact on discourse. Therefore, we need to preview the many reasons there are for initiating language management and at what stage in the management process. A selection of functions of language in relation to language management serve to organize this preview.

##### 3.1.1 *The communicative function and language problems*

A simplest case of a language problem that clearly aims at removing an obstacle to the communicative interactive function of language is a person's realization that s/he does not share a language with a potential interlocutor, perhaps as

concretely as at a particular moment of potential communication. Noting may occur before, during or after attempted communication.

For example, a medical emergency onboard an airplane may require the assistance of the next-seated person when it turns out that the passenger and the crew do not share language. Finding an interpreter is the solution to the problem of not having a language in common so as to be able to communicate and to handle emergencies. Not surprisingly, many airliners have multilingual crews. In the case of longer-term involvement with people in another speech community, learning the others' language is a solution, and persevering in actually accomplishing a level of proficiency is the implementation of the solution.

### 3.1.2 *The symbolic function and language problems*

The symbolic interest is usually a collectively corporate one and emerges through a political-administrative process, as in the Chechnya case above. It is typically related to partisan interests in a state, or to deliberate nation-building. Language management that demarcates a variety of language from another, to create greater linguistic distance than before ("abstand"), as for example between Norwegian and Danish, exemplifies the symbolic interest. The symbolic function does not arise out of discourse. It impacts on discourse if adjustments to constraints (rules) of language selection and use are actually implemented. For example, people may not be served by civil servants unless they select to speak a particular desired language; or schools may be ordered to teach a particular variety of the official language and to examine proficiency according to prescribed grammatical criteria.

The major motivation for the many recent changes of names of international cities and even countries is symbolic, to erase a perceived imposition or to signal a new order. Changes are away from names based on foreigners' mishearings when the names were once given in the past to an authentically indigenous pronunciation:

Beijing for Peking  
Mumbai for Bombay  
Yangon for Rangoon

The adjustments could also be regarded as communicatively motivated because it is probably more efficient (however measured) to have a name that fits the phonetic system of the language that most people in the country speak. Whether that is so or not, the prescription of new authenticating spellings and pronunciations have an impact on discourse to the extent that individuals



comply. Interestingly, there is an international registration process for changes of place names which costs but which therefore also ensures implementation in names lists with normative force.

*(“A name is not merely a personal identifier” is the opening phrase for John Maher’s paper on ‘Marriage, Naming and the State’. Names are given and taken, allowed and disallowed, in a complex interaction of individual, family, community, and state interests. In his paper, Maher discusses adjustment of married names by the marrying individuals as a deeply symbolic, ideological speech act, subject to control by community and state.)*

### 3.1.3 The social function and language problems

Language problems often concern socially appropriate language use, indeed, those are the problems that reflect the role structure of society (i.e., social, professional, geographical, or otherwise). The role structure in society is maintained by differential interests and reflected in language structure and use, and in access to language proficiency.

The restructuring of the use of pronouns in European speech communities is a striking example. The problem arises when language use is out of synchronization with social change. Sweden solved a contemporary problem of the use of a pronoun of address, *Ni*, during the 1960’s. The use of a universally applicable *Du* [dʉ:] was implemented in large measure through institutional decisions at work places, in education and in the media. This reform was strongly supported by leaders in the Social Democratic Party. The problem was that people hitherto avoided a no longer polite *Ni* when they addressed a person whose name was not known. Unhappily, *Ni* was the only choice, because *Du* was too intimate, and the use of *Ni* had become associated with condescension and inequality of social relationships. As stopgap measures, people used passives and paraphrases in discourse to avoid using a pronoun, and felt very awkward. The solution was to use *Du* to everybody.

Could it be said that the problem was not social but communicative since it was generally shared and avoiding *Ni* in actual discourse consistently caused difficulties of formulation for the vast majority of Swedish speakers? I say not, because the *Du*-reform as it became known abolished the need for a polite address form. *Du* would suffice. As a consequence of sanctioning a socially equal address term, the problem of how to formulate oneself politely to avoid *Ni* simply disappeared. The solution satisfied most people but led in turn to a new awkwardness in actual interaction among some few other people who wished to continue signaling differentials of social status through differential

selection of address terms. While the use of *Du* has won out as a socially acceptable usage, people still have means to express social distance.

Sociolinguistic research and theory building focus on social processes of language change, and implicitly recognize a language management process as an essential component of the processes and the theory. The fundamental concept of monitoring (per Labov) signifies the theoretical concept that allows individuals' noting, evaluating, adjusting and implementing of variants of linguistic variables. This is the management process. Socially motivated adjustment does not arise out of troubled communication, in the sense that there is difficulty of mutual understanding. It arises out of deliberate individual distancing of self from members of other social groups by use of features of language. Actuation may occur in different ways. This distancing of self may be initiated at comparing others' speech with one's own and evaluating the result of comparison. Or, other-initiated evaluation of an individual's spoken values on socially meaningful linguistic variables is systematically embedded in differentiated school systems with speech training to socialize pupils to the school's standards of speech. The speech (and other) teachers note the pupil's deviations from the socially appropriate norm and in the ensuing teaching process systematically replace the pupil's speech with the new standard.

### 3.1.4 *The entertainment function and language problems*

Solutions to language problems related to the entertainment function can hardly be expected to interfere with communicative interaction. This is because language problems relating to the entertainment function derive from individuals seeking more, not less, exposure to language and language use. The kinds of problems that belong here relate to the construction of jokes and crossword puzzles, or the appreciation of stylistic finesse in belles lettres. These are communicative problems of course but serving aesthetic or intellectually scintillating ends, not interactive ends.

If an individual can afford the cost including the time, evening study of a foreign language could be a socially and intellectually quite rewarding activity. The individual removes the problem of what to do with his/her time by enrolling in the socially rewarding interaction associated with learning a language in a group setting. The individual participates in what could be regarded as an act of implementation in the language management process for reasons not related to the solution of a language problem, but nevertheless ends up with some measure of communicative competence that could be applied in interaction.

[to be continued in JAPC 11:1]

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## Selected papers on language management by J. V. Neustupný

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# Conversational repair in spoken Hong Kong Cantonese

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This paper examines the process and mechanism of conversational repair in spoken Hong Kong Cantonese. Levelt calls for accounts of conversational repair from diverse languages; this paper helps test his supposition that "the organization of repair is quite invariant across languages and cultures" (1989: 497). The paper also raises the hypothesis that personal and contextual factors are crucial variables which determine which type of repair will be socially acceptable (and therefore prominent) in a particular conversational setting.

## 1. Introduction

This paper examines the process and mechanism of conversational repair in spoken Hong Kong Cantonese. Conversational repair is sequentially organized and has structure (Schegloff et al. 1977: 364–5). There are three key components in the process of repair: repairable, initiation and repair. The repairable is an utterance or part of an utterance regarded as inadequate by a participant. The repairable in conversation is an inadequate utterance which (to an extent at least) blocks the flow of the conversation, or does not convey a speaker's ideas appropriately. The paper will first discuss the processes of initiation; second, we will account for how repair may follow in distinct positions.

## 2. Methodology

Hong Kong Cantonese means the variety that Hong Kong people use in everyday spoken communication. We recorded fluent speakers of Cantonese

who live in Hong Kong. Recordings were made in a cafeteria, student common rooms, and conversationalists' homes. The conversationalists were informed of the recording and the uses of the tapes before the recording. The microphone was put in an obscure place to minimize the influence of its presence. The recorded data were analyzed in light of the interlocutors' motives and their utterances' functions in the interactions. Follow-up interviews were conducted with the interlocutors individually. During the interviews, the interlocutors listened to their segments of conversations and were asked questions about their intention, reactions and feelings towards producing their utterances. They were also asked about what they thought would have occurred if they had not made these utterances. All interview questions were open-ended and the interviewees were encouraged to provide as much information as they could. The interpretation of the data was also discussed with the interviewees to ascertain validity. The interviewees' opinions and comments were taken into account before the hypothesis presented at the end of the paper was put forth.

The conversationalists consist of five men and twelve women aged from twenty to twenty-seven. One woman had graduated from a tertiary institute and was working. All others were tertiary students in two different institutes. One woman was born in China but immigrated to Hong Kong in her early childhood. The rest were born in Hong Kong. All interlocutors are viewed as native Cantonese speakers.<sup>1</sup>

### 3. Management of initiation of repair

The initiation is a step taken to locate and identify the repairable. It can be performed by the participant who produced the repairable (self-initiation) or by the hearer (other-initiation). The repair is the action to redress the repairable and thus to enable the conversation to continue. It can be performed by the producer of the repairable (self-repair) or by the hearer (other-repair).<sup>2</sup> Failure aside, Cantonese repair can be classified into the following types: (1) Self-initiation leading to self-repair, (2) Self-initiation leading to other-repair, (3) Other-initiation leading to self-repair, (4) Other-initiation leading to other-repair. The following subsections will investigate the structure of these types of repair in our Cantonese data, beginning with initiations. According to Schegloff et al. (1977:367) "self- and other-initiations are done with regular, and clearly different, initiator techniques".



### 3.1 Techniques of initiation

#### 3.1.1 Self-initiation for self-repair

A common technique to self-initiate is for the speaker to *pause* between the repairable (inadequacy) and the repair:

- (1) tan<sup>6</sup> hei<sup>6</sup> jep<sup>6</sup> tou<sup>3</sup> hoy<sup>3</sup> ko<sup>2</sup> tsen<sup>6</sup> si<sup>2</sup> ɲo<sup>5</sup> hei<sup>6</sup> koŋ<sup>2</sup> tek<sup>1</sup> keŋ<sup>3</sup> ka<sup>1</sup> t'sa<sup>1</sup> lo<sup>1</sup>,  
 tsik<sup>1</sup> hei<sup>6</sup> pei<sup>2</sup> ɲo<sup>5</sup> mei<sup>6</sup> t'sen<sup>4</sup> p'rip'eə ke<sup>3</sup> si<sup>4</sup> hœu<sup>6</sup> le<sup>1</sup>, hei<sup>6</sup> wui<sup>3</sup> ... tsik<sup>1</sup> he  
 i<sup>6</sup> jy<sup>4</sup> kwo<sup>2</sup> ɲo<sup>5</sup> mou<sup>5</sup> tsou<sup>6</sup> p'rep'əreɪʃən ke<sup>3</sup> wa<sup>6</sup> le<sup>1</sup>, ɲo<sup>5</sup> wui<sup>3</sup> koŋ<sup>2</sup> tek<sup>1</sup> ke  
 ŋ<sup>3</sup> ka<sup>1</sup> lœu<sup>4</sup> lei<sup>6</sup>.

But when I walked in, I spoke even worse. That is, after I had prepared  
 [prepared is uttered in English], I even ... I mean if I had not made any  
preparation [preparation is uttered in English], I would have spoken  
 more fluently.

After producing the repairable (underlined), the speaker pauses to give herself time to think about a means to make herself clear, i.e., to initiate self-repair (bold-faced). This pause also draws her hearer's attention and perhaps gaze (Goodwin 1981:142). It is not taken up as self-initiation for other-repair because the hearer cannot reasonably know what the speaker wants to repair.

The speaker may initiate a repair *without any other signal* than continuing utterance phrasing:

- (2) X: tan<sup>6</sup> jy<sup>4</sup> kwo<sup>2</sup> lœn<sup>6</sup> miŋ<sup>4</sup> hei<sup>3</sup> lei<sup>4</sup> kei<sup>3</sup> hei<sup>6</sup> lenk'əst'ə hou<sup>2</sup> ti<sup>1</sup> tin<sup>6</sup> rediŋ  
 hou<sup>2</sup> ti<sup>1</sup>?  
 Y: lei<sup>5</sup> w-, koŋ<sup>2</sup> me<sup>1</sup> wa<sup>2</sup>?  
 X: ɲo<sup>5</sup> wa<sup>6</sup> jy<sup>4</sup> kwo<sup>2</sup> lei<sup>5</sup> lœn<sup>6</sup> t'sət<sup>1</sup> men<sup>2</sup> a<sup>3</sup>, miŋ<sup>4</sup> hei<sup>3</sup> a<sup>3</sup>,  
 lenk'əst'ə tin<sup>6</sup> rediŋ hou<sup>2</sup> ti<sup>1</sup>?  
 Y: ɲo<sup>5</sup> lœm<sup>2</sup> jin<sup>1</sup> koi<sup>1</sup> hei<sup>6</sup> rediŋ hou<sup>2</sup> ti<sup>1</sup>.  
 X: If we judge from its prominence, which one is better? Lancaster or  
 Reading [Lancaster and Reading are uttered in English]?  
 Y: You s-, what did you say?  
 X: I mean if you judge from its popularity, **prominence**, Lancaster and  
 Reading, [Lancaster and Reading are said in English] which one is  
 better  
 Y: I think Reading is better.

The second repairable /t'sət<sup>1</sup> men<sup>2</sup>/ 'popularity' is immediately followed by the repair /miŋ<sup>4</sup> hei<sup>3</sup>/ 'prominence'.<sup>3</sup>

The speaker may also *cut off* the repairable (Schegloff et al. 1977:367), as

does Y in (2) who only utters [w-], instead of the whole repairable word.

Another technique is the use of *initiators* (ibid.: 367). These include /e<sup>6</sup>/ 'uh', /mh .../ 'm ...', /tsik<sup>1</sup> hei<sup>6</sup>/ 'that is; I mean; you know', /m<sup>4</sup> hei<sup>6</sup>/ 'no; not', and /tim<sup>2</sup> kon<sup>2</sup> a<sup>3</sup>/ 'how to put it'. They may be used alone or with a pause to form compound initiators.

- (3) ɲo<sup>5</sup> t'en<sup>1</sup> jet<sup>1</sup> ko<sup>3</sup> tsit<sup>3</sup> muk<sup>6</sup> hou<sup>2</sup> kau<sup>2</sup> si<sup>6</sup>, k'øy<sup>5</sup> hou<sup>2</sup> tsun<sup>1</sup> ji<sup>3</sup> kon<sup>2</sup> ...  
tsik<sup>1</sup> hei<sup>6</sup> kau<sup>2</sup> jet<sup>1</sup> ti<sup>1</sup> syn<sup>2</sup> køy<sup>2</sup>, tseu<sup>6</sup> hei<sup>6</sup> wa<sup>6</sup> ... e<sup>6</sup> ... t'syn<sup>4</sup> kon<sup>2</sup> ... e<sup>6</sup>  
... tsøy<sup>3</sup> tek<sup>6</sup> t'söt<sup>1</sup>, hei<sup>6</sup> a<sup>3</sup>, t'syn<sup>4</sup> kon<sup>2</sup> tsøy<sup>3</sup> tek<sup>6</sup> t'söt<sup>1</sup> tai<sup>6</sup> piu<sup>2</sup> ko<sup>1</sup> syn<sup>2</sup>  
køy<sup>2</sup>.

I listened to a radio program which was very funny. She [the host] always said ... I meant held some elections. They were ... uh ... Hong Kong ... uh ... most outstanding, yeah, Hong Kong most outstanding elder male cousin election.

Here, /e<sup>6</sup>/ is an initiator. Evaluating his incomplete utterance as inadequate, the speaker uses /e<sup>6</sup>/ to initiate self-repair. The pauses before and after /e<sup>6</sup>/ combine with it to strengthen the initiation. /tsik<sup>1</sup> hei<sup>6</sup>/ is a turn keeper which has the same kind of function as 'you know' in colloquial English discourse. But it can also initiate a repair, as for the first repair in the above example.

The self-initiation in our data is generally located as near the inadequacy as possible. This helps locate and identify the repairable most effectively. It also enables the repair to be accomplished as soon as possible to maintain the flow of conversation.<sup>4</sup>

### 3.1.2 *Self-initiation for other-repair*

To initiate other-repair, a speaker utters some words or asks a question indicative of his/her uncertainty or ignorance in the nearest position to the inadequacy. Therefore, the objectives of self-initiation for self-repair and that for other-repair are different. Self-initiation for self-repair aims at discontinuing an utterance so that the speaker can fix a repairable which may be unnoted by the hearer. Self-initiation for other-repair, on the other hand, informs the hearer of the repairable to solicit a repair. A common technique of self-initiation for other-repair consists in posing questions, either Yes/No or WH questions:

- (4) X: k'øy<sup>5</sup> ke<sup>3</sup> ji<sup>3</sup> si<sup>1</sup> tsik<sup>1</sup> hei<sup>6</sup> wa<sup>6</sup> jy<sup>4</sup> kwo<sup>2</sup> lei<sup>5</sup> sœn<sup>2</sup> pei<sup>2</sup> jœn<sup>4</sup> jet<sup>1</sup> ko<sup>3</sup> hou<sup>2</sup>  
jœn<sup>3</sup> tsœn<sup>6</sup> le<sup>1</sup>, kau<sup>2</sup> tou<sup>3</sup> tsi<sup>6</sup> kei<sup>2</sup> hei<sup>6</sup> hou<sup>2</sup> sik<sup>1</sup> wei<sup>6</sup> tsœn<sup>1</sup> loi<sup>4</sup> ta<sup>2</sup>  
syn<sup>3</sup> a<sup>3</sup>, tsik<sup>1</sup> hei<sup>6</sup> m<sup>4</sup> wui<sup>3</sup> wa<sup>6</sup> wei<sup>6</sup> tso<sup>2</sup> "hau<sup>1</sup> jet<sup>1</sup> jet<sup>6</sup>", ... tsik<sup>1</sup> hei<sup>6</sup>,  
... "hau<sup>1</sup> jet<sup>1</sup> jet<sup>6</sup> tsun<sup>1</sup> tsou<sup>6</sup> jet<sup>1</sup> jet<sup>6</sup> wo<sup>4</sup> sœn<sup>2</sup>" ko<sup>2</sup> tsek<sup>3</sup> le<sup>1</sup>, tseu<sup>6</sup>  
jiu<sup>3</sup> hei<sup>6</sup> mei<sup>6</sup> tou<sup>1</sup> jiu<sup>3</sup> tsok<sup>3</sup> ti<sup>1</sup> je<sup>5</sup> t'söt<sup>1</sup> lei<sup>4</sup> lo<sup>1</sup>.

Y: tan<sup>6</sup> hei<sup>6</sup> ɲo<sup>5</sup> kok<sup>3</sup> tek<sup>1</sup> hei<sup>6</sup> seu<sup>2</sup> sin<sup>1</sup> jiu<sup>3</sup> tsi<sup>1</sup> tou<sup>3</sup> ko<sup>2</sup> ko<sup>3</sup> jen<sup>2</sup> hei<sup>6</sup> ko<sup>3</sup> me<sup>1</sup> jen<sup>4</sup> lei<sup>4</sup> sin<sup>1</sup> lo<sup>1</sup>, k'ø<sup>5</sup> ke<sup>3</sup> wei<sup>6</sup> tsi<sup>3</sup> hei<sup>6</sup> me<sup>1</sup> sin<sup>1</sup> lo<sup>1</sup>, soufa ɲo<sup>5</sup> kem<sup>2</sup> joen<sup>2</sup> tap<sup>3</sup>, tan<sup>6</sup> hei<sup>6</sup> ti<sup>1</sup> jen<sup>4</sup> m<sup>4</sup> wui<sup>3</sup> kok<sup>3</sup> tek<sup>1</sup> ɲo<sup>5</sup> hei<sup>6</sup> mou<sup>5</sup> ta<sup>2</sup> syn<sup>3</sup>, m<sup>4</sup> wui<sup>3</sup> kok<sup>3</sup> tek<sup>1</sup> ɲo<sup>5</sup> hei<sup>6</sup> me<sup>1</sup> tsun<sup>1</sup> wa<sup>2</sup>?

Z: "hau<sup>1</sup> jet<sup>1</sup> jet<sup>6</sup>" =

Y: = "hau<sup>1</sup> jet<sup>1</sup> jet<sup>6</sup> tsun<sup>1</sup>."

Z: tsun<sup>1</sup> ... "tsou<sup>6</sup> jet<sup>1</sup> jet<sup>6</sup> wo<sup>4</sup> sœŋ<sup>2</sup> hau<sup>1</sup> jet<sup>1</sup> jet<sup>6</sup> tsun<sup>1</sup>". =

Y: = "tsou<sup>6</sup> jet<sup>1</sup> jet<sup>6</sup> wo<sup>4</sup> sœŋ<sup>2</sup> hau<sup>1</sup> jet<sup>1</sup> jet<sup>6</sup> tsun<sup>1</sup>". hei<sup>6</sup>.

X: He meant that if you wanted to give people a good impression, if you wanted to portray yourself as a person who had planned well for the future, not as a person who "dried hay", I mean, ... who "dried hay when the sun appeared", then you had to make up some answers [in response to people's questions about your career plan].

Y: But I think I have to first know who the person [the question poser] is and what post he holds. Even if I give my indefinite answer, other people so far [so far uttered in English] don't think that I don't have any plan for myself. They don't think that I do what to hay?

Z: "To dry". =

Y: = "Dry hay".

Z: Hay ... "make hay only when the sun shines". =

Y: = "Make hay only when the sun shines." Yeah.

Y asks the question /me<sup>1</sup> tsun<sup>1</sup> wa<sup>2</sup>?/ (last phrase, Y's first turn) to convey her ignorance of the idiom /hau<sup>1</sup> jet<sup>1</sup> jet<sup>6</sup> tsun<sup>1</sup> tsou<sup>6</sup> jet<sup>1</sup> jet<sup>6</sup> wo<sup>4</sup> sœŋ<sup>2</sup>/ uttered by X. Her question is a self-initiation which leads to Z's other-repair in the next turn (which becomes yet another repair sequence).

Expression of *uncertainty* can also yield other-repair:

(5) X: tsap<sup>6</sup> tsi<sup>6</sup> tsun<sup>6</sup> jœu<sup>5</sup> kin<sup>6</sup> p'ai<sup>4</sup> a<sup>3</sup>, sen<sup>4</sup> jet<sup>6</sup> pa<sup>3</sup> tsy<sup>6</sup> jet<sup>1</sup> tsœu<sup>1</sup> hon<sup>2</sup> a<sup>3</sup>, m<sup>4</sup> tsi<sup>1</sup> pin<sup>1</sup> jet<sup>1</sup>, tsik<sup>1</sup> hei<sup>6</sup> kin<sup>6</sup> p'ai<sup>4</sup> sen<sup>4</sup> jet<sup>6</sup> pa<sup>3</sup> tsy<sup>6</sup> =

Y: = ti<sup>1</sup> min<sup>2</sup> tei<sup>2</sup> ko<sup>2</sup> ti<sup>1</sup> le<sup>1</sup>. =

X: = min<sup>2</sup> tei<sup>2</sup>.

X: There are still [advertisements of] Kent cigarette in magazines. Kent always appears somewhere in Next Magazine. I mean Kent always appears =

Y: = The front or back cover. =

X: = Front or back.

X poses an indirect question with /m<sup>4</sup> tsi<sup>1</sup> pin<sup>1</sup> jet<sup>1</sup>/ 'somewhere', successfully initiating the other-repair from Y. X receipts the repair by reissuing it. Self-initiation does not always yield recognizable other-repair because the question



asked for other-repair may already have been tacitly answered in the continuing interaction.

### 3.1.3 Other-initiation for self-repair

A rather low key technique is a *drawing* of the hearer's word which implies that the message in the prior turn is inadequate:

- (6) X: tsun<sup>6</sup> jeu<sup>5</sup> sam<sup>1</sup> ko<sup>3</sup> sin<sup>1</sup> k'ei<sup>4</sup>.  
 Y: tseu<sup>6</sup>:: ...  
 X: tseu<sup>6</sup> jiu<sup>3</sup> kau<sup>1</sup> fœs draft.  
 X: We still have three more weeks.  
 Y: To:: ...  
 X: Before we have to hand in the first draft [first draft are uttered in English].

X's message is unclear to Y. In order to secure a self-repair from X, Y lengthens the sound of the word /tseu<sup>6</sup>/ 'to' to express his lack of understanding. This lengthening, together with the pause after it, prompts X to clarify herself.

Another technique is that the hearer *repeats the repairable* in an interrogative tone; the rising tone notes an inadequacy in the preceding utterance:

- (7) Y: ji<sup>5</sup> t'sin<sup>4</sup> len<sup>3</sup> kwo<sup>3</sup> ko<sup>2</sup> tsoen<sup>1</sup> a<sup>3</sup> k'øy<sup>5</sup> wa<sup>6</sup>. =  
 Z: =len<sup>3</sup> kwo<sup>3</sup>?  
 Y: ji<sup>4</sup> ka<sup>1</sup> m<sup>4</sup> len<sup>3</sup> tsik<sup>1</sup> hei<sup>6</sup> ɛm<sup>3</sup> si<sup>6</sup> ken<sup>2</sup>.  
 Y: The one photo with which she said she had once looked good. =  
 Z: =Had once looked good?  
 Y: She now no longer looks so, she implied.

In the above extract, Z's repetition of /len<sup>3</sup> kwo<sup>3</sup>/ in a rising tone points out an inadequacy in the previous turn. This leads to Y's self-repair in his next turn. Obviously then, a rather more direct other-initiation for self-repair is by use of *questions*. Questions may be accompanied by *initiators* such as /ha<sup>2</sup>/ 'what', /me<sup>1</sup> wa<sup>2</sup>/ 'what', or /lei<sup>5</sup> kon<sup>2</sup> to<sup>1</sup> t'si<sup>3</sup>/ 'pardon'.

It is hardly surprising that wh- and other questions are used to make explicit the hearer's puzzlement. An interesting use of a question is the following:

- (8) X: ŋo<sup>5</sup> scœn<sup>2</sup> hei<sup>3</sup> t'se<sup>1</sup> a<sup>3</sup>.  
 Y: t'iu<sup>3</sup> t'se<sup>1</sup> hei<sup>6</sup> mei<sup>6</sup> a<sup>3</sup>?  
 X: t'iu<sup>3</sup> tso<sup>2</sup> lok<sup>6</sup> t'se<sup>1</sup> syn<sup>3</sup> la<sup>3</sup>.  
 X: I want to abandon the car!

Y: You mean to jump off from the car?

X: I'd rather jump off from the car.

Y thinks that X expresses herself inadequately, but she is not sure of it. Therefore, she poses a question to conduct initiation and to offer a candidate repair to X. X accepts the candidate repair and adopts it as her self-repair by simply repeating it. This is what Jefferson calls "embedded repair" (1983:95).

### 3.1.4 Other-initiation for other-repair

This type of initiation begins with a negation or a query of the repairable; otherwise, the initiation is simultaneously performed by the other-repair. Similar to other-initiation for self-repair, this type of initiation comes immediately after the inadequacy or after the turn embedded with the trouble source.

The hearer can *reject* the repairable with /m<sup>4</sup> hei<sup>6</sup>/, /m<sup>4</sup> hai<sup>6</sup> wo<sup>3</sup>/, or /m<sup>4</sup> hai<sup>6</sup> a<sup>3</sup>/ 'no; not':

(9) Z: lei<sup>5</sup> kon<sup>2</sup> eu<sup>1</sup> siu<sup>6</sup> k'œŋ<sup>4</sup> tsi<sup>1</sup> ma<sup>3</sup>.

Y: m<sup>4</sup> hei<sup>6</sup>. eu<sup>1</sup> sœy<sup>6</sup> k'œŋ<sup>4</sup> a<sup>3</sup>, ewpət eu<sup>1</sup> a<sup>3</sup>, ewpət=

Z: a<sup>3</sup>, hei<sup>6</sup>. ((laughter))

Y: =eu<sup>1</sup> tsou<sup>6</sup> tsy<sup>2</sup> t'si<sup>4</sup>.

Z: You only mentioned Au Siu-keung.

Y: No. The host was Au Shui-keung, Albert Au. Albert= [The two Albert Au are uttered in English]

Z: Ah yeah. ((laughter))

Y: =Au hosted the program.

Z makes a mistake with somebody's name in her first turn. Noticing it, Y initiates an other-repair with /m<sup>4</sup> hei<sup>6</sup>/ and corrects the mistake by saying the correct name in both Cantonese /eu<sup>1</sup> sœy<sup>6</sup> k'œŋ<sup>4</sup>/ and English.

An other-initiation for an other-repair can also emerge in the form of a *Yes/No question* the answer of which is already known to the poser of the question. It proffers a candidate repair to the repairable-maker and to elicit his/her receipt. In this way, it has the combined functions of other-initiation and other-repair. This is an example:

(10) X: ŋo<sup>5</sup> t'œŋ<sup>1</sup> jet<sup>1</sup> ko<sup>3</sup> tsit<sup>3</sup> muk<sup>6</sup> hou<sup>2</sup> kau<sup>2</sup> si<sup>6</sup>, k'œy<sup>5</sup> hou<sup>2</sup> tsun<sup>1</sup> ji<sup>3</sup> kon<sup>2</sup> ... tsik<sup>1</sup> hei<sup>6</sup> kau<sup>2</sup> jet<sup>1</sup> ti<sup>1</sup> syn<sup>2</sup> kœy<sup>2</sup>, tseu<sup>6</sup> hei<sup>6</sup> wa<sup>6</sup> ... e<sup>6</sup> ... t'syn<sup>4</sup> kon<sup>2</sup> ... e<sup>6</sup> ... tsœy<sup>3</sup> tek<sup>6</sup> t'sœt<sup>1</sup>, hei<sup>6</sup> a<sup>3</sup>, t'syn<sup>4</sup> kon<sup>2</sup> tsœy<sup>3</sup> tek<sup>6</sup> t'sœt<sup>1</sup> tai<sup>6</sup> piu<sup>2</sup> ko<sup>1</sup> syn<sup>2</sup> kœy<sup>2</sup>.

Y: tai<sup>6</sup> piu<sup>2</sup> ko<sup>1</sup>? hei<sup>6</sup> mœi<sup>6</sup> tsik<sup>1</sup> hei<sup>6</sup> tai<sup>6</sup> luk<sup>6</sup> lei<sup>4</sup> ko<sup>2</sup> ti<sup>1</sup> a<sup>3</sup>?

X: m<sup>4</sup> hei<sup>6</sup> a<sup>3</sup>. k'œy<sup>5</sup> hei<sup>6</sup> kœm<sup>2</sup> ep<sup>1</sup> ko<sup>3</sup> mœŋ<sup>2</sup> tsi<sup>1</sup> ma<sup>3</sup>.

- X: I listened to a radio program which was very funny. She [the host] always said ... I meant held some elections. They were ... uh ... Hong Kong ... uh ... most outstanding, yeah, Hong Kong most outstanding elder male cousin election.
- Y: Elder male cousin? Did she mean one of those young guys from China? [Young men coming from China are branded “elder male cousins” in Hong Kong]
- X: No. She just made up a name.

In this episode of speaking, Y other-repairs X by first quoting the repairable /tai<sup>6</sup> piu<sup>2</sup> ko<sup>1</sup>/ with a rising intonation, then following up by asking a question which constitutes part of the initiation and proffers a candidate repair to be receipted by X. But Y's proffered [other-] repair is rejected by X with /m<sup>4</sup> hei<sup>6</sup> a<sup>3</sup>/, which thus initiates X's other-repair of the repairable arising from Y's candidate repair. Similarly,

- (11) X: k'øy<sup>5</sup> tap<sup>6</sup> ti<sup>1</sup> hok<sup>6</sup> san<sup>1</sup> pok<sup>3</sup> t'eu<sup>4</sup>, jy<sup>4</sup> kwo<sup>2</sup> hei<sup>6</sup> lam<sup>4</sup> tsei<sup>2</sup> tseu<sup>6</sup> mou<sup>5</sup> so<sup>2</sup> wei<sup>6</sup> lo<sup>1</sup>.
- Y: lei<sup>5</sup> m<sup>4</sup> hei<sup>6</sup> løy<sup>5</sup> hau<sup>6</sup> lei<sup>4</sup> ka<sup>3</sup> me<sup>1</sup>?
- X: hei<sup>6</sup> a<sup>3</sup>, tsik<sup>1</sup> hei<sup>6</sup> ɲo<sup>5</sup> ta<sup>2</sup> ko<sup>3</sup> pei<sup>2</sup> jy<sup>6</sup> lo<sup>1</sup>.
- X: He [a teacher] tapped the students' shoulder. If the students were boys, it would be all right.
- Y: Didn't you come from a girls' secondary school?
- X: Yes, I did. I just make an analogy here.

Y uses the question format to introduce his other-initiation and candidate repair. X accepts the candidate repair by uttering /hei<sup>6</sup> a<sup>3</sup>/ ‘yes’ to confirm as well as receipt the repairs. A speaker can also receipt an other-repair by repeating it.

### 3.2 Trajectories from initiation to repair

We now turn to the sequential relation between initiation and repair in the conversational structure.

#### 3.2.1 Trajectories for self-initiated repairs

**3.2.1.1 Self-initiated self-repair.** For self-initiated self-repair, a speaker generally initiates and performs a repair at the closest position to the repairable. This is so that s/he can manage his/her linguistic inadequacy as soon as possible to stave



off any vagueness and to optimally support continuity of communication and interaction. A simple example:

- (12) X: lei<sup>5</sup> ho<sup>2</sup> ji<sup>3</sup> t'un<sup>4</sup> jet<sup>1</sup> tsa<sup>6</sup> jen<sup>4</sup> koŋ<sup>2</sup> tou<sup>3</sup> li<sup>1</sup> li<sup>1</sup> loe<sup>1</sup> loe<sup>1</sup> tou<sup>1</sup> tek<sup>1</sup>, tan<sup>6</sup> hei<sup>6</sup> lei<sup>5</sup> soen<sup>2</sup> koŋ<sup>2</sup> fan<sup>1</sup> tseŋ<sup>3</sup> ko<sup>2</sup> tseŋ<sup>6</sup> si<sup>2</sup> tseu<sup>6</sup> hou<sup>2</sup> sen<sup>1</sup> fu<sup>2</sup>, so<sup>2</sup> ji<sup>3</sup> lei<sup>5</sup> ha<sup>6</sup> ji<sup>3</sup> sik<sup>1</sup> koŋ<sup>2</sup> fan<sup>1</sup> tseŋ<sup>3</sup> sin<sup>1</sup>, tsik<sup>1</sup> hei<sup>6</sup> koŋ<sup>2</sup> fan<sup>1</sup> ... impr ... tsik<sup>1</sup> hei<sup>6</sup> koi<sup>2</sup> tsən<sup>3</sup> fan<sup>1</sup> lei<sup>5</sup> tsi<sup>6</sup> kei<sup>2</sup> ke<sup>3</sup> kwon<sup>2</sup> tun<sup>1</sup> wa<sup>2</sup>.

X: You can slur when talking to people. But when you want to articulate, you will find it difficult to do so. Thus, you should first subconsciously speak articulately, that is to speak ... impr [impr is uttered in English]... that is to improve your Cantonese.

Another slot for self-initiated self-repair is the repairable turn's transition space. This is immediate action, indeed:

- (13) X: tsin<sup>3</sup> fu<sup>2</sup> jiu<sup>3</sup> kun<sup>2</sup> tsei<sup>3</sup> ha<sup>5</sup> li<sup>1</sup> ti<sup>1</sup> p'ou<sup>3</sup> t'eu<sup>2</sup> lo<sup>1</sup>.=  
 X: =li<sup>1</sup> ti<sup>1</sup> kin<sup>1</sup> kei<sup>2</sup> hon<sup>2</sup> tseŋ<sup>1</sup> hei<sup>6</sup>.  
 X: The Government should monitor these shops.=  
 X: =These brokerages.

Nevertheless, self-initiated self-repair may sequentially lag behind these two positions and overlap with the subsequent turn taken by another speaker, for a repairable-maker may not recognize a mistake until some moments after it has been uttered:

- (14) X: lei<sup>5</sup> jeu<sup>5</sup> mou<sup>5</sup> t'ej<sup>1</sup> "keu<sup>6</sup>", "keu<sup>6</sup> fun<sup>1</sup> jy<sup>4</sup> mun<sup>6</sup>" le<sup>1</sup>, k'oy<sup>5</sup> tseŋ<sup>1</sup> ko<sup>3</sup> ko<sup>1</sup> t'si<sup>4</sup> le<sup>1</sup>, "jeu<sup>5</sup> sem<sup>1</sup> tsoi<sup>1</sup> fa<sup>1</sup> fa<sup>1</sup> pet<sup>1</sup> hœŋ<sup>1</sup>" a<sup>3</sup>, koi<sup>2</sup> tso<sup>2</sup> tsou<sup>6</sup>.  
 Y: hei<sup>6</sup> a<sup>3</sup> hei<sup>6</sup> a<sup>3</sup>.  
 Z: tan<sup>6</sup> hei<sup>6</sup> ko<sup>1</sup> tseu<sup>6</sup> m<sup>4</sup> t'un<sup>4</sup> wo<sup>3</sup>.  
 Y: "lap<sup>6</sup> sem<sup>1</sup> tsoi<sup>1</sup> fa<sup>1</sup> fa<sup>1</sup> pet<sup>1</sup> hœŋ<sup>1</sup>".=  
 X: =hak<sup>6</sup>, "lap<sup>6</sup> sem<sup>1</sup> tsoi<sup>1</sup> fa<sup>1</sup>".  
 Z: tan<sup>6</sup> hei<sup>6</sup> ko<sup>1</sup> hei<sup>6</sup> m<sup>4</sup> t'un<sup>4</sup> kak<sup>3</sup>.  
 X: Have you heard "Ex-", "Ex-lover is like a dream"? The lyrics read "Intentionally grow a plant, but it does not flourish" after change.  
 Y: Yeah, yeah.  
 Z: But lyrics are different [from other genres of writing].  
 Y: "Purposefully grow a plant, but it does not flourish".=  
 X: =Yup, "Purposefully grow a plant".  
 Z: But lyrics are different.

At first, Y agrees with X's citation of the lyrics. After a short while, he realizes X's citation is wrong and thus initiates a repair which bears dual functions: as an other-repair to X's citation and also as a self-repair to his agreement on X's citation. He performs the repair even though Z is speaking at the moment, for he intends to repair the inadequacy as soon as possible. The other-repair is receipted by X in X's second turn. Despite the delay, the repair is still made soonest even though at the cost of interrupting.

Self-initiated self-repair can also emerge in the repairable-maker's next turn. This should not be a favored niche for self-initiated self-repair.

(15) X: kəm<sup>2</sup> k'ei<sup>4</sup> set<sup>6</sup> tsik<sup>1</sup> hei<sup>6</sup> ŋo<sup>5</sup> tei<sup>6</sup> kei<sup>1</sup> pun<sup>2</sup> sœŋ<sup>6</sup> hei<sup>6</sup> jət<sup>1</sup> ko<sup>3</sup>  
 k'ont'rast ke<sup>3</sup> əp'rouf sin<sup>1</sup> la<sup>1</sup>.

Y: hei<sup>6</sup> a<sup>3</sup>.

X: k'ont'rastif. tsik<sup>1</sup> hei<sup>6</sup> kap<sup>3</sup> jyt<sup>6</sup> kuŋ<sup>1</sup> si<sup>1</sup> keu<sup>3</sup> kiŋ<sup>2</sup> jœu<sup>5</sup> me<sup>1</sup> m<sup>4</sup> t'un<sup>4</sup>  
 la<sup>1</sup>, ...

X: It means that we adopt a contrast [contrast is said in English] approach.

Y: Yes.

X: **Contrastive.** [Contrastive is said in English] That is, what are the differences between firms A and B?

Y does not initiate any repair as he understands that the repairable is meant to be 'contrastive'. Yet, X carries out a self-initiated self-repair of [k'ont'rast] in his next turn to correct the repairable. In accordance with the interlocutor's opinions collected in the follow-up interviews, whether a speaker will self-repair when there is no other-initiation after an inadequacy hinges to a large extent on the speaker's conversational style and his/her perception of the severity of the inadequacy.

**3.2.1.2 Self-initiated other-repair.** Self-initiated other-repair as a rule emerges in the turn subsequent to the repairable's turn. Yet, it is not impossible for the hearer to repair his interlocutor earlier. This results in an *intrusive* repair in the progress of the speaker's repairable turn. In (5) above, e.g., X admits her ignorance and performs self-initiation for other-repair by saying /m<sup>4</sup> tsi<sup>1</sup> pin<sup>1</sup> jət<sup>1</sup>/ 'somewhere'. But she does not give up her turn and does not offer up specific information. This gives rise to Y's intrusive other-repair. And X receipts the repair.



### 3.2.2 Trajectories for other-initiated repairs

**3.2.2.1 Other-initiated self-repair.** For other-initiated self-repair, a motivated position for repair is the repairable-maker's next turn, because the initiation normally comes in the prior turn.

- (16) X: m<sup>4</sup> hei<sup>6</sup> a<sup>3</sup>. tsen<sup>1</sup> hei<sup>6</sup> hou<sup>2</sup> en<sup>1</sup> a<sup>3</sup>, ɲo<sup>5</sup> tuk<sup>6</sup> jy<sup>6</sup> fo<sup>1</sup> ko<sup>2</sup> tsen<sup>6</sup> si<sup>4</sup> le<sup>1</sup>, jy<sup>4</sup>  
 kwo<sup>2</sup> jep<sup>6</sup> m<sup>4</sup> tou<sup>2</sup> tai<sup>6</sup> tsyn<sup>1</sup> a<sup>3</sup>, kem<sup>2</sup> tseu<sup>6</sup> lem<sup>2</sup> tsy<sup>6</sup>  
 Y: me<sup>1</sup> en<sup>1</sup> a<sup>3</sup>? lei<sup>5</sup> kor<sup>2</sup> met<sup>1</sup>  
 je<sup>5</sup> a<sup>3</sup>?  
 X: bin<sup>1</sup> k'ek<sup>6</sup> ... ko<sup>2</sup> ti<sup>1</sup> p'in<sup>1</sup> k'ek<sup>6</sup> a<sup>3</sup> =  
 Y: = o:<sup>5</sup>, lei<sup>5</sup> wa<sup>6</sup> jen<sup>4</sup> kun<sup>1</sup> a<sup>5</sup>. = ((laughter))  
 X: hak<sup>6</sup>.  
 X: No. It's really meagre. When I was studying in Form 6, I thought if I  
 couldn't enrol in a tertiary institution, I was going to  
 Y: What's meagre? What  
 are you talking about?  
 X: Blaywright ... those playwrights =  
 Y: =A::h, you mean their wages. ((laughter))  
 X: = Yeah.

The first repair sequence is a clear example of a "repairable-initiation-repair" sequence. X's first-turn linguistic trouble is noted in Y's second-turn initiation which gives rise to X's third-turn repair.<sup>5</sup> (But the third-turn repair itself becomes a new repairable, which is redressed by X in the same turn.)

The other-initiation sometimes intrudes in the course of the repairable turn and overlaps with it. Impolite as it may be, it does show that the hearer is listening to the speaker.

**3.2.2.2 Other-initiated other-repair.** With regard to other-initiated other-repair, the position is typically the turn subsequent to the repairable turn, as shown by the other-repair performed by Y in her second turn in (16), for this is the most straightforward way to manage an inadequacy. Nonetheless, other-initiated other-repair may interrupt the repairable turn.

### 3.2.3 Implications of the trajectories

Trajectories from initiation to repair can be tabulated as shown in Table 1.

Repairs are close to their repairables. This feature of proximity between repairable and repair is parallel to that between repairable and its initiation

Table 1. Trajectories from initiation to repair

	Turn	Components	Interlocutor
1.	Single turn	Repairable + initiation + repair	Self
2.	Single turn	Repairable	Self
	Turn transition	Initiation + repair	Self
3.	First turn	Repairable	Self
	Next turn	( )	Other
	Intrusive third turn	Initiation + repair	Self
4.	First turn	Repairable	Self
	Next turn	( )	Other
	Third turn	Initiation + repair	Self
5.	First turn	Repairable + initiation	Self
	Intrusive next turn	Repair	Other
6.	First turn	Repairable + initiation	Self
	Next turn	Repair	Other
7.	First turn	Repairable	Self
	Intrusive next turn	Initiation	Other
	Third turn	Repair	Self
8.	First turn	Repairable	Self
	Next turn	Initiation	Other
	Third turn	Repair	Self
9.	First turn	Repairable	Self
	Intrusive next turn	Initiation + repair	Other
10.	First turn	Repairable	Self
	Next turn	Initiation + repair	Other
11.	First turn	Repairable	Self
	Next turn	Initiation	Other-1
	Third turn	Repair	Other-2

1-6 are trajectories for self-initiated repairs.

7-11 are trajectories for other-initiated repairs.

since initiation and repair are sequentially related. Nofsinger (1991: 126) writes that continuous conversation hinders effective repair because a more detailed repair is required to pinpoint the repairable. This difficulty is surmounted if a repair is done as immediately as possible. This explains why repairs are overwhelmingly performed in the vicinity of repairables.

When the speaker utters an inadequacy and misses the chances to repair him/herself within the repairable turn or in the transition space, s/he may be

asked to do a self-repair or be repaired by the hearer. According to Schegloff et al. (1977:374) other-initiation rarely interrupts a repairable turn but is withheld. Withholding other-initiation leads to a slight gap after the repairable turn which provides the repairable-maker with an opportunity to implement self-initiated self-repair. The analysis of trajectories in these Cantonese data, however, reveals that *other-initiation (and other-repair) can occur at varied positions so long as they are made as early and close to the repairable as possible*. The reason for this discrepancy from a strong reading of Schegloff et al.'s claim, is, according to our interpretation of the sentiments of the participants in these Cantonese conversations, that they can avoid any misunderstanding by doing so. They initiate out of their sense of participation.

We argue that the timing of performing initiation of repair is related to two sets of variables: personal and contextual. Personal factors comprise the interactants' personalities, emotional involvement, conversational styles, educational background, relative status, social distance, and so on. Contextual factors range from the register, the physical settings, the channel of communication, the importance of the repair, to coherence of the interaction. In this way, friends chatting or discussing something informally in carefree settings, just as those people did who provided our data, carry out intrusive initiations and repairs in the proximity of inadequacies. These factors determine how and when people perform initiation and repair. Although intrusive initiation and repair flout the turn-taking system, their emergence exhibits that rules of preference can be relaxed to account for the flow of authentic conversation.

## 4. Management of repair

### 4.1 Techniques for self-initiated repairs

#### 4.1.1 *Techniques for self-initiated self-repair*

Hong Kong Cantonese speakers use the technique which Levelt (1989:490) calls *instant repair*. It is the replacement of a syllable or word repairable with a complete and correct word. In (17) the repairable /mou<sup>5</sup> met<sup>1</sup>/ is replaced by the repair /hou<sup>2</sup> siu<sup>2</sup>/ after a pause:

- (17) X: ɲo<sup>5</sup> lem<sup>2</sup> m<sup>4</sup> sɔy<sup>1</sup> jiu<sup>3</sup> tʃwansleɪʃən ka<sup>3</sup>, jɿ<sup>4</sup> kwo<sup>2</sup> lei<sup>5</sup> k ... tim<sup>2</sup> kon<sup>2</sup> a<sup>3</sup>,  
tsik<sup>1</sup> hei<sup>6</sup> hou<sup>2</sup> to<sup>1</sup> men<sup>4</sup> kin<sup>2</sup> tou<sup>1</sup> jun<sup>6</sup> jɿn<sup>1</sup> men<sup>2</sup> se<sup>2</sup>, ken<sup>1</sup> pun<sup>2</sup> mou<sup>5</sup>  
met<sup>1</sup> ... hou<sup>2</sup> siu<sup>2</sup> kun<sup>1</sup> si<sup>1</sup> jɿu<sup>5</sup> kɔ<sup>3</sup> pou<sup>6</sup> mun<sup>4</sup> tseu<sup>6</sup> hei<sup>6</sup> wa<sup>6</sup>  
tʃwansleɪʃən tip'amən kem<sup>2</sup> kiu<sup>3</sup> lei<sup>5</sup> tʃwansleɪ ti<sup>1</sup> je<sup>5</sup>.



- X: I don't think translation is needed. If you ... how to say it, I mean, many documents are written in English. In fact, there is few... only a small number of companies have translation a department to hire people to do translation.

Returning to (13) (*supra*), the repairable is /p'ou<sup>3</sup> t'eu<sup>2</sup>/. The repair /kin<sup>1</sup> kei<sup>2</sup> hon<sup>2</sup>/ is embedded in a phrase that repeats /li<sup>1</sup> ti<sup>1</sup>/ 'these', the same qualifier used before the repairable. This example illustrates *anticipatory retracing* (Levelt 1989: 490). This technique is characterized by the feature that the repair-maker retraces and repeats part of the original utterance before the repair to make the repair more discernible.

The technique "fresh start" (*ibid.*) also occurs. Consider

- (18) X: jeu<sup>5</sup> ko<sup>3</sup> a<sup>3</sup> sem<sup>2</sup> tsun<sup>6</sup> hou<sup>2</sup> siu<sup>3</sup>, k'øy<sup>5</sup> am<sup>1</sup> am<sup>1</sup> t'sot<sup>1</sup> lei<sup>4</sup> tsou<sup>6</sup> le<sup>1</sup>,  
pun<sup>2</sup> loi<sup>4</sup> hei<sup>2</sup> tseu<sup>2</sup> leu<sup>4</sup> t'son<sup>4</sup> t'soi<sup>3</sup> ke<sup>3</sup>, kem<sup>2</sup> k'øy<sup>5</sup> san<sup>1</sup> jyn<sup>4</sup> tsei<sup>2</sup> tsi<sup>1</sup>  
heu<sup>6</sup> le<sup>1</sup>, jiu<sup>3</sup> t'ei<sup>2</sup> tsy<sup>6</sup> ti<sup>1</sup> tsei<sup>2</sup> le<sup>1</sup> =  
Y: =t'ei<sup>2</sup> tsy<sup>6</sup> ti<sup>1</sup> tsei<sup>2</sup>?  
Z: t'ei<sup>2</sup> tsy<sup>6</sup> pi<sup>4</sup> pi<sup>1</sup>.  
X: san<sup>1</sup> jyn<sup>4</sup> ti<sup>1</sup> tsei<sup>2</sup>, m<sup>4</sup> hei<sup>6</sup> pi<sup>4</sup> pi<sup>1</sup> a<sup>3</sup>.  
Z: ((laughter))  
X: m<sup>4</sup> hei<sup>6</sup> ti<sup>1</sup> tsei<sup>2</sup>, hei<sup>6</sup> wa<sup>6</sup> k'øy<sup>5</sup> ko<sup>3</sup> tsei<sup>2</sup> am<sup>1</sup> am<sup>1</sup> tuk<sup>6</sup> siu<sup>2</sup> hok<sup>6</sup>, jiu<sup>3</sup>  
t'ei<sup>2</sup> tsy<sup>6</sup> k'øy<sup>5</sup> ko<sup>3</sup> tsei<sup>2</sup>, m<sup>4</sup> hei<sup>6</sup> san<sup>1</sup> jyn<sup>4</sup> tsei<sup>2</sup>, jiu<sup>3</sup> t'ei<sup>2</sup> tsy<sup>6</sup> k'øy<sup>5</sup> ko<sup>3</sup>  
tsei<sup>2</sup>.  
Y: keu<sup>3</sup> kin<sup>2</sup> k'øy<sup>5</sup> san<sup>1</sup> tsei<sup>2</sup> tin<sup>6</sup> t'ei<sup>2</sup> tsei<sup>2</sup> a<sup>3</sup>?  
X: m<sup>4</sup> hei<sup>6</sup>, kon<sup>2</sup> t'so<sup>3</sup> tso<sup>2</sup>, ko<sup>2</sup> ko<sup>3</sup> a<sup>3</sup> sem<sup>2</sup> wa<sup>6</sup> k'øy<sup>5</sup> ko<sup>3</sup> tsei<sup>2</sup>  
tuk<sup>6</sup> siu<sup>2</sup> hok<sup>6</sup>, k'øy<sup>5</sup> jiu<sup>3</sup> to<sup>1</sup> ti<sup>1</sup> si<sup>4</sup> kan<sup>3</sup> t'ei<sup>2</sup> tsy<sup>6</sup> k'øy<sup>5</sup> ko<sup>3</sup> tsei<sup>2</sup> tsou<sup>6</sup>  
kun<sup>1</sup> fo<sup>3</sup>, t'un<sup>4</sup> san<sup>1</sup> tsei<sup>2</sup> mou<sup>5</sup> kwan<sup>1</sup> hei<sup>6</sup>.  
X: I know a married woman whose experience is even funnier. When she first had a job, she worked as a waitress in a Chinese restaurant. After giving birth to a baby, she had to look after tots=  
Y: =Look after tots?  
Z: Look after the baby.  
X: After giving birth to tots, not look after the baby.  
Z: ((laughter))  
X: Not tots. I mean that her son just started going to school, so she had to look after her son. It's not that she gave birth to a baby. It's that she had to look after her son.  
Y: Did she give birth to a baby or did she look after her son?

- X: No. I said it wrongly. That, that woman said that her son went to primary school, so she needed more time to look after her son and make him do his homework. There's nothing to do with giving birth.

X's first utterance causes Y's other-initiation in the next turn. X's attempts to self-repair keep failing. Finally, she *restarts* by explaining to her hearers the story background and the present situation. She deliberately introduces fresh content materials and reformulates. This is a typical example of *fresh start*. This technique forgoes the syntactic construction of the repairable turn and utilizes a brand new one.<sup>6</sup>

Repairing clausal repairables quite naturally invites fresh starts. Our data also include a variation of fresh starts that Levelt names "*pre-specification*" (1989:490). It involves blending fresh content materials with those from the repairable clausal utterance. In (1), for instance, the speaker performs pre-specification and recycles some material.

### *A note on failure*

Although the techniques for self-initiated self-repair are varied, some speakers still fail to repair themselves:

- (19) X: jy<sup>4</sup> kwo<sup>2</sup> ŋo<sup>5</sup> tei<sup>6</sup> jiu<sup>3</sup> wen<sup>2</sup> ko<sup>3</sup> p'otək kem<sup>2</sup>, wen<sup>2</sup> ko<sup>3</sup> p'otək, tsik<sup>1</sup> hei<sup>6</sup> ko<sup>3</sup> p'otək ke<sup>3</sup> me<sup>1</sup> tsi<sup>1</sup> liu<sup>2</sup> le<sup>1</sup>, wen<sup>2</sup> k'oy<sup>5</sup> hei<sup>2</sup> hœŋ<sup>1</sup> koŋ<sup>2</sup> si<sup>5</sup> t'sœŋ<sup>4</sup> ko<sup>2</sup> ko<sup>3</sup>, tsik<sup>1</sup> hei<sup>6</sup> ...

Y: ko<sup>2</sup> ko<sup>3</sup> mak'et ke<sup>3</sup> fen<sup>1</sup> pou<sup>3</sup> lo<sup>1</sup>.

X: mak'et ke<sup>3</sup> fen<sup>1</sup> pou<sup>3</sup> a<sup>3</sup>.

X: If we are to find out a product, find out a product, that is, what information of the product [the three 'product' are said in English], find out its, in Hong Kong's market, that is...

Y: Its market distribution.

X: Its market distribution.

[the two 'market' are said in English]

X makes a mistake and tries to initiate self-repair with /tsik<sup>1</sup> hei<sup>6</sup>/. But the pause implies that she is groping for the right word, and is not able to repair herself immediately. This results in the other-repair, which is then receipted by X. Failure of repair is quite common.

#### 4.1.2 Techniques for self-initiated other-repair

Initiation in self-initiated other-repair in our data is an utterance revealing the speaker's ignorance of a point in discourse. It appears as a *question*. It follows that the repair is the adjacency-paired answer. For initiation which is a What-, Who-, or Where-question, the repair, as the data tell, is mostly a few words which are the indispensable part of the information sought.

### 4.2 Techniques for other-initiated repairs

#### 4.2.1 Techniques for other-initiated self-repair

For other-initiated self-repair of word repairables our data exhibit techniques already shown, i.e., *instant repair* (but in the third turn of the episode with the repairable in the first turn) and *fresh start*.

For clausal repairables, there are several techniques for repair. *Pre-specification* is a common one. For example, in (18) X first performs pre-specification by blending fresh wordings with extracts from her repairable clauses. Yet, she fails to get her idea across to the hearers. So she finally repairs herself with a fresh start at the end of the episode.

In (8) (*supra*) we see a special case of pre-specification. X repairs herself by blending fresh materials with those extracted not from her prior turn but from the preceding other-initiation. Unlike the pre-specification in self-initiated self-repair, the source of the recycled materials comes not from the repairable turn but from the other-initiation. Jefferson names this "*embedded repair*" (1983: 95) as the repair-maker tacitly adopts the proffered candidate repair. In our classification, this repair technique is better named as *initiation pre-specification*, as distinct from the immediately preceding case of *repairable pre-specification*.

The data show that some repairs are implemented by syntactically restructuring the content materials of the repairable. We suggest that this technique be named *syntactic reconstruction*. In the following example, X does not self-repair with an addition of new materials but with a syntactic reconstruction of the same materials of the repairable.

- (20) X: ti<sup>1</sup> tsun<sup>1</sup> kwok<sup>3</sup> jen<sup>4</sup> lou<sup>5</sup> sei<sup>3</sup> hou<sup>2</sup> ku<sup>1</sup> hon<sup>4</sup>, lei<sup>5</sup> kin<sup>3</sup> kwo<sup>3</sup> le<sup>1</sup> mui<sup>5</sup>  
jen<sup>4</sup> tek<sup>1</sup> sei<sup>3</sup> fen<sup>6</sup> jet<sup>1</sup> keu<sup>6</sup> jyt<sup>6</sup> pen<sup>2</sup> tsun<sup>1</sup> t'seu<sup>1</sup> tsit<sup>3</sup>?

Y: me<sup>1</sup> wa<sup>2</sup>? lei<sup>5</sup> kon<sup>2</sup> to<sup>1</sup> t'si<sup>3</sup>?

X: tsun<sup>1</sup> t'seu<sup>1</sup> tsit<sup>3</sup> mui<sup>5</sup> jen<sup>4</sup> tek<sup>1</sup> sei<sup>3</sup> fan<sup>6</sup> jet<sup>1</sup> keu<sup>6</sup> jyt<sup>6</sup> pen<sup>2</sup> a<sup>3</sup>!

X: [I know] A Chinese boss is very stingy. Have you ever seen that every employee has only one-fourth of a mooncake-Mid-Autumn-Festival?



Y: What? Pardon?

X: In Mid-Autumn Festival, everyone has only one-fourth of a moon-cake!

#### 4.2.2 Techniques for other-initiated other-repair

The hearer will either replace the repairable with the repair or reissue the prior turn with the repair substituted for the repairable. (9) (*supra*) is an example. The repairable / $\text{eu}^1 \text{siu}^6 \text{k}'\text{œŋ}^4$ / is other-repaired by the substitution of / $\text{eu}^1 \text{søy}^6 \text{k}'\text{œŋ}^4$ ,  $\text{ewpət} \text{eu}^1 \text{a}^3$ /. Other substitutes correct information for an inadequacy. This suggests this technique be named *correction*. We use this term specifically for this one technique.

Correction is sometimes used to remove repairables said several turns ago. In these situations, the original clauses embedded with the repairables may need repeating, with the repairables supplanted by the repairs. This can be used as a tactic to make an *intrusive correction* in the course of another speaker's talk, as illustrated in (14) (*supra*). The clause / $\text{lap}^6 \text{sem}^1 \text{tsoi}^1 \text{fa}^1 \text{fa}^1 \text{pet}^1 \text{hœŋ}^1$ / is intrusively repeated with the repair / $\text{lap}^6$ / substituted for the repairable / $\text{jeu}^5$ /.

A repairable can also be other-repaired by a *Yes/No question*. In this situation, the hearer asks a Yes/No question. Yet, s/he knows the answer already. The purpose of asking the question is to proffer a candidate repair to elicit the repairable-maker's confirmation and/or acknowledgement. We propose that this technique be named *correctional query*. Consider

(21) X:  $\text{kem}^2 \text{ŋo}^5 \text{ko}^3 \text{mui}^2 \text{ke}^3 \text{lam}^4 \text{p}'\text{œŋ}^4 \text{jeu}^5 \text{tseu}^6 \text{hou}^2 \text{t}'\text{sun}^1 \text{tun}^6$ ,  $\text{ta}^2$   
 $\text{t}'\text{sen}^1 \text{k}'\text{øy}^5 \text{jet}^1 \text{sen}^1$ ,  $\text{kau}^2 \text{tou}^3 \text{ŋo}^5 \text{ko}^3 \text{mui}^2 \text{la}^1$ .

Y:  $\text{ta}^2 \text{tso}^2 \text{ko}^2 \text{ko}^3 \text{kin}^1 \text{kei}^2 \text{jet}^1 \text{sen}^1 \text{a}^3$ ?

X:  $\text{hei}^6$ ,  $\text{tan}^6 \text{hei}^6 \text{t}'\text{in}^1 \text{tsiu}^1 \text{tsou}^2 \text{fan}^1 \text{tou}^2 \text{kun}^1 \text{ko}^2 \text{tsek}^3 \text{le}^1$ . ((laughter))

X: My younger sister's boyfriend was very rash and he beated him [a broker] up. It got my sister in trouble.

Y: He beat the broker up, didn't he?

X: Yeah. But he was not seriously hurt and could still go to work the next morning. ((laughter))

X's repairable is corrected in Y's query. Y reports that he thinks his question expresses what X originally intends to say. The query format invites X's confirmation. Schegloff et al. (1977:378–9) state that other-repair can be subject to modulation. They point out that when an other-repair is “downgraded on a ‘confidence/uncertainty’ scale”, it is modulated. Accordingly, a correctional

query can be classified as a modulated form of other-repair while correction as an unmodulated one.

## 5. Conclusion

Schegloff et al. argue that conversational repair is primarily organized for self-repair. They justify their claim as follows (1977:377):

*Self-initiated repairs yield self-correction*, and opportunities for self-initiation come first. *Other-initiated repairs also yield self-correction*; the opportunity available to other to initiate repair is used to afford speaker of a trouble source a further opportunity to self-repair, which he takes. This combination compels the conclusion that, although there is a distinction between self-correction and other-correction, *self-correction and other-correction are not alternatives*. Rather, the organization of repair in conversation provides centrally for self-correction, which can be arrived at by ... routes which are themselves so organized as to favour self-initiated self-repair.

They rely on the sequential organization of "repair-initiation opportunity positions" (ibid.:375) to support their claim. They also write that "other-initiations overwhelmingly yield self-corrections" (376). They argue that the techniques of other-initiation mainly aim at locating the trouble source (inadequacy) and granting an opportunity for the trouble-maker to repair himself. Our findings converge with their claim that the techniques of other-initiation can locate the repairable, but do not quite as readily acknowledge their belief in the preference for self-repair under conditions of other-initiation. In fact, their claim of self-repair being preferred while other-repair dispreferred is inconsistent with the distribution of distinct types of repair revealed by our survey of Hong Kong Cantonese conversational data.

Table 2. Distribution of different types of repairs

Type of repair	Number of instances	Ratio
Self-initiated self-repair	46	50.55%
Self-initiated other-repair	7	7.69%
Other-initiated self-repair	11	12.09%
Other-initiated other-repair	27	29.67%
Total number	91	100%



Table 2 shows the distribution of the ninety-one instances of repair. Obviously, and as expected, self-initiated self-repair (SISR) forms the bulk of repair, followed remotely by other-initiated other-repair (OIOR). Other-initiated self-repair (OISR) and self-initiated other-repair (SIOR) account for 20% of repairs.

In case a speaker is not aware of his/her repairable, s/he misses the opportunity to perform initiation. Then the potential to initiate for a repair is left to the hearer. If the hearer performs an other-initiation, the data reveal that OIOR outnumbers OISR. In other words, the hearer is more likely to repair the speaker than to elicit a self-repair. This is so even when the hearer does not know a suitable adjustment. This is borne out by those instances in which some hearers' candidate repairs proffered to the speakers are receipted whereas some are not.

We attribute the incidence of OIOR to a "high-involvement" (Tannen 1984:17) speaking style that characterizes casual talk among friends. The interlocutors providing the data, who are friends and share more or less the same background, practice this speaking style when engaging in casual Cantonese conversations. It allows rapid responses and overlapping of turns. The interlocutors can thus interrupt at any point and help remove what gets in the way of communication. They do not shy away from OIOR.

Although Schegloff et al. argue that other-initiation techniques are handy tools to elicit self-repair, it is the interlocutors who decide whether they will use them after, in their discourse management, taking into account various facets of the interaction (Neustupný 1994:67). The interpersonal relationships, locale and ambience determine how the interlocutors manage their language behaviours. Conversational repair, therefore, is also subject to the interplay of such factors.

In a serious interaction setting such as an interview, where the "hierarchical politeness system" (Scollon and Scollon 1993:44) is observed, interlocutors may make use of OISR to avoid embarrassment or confrontation. In casual talk among friends in a cafeteria, where the "solidarity politeness system" (ibid.: 43) is in effect, interlocutors may dispatch OIOR to create a congenial and boisterous atmosphere. One may argue that for interlocutors to avoid OIOR is counter-productive in such communicative situations. Such censoring may be perceived as reserved or socially distancing behavior. This argument is supported by the fact that the interlocutors in this research did not find it problematic to perform and receipt OIOR.

The importance of personal and contextual factors in the management of repair behavior can also be seen in the ways in which initiations and repairs are used to banter, wisecrack, insult, or show the speaker's dislike and/or disrespect.

Such behaviors are the outcomes of a deliberate flouting of Grice's conversational maxims by performing an initiation and/or repair when no communicative inadequacies have been noted. For example, in casual Cantonese conversation, it is not unusual to hear initiations or repairs like:

- (22) X:  $\eta\text{ou}^5 \text{pun}^2 \text{loi}^4 \text{hou}^2 \text{t'ou}^5 \text{o}^6, \text{tan}^6 \text{hei}^6 \text{jet}^1 \text{kin}^3 \text{tou}^2 \text{lei}^5 \text{tseu}^6 \text{m}^4 \text{scen}^2,$   
 $\text{a}^3 \text{m}^4 \text{hei}^6, \text{jet}^1 \text{kin}^3 \text{tou}^2 \text{lei}^5 \text{tseu}^6 \text{m}^4 \text{sei}^2 \text{sik}^6 \text{je}^5.$

X: I was hungry. But upon seeing you, I no longer want, I mean, I no longer need to eat.

The interpretation of the self-initiated self-repair in (22) depends on both the personal and contextual factors. If X and Y are friends chatting in a cafeteria, the repair is likely to be a wisecrack. But it could be an insult if the two are antagonists and are quarrelling.

The mechanism of conversational repair is sequentially organized. Such underlying organization which has been shown to have universal force does not however senselessly govern speaking; instead, it is a resource that speakers manage to meet ends of communication in particular socio-cultural and socio-linguistic contexts. In order to investigate how conversational repair is determined by the personal and contextual factors involved in the interaction, we will need more studies of the conversational repair performed in various settings by people with diverse backgrounds.

## Notes

1. Transcription: The Cantonese data are transcribed in International Phonetic Alphabet. Numerals from 1 to 6 are used to represent the six tones in the language (adapted from Fok Chan 1974:12). We use the discourse transcript symbols and conventions developed by Jefferson (*qtd.* in Button and Lee 1987:9–17). Also, repairables (regarded as such by the participants) are underlined and repairs indicated by **boldface**.

Translation: All examples are translated. Positions where initiations and repairs occur are marked in the same places as in the transcription (as is grammatically possible) so as to maintain vividness. An attempt has been made to reproduce in English all features of the Cantonese speech. It is therefore not surprising to see translations like 'fiew', 'fallecy' or 'blaywright'.

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2. Initiation can fail to remedy its repairable. We do not attend to such cases, if any.

3. The repairable will here not incur any misunderstanding even if not repaired. Therefore, the repair routine in this instance seems to be not so much a means to get rid of a trouble source as a means to reinforce the speaker's idea.
4. The techniques for this type of initiation are by no means limited to those discussed above. They may involve sound-stretch, 'non-lexical speech perturbation' (Schegloff et al. 1977:367), and more.
5. Schegloff et al. write (1977:377): "Thus other-initiated repair takes a multiple of turns — at least two: in the first of these, the other-initiator locates the trouble; in the second, the speaker of the trouble source essays a repair."
6. Indeed, named "*reformulation*" by van Wijk and Kempen (*qtd.* in Levelt 1989:489).

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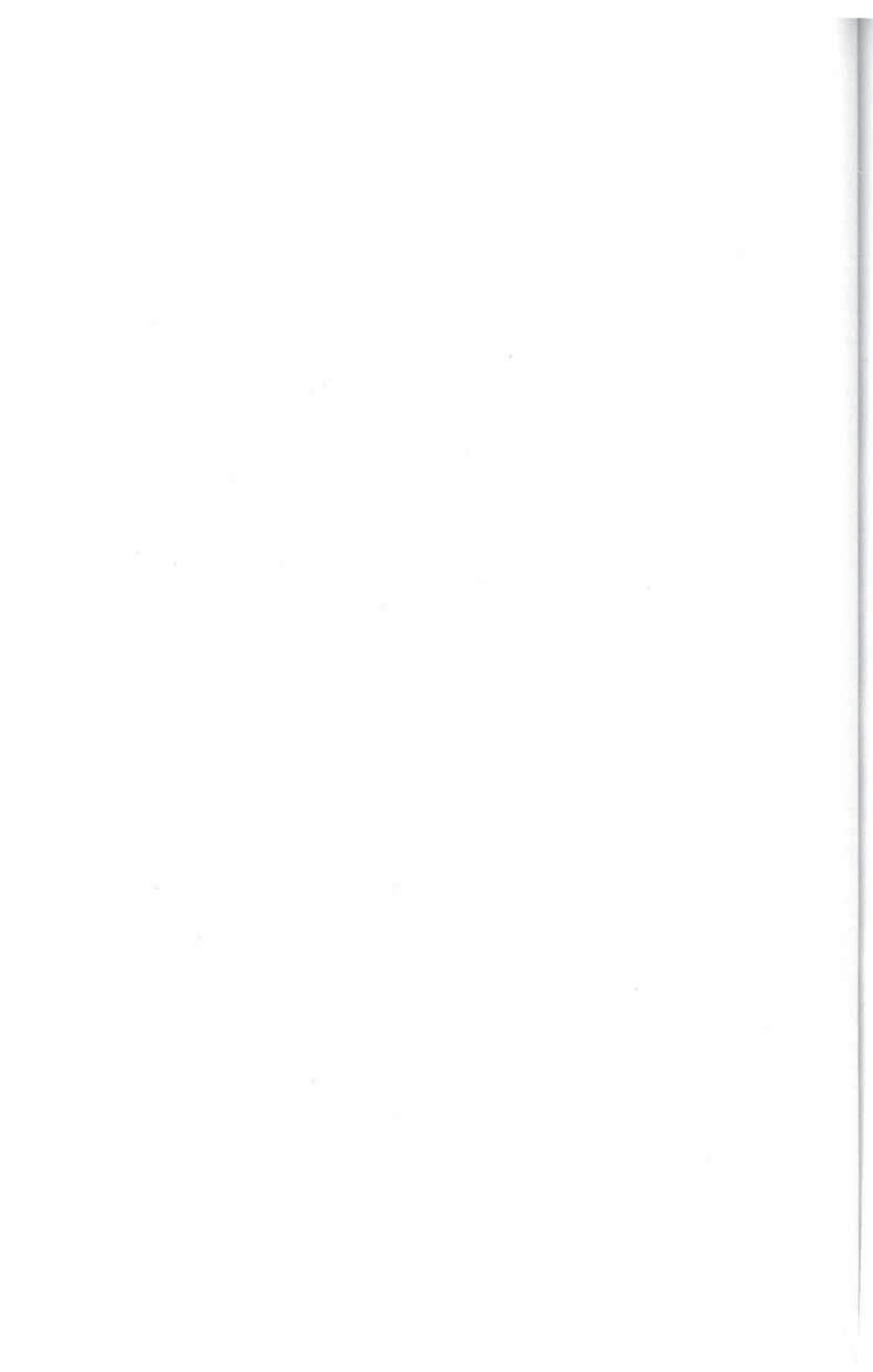
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# People, cultures, and languages in contact

## The drifting of Czech in the present-day flood of English

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After decades of isolation, the Czech community is now re-entering the Euro-Atlantic Community. People eagerly accept new things coming from the world, on the other hand, they need to square accounts with the stigmatized experience of the past. The particular moments of this condition remarkably reflect in language, speech and communicative processes. One particular process is the English impact on Czech.

*The idea of accepting variation within society, social conflict, the conviction that it was necessary to look at processes rather than at fixed categories, characterizes not only linguistics but society as a whole.*

J. V. Neustupný

### 1. Preliminary considerations

The older classical studies of the phenomenon "languages in contact" mostly issued in the investigation of the *interference* of languages and connected it with *bilingualism*. And even though the scholars were aware of the relevance of the socio-cultural and psychological settings of the contact, nevertheless they maintained that "the linguist is to abstract language from considerations of psychological and sociological nature" and that he even "should pose purely linguistic problems about bilingualism" (Weinreich 1953:4). Furthermore, a onesided systemic orientation conduced some scholars to put overemphasis on the internal factors of inference. Such formulations as the following one by

Vachek (1962:446), "a language system ...does *not* submit to such external influence as would be incompatible with its structural needs and wants" are too "optimistic" and far from being realistic. Language users evidently do not behave in such a rational manner and it is hardly possible to subsume any case of language interference under the rubric of "structural needs and wants of the language system" (unless this, anyhow vague and elastic, term should loose its sense at all).

Undoubtedly, linguistic interference (a term which does not adequately render the very contents of the phenomenon under discussion, though) is determined partly by the structures of the two languages in contact and — for the greater part, esp. nowadays — by factors in the dynamism of the socio-cultural context of the language contact. It is the interplay of these two domains of factors that appears relevant. It would be futile and anti-productive to attempt at a separate treatment of the two. Thus language contact appears to be but one aspect of culture contact and language interference represents one aspect of culture diffusion and acculturation. And at the same time we have to recognize that, in fact, it is the individual language user that is the ultimate locus of contact. We have to take into consideration the circumstance that the purely linguistic facts are firmly set in social and psychic matrix and, consequently, that it is necessary to treat them in this framework. Or, to put it in a more true wording, a "purely linguistic fact", dissociated from its setting, appears as a mere theoretical construct.

### 1.1 The sociolinguistic situation of present-day Czech

To begin with, let us first discuss the overall sociolinguistic situation of present-day Czech. When speaking of the linguistic situation of a language, we have in mind the general social state in which the given language finds oneself and develops on a certain territory, at a certain time, in given social and cultural conditions (cf. Jedlička 1982: 49). As the typical components of it appear to be (1) the extent and the ways of use of the language (or languages) and its (their) varieties in different communicative domains, (2) the relation between language varieties from the point of view of social hierarchy, their distribution and competition, (3) the set of attitudes of the users towards the given language and varieties, and to other languages.

What represents a very substantial aspect of language situation is its *dynamic* nature. It is in a constant state of flux and development, and the particular components of it and the effective factors of its movement show an



inner tension. A further consequential moment has to be seen in the fact that language communities do not exist in isolation or separation. They live in contact with other communities (and their languages), they are component parts of broader geographic, political, and cultural spheres. Especially nowadays it appears indispensable to view at and examine the situation and state of the present-day Czech in this broad framework.

The new "Euro-Atlantic Community", which the Czech community re-enters after decades of isolation, will mostly be characterized by the following dominant types of the significant processes of social change: (1) modernization, (2) the rise of the society of mass consumption, (3) the far-reaching process of globalization. Simultaneously, however, opposite tendencies of diversification are operative, along with the interest in phenomena that are singular, specific, peculiar, or marginal, as well as with a weakened sense of norms. And it should be remembered that the existence of conflicting tendencies and processes represents a general feature of contemporary human society, remarkably contributing to the dynamics of its development.

The present state of Czech community is rather complex and complicated, with several discrepancies and contradictions. On the one hand, people eagerly accept new things coming from the world, that was closed for them during the previous period, and on the other hand, they need to square accounts with the stigmatized experience of the past times. Moreover, from the infelicitous historical experience of several past centuries they have learned what a crucial role the language plays in the preservation of the identity of a small nation. (Cf. Čmejrková and Daneš 1994). The particular moments of this state remarkably reflect in language, speech, and communicative processes.

## 1.2 Some relevant features of contemporary civilization

If we want to fully understand the present English impact on Czech, it is, however, desirable to look after those features of the overall conditions of contemporary civilization which could appear relevant to the said issue. Perhaps it is a very vivid and unprecedented relatively easy movement of people within individual societies as well as between societies, states, and continents that features as the most typical and consequential phenomenon. This nearly mass *migration* (in a broad sense) also means free and more extensive *contacts* between individual people, groups of them, and cultures. And it is not only people who migrate, but also the products of their work and products of culture (along with their original names, to be sure).

The linguistic consequence of migration and contact could be roughly characterized as levelling of some existing differences and distinctions, resulting in a process of *linguistic homogenization* (which could be also grasped as a decrease of linguistic variety).

Conceivably, such processes issue in *mixing of languages* or of their particular varieties. And it is just this mixing that represents one of the most characteristic features of our time. Even though it may appear as an undesirable or even sinful phenomenon, in the view of purists, it inevitably exists (and has existed). To be sure, it brings a certain *instability, uncertainty, and high variability* into languages, and — in an extreme case — it may even *endanger* the very existence of this or that language. Nevertheless, the ease and frequency of contact give rise to an evidently positive linguistic phenomenon, namely to *multilinguality*, but not only of the “classical (perfect)” type, but also of a relatively frequent novel, “defective” one, in which people can speak one or more “foreign” languages in a broken form, nevertheless sufficient for current communicative needs (also in cases where none of the partners is speaking in his/her native language).

To be sure, the above mentioned trends and processes, for the most part stimulated by objectively given conditions of the “post-modern” society, do not necessarily have a uniform bearing upon all community members or social groups and sections, and some of them can declaratively disapprove of and criticize them. Nevertheless, the objective social factors actually work and may, in a measure, manifest themselves even in the language usage of their opponents.

## 2. Two particularly relevant properties of language

### 2.1 Language is not an ideally structured system

Natural languages are organized as systems, more precisely as “systems of systems” (in the Praguian wording), though in a broad and somewhat vague sense. They certainly represent open systems and their structures show a number of “non-ideal features” (cf. Daneš 1966 and 1983). Any natural language reveals a high degree of inner diversification, inconsistency, it is less systematic and regular than the analyst might expect, and it is in a constant state of flux.

Nevertheless, at least two underlying principles of the non-ideal organization may be disclosed. The first is the relation of central and peripheral elements or sections (connected with vagueness, cf. Neustupný 1966), the second one bears on complexity: Employing the concept of Local Frozen Islands elaborated



in the complexity theory, we may assume that the language system as a whole is not "frozen" (firmly fixed or stiff), but only parts or sections of it represent frozen islands, whereas other parts remain in a state of flux (cf. de Beaugrande 1994). What seems important is the fact that there are different degrees of frozenness and that the process of freezing/melting constantly goes on in the use of language. The state of frozenness is, in general, very high in phonology (and, of course, in orthography), not so high in morphology, lower in syntax, and lowest in semantics (esp. in lexicon). (Cf. Daneš 1995a,b) — I have mentioned these data here because they significantly reflect in the process of language interference.

## 2.2 Language as a kind of organism

To state that language is a tool would sound as banality. But it appears less banal to point to the fact that this tool, in contradistinction to other tools, is not an extrinsic object, standing outside man, but an intrinsic one. It is an inseparable property of any human being, an inherent component part of him/her. Consequently, people cannot be and are not indifferent to it and, in turn, all the diverse properties, habits, emotions, etc., of people are operative in its use and development. Any language varies and develops relatively freely, nevertheless within certain limits, since the language community needs to have and retain such a degree of language unity, stability, and regularity that could enable their language to remain an able instrument of interpersonal communication. It is evident that the general principles of self-regulation and self-preservation are operative here.

Such presumptions suggest the possibility to consider language as a kind of *organism*. This somewhat metaphorical view is, in principle, not new. It appeared in the 19th century, inspired by the biological turn of that period. Our present suggestion has been inspired again by some considerations in contemporary natural sciences which arrived at a design of nature that considerably differs from that of the 19th century.

Any living organism has an intrinsic property called *immunity system*, which is essential for its preservation. Its function, called *immunity reaction*, is subservient to distinguishing the organism's own structures from foreign ones and to remove the latter from it. Now, it seems to me that an analogous defence mechanism is at work in language (i.e., in the behaviour of language users) and that the phenomenon of linguistic *purism* is nothing else than a manifestation of it. Looking at this phenomenon from the side of language users, we could also



say that they show an individual *allergy*, that is, immunological hypersensitivity to foreign linguistic elements at all or to certain ones and with various strength.

### 3. Conditions favouring the large-scale acceptance of English expressions by Czechs

Turning now to the very topic of the present considerable impact of English upon Czech, we have to consider two problems: First, in view of the large-scale and relatively easy reception of new English linguistic material by the majority of population, we should look after the causes or rather reasons/motives of this recent "deficiency of immunity" to foreign influence. They are of two kinds: some of them have relation to certain specific and peculiar psycho-social dispositions of Czech population, others have bearing on certain general "post-modern" social phenomena.

The majority of Czech community shows a relatively high degree of historically conditioned liking for foreign things and has tendency to imitating, so that innovations mostly are eagerly accepted and spread very easily and quickly. People often try to be in their speech fashionable, up-to-date or "in" (this last vocable has recently become very popular in Czech contexts). It is further natural, that after the "velvet revolution" of 1989, people have strongly experienced pleasurable sensation of freedom to have and enjoy anything one likes, without restrictions and fear.

Among the global post-modern social phenomena motivating the easy reception of English language material into Czech, we find especially certain looseness or laxity, implying the above mentioned dislike and feeble respect for norms or at least a lessened feeling of the desirability of keeping them, along with a tendency to attribute less importance to traditions and to the awareness of national identity.

In this connection, a recent statement of medical research deserves to be mentioned, namely that the organisms of contemporary population seem to show a lessened immunity reaction. Might we dare to see an actual relationship between the physical and the psycho-social domains?

### 4. Mechanics of the reception of foreignisms

Foreign elements in an organism are either rejected, or tolerated, or finally accepted by it. A somewhat analogous situation holds also for languages, that

means for language communities as wholes, for particular groups of users, or for individual users. The acceptance of a foreignism (which is the most important phenomenon in our considerations), i.e., its incorporation into the given common language system, as a rule presupposes a process of adaptation or adjustment: the given expression needs to be changed, more or less (in this or that aspect), in order to fit into the system. (Nevertheless, very often one or more foreign features remain retained and reveal its non-domestic origin, be it in spelling, sound structure, or grammar.) Moreover, a massive influence — such as the present-day huge impact of English on Czech — leads to a further and deeper mechanics of adaptation, namely to changes in the structure of the domestic language system itself, in the particular levels of its build-up. (In Czech, mainly in morphology, word-formation, and even in syntax, as well as in the lexico-semantic system and in phraseology.)

To be sure, the processes of rejection — toleration — acceptance are not uniform with language community as a whole. There are evidently individual as well as group differences (according to social distinctions, especially as to profession and generation), differences in users' attitudes toward foreignisms (generally or specifically to individual expressions or a type of them), in the willingness to and speed of the acceptance, etc. Thus the overall picture of the situation of language and its usage under a massive foreign influence, appears to be rather inperspicuous, shaky, and not easy to survey.

## 5. The types of Anglicisms and their actual position in Czech

Present-day Czech discourses (written and spoken) are, so to say, permeated with English expressions (EE). Some of them were borrowed and received into Czech in earlier times (esp. in the field of sport), later on, between the wars, the influx of Anglicisms grew stronger by turns, and nowadays the flood of them has reached its peak, probably: EEs are used broadly and without hesitation or pondering in all domains of social communication — in quite formal and official discourses, in professional usage (including sciences), in media, as well as in everyday or familiar intercourse and the like —, and by the users of Czech belonging to different classes and age groups. Czech people encounter them either directly (in English-language journals, books, or in a personal contact with foreigners speaking English), or in most cases indirectly, when they read or hear them in Czech texts or discourses, in mass media, etc. Due to the above (in Section 3) mentioned psycho-social dispositions of the majority of Czech

population, these new expressions spread rather swiftly and, according to my observations, the awareness of the foreign origin of some of them fades.

It is remarkable that in comparison with the present nation-wide impact of English, the influence of the Russian language in the past epoch of the hard and strict communist régime (with its Russian background) was surprisingly weak, with the exception of the political jargon, to be sure. (Naturally, even at that time new English expressions appeared, mainly in technology, sciences, sport and pop-music, in some cases coming through the medium of Russian.) This fact seems to be an interesting sociolinguistic paradox, that might perhaps be explained as follows:

First, conceivably, Russian was far from being popular with the majority of Czechs and the values it could mediate or bring in were markedly less attractive than those offered by the West (mainly through English). (To be sure, classical as well as some modern Russian cultural achievements, esp. works of art, represented, in any case, unquestionable values and were appreciated.) Second, the external impertinent pressure (including Russian as an compulsory subject in all schools) evidently evoked antipathy or even aversion to what was officially demanded: people prefer to accept things which they may choose freely. On the other hand, we should not overlook, however, that in the present, nearly headless reception of English elements, intrusive advertising (in a broad sense), be it overt or covert, economic or sometimes even political, plays its role.

In the subsequent paragraphs, two particular points concerning our very topic will briefly be discussed.

## 5.1

In the onomatological and semantic perspective, the borrowing of EEs by Czech speakers may have different motivation and the loans occupy different positions.

In one case, a new EE is needed in Czech, because it represents the appellation of a newly appearing thing (object or concept) for which a proper Czech appellation is lacking. In certain instances the English names are used as sole denominations of the given thing, e.g., *squash*, *walkman*, *hifi*, *modem*, *internet*, *marketing*, *grant*, *klip*, ...), or as a variant for a newly coined Czech equivalent (*computer* — *počítač*). Sometimes the Czech equivalent prevails (e.g., *počítač*), another time it is the English variant that will currently be used (e.g., *notebook* — *přenosný počítač*, *e-mail* — *elektronická pošta* — evidently due to its brevity, like in many other cases).

The high intensity of the influence of English may be seen in the plenty of



instances in which an EE will be borrowed even though a current traditional name of the given thing exists. Several examples: *cash* — *hotové peníze*, *come-back* — *návrat*, *P.O. Box* — *poštovní příhrádka*.

Also cases in which the borrowing of an EE is connected with a narrowing or specialization of its original meaning, are typical, cf. *juice/džus* “natural juice from fruit or vegetables” only. — In turn, there are cases in which a borrowed international expression already existing for a longer time in Czech, acquires a further reading under the influence of English, where the semantic spectrum of that expression is broader (the semantic non-identity of “international” words in different languages is a practically interesting phenomenon). An example: The Czech current adjective (of Latin origin) *exkluzivní* has been used with the meaning “exceptional”, but due to English, it will now be employed also in the sense “used or owned by only one person or group”, e.g., *exkluzivní interview*. English influence can be traced also in a conspicuously increased frequency of some “foreign” words rarely used before (having a current Czech equivalent) in cases that the given word is currently used in English. E.g., *konsensus* (*souhlas*), *diversita* (*rozmanitost*, *pestrost*).

## 5.2

Concerning the *adaptation* of English loans in Czech, there are two issues of serious consequences: First, the distinctly diverse relationship between spelling and pronunciation in the two languages, second, the fact that Czech, in distinction to English, is a highly inflectional language, with very productive word-formative, esp. derivative processes.

Czech orthography is based on (morpho)phonemic principle, in contradistinction to English. In loans, English as a rule preserves the original spelling while their pronunciation adapts to English usage (and thus often hardly disfigures the original sound form). In Czech, there was a traditional tendency to preserve both the original spelling and pronunciation. But this somewhat exacting practice (a Czech speaker has to learn both the original spelling and pronunciation), brought forth a spelling-rules modification which permits those loans that became domesticated, to be spelled according to their pronunciation (e.g., *jazz/džez*), i.e., like domestic words.

This rather liberal regulation called forth an open process and resulted in the rise of a number of spelling doublets (variants), unevenly distributed and individually used. Several examples: *comics/komiks*, *spray/sprej*, *cash/keš*, *show/šou*, ... In a number of cases the Czech spelling has prevailed (*byznys*, *spíkr*,

*mečbol, servis, ...*), but on the other hand, a number of EEs have preserved their original spelling only (*management, interview, hardware, ...*). Nevertheless, the tendency to use Czech spelling with loans is evident.

In general, the graphic and sound shapes of English loans (recent as well as older ones) in present-day Czech is rather varied, heterogeneous, and unsteady. This state is due not only to the just mentioned facts, but also to some other circumstances. First, the knowledge of English by Czech population is not yet solid enough (not even by the people in media, that are mainly responsible for the introduction and spreading of Anglicisms) and it was rather weaker in prewar times. (The insufficient knowledge concerns esp. pronunciation, in addition vacillating between the British and the American one.) And second, it appears relevant whether the given EE was borrowed into Czech initially in its graphic, or phonic form.

Thus we have in Czech: 1. Loans with English (E) spelling and E pronunciation (slightly adapted to Czech sound system), e.g., *laser* /leizr/. 2. Loans with Cz spelling and (adapted) E pronunciation, e.g., *byznys* (*business*). 3. Loans with both E and Cz spelling, and (adapted) E pronunciation, e.g., *cash*/keš. 4. Loans with E spelling and Cz spelling pronunciation, e.g., *radar*/radar/. 5. Loans with both Cz spelling and (mistaken) pronunciation, e.g., *volejbal* (*volleyball*). (Cf. also a curious hybrid *beachvolejbal*.) — Morphological adaptation concerns mainly nouns. They are either declined or remain undeclined (often the desinence or the overall sound shape of the given word is decisive). Sometimes they vacillate as for their gender. With a number of nouns both alternatives occur and there is a tendency to prefer undeclined forms. (The influence of English is evident and is at variance with the general inflectional character of Czech.) — Only a few current examples from the multitude of loans, of various grammatical character: *dealer, leasing, internet, mobil, Web, teenager, handout, hamburger, teleshopping, pacemaker, software, bodyguard, heavy metal* — (with a Czech desinence:) *databanka, implementace, negociace, alokace, kornflejky* — (indeclinabilia:) *party, global street-party, play-off/playoff, (talk)show*.

As for verbs and adjectives, their adaptation has a word-formative character. Verbs will currently be derived by means of the formant *-ovat* and conjugated, e.g., *lobbovat, e-mailovat, surfovat, dabovat* (and, of course, also *dabování, dabing/dabink*), *trénovat* (*trénování, trénink*), *zabukovat* (*book*), *squatovat*. Some of them belong to slang only: *abdejtovat, vyklířovat, zasejřovat, klikat/kliknout*. — Adjectives will be derived or adapted by means of a small set of different formants, e.g., *e-mailový, hardwarový, heavymetalový, surfovací, dealerský, tentativní, servisní, sofistikovaný*. There occur also several forms without a



desinance and inflection (*fit, super, on-line, ...*) or with variants (*fair/fér/férový*).

The use of acronyms is connected with uncertainty as to their pronunciation. Some of them are traditionally vocalized according to the spelling practice used with Czech alphabet (e.g., *USA, CD-ROM*), others according to the English usage (*BBC, FBI*) or vacillate (*TV, PC, IBM, OECD, ...*). A high degree of domestication of many acronyms is revealed by the fact that they will be transformed into "normal" Czech words by means of derivational formants: *LP* → *elpičko*, *PC* → *písíčko*, *IBM* → *ajbíemko*, *CD-ROM* → *cédéromka*, ... Nevertheless, these forms are used only in spoken discourses and have a familiar or slang character.

Not rarely, *nomina agentis* and *nomina actoris* will also be derived: *windsurfista, windowsář, grínpísák*, etc., sometimes also other types of nouns (*hamburgerizace*).

From the domain of *syntax*, one instance deserves mentioning, since it brings a typologically new moment into Czech. According to traditional rules of Czech grammar, attributes that do not have the form of an inflected adjective should be placed in postposition (i.e., after the head noun). But nowadays, due to the influence of English, such attributes as acronyms and some other noninflected quasi-adjectives not rarely appear in preposition, very often in scientific texts. Cf.: *RH faktor/RH-faktor* (instead of *faktor RH*), *GI trakt*, *HIV virus*, *CH<sub>3</sub> skupina*, *Brassica faktor*. Other examples: *hifi nahrávka*, *CD komplet*, *TV magazín*, *fit(ness) centrum*, *gender studie*. The same phenomenon occurs also with proper names of various institutions, e.g., *Panorama hotel* (traditionally *hotel Panorama*), *Premiéra TV*, *fotbalová Gambrinus liga*.

Rather practical reasons to prefer English can be seen in the world of commerce, also in the rise of the names of various firms (*Body International, Bontonland*), even in cases of a merely local import (*City Optic, Fashion Shop*).

The hard impact of English on Czech is conspicuously revealed by rather macaronic expressions of the kind *sofistikované adultní luxuriantní chování* or, in a slang conversation, *sejfnout windowsářský skřín*. To what a measure is this piece of speech Czech, in fact? Isn't Czech an endangered language, after all? Probably not more and not less than many other European languages.

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# Managing languages in conflict situation

## A special reference to the implementation of the policy on Malay and English in Malaysia

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English today certainly plays a wider range of roles than before. Due to these roles and to its neutrality in not being exclusively identified with any particular ethnic community in Malaysia, English is meant to be everyone's language in as much as the national language is. In real life the functions of English in Malaysia almost equal those of Malay, including the social function. This situation results from the image projected by English vis-à-vis Malay and an equal treatment of the two languages in the implementation of the policy. The policy on the enhancement of the use of English has helped to de-sensitise the feeling of the people towards English as a former colonial language, and to close the attitudinal gap between Malay and English. This pragmatism has also changed the world-view of Malaysians that only the use of the national language would assist in nation-building

### 1. Introduction

The language policy of Malaysia is inclusionist in stance in terms of recognising the place of every language "under the Malaysian sun". At the same time it is in cognizance of the fact that the languages do not belong to the same rank in the importance of their roles in the country. Arising from this Malaysia commits her languages to levels of hierarchy, which are synonymous with ranks or status. The Malay word for this concept is *taraf* which is generally translated into English as status.

## 2. Meaning of status

Researchers on language policy planning have given various interpretations to the term status when it comes to language, following Heinz Kloss' original dichotomy of corpus planning and status planning (Kloss 1969). One of these is that status refers to "allocation of language use". Cobbarubias (1983:51) in examining the different uses of the term status by scholars, especially in relation to language functions, concludes that status "refers to the relative standing of a language vis-à-vis its functions, vis-à-vis other eligible languages or language varieties."

Cobbarubias' definition of status as given above comes quite close to the Malaysian concept of status. In the Malaysian sense the simple allocation of language use, role, or function of a language is second to its eligibility to be placed in the rank of respect that it should command from the community.

The principle of eligibility which ranks the languages as national language, official language, language of education, etc., is based on a variety of factors, i.e., indigeneity, function, and ethoglossia (to use Cobbarubias' term). In the choice of Malay as the national language, ethoglossia was not a factor that came to the fore. It was indigeneity (i.e., the fact that it is an indigenous language), and its function as a major lingua franca among the ethnic groups. Both these factors provide the language with an anchorage to the Malaysian milieu. As properties of the national language, they are deemed to be able to bind the ethnic groups into one, such that the national language becomes an embodiment of the sense of belonging that Malaysians should subscribe to. This sense of belonging was important especially in the early years of nationhood in that it had the potential of arousing the feeling of nationalism that was supposed to be present in every loyal citizen.

## 3. The status of Malay

In the first 10 years of the birth of the nation-state, Malaya (as Peninsular Malaysia was then known), there was a clear distinction between "national language" and "official language". The former was seen as a sacred symbol for the citizens to love and honor, even though its roles in the education system and government administration were still minimal. Making Malay the national language of Malaysia was not just an act of labeling the language with a new brand. It was more of an act of elevating a language which had been termed a



vernacular by the British colonial government to the highest position in the ranking system. With this act, Malay as the national language surpassed the language regarded as the once most powerful language in the country, English.

The act of elevating the language on the part of the government is known in Malay as *mendaulatkan*, a term normally used in referring to the crowning of a prince to become a Sultan or King. It is a sacred word and has been deemed just as suitable to connote the elevation of Malay as the national language as it is in the enthronement of a King. Hence, the national language has a *daulat*, a sovereignty, just like the King. It is the king of all languages in the country.

However, in the planning, the national language just like the newly-crowned king had to learn to play various roles, primarily in administration and education. While waiting for it to mature in those roles, English was allowed to remain an official language for 10 years after Independence as provided for by the Constitution. After that date Malay assumed the status of national-cum-official language. With the merging of the two functions, the term "official language" came to lose its currency, as the national language has come to play more and more of the official function while it at the same time stands as a symbol of Malaysian sovereignty. When the two British colonies in Borneo, i.e., Sabah and Sarawak, joined Malaya to form Malaysia in 1963 the same rule of giving 10 years to English to function as an official language applied to them. Sabah was able to comply with the rule, but it was not the case with Sarawak. Sarawak went on using English as an official language until 1985.

The term "official language" means that the language is to be used in official ceremonies, government administration, communication between the government and the people, and in teaching in schools and universities.

What can be seen from the above delineation is that the term status in the Malaysian language policy is more than just a function. It is a standing or a rank that has a symbolic meaning. With the national language, the symbol at play was that of sovereignty, i.e., freedom from colonial rule, and with this language comes nationalism. On the other hand, the official language status as given to English symbolised a pragmatic value so that there was a smooth flow of change from the British colonial tradition to one that was being generated by the people themselves. The subsequent merging of the two statuses as in the Malay language was necessary for the management of the language policy which had set out to be one of the facets of the Malaysian identity (Asmah Haji Omar 1998b).

#### 4. New status for English

The above discussion shows that the concepts of status and function are not synonymous, and they are necessary in language policy management in Malaysia. Although English has been deprived of its "official language" status, its usefulness in the building of the Malaysian nation has motivated the bestowal of another status to it, i.e., that of "the second most important language", second only to the national language. This rather lengthy label has been truncated to "second language".

In reality this new label assumes a status as well as a function. In terms of status, it should be upheld by all Malaysians, no matter where s/he is, even if s/he stays in the remotest part of the country where the language may be utterly useless in his or her daily life.

In terms of the realisation of this status every school in Malaysia has to teach English as a compulsory school subject right from Primary One. The schoolchild will be learning the national language, and school subjects like history, geography, science and mathematics are taught in this language. At the same time the schoolchild has to master English.

What then is the function of English? Acquisition of this language is to prepare a person for the future, when s/he participates in a higher level of nation building as a bureaucrat, or a technocrat, or in any other type of profession. To ensure that Malaysians will be ready to face the challenges of the modern world, English has become a compulsory subject throughout their student lives, from the primary school right to the university. In all the compulsory examinations in the school system English is a component, but a fail in the paper does not deprive the students from the relevant certificates. However, this is not so at the university level. The degree (i.e., the basic degree) may be awarded only if there is evidence of a pass in the common English language paper MUET (i.e., Malaysian Universities English Test) administered to students prior to joining the university. A student who fails this paper may still be admitted to the local universities if his or her grades in all the other papers are good. But s/he has to redeem him- or herself by taking the paper again (and maybe repeatedly) and be successful in the renewed attempt(s) so that the degree would not be withheld.

When English was deprived of its official status 10 years after Independence, the act was only in name and it covered only the most visible spheres of its functions, i.e., in official ceremonies, administration in government departments, and in the government schools and universities. Most of the professions,



be they legal, business, banking, medical, dentistry or any other, used English. Trials in the law courts were all using English until 1983 when the Lower Courts started using Malay (Asmah Haji Omar 1992: Chapter 5; Nesamalar Chitravelu 1985). Even today, the High Courts are still using English in their trials.

The same goes with the media (both print and electronic). In social life, English is very much an inter-group form of communication especially in the urban and suburban areas. Communication among the high and middle class non-Malays is always English. When there is a Malay participating in a language event, communication takes place in Malay only if the Malay does not know English. Malays seem to prefer English to socialise among themselves if all the parties know English (Asmah Haji Omar 1998b; Burhanuddeen 1998). The one single factor which causes the Malays to be inclined towards using English in their social lives is sociolinguistic comfortableness (Asmah Haji Omar 1992: Chapter 4). Malay has complex sociolinguistic rules compared to English, especially in greetings and the use of honorifics. When using Malay, the speaker has to make a prior assessment of the social position of the person he or she is addressing so that the proper titles, pronouns, forms of greeting, as well as lexical items, are chosen. Although a similar assessment takes place when English is used, social differentiation is not as heavily weighted in English as in Malay. For example, the personal pronouns in English can be used more "universally" than the ones in Malay. For reasons such as these, English-educated Malays, inclusive of the nine royal families of the nine Malay states in the Federation of Malaysia, would precipitate towards English in their social interaction (Burhanuddeen 1998).

In short, ever since its introduction to the Malaysian scene, viz. through the school system at the close of the nineteenth century, English has been a part of the language repertoire of the Malaysians. The process of reaching this position was gradual not only in terms of time but also in terms of its geographical spread. The movement was from the urban to the rural areas. And as mentioned previously, the principle of equal opportunity practised by the Malaysian government has brought English to every nook and corner of Malaysia.

## 5. Management of the policy on Malay and English

In the above section, I have shown that appreciation of status in language policy is necessary for the management of languages in Malaysia. In this section, I shall try to place the implementation of the Malaysian language policy, specifically



with regard to Malay and English, within the framework of the general theory of management.

In management, a corporate body is guided by a mission statement, which is usually given in a single (though quite lengthy) sentence which is very much loaded with the type of achievement the body strives to get for itself. There has been no specific mission statement for the implementation of the policy pertaining to Malay and English. However, from statements made by the government (in the name of the Prime Minister) and the Ministry of Education (specifically in the curricula of the schools, universities and teacher training institutions) one can derive that the teaching of both languages shall produce Malaysians who are proud of their national language as a symbol of their sovereignty and who at the same time are able to use English as a window to the whole wide world.

As an illustration, let me quote the objective or mission statement of the Faculty of Languages and Linguistics, University of Malaya, in the teaching of English and Malay in the university (The UMESPP Story): "To produce students who are proud of their national language and culture, yet articulate in English, the global lingua franca." This mission or policy statement indicates the intent to shape the values of the people. The intent comes from the policy-makers, and it is the policy implementors who have to see that values are shaped according to the original intent. We can equate the policy-makers with the leaders, and implementors with the managers.

In business or corporate management, clients or customers reign supreme, and strategies are formed and implemented to generate quality in service as well as in product, to satisfy the clients/customers. Translate this into language policy implementation: the customers are the people, and the most important customers are the students at the schools, colleges and universities. The product is their ability to use both Malay and English, the former as their national language which according to the intent should be close to their hearts, and the latter as a language which makes them better professionals who are able to participate in the affairs of the world.

To generate a high quality product there should also be a high quality service and support system, and this comes with:

- i. A sufficient budget.
- ii. Good planning of the implementation processes.
- iii. Good strategies.

## 5.1 Budget

In almost every annual budget passed by the Malaysian Parliament, education has been given top priority. For the last decade or so, the allocation given to the Ministry of Education has been between 23% and 27% of the total budget. This allocation is devolved to the various institutions down the line. There are no specific figures in dollars and cents for the teaching of Malay and English, but one can get a picture of the emphasis given to them through allocations for teacher and graduate training, in-service courses given to already trained teachers of the languages, and scholarships for undergraduate studies. Since the latter half of the 1970s until the present time, in such training programs English appears to be the greater beneficiary compared to Malay.

Training for English is given in Malaysia as well as in core English speaking countries, especially the United Kingdom. Besides that, in the early part of the 1980s for 5 years in a row, the government imported teachers of English from the United Kingdom at the rate of 200 teachers a year, to teach especially in the rural schools.

The emphasis given to English has been in response to the continued "chanting" by Malaysian leaders that the standard of English in Malaysia has declined, and that the Malaysians are the worst of the lot in Southeast Asia in terms of English language proficiency to the extent that their achievement is lower than that of the Indonesians who are not exposed to English in their day-to-day life.

In the 1970s the SEAMEO Regional Language Centre in Singapore categorised Southeast Asian Countries based on the role of English in each country. Two categories were introduced: English as a Second Language (ESL), and English as a Foreign Language (EFL). Malaysia was placed in the EFL category together with Indonesia and Thailand. The ESL countries were Singapore and the Philippines. This met with great displeasure from Malaysia, and was a factor in the re-emphasis of the role of English as a second language. (Asmah Haji Omar 1996a).

## 5.2 Planning of implementation processes

The implementation of the policy starts with the various divisions of the Ministry of Education, namely, the School Division, the Teacher Training Division, the Curriculum Development Centre, and the Textbook Bureau. Each unit formulates its own strategies and targets. They interface a great deal, as each has to know the others' data of needs and targets in order to formulate its own



objectives and strategies. Each Division etc. has its own Subdivision according to language.

From the start, English has an advantage over Malay. Teacher training, curriculum design and textbook production can draw on other countries' experiences and available materials. Another important point is that English is a very well developed and stabilised language. There are variations, particularly between British English and American English. However, the choice of one over the other is with the user. In the background is the whole wide world of living English to refer to.

Malay, however, is a new "modern" language, "new" in the sense that it has had a relatively recent history as a language of bureaucracy, technocracy and the higher sciences. Directed development of its corpus, specifically spelling and the technical terms in various fields of knowledge, started in 1956 with the establishment of the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka (DBP), a government agency for corpus planning and publication. Success was first recorded only in 1972 when an agreement was reached between Malaysia and Indonesia on a common spelling system. From then on, corpus planning between the two countries proceeded to develop glossaries of scientific terms for almost every branch and sub-branch of the natural and physical sciences, the social sciences, mathematics, philosophy, religion etc. taught in the local universities (Asmah Haji Omar 1979). In 1985, Brunei joined the supranational organisation to create The Language Council of Brunei Darussalam-Indonesia-Malaysia, better known by its Malay acronym, MABBIM.

The budget for the meetings of this Council and for the preparation and publication of the products of such meetings on the Malaysian side comes from the Ministry of Education through the DBP. The amount of glossaries and the number of dictionaries of scientific terms for Malay are hardly a measurement for the success of the corpus planning. As the Malaysian policy allows for the teaching of scientific courses in the local universities in English, those "guides", as it were, seem to be under-utilised. This is also the case with Brunei which has a bilingual policy requiring school subjects to be taught in English except for the Malay Language, Physical Education, Islamic Knowledge, Art and Craft, and Music (Ahmad bin Jumat 1991). Indonesia has a very clear monolingual policy to use only Bahasa Indonesia in schools and universities. This has been the practice since her Independence from Dutch rule in 1945. However, the glossaries and dictionaries of scientific terms approved by MABBIM have not been effectively used in academic teaching and the production of textbooks. This is due to the Indonesian tradition of formulating scientific terms in their



own way for a long time without having to bargain with "younger sisters".

The achievement of the supranational co-operation as embodied in a common spelling system has not been fully repeated when it comes to scientific terminology. While a spelling system can be defined by rules, scientific terminology has a very broad context which consists of the user's background, the genre in which a specific term occurs, the audience targeted, the mode in which the text is transmitted etc. Even within Indonesia itself it has been quite difficult to standardise the use of scientific terms for a sub-branch of science in the different universities.

The policy in allowing the use of English for the teaching of scientific courses (and this can be freely interpreted) in Malaysian universities has made life easier for academics teaching those courses. Time is not wasted in checking glossaries for the approved terms, and there is the availability of text and reference books.

### 5.3 Strategies

The development of new strategies for the implementation of the policy has always been encouraged for both Malay and English, and has been given financial support. Programs for strategies take the form of:

- i. Training programs to develop experts and support personnel.
- ii. Research and the application of new teaching methods.
- iii. Production of teaching and reading materials.
- iv. Awareness campaigns on the importance of both the languages.
- v. Evaluation of impact.

#### 5.3.1 *Training programs*

Training programs to develop experts in teaching the languages are conducted at universities and teacher training colleges, for pre-service as well as in-service personnel. Students and serving teachers are sent to English speaking countries, especially the United Kingdom, for English.

#### 5.3.2 *Research and the application of new teaching methods*

Research on strategies of learning and teaching languages is done at local universities, specifically in Faculties or Centres which are involved in language teaching and teacher training. Because language-related issues are considered a very important area academically as well as politically, many of the major public universities have established faculties or centres for teaching languages and

linguistics, separate from the Arts, the Humanities, the Social Sciences, and Education. English and Malay are the main focuses of attention, but these Faculties/Centres also teach and conduct research on other languages as well, both Malaysian and foreign. Results of research are published in journals of the universities or by University and other publishers. The DBP is a major publisher of Malay works.

### 5.3.3 *Awareness campaign*

Command of Malay and English is a never-dying theme in public speeches of leaders and in the media. Every now and then people are reminded by the Prime Minister and members of his Cabinet (not just the Minister of Education) to be very proficient in both the languages. Opposition party leaders as well as legal and corporate personalities make it their duty to comment on the "falling standard" of English among the Malaysians, and that candidates who graduate from local universities do not do well in interviews for positions in the professions. The media would take this up for days on end, inviting views from the public. One gets the impression that no other country in the world talks about the language proficiency of her people as much as Malaysia.<sup>1</sup> Such pronouncements and comments which imply that "something is rotten in the state of Denmark" have an effect on the various implementation bodies. Funds are sought and generated for activities to elevate standards and to prevent standards from falling lower.

Awareness campaigns on a different plane are carried out by the DBP. DBP goes to commercial and legal firms and advertising agencies to make them aware of the importance of the national language, and to urge them to use it. For a few years in the 1990s, the DBP propagated the virtue of love for the national language in a monthly campaign. Hence, this campaign was conducted with the slogan *Cintailah Bahasa Kita* ("Love Our Language"). The DBP's awareness campaigns have solicited polite responses with token appearances of the use of Malay in the firms. The response can be said to be minimal. It took the government in one of the Cabinet meetings in February 2000 to decree that Sales and Purchase Agreements between firms and their clients should be written in Malay so that clients can fully understand what they are in for. However, this ruling will only be implemented once standard agreement forms have been prepared in the national language.

A program carried out for the national language is balanced by one for English, and vice versa. Hence, there are also awareness campaigns for English, in schools as in universities, in the form "English week" or "English month"

when participants are supposed to use English in all their activities. There are also two important inter-school debates every year, one in Malay and the other in English. The trophies awarded for both carry the Prime Minister's name. There is a similar program at the university level.

**5.3.3.1 Approaches to awareness campaigns.** Management of awareness campaigns is an important activity because they are very powerful in shaping the values of the community.

Awareness campaigns for Malay have always been emotion-oriented. Emotive words and phrases are used, and are meant to move the people to love, cherish, honor, and uphold the national language, because it is the "soul of the nation" (*Bahasa Jiwa Bangsa* which is the motto of DBP). On the other hand, campaigns for English appeal to reason and revolve around the properties of English as a socio-economic, hence political, powerhouse. Here lies the difference between the two languages. On the one hand, one sees the politics of emotion at play, and on the other the politics of reason. In the long run, it is the latter that proves to be more powerful, because people are success-oriented in order to survive in this world. Success relates more to reason than to emotion.

## 5.4 Evaluation of impact

A product has to be evaluated in terms of the impact it has on the consumers. Evaluation is based on feedback. A high quality product means all is well in the implementation processes. A low quality product calls for another look at the processes and the support systems.

The policy on the national language has produced students and graduates who are able to use the language as a medium of learning and of social interaction. When they enter the government service they are able to use the language in carrying out their administrative duties. This goes for the Malays as well as the non-Malays. So, the impact of the implementation of the policy on Malay has shown positive feedback. Even then, there is always room for improvement, and implementation processes are given continued support in terms of budget, facilities, training and service.

Feedback on English based on public examinations and performance in jobs in the professions always appears rather more "unsatisfactory" than "satisfactory". What this means is that the expectation in the language proficiency level of the people is not commensurate with the opportunity given in the use of the language, especially as a learning-teaching medium. With about 3 hours of use



in the school per week, and that is only in the English language class, the students are expected to use English as a second language. Despite this very limited time-table for English, Malaysian children, especially in the urban areas, are able to use English as a social language, even though what they speak is dubbed Malaysian English. Malaysian school leavers have succeeded in joining universities in the UK, USA and other English speaking countries, and in obtaining degrees from them. There is a positive impact here.

Unfortunately, this positive impact occurs in patches, mostly in the urban areas. Schoolchildren in the rural areas are not able to perform as well as their urban counterparts. This discrepancy is due to the lack of exposure to English in the rural areas.

The feedback on impact motivated the government to enhance the role of English as a second language in education, not at the school but at the university level. There are three types of programs introduced for the purpose, and these are (Asmah Haji Omar 1996b):

- i. Allowing more use of English in government universities, especially in the teaching of science courses. This rule came in December 1993. Vice-Chancellors have also been directed by the Ministry of Education to look into further possibilities of enhancing the use of English in teaching university courses.
- ii. Allowing twinning programs between local colleges and foreign universities, and the foreign university awards the degree.
- iii. Allowing branches of foreign universities to be set up in Malaysia.

## 6. Ethoglossia and image

Ethoglossia, the communicative strength of a language (Cobbarubias 1983), is an important property of language. English is very high on the ethoglossic scale as it has had a long history of being a language of the sciences, technology, high literature, business communication as well as of international communication.

Efforts on the development of Malay have missed the subject of ethoglossia. In terms of reading materials, the DBP, being the biggest publishing house for and the most important propagator of Malay, has not done enough in the production of books for the general public, children and academia. Translation of foreign books has been confined to translation from English only. If a Russian novel is available in Malay, one can be sure it has been translated from the English version. For this reason, Malaysians prefer to read the English text.

Being weak in ethoglossia, Malay has not succeeded in becoming a language of the professions. Academics prefer to write papers and report on their research in English, as this will ensure a wider readership. Their promotion to professorship depends a great deal on their ability to get their papers published in internationally refereed journals (Asmah Haji Omar 1998a).

Tied to ethoglossia is image. Image is the result of the perception of a language on the part of the community. It refers to the "wellness" of the language in terms of communicative strength, stability of corpus, and the treasury of literatures in various fields and genres (Asmah Haji Omar 1998a). The image that a language reflects influences people's opinion towards it. From there comes the value-laden prestige that one places on a language. Of the two languages under consideration Malay lacks the image that English projects.

## 7. Conclusion

In terms of status as decreed by the government, English in Malaysia may not be as important as when it was the language of colonial power. But today it certainly plays a wider range of roles than before. Due to these roles and to its neutrality in not being exclusively identified with any particular ethnic community in the country, English is meant to be everyone's language in as much as the national language is.

English has been given the label of second language indicating its status and functions as seen by policy-makers, who for political purposes would not like to see it as a rival to the national language. In real life the functions of English in Malaysia almost equal those of Malay, including the social function. This situation results from the image projected by English vis-à-vis Malay and an equal treatment of the two languages in the implementation of the policy. All along, Malay faces the disadvantage of still being in the development process.

The policy on the enhancement of the use of English has helped to desensitise the feeling of the people towards English as a former colonial language, and to close the attitudinal gap between Malay and English. This pragmatism has also changed the world-view of Malaysians (as reflected in opinions in the media and in the pronouncements of leaders) that extremist nationalism (i.e., one that only allows the use of the national language) would not assist in nation-building. It seems that the adage that love for one's country can be transmitted only through the national language no longer applies.

In management theory, productivity is seen through the people. In the

Malaysian context a language policy management that co-ordinates English and Malay is believed to be able to generate this productivity.

## Note

1. Editor's note: which is of course not at all the case. Professor Asmah's words just as well describe public discourse about English in Hong Kong today.

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# Japanese school children in Melbourne and their language maintenance efforts

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This paper presents a case study of language maintenance efforts made by bilingual Japanese children in Melbourne whose parents are of Japanese background. The children were selected from two sub-groups in the Japanese community: the children of business sojourners (temporary residents), the largest sub-group in the community, and the children of permanent residents, the second largest sub-group. Focusing on the micro-level language planning for maintenance, this study examines the speakers' degree and direction of maintenance in terms of Japanese language proficiency, and it analyses the correlation between the maintenance achieved, the factors, and the strategies adopted. Two instruments have been developed for the assessment of speakers' naturally occurring spoken discourse data. It is argued that the children's differing residential status, being either a sojourner or permanent resident, is a key factor affecting the maintenance process and its outcomes, and that maintenance at the micro-level, specifically individual and family levels, is the result of the combined efforts of the parents and the children.

## Introduction

In Australia, Japanese residents number only about 33,000. Most of these residents are sojourners. While the Japanese government has been aware of the existence of Japanese adult business sojourners abroad and especially cognisant of their contributions as businessmen to Japan's economic growth, it has played a rather passive role in looking after the needs of the wives and children who accompany them abroad. Accordingly, the language maintenance of Japanese children has depended largely on the *ad hoc* initiatives of those involved



through their business organisations and of individual families living in comparative isolation.

### Study of Language Behaviour of Japanese Children Abroad

Since the early 1980s, a growing literature has emerged on the plight of Japanese children abroad and of the returnee children (i.e., those who returned to Japan after living abroad a number of years). Accordingly, there is now some collective wisdom or consensus about the language behaviour of these children. There are a number of studies which have investigated language maintenance or bilingualism of Japanese children residing outside Japan, in the United States (Iwasaki 1982; Minoura 1984; Okamura-Bichard 1985; Hakuta 1986; Okada 1993; Kondo 1998), Canada (Cummins et al. 1984; Cummins and Nakajima 1990; Nakajima 1988, 1991, 1998; Noro 1990), Brazil (Kanazawa and Loveday 1988) and the United Kingdom (Yamada-Yamamoto and Richards 1998; Yamada-Yamamoto and Richards eds. 1998). Some of these studies have been concerned with second language learning and cultural adaptation or friendship establishment in the host country. Others have considered the correlation between L1 and L2 linguistic skills, and L1 maintenance and its development in relation to learning a second language, English. Still others deal with language contact and language shift among different generations of Japanese immigrants. In the Australian context, the research conducted has been limited, focusing mainly on the behaviour of business sojourner children. For example, Mabuchi (1996a,b) investigated the establishment of friendships between Japanese business sojourner children and Australian children in a local regional community (Morwell) consisting of about 70 Japanese families in Victoria, Australia. Yoshimitsu (1989, 1993, 1996) also conducted research on the Japanese children in the same Japanese community, examining their first language maintenance.

With regard to Japanese language maintenance, the findings of these studies suggest that the level of maintenance achieved by the children living outside Japan may depend on a complex interaction of a range of factors. These factors include parental language usage, the family's language policy, the family's socio-economical background, the choice of schooling, friendship networks, the age of arrival and the length of residence in the host country. The question thus remains: in what environment, and with what conditions, are children motivated to maintain Japanese?

My study focuses on Japanese children's efforts to retain the use of their language in a two-language environment in Melbourne, Australia in terms of what is, and is not, maintained, and the causes for whatever variation occurs in this regard. In the examination of micro-level language planning for maintenance, specifically individual and family levels, attention will be focused on the speaker's behaviour towards Japanese language and on the formulation and evaluation of their strategies for solving language problems. This paper will report the findings from: (1) an assessment of the degree and the direction of the children's Japanese language maintenance and (2) an examination of the factors and strategies which had an impact on their maintenance levels.

## Methodology

This study is based upon qualitative data that can only be drawn from in-depth case studies. Whereas the majority of investigations on language maintenance to date have often involved observations on reported behaviour, the emphasis in this study is on actual language behaviour. Accordingly, the discourse analysed in this study was from naturally occurring situations. The unit of analysis is the family where discourse data is collected from both the children and their parents. In the context under investigation, namely, Japanese children in an English language environment, the development of first language proficiency by young speakers also represents language maintenance, in this case, of the minority language, as noted above. Although the individual child is the principal focus of my study, maintenance strategies involve not only the child's but also the parental choices, which shape the environment in which the child makes his or her choices. The data upon which the following analysis is based were collected by means of an extensive survey, personal interviews, the execution of language tasks, recording of naturally occurring family conversations and participant observation.

The study investigated 10 Japanese children in Grade Five who were 10–11 years old and enrolled at the Melbourne International School of Japanese, a supplementary Japanese school held on Saturdays. They were selected from two sub-groups in the Japanese community of Melbourne: the children of business sojourners (temporary residents) who constitute the majority in the Japanese community, and the children of permanent residents, the second largest group in the Japanese community. Five children were selected from the temporary resident (sojourner) category and from the permanent resident category. The

Table 1. Profiles of the five permanent resident children

	Gen- der	Residence in Australia	Schooling in Japan	Start of Saturday School	Supplementary studies	Siblings (age)	Language used at home	Parents' occupa- tion
P1	G	11 years; born in Australia	Nil	Prep 6 years old	Nil	OS (15,13) YS (7)	P: I/E S: I/E	F: Travel compa- ny staff M: P/T Teacher
P2	G	"	"	"	Kumon (Maths, Language — end of '91)	OB (13)	P: J S: I/E	F: Company own- er M: Bookshop co- owner
P3	G	"	"	"	Kumon (Maths)	YB (4)	P: J S: J	F: Duty free shop staff M: P/T hairdress- er
P4	B	"	"	"	Training papers (Maths)	YB (8)	P: J S: I/E	F: Company staff M: P/T restaurant worker
P5	B	5 years; arrival at age of 6	"	Grade 1 7 years old	Nil	YS (8) YB (5)	P: J S: I/E	F: Tour guide, P/T teacher M: not working

P1-P5: Permanent resident children 1 to 5. G: Girls; B: Boys P: Parents; S: Siblings. OB/OS: Older brothers/sisters (brackets indicate age). YB/YS: Younger brothers/sisters (brackets indicate age). J: Japanese; E: English; F: Father; M: Mother



Table 2. Profiles of the five sojourner children

Gen-der	Residence in Australia	Schooling in Japan	Start of Saturday School	Supplementary Studies	Siblings (age)	Language used at home	Parents' occupation	
S1	G	6 years 1 month	Nil	Grade 1	Nil	YS (8,5)	P: J S: J/E	F: Company staff
S2	B	4½ years	1st Term of Grade 1 only	Grade 1	Correspondence Course	OB (15)	P: J S: J	***
S3	B	3 years 10 months	Grade 1 only	Grade 2	Correspondence; Kumon (maths/ language)	OS (17,15)	P: J S: J	***
S4	B	2½ years	Up to 1st term of Grade 3	Grade 3	Correspondence; English home tutor	OB (14)	P: J S: J	***
S5	G	2 years 5 months	Up to 1st term of Grade 3	Grade 4	Correspondence	YS (10)	P: J S: J	***

S1-S5: Sojourner children 1 to 5. G: Girls; B: Boys; P: Parents; S: Siblings. OB/OS: Older brothers/sisters (brackets indicate age). YB/YS: Younger brothers/sisters (brackets indicate age). J: Japanese; E: English; F: Father; M: Mother.

profiles of these children are shown in Tables 1 and 2. These tables provide background information on each child's period of residence in Australia, schooling in Japan, the age at which they first enrolled in the Japanese Saturday School, their involvement in supplementary studies, the number of siblings, the language used at home, and the parents' occupation.

The 5 permanent resident children are referred to as 'P1' to 'P5' and the 5 sojourner children as 'S1' to 'S5'. Of the five permanent resident children, four were born in Australia, where they had resided for over 11 years. One came to Australia at the age of six years and had resided in Australia for over 5 years. The sojourner children had resided in Australia for between 2.5 years to 6 years. A number of considerations led to this particular sample of children. First, it was important to select children who had been in Australia for a minimum of two years in order for there to have been adequate time for a clearly discernible maintenance program to have emerged. Second, in order to isolate residential status as a major variable, an attempt was made to obtain a sample of children with a similar schooling pattern, that is, those who attended an Australian school during the week and the Japanese Saturday School on the weekend. Third, all children were in the same class regardless of their residential status and their period of stay in Australia. It was often the case that children who had been in Australia for a relatively long period of time with no schooling experience in Japan, joined either (1) a special class where learning was rather limited, focusing only on the Japanese language, or (2) a lower year level at school.

A number of different characteristics distinguish sojourners from permanent residents (Goodman 1990; Mizukami 1993, 1994; Purnendra and Mizukami 1996). For instance, sojourners have a clear intention of returning home after achieving their goals in Australia or at the expiration of a given period of time. On the other hand, permanent residents have various reasons for establishing their lives in a different country, becoming a member of that society and permanently settling down. It is reasonable to expect that such differences in residency status would affect parents' attitudes towards their children's education. Accordingly, it could be expected that sojourner parents would organise the education of their children differently from the parents who are permanent residents. Japanese children sojourning overseas must eventually return to Japan and enter its education system. The children of permanent residents, on the other hand, are likely to become second-generation permanent residents. Many acquire Japanese as their first language in the period prior to entering an Australian school. However, from then on Japanese gradually becomes their second language. In these circumstances, children need to be exceptionally

motivated to continue to use Japanese and also need to be in an environment conducive to maintaining Japanese as their first language.

It was hypothesised that the residential status could be seen as a key variable, and that parents who were permanent residents placed more importance on maintenance programs than sojourner parents. In other words, it was hypothesised that there was a greater fear among the permanent residents that language shift or loss might result over time. One might argue that there was a fear of being left alone or isolated if one's children could not speak the parents' first language. It was likely that this attitude would be linked to other variables in the cluster shown in Figure 1 below. It might, for example, thereby result in the maintenance outcomes of some of the children of permanent residents being better than those achieved by some of the sojourner children. In the analysis of findings, reference will be made to the two distinct samples, namely sojourner children and permanent resident children, into which the subjects of this study have been purposely grouped.

### Operationalisation of key variables

This study is concerned with how maintenance policies result in maintenance programs, which then result in maintenance outcomes. An overview of the framework is presented in Figure 1. An extensive review of previous literature revealed a variety of factors likely to exert their influence on language maintenance. From a store of possible factors, a number have been chosen for investigation in this study. The classification of variables related to language maintenance is an arbitrary one. The assumption underlying the present classification was that the child's maintenance outcomes were the result of the combined efforts of the parents and the child concerned. However, the parental efforts (strategies or maintenance programs for their child) towards the outcomes of the child's maintenance were somewhat different compared with the efforts made by the child.

Two major classes of independent variables, therefore, are suggested in this study: parental variables which affect their choice of program for their children's maintenance (Box A in Figure 1), and the children's variables which affect their choice of program for maintenance (Box C). The strategies in the process that links the independent variables (factors) and dependent variables (maintenance outcomes: Box E) are considered as intervening variables (maintenance program). Intervening variables are also classified in two ways: parental



variables (maintenance program: Box B) and children's variables (maintenance program: Box D).

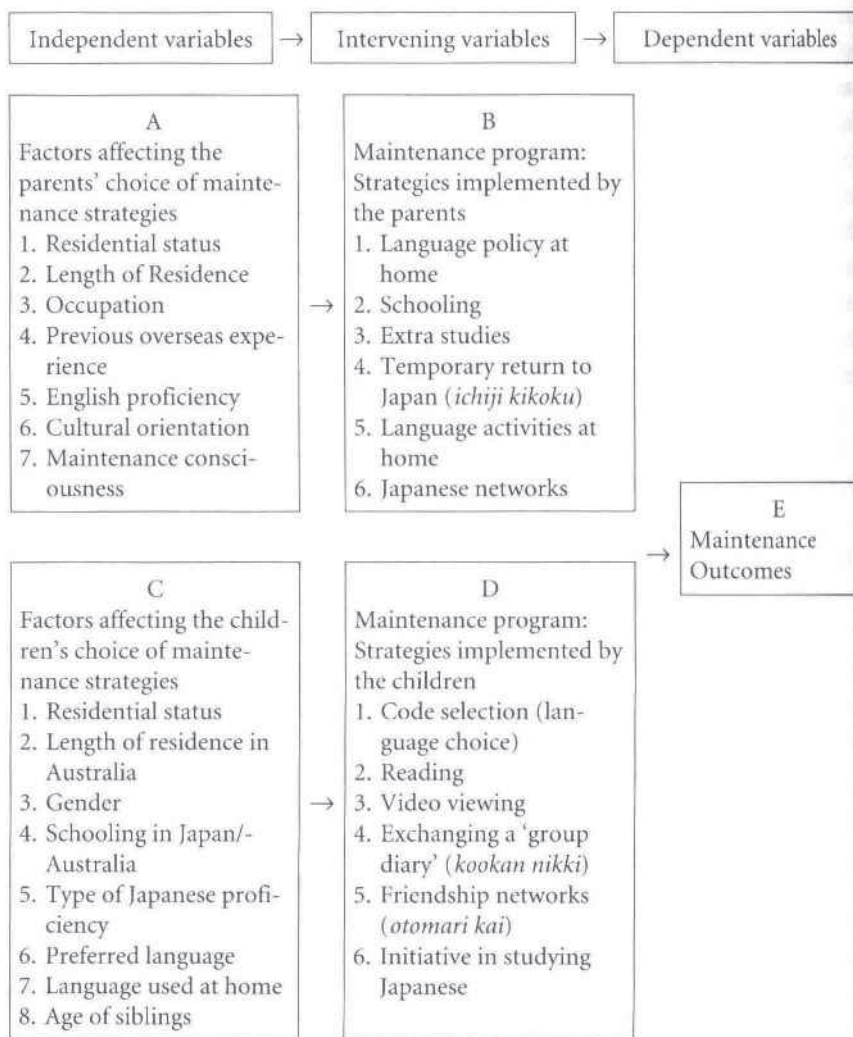


Figure 1. Key variables in this study and their interrelationships

## Assessment of the degree and the direction of maintenance of Japanese children

### *Assessment method*

In order to examine the children's language behaviour objectively so that their maintenance outcomes could be compared with others, two types of assessment instruments were developed for the study. The first type consisted of four language tasks in an oral interview format, while the second type involved analysing the children's spoken discourse in interviews and during naturally occurring family conversations. The combination of these two instruments created an index with eight scoring criteria as shown in Table 3.

**Table 3.** Criteria to assess the levels of language maintenance

Focus of assessment	Specific assessment concerns
Language tasks	1: Reading large numerals 2: Counting objects 3: Naming objects 4: Describing facial expressions
Discourse skills	5. English mixing 6. Level of speech 7. Flow of discourse 8. Coherence in discourse

In order to operationalise these criteria in actually assessing maintenance levels, a discrete point-measurement scale was used to assess the language task performance. The results of the four language tasks (criteria 1 to 4 in Table 3) were added to obtain an overall success rate for each child. A global rating scale was applied in the assessment of the child's discourse skills (criteria 5 to 8 in Table 3) and the results were analysed in terms of deviation from the 'base norm' (Neustupný 1985:45). The children were then categorised into the following three levels of maintenance outcomes in each area.

1. Maintenance outcomes were GOOD. There were no major problems; the Japanese used by children did not seem to differ in any important way from the Japanese used by Japanese children of the same age and social class in Japan, who were raised in a monolingual Japanese environment.
2. Maintenance outcomes were FAIR. Although some problems were observed, the Japanese used by the children in this category was sufficient to satisfy

the vital linguistic needs of similarly-aged children in Japan, but deviated in some instances from the 'base norm' as defined by Neustupný (1985:45).

3. Maintenance outcomes were POOR. There were major problems, and the Japanese used by the children in this category was regarded as being 'poor' and 'insufficient' to satisfy the linguistic needs of similarly-aged children in Japan.

The term 'problem' as employed here is defined by Neustupný (1985:45). A problem in this study is taken to mean a noted deviation which is negatively evaluated and, therefore, widely seen and publicly perceived as constituting a significant inadequacy.

Finally, to determine the overall maintenance level of each child, the results of eight maintenance criteria, which were categorised into three levels (GOOD, FAIR or POOR), were also summarised as an overall outcome variable. The average level of category of each child was considered to be his or her achieved maintenance level or his or her 'maintenance outcomes' (see Box E in Figure 1). Thus the overall 'maintenance outcome' of each of the 10 children was recorded as GOOD, FAIR or POOR as shown in Table 8 (p.270).

### *Results of language tasks*

The four language tasks were designed to identify the lexical areas in which Japanese children living outside Japan may lack knowledge or lose competence, owing to the dominant English language of the host country as well as limited contact with Japan. Task 1 involved the children reading out large numerals (population figures) which were shown to them. In Task 2, the children were shown pictures of live and static objects and were asked to count the objects with the appropriate noun quantifiers. Task 3 required the children to name the objects or events in photographs, which appeared in a Japanese book. Lastly, in Task 4, the children were shown pictures of 10 faces with various expressions, and asked to describe them by using words such as adjectives, adverbs, and in particular, sound symbolic words (mimetics), where possible. The results of the task performance are presented in Table 4.

The results confirmed the predictions of this study, that the children would present a number of problems, including varying competence in the different areas examined, and therefore, language tasks of this type are potentially valid indicators of language maintenance. It was found that when the children were dealing with large numerals, some of them made errors in reading them, despite



**Table 4.** Individual children's results in tasks and maintenance category (n=10)

Children	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5
<b>Language tasks</b>										
Task 1: Reading large numerals										
Success rate (%)	83	40	14	100	71	75	83	83	63	7
Maintenance category	G	P	P	G	F	F	G	G	F	P
Task 2: Counting objects										
	83	52	43	91	43	78	83	78	78	61
	G	P	P	G	P	F	G	F	F	F
Task 3: Naming objects										
	70	19	56	81	56	70	89	56	89	70
	F	P	P	G	P	F	G	P	G	F
Task 4: Describing facial expressions										
	70	20	80	70	10	60	100	60	50	60
	F	P	G	F	P	F	G	F	P	F
<b>Mean</b>										
Success rate (%)	77	33	48	86	45	71	89	69	70	50
Maintenance category	F	P	P	G	P	F	G	F	F	P

G: Good (score achieved above 80%); F: Fair (score achieved between 60–79%). P: Poor (score achieved below 59%). P1–P5: Permanent resident children; S: Sojourner children.

the relative ease of the task. They became confused when they switched between Japanese and English counting systems. In the task of counting objects, the difficulty posed by the large variety of Japanese noun quantifiers (as opposed to the relatively few in English) was apparent; the children had difficulty selecting the appropriate quantifier, and some persistently used one type when they were unsure of which one to use, and to compensate for their lack of knowledge in this area. Some children showed a lack of Japanese vocabulary for items, which were closely associated with rural life or seasonal events in Japan. This indicated that Japanese social studies or social science tended to be neglected by the children in favour of language and math, and hence, more attention in building or expanding their knowledge in the area is needed. Furthermore, the repertoire of vocabulary describing abstract concepts or ideas such as onomatopoeia and adjectives was found to be limited in some children. Needless to say, reading quality Japanese literary works is essential for enriching their vocabulary in this area. Nevertheless, the children employed a variety of strategies to cope with the situations described above. For instance, they tried to compensate for their lack of knowledge by using English equivalents, rephrased words or over-generalised some linguistic rules in order to avoid communication breakdowns.

There were individual differences in the task performance percentage scores

Table 5. Results of the analysis of variance in task performance ( $n=10$ )

Variables	Groups	No. of children ( $n=10$ )	Mean	SD	Min	Max	F ratio	F <sub>probability</sub>
Residential status	1. Sojourner	5	69.95	13.90	49.50	88.75	1.0478	0.3360
	2. Permanent resident	5	57.60	22.36	32.75	85.50		
Gender	1. Boys	5	71.70	17.34	45.00	88.75	2.1012*	0.1852
	2. Girls	5	55.55	17.89	32.75	76.50		
Length of residence	1. Short	3	62.92	11.63	49.50	70.00	0.1111	0.8964
	2. Average	3	68.17	21.99	45.00	88.75		
	3. Long	4	60.75	24.50	32.75	85.50		
Schooling in Japan	1. Short	7	63.93	21.84	32.75	88.75	0.0710	0.9321
	2. Average	1	69.25	—	—	—		
	3. Long	2	59.75	14.50	49.50	70.00		
Japanese schooling in Australia	1. 24 months	2	59.75	14.50	49.50	70.00	0.710	0.9321
	2. 42 months	1	69.25	—	—	—		
	3. 54 months	7	63.93	21.84	32.75	88.75		
Types of Japanese proficiency	1. Everyday conversational language	3	42.00	8.17	32.75	48.25	14.1828**	0.0055
	2. Cognitive academic language	7	72.89	12.89	49.50	88.75		
Preferred language	1. English	3	54.42	27.60	32.75	85.50	1.0491	0.3357
	2. Japanese	7	67.57	14.41	48.25	88.75		
Language used with siblings	1. Mix of English and Japanese	4	55.88	20.47	32.75	76.50	1.1716*	0.3106
	2. Japanese	6	68.79	17.19	48.25	88.75		
Age of siblings	1. Older and younger	1	76.50	—	—	—	0.3016	0.7488
	2. Younger	5	59.80	17.60	45.00	85.50		
	3. Older	4	65.19	23.43	32.75	88.75		

\*  $F_{ratio} > 1$ ; \*\*  $p < 0.01$

among the 10 children. While some performed consistently well, others did poorly in all four tasks, and some exhibited uneven performance. Table 5 illustrates the results of the analysis of variance for the task performance. An assumption was made that children in the permanent resident group may exhibit more problems than sojourner children, because they were born in Australia or lived in Australia much longer than the average sojourner child, and lacked formal schooling in Japan. Although problem cases were found in the permanent resident group, this assumption was not statistically supported. Some children in this group demonstrated competence in the areas examined, while on the other hand, some in the sojourner group forgot vocabulary or experienced interference from English linguistic rules. Thus, differences in the residential status among the children did not act as an influential factor. Instead, linguistic factors, such as the children's level of academic Japanese language proficiency (i.e., academic register) and their consistent use of Japanese language with siblings showed stronger correlation with a higher performance in the language tasks.

### Discourse analysis

The criteria for discourse analysis were: (1) the type of English mixing appearing in the discourse, (2) the selection of appropriate level of speech during the interviews, (3) the natural flow of discourse, and (4) coherence in discourse (whether or not the children produced comprehensible discourse). The results of the discourse analysis indicated that particular features were more prominent in the permanent resident group compared to the sojourner group. Although English mixing can be regarded as one of the communication strategies of bilingual children, some mixing in this group was considered as a deviation from Japanese norms. Some children in this group were neither able to select nor use the appropriate speech style, and persistently used the familiar speech style as well as the predicate omission style, which was contrary to the norm applicable to the situations found in this study. Furthermore, the flow of discourse was not as smooth and effortless as expected for their age level, and the discourse often contained incomprehensible or inaccurate elements, or even lacked coherence in organisation and caused some confusion or irritation for both the speaker and the listener. Consequently, some children in the permanent resident group were considered to have low competence in oral discourse skills in Japanese compared to other children.



Table 6. Summary of levels of maintenance in discourse skills (n=10)

Children	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5
Discourse skills										
English mixing	G	P	F	G	P	G	G	F	G	F
Level of speech	F	P	P	G	P	G	F	F	G	G
Flow of discourse	F	P	P	G	P	F	G	G	G	G
Coherence in discourse	G	P	P	G	P	F	G	F	G	G
Average score	2.50	1.00	1.25	3.00	1.00	2.50	2.75	2.25	3.00	2.75
Maintenance category	F	P	P	G	P	F	G	F	G	G

G: Good (score = 3); F: Fair (score = 2); P: Poor (score = 1). P1-P5: Permanent resident children; S1-S5: Sojourner children.

The sojourner children and two of the permanent resident children demonstrated comfortable command of spoken discourse skills in Japanese. Some English mixing occurred among these children which could be regarded as being natural in a bilingual environment. Their skill of controlling the speech level depending on the situation or speech partner, as well as in maintaining a natural flow of discourse with coherence in forms and thoughts, were well demonstrated to the extent expected for their age level. Results of the discourse skill assessment are shown in Table 6.

The analysis of variance in discourse skills (Table 7) identified the following factors as influential variables in separating out children with better discourse skill: (1) children's age-appropriate academic Japanese language proficiency; (2) being in the sojourner group; (3) Japanese as preferred language; and (4) Japanese dominantly used with siblings. Although all these variables acted favourably for sojourner children, two permanent resident children whose academic Japanese language proficiency was high and who used Japanese language dominantly at home as a preferred language, also demonstrated a high command of discourse skills. Accordingly, the children in the permanent resident group were clearly divided into two groups in terms of their spoken discourse skills, one group with a high command and the other with an insufficient command of the Japanese language.

### The maintenance patterns

As shown in Table 8, there were differences in the combined results of the task performance and the discourse analysis, which produced a single level of

Table 7. Results of analysis of variance in discourse skills (n=10)

Variables	Groups	No. of chil- dren (n=10)	Mean	SD	Min	Max	F ratio	F probability
Residential status	1. Sojourner	5	2.65	0.2850	2.25	3.00	4.2353**	0.0736**
	2. Permanent resident	5	1.75	0.9354	1.00	3.00		
Gender	1. Boys	5	2.40	0.8404	1.00	3.00	0.5872	0.4655
	2. Girls	5	2.00	0.8101	1.00	2.75		
Length of residence	1. Short	3	2.6667	0.3819	2.25	3.00	0.6955	0.5303
	2. Average	3	2.0833	0.9465	1.00	2.75		
	3. Long	4	1.9375	0.9656	1.00	3.00		
Schooling in Japan	1. Short	7	2.0000	0.8780	1.00	3.00	0.8973	0.4499
	2. Average	1	2.250	-	-	-		
	3. Long	2	2.8750	0.1768	2.75	3.00		
Japanese schooling in Australia	1. 24 months	2	2.875	0.1768	2.75	3.00	0.8973	0.4499
	2. 42 months	1	2.250	-	-	-		
	3. 54 months	7	2.0000	0.8780	1.00	3.00		
Types of Japanese proficiency	1. Everyday conversational language	3	1.0833	0.1443	1.00	1.25	84.4988***	0.0000***
	2. Cognitive academic language	7	2.6786	0.2782	2.25	3.00		
Preferred language	1. English	3	1.6667	1.1547	1.00	3.00	2.1059*	0.1848
	2. Japanese	7	2.4286	0.5722	1.25	3.00		
Language used with siblings	1. Mix of English and Japanese	4	1.6875	0.8004	1.00	2.50	3.4175*	0.1017
	2. Japanese	6	2.5417	0.6599	1.25	3.00		
Age of siblings	1. Older and younger	1	2.50	-	-	-	0.0921	0.9131
	2. Younger	5	2.10	0.9117	1.00	3.00		
	3. Older	4	2.25	0.8898	1.00	3.00		

\*  $F_{ratio} > 1$ ; \*\* nearly significant at  $p < 0.05$ ; \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

maintenance outcome for each child: high, fair or poor. These differences in outcomes were attributed to the differences in individual children as well as to group-specific factors among children, described in the previous section.

**Table 8.** Combined results: Levels of maintenance in eight assessment criteria (n=10)

Criteria	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5
1. Task 1	G	P	P	G	F	F	G	G	F	P
2. Task 2	G	P	P	G	P	F	G	F	F	F
3. Task 3	F	P	P	G	P	F	G	P	G	F
4. Task 4	F	P	G	F	P	F	G	F	P	F
Mean score for tasks	2.31	0.99	1.44	2.58	1.35	2.13	2.67	2.07	2.10	1.50
5. English mixing	G	P	F	G	P	G	G	F	G	F
6. Level of speech	F	P	P	G	P	G	F	F	G	G
7. Flow of discourse	F	P	P	G	P	F	G	G	G	G
8. Coherence in discourse	G	P	P	G	P	F	G	F	G	G
Mean score for discourse	2.50	1.00	1.25	3.00	1.00	2.50	2.75	2.25	3.00	2.75
Overall Maintenance Level	G	P	P	G	P	F	G	F	G	F
Overall mean score	2.41	1.00	1.35	2.79	1.18	2.32	2.71	2.16	2.55	2.13

P1–P5: permanent resident children; S1–S5: Sojourner children; G: Good (score = 3); F: Fair (score = 2); P: Poor (score = 1). Task 1: Reading large numerals; Task 2: Counting objects; Task 3: Naming objects; Task 4: Describing facial expressions.

Predominant questions in language maintenance research are concerned with who has maintained the language, how and why. If the speakers of the minority language are engaged in some form of maintenance program (i.e., maintenance strategies or efforts), then the pertinent questions are to what extent have they achieved the goal, or is the likelihood of language survival high, medium or low (Fishman 1991). In this respect, the children in this study demonstrated varying degrees of maintenance achievement, as found in three patterns: (1) successful cases with a high maintenance level; (2) moderately successful cases with a fair maintenance level; and (3) unsuccessful cases with a poor maintenance level. The maintenance success rate in this study was very high for two sojourner children and for two permanent resident children (40% of children), who demonstrated an equally high level of Japanese proficiency, and for three sojourner children (30%) who demonstrated a fair level of Japanese proficiency. However, three unsuccessful cases in the permanent resident group (30%) indicated that the likelihood of Japanese language survival was relatively low.

From the findings of this study, a maintenance pattern related to residential



status emerged, as anticipated, which showed the tendency for sojourner children to maintain Japanese language better than permanent resident children did. However, successful cases found in the permanent resident category indicated that a different pattern also existed. Two children convincingly demonstrated that a negative outcome was not an inevitable consequence of permanent residency. This finding thus carries the strong implication that many steps can be taken to promote maintenance in children of this category.

The small number of subjects in this study may limit the ability to generalise the statistical results. However, the findings in this section clearly profiled the degree and the direction of maintenance in the cases of 10 Japanese children and indicated their individual differences as well as group-specific differences in the outcomes. The next section will consider the contributing factors associated with the children's maintenance outcomes.

### Contributing factors for language maintenance by Japanese children

The attempt to identify factors which contribute to language maintenance (of minority languages) in the environment of two or more languages has been the subject of many studies. In his earlier study of language ecology in Australia, Clyne (1982) singled out the influential factors in the process of language maintenance and language shift among community languages in Australia and created a taxonomy of factors, dividing them into 'clearcut factors', factors clearly promoting language maintenance, and 'ambivalent factors', being those factors which can lead to either language maintenance or to language shift. By doing so, Clyne argued that it was impossible to isolate these factors from each other, pointing to the interrelatedness of several factors which often determined language maintenance or language shift in the community or in the individuals involved. Using Clyne's study as a model, this study explored which factors or strategies clearly promote language maintenance in the case of young Japanese school children.

#### *Correlation between factors and maintenance levels*

Based on the maintenance outcomes of each child, a correlation analysis was carried out and the statistical strength between factors and maintenance levels was examined. The following section presents which factors were more significantly associated with successful maintenance outcomes and vice versa in the

case of the Japanese children. As indicated in Figure 1 above, the factors associated with Japanese language maintenance were grouped into four broad categories: (1) the factors affecting the parents' choice of maintenance programs, that is, maintenance strategies; (2) the factors affecting the children's choice of maintenance programs; (3) the maintenance programs implemented by the parents; and (4) the maintenance programs implemented by the children. Table 9 presents the results of correlation analysis.

Several patterns emerged from a correlation analysis of 29 variables in relation to maintenance levels:

1. Two variables very strongly correlated with the maintenance levels were: (1) the type of Japanese language proficiency developed by the children, and (2) the children's participation in peer group activities outside school, such as staying the night at a friend's place (*otomari kai*);
2. Two variables strongly correlated with the maintenance levels were: (1) the children's favourable attitude towards reading Japanese books and (2) their residential status;
3. Three variables showed moderate correlation with the maintenance levels: (1) the parents' arrangements for their children's language activities at home, (2) the parents' use of Japanese networks in Melbourne, and (3) the children's initiative in doing extra Japanese study outside school;
4. The five variables which were anticipated to show some degree of correlation with better maintenance in this study, but did not show any positive relation with the maintenance levels: (1) the parents' previous overseas experience, (2) the mothers' English proficiency, (3) the mothers' cultural orientation, (4) the children's experience of Japanese schooling during temporary stays in Japan (*taiken nyuugaku*), and (5) the children's Japanese video viewing; and
5. The remaining 16 variables, including the variables which were often claimed as influential variables on maintenance in past studies, did not show a statistically significant impact on the outcomes obtained in this study, for example: (1) Japanese schooling in Japan, (2) the children's length of residence in Australia, (3) the children's preferred language, and (4) the parents' policy on Japanese language use.

In sum, seven variables presented in Table 10 were confirmed to have shown a moderate to strong correlation with maintenance levels, hence these were considered as the important predictive factors for language maintenance in this study.

Table 9. Correlation between overall maintenance levels and factors (n=10)

Variable	Label	$\chi^2$ value	P	$\phi$ (phi)	Approx P	$\lambda$ (lambda)
<b>Category 1: Parental factors</b>						
1. Residential status	Prestat	6.0000	0.04979	0.77460	0.04979	0.33333
2. Length of residence	Preshgh	5.00000	0.54381	—	—	0.16667
3. Previous overseas experience	Prevosex	1.14583	0.56388	0.33850	0.56388	0.00000
4. Occupation	Occupn	3.05556	0.21702	0.55777	0.21702	0.16667
5. English proficiency (mothers)	Mengprof	0.07937	0.96109	0.08909	0.96109	0.00000
6. Cultural orientation (fathers)	Faultor	3.25397	0.19652	0.57044	0.19652	0.16667
7. Cultural orientation (mothers)	Mcultor	0.27778	0.87032	0.16667	0.87032	0.00000
8. Maintenance consciousness	Maintcon	2.06349	0.35638	0.45426	0.35638	0.16667
<b>Category 2: Children's factors</b>						
1. Gender	Sex	1.66667	0.43460	0.40825	0.43460	0.16667
2. Residential status	Cresstat	6.0000	0.04979	0.77460	0.04979	0.33333
3. Length of residence	Creslgh	4.16667	0.38392	—	—	0.16667
4. Schooling in Japan	Schjp	4.22619	0.37626	—	—	0.16667
5. Japanese schooling in Australia	Jschoz	4.22619	0.37626	—	—	0.16667
6. Types of Japanese proficiency	Cisprof	10.00000	0.00674	1.00000	0.00674	0.50000
7. Preferred language	Predlang	3.25397	0.19652	0.57044	0.19652	0.16667
8. Language used with siblings	Siblang	1.31944	0.51699	0.36324	0.51699	0.16667
9. Age of siblings	Sibage	2.50000	0.64464	0.50000	0.64464	0.16667
<b>Category 3: Maintenance programs initiated by parents</b>						
1. Language policy at home	Langpol	3.05556	0.21702	0.55277	0.21702	0.16667
2. Arrangement for extra Japanese study	Extrajse	2.06349	0.35638	0.45426	0.35638	0.16667
3. Temporary return to Japan ( <i>ichiji kikoku</i> )	Ichiji	1.66667	0.43460	0.40825	0.43460	0.16667
4. Experience of Japanese schooling during temporary return to Japan ( <i>taiken nyuugaku</i> )	Tuiken	0.53333	0.76593	0.25820	0.76593	0.00000
5. Arrangement for language activities	Parrange	4.33333	0.11456	0.65828	0.11456	0.33333
6. Use of Japanese networks overseas	Pnetwork	3.65079	0.16115	0.60422	0.16115	0.33333
<b>Category 4: Maintenance programs initiated by children</b>						
1. Code selection	Ccodesei	1.31944	0.51699	0.36324	0.51699	0.16667
2. Video viewing	Video	0.66667	0.71653	0.25820	0.71653	0.00000
3. Reading books	Creading	7.33333	0.02556	0.85635	0.02556	0.50000
4. Staying the night at a friend's place ( <i>otomari kazi</i> )	Otomari	10.00000	0.00674	1.00000	0.00674	0.50000
5. Keeping a group diary with close Japanese friends	Groupdai	3.05556	0.21702	0.55277	0.21702	0.16667
6. Initiative in studying Japanese	Initiary	4.33333	0.11456	0.65828	0.11456	0.33333



Table 10. Seven predictive factors and their correlation with maintenance levels (n=10)

Seven predictive factors	Types of Factors	$\chi^2$ value	p	$\phi$	Approx p	$\lambda$	Degree of correlation
Children's types of Japanese language proficiency	1	10.0000	0.0067	1.0000	0.0067	0.5000	Strong
Children's participation in peer group activities ( <i>otomari kai</i> )	2	10.0000	0.0067	1.0000	0.0067	0.5000	Strong
Children's reading Japanese books	2	7.3333	0.0255	0.8563	0.0255	0.5000	Strong
Residential status	3	6.0000	0.0497	0.7746	0.0497	0.3333	Strong
Parental arrangement for language activities	4	4.3333	0.1145	0.6582	0.1145	0.3333	Moderate
Parental use of Japanese networks	4	3.6507	0.1611	0.6042	0.1611	0.3333	Moderate
Children's initiative in studying Japanese	2	4.3333	0.1145	0.6582	0.1145	0.3333	Moderate

Types of factors: 1. children's linguistic factors; 2. children's strategic factors; 3. demographic factors (children & parents); 4. parental strategic factors.

The findings from correlation analysis revealed that higher language maintenance was achieved by the children who developed their age-appropriate academic language proficiency in Japanese, and by those who demonstrated their initiative and motivation in using the Japanese language for studying, reading actively for interest and socialising with peers frequently outside school. In other words, the children who had expanded use of Japanese language achieved more successful maintenance outcomes. With regard to the parental role played in their child's maintenance, the parents' active use of maintenance aids (such as Saturday schooling, Japanese language activities at home, trips back to Japan, receiving visitors from Japan and regular contact with Japan) and their formation of close-knit Japanese networks in Melbourne contributed towards their children's maintenance. Residential status showed a strong correlation with maintenance, being a positive indicator of maintenance for all the sojourner children, but a negative indicator for three out of five permanent resident children. This pattern has already been confirmed in the previous section.

While past studies (Iwasaki 1982; Cummins and Nakajima 1990; Janik 1996) have suggested that a lengthy absence from Japan and lack of schooling in Japan would negatively impact on children such as those in this study, these factors by themselves did not show a significant correlation with lower

maintenance levels. As for language use at home, the children who formed a habit of code-selection between Japanese and English in the home environment, especially with siblings, exhibited reduced command of the Japanese language compared to those who used Japanese as the dominant language. The data showed that factors such as the mothers' cultural orientation and English proficiency could not be claimed as being influential on maintenance, however, these need further attention in terms of their effects on the mothers' attitudes towards the Japanese language maintenance of their children and their Japanese network formation while residing outside Japan.

This study explored a large number of possible variables to show that language maintenance is a complex and dynamic process. The factor analysis indicated a rank order in correlation strength among the influential factors acting on maintenance, however, this study found that no single factor or strategy could completely account for good or poor maintenance levels. This was largely due to the nature of the case study approach adopted by this study, where in-depth analysis with descriptive accounts was essential, and also owing to the inherent limitation of statistically measuring language behaviour. Instead, this study claimed that the seven predictive factors identified in the analysis operated interrelatedly in the process of Japanese language maintenance, possibly being supplemented by a number of other factors listed for correlation analysis, even though they were statistically insignificant by themselves.

## Concluding discussion

The language maintenance patterns of this study revealed that maintenance by Japanese children living outside Japan was affected by a number of factors. The successful children in this study suggested that unless they were not motivated and prepared to take the initiative to continue to use Japanese language both in everyday and educational contexts, parental support or institutional support would not be reflected in the achievement of higher levels of language maintenance. It is therefore important for the parents who initiate the maintenance programs to be aware of their goal in maintenance and why they set such a goal for their children. Their maintenance programs should then be regularly reviewed according to their children's progress in the language, and what the children need or wish to do with the language to ascertain the children's aspiration for the language.

The findings of this study have important implications for language



maintenance of school children. That is, the language maintenance of minority children has the potential to become problematic if the acquisition and the use of the language is limited to within the home and the minority community. This is especially relevant for academic language proficiency which largely develops through educational contexts. In this regard, it is pertinent to note Nakajima's (1988) claim that a more balanced approach between the written and the spoken language is necessary, if the aim is to achieve an age-appropriate maintenance goal for children living outside Japan.

In the situations where the maintenance planning was initiated by parents and the learning at the Japanese Saturday School was limited, it is important to discover to what extent the children in this study developed their academic language proficiency, and how their academic language proficiency influenced their maintenance outcomes. In this regard, this study observed two patterns: (1) the two successful permanent resident children evidently developed age-appropriate academic language proficiency in Japanese, and were ably coping with studies at the Japanese Saturday School, along with their majority sojourner children peers; and (2) the three unsuccessful children had not fully developed their proficiency to the level that the school expected for their age-level, and were consequently struggling to cope with learning. The findings suggested that the development of academic language proficiency largely resulted from the parental efforts in providing a maintenance environment suitable for their children's needs, and their aspiration as well as their consistent behaviour on language use at home. Such parental efforts encourage the children's favourable attitude and motivation towards Japanese language studies and a firm reading habit from an early age. The two successful cases thus strongly indicated that the maintenance of permanent resident children could not be achieved by using the language in everyday life contexts only, but in conjunction with the academic development in proficiency in educational contexts at an age-appropriate level. In the cases of the three unsuccessful children, their lack of academic Japanese proficiency could be accounted for by their fossilised competence in this area due to insufficient support by parents and the school, and their consequent limitation of language maintenance to the use of Japanese in everyday contexts. It can be predicted that the longer they remain in this stage, the likelihood of their Japanese language survival will become low, because their increasing shift to English to compensate for their lack of Japanese proficiency has already been noted by their parents. Language planning to create the needs for Japanese language by expanding the domains of Japanese use seems to be urgently required for these children. As was demonstrated by this study,



language maintenance did not occur by chance at the grass-roots level as a by-product of a higher level, but was rather the result of a long-term conscious effort of the children and their parents to retain a consistent need for the language. As found by Noro (1990), my study also found that maintenance at this level inevitably involves a financial commitment on the part of the family which largely influences how age-appropriate the maintenance quality is. Noro (1990) also points this out by stating that the family's socio-economical background strongly conditioned the family's language policy, and that the language environment in turn shaped the achievements of the children.

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# Japanese students' management processes and their acquisition of English academic competence during study abroad

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This paper deals with Japanese students who enroll in a postgraduate program at an Australian university. Using the language management model, I analyse the types of difficulties they experience in the English academic context in terms of deviations from the norm, and then examine the various types of adjustment processes through which they develop their English academic competence.

**Keywords:** study abroad, Japanese students, academic competence, management processes, adjustment strategies)

## Introduction

The educational domain is one of the major spheres of interaction in contemporary society and an increasing number of students become participants in new educational environments after having completed schooling in their home country. From a theoretical perspective, a number of important questions with regard to students' study abroad concern their development of academic competence in a second language and in a new cultural environment. How academic competence varies cross-culturally, what aspects of academic competence pose problems for students studying in a host country and how students manage their acquisition are three basic and inter-related areas of enquiry.

Japanese university students study overseas in increasing numbers, with the United States of America being the prime recipient, but the United Kingdom, Australia, and other countries are also host to a growing number of these



students. Regardless of whether the study abroad is for the purpose of obtaining a full overseas qualification at the undergraduate or postgraduate level or whether it is for a short period of one year or less as part of an exchange arrangement, the type of language and cultural contact which ensues is intense. When students move from their home country university to an university overseas either during their undergraduate period or else upon graduation, they take with them a great range of knowledge and skills developed through their previous educational experiences. Nevertheless, significant cross-cultural differences in academic communities and their respective norms of behaviour and expectations require these students to acquire many new rules or norms of interaction, especially when a different language is involved as well.

Mauranen (1994:1) points out that despite the common existence of the institution of the university in many countries, various basic differences can be identified cross-culturally. As a result, students who have become familiar with university life in one culture will encounter many differences at university overseas (not withstanding the possibility of considerable variation even intra-culturally) as well as many difficulties. Differences apply not only at the organizational level of faculties or schools and the structural composition of the degrees they offer, but even in such fundamental practices as speaking and writing. For instance, speaking and writing may involve different expectations, different end products and different values. This is partly because study genre (that is, discourse types) within a particular academic context carry particular communicative and socio-cultural practices with which participants need to be familiar and, accordingly, students who commence studying in a different context need to acquire these new patterns (Mauranen 1994).

Many previous studies relating to students' study abroad experiences have investigated students' adjustments to the new academic requirements, especially for those undertaking higher degree research dissertations. Often these studies examine the problem from the perspective of the students' participation in the new academic community (cf. Belcher and Braine 1995; Casanave 1995; Connor and Mayberry 1996), and frequently draw upon Swales's (1990) interpretation of the notion of genre. Mauranen's (1994) cross-cultural comparison of study genre represents yet another noteworthy approach. A further stream within the literature has been primarily written for pedagogic purposes providing guidance for students who study overseas, or alternatively, for instructors, either those of language and study skills programs or the instructors who teach academic courses or supervise overseas students (cf. Ballard and Clanchy 1984, 1991, 1997, 1999).

The concept of academic competence was introduced by Saville-Troike (1984) in reference to the knowledge and abilities which students need. This notion has subsequently been expanded by others, for example, Adamson (1993), who specifies the inclusion of general English proficiency, background knowledge of content material and effective study skills. I will employ the notion of academic competence as a derivative of the more widely employed concept of communicative competence as developed by Hymes and extended by Neustupný (cf. Hymes 1968, 1972; Neustupný 1973, 1997). Among the extensions and revisions which Neustupný (1978, 1985a,b) has made of Hymes' original model, of special importance is his addition of management processes to accompany the generative processes underlying communication and which correct the unsatisfactory outputs arising from the application of the generative rules.

### *Conceptual Framework*

As a means of broadly defining the concept of academic competence, I will apply the three-fold categorization which Neustupný uses in his delineation of the concept of interaction, namely, linguistic, sociolinguistic and sociocultural components. Accordingly, academic competence can be viewed as being made up of spoken and written linguistic components in terms of syntax, lexicon, phonology and graphemics employed in the students' respective fields of study.

Alongside of the linguistic components of academic competence are sociolinguistic components, many norms of which would have been acquired by students during their educational experiences at the secondary and undergraduate university levels. Following Neustupný, linguistic and sociolinguistic components are the constituents of communicative behaviour (Neustupný 1985a). Some communicative norms pertaining to interaction in the educational domain may be shared across cultures, but others, however, may be specific to certain cultures or groups of cultures. Norms such as how and when to speak in class, how and when to contact a teacher out of class, how to compose different types of written genre, what bibliographic traditions to apply to a written essay, are just a few of the sociolinguistic norms relevant in academic contexts. Here, Hymes' taxonomy of norms of interaction and Neustupný's extension of them covering situations, variation, switch-on, participants, content, message form, channel, and management are valuable in illuminating the breadth of communicative factors relevant in any particular context. Note, therefore, that the definition of sociolinguistic competence used here thus includes pragmatic, strategic and other kinds of competencies which are



sometimes listed separately (cf. Canale and Swain 1980). Within this framework, disciplinary knowledge — which is a central component of academic competence — is encompassed within the factor relating to content. Likewise, teacher and student roles are covered by the participant or personnel factor, message form encompasses the way in which an essay is structured, variation includes the level of formality of written language and so on.

Also related to academic competence are various socio-cultural phenomena characteristic of the educational domain, including institutional structures, organizational practices and educational ideologies. These are distinguished by Neustupný (1987) as non-communicative components of interaction. Of course, the overlapping nature and interrelationship of many norms, whether these be linguistic, sociolinguistic or sociocultural in nature is indisputable, and, furthermore, the weight or intensity of some norms may be stronger than others, depending on the particular context.

Given, then, the breadth of elements which make up academic competence in an L2 environment, it is not surprising that there are multiple sources of problems for students. One profitable approach to inquiry is to investigate the management processes which encompass the identification and treatment of problems. Here I will apply the management model developed by Jernudd and Neustupný, and applied on many occasions by Neustupný (Jernudd and Neustupný 1987; Neustupný 1985a,b, 1994, 1997). Developed to investigate processes of interaction, especially as they occur in intercultural contact situations, this model has been successfully utilized in many sociolinguistic studies of Japanese and non-Japanese contact to date (cf. Marriott 1990, 1993, 1995, 1997). It is a valuable model, as it enables us to focus on the micro-level of individual acts of interaction. According to this model, interaction consists of norms (or rules or patterns of behaviour), and interaction problems are defined as deviations from these norms. Participants (either one or more) may note such deviations, or, alternatively the deviations may remain unnoted. The deviations which are noted, in turn, are evaluated, either negatively or neutrally (though positive evaluations of norm deviations may also occur). Subsequently, a design for adjustment may be made and, finally, implementation of the adjustment may follow (Neustupný 1985a,b, 1994, 1997, forthcoming). In this paper I will thus apply the management model and demonstrate how Japanese students develop their English academic competence while undertaking a program of study overseas.



### *Methodology*

This paper deals with Japanese university students who study abroad at Monash University, which is located in Melbourne, Australia. The data reported here is from a case study of 12 Japanese postgraduate students enrolled in the humanities/social science fields in the Faculty of Arts (cf. Marriott 1999a, b; Marriott and Miyazaki 2000). The methodology included a questionnaire survey administered in Japanese, followed by in-depth, semi-structured interviews with a sub-sample of seven students. Several staff were also briefly interviewed. The analysis to follow on the Japanese students' management processes is mainly drawn from one question in the survey data which requested students to outline in an open-ended question form their difficulties and to describe the kinds of strategies they implement to cope with these difficulties. This and other topics were also followed up in the subsequent interviews. I will use the code JP (plus number) to refer to these students.

Of the 12 Japanese students, eight were female. All except one had previously completed a four-year degree in Japan, typically a Bachelor of Arts degree (or its equivalent), with the remaining participant having undertaken an undergraduate degree in New Zealand. Upon graduating from their undergraduate courses in Japan, three of the 11 students proceeded directly to Monash University, but the others had undertaken various kinds of work in Japan before deciding to study overseas. One-half were aged in their mid-twenties, two (JP1, JP10) in their early 30s and the remaining two (JP3, JP6) were in their later forties. Eleven of the 12 students were enrolled in an Applied Japanese Linguistics course at the time of the survey; three (JP1 to JP3) were completing the second and final year of a Masters degree, with the remainder (JP4 to JP10, JP12) in the first year of the program. (This MA program was primarily a coursework program but within it students had the option in their final year of writing a 9,000-word research paper or a 18,000-word short dissertation.) JP11 differed from the other students in that he was enrolled in a Communication course, but since he joined the 11 other students for one particular subject offered in the Applied Japanese Linguistics stream, he was invited to participate in the study. The survey was administered at mid-year, after the completion of the first semester, but one student (JP6) who had withdrawn from the course mid-way during the semester cooperated in completing the questionnaire.

## Results

Applying the management model to students studying abroad, we can identify the existence of numerous problems or deviations from the norm, the noting of deviations by participants involved in the learning or teaching processes, the evaluation of these deviations and, finally, the planning and implementation of various adjustment processes.

### *Noting of deviations and their evaluations*

When asked to describe the types of problems they experienced studying abroad, most commonly the students nominated academic writing as their most serious problem. JP2, for instance, claimed that "many Japanese students are struggling with how to write an essay". Evidence of deviations in their academic writing was available to them through the highly visible assessment procedures which typically involved two written essays or other written genre, plus an examination for each of the four subjects they studied annually. Explicit feedback on their written performance came in the form of marks allotted to their written work and accompanying comments given by their instructors. After commencing the program, nearly all of the students had their first encounter with writing a long essay (3500 to 4500 words in length) in English and they were highly aware of experiencing difficulties not only in the planning stage but also in the drafting and revising stages. According to JP2, she had never been required to compose a piece of this length, either in Japanese or English when in Japan, and that even the writing passage for the TOEFL or IELTS tests for which she studied in the preparatory courses prior to entering university were only 200 to 250 words in length. JP2 suggested that since it was not until the end of the semester that students realize their weaknesses, she recommended that a short course be run during the summer or winter non-teaching period to teach students how to write an essay, claiming that "after semester one students maybe know their weak points".

The types of genre or sub-genre which they were expected to write as a part of their postgraduate program varied, including, for instance, a critical review of an empirical article, a literature review, a project proposal, a textbook analysis and an essay. Students reported their unfamiliarity with such a range of genre, especially as this variety contrasted with their more limited experience at universities in Japan of writing short reports, usually consisting of summaries of a section of a textbook. Not only were the Japanese reports considerably



shorter, but they were not required as frequently, and often were not marked and returned to them since the reports were submitted at the end of the semester or academic year. The students suggested that in Japan a final examination, typically involving short questions, constituted the main item of assessment along side of class attendance. Overall, evidence to date suggests that the written language occupies a more prominent position in Australian academic contexts in comparison with Japan, both with respect to writing as well as reading. Following university and faculty rules, at the Australian university investigated here the assessment of each individual written assignment is systematically included in the final assessment of each subject. We can thus argue that this difference is one which relates to the way in which the channels of communication are utilized within the respective academic societies.

After writing, the Japanese students identified difficulties with understanding lectures and with reading. In particular, the amount of reading required per subject represented a burden for them. While their slow speed of reading in their L2 may be one major reason for their difficulties, another, no doubt, concerns the different role of reading in their previous experience of subjects undertaken in Japan, in conjunction with other organizational matters such as the amount of work per subject and the number of total subjects studied for a degree. Whereas in Japan the general tendency seems to be for students to include more subjects in a degree in comparison with a humanities/social science degree in Australia, in the latter, fewer subjects are studied but these are undertaken in more depth. Furthermore, fewer class hours in Australia are balanced by the expectation of more out-of-class activities, including pre-reading before attendance at class. JP10 confirmed that it was unusual to have to read in preparation for attending undergraduate classes in Japan. Thus, even apart from apparent differences in the amount of reading required, the ordering of activities, in other words, the frame, appears to vary cross-culturally.

The fourth area of difficulty noted by the students involved their participation in class discussions. For instance, JP10 claimed, "I wanted to say something during a class but didn't have the confidence and while I vacillated between whether I would say something or not, in the end I wouldn't". At the postgraduate level at Australian universities, classes are typically labeled as seminars and are not divided into lectures and tutorials as they are at the undergraduate level. There, tutorials are normally small-sized classes and although the format can vary, students are regularly expected to assume major speaking roles, whether through discussion or other kinds of presentation activities. At the postgraduate level, the actual structure of seminars can vary considerably and may involve



lecturing by the instructor, presentation of a pre-prepared topic (referred to as a "paper") by a student, discussion involving instructor or students, or a mixture of these or other activities. The Japanese students had not experienced any tutorial genre in Japan and their only participation in a small class was usually limited to attendance at one weekly zemi ("seminar") in their fourth year (or third and fourth years), though some did not experience this type of class either. As a generalization, then, it seems that Japanese students have less experience with speaking roles in university class settings than do students at Australian universities. Management of speaking roles in a group situation, such as a university class, are difficult, given that important sociolinguistic norms concern not only complex turn-taking rules but also the content of such talk.

The two main instructors in the Applied Japanese Linguistics course nominated the Japanese students' main weaknesses as their minimal participation in class discussion as well as their writing of various assignments. The teachers generally expected that some of the seminars would advance through oral discussion, led by the teacher and based upon the students' reading, and they strongly noted the lack of participation by most of the Japanese students in the oral class work. Possibly it was the teachers, rather than the student themselves, who awarded a stronger negative evaluation to this lack of participation, given that the organization of the students' previous educational experiences does not seem to have included much of this type of oral activity. These teachers also negatively evaluated the written work submitted by some of the Japanese students, noting that inadequacies often involved structural, discoursal and grammatical features as well as content-related problems.

Diagnosis of problems and the implementation of appropriate adjustments can take place only after there is an awareness of the existence of problems or deviations. As the management model outlined above shows, no adjustment of behaviour can take place without some noting of a deviation and a negative evaluation being placed on that deviation. Not infrequently, considerable time may pass before students engage in some sort of corrective adjustment because they simply do not recognize the existence of a problem. As mentioned above, JP2, for example, declared that it was not until the end of the first semester that she and other students became aware of weaknesses in their written English. She stated: "Before we entered university we didn't know we had a problem with our English. I could pass the IELTS requirements so thought that my English was good enough to get into university, but then I found that my English wasn't good enough for academic study".

Application of the management model leads us to question the extent to

which students become aware of the range of their deviations. How does this noting process occur and what can be done to hasten it? Which deviations are slow to be noted and which remain unnoted? These questions need to be pursued further in subsequent research.

### *Adjustment processes and their implementation*

As described above, the arrival at a negative evaluation of a deviation may be followed by the planning of some kind of adjustment, and subsequently, the implementation of that adjustment. Various kinds of adjustment processes can be identified in the academic environment. While the student no doubt is responsible for the majority of the ensuing adjustments, institutional responses also exist which have been made to assist students. Furthermore, academic instructors may initiate some adjustments as a means of helping students solve certain inadequacies, particularly those relating to written tasks.

#### *1. University provision of preparatory and concurrent courses*

As for university adjustments, some Australian universities offer pre-university English courses which are taught at specialized centres attached to the university and for which students pay fees. While a student may take these courses in order to pass the required IELTS examination which is required for university entrance, others will attend in order to improve their level of English proficiency, including academic English. One-half of the Japanese students in my sample had attended such a course, and most of them felt that they profited from the training received in writing academic English. JP2, for instance, attended two five-week courses and subsequently evaluated that participation highly, claiming that she "learned how to write in English, very basic things like organizing a paragraph. It was very useful and new to me. I've never been taught how to write a paragraph. I didn't know it has an introduction, a supporting sentence and a conclusion...In Japan I think you can talk about different things in one paragraph". At least two of the Japanese students possessed no prior computer-literacy skills so they also benefited from the introduction to computers covered in the course. Note-taking was another activity taught, though one of the students mentioned that there was insufficient practice in order to acquire the skill properly.

In addition, Australian universities often now provide, either at university or faculty level, centres which offer language and study skills support, both to local as well as to overseas students (Ballard 1996). These centres often mount



short courses for groups of undergraduate and postgraduate students on specific topics and also offer one-to-one assistance to students. A majority of the Japanese students in this study attended a weekly session over a period of six weeks run by the faculty's centre which provided focussed, concurrent training in several of the writing tasks — a critical review and a research project outline — set for first semester in two of the subjects they studied. This course was available free of charge to those students who assessed themselves as needing to further develop their written academic language.

## *2. Academic staff responses*

The kinds of adjustments initiated by academic instructors for the benefit of the students were of three main types. Firstly, these staff requested the faculty's language and study skills centre to design and teach the special short course, mentioned above, to provide students with guidance on writing several of the written genre set for the assignments. Secondly, the instructors incorporated a little explicit teaching during class time on how the students should undertake the written assignments, though they felt that devoting too much time to this activity would diminish the availability of time for the regular class content. In conjunction with this, brief written guidelines were sometimes also given on how to structure a particular assignment. Thirdly, in accordance with university procedures, the academic staff officially allocated two hours a week for consultation with students, though it was noticeable that the majority of students — local or Japanese — did not utilize this resource.

## *3. Adjustment strategies triggered by the students*

The postgraduate students' weaknesses in written English no doubt were caused by their inadequacies in both linguistic and sociolinguistic competence, a fact which is supported by their tendency to have to depend upon others to identify and provide solutions for their language problems. Notably, when asked to describe the strategies they used for solving their difficulties, only two of them mentioned utilizing self-reliant adjustment strategies: re-writing the draft many times (JP3) and making considerable use of a Thesaurus (JP5).

In addition to attendance at the type of preparatory and concurrent courses described in the above sections, and the utilization of other adjustments provided by academic staff, the students also commonly implemented various other adjustment strategies. Since writing constituted a major difficulty for them and because their writing outcomes were connected with each subject's final assessment, it is not surprising that most of them report undertaking



major adjustment strategies in this regard. Here, I am using the term adjustment strategy in reference to the adjustments undertaken by the students to rectify negatively evaluated deviations. In doing so, I am basing my application upon the definition used by Cohen for second language learning and second language use strategies as "the steps or actions consciously selected by learners either to improve the learning of a second language, the use of it, or both" (Cohen 1998: 5).

Some of the students individually consulted the instructors of the language and study skills centre, mentioned above, when at the planning or drafting stage of writing. The instructor would generally provide oral advice on their written drafts, particularly its organization and paragraph arrangement, and sometimes also on content matter. For instance, although JP2 had found some value during her first year in attending special courses on how to read critically and another on reporting verbs used in academic writing, she believed that individual guidance was much more valuable to her, especially during her second year. This individual contact with the faculty instructor allowed her to receive, for instance, oral guidance on how to investigate a given topic and the type of content she should write in an introduction. At times, a second faculty instructor was available to help students individually and he would sometimes undertake a few pages of written corrections of their draft prior to meeting with the student, correct grammar or expressions, or point out unclear sections or inappropriate lexicon. The fact that the latter instructor could not complete all of JP2's corrections meant that she as well as other students had to pursue additional adjustment strategies. Needless to say, quite a number of the students would have liked the faculty to provide more instructors to help them with their written assignments in particular.

While recognizing their need for considerable assistance with their written tasks, only rarely did the Japanese students seek help from their academic instructor, as indicated above. JP11, who was enrolled in the Communications course, claims not to have sought corrections of his written drafts though he did consult his teacher at the planning stage. JP2 provided an insight into the reason for the students employing avoidance behaviour in not seeking help from their teacher, commenting that most are too embarrassed to admit their deficiencies to their academic instructor and request the amount of aid they actually require. She explained that prior to consultation with an academic instructor, the student has to know "how to talk to him or her. You can't say to your supervisor, 'I've got this topic and have no idea how to analyze the topic or where should I start'". However, JP2 and others felt that they could reveal their

personal weaknesses to the faculty instructor, but they were very conscious of his limited availability due to the demands made on his time by many students. While never mentioned in the interviews, the students may have also correctly perceived the disinclination of academic staff to provide what the latter regarded as very time-consuming, remedial language instruction for the students. The extent to which academic staff also possess the expertise necessary to provide students with comprehensive and explicit guidance in various areas relating to communication and study skills is yet another issue.

Although some students undertook adjustments at the planning and drafting stages of writing, it was during the revision stage when most drew upon external help. In fact, eleven of the twelve students sought help, in most cases for each written assignment. This seeking correction of their written drafts was therefore one of the central strategies they employed, and it was utilized irrespective of whether they had received prior guidance during the planning and drafting stages. However, with regard to the design and implementation of this adjustment strategy, various problems arose.

Firstly, the students needed to identify a suitable English native speaker editor. This was not necessarily an easy task for some of them, given that there were few English peers attending the same classes, and most had weak friendship networks among English speakers outside of class. As noted above, the faculty instructor of the special language and study skills support centre (who was also a linguistics specialist) had insufficient hours available to help students with much of their revision work. The postgraduate students were also often acutely aware of the difficulty of identifying an editor not only with adequate writing competence but who also possessed some knowledge of their particular academic specialization. Most of the students reported drawing upon a variety of personnel at different times to undertake their revisions, whereas others obtained the assistance of the same one or two revisers for each occasion. Apart from the oral guidance from one faculty instructor, mentioned above, and partial correction of written drafts by another occasionally, the students sought revision help from their friends, housemates, language exchange partners (see note 1), or former English teachers (at the pre-university preparatory course), but several of the final year MA students also employed a private tutor or a proof-reading agent during the final part of their program.

Secondly, even after identifying prospective editors, sometimes those requested would not cooperate or if they did, the requesting student would often feel embarrassed about the imposition they were imposing. JP4, for example, once asked an Australian friend to undertake the revisions but because



the latter was also busy studying, he did not feel inclined to ask for help again. JP8 shared the same reluctant attitude to ask her student friends who also had essays to lodge. In like manner, JP12 relied on her house partner for revision help, but because of the amount of time involved was unhappy to have to make such onerous demands.

Thirdly, there was the issue of timing. The process of editing consumed time and since the students were often slow in completing their drafts, submission of their assignments frequently exceeded the set date, partly aggravated by the additional time needed to complete the external editing. Because of the problem of timing, JP1 had the experience of only being able to have some of his essays checked, and JP5 maintained that at least an extra week was needed for the checking process. In the case of JP6 whose drafts were corrected by his former English teacher, insufficient time was available for him to subsequently enter the corrections on his word processor prior to submission. JP2 reported at one stage showing sections of the writing she had completed to three different language exchange partners who she had arranged to meet on different days of the week, submitting on each occasion what she had written up until that time. JP3 reported another time-related problem, explaining that it is difficult to show one's draft to a friend before it gets to a certain stage, and that when she did do this just prior to submission, she was advised that she had misinterpreted the topic, but it was then too late to re-tackle the problem.

The fourth and most serious problem concerned the quality of the revisions received. As mentioned above, the students' teachers noted that the quality of the submitted assignments were sometimes poor, indicating that inadequate editorial support had been obtained during the writing process. JP2 admitted to changing an editor once after receiving negative feedback from her teacher about the poor quality of her written submission. Of the eleven students who had utilized revision editors, only two claimed to have experienced no problems in this regard, though often it seemed to be the imposition and timing issues rather than quality of the revisions which concerned them the most.

One critical aspect concerning the implementation of adjustment strategies is the participant's ability to evaluate the effectiveness of the adjustment. Sometimes, new problems arose because either the Japanese student did not query, or was incapable of assessing the corrections which revisers made of their written work. Not only were the corrections often too few in number, they tended to focus largely upon lexico-grammatical errors (cf. Ventola and Mauranen 1991, 1996), often neglecting larger structural and other kinds of discourse problems. For instance, sometimes the corrections of the revisers



were inadequate because of the informality of style. The Japanese students were often incapable of noting these new deviations, including omissions of the revision of other deviations and it was not until they received negative feedback about the inadequacies of their written work from their instructors that they became aware of the problem. So, although there was a need for a secondary adjustment arising from the first adjustment process, this did not occur because of the absence of noting of any new deviation.

In terms of the management model then, adjustments sometimes gave rise to new deviations which, in turn, required further or secondary adjustments. However, even being aware that previous editing had been inadequate did not necessarily mean that the student could rectify the problem on the next occasion. This is probably because they lack some of the pertinent linguistic and sociolinguistic knowledge needed for writing tasks, as stated above. While further inquiry is necessary, it appears that Japanese students accept whatever revisions their editors suggest to them, and do not generally possess the ability to diagnose problems relating to these corrections. Nor do they realize that the editorship function is often not thoroughly implemented. As a result of problems with native speaker revisions in previously submitted assignments, the three students in the final year of their MA employed tutors or proof-reading agents to assist with the correction of longer and more demanding research reports, such as a minor dissertation. However, they were quite concerned about the financial cost of such arrangements.

The diagnosis of other problems confronting the students led to the implementation of various adjustment strategies at different times during their course. As mentioned above, students generally found the amount of reading that needed to be covered burdensome and sometimes employed adjustment strategies, such as the selection of some of the material to read as a means of rectification. However, sometimes the students seemed unable to plan and implement a suitable adjustment strategy which would aid the development of their reading competence. For instance, not many referred to reading for overall meaning as a means of coping with the amount of reading to be covered each week, and instead, they sometimes employed negative strategies, such as the non-completion of any reading. Often, however, a range of strategies would be followed. For instance, JP4 mentioned giving up trying to read everything prior to class and just selecting the abstract or topic sentences to read, reading for an assignment or before a test, talking to a friend who had completed the reading or making notes from the reading, even if he could not fully grasp the content.

As noted above, some of the students reported experiencing difficulties in

understanding lectures, either due to language problems or because of the lack of disciplinary content knowledge. During the first semester of the course, three of the students audio tape-recorded the classes and re-listened to these tapes. However, occasionally a secondary adjustment became necessary when even the tape-recorded material could not be understood, and JP1 mentioned asking a friend, or just leaving it uncomprehended. Generally, use of this audio tape-recording strategy tapered off after the first six months.

Students also reported other adjustment strategies. The avoidance of enrollment in subjects taught by native speakers of Japanese in Japanese was strongly emphasized by JP3 who wished to maximize her contact with academic English while at the overseas university, and the need for constructing a time-management plan was noted by three of the students as a means of coping with the large amount of work to do.

### *Conclusion*

Throughout this paper I have attempted to show that the varieties of difficulties which overseas students experience relate to a myriad of communication norms relevant in academic contexts. It is not uncommon, however, for students to attribute their deficiencies, either partially or wholly, to lack of linguistic competence, without displaying any consciousness that sociolinguistic factors are also of principal importance. This was the case for JP6, for instance, who decided that his best plan of action was to abandon the postgraduate course after he began experiencing serious difficulties and to return to a sheltered English language course.

I have not attempted to evaluate whether students' problems were principally due to deficiencies with their English linguistic competence or with their lack of familiarity with various sociolinguistic and sociocultural practices. The latter would include the kinds of written and spoken genre encountered at university, and the content of courses, in other words, disciplinary knowledge. Given the interrelationship of many of these factors, in all likelihood, the students' problems were probably due to multiple causes in many instances. Rather, I have focussed upon the ways in which they proceeded to acquire new adjustment patterns during their overseas sojourn. Principally, I examined some of the management processes which the students utilized as a means of managing their problems, thereby developing and improving their acquisition of English academic competence.

In conclusion, studying overseas represents an excellent opportunity for



Japanese postgraduate students not only to improve their academic competence in English. Studying overseas also represents by means of direct participation an opportunity to gain valuable insights into one significant type of social context, that is, a university, in a new cultural environment. Despite expectations to the contrary, universities and all their components are highly culturally specific and exhibit variation across cultures. Consequently, even the acquisition of many new spoken and written communicative norms is necessary for the Japanese student to be able to fully participate in Australian academic life. As a result of utilizing a range of management processes, many students do achieve this and successfully complete the courses in which they enroll.

## Note

1. The International office of the university and also the department in which the postgraduate enrolled introduced overseas students to local students for the purposes of language exchange and other social interaction.

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# Management of intercultural input

## A case study of two Korean residents of Japan\*

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In this paper, I claim that unlike spontaneous discourse, in which language deviations tend to trigger instant evaluations and adjustments, management of intercultural input is relatively free from time restriction and thus allows re-management at each stage of deviations from norms, noting, evaluation, adjustment and implementation.

### 1. Introduction

This paper applies the language management framework developed by Neustupný (1985) and Jernudd and Neustupný (1987) to intercultural studies.

Intercultural management, as dealt with in the present paper, concerns participants' behavior toward sociolinguistic and sociocultural input in contact interaction. In this paper, I claim that unlike spontaneous discourse, in which language deviations tend to trigger instant evaluations and adjustments, management of intercultural input is relatively free from time restriction and thus allows re-management at each stage of the basic process (i.e., deviations from norms, noting, evaluation, adjustment and implementation). As reported in recent research, re-processing (Fairbrother 2000) and stereotypification (Miller 1986) can be observed in intercultural interaction. On the basis of study of two Korean residents in Japan, this paper also aims to draw attention to how interactants idiomatize their intercultural experience and how adjustments are implemented in contact situations. The paper examines how noted intercultural input was evaluated and adjusted to by two Korean residents in Japan.



## 2. Previous studies

The language management framework was first developed as a tool for the study of language planning at the macro level. However, the framework has been also widely applied to micro studies of language problems in discourse interaction, especially in contact situations which involve speakers of different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Ozaki (1989), *for example*, focuses on requests for clarification, Miyazaki (1997) studies negotiation of adjustment, Fan (1999) analyses management of participation in third party language contact situation, and Yoshimitsu (1981) and Yamada (1994) look at language learners' acquisition processes of pronunciation. A tenet of language management research on acquisition is that researchers should ask themselves "what language problems actually occurred in a particular discourse situation" and "try to find out their customary solutions by speakers in discourse as the point of departure for the selection of a particular variety or a particular feature of the target language." (Neustupný 1994:51)

While there is little argument that as far as "behavior toward language" (Fishman 1972) is concerned, the basic five-stage management framework is important as it provides us a clue to trace both covert and overt cognitive process of human conduct in discourse. Behavior toward sociolinguistic and sociocultural interaction, however, appears to involve much more complicated management processes.

A recent survey conducted by Marriott (1990) and Miyazaki (1997) suggested that at least in the non-grammatical sphere of interaction, neutral evaluation does exist. In other words, the result of evaluation may not be necessarily two-branched (i.e., negative *vs.* positive) but rather three-branched (i.e., negative *vs.* positive *vs.* neutral). Fairbrother (2000) further developed the observations by Marriott (*ibid.*) and Miyazaki (*ibid.*) and suggested that through reprocessing de-evaluation of previous evaluations may occur at a later stage. She also stressed that re-processing is vital to the acquisition of intercultural competence. If reprocessing and multi-level evaluation do exist, it is likely that behavior toward non-grammatical interaction should include not only an interactant's recognition of features of a particular discourse interaction, but also the participant's repeated reflection upon previous experiences of interaction and customary conduct such as personal networks. Interactant's idiomatization of her contact interaction, including stereotyping, may play an important role in intercultural management processes.

Speech accommodation theory (cf. Giles 1980) has provided a wide range

of alternative frameworks in social psychological motivations in second language acquisition and acculturation study. The concepts of convergence and divergence, *for instance*, are important for our understanding of the diversity of pronunciation among second language learners of different backgrounds. Nevertheless, there are aspects of individual learners' micro processes of acculturation which the dichotomy of convergence and divergence cannot fully explain. *For example*, there are cases where an interactant in contact situations selects to be a guest in a foreign country, by accepting the host participants' hospitality and support, and by trying to follow the ways of the hosts. At the same time, she maintains her own norms. What is important here is that there is the possibility of an "inter-zone" between convergence and divergence.

### 3. Data

#### 3.1 Informants

The data are interviews with two Korean residents (abbreviated as K1 and K2 hereafter) in Japan. The interviews with K1 were conducted in November 1999, those with K2 in August 1999. The backgrounds of the two informants are:

K1: Korean female in her late 20s, single, a bar hostess, 3 months stay in Japan

K2: Korean female in her late 20s, married to a Korean, housewife, 7 years in Japan

K1 had been going to a Japanese language class in a community center for three months and she had only a basic command of greetings and some formulaic phrases. K2, on the other hand, can be considered an advanced speaker although she seems to lack variation of speaking style.

#### 3.2 Methodology

The researcher arranged three meetings with each informant. The meetings lasted on average 90 minutes. A Korean interpreter was involved in the meetings with K1, while only Japanese was used in meetings with K2.

During each meeting, both interaction interviews and recall interviews were conducted. Interaction interviews are used to investigate informants' actual behavior in interaction (Neustupný 1994). The two informants were asked to report on their actual encounters and activities during the preceding six days which included Sunday. The interaction interviews aimed to reveal informants' consciousness of:

- a. the kind of domains they are involved in;
- b. the kind of personal networks they possess in such domains; and
- c. the kind of events they participate in within such personal networks.

In the interaction interviews, informants' verbal reports included narratives and evaluative comments on typical events and episodes. Data of this kind is of great importance for the study of intercultural management as secondary or even tertiary processes may take place. When the informants began to comment on their behavior, the interaction interviews were temporarily suspended and replaced by recall interviews. Informants were given sufficient time to elaborate their comments and to recall previous, related events.

### 3.3 Intercultural interaction and the personal networks of the informants

Personal networks are not only the path through which information, affection, ideas, knowledge and goods are transmitted (Tichy and Fombrun 1979) but are also the arena where management processes take place. As Neustupný (1994) points out, a personal network is "one of the first prerequisites for the occurrence of speech". He includes "cases when noting, evaluation and adjustment takes place in the process of the selection of participants as speakers and listeners" (p. 64).

The interviews yielded data on the personal networks of K1 and K2. As shown in Table 1 below, both informants' family and friendship domains involve Koreans only (native networks). It is reasonable to say that compared with other domains, the family and friendship domains are more multi-functional in nature and contain substantial density in interaction. Both informants told that they often share their experience of interacting with the Japanese with other native Korean acquaintances. The recurrence of indirect intercultural input, such as other Korean speakers' interaction episodes and attitudes towards Japanese people, was thus confirmed. On the other hand, they form partner networks with the Japanese in the education, work, hobby/culture, and daily life/service domains, on a temporary but regular basis. Rather than getting secondhand information from fellow Koreans, in these partner networks, the informants experience and observe rules how Japanese communicate.

In the following sections, I shall discuss the intercultural management processes which were found to be significant in my data, namely, management at the evaluation stage and management at the adjustment stage.



**Table 1.** Personal networks of K1 and K2 in terms of interaction domain

Domain	K1	K2
Family domain	– a female relative (Korean)	– spouse (Korean, a doctoral candidate) – a child (studying in a local kindergarten)
Friendship domain	– two colleagues (=housemates) (Korean)	– two university students (Korean) – three female neighbors (Korean)
Education domain	– attending a Japanese language class in a community center	– parents in the kindergarten (Japanese)
Work domain	– male customers (Japanese)	– N/A
Hobby/culture domain	– N/A	– an elderly lady (Japanese) – classmates in a patchwork class (Japanese)
Daily life/service domain	– Korean food shops – regular customers at a sauna (Japanese) – a neighbor (Japanese) – Japanese TV (dramas and news) – supermarket (Japanese) – restaurants (Japanese)	– a Chinese greengrocer-supermarket – civil servants in a ward office (Japanese)

#### 4. Evaluation of intercultural input in partner networks

Both informants in the survey reported their evaluation of noted deviations in partner networks formed with local Japanese people.

K1 had resided in Japan for only three months when the survey was conducted. In the interviews she said that she evaluated Japanese people's behavior basically according to her own observations in partner networks. Because of her minimal verbal interaction with the Japanese due to her limited proficiency in the language, her evaluations were made through a relatively simple process. K2, on the other hand, had frequent verbal communication with Japanese during her 7-year stay in Japan. This enables her to re-process recurrent intercultural input in subsequent encounters. In other words, K2's evaluations of intercultural input were the product of more than one management process.

I shall explain the two informants' evaluations based on both simple and complex management processes.

#### 4.1 Evaluation based on simple management processes

My data indicate that some of the intercultural input items the informants experienced in partner networks have gone through only one single management process, through which the informants arrived at a satisfactory evaluation and maintained the same evaluation when confronting the same deviation in later intercultural encounters. These items were simply evaluated on the basis of the informants' native norms. It was quite clear that intercultural input which was close to the informants' native norms tended to receive a positive evaluation. The phenomenon where one is attracted by people who hold similar beliefs, values and attitudes is generally referred to as "similarity attraction" in speech accommodation literature (cf. Bishop 1979; Byrne 1969). If we extend the concept of similarity attraction, it is not difficult to indicate the existence of three other types of evaluation. They may be called "difference estrangement", where intercultural input different from native norms receives negative evaluation; "similarity estrangement", where intercultural input similar to native norms receives negative evaluation; and "difference attraction", where intercultural input different from native norms receives positive evaluation. I will next discuss cases of similarity attraction and difference estrangement.

##### 1. *Similarity attraction*

"Similarity attraction" was significant in my data. K1 noted that some Japanese husbands help their wives carry shopping bags and hold babies when shopping in supermarkets. K1 emphasized that her positive evaluation was not based on her native norms concerning what Korean husbands normally do, but rather on her personal attitude towards husbands in general. Apparently similarity attraction may occur when certain cultural features are favorably regarded by participants even though these features may be absent in their native interactions. Both informants in the survey indicated that Japanese attendants in service encounters were very kind, compared with those in their home country. This was evaluated positively.

##### 2. *Difference estrangement*

If we accept similarity attraction, it seems reasonable to assume the existence of a counter type. For instance, K1 noted a different custom of smoking in Japan as a deviation from her native norm. While smoking in Korea is admitted only

in restricted places such as in a house, she believes that people can smoke in almost any places in Japan. Her evaluation of the different smoking habits in Japan is more or less negative. This type of evaluation process can be named "difference estrangement" and is opposite to similarity attraction.

#### 4.2 Evaluation based on complex management processes

In the reprocessing stage, which refers to stages after the initial management process, my data reveal three types of evaluations, namely, familiarization, cumulative evaluation, and de-evaluation.

##### 1. *Familiarization*

Familiarization is a covert evaluation phenomenon in the reprocessing stage of intercultural management. A negatively evaluated deviation in the initial management process is re-evaluated in a mostly upward direction. Takeda (1999) reported that one of her Japanese informants got accustomed to the way her foreign counterpart behaved in conversation, and re-evaluated this positively. She re-evaluated partly because she found it more interesting to know the different opinions of her counterpart and could thus disregard the deviations in his conversational behavior. At the beginning of her stay in Japan K1 noted and evaluated negatively the smell of Japanese food which was quite different from Korean food. However, she became familiar with it and later enjoyed going to Japanese restaurants. These cases suggest that familiarization is one of the important factors in maintaining partner networks in contact situations. Apart from familiarizing with sensory noted deviations as in K1's case, selecting the target of evaluations from among many noted deviations, while disregarding others, might play an important role in this process. However, these data are far from sufficient to provide a complete explanation of the mechanism of familiarization.

##### 2. *Cumulative evaluation*

By encountering similar contact deviations from time to time, interactants come to be consistent in their evaluations, and become confident in their interpretations of others' actions toward them. Fairbrother (2000) calls this cumulative evaluation in the reprocessing stage of intercultural management. In my data, K2 claimed that she used to have a stereotyped image of Japanese people being kind-hearted. Attending a patchwork class in a community center, she experienced Japanese classmates' kindness toward her several times, such as when they re-explained to her the lecturer's explanation. K2 noted the classmates'



actions repeatedly as unexpected deviations, and evaluated them positively. These actions might be one type of host support strategies in contact situations. Her positive cumulative evaluation in the end strengthened her stereotype of the kind-hearted Japanese. However, cumulative evaluation does not necessarily develop a positive image of the interactant's partner networks in contact situations. Muraoka (1999) reports another case in which a negative image of the Japanese was formed. A Filipino mother who had resided in Japan for nine years formed a negative image of the Japanese as being discriminatory after experiencing uneasy events several times.

### 3. *De-evaluation*

Another phenomenon that Fairbrother (2000) found is the de-evaluation of previous negative evaluations in the reprocessing stage of intercultural management. De-evaluation is likely to occur when the interactant has opportunities to consult another's different opinions, when she has contradictory experiences by herself, or when negatively evaluated deviations no longer offend her identity and existence. Informant K2 noted two deviations in the education domain. There was no initiative to communicate with her from the parents of her daughter's classmates when she began to take her daughter to the kindergarten. Another noted deviation concerned the lack of greetings between parents in the same kindergarten. The lack of phatic verbal interactions in unfamiliar relationships among the Japanese has been reported elsewhere in studies of intercultural communication (Mizutani and Mizutani 1977). In the initial management process, K2 evaluated these cases negatively, both of which were different from her native norms. However, in the reprocessing stage, she de-evaluated her first negative evaluation, on account that there might be Japanese people who were either interested or not interested in foreigners in the first case, and in the second case she just ignored the deviations. It seems that K2's re-evaluations can be explained by her stable and secured position in Japan, developing Korean native networks both in family and friendship domains, which defended her effectively against Japanese partner groups. Also, taking account of the fact that one day she verbalized her wish to return to her native country as soon as possible, her de-evaluation should be interpreted not as a convergent attitude toward the ways of Japanese interactions, but as an attitude of successfully keeping her distance from them.

## 5. Evaluation of intercultural input in native networks

### 5.1 Reproduction

As already mentioned, episodes and experiences of contacts with partner Japanese networks are often circulated and reproduced within native networks. Novice interactants note the deviations already noted and evaluated by participants in native networks second hand; or they incorporate the evaluative wordings of others into their evaluations of noted deviations in contact interactions. K1 had repeatedly heard from her relative and Korean colleagues in her native networks that what Japanese people said was different from what they were thinking. When she began to work as a hostess in a Japanese bar, she was not able to understand what the Japanese said, since she had very limited competence of Japanese. Instead, she tried to read what Japanese customers were thinking by looking at their faces, but failed to do so. She evaluated this negatively and verbalized it as "I don't know what the Japanese are thinking", borrowed from her Korean relative and colleagues. Two things should be pointed out in this case. Although we cannot calculate the truth value of her report, it is possible that K1's noted deviation is different from what her relative and colleagues suggest. While K1's Korean senior acquaintance claims that the Japanese conceal their intentions, K1 simply failed to read what the Japanese customers wanted by looking at their faces. Secondly, if the first mentioned point is correct, in the process of reproduction, her expression of evaluation borrowed from her senior acquaintance was likely to screen her first noted deviation. Screening in the reproduction process could prepare unexperienced interactants to possess preconceived notions. My informant K2 said that Japanese people might change their relationships with Korean acquaintances once a problem occurred between them. Her negative evaluation and comment, however, lacked noted deviations experienced by herself. This was a reproduction of what her Korean neighbor who had more Japanese partner networks than K2 once said.

### 5.2 Idiomatization

The evaluative phrases of noted deviations circulated and reproduced within native networks sometimes become rigid expressions, a process that can be called "idiomatization". The informant K2 expressed two different idioms about the attitude and behavior of the Japanese which were adopted from her

family network, especially from her husband who was involved in more partner Japanese networks. K2's husband told her repeatedly episodes such as that Japanese conversationalists laugh even if they have different opinions from each other. She generalized his opinion concerning the concept of *tatemae* and *honne* which means that the Japanese utilize social intention (*tatemae*), differently from their real intention (*honne*). In another case, K2's husband sometimes noted that the Japanese were good at behaving in a group even if they personally were too busy to participate in it, and he evaluated it positively, phrasing it as the Japanese being group conscious. K2 learned these idioms from her family networks, though she had never experienced them herself.

Reproduction and idiomatization in the evaluation stage, which are formed in native networks, may constrain interactants' application of pre-adjustment in the adjustment stage. In the next section, I will examine what principles my informants form to adjust their contact behavior in partner Japanese networks.

## 6. Adjustment of intercultural input in partner networks

Intercultural input that was noted and evaluated by the informants was also adjusted to in some cases. Three types of adjustment have been identified in the partner network data. They are avoidance strategies, contact strategies, and maintenance of native norms of interaction, respectively.

### 6.1 Avoidance strategies

Avoidance is a principle of keeping away from anticipated deviations and even from interaction itself as a possible source of deviations. Avoidance strategies are one of the representative strategies in contact discourse interactions, studied elsewhere, especially in the realm of communication strategies (cf. Faerch and Kasper 1983; Muraoka 1992). Avoidance has also been indicated in the study of intercultural interaction, as one type of pre-adjustment occurring prior to a noted deviation, such as avoidance of participation (Asaoka 1987) and avoidance of developing personal networks (Bolitho 1975).

In my data, the informant K1 noted her poor ability in Japanese and evaluated it negatively, because she had been told before by her native networks that she could be misunderstood by the Japanese customers in her work domain. As a result, she reported that she had decided not to talk in Japanese very much. Furthermore, on the basis of her negative evaluation with regard to



the failure of reading the intentions of Japanese male customers, K1 reported that she was cautious when they talked to her, especially concerning their wishes to develop networks with her in her work domain.

These data may represent the significant influence of evaluations made in native networks upon the adoption of avoidance strategies in the adjustment stage.

## 6.2 Contact strategies

Contact strategies are principles of action which are different both from native and partner norms, but are formed only for interactions in contact situations.

In the area of speech variation, Beebe (1987) pointed out that "speech accommodation of all types was a psychological phenomenon, but has a linguistic reflex", and further suggested that students "may speak of psychological convergence, a situation where the speaker intends to converge, but in reality diverges (i.e., on the linguistic level)."

However, as far as intercultural management is concerned, the opposite may also be possible. Interactants could act as partner participants do, without internalizing the partner's native norms of interactions. Gibson (1988) summarizes this type of acculturation as accommodation without assimilation, based on his research of a group of Iranian immigrants in the U.S.A.

K1 was fond of going to the sauna everyday as many Koreans are, and she was told not to wash off the dirt from her body in the sauna by the Japanese users one day. She noted her deviation and was simply surprised at the different custom (neutral evaluation) in the use of saunas between the two countries. Although she adjusted in accordance with the advice of the Japanese, she reported that her adjustment was not a result of internalization of the Japanese norm, but only that of following the custom in her host country, which could be possibly internalized in the future.

Another type of contact strategy is found in the data of the informant K2. As already introduced, her Japanese classmates re-explained to K2 what the teacher had said in the patchwork class. K2 evaluated the kindness of the Japanese classmates positively and accepted their support even though she understood most of what her teacher said. It is possible to say that K2 herself adopted one of guest strategy as a guest in Japan, while the Japanese classmates employed a supporting strategy as a host in the contact situation with K2.

A type of guest strategy which K2 employs is playing a passive role in interaction, more concretely, taking no initiative to switch on interaction with partner interactants. As already introduced, K2 noted a lack of initiation of

communication from the Japanese parents in the kindergarten, and evaluated it negatively once. Then she re-evaluated it, reporting that there are Japanese people who are interested in foreigners and also those who are not. In the end, she adopted a principle not to take the initiative to switch on interactions, but to leave channels open whenever the Japanese might initiate talking to her. Because she still leaves her communication channel to her partner interactants open, this type of guest strategy should be distinguished from avoidance strategies, which try to limit communication channels. Further research is obviously required.

Contact strategies seem to be neither convergent nor divergent in the management of intercultural input. I suggest that participants could maintain contact with partner networks without any significant deviations, while defending interactants from challenges toward their native norms of interaction.

### 6.3 Maintenance of native norms of interaction

The last principle for the adjustment of intercultural input to be discussed here is to maintain one's own native norms of interaction even in contact situations. This principle does not mean there will be no adjustment towards noted deviations, but that adjustment will occur after positively evaluating one's actions based on one's original native norms in comparison with the noted deviations.

*For example*, the informant K1 negatively evaluated the Japanese custom of smoking in almost any settings, then positively evaluated her own smoking custom. She reportedly maintained her norm of smoking since her arrival in Japan.

The other informant K2 also negatively evaluated the lack of greetings among the Japanese parents in the kindergarten. She reaffirmed her native norm of greetings, and adjusted by not converging to the norm of the greetings among Japanese parents. She continued to try to greet in the morning when she brought her daughter to the kindergarten.

Interestingly, the maintenance of native norms was found in such situations where the native norms of foreign interactants do not confront partner norms. Norms of interactions vary among the members of a speech community in post-modern societies. There can exist more than one norm for a particular communicative event. If one of those norms of a speech community coincides with a foreign interactant's original norm, it is likely that the conduct of the foreign interactant will be accepted by partner interactants. Also, it is possible to think that our informants might discover partner norms through the actions of their partners which are different from the partners' overt norms of interaction

(Neustupný 1989). *For instance*, Japanese parents in the kindergarten may also think it is good to greet each other, even though they fail to do so. If this is the case, K2's greeting would be accepted by the Japanese parents. Further investigation is needed to determine whether the coincidence of norms between different interactants is one of the necessary conditions of the maintenance of norms of interaction.

## 7. Concluding remarks

The analysis above suggests that complex processes of management of intercultural input not only take place within discourse, but also in reprocessing at later stages. In spite of the small corpus of data, this study has revealed intercultural processes which are distinguished from those in native situations. Familiarization, cumulative evaluation and de-evaluation in the reprocessing evaluation stage, and contact strategies, particularly guest strategies in the adjustment stage, represent the existence of various "inter-processes" of intercultural management, apart from convergent and divergent acculturation.

Both reproduction and idiomatization in the evaluation stage and avoidance strategies in the adjustment stage show a clear connection with interaction in native networks. Native networks provide members with idioms and episodes with regard to contact experiences, which may often become norms of interpretation and interaction.

The findings in the present paper also show that the management of intercultural input includes both acquisition and acculturation of the second culture. However, many management processes are yet to be revealed. It is expected that the language management framework will provide new perspectives on the study of intercultural management of intercultural interactions.

## Note

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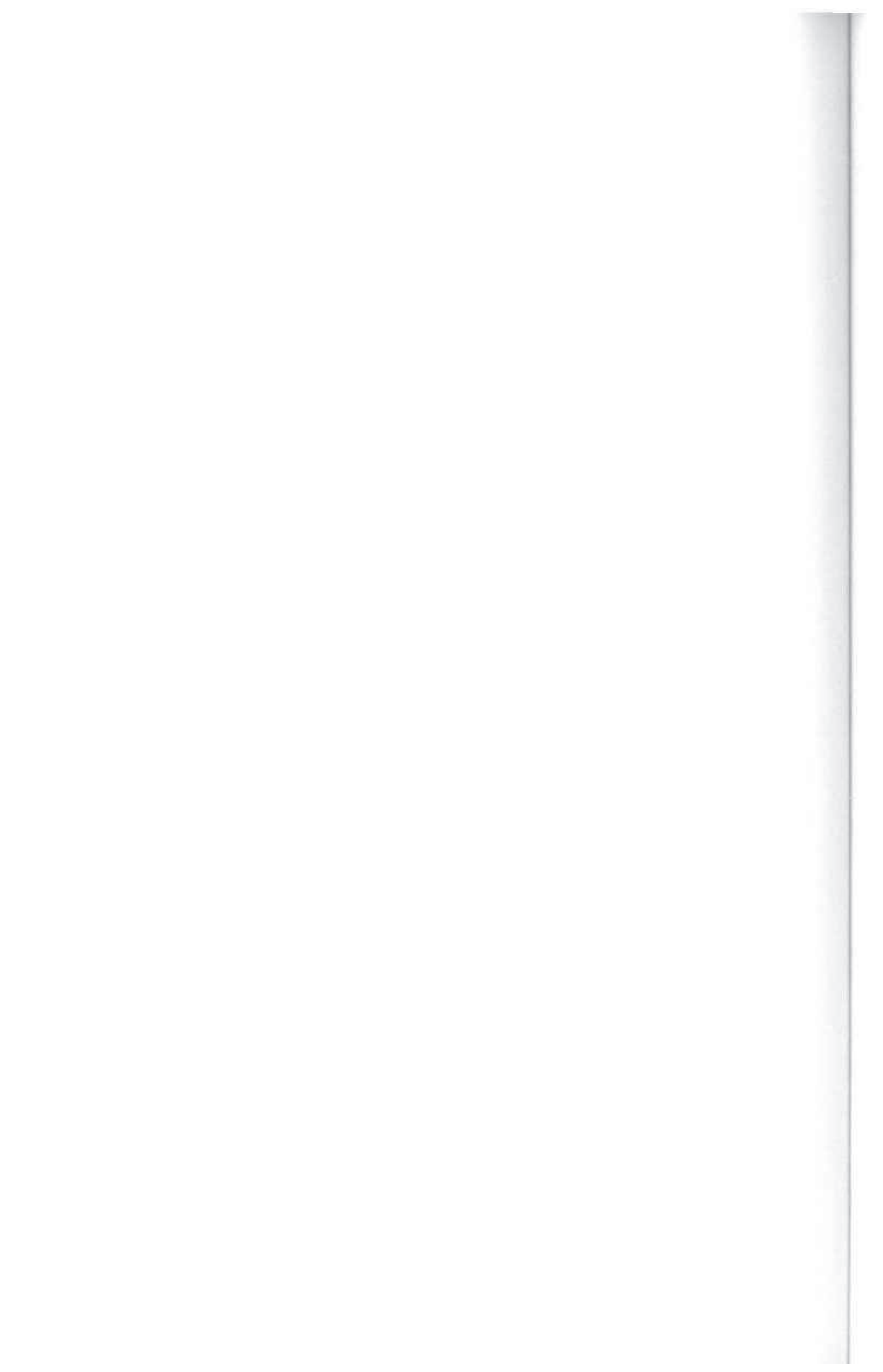
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# Marriage, naming and the state

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A name is not merely a personal identifier but an object over which state and corporate bodies regard themselves as having the right of control. In the modern state, ideologies of citizenship, ethnocentrism, colonialism, have long entailed the manipulation of personal names. The married change-name is, among other things, a psychological act, an imprinting by society on the (bride-bridegroom) initiate's consciousness. A newly-coined married name encodes new information about the man or woman. It connotes primarily that a new social relationship has occurred. A new name is a symbol of allegiance to a new person, a new nexus of relations, a starting-over. *Fufu bessei* is the practice in Japan of the retention of former surnames after marriage. Retention of the surname is a *ruptus* in traditional symbolic reference, a social and psychological discontinuity. A review of global practice regarding post-marriage naming reveals no uniformity but rather variation. At the same time, there appears to be many possible reasons why an individual decides to change or not to change. Marriage name-change/name-retention thus comprise an ideological speech-act: a linguistic expression of a form of consciousness which sustains and legitimates a state of affairs or which, conversely, indicates rejection of particular practices and institutions.

"Until then, I'd never thought about it. One day at a coffee shop she said casually that after we got married... she'd probably keep her maiden name. I remember that moment. It was like I'd been hit by a hammer. I thought, Hey, wait a minute, do we have a commitment here or what? Come on. Don't make a big fuss out of this? My parents will hit the roof. My heart was beating so fast my head hurt. I kept very cool but I felt like bursting into tears. It was a sort of betrayal." (Male, schoolteacher, 28 yrs, Tokyo, February, 1999).

"*Fufu bessei* is no big deal. The nation hasn't fallen apart because my wife calls herself Aisaka instead of Sato. I have a boring name anyhow. Hey, life is short. It's your life. If it's the name you want use it. The law is an ass made by

all-male, conservative politicians... and the *koseki*'s a problem too." (Male, office-worker, 33 yrs, Hiroshima, interview, March, 1999).

## 1. Truth and the name

### 1.1 The ontology of naming

A name is a confluence of past and present. It invokes social continuity and discontinuity because each name is meant to signal difference from all other things in the world. Naming evokes ontological reality. A name is felt by each person as somehow 'true'. Naming invokes correspondence between word and object. It requires assent or dissent by individuals and social institutions to a particular connection between the named thing and its sign. Its value therefore resides in its true value (Carnap 1937, termed this 'intensional isomorphism') but also in its dividing of social reference, i.e., the functional ability to distinguish itself from other names. Identity is pointless otherwise (Quine 1960).

A name stands in relation to other names. We can explain this by saying that personal identity is a relation between (social) signs, a statement of social balance. A name derives its social force from its intimate connection with other names (e.g., father, brother). The name signified for Plato law, social custom, common practice. The multiple structure of the name was recognized by Frege and Wittgenstein and most succinctly by Leibnitz (1646–1716): *Eadem sunt quorum unum potest substitui alteri, salva veritate* (1840/1900: 94), i.e., signs can replace others and are not merely a relation between the named object and itself. A name is, therefore, part of a whole; what we might term 'complex'.

Semioticians have called the ambiguity of names a 'dichotomy of signs' (Umberto Eco 1990) in the imaginative life of the individual who confronts self-identity past and present. That is, a name is not just 'mine' (social property) somehow it 'is me'. What is the name of this rose that is me?

### 1.2 Name laws and the state

Name laws are established by a state for reasons of national and racial integration. There are regulations permitting the use or non-use of particular *kanji* (Neustupný 1985). The names of its chiefs and leaders and kings may even stand for an entire era (note that in Japan the imperial era is designated and then the name is used to refer to the emperor (Tenno): 'Meiji Tenno', 'Showa Tenno', etc.). Name laws are established in nation-states for the overriding

purpose of social control: to prevent citizens from changing names at will and thus becoming unidentifiable, untrackable. One important event in the life of the state is marriage whereby persons and new family units are tagged and classified. The evocation of a marriage change-name is this and more.

### 1.3 Marriage and the change-name

The married change-name is, among other things, a psychological act, an imprinting by society on the (bride-bridegroom) initiate's consciousness. A new name is a symbol of allegiance to a new person, a new nexus of relations, a starting-over. Conversely, the retention of a surname is a *ruptus* in traditional symbolic reference, a social and psychological discontinuity.

Quite often, for very many reasons, people want to and do change their names. Thus, the change of name at marriage is not merely bestowing of a new appellation but is an initiation. It is a fundamental means of reconstituting a man or woman. It is the means by which society fashions the self and thus a re-assertion of the society's power and legitimacy over the individual to do just that. To dismiss this argument by pointing out that the change is merely automatized, merely one arbitrary rule among many rules, is particularly weak. The data, as I demonstrate in this paper, point in the reverse direction, i.e., that there is sustained public debate which has socio-psychological foundations which have now precipitated change in national legislation.

## 2. Names and social relation

The 'name' is a signifier by which we read many different kinds of social activity. A name is a sign-value absorbed into a system of reproduction-replication which fulfills our social needs. Names form part of an endlessly replicating sign system. Name change by the use of pseudonyms or fictitious names betokens membership in particular social worlds: literary, criminal, theatrical, sporting, religious order.

### 2.1 Managing names

Here is a more detailed example of name management. Neustupný (1995) notes that in Japan the order of names has also become a feature that can be evaluated and shifted. Whereas in the East Asian linguistic area Family name + Personal



name is the usual order, the practice was established to change the order to agree with the Western majority order of Personal Name + Family name. A tendency to reverse the order occurred in the 1970s. The motivation was as follows:

- the impact of an economically ebullient Japan,
- its rejection of a purported deference to the West,
- the influence of a new generation of specialists inculcated with ‘variation ideology’,
- soft-core nationalism,
- the role of Japanologists who urged abandoning the pattern of reversing Japanese names and for whom the name-order issue was a symbol of their special knowledge.

I shall not pursue this topic but merely note *en passant* how language attitudes in sensitive areas like personal names can change in accord with cultural trends and influences as in the case of name ordering where “differences in culture, considered to be embarrassing in the past, now received positive evaluation” (Neustupný *ibid*: 22).

The change name presents a challenge of sorts. It is a personal appeal for a continuity of the past rather than an assent to change-rituals. Not infrequently in countries where it is legally accepted, people elect to change a name as a response to a desire for change, for self-renewal. (When the film-maker Samuel Goldfish was permitted to change his name to Samuel Goldwyn the presiding official commented “a self-made man may prefer a self-made name”, Peter 1977: 352.)

A newly-coined married name encodes new information about the man or woman. It connotes primarily the fact that a new social relationship has occurred. Sometimes that relationship involves more than just a bride or bridegroom changing their names. Inductive waves in the social body may touch others too. Lopes da Silva writes of marriage, initiation and teknonymic-paidonymic custom among the Xavante where adult homonymy is also proscribed, i.e., an uncle must simultaneously divest himself of his old name and take a new one on major family occasions involving related children. Da Silva makes the useful distinction between names as “individual identifiers” and names as public or “corporate property” and intended for distribution rather than for private hoarding (1989: 336).

The metaphor of language as property is important for the process of change of a married name. Marriage conventionally involves some exchange or

transfer of property. In a sense, the person of the bridegroom or (more well-known) the bride herself becomes part of the property exchange itself. Marriage thus becomes a ritual of social reference whose ostensible shift of category is the **name**.

### 3. Laws around the world

#### 3.1 A variety of practice

In Britain, upper-class naming practice still permits combinatory names for both partners of the marriage. Thus, Edward Sloane and Alexandra Trumpington may become Edward and Alexandra Sloane-Trumpington. This practice has legal status in some places.

German law permits combined names. Specifically, the bride may add to her new (married) name her original family name in hyphenated form. Thus, Frieda Drucker when married to Max Threnhardt can become Frieda Threnhardt-Drucker.

Naming practices and laws relating to them are extremely varied. The guide which I have charted below is intended to be a rule of thumb. In some countries, registration of marriage is not common and so there is no definite and universal place where the law applies. In the Republic of Ireland, it was customary for women to employ and be referred to by their family name (e.g., 'Kilroy'), their marriage name being a document name as was the case with my own family (e.g., 'Maher'). Northern Ireland was subject to British legal practice. The passport is one place where a uniform pattern of name — first name, middle name and last name — is insisted on for all. However, passport holders are very few in some countries. In other legally required places like inheritance, registration of death, voter's list, registration for professionals etc., no uniform pattern may be insisted upon. A married woman retains her own name throughout her life. Among the professionals and the intelligentsia in France the use of hyphenated double names is on the rise. "It saves trouble for the children." For example, at the University of Paris, married students are listed by their maiden names, followed by 'épouse': "The use of the husband's surname is only an option in everyday life and still a preferred custom. Women who have their own careers tend to use their maiden names, e.g., consider the writer J. K. In her case it would not make any sense to use her husband's name since he himself is using a pseudonym." (M. Yaguello, personal communication, 1999.)

A good example of intra-national diversity is India where many cultural groups exist and where the constitution provides for customary law for minorities like Muslims, Sikhs and others. The custom in Tamilnadu is to use the initial of the father before marriage and husband's after marriage (Annamalai, personal communication 1999). Now it is fashionable among educated urban middle class women to use the father's first name as their last name before marriage and the husband's first name after marriage. On the male line, the initial of the father's name or the father's first name is used as last name. Thus, name change will occur over generations. In other states, in south India, the use of a caste or subcaste name as the last name continues particularly with upper caste men, but not women. In Maharashtra, the village name from which the ancestors originated designates a person's last name. In northern India, the last name stands for the saint from whom the lineage is traced. Traditionally, women did not have these last names before or after marriage; they had one name only. This is reflective of their status as lacking a lineage and as being an appendage to father or husband. Formerly, the untouchables did not have a last name or an initial. Like women, untouchables were non-persons without lineage who, as a result of Europeanisation, employed initials or a last name when they registered at schools. In current feminist circles, women prefer to keep their father's name or the initial.

### 3.2 A typology of marriage-name practice

We can assemble the various types of legislation on naming after marriage in some order. Based upon the (disparate) data available, I propose the following scheme comprising 12 'types' of legislation:

**Type 1:** No specific law regulating the relation between married and family name. Names are freely chosen. (This includes creation of family name independent of partners' names).

**Type 2:** Husband's name only must become common name.

**Type 3:** Common name only. Husband's name must become common name. Attachment of maiden name permitted.

**Type 4:** Common name only. Name of either husband or wife permitted.

**Type 5:** Retain original surname or adopt spouse's last name.

**Type 6:** Husband cannot change family name. Wife chooses either maiden name or combination name.

**Type 7:** Husband cannot change family name. Wife may choose to adopt husband's name or combination name or place a 'Mrs.' before her husband's name.



**Type 8:** Husband cannot change family name. Wife must use combination name (husband's name + maiden name)

**Type 9:** Only separate surnames permitted.

**Type 10:** Husband cannot change family name. Woman can choose either to keep original surname or take the spouse's surname by combination.

**Type 11:** Common name only. Name of either husband or wife permitted. Combination possible.

**Type 12:** Separate surnames only. Some combination possible.

The types described here are distributed throughout the world accordingly (Table 1). The laws are subject to ongoing change and modification.

One of the formidable achievements of the women's movement in the last 20 years is changes in the legislation regarding marriage-names. The scope of this paper does not permit examination of this neglected topic. It is sufficient to note that changes in the civil law of many countries have opened the door to a choice for a married couple regarding the continued use of different names or combined names: Austria and Italy in 1975, Denmark in 1981, Sweden in 1982, Germany in 1993. Organizations for naming freedom in Japan invoke the 1979 'United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women' (<http://www.mwnet.or.jp/~nohiguti/list/tuusin/48/media.html>, 1999; <http://www.mwnet.or.jp/~nohiguti/>, 1999, <http://plaza8.mbn.or.jp/~eighsaqu/gairon-frame.html>, 1999). The UN document contains the much-quoted Article 16 which holds that "Countries which uphold this convention must take the appropriate measures to abolish all forms of discrimination against women related to marriage and family."

#### 4. Names and human rights

##### 4.1 Names and language rights

Naming is an issue of language rights since obligatory name-changing involves the issue of personal control over the ritual functions of language: social, symbolic and aesthetic functions (Robinson 1972). When name change is legally binding, the problem of personal freedom and identity is intensified. It may be, as in the Moroccan *nisbah*, that individual identity is seen as housed among significant others, but in many cases identity formation is conducted by external, bureaucratic others — legislation.

The impact of specific human rights movements is worth mentioning here.

Table 1. Marriage-name legislation by country and type

Country	Type	Country	Type
Argentina	10	Kazakhstan	5
Armenia	5	Kirgistan	5
Australia	1	Korea (North)	9
Austria	11	Korea (South)	9
Azerbaijan	1	Latvia	5
Belarus	1	Lithuania	5
Belgium	5	Luxembourg	1
Brazil	8	Moldavia	5
Bulgaria	1	Netherlands	6
Canada (British Columbia)	5	Norway	5
Canada (Manitoba)	1	Peru	10
Canada (Quebec)	9	Philippines	7
China	12	Poland	6
Czech Republic	5	Portugal	12
Denmark	5	Romania	5
England	1	Russia	5
Estonia	5	Saudi Arabia	9
Finland	1	Slovakia	5
France	1	Spain	9
Georgia	1	Sweden	1
Germany	5	Switzerland	3
Greece	1	Tadzhikistan	1
Hungary	6	Taiwan	8
India	2	Thailand	2
Israel	7	Ukraine	1
Italy	10	USA	1
Japan	4	Uzbekistan	5

Sources: Compilation of various sources. United Nations Statistical Yearbook 1998, Takahashi et al. (1995), and <http://www.jadi.or.jp/~nolf/bessei/else-where.html>, 1999.

Events in American history, in the 1960s in particular, preceded the late 20th century trend for women to keep their maiden names ([www.jsdi.or.jp/~nolf/bessei/seimei.html](http://www.jsdi.or.jp/~nolf/bessei/seimei.html), 1999). We note also the impact of the early feminist movement of the early 1900s: name retainers like Lucy Stone and combiners like Elizabeth Cady Stanton (maiden name Cady). The suffragette movement brought forth the link between name and identity, freedom and equality. To illustrate the relation between naming and human rights we can refer to the sociolinguistic analysis of the naming of newly-born children in Japan, a brief but landmark study whereby Neustupný (1984) injected language planning theory into name-usage analysis (see also Iwabuchi and Shibata 1964 for a more

Table 2. Marriage-name legislation by type and country

Country	Type	Country	Type
Australia	1	Kirgistan	5
Azerbaijan	1	Latvia	5
Belarus	1	Lithuania	5
Bulgaria	1	Moldavia	5
Canada (Manitoba)	1	Norway	5
England	1	Romania	5
Finland	1	Russia	5
France	1	Slovakia	5
Georgia	1	Uzbekistan	5
Greece	1	Hungary	6
Luxembourg	1	Israel	6
Sweden	1	Netherlands	6
Tadzhikistan	1	Poland	6
Ukraine	1	Philippines	7
USA	1	Brazil	8
India	2	Taiwan	8
Thailand	2	Canada (Quebec)	9
Switzerland	3	Korea (North)	9
Japan	4	Korea (South)	9
Armenia	5	Saudi Arabia	9
Belgium	5	Spain	9
Canada (British Columbia)	5	Argentina	10
Czech Republic	5	Italy	10
Denmark	5	Peru	10
Estonia	5	Austria	11
Germany	5	China	12
Kazakhstan	5	Portugal	12

Sources: Compilation of various sources. United Nations Statistical Yearbook 1998, Takahashi et al. (1995), and <http://www.jadi.or.jp/~nolf/bessei/else-where.html>, 1999.

practical analysis). Neustupný raised important issues not least the question of language property right and this is the kernel issue in the *fufu bessei* problem also. The issue of language rights is central to marriage-name usage and, as explained earlier, the concept of property is central also. About this, Neustupný comments thus: "Apart from the expression right...language rights are property rights. Language is a tool of communication and as a tool it is owned by its speakers. However, a tool only exists in particular speech acts. Thus, any action towards depriving a speaker of participating in speech acts using the language in question, de facto takes away from him the tool.... In the case of Marubara vs. Mayor of Chigasaki the question of the language property right was not



directly raised. However, it is my contention that it played a role in the attitude of the public to the 1947 naming reform. The existing rules being changed, users were deprived of the right to apply the established rules of naming, which were their 'property' (Neustupný 1984:70).

The lines of the *fufu bessei* movement can be traced to Japan's signature of the United Nations agreement 'Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women' (*Josei Sabetsu Teppai Joyaku*) (1985). In the terms of that agreement Japan was obliged to take all measures possible to revise discriminatory laws in marriage and family matters (UN Clause 161. Section 1, quoted in 1992 *Tokyo Bengoshi Kai*/Tokyo Lawyers Association) Notably, the choice of surname is a right possessed separately by the husband and wife (UN Clause 161. Section 1.g. quoted in *ibid.*). In Japan, following an interim report of *Fufu bessei* in 1992, the *Homusho Minjikyoku* (Ministry of Justice Civil Affairs Office) produced draft legislation in 1994 in *Minpo Kaisei Yoko Shian* (Proposal on Civil Law Reform). That report suggested substantial changes to existing legislation in the direction of *fufu bessei*. A survey of reader response conducted by *Asahi Shinbun* of single men and women indicated support for legal changes by 58% of the total. There were higher percentages of support by single women, mostly urban-dwellers and in the 20–30s age range. When asked if, on marriage, they themselves would take advantage of the option only 20% of both men and women replied 'yes' (Umehara 1997:2).

#### 4.2 Tombs, workplaces and paradox

Herein lies a paradox of push and pull. For some women in the workplace there is career-linked push and corporate interest in retention of their now-well established maiden names. Concurrently, there is pull on each individual towards absorption in a corporate structure and its norms. Personal persistence and steely nerve is often required for name retention. The ability to effect change, especially radical change, in social structure may not be increased by higher status or higher rank. It may inhibit a person's ability. This is true for men as well as women.

The stance of organized feminism in what is termed "the movement for separate surnames" is straightforward. They support it. Feminist critiques elaborate, often convincingly, a battery of practical reasons why change is overdue. Yoshizumi (1995) invokes the 'tomb argument' in defense of *fufu bessei*: "At present the movement to allow independent surnames is very active among those advocating women's independence. There are, however, women

as well as men who support independent surnames for other reasons that are based on traditional values, such as preservation of the family name or maintenance of the family tomb. The existing Civil Code does not specify that the successor to a family tomb must have the same surname as that inscribed on the tombstone. Temples and offices in charge of cemeteries, however, tend to refuse to allow any person with a different surname into the tomb. A woman who has changed her surname to that of her husband at marriage naturally enters the tomb of her husband's family, and thus, it is difficult for her to care for the tomb of her natal family. When a couple has only daughters and they all change their surnames, there is no one to take over their tomb. Moreover, as couples have fewer children, we find more and more cases in which an only son and only daughter marry, which leaves the parents of only daughters with no one to succeed to their tomb. For these reasons, too, there are couples who desire to maintain their individual surnames" (1995: 194). As a comparative footnote, we may mention that in parts of Korea, like Cheju, families without sons "adopt" a male heir who takes the family name and whose only responsibility (obligation) is to perform the recognized rituals at the family tomb (Weatherall, personal communication; Cheong-Soo and Chun-kun 1974: 158–160).

## 5. In the name of the Father and of the Son

### 5.1 Arguments for one surname

In 1995, 97.5% of recently married women in Japan swapped their old name for a new one (<http://plaza8.mbn.or.jp/~eighsaqu/gairon-frame.htm>, 1998). The actions of the remaining 2.5% are not described. In addition to the obvious automatization of name change there are other personal arguments motivating an individual. Reasons are not, by definition, arguments but they can be itemized as follows:

1. **Aesthetic.** A person may choose to adopt a new married name for aesthetic reasons. Put simply, 'He has a nicer name than mine'. Consider the following cultural phenomenon. From the late 1980s, there has been an Okinawan culture and music 'boom' with the emergence of entertainers (e.g., 'John Kabira', 'Amuro') and their real or stage names many with an Okinawan flavour (see the Okinawan names 'Sotoma', 'Sonoma', 'Tabira'). When the future spouse carries a 'cool' name is name-change more than acceptable but desirable? The related problem of stigmatized names involves even more than a matter of taste.



2. **Stigma.** Married name-change may be a solution to the pain of social stigma. Name adoption may be a form of stigma-management. A stigmatized individual manages a problematic name by adoption of a new one. (See Goffman's extensive study of the systematic methods by which stigma is managed.) Marriage presents the ideal opportunity for change. Stigmatized names probably occur in all languages. In German, some examples include: 'Grosskopf' (big-head), 'Dotterweich' (soft egg-yolk), 'Wurstmacher' (sausage-maker). In English 'Speed', 'Leaping-Salmon', 'Gay', 'Longbottom' may be problematic. In Japanese, stigmatized family names include 'Mitarai' (toilet) and 'Ejiri' (jiri=bum).

3. **Exotic.** Linked to the above, the adoption of a married name may be attractive from the point of view of change itself. Some potential name-changers have reported a kind of 'thrill' that accompanies seeing or 'imagining' their new name which houses a new identity. Adoption is an exotic flirtation with the Other — a foray into the perceived heart of Otherness/maleness.

4. **Life event.** Marriage is a life event and its transition is signaled by the adoption of a new name. "Personally, I regard changing my name when I get married to be one of the major occurrences of my future life. Moreover, I actually look forward to envisioning my own name under the last name of the person I love. After I do get married, in my future plans, I will put a halt to my career and devote myself to my husband and future son or daughter." (YE, Student, 21 yrs old, 1998)

5. **The committed marriage.** The arguments against the trend for independent surnames and in support of the *status quo* are frequently linked to the notion that a shared last name signifies a more committed marriage. The hypothesis should be tested by investigating whether or not there is a statistical link between maiden-name retention and divorce rates.

In conclusion, we can say that those persons who do not want *fufu bessei* may do so for reasons *other than* the stereotypical 'to be incorporated into the husband's family' or 'to create a cohesive family'.

## 5.2 Arguments for *Fufu Bessei*

Why would a woman *not* want to change her name? What are the grounds for name-changers' request for *fufu bessei*? In loyalty to the family whose patronymic sign she carries there is a glimpse of an Oedipal desire to retain ties; but this is surely not the last word. The formal call for the induction of *fufu bessei* emerged



out of the practice of systematic “lying” by women lawyers and other company workers in the 1980s. Women would change their surname on the register (*koseki*) and on their marriage certificate (*kon'in todoke*) but continue to use their previous surnames at the workplace by agreement with their employer.

1. **Legal complications.** Name change involves the revision of a wide range of public documents and papers from driver's license to passports and bank books.
2. **The sense of equality.** *Fufu bessei* is an ethical move. The use of separate surnames is the high-water mark of marital equality. In some sense, it enhances society's overall sense of equality towards marriage. The practice of *fufu bessei* may diminish the mind-set that gender relations necessarily *have* to be this way.
3. **The sense of injustice.** The name-changer feels a sense of injustice that one spouse only (usually the wife) has to perform the obligatory change.
4. **Personal identity.** The name-changer feels there is some diminution of personal integrity, that something is lost in the change, that they are becoming something that they are not.
5. **Inter-family friction.** Adoption of the husband's surname name implies that the wife has “entered” the husband's family being forced to leave her family behind. The problem is concretized when both the husband and wife are the only children or have no siblings. The question which surname takes priority can produce unnecessary friction.
6. **Loss of recognition.** A wife may have built up a reputation. Her name is known and well regarded. This reputation is jeopardized when there is an obligatory name change.

## 6. Discussion

### 6.1 The ideological speech-act

Though paradoxical because it appears to limit personal freedom, inner logic governs the process of marriage name-change. This *Eigengesetzlichkeit* is founded upon a perceived overriding moral goal — to preserve the family from danger. Marriage name-change/-retention is thus part of an ideological speech-act. It is the linguistic expression of a form of consciousness which sustains and legitimates particular practices and institutions. (“I support *fufu bessei* but I guess if we change the system the rate of divorce will go up. Can't be helped.” University student, Female, 20, Tokyo).

The ideology underpinning the speech act can be concisely summarized as

follows: here is a good goal which is familial stability and the symbolic uniformity provided by *fufu dosei* is the maximization of effectiveness in pursuit of that goal (see Weber's early definition of rationalization). The notion of ideology suggested by the French psychoanalytical social theorists is germane here: "It is a system of thought which claims to be total, it is historical and political interpretation whose (unconscious) aim is the actualization of an illusion, of illusion par excellence" (Chasseguet-Smirgel 1986: 15). An ideology is not primarily a superimposition and to define it only as such is to accept what the ideology says about itself. The current name law is accepted because for many it expresses a convincing and justifiable ideology whose ratiocination is publicly expressed. The fact that the law espouses a familial chromatism which violates the individual wishes of some persons is the obvious starting point for serious debate though the point itself is unlikely to provide the pull-train for legal change.

## 6.2 Structural uniformity

The impact of the *koseki* (family register) is significant in maintaining forced choice (*fufu dosei*) in the three countries in the world where the family register system operates: Japan, Korea and Taiwan. This fossil of Japanese colonial administration in Korea and Taiwan was retained since it provides a very effective means of centralized social administration and control. The *koseki* is a family identification system that contrasts with the personal identification system in other countries. Government and party-political opinion opposes *fufu bessei* now favouring a dual track solution: a forced choice for the *koseki* and *fufu bessei* for daily life (e.g., work, bank, insurance). Japanese companies have various attitudes/policies towards name usage and there is no uniform adaptation to these policies by women workers: complete change to spouse's name, complete retention of maiden name, dual usage within company, dual usage according to in-work/out-work, hyphenation, maiden name in brackets.

*Soshi kaimei* was the policy which forced (particularly) 'Koreans' ('Koreans' and other non-Yamato subjects were then 'Japanese') to take Japanese (*sic!* Yamato) names during the time of the colonial annexation of Korea by Japan (the order did not come into force until 1939; it is not possible to develop this topic here.). The *soshi kaimei* policy was part of a vertical movement, beginning with the imposition of marriage laws on colonials in 1920 aimed at altering the social structures of Korean society but primarily also a horizontal movement to create order and homogeneity (i.e., a homogenization policy) in the Japanese



empire. In like manner, the Meiji government-sponsored *fuufu dosei* system maintains both the verticality of the structure as well as the horizontality of familial homogeneity.

The issue of retention of personal names has been a source of dispute in the Korean community for some decades. During the final years of Japanese colonialism, this issue bothered Koreans. During the occupation, as part of the Policy for Korean Assimilation as Imperial subjects, Koominka Seisaku, the Name Order was proclaimed in November 1939 forcing Koreans to change their names to Japanese-style names: both family and given names. Some Koreans selected identical or similar Chinese character names whereas others devised completely new names. Most Koreans resisted the name law. However, by the August 10th deadline of 1940, roughly 80% of the Korean population were pressured into complying with this order (Ito et al. 1989). (An interesting corollary is noted by J. Neustupný that Korean wives were allowed for the first time in history to share the surname with their husbands — personal communication, 1999). This situation continued until liberation on August 15th, 1945. However, in Japan, some retained their Japanese-style names in order to avoid social discrimination in Japanese society.

In the naturalization process, it is not stated that unless you adopt a Japanese name your application for citizenship is likely to be rejected. In 1983, four members of the Ikuno-ku community in Osaka requested the Family Court to regain their Korean names which they or their parents had changed in order to avoid discrimination. Their requests were initially dismissed. There were two reasons for the rejection. The first referred to the stability of the language of naming. If a name can be changed easily 'it creates social confusion'. Secondly, ethnicity is not an acceptable reason for the changing of names (see Maher 1995). In 1987, the local Family Court did permit the change of a name from Arai to Pak. The reason for acceptance was twofold. Firstly, the name Pak is socially established, and secondly in the Nationality Law, Kokuseki Hoo, the phrase "Japanese name only" has been eliminated from the administrative guidance on naturalization.

Each year almost 8,000 children are born to Korean-Japanese parents. Under the 1985 revision of the Nationality Law children with one Japanese parent born after January 1, 1985 are allowed dual nationality up to the age of 22. Those wishing to register must register with a Japanese name. The Nationality Law, however, does not stipulate that a child *must* have a Japanese name in order to obtain Japanese nationality (see Note 1).

The salient point of the marriage-name problem appears to be gender



discrimination but its true empenage is state coercion whose tried-and-tested vector is, as always, assimilation, even at the level of the choice of one's own name. A familiar tale of loss of personal liberty, *fuufu bessei* is a libertarian issue that invokes the devolution of choice and freedom to make life-decisions for all people in society. It is a matter of concern to both men and women.

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