

Bilingual Children in Japanese Families: Acquisition and Maintenance of English

Laurel Diane Kamada

This paper is part of an ongoing research of bilingual case studies in Japan conducted over the last seven years (see Kamada 1995a, 1998a, 1999). While never meant to represent a reliable cross-section of the Japanese bilingual milieu, the purpose of this paper was to elucidate the main relevant themes and lessons derived concerning bilinguality, bi-literacy and bi-cultural identity from the individual cases in search of hypothesis for further exploration. Selected out of 50 case studies conducted by this author of bilingual children from foreign, bi-culturally mixed, and Japanese families residing in Japan, this report summarizes nine cases from six "typical" Japanese families, where both parents were Japanese (originally reported as case studies in more detail in Kamada, 1998b, 1998c, 1997, 1995b).

Specifically Japanese children of two types of environments are assessed here: 1.) returnee children who had lived abroad and then returned to Japan and 2.) children attending an English immersion school in Japan established for Japanese children. Families discussed here differ significantly from bi-cultural families in which one parent is a foreigner who speaks a minority language (hereafter, ML) and the other parent is a Japanese national. In these nine cases reported on here, children came from families in which both parents were Japanese. All the children were exposed to input of a ML, which in this report, for all cases, was English. Seven cases acquired most of their ML from overseas residence and two acquired English by attending the first English immersion school established in Japan. Four children from two families were raised in unique home environments where at least one parent used their second language, English, exclusively as the language of communication with the child. Bilingual acquisition by Japanese children is still considered very much of a rarity in Japan and is something that many continue to find incredible and unique.

Research Questions

There were three main questions that I was seeking to answer: 1.) What resources for acquiring and maintaining bilinguality are available to such Japanese families, 2.) How do the use of these resources affect the bilingual development of Japanese children residing in Japan, and 3.) How are issues of identity resolved for Japanese children becoming bilingual in a monocultural society like Japan?

Let us first examine the phenomenon of the "returnee dilemma" facing Japanese children. Six cases fit into the category of returnees (see Table 1).

Table 1
Nine Bilingual Case Studies from Six Japanese Families

#	Case	Sex	Age	Home Language	ML Input	School	Other	Tab.2: Result
#1a	Kenji	M	6;3	All English	Home	Public	Returnee	#5: PD Bil
#1b	Hiroko	F	3;2	All English	Home	Public	Returnee	#5: PD Bil
#2a	Yuki	F	10;4	All Japanese	ESL class	Public	Returnee	#3: PP Bil
#2b	Ren	M	9;3	All Japanese	ESL class	Public	Returnee	#3: PP Bil
#3	Shuya	M	8	All Japanese	ESL class	Public	Returnee	#3: PP Bil
#4	Saori	F	22	All Japanese	Live USA	Public	Adult Ret	#4: AP Bil
#5	Naoki	M	4;2	All Japanese	Nearly nil	Public	Returnee	#1: Monol J
#6a	Rumi	F	12	E.Dad/J.Mom	Home/school	Private	Immersion	#6: PD B/li
#6b	Kai	M	8	E.Dad./J.Mom	Home/school	Private	Immersion	#6: PD B/li

ML = Minority language

E = English speaking

J = Japanese speaking

F = Female

M = Male

AP Bil = Adult productive bilingual (below peer level)

PD B/li = Productive developing bilingual and biliterate

ESL = English as a second language

PD Bil = Productive developing bilingual

PP Bil = Partially productive bilingual

Monol J = Monolingual in Japanese

Adult Ret = Adult returnee

The Returnee Dilemma

The term "returnees" (*kikokushijo*) 「帰国子女」 was first used by the Ministry of Education in the late 1960's for the purpose of establishing educational policies for dealing with the vastly increasing numbers and problems of (predominantly elite) Japanese children returning to Japan from overseas residence. Merry White (1988)

reports in her study of 50 returnee families that the pre-eminent concern of these parents is schooling. With the intensity required of Japanese mothers to prepare their children for extreme examination competition, the interruption of any part of this regimen, by leaving the country, presents anxiety for parents and problems for the child.

Ambivalent feelings about residing overseas with school-aged children often overshadow the rewards gained from an experience of overseas residence. White's (1988) study explained returnee problems as stemming from the exclusive nature of Japanese society in which attitudes prevail where returnees "contaminated" by the values of the outside world come to be seen as "different," in a society where sameness is desired. In order to address this problem, society has stepped in by establishing various social devices such as *ukeirekou* 「受け入れ校」, schools which have served to marginalize returnees and remove them from the mainstream of Japanese society. Rose & Fujishima (1994) indicated returnees did not desire separate tracts as it tended to make the reassimilation all the more difficult.

According to Goodman (1990), the returnee problem is seldom seen by Japanese society as the result of the educational system. Instead the fault is laid on the child or parent. Goodman refers to several expressions coined by others to describe the process needed for cleansing this so-called "sickness:" Inui & Sono have used the words *Nihonka* (Japanization) 「日本化」 and *somenaoshi* (dye over with another color) 「染め直し」, whereas Befu coined the term *gaikoku hagashi* (peeling off of the foreignness) 「外国剥がし」 (in Goodman, 1990:218). Goodman (1993: 219) credits Azuma Hiroshi of Tokyo University as being the first educator to suggest that it is not the returnees who have problems. Rather than the need for returnees to hide their overseas experience in order to reintegrate into Japanese society, Azuma (1979: 92-3) suggests that it is the Japanese educational system that needs revision. Goodman(1993) speaks of a new class of children emerging with the returnees, that although they may be locked out by some doors, returnees hold the key to many of the bigger doors which they are beginning more and more to find open. While Goodman's survey of returnees mostly spoke of children from the elite classes sent abroad in the 1970's and 1980's, White (1988) points out that returnees since the 1980's have become much more diverse in terms of career background and in capacity to function upon return. The returnee families reviewed in this report are of the earlier type -- children of elite parents: doctors, professors, businessmen.

The bilingual Japanese family cases presented in this report included not only

returnees, but also another even newer segment recently emerging in Japanese society: Japanese children educated in officially accredited English immersion schools in Japan. Japan's immersion schooling is described following.

A New Vision for Japanese Youths: Immersion Schooling.

Unlike international schools in Japan that prepare mostly foreigners with high English literacy skills for higher education overseas, English immersion targets Japanese students with the goal of producing (near) balanced bilingual and bi-literate children, opening doors for greater future choices.

The first English immersion school in Japan was successfully established in Shizuoka Prefecture (See Botswick, 1999) in 1992 by Katoh Masahide as a special track of its open plan school (school without walls) established since 1970 - - also the first of its kind in Japan. Both tracks are accredited by the Ministry of Education using the same Japanese curriculum, but with all courses taught in English by native speaker teachers in the immersion track in lower elementary grades, except for a Japanese language (*kokugo*) course taught by Japanese teachers. Gradually the Japanese medium of instruction is increased in the curriculum in the higher grades until reaching about 50:50, English to Japanese medium. The idea of emphasizing the learning activity - - the content - - and not the language itself to teach English, is still a very revolutionary idea in Japan.

Cummins and Swain (1986) emphasize the difference between bilingual programs for ML speakers such as immigrants and refugees in contrast to immersion programs which are specifically designed for majority language speakers wishing to add an ML to their abilities. Likewise, immersion schooling in Japan is designed for Japanese children and not for bi-cultural or foreign children. Let us now examine the nine Japanese cases for influences of age, ML input, schooling, overseas residence, home language and identity issues.

Selection of the cases

While the original 50 cases were not selected with any particular reliability control; an endeavor was made to collect a variety of families residing in Japan with children expected to be bilingual due to the presence of a ML speaker in the family or experience of overseas residence. Parents and children were interviewed on a number of occasions in both Japanese and English. Cases of attriters who had previously maintained

bilinguality but had lost one of their languages were included, along with partially productive bilinguals and *receptive* (passive) bilinguals who maintained comprehension of the ML, but were unable to verbally produce it, generally responding to the ML speaker in Japanese. This paper examines nine cases (with names changed) where both parents were Japanese (see Table 1).

Data was collected through family interviews with both parents as well as with the case children themselves on several occasions. Most of the data was compiled on the basis of parental assessments of the children. Specific data included: age at interview, overseas residence (including duration and ages), schooling choices outside of the home, schooling and language uses inside the home, and other miscellaneous ML input.

Verbal ML production was further verified by conversations of at least ten minutes between subjects and this researcher. Although numerical rating assessments of verbal speech were not employed, grammatical accuracy, vocabulary usage, pronunciation, and fluency (speed and rhythm of speech) were noted in order to broadly categorize subjects into one of six categories (see Table 2).

TABLE 2
Bilingual Categories

- 1.) Monolingual Japanese
Subjects are unable to understand or produce the ML* even though they may have had ML exposure or were previously ML productive before suffering language loss. Subjects may have also had ML literacy training. At present subjects can understand and speak only the majority language, Japanese.
- 2.) Receptive Bilingual
Subjects can understand the ML, but produce only Japanese in response. Subjects may have also had some literacy training in the ML.
- 3.) Partially Productive Bilingual
Subjects can understand the ML, but sometimes are unable to produce the ML due to language attrition or lack of vocabulary. Subjects may have also had some literacy training in the ML.
- 4.) Adult Productive Bilingual Below Peer Level
Subjects are adult second language learners with productive bilingual ability which is below adult native speaker peer level. Subjects may have also had some literacy training in the ML.
- 5.) Productive Developing Bilingual
Subjects understand and produce the ML at (or near) peer level. Subjects have not had literacy training in the ML.
- 6.) Productive Developing Bilingual and Biliterate
Subjects understand and produce the ML at (or near) peer level with some literacy ability in both languages.

*ML = minority language (For all cases introduced here, the ML was English.)

In order to understand the context of the families' goals, parents were questioned about their philosophies on bilingualism and biculturalism. They were asked to share unique features and events and to share what they felt to be both their weaknesses as well as their strengths in helping their children acquire bilinguality and deal with identity issues. Following is a brief summary of each case.

The Case Study Families

English at home: Family #1. The returnee children of Family #1 did not fit the description, explained above, which Goodman (1993) and White (1988) portrayed of the typical returnee, in that the parents of Family #1 did not feel the need to "peel off the foreignness" upon return to Japan of the older son in order to get back on the elite course and fit in. The children of Families #1 and #6 were unique in having parents who not only achieved their own personal high level of English ability, but who had also elected to use this second language, English, as the home language with their children.

The older child, a son, Kenji (6;3), spent just over a year overseas in an English speaking environment from four months of age. Upon return to Japan at 1;5 his parents decided to continue to use English at home with him, although much of his day was spent with Japanese babysitters. At five years of age, Kenji spent another six weeks in England and then four months in Hawaii. The family returned to Japan just before Kenji turned six and he was placed into a Japanese preschool and then an elementary school. English use at home has been continued ever since. Based on the above bilingual categories, Kenji was assessed as a productive developing bilingual in Japanese and English (#1a. of Table 2). He had not been introduced to literacy training in the ML at the time of the interview.

The younger child, a daughter, Hiroko (3;2), heard only English being used from birth in her first year at home. It wasn't until she began attending Japanese day-care from one year of age that she began being regularly exposed to Japanese language input. Although she never left Japan except for a three-week vacation to Hawaii at 2;9, she also became a bilingual, productive in both languages (#1b. of Table 2) according to the mother.

While the mother stated that she always used English with her children, she admitted to using a few important Japanese words embedded in English sentences, such as *itadakimasu* and *oniisan* which contained cultural meanings. The parents felt that the notion of raising a child "purely Japanese" was no longer desirable or even possible

in modern day Japan.

Bilingual returnees: Family #2. The two children of this family (a girl, Yuki [10;4] and a boy, Ren [9;3]) became functional bilinguals without the use of English in the home and with no real goal on the part of their parents, other than to give their children the tools and opportunity to do as they chose while attending a regular Japanese public school. The children's enthusiasm for English learning was initially born and nurtured out of a two and a half year stay in America which coincided with the beginning of first grade in an American school for each of them. Yuki spent ages 6-8, from the latter half of the kindergarten year through the end of second grade in an American school; while Ren spent ages 5-7, from kindergarten through first grade in the same school. Upon return to Japan, both children were almost immediately given twice weekly English lessons with an native English speaker teacher. While the home language was Japanese, the family utilized numerous English videos for children. Countless English books, board games and learning tools for English also filled their home. Due in large part to the children's very positive experiences in American schools alongside their English speaking peers, coupled with high innate aptitude for language set in motion the paths to their success. At the time of the interview two years after their return to Japan, both children were able to not only understand, but also to converse comfortably in English most of the time on a variety of topics, although they lacked vocabulary and occasionally became frustrated when speaking. Thus these children were both assessed as belonging to the category of #3. of Table 2: partially productive bilingual.

Reverse culture shock: Family #3. Similar to the two children above, Shuya (8 years old) spent the most linguistically impressive years overseas, three years from ages 5;6 to 8;5 - - from kindergarten through second grade, where initial schooling and language literacy development commences. Then upon return to Japan, while attending a Japanese public school, he immediately began receiving English language lessons at a private school. He was thus able to maintain and improve on the ML acquired overseas. Aside from language, the entire family had acquired something the mother described as "a different feeling"--a sense of the world being something more than just Japanese. While residing in USA, Shuya never did any English homework; instead, at home he studied Japanese (*kokugo*) 「国語」 from textbooks received from the Japanese Ministry of Education. Thus upon his return to Japan, he had not only kept par with his Japanese peers in *kokugo*, he had also acquired English speaking and writing skills at nearly peer level with American children as well.

While the mother spoke of their overseas experiences extremely positively, Shuya's problems began to surface upon return to his Japanese school where he encountered behavioral problems. Although his Japanese literacy was up to par, he had more difficulty with cultural problems. What had been considered permissible behavior in American schools was now to be suppressed. Students in Japan began to tease him for being different.

White (1988) reports on the rewarding overseas experiences of a returnee named Yukio, similar to Shuya, who did well in school and was popular with children and teachers, but upon return to Japan suffered anxiety in the form of stomach aches in spite of having no problems with his schoolwork. White writes, (1990: 44) "His classmates were trying to create a scapegoat, a focus, for their own anxieties about fitting in, and Yukio's ready-made differentness made him a target." Shuya suffered almost an identical problem. Goodman (1990:89) reports on how conflicts between ways of thinking and expressing differ between the two cultures--memorization in Japan and report-writing in USA. Swimming in America for Shuya meant having fun, but in Japan, along with art and music which Shuya used to enjoy in his L.A. school, in Japan were subjects which were checked and graded, and he could no longer enjoy them. Goodman (1990: 89) noted that returnees to Japan often suffer problems in not being able to read music or play the recorder in Music class; they lack specific skills in art class and PE, and many even suffer from problems with English grammar in English classes.

At the time of the interview, Shuya had been back in Japan for several months and due to his father's work transfer, had recently been placed in a much more supportive and nurturing school in a new location where he began to blossom. His mother once again enrolled him in English conversation schools, although by this time, his near perfect English began suffering some attrition. Nonetheless interviews with Shuya revealed that he was still able to understand and converse comfortably in English most of the time with good pronunciation. Shuya was thus classified in the category of #3 of Table 2: Partially Productive Bilingual.

Adult returnee: Family #4. The fact that Saori (now 22) became bilingual after living in America for three years from the ages of 19 to 22 is less unusual than the circumstances surrounding her family's influence on her and her decision to live abroad. Except for a 10 day overseas experience in sixth grade to Europe where she toured with an orchestra group, Saori had never resided abroad before going to USA. Saori's mother

always maintained a longing and an idealistic dream of America which she was never totally able to realize by herself, but she encouraged in her child. Saori expressed, "I don't want to waste this precious life. I don't want to get old and realize I haven't satisfied this curiosity which I have had about the world overseas since I was a child." It wasn't until about 6 months before her departure that she began, for the first time, to receive English conversation lessons from a private tutor twice a week.

Saori was not a returnee in the strict sense of the word created with the purpose of classifying school children, as she was not of school age and returned to Japan after the age of 20. Although the term "returnee" is sometimes applied to university students, she did not attempt to enter a Japanese university and instead studied towards an AA degree overseas. Nonetheless, her re-entry into Japanese society presented her with some of the same reverse culture-shock anxiety that returnees faced. As a young adult returning to Japan, Saori was able to maintain her English by associating with English speakers in Japan while preparing her next trip abroad. Similar to returnees, she also was able to enjoy many of the advantages of being a member of this new class of youths that Goodman (1993) and White (1988) described. She is proud of the fact that she was able to realize her dream and is self-confident in being able to converse with people from almost anywhere in the world using English. She states that it has caused her thinking to expand. At the time of the interview, Saori had been back in Japan for only a half a year and was making plans to earn enough money to return to USA as soon as possible and complete her AA degree. Her English ability was high enough to attend college classes and understand and converse very comfortably in English on topics ranging from informal personal topics to difficult academic and philosophic matters. Saori was classified in category #4 of Table 2: Adult Productive Bilingual Below Peer Level.

Saori states that her strongest area in English is writing, although writing could be said to be the most difficult aspect of language acquisition. Saori says that before going to America, she disliked studying, but came to change when she began attending an American college. In perfect English, Saori expressed herself to me, "Studying in the USA had a different meaning. In Japan, we have to memorize things without meaning, but now I can study anything I like, even small things. In Japan, I was not good at self-expression and stating my own opinion, but in American all the classes require student opinions. There is much discussion and I like expressing myself now."

Monolingual returnee: Family #5. The overseas experience of a preschool returnee boy, Naoki (4;2), was really too brief (from 3;7 to 4;1) to have much influence on his

language development. Prior to departure, the father had read to his son twice weekly from one of several English picture books which had been sent from overseas by a friend. The father seriously desired his son to acquire bilinguality as both he and his wife had done so through their experience of residing overseas for some ten years before Naoki's birth.

Naoki's six month overseas residence ending at four years of age, occurred prior to making an ML breakthrough with verbal fluency although he could understand a lot of English and could verbally produce a few words and sentences. At the point of return to Japan, Naoki maintained passive understanding of peer level English; however, even that passive ability soon became lost. While part of the reason for Naoki's swift attrition of both verbal and passive understanding of English was due to the short length of his overseas residence, another reason may be attributed to his early age of exposure to the second language prior to school entry (Hoffmann, 1991). Both parents continued to use Japanese in the home, except for occasional English story reading by the father. Had immediate measures been taken soon upon return to Japan to maintain and increase Naoki's budding English skills, it is quite likely that he would have fared much better (Kamada, 1995a, 1998a). Although the father had hoped that Naoki would maintain and increase his ML proficiency, due to insufficient input upon return, what little ML he had acquired soon attrited, squashing any chances of developing his budding bilingualism and leaving him a Japanese monolingual (#1 of Table 2) at the time of the interview, one month after their return from overseas. What was maintained, however, was a happy memory of his experiences of his early childhood where he was immersed in an English environment. Even if he did at this point in his life totally lose his English ability there will probably be other opportunities beyond his present four years of age to once again attain and retain bilinguality.

Immersion schooling: Family #6. The two non-returnee Japanese children of Family #6 (a daughter, Rumi [12]; and a son, Kai [8]) attended a private immersion school, which unlike an international school, was not totally outside of Japanese institutions, as it maintains a regular Japanese school program and is an accredited school. The parents wanted to offer their children more choices than usually available in ordinary schools. These children had greater ML input than any of the overseas returnees as nearly their entire day was spent immersed in using English. Aside from English immersion schooling during the day, they came home to hang out with native speaker teachers at their parents English school in the afternoon, and engaged in English-only

communication with the father in the evenings and holidays.

From birth having heard English from her father and Japanese from her mother on a regular basis, Rumi started speaking both languages at age two. From the age of one and a half until five, Rumi attended a regular Japanese kindergarten. From age 5 she entered the immersion track of the Katoh Gakuin in the first year of its program. As far as overseas residence is concerned, Rumi went abroad six times for about 10 days each trip, and at about 7 years of age, she spent three weeks in a school in Australia on a month-long trip there; then again at age ten she spent two months in USA where she attended fifth grade. While her English had always been slow and rhythmic, after two months of school in the USA, her speaking became faster as she lost the ability to speak Japanese. Later, upon return to Japan, she began speaking Japanese, again, but slowly. Eventually her Japanese returned to normal and now, again, her English is spoken slowly.

Kai's personality is more emotional and energetic than Rumi's demure stature. Unlike the grammatically perfect English of Rumi, Kai's English has a lot of mistakes; and when he begins to say something, it comes out ungrammatical at first, whereas Rumi's speech is near perfect from the start. Compared to Rumi, Kai's language is richer in quantity, but lacking in quality. Kai started speaking earlier than Rumi at one and a half years old.

Kai has had three overseas experiences, two of which were for only ten days, and one trip was for three weeks where he was placed in a nursery school at first for a short while until he was pulled out due to a fever.

While the father uses only English with the children and the mother uses only Japanese, the sibling language is almost totally Japanese. Based on assessments by the parents of both children, their Japanese is 100% on par with their peers. As far as their English ability is concerned, the father assesses Rumi to be at a level of about 50 to 60% that of her English native speaker peers, and he assesses Kai even better at about 60 to 70% due to his personality. Based on a ten minute telephone interview with Kai, his English grammar and pronunciation were determined to be without flaw; he suffered only from a few vocabulary problems. Rumi's telephone interview also revealed excellent pronunciation and grammar spoken very carefully, at a pace somewhat slower than native speakers. Nonetheless, Rumi says that of her two languages, English is easier for her because she uses it at school. Both children were classified in the highest category of Table 2, #6: Productive Developing Bilingual and Biliterate.

The parents feel that a strong native Japanese ability is important for the children. Their English is a second language ability developed to a high level and it is not expected to be perfect. While the immersion school does an excellent job of teaching bilingual and biliterate skills, it admits that the English literacy of the sixth graders is a few years behind the level of children at schools in the USA; but it is certainly far ahead of any accomplishments seen elsewhere in any other regular Japanese school.

As far as the identity of the children is concerned, the father says that it is so much of a "non-problem," that it has just never even come to mind. The children's total environment is open and supportive and bilingual. They have never had to be concerned with the "problem" of being different. The mother states, "We are Japanese, so we are expected to do things like Japanese. We won't get mixed up about our Japanese selves. But we also need to know about others as well. We need to study more."

When asked if it felt strange for their father to use English with them, Kai replied that he liked it very much because English is so hard to study. But when his father uses it with him, he can learn it without studying it and he can go anywhere with it, such as to the USA or Australia. Rumi replied that when she was younger, she felt it was strange for her Japanese father to use English with her. But then later - - and she cannot explain why - - she suddenly changed at around the age of 8 or 9, and now she likes it very much.

Summary and Discussion

Four cases came from families where English was used in the home with the child exclusively by one or both parents. Six cases were returnee children who had returned from overseas to continue regular Japanese schooling. One young adult case had lived abroad after high school. Finally two non-returnee children of one family are described who had not resided overseas for any significant length of time and who attended an English immersion school in Japan.

Even though the language input in the home consisted totally of Japanese in five cases, except for the one monolingual preschool returnee whose overseas residence was an insufficient six months, all other of these Japanese children introduced here became successful developing bilinguals to some degree, including the two non-returnee children who attended immersion schooling. Four cases became productive developing bilinguals of which two also became biliterate. Furthermore, the one young adult acquired a very high level of ESL (English as a second language) with high literacy skills. Three other

cases had developed into partially productive bilinguals with occasional verbal production of English when their interlocutor was unable to understand Japanese. Of the Japanese returnees who had resided overseas, all of them returned to Japan from English speaking countries to be placed in regular public schools or kindergartens except for the young adult who had graduated from high school before going abroad at age 19.

While eight of the cases were able to successfully acquire a second language, it was not without considerable struggle for each child. The returnee parents felt the value and urgency of maintaining their children's diligently learned and frailly acquired English skills and consciously made great efforts to do so. In order to see their children be successful in Japan, however, the Japanese parents were not free of the burden of responsibility to also help their child fit back into Japanese society and get them back into the educational fast track. They had to deal with ambivalent feelings of both the positive rewards of going overseas and the problems faced upon return. White's (1988) survey of returnee families revealed that although many returnee parents suffer great anxiety about the prospect of having to interrupt their children's education by leaving Japan to go overseas, many of them reported on the experience as an important, happy time where the family was able to spend more time together. Many of the Japanese families said they felt fortunate to have had the chance to avoid the more difficult task of English memorization by being able to acquire English naturally.

What all of these families had in common was that they were Japanese families with both a Japanese mother and a Japanese father who continued to maintain very strong Japanese identities in the process of emphasizing that their children acquire another language. All of these parents had decided to give their children more options and choices in their lives than the average Japanese. Many parents felt that they wanted to leave open an option for their child to attend university or take on employment overseas, if so desired by the child. Many children expressed feeling more empowered and self-confident as a result of their ML abilities. I think that Goodman (1990) is correct in predicting that many more doors will be open for them in their futures; certainly these parents believed it wholeheartedly.

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