Heritage language learners in a multicultural society: the influence of Japanese immigrant descendants' relation with the Japanese language on their identities and Japanese learning

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Abstract

Because of its cultural diversity, Canada has been seen as a rich mosaic and has thus been the object of an increasing amount of research on multi-cultural/lingual education. The advance of Canadian multiculturalism may continue; it stands to reason that heritage language (HL) learners' views of themselves will change along with this advance, consequently influencing their HL learning opportunities and experiences. In this study, I inquire into adult beginner Japanese HL learners' perceptions of their identities and relationships with the Japanese language. Taking a social constructivist view, I address the following issues 1) what Japanese language means to Japanese immigrant descendants with no or little Japanese knowledge; 2) how their decisions about Japanese learning and/or use are made and influence their identity construction; and 3) how they perceive Japanese HL (re-) learning as adults.

In this qualitative study, I collected data from six adult Japanese HL beginner learners (four data sets out of the six data sets were used for the analysis and discussion) and one adult Japanese foreign language (FL) beginner learner in Montreal through semi-structured and in-depth interviews and diaries over a period of 10 to 12 weeks. I analyzed the data from four of the HL learners and used the FL learner's data as supporting data. In order to understand the learning context of adult HL learners in this geographical area, I also interviewed six instructors who taught Japanese in Quebec. My findings suggest that: adult HL learners in a multicultural context continuously cross not only cultural, linguistic, or geographical borders, but also temporal borders; HL has a strong impact on their positioning in the family even after they become adults, and this positioning process is extremely complex. Including a concept of 'mobility' (Kawakami, 2018, 2022) and focusing on the struggles of children or youth and their process of growth may lead to a deeper understanding of the identity construction of youth in multicultural contexts.

Résumé

À cause de sa grande diversité, le Canada est perçu comme une riche mosaïque culturelle et fait l'objet d'un nombre croissant de recherches sur l'éducation multiculturelle et multilingue. Étant donné que le multiculturalisme canadien pourrait continuer à se développer, l'image que les étudiants d'une langue d'héritage (LH) ont d'eux-mêmes pourrait également changer, conséquemment influençant leurs possibilités d'apprentissages théoriques et pratiques liés à leur LH. À travers cette étude, j'enquête la perception des adultes étudiant le japonais comme LH au niveau débutant sur leur identité et leur relation avec la langue japonaise. En employant un point de vue socioconstructiviste, j'adresse les points suivants : 1) ce que la langue japonaise veut dire pour les descendants japonais qui ont peu ou qui n'ont pas de connaissances japonaises; 2) comment leurs décisions reliées à l'apprentissage et/ou l'emploi du japonais sont prises et comment elles influencent la construction de leur identité; et 3) comment ils perçoivent l'apprentissage (ou le réapprentissage) du japonais comme LH en tant qu'adultes.

Dans cette étude qualitative, j'ai recueilli des données de six adultes étudiant le japonais comme LH au niveau débutant (4 des 6 échantillons ont été utilisés pour l'analyse de données et la discussion) et un adulte étudiant le japonais comme langue étrangère (LÉ) à Montréal à travers des entretiens semi-directifs et en profondeur sur une période de 10 à 12 semaines. J'ai analysé les données de quatre des étudiants de LH et j'ai utilisé les données de l'étudiant de LÉ comme données supplémentaires. Afin de comprendre le contexte d'apprentissage des étudiants adultes de LH dans cette zone géographique, j'ai également eu des entretiens avec six instructeurs qui ont enseigné le japonais au Québec. Les résultats de l'étude suggèrent que les étudiants adultes de LH dans un contexte multiculturel franchissent continuellement non seulement les barrières culturelles, linguistiques ou géographiques, mais aussi les barrières temporelles. Les résultats

suggèrent aussi que la LH a encore un impact considérable sur leur positionnement dans leur famille, même après qu'ils soient devenus adultes, et ce processus de positionnement est extrêmement complexe. L’inclusion d’un concept de ‘mobilité’ (Kawakami, 2018, 2022) et une concentration sur les défis des enfants ou des jeunes et leur processus de croissance peut entraîner une compréhension plus approfondie de leur construction identitaire dans des contextes multiculturels.

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Contribution to Original Knowledge

This dissertation contributes to the field of second language education in three ways. First, it offers a new understanding of immigrant descendants' relation with their heritage language and its influence on their identity construction and heritage language learning in a multicultural context. This study portrayed adult beginner level heritage language learners' desires, challenges, and efforts to create a new space as *third place* (Ray Oldenburg) and *third space* (Homi K. Bhabha) for themselves through their heritage language. This knowledge is useful for educators to revisit and further develop the foundations and/or philosophy of language education in the context of an increasingly globalized world. Ultimately, it encourages post-secondary institutions and instructors to develop and adapt their curriculum and teaching, and to prepare prospective teachers for diverse classrooms. Second, at a methodological level, this study identified the need to include a new angle, that of 'mobility', to the poststructuralist approach to learners' identity construction. Third, at an epistemological level, in line with the postmodern view that there are many truths in this world and that each person's view is unique, this study used multiple interactive data collection methods and qualitative multiple-case research design, which will in turn lead to the further development of qualitative research. The findings of this study thus suggest avenues for language education which include the individual aspects of immigrant descendant learners while also being a part of holistic education.

Contributions of the Author

As the author of this dissertation, I proposed and delineated the research topic and questions; I conducted the literature search, developed the research design for this study, sought ethics approval from the University Research Ethics Board, recruited the research participants, conducted the data collection and analysis, and wrote the dissertation based on the analysis. During the process, I asked for and received constructive feedback and guidance from my supervisor, Dr. Mela Sarkar, and my supervisory committee members, Ms. Miwako Uesaka and Dr. Seong Man Park.

Chapter 1 Introduction

Positioning Myself

It has been two decades since I first arrived in Canada in April 2000. After teaching Japanese at two junior high schools in Japan for seven years, I resigned from my post as a public school teacher and moved to Canada. At the time that I left my job, I felt that I had given my students everything I could give and that there was nothing left that I could do or teach them. Thus, I never expected to teach Japanese again, especially in this foreign country of Canada. However, through meeting Japanese immigrants and their children in a small town in Alberta where I was living, I started to feel that my views of the Japanese language, Japanese language education, and most importantly, of myself as Japanese, were changing.

One day, a three-year-old Japanese-Canadian girl that I was baby-sitting gave me an explanation of who she was. She said, “Yasuko, people tell me I am Japanese, but I don’t think so.” At first, as a former teacher, I thought about teaching this little girl about her ethnic background, but instead, because she was only three years old, I asked her a direct and simple question. “Then, are you Canadian?” She answered, “No, I am not.” I asked another question, and our conversation went on. “So then, who do you think you are?” “I don’t think I am Japanese or Canadian. I am just a pretty little girl because my dad said so…but I think I am made of Japanese and Canadian.” “What do you mean by made of?” Pointing at her body here and there, she said, “My whole body, inside of my body is made of Japanese and Canadian. ’Cause I can speak Japanese and English!”

Her comments were totally new to me because I had never thought much about claiming to be Japanese or not. Although I probably had some sense of identity at the unconscious level, living in Japan, which is a relatively homogeneous nation, I never felt a need to identify myself

ethnically or culturally. This little girl's talk showed me that a person identifies and positions himself/herself within the society in which he/she lives.

Furthermore, at a Japanese heritage language school where I was teaching, a grade one student told me that she had decided to take a break from Japanese learning for a while because she wanted to catch up on her English ability with her Canadian classmates at a local school. She was one of the top students in the Japanese class and seemed very confident in her learning ability. However, I realized that what I thought I knew about her was only one part of her and her life. This student emphasized that she had two different groups of friends by describing them as her "Japanese friends" or her "Canadian friends", and she didn't express any similar need to "catch up" with her Japanese friends. On the last day of school, with a smile on her face, she said to me, "Don't worry about me, teacher! I will be fine. I will try my best to keep up my Japanese and I'll be back once my English gets better." Even though she was only 6 years old, and she also may have been influenced by the adults around her, it was a big decision she made. She was positioning herself in the world and made that decision believing that the change would bring something good to her life.

While I was teaching Japanese to Japanese-Canadian children at a Japanese cultural school in that small town (2001-2005), the number of students increased rapidly and dramatically; however, there were always some students like her. The participation seemed unstable compared to other kinds of programs such as the hockey academy or KUMON lessons (an afterschool mathematics and literacy program). Although I knew that each student and his/her family made the decision to leave the Japanese school convinced that it was the best decision, I still felt a mixture of uneasiness, irritation, and guilt when someone left the school. I could not understand where those feelings derived from nor rationalize them at that moment.

However, after studying the relationship between language and identity in my master's-level studies at McGill University, I became cognizant of the existence of distorting rationalizations within myself and societies, and I began to see the complexity of heritage language (HL) education. My complex feelings, which had seemed illogical at the time, actually had their own "logic of practice" (Bourdieu's view, in Power, 2004). I had believed that HL must be maintained and HL maintenance was a family and individual matter, but at the same time, I had blindly accepted and supported the idea that 'bilingualism' for immigrants requires a great deal of family effort and sacrifice. Therefore, I was unconsciously judging my students and their families' decisions and behaviors toward Japanese learning as 'Japanese immigrants' by what I believed to be correct. Somewhere at the back of my mind, I was probably aware of this paradox in my way of thinking, and that was why I felt irritated and guilty at the same time.

I now teach Japanese to adult foreign language (FL) learners at a post-secondary institution. In summer 2010, I encountered a student who did not acquire her HL as a child but wished to acquire it as an adult in my beginners' class. After meeting her, all the memories about those students who had left the Japanese cultural school back in Alberta came back to me, and I realized that students like this also exist in post-secondary language courses, even if in small numbers.

In a multicultural society, it would be ideal for all immigrant descendants to have the opportunity to learn their HLs regardless of language, age, and past experience; however, it is not always the case that they have that opportunity in their childhood. As seen in my former student's case, some people are restricted due to family circumstances, and other times because of their complex identity development as minority group members in the society. Recognizing this reality, I began to wonder what kind of life my former students in Alberta who had left the

school were currently living and what their lives would be like in the future. I arrived at several questions. What influence did/do their decisions and/or their parents' decisions about Japanese learning in their childhood have on their current and future lives? Does Japanese still have a place in their lives? If they decided to learn Japanese as adults, what possibilities/options would they have? These questions led me to reconsider the definition of *heritage language learner* and the meaning of *heritage language education*. In this study, I inquire into adult beginner HL learners in HL education by analyzing the multicultural/multilingual experience of Japanese immigrant descendants with little or no Japanese knowledge. I examine their identity construction focusing on the relationship between their 'decision' in light of Japanese learning/use, and language/cultural 'ideologies', which are deeply embedded in the society and function as axiomatic truths in the social context.

Heritage Language

The term *heritage language* (HL) basically refers to non-majority languages spoken by linguistic minority groups, and includes both indigenous languages and world languages (Valdés, 2005). Yet doubts remain about its applicability to contexts other than the United States, such as the African context (Bale, 2010). The same holds for the Canadian context; the Canadian definition and view of *heritage language* differs from that of the U.S.

Cummins (2005) explains that the term originally emerged in Canada in 1977 with the beginning of the Ontario Heritage Languages Program. Although the Ontario government replaced the term *heritage language* with *international language* in 1994, the older term is still commonly used within the Canadian context. In contrast to the U.S. context, Canadian First Nations communities normally do not consider their languages to be HLs; therefore, whereas HL refers to all languages other than English in the U.S., in Canada, it refers to languages other than

the aboriginal languages of First Nations peoples and the two official languages of Canada, English and French (Cummins, 1992). Unfortunately, debates and research on HL education have diminished in Canada since the end of the 20th century, probably due to the decrease in federal funding for HL programs and research (Bale, 2010; Duff, 2008). After the events of September 11, 2001, due to a renewed focus on national security issues, the problems of monolingualism and the general lack of world language skills became a matter of great concern in the U.S. (Gbotokuma, 2017); thus immigrant languages and their education began to gain more attention. With the increased interest in HL education, most recent HL research and terminological debates have focused on and relate to the U.S. context.

Bale (2010) explains that there is an ethical tension between researcher and researched in the debate over the term *heritage language*. In recent years, some works have suggested that the terms researchers use to classify languages do not always agree with how speakers of the language perceive their language (e.g., García, 2005; Wiley, 2005). Similar to how First Nations communities in Canada reject their languages being labeled as *heritage languages* for historical reasons, some Spanish-speaking communities in the U.S. reject the view that Spanish is a 'heritage' language because of "historical shifts in the status of languages and their speakers over time" (Wiley, 2005, p.595). Although most research and researchers view Spanish in the U.S. as heritage language, for the Spanish-speaking communities, their language is an 'indigenous' language that existed as a national language long before they were conquered and annexed into the U.S., in contrast to other immigrant languages (Wiley, 2005). Thus, current definitions and views of the term *heritage language* lack the perspective of the people who are researched. In the current study, taking the Canadian definition, I use the term *heritage language* to refer to immigrant languages, languages "other than English, French and Aboriginal languages whose

presence in Canada is originally due to immigration" (Statistics Canada, 2018a).

Identity

Identity is philosophically defined as "a person's understanding of who they are" (Taylor, 1994, p.25). However, theoretical approaches to *identity* differ widely across disciplines; there is no one way of describing *identity*. In the past, many different approaches have been proposed and developed in the fields of the social sciences.

Originally, there was a belief that *identity* was determined by various factors (i.e., essentialist approaches) and had a fixed nature (i.e., sociopsychological approaches and interactional sociolinguistic approaches) (Block, 2007). In the field of second language (L2) acquisition, numerous studies were carried out based on the idea that there was a one-to-one correlation between ethnic/cultural identity and language acts. Yet, with rapid globalization, new types of ethnic groups have emerged, and challenges to these ideas have emerged (Shin, 2010). Adult HL beginner learners are one of these new types of groups. Their multicultural background and limited HL proficiency do not fit into conventional categories. Sociopsychological approaches have been criticized for their monolingual/monocultural bias (e.g., hybrid identities and bilinguals/multilinguals cannot be explained with these approaches) by researchers using other paradigms (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). Interactional sociolinguistic approaches, meanwhile, have been questioned on their notion of indexicality (i.e., a direct link between identity and language act). Identity, it is argued, is only one of many factors which influence language acts (e.g., Auer, 2005).

According to Block (2007), during the last two decades, a poststructuralist view of the world has arisen and become popular in the social sciences as a response to essentialist approaches. Poststructuralist approaches to identity have developed emphasizing the importance

of considering the fluid and multidimensional nature of the world surrounding us. They accept the influence of individuals' subjectivities on identity and view identity construction as a process embedded within power relations which involves individuals' subjectivities (e.g., Norton, 2000, 2001; Kanno, 2003; Pavlenko, 2004). Stemming from the work of Pierre Bourdieu, this paradigm developed the idea that identity emerges, shifts, and transmutes within social, economic, and cultural power relations (i.e., the ideological power of the larger society values and devalues particular languages). In this process, individuals consciously or unconsciously position themselves and others in a given time and space, perform and present *imposed* and *accepted identities* (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004), and develop new identities through *imagined communities* (Kanno, 2003; Norton, 2000, 2001). Although power relations in the larger society influence their decisions, individuals 'decide' who they are through their life experiences at a particular time and place. In the poststructuralist view, identity is not simply 'determined' by factors or 'assigned' by others involving only past and present. It is also 'created' and 'shaped' by individuals involving their expectations for the future. In this study, I take this poststructuralist view of identity and see identity construction as a constantly emerging process, and as a space of hybridity and multiplicity.

Ideology

The definitions of *ideology* are not straightforward and vary depending on contexts and fields (Woolard, 1992). Sometimes, it is understood as a comprehensive concept of how we look at things. Other times, it refers to the philosophical foundation of daily life and/or a set of concepts imposed by the dominant group in a society. Moreover, the characteristics of ideology are understood in a variety of ways, and there are conflicting views and approaches in terms of consciousness, subjectivity, and political and economic tendencies. Reviewing such conflicts and

debates, Woolard (1992) suggested that the following four points can be used to define the term *ideology*:

1. Ideology is often taken as conceptual, and having to do with ideas, notions, beliefs, and consciousness;
2. Ideological concepts are seen as "derived from, rooted in, reflective of, or responsive to the experience or interests of a particular social position" (Schieffelin, Woolard, & Kroskrity, 1998, p.6);
3. The central notion of *ideology* is distortion, falsity, mystification, or rationalization;
4. An intimate connection to social power and its legitimation is attributed to *ideology*.

In addition to these four features, Woolard (1992) drew attention to two other dimensions of *ideology*: the degree to which it is held to be a coherent system and the degree to which *ideology* is conscious and explicit. I am aware of the complexity of defining *ideology*; thus, my intention is not to support or criticize any particular view. However, in this study, considering the above points summarized and compiled by Woolard (1992; 1998), I use the term *ideology* as a set of conscious and unconscious ideas about the world and society that are derived from social experiences and/or interests that rationalize and construct one's expectations, goals, behaviors, and actions. Thus having a subjective dimension, *ideology* is not neutral. In some sense, it is "distorting rationalizations of an existing practice" (Silverstein's view, in Woolard, 1992). Hence, as the Marxist view formulated, *ideology* can be political and work as a tool of 'social reproduction' (Bourdieu, 1973) at some times, in some contexts, and in some cases.

Research Objectives and Questions

Along with the rise of bilingualism/multilingualism, researchers and educators have started to see the importance of HL education which supports HL learners to develop and

maintain their HL proficiencies. Although definitions and understandings of the term *heritage language learner* vary widely across fields and researchers, Valdés' (2005) definitions are most commonly used in the literature of HL education, where a *heritage language learner* is: 1) an individual who has a historical and/or personal connection to a language that is not normally taught at school; or 2) an individual who is exposed to a non-English language (i.e., minority language) at home and is bilingual to some degree. The former is an ancestry-based definition and the latter a proficiency-based definition. For pedagogical purposes, most HL studies support and adopt a proficiency-based definition (e.g., Kagan, 2005), and HL learners are often understood to be bilingual to a certain extent. Based on these definitions and understandings, adult HL beginner learners are normally treated as 'foreign language (FL) learners' (i.e., being placed in beginner courses along with FL learners with no consideration of their heritage background); for the last decade, a number of HL researchers have been continually making efforts in profiling 'early' and/or 'bilingual' HL learners' language skill development to support their needs. However, in recent years, some researchers have begun to notice problems with labeling learners as HL learners in the FL classroom.

For instance, in Beaudrie and Ducar's (2005) study, some Spanish HL learners showed a reluctance to be identified as members of the Hispanic community. Similarly, Dressler's (2010) study confirmed two different types of adult HL learners in terms of their self-identification: *willing HL learners* who identify as HL learners and *reluctant HL learners* who are reluctant to identify as HL learners. These results question the validity of existing definitions of HL learners and the concepts of *native speaker* and *mother tongue*. Further, it suggests a need to investigate principles and reasons underlying HL learners' decisions about their identification.

On the other hand, some studies on HL and multilingualism in Canada portray a

difference in feelings or affiliations for multilingualism between the people who retained their HLs (i.e., multilinguals) and people who were not able to acquire their HLs. In Lamarre and Dagenais's (2004) study, multilingual college students in Montreal and Vancouver showed positive views toward multilingualism and expressed pity for monolinguals. One student in Montreal even commented that she felt badly for monolinguals because "they think they know everything" (Lamarre & Dagenais, 2003, p.62) though they cannot. In Kouritzin's (1999) study, second/third generation immigrants who were not able to acquire their HLs in their childhood expressed a reluctance to learn their HLs as adults and the difficulties of doing so under the pressure of today's multilingual society, in which they are viewed as failed bilinguals/multilinguals. It appears that ideologies about immigrants and multilingualism and the advancement of multilingualism may have a complex impact on the identity construction of adult beginner HL learners. However, how the advancement of multilingualism and the 'change' in ideologies about multilingualism in rapid globalization influences adult beginner HL learners has not yet been discussed in the field of second language (L2) research fully. Although there is increasing discussion about linguistic repertoires and the relationship of multilingualism and English (e.g., Rymes, 2014), the number of studies with this perspective is limited when it comes to learners of other languages besides English in contexts where English is dominant (e.g., the U.S. and English-dominated areas of Canada).

Lo Bianco (2008) has pointed to the complexity of bilingualism/multilingualism. By reviewing earlier studies on the link between bilingualism and policy debates, Lo Bianco touched upon the ideological phenomenon of the *bilingual double standard* for different types of language learners (e.g., majority language speakers learning foreign languages were recognized for their skill more than minority language speakers learning majority languages were; English

speakers acquiring Spanish were praised more [by others] than Spanish speakers acquiring English), which influences language policy debates and practices in the U.S. Similar to the U.S. situation, Kanno's (2008) study portrayed the *bilingual double standard* in Japanese society and educational systems/institutions. This phenomenon suggests the possibility of language-specific ideologies related to proficiency/expertise existing and functioning in multilingual societies. Silverstein (1979) explained *language ideology* as "any sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use" (p. 193); and Irvine (1989) noted that *language ideologies* would cross-link social cultural structures and language use by working as an "interpretive filter" (Woolard, 1992, p.242). Given that language-specific-evaluative ideologies (i.e., ideologies about language proficiency/expertise, ideologies not simply about whether a person uses a target language or not but also how well he/she can use what language) exist in multilingual/multicultural societies, it is possible that those ideologies underlie and reflect the proficiency-based definition of *HL learner*, and further, HL learners' views of themselves and their HL learning experience. These ideologies and views may also influence social practices such as how HL education is practiced and functions in a society as an *interpretive filter*.

In this global era and environment, we L2 researchers and practitioners need to reconsider the definition of *HL learner* and the meanings of HL education, including learners and societies' subjectivities (i.e., learners' perception of themselves and language ideologies as social/cultural productions). Although there are various definitions for *HL learner*, the current view of the HL learner focuses mainly on proficiency and age. However, with the advancement of globalization, this view has come to be challenged in several ways. First, a new type of learner whose connection with their HL does not directly reflect on their proficiency and/or age has

emerged, and the current view of HL learners misses this type of learner. Second, in recent years, there has been a significant amount of discussion concerning multilingualism in the fields of sociolinguistics, applied linguistics, and second language education, such as plurilingualism, metrolingualism, polylingualism, and translanguaging (Marshall & Moore, 2018; Rymes, 2014). This may have contributed to a change in the view of language learners and the understanding of HL learners on the part of contemporary researchers. Also, the view and/or understanding of relationships between identity and language have been changing. The poststructuralist view of identity suggests the importance of considering a learner's subjectivity in defining/naming language learners. However, the current view of *HL learner* does not include this change. At present, learners' backgrounds vary widely and are not limited to certain types. This situation further questions the meanings of grouping learners into categories such as *HL learners* and *FL learners*, and into education/language types such as *HL education* and *FL education*.

In the current study, through the examination of adult Japanese HL beginner learners' identity construction, I address the following questions: 1) what Japanese language means to Japanese immigrant descendants with little or no Japanese knowledge; 2) how their decisions about Japanese learning/use are made and influence their identity construction; and 3) how they perceive Japanese HL (re)-learning as adults.

This study looks at the identity construction of JHL adult learners with little or no Japanese knowledge, through the exploration of *ideologies* about 'ability' to use languages (i.e., people's ideas/views towards ability in a certain language as expressed in any form such as explicit and/or implicit comments and behaviors in a specific society) and 'expertise' in Japanese (i.e., minority language) in a society which claims to be a 'multilingual and multicultural' society. Drawing on Rampton and colleagues' idea of *language expertise*, *affiliation*, and

inheritance (Leung, Harris, & Rampton, 1997; Rampton, 1990), and the notion of *imagined communities* (Anderson, 1983/1991/2006; Kanno, 2008; Kanno & Norton, 2003; Norton, 2000, 2001; Pavlenko & Norton, 2007), in this study, I discuss whether it is only proficiency and/or need that drives these HL learners to envision *imagined communities* with the existence of their HLs. I also discuss the possibility that current HL education and research leave out this group of learners. The current situation of HL education pressures immigrant families to make a decision about HL learning at early age for children or an early stage of parenting for their parents as if this is the only option. This conveys a message that if immigrant parents miss a chance to give HL education to their children at early age, they will not have any other chance. The gaps in the understanding of HL learners and education limit the future possibilities for these learners to maintain their relationships with their HLs and to return to learning their HLs without any time limit.

Significance of the Study

Canada has been seen as a rich mosaic in terms of cultural diversity (Cummins, 1992). Although this country is still young, the multicultural nature of Canadian society has already been shaped in many ways. In recent years, even though a negative view still exists in some societies to a certain extent, views of bilingualism/multilingualism have diversified (Hornberger & Wang, 2008; Lamarre & Dagenais, 2003; Lamarre & Rossell Paredes, 2003; Maguire, Beer, Attarian, Baygin, Curdt-Christiansen, & Yoshida, 2005). HL education in Canada has been, at least rhetorically, developing favorably in comparison to other nations such as Japan (Nakajima, 2005).

The proportion of bilinguals/multilinguals in Canada has been increasing steadily in recent years. According to Statistics Canada (2017a), in 2016, while the Canadian population

was over 35 million, 19.4% of Canadians reported that they use more than two languages at home. This has increased by around 2% compared to the 2011 census data (17.5% in 2011). Also, the number of people whose mother tongue or spoken language at home is other than English or French increased by 13.3% (Statistics Canada, 2017a). However, despite this recent growth of multilingualism, in light of the current state of second/foreign language education at the post-secondary level in Canada, adult HL beginner learners would seem to have little or no access to the means to develop their own multilingualism.

Currently, there are few or no courses specifically accommodating HL learners in Canadian universities or language schools, at least not for Japanese descendants. Along with FL learners, these HL learners are normally placed in beginners' courses, which generally overlook individual students' goals for learning the language. In this situation, HL learners are often viewed as 'false beginners' whose intention is to cheat the system (Christensen & Wu, 1993, cited in Hornberger & Wang, 2008; Shinbo, 2004) or 'failed bilinguals' by their classmates and teachers. Yet, research shows differences in motivational orientations between HL and FL learners (Dressler, 2008; Noels, Pelletier, Clément, & Vallerand, 2003) and indicate HL learners' special connection to the language which leads them to want to learn it.

As seen in the changes in recent census data, multilingualism in Canada has been advancing steadily, and this advancement may continue; it stands to reason that HL learners' views of themselves will change along with this advancement, consequently influencing their HL learning opportunities and experiences. As a Japanese language teacher and adult immigrant myself, in this study I aim to investigate the influence of Japanese immigrant descendants' relation with the Japanese language on their identity construction. Ultimately, I hope to contribute to an understanding of what problems adult Japanese HL learners are facing and how

they could possibly be helped in terms of Japanese learning in contemporary multicultural society.

Overview of the Thesis

This thesis comprises six chapters. Chapter 2 provides the background to the present study. First, I give a historical overview of Canadian immigration policy and Japanese-Canadians. I then discuss previous studies of heritage language learners and learning. Chapter 3 provides a theoretical framework for the present study. I explain the connection of Rampton's idea of *language expertise*, *affiliation*, and *inheritance*, the notion of *imagined communities*, and the idea of *social reward systems* to this study.

In Chapter 4, I discuss the methodological framework of this study. I explain the qualitative approach used with a detailed description of the study's methodology and my role as a researcher. The chapter includes research design, methods, the context and participants, and the process of data collection and analysis.

In Chapter 5, I contextualize adult Japanese HL learning in Quebec with the help of university instructors' testimonies and statements. Chapter 6 presents the narratives of four adult Japanese HL beginner learners. Following this, in Chapter 7 I explore and discuss the findings of this study focusing on the adult JHL beginner learners' decisions in the past and for the future in relation to Japanese use and learning, and analyzing the influence of those decisions on their identity construction, how the decisions relate to their *imagined communities* and the multilingual/multicultural context. I then argue that Japanese HL beginner learners have an additional layer of difficulty in Japanese learning, compared to Japanese FL learners or advanced level Japanese HL learners, which comes from language ideologies in the multicultural society of Montreal, Canada in this era of globalization, and gradual changes that occur in the process of

their growth not only as a heritage language learner but as a person as a whole.

Lastly, Chapter 8 concludes the study by summarizing the main arguments and proposing that new views and/or concepts be included in the poststructuralist approach in order to understand learners who have been living in a multicultural/multilingual context as children and/or youth, instead of simply re-constructing the definition of *HL learners*. In this chapter, I also discuss the implications of the findings, the limitations of this study, and directions for future research.

Chapter 2 Background to the Study

Historical Overview of Japanese Canadians in Montreal

Old Comers (Prior to the 1970s)

According to historiographies (e.g., Adachi, 1991; Miki, 2004; TheJapaneseCanadianHistory.net, 2023), the first Japanese immigrant to Canada, Manzo Nagano, arrived in Canada in 1877. In the decade prior to his arrival, both Canada and Japan experienced significant historical changes. The confederation government of Canada was established in 1867, and it passed Canada's first immigration act in 1869. Around the same time, the Japanese government removed the anti-foreign restriction after more than 200 years of seclusion. In 1866, it became legal for Japanese citizens to leave Japan; people started to seek land and employment outside of Japan. The hopes and desires of some Japanese to seek new livelihoods outside Japan met Canada's need for labour, and by the end of the 19th century, the population of Japanese in Canada had grown to around 5,000 (i.e., 4,738 in 1901, Adachi, 1991).

Due to Australia's closure of its border to Japanese in 1901 and the U.S. government's 1907 decision to prohibit Japanese living in Canada, Hawaii, and Mexico to move to the mainland United States, the number of Japanese immigrants in Canada increased drastically in the early 1900s. However, from a very early period of Canadian immigration, there had been a strong concern among Anglo-Canadians about altering the racial composition of Canada. They were deeply concerned that "their communities [were] changing rapidly with the arrival of immigrants who spoke no English and whose customs and social organizations were so different from the Anglo-Canadian norm" (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010, p.133), and preferred and welcomed British and Americans over Asians and continental Europeans. Priority was given, therefore, first to British and American, and then to French and German immigrants. Asians were

their last choice to fill the gap in the labour market. By the same token, anti-Asian sentiment escalated and led to attacks on China-towns and Japanese-towns in 1907 (i.e., the 1907 anti-Asian riots, e.g., Barnholden, 2005, 2016; Miki, 2004). Reflecting these social and political contexts, the Japanese government agreed to stop sending contract labourers to Canada in 1908. Although Canada celebrated a peak year of immigration in 1913, the annual number of Japanese immigrants showed a significant decline after 1908. Whereas 7,601 Japanese immigrated to Canada in 1907, only 886 arrived in Canada in 1913 (Adachi, 1991).

The trend of increasing homogeneity/nativism in Canada continued throughout the period of World War I and the Great Depression (Adachi, 1991; Kelly & Trebilcock, 2010). In this environment, with Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, the relationship between Japan and Canada deteriorated and intensified the "prejudice and suspicion of Japanese immigrants" (Oiwa, 2006, p.122) within Canada. Japanese Canadians were relocated from the west coast and put into internment camps under the War Measures Act, and their property and possessions were turned over to the Custodian of Enemy Property in 1942 and 1943. In 1944, they were left with two choices: relocation east of the Rocky Mountains, or repatriation to Japan (10,000 Japanese Canadians were deported to Japan), and these relocation and repatriation activities continued until the end of 1946 (Montreal Japanese Canadian History Committee, 1998). With the federal government's dispersal plan, some Japanese Canadians moved into Quebec before the Quebec government announced, in 1945, that they were opposed to accepting any more Japanese Canadians from British Columbia because of the difference in religious beliefs (Montreal Japanese Canadian History Committee, 1998). Whereas the total population of Japanese Canadians in Montreal was 35 (out of 48 in Quebec) in 1941, this number reached 797 (out of 1,137 in Quebec) in 1951. Thus, during World War II (WWII), the beginnings of the

Montreal Japanese Canadian community took root. This group of Japanese Canadians are considered to be old comers, and are often referred to as Issei (i.e., first generation Japanese immigrants), Nisei (i.e., Canada-born second generation), Sansei (i.e., third generation), and so forth. The terms Issei (一世), Nisei (二世), and Sansei (三世) originate from the numbers in the Japanese language and are used in North America, South America, and Australia. As to Japanese language maintenance, because of the political relations between Japan and Canada during the period of WWII, most Nisei became English monolinguals with almost no proficiency in Japanese. In this way, Japanese lost its linguistic vitality in Canada.

New Comers (the 1970s – 2000)

New waves of immigration to Quebec occurred in the period of the 1970s – 2000. During and prior to the World Wars and the Great Depression, the federal government had power and control over immigration, focusing on the needs of the labour market and Anglo-Canadian norms. However, following the Quiet Revolution in the 1960s, the Quebec Immigration Service was established within the provincial Ministry of Cultural Affairs. In Quebec, "immigration had been perceived as a cultural invasion, destroying the linguistic balance of the province […] increasingly immigration came to be perceived as a tool to strengthen the francophone nature of Quebec society" (Biles et al., 2011, p.25). Although it was rather for economic and political reasons, as if to follow this movement of Quebec, provincial interest in controlling immigration accelerated toward the late 1970s.

The late 1970s and early 1980s was an innovative era for Canadian immigration; the federal government and the provincial governments sought ways that led to the promotion of mutual interests. In 1976, the Canadian government introduced a new immigration act which declared the federal and bilingual character of Canada (Biles et al., 2011). That is, immigration

levels were set by reflecting and including provincial interests and needs. For the following two decades, the number of visible minorities gradually increased; finally, the Canadian Multiculturalism Act was enacted in 1988. In the same year, a redress agreement was finalized between the government of Canada and the National Association of Japanese Canadians (NAJC). The comprehensive superstructure of provincial and territorial involvement in immigration was developed in the late 1990s. As a result of the development of this superstructure, Quebec received a large number of immigrants between 1970s and 2000 (Montreal Japanese Canadian History Committee, 1998). These post-war immigrants are viewed as new comers and clearly differ from old comers in terms of their reasons and experiences of immigration.

Recent Immigrants to Quebec (2000 - Present)

According to Statistics Canada (2017b), 1,091,170 immigrants live in Quebec, which accounts for 13.4% of the total population of Quebec (8,164, 361). The Quebec economic immigrant selection system was successfully introduced in 1991, and Montreal has become a popular destination for immigrants to Canada. While Montreal has the third highest immigrant population among Canadian cities following Toronto and Vancouver, the rate of increase of immigration to Quebec was the second highest in the period of 2001 – 2016. Whereas 13.7% of immigrants to Canada lived in Quebec in 2001, 17.8% of immigrants lived there in 2016 (the rate of increase in Alberta was the highest at 6.9% in 2001 and 17.1% in 2016). It is expected that the rate in Quebec/Montreal will continue to increase (Statistics Canada, 2017b).

By region, according to the Statistics Canada Census of 2016, 63,350 out of 867,680 immigrants to Quebec came from East Asian countries, and 1,735 of these immigrants came from Japan. The population of Japanese immigrants in Montreal is currently only around 1,435 (Statistics Canada, 2017b). According to Maguire et al. (2005), unlike the Chinese community,

'there is no physically demarcated space or identifying markers of "a Japanese community" in Montreal' (p.161). This situation is mainly attributed to the traumatic events of WWII and the Japanese having the highest interracial marriage rate among all ethnic groups in Canada. The Montreal Japanese community is currently working towards its own revival, depending more on new comers to reinvigorate the community. Unlike other ethnic communities, almost all teachers in Saturday Japanese schools are Japan-born first generation immigrants who are new comers, because of the discontinuity of Japanese language use and knowledge among old comers. Thus, the revitalization of the Japanese language in Montreal also depends on the new comers' involvement with the established Japanese community.

Heritage Language Learners and Heritage Language Learning

Profiles of Heritage Language Learners

Until the beginning of the 1960s, in general, heritage language (HL) retention was not really encouraged; it was, in fact, discouraged. This is because most people believed that children's bilingualism interfered with their dominant language and cognitive development. According to Shibata (2004), almost all studies which were conducted between the early 1920s and 1960s showed negative effects of children's bilingualism on their dominant language and cognitive development. Hence, many researchers concluded that "bilinguals were linguistically deficient when compared with their monolingual counterparts" and believed that "learning two languages brought only disadvantages" (Shibata, 2004, p.225).

However, in the beginning of the 1960s, a study by Peal and Lambert (1962) reported the positive effects of bilingualism on cognitive growth in some bilingual learning situations. In this study, the researchers also explained the causes of the discrepancy between the results of previous studies and that of their study by pointing out the unreliable tools of measurement and

biased sampling methodology in the previous studies (Cummins, 1976; Shibata, 2004). Following this study, many researchers began to define the different types of bilingual according to factors such as the circumstances leading to bilingualism, the age of acquisition, and the level of bilingualism; many studies began to reveal the positive effects of bilingualism on language and cognitive development (Cummins, 2014). Although there is no universal agreement concerning the terms used to categorize bilinguals, many researchers divide bilinguals into two fundamental categories, that of *elective bilingual* and *circumstantial bilingual* (Valdés & Figueroa, 1994). Whereas elective bilinguals acquire second language (L2) through voluntary learning such as choosing and learning in an immersion program, circumstantial bilinguals are forced to acquire an L2 because of circumstantial factors, such as immigration to a new country where their first language (L1) is not used. In this classification, HL learners are considered to be circumstantial bilinguals. However, this binary classification is now becoming problematic in some cases, such as that of third or fourth generation immigrants. Some of these immigrants do not use their HLs at home and 'choose' to learn the HLs in post-secondary education (e.g., Makoni, 2018). In this case, the HL learners could be both circumstantial bilinguals and elective bilinguals.

With regard to Japanese HL (JHL) specifically, some studies have been conducted focusing on Japanese-English bilinguals in North America. Almost all these recent studies showed the positive effects of JHL development on English development and overall academic achievement (Shibata, 2004). In 2004, Shibata examined the effects of JHL maintenance on scholastic verbal and academic achievement in English among 31 second-generation Japanese-American college students, using their scores on the ACTFL Japanese Oral Proficiency Interview (OPI) and composition, self-reported scores in SAT I Verbal section, high school

GPA, and SAT I combination of Math and Verbal sections. The findings showed that JHL schools support JHL maintenance and improvement; the number of Japanese-speaking parents at home is related to JHL proficiency; and JHL maintenance does not have negative effects on scholastic English and overall academic achievement. This study clearly indicates that there is no negative correlation between JHL proficiency and English proficiency or academic achievement.

Turning our attention to HL development and adopting a proficiency-based definition, HL learners' language performance is understood as "full of unpredictable holes" like "Swiss cheese" (Hornberger & Wang, 2008, p.22). Research has suggested that there are two major characteristics in HL learners' language performance. One is unbalanced development of literacy skills and oral skills (Kondo-Brown, 2010); that is, literacy skills in the HL were underdeveloped compared to oral skills. For example, in Douglas' (2008) study, whereas JHL learners outperformed foreign language (FL) learners on the oral proficiency test, they scored lower than FL learners on the reading test.

The other characteristic is limited performance in vocabulary and sociolinguistic rules. Although HL learners have acquired many more vocabulary items and sociolinguistic rules compared to FL learners, the range of their knowledge is limited to specific domains such as interactions with family members and peers (Campbell & Rosenthal, 2000, cited in Kondo-Brown, 2003; Montrul, 2010; Sakamoto, 2006). Their vocabulary knowledge remains within the domain of home and childhood and does not extend to academic vocabulary; their control of registers is limited to communications with family and community members. "In many respects heritage language grammars reveal processes of simplification attested in language contact situations, the emergence of new linguistic varieties, and diachronic language change" (Montrul, 2010, p.5).

On the basis of these results of earlier studies and the proficiency-based definition of HL learner, a certain language ideology seems to have formed and thus exists in the society and/or language classroom. Abdi (2011) found the presence of a form of language ideology that directly connects displayed HL speaking ability with language proficiency and heritage in one Spanish language class. In her study, both instructor and students assumed that HL learners were able to speak the language fluently, and consequently, positioned a Spanish HL learner who does not speak Spanish fluently as a non-Hispanic. Abdi (2011) warns that "teachers and researchers should be careful about their expectations of the kinds of skills that HL students have and how they will develop others" (p.180). There is a possibility that people tend to focus on and acknowledge HL learners' oral skills more and overlook their literacy skills.

In the last couple of decades, there has been considerable discussion regarding multilingualism, and there are now many new ideas and terms to view and describe language practices and learners, such as *plurilingualism* (Marshall & Moore, 2018; Rymes, 2014). Plurilingualism is connected to the concept of repertoire, which is "the collection of ways individuals use language and other means of communication" (Rymes, 2014, p.4). The proponents of plurilingualism reject the idea of double monolingualism (that bilinguals use both languages perfectly and separately) and see an individual's language practice as a single communicative ability that does not require perfect and balanced competence in both their languages. This shift in the views of language practices and learners may form a new language ideology and influence the understanding of HL learners. However, I observe that language competence/proficiency still underlies the idea of plurilingualism in the following ways. 1) Plurilingualism often focuses only on the linguistic aspects of communication (i.e., gestures, dress, posture, behaviors and so on are not included), and 2) the Common European Framework

of Reference for Languages (CEFR) that was developed based on the concept of plurilingualism describes each language's competence separately and gives equal value to each language and variety (e.g., the ways of language use at home, school and work, García & Otheguy, 2020) while the values of each language and variety differ depending on learners/users. At this moment, whether and how adult HL learners with 'little or no HL knowledge' can be understood and defined in terms of plurilingualism has not been discussed, and thus remains unclear.

Parents' Expectations

Although recent studies show no negative effect of bilingualism on language and cognitive development and bilingualism is viewed positively in the academic field and on the international stage, some immigrant parents in North America are still concerned about the negative effects of HL maintenance on English and/or French development and academic achievement even if they have positive beliefs towards bi-/multilingualism and heritage language maintenance (e.g., Ballinger, Brouillard, Ahooja, Kircher, Polka & Byers-Heinlein, 2022). Thus, they sometimes hesitate to support their children's HL learning (i.e., through formal HL learning such as sending their children to a Saturday HL school; see Shibata, 2004; Siegel, 2004). Nevertheless, some parents choose to use their first language (L1) to communicate with their children at home (Sakamoto, 2006) and show a desire for their children to inherit the L1 (Pacini-Ketchabaw & Armstrong de Almeida, 2006; Shibata, 2004, 2000). It appears that immigrant parents struggle with two conflicting desires for their children: to be assimilated into mainstream society without any language difficulties, and to inherit the L1 to form close relationships with their ethnic community and family.

Earlier studies indicate that Japanese immigrant parents share a common goal for their children's JHL proficiency. One mother who is a leader of the JHL School in Arizona stated that

although English had more power over her children than Japanese, she wanted them at least 'to be able to communicate with her mother in Japan' (Siegel, 2004). A similar case is reported in Pacini-Ketchabaw & Armstrong de Almeida's (2006) study, wherein a Japanese mother in Western Canada comments, "I wish he could communicate with my relatives in Japan" (p.320). It seems that a common goal for Japanese immigrant parents' is for their children to be able to communicate with their native Japanese-speaking relatives. Even though the power of the dominant language exists in their everyday life, they still hope for their children to be connected with their Japanese relatives through their own language. Similarly, Sakamoto's (2006) study found that Japanese immigrant parents viewed Japanese as a tool to establish and assure family cohesion. Because of their limited L2, they "*chose* to use their L1, knowing that this was the language that best served their interest of raising their children in loving and responsible ways" (p.54). The researcher concluded that if "family cohesion" is the only motivation behind L1 maintenance, the language will disappear after two generations because the second generation becomes bi-/multilingual and does not need to use it in raising their children. She further emphasized the need for a society in which inclusive and collaborative bi-/multilingual education is adopted (i.e., L1s have some meanings in the society, and L1 learning is seen as financially and socially rewarding).

Considering the findings from these earlier studies, although immigrant parents' expectations for their children's HL proficiency might differ across situations and families, we can assume that many of them expect their children to achieve a basic level for communicating with family members and relatives in their home country. Therefore, the parents tend to separate the learning contexts of L1/L2 and to expect their children to learn L1 at home and L2 at school. The characteristics of HL learners' linguistic/cognitive development would reflect this

expectation/belief of the parents (Sakamoto, 2006).

However, some studies found that a number of immigrant parents in North America expect their children to achieve high school level in their HL for economic benefits; therefore, they expect their children to master not only conversational skills but also literacy skills (Liang, 2018). The recent advancement of globalization may explain this discrepancy. In this global era, there are more opportunities to find international jobs and/or possibilities to live abroad than before; and being bi-/multilingual is key to success when working internationally and/or enjoying mobile lives. Liang (2018) reviewed 17 studies on the practices and perceptions of immigrant parents in the United States and Canada since the year 2000, and found that they support their children's HL maintenance in terms of three main aspects: family communication and cohesion, economic benefits, and ethnic and cultural identity.

Heritage Language Learning Motivation

The decision whether or not to maintain the HL for their children by immigrant parents seems to depend heavily on their beliefs about child-rearing (Sakamoto, 2006). Drawing our attention to HL learners themselves, in this environment, some of them come to a university language classroom to learn their HL with their own motivational orientations that may differ from their parents' expectations.

Although we cannot ignore the fluid nature of motivation, Shinbo's (2004) study suggests that JHL learners have two major motivational orientations for learning Japanese at university: to improve the underdeveloped aspects of their proficiency, and to enhance their identity. Moreover, in Koshiba's (2020) study, "in order to avoid the negative consequences of being seen as "Japanese"" (p.8), youths in a Japanese HL class in Australia contested the discourse of ethnolinguistic identity and "adhered to a discourse of commodification that values languages for

its convertibility to economic and symbolic forms of capital" (p.10). It appears that HL learners have a desire to go beyond the level that they achieved in the domain of home/childhood use as their world expands and life becomes more complicated. In Hinton's (1999) study, one Chinese-American student tells her story:

> Even with the Chinese I speak, I am limited to the normal yet shallow "everyday" conversations I have with my parents and do not have enough of a vocabulary to have meaningful talks with them. Such was the case just the other night when they asked me what my major at Berkeley was but I did not know the phrase for "Biology", much less, "Molecular and Cellular Biology." The best I could manage was "science" in Chinese and explained the rest in English; I could not communicate to them why I selected this major, what I was going to do with it, and so forth—we ended the discussion by changing the subject. (p.4)

As they grow up, HL learners gradually come to feel a need for stronger HL skills not only to retain rapport with their family members but also to overcome a sense of insufficiency or failure as described above. As seen in this situation, their goals for HL learning are not straightforward. What they desire to achieve is not simple linguistic proficiency. HL learners do, indeed, desire to gain proficiency in the HL, and the HL studies focusing on proficiency are achieving their aim to support HL learners' needs. However, it cannot be ignored that there is an identity issue behind the HL learners' desire to gain proficiency. If the goal of HL research and education is to support HL learners' needs, more research about HL learners' identity construction and its pedagogical implications is needed. The present study aims to fill that gap.

Summary

In this chapter, I provided the background to the present study. First, I gave a historical

overview of Canadian immigration policy and Japanese-Canadian immigration. I also described the current state of Japanese-Canadians and HL education in Quebec and/or Montreal. I then discussed previous studies of heritage language learners and learning. In the next chapter, I provide the theoretical framework of the present study.

Chapter 3 Theoretical Framework

Theoretical Approaches to Identity

> I don't understand why they are intolerant to different people coming in and saying they are German, but because of that, because of the way they define themselves, I also define myself based on that, as opposed to Canadians who define themselves really 'we're from everywhere'. Well, I'm from everywhere, so I'm Canadian. (*Reluctant heritage language learner*, Bianca, in Dressler, 2010, p.9)

In everyday life, we naturally define and recognize ourselves and others in some way to a certain degree. However, theoretical approaches to identity differ widely across disciplines; there is no one way of describing identity. In the past, many different approaches were proposed and developed in the field of social science (Nematzadeh & Haddad Narafshan, 2020). Originally, there was a strong sense that identity is determined by certain factors and has a fixed nature. Moreover, in the field of second language (L2) acquisition, numerous studies were carried out based on the assumption that the relationship between ethnic/cultural identity and language acts is a one-to-one correlation (e.g., sociopsychological approach, Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). Yet, with rapid globalization, new types of ethnic groups have emerged, and researchers using poststructuralist approaches have begun to challenge traditional ideas (Block, 2007).

One of these new types of ethnic group is that of adult heritage language (HL) learners. Although they have a certain kind of connection with the HL community, the connection is not directly linked to their language acts, such as choice of language and code-switching. In this section, I will first examine what approach to identity has allowed me to explore the identities of several HL learners precisely and in depth, and then I will inquire into the identity of adult HL

learners in earlier studies from a poststructuralist perspective.

Determinants of Identity

Essentialist approaches to human behavior such as the "biological determinist" approach and the "social structuralist" approach extend to describing identity. Biological determinism argues that "individuals are what their genes make them" (Block, 2007, p.11) indicating physical characteristics such as race and sex. A strong form of biological determinism further claims that not only the physical characteristics but also human behaviors are directly related to genes (Block, 2007). Particular behaviors of human beings are associated with biological characteristics. In this view, genes determine what we do and who we are.

On the other hand, socio-structuralists claim that human behaviors are determined by the environments in which individuals are placed. "The self is seen as the product of the social conditions in and under which it has developed" (Block, 2007, p.12). This means that membership in social classifications such as those of social class and religion determines one's identity. In this view, although the relationship between the individual and society in identity construction is considered, the determinant of identity, which is 'culture', is seen as fixed and universal. Thus, the determination of one's identity is based on the application of universal rules to describe human behaviors. In an extreme sense, identities can be categorized by cultural and social groups.

Although the biological determinist and socio-structuralist approaches differ in their understandings of human behavior, they share the idea that human behaviors and identities are 'determined' by some fixed factors (i.e., genes and fixed environments), not individuals' wills or flexible factors (e.g., time and place). Both approaches to identity are shaped by essentialist ideas, which assume that human groups can be neatly categorized and that group members are

similar to each other (Block, 2007).

A Problematic Perspective of Negotiation of Identities in Social Interactions

While the focus of essentialist approaches is the determinant of identity, some other paradigms, such as sociopsychological approaches, focus on the negotiation of identities, especially in multilingual contexts. Sociopsychological approaches examine outcomes of language contact through group memberships (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). This paradigm focuses on ethnolinguistic groups and their ethnolinguistic vitality, and views language as a marker of ethnic identity wherein ethnic identity is directly linked to language use/proficiency.

According to Pavlenko & Blackledge (2004), in recent years, this approach has been challenged and criticized for its monolingual/monocultural bias. First, this approach cannot explain hybrid identities or bilinguals/multilinguals in the modern global world because it utilizes a one-to-one relation between identity and language (i.e., it can explain the relation between Japanese identity and Japanese language or French identity and French language but not Japanese French identity and Japanese or French language).

Second, this approach overlooks the fact that language is not always related to ethnic identity. In reality, language is sometimes used in a practical sense such as for work and study. In this global world, "languages are coming to be treated more and more as economic commodities, and that this view is displacing traditional ideologies in which languages were primarily symbols of ethnic or national identity" (Block & Cameron, 2002). The current status of English in the world supports this point. Although a large number of people use English, it is not always the sign of their belonging to an English culture.

Third, categories used in this approach are vague and oversimplified. All languages and ethnic groups are treated in the same manner; sociopolitical, socioeconomic, and sociocultural

power relations are ignored. That is to say, real-life contexts are excluded from the classification of the categories; thus, this approach is not able to describe identity accurately. For example, the impacts of using English in Quebec and using Japanese in Quebec on language learners' lives are different. This is because the status of English and Japanese in Quebec are not identical. Also, using Japanese in Japan does not have the same meaning as using Japanese in Quebec for learners in terms of investment. Sociopsychological approaches cannot describe these differences.

The second paradigm is interactional sociolinguistic approaches (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). While sociopsychological approaches argue that ethnic identity 'influences' and 'appears' in language contact outcomes naturally, researchers in the interactional sociolinguistic paradigm support the idea of indexicality, which argues that language acts such as code-switching and language choice 'are used' to indicate (or point to) identities and negotiate inter-group tensions in the society. One major concern about this approach is that the notion of indexicality is not straightforward. In some cases, such as that of Quebec's francophone mobilization, language acts and speech events cannot be clearly explained by identities. It is much more complicated than a one-to-one correlation (i.e., using French does not automatically mean that the user of the language is indicating that he/she belongs to the francophone community). Considering this complexity, some researchers acknowledge that identity is one of many factors which influence language acts, so that language acts cannot be explained only by identity (e.g., Auer, 2005).

Poststructuralist Approaches

According to Block (2007), during the last two decades, a poststructuralist view of the world has arisen and become popular in the social sciences as a response to essentialist approaches. Poststructuralist approaches to identity have developed emphasizing the importance

of considering the fluid and multidimensional nature of the world surrounding us.

Whereas essentialist approaches ignore the influence of individuals' subjectivities on identity, and sociopsychological and interactional approaches believe in the stability of the categorization of identities, poststructuralist approaches view identity construction as a process embedded within power relations which involves individuals' subjectivities. Stemming from the work of Pierre Bourdieu, this paradigm developed the idea that identity emerges, shifts, and transmutes within social, economic, and cultural power relations (i.e., the power of ideologies in the larger society values and devalues particular languages). In this process, individuals consciously or unconsciously position themselves and others in a given time and space, perform/present *imposed* and *accepted identities* (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004), and represent new identities through *imagined communities* (Kanno, 2003; Norton, 2000, 2001). Although power relations in the larger society influence their decisions, individuals 'decide' who they are through their life experience at a particular time and place. In the poststructuralist view, identity is not simply 'determined' by factors or 'assigned' by others involving only past and present. It is also 'created' and 'shaped' by individuals involving expectations for the future. Therefore, there is a space for the emergence of new identities and the hybridity/multiplicity of identity.

The Identity of Adult HL Learners

Language & Adult HL Learners: Language Expertise, Affiliation, and Inheritance

From a poststructuralist perspective, Rampton (1990) proposed the terms of *language expertise*, *language affiliation*, and *language inheritance* as alternatives to the concepts of *native speaker* and *mother tongue*. According to Rampton (1990) and Leung, Harris, and Rampton (1997), *language expertise* refers to a speaker's proficiency in a language; *language affiliation* refers to a speaker's feeling of attachment to a language; and *language inheritance* refers to a

speaker's connection to a language through family or community. Although *language affiliation* and *language inheritance* are both related to language loyalty (i.e., language as a symbol of social group identification), there is a difference between them. While *affiliation* refers to a postnatal relation between people who are considered to be different (e.g., a membership in a language learning community), *inheritance* refers to a continuous relation between people who are related to each other across generations (e.g., ethnic and cultural groups). However, they have a fluid nature; it is possible that strong *affiliations* become new *inheritances* and some *inheritances* are discarded by learners' own decisions. With regard to new inheritances, Rampton (1990) states, "affiliation can involve a stronger sense of attachment, just as the bond between love partners may be more powerful than the link between parents and children" (p.100). I surmise that a sense of new inheritance could emerge through homestay experiences, in-law relationships, and so on. Rampton (2017) also reported a case of *crossing* (i.e., the use of languages of inheritance by outsiders) among adolescents growing up in a multi-ethnic neighbourhood. Such local networks could contribute to a change from *affiliations* to *inheritances*.

Drawing on this framework, Dressler (2010) explored the role of positioning in HL learners' self-identification, focusing on the reasons why some German HL (GHL) learners in Canada are reluctant to identify themselves as GHL learners. Although some reluctant HL learners showed high *language affiliation* and accepted their *language inheritance*, they hesitated to identify themselves as GHL learners because of their low *language expertise*. In this respect, similarly, Chinen and Tucker's (2005) study on JHL learners found that learners who identified themselves as more Japanese assessed their Japanese language proficiency to be higher than the learners who identified themselves as less Japanese. On the other hand, some other GHL learners

were reluctant to identify themselves as GHL learners even though they had high *language expertise*, because of the absence of *affiliation*. Considering this difference and learners' subjectivity in HL learners' identity construction, in the present study, I analyzed data focusing on the relationship between the three concepts: *language expertise*, *language affiliation*, and *language inheritance*. In particular, I focused on the influence of the advancement of globalization and multilingualism on that relationship and looked at HL learners' multi-lingual/cultural experiences.

Dressler's (2010) study also found that cultural artifacts influence HL learners' self-identification. She states, "How students perceive their language identity and which cultural artifacts they embrace contribute to their positioning of themselves as HLLs as well as the extent to which others position them as such" (p.4). Canadian students of German are influenced by both German and Canadian cultural artifacts in ideals, conceptual aspects, and beliefs. Dressler (2010) thinks that German cultural artifacts and Canadian cultural artifacts sometimes differ from each other (e.g., while German artifacts value Christmas traditions and punctuality, Canadian artifacts lack holiday traditions and value tolerance of diversity); thus, Canadian students of German choose or negotiate between these different cultural ideologies. It seems that these choices and negotiations are related to family experience of migration as members of a specific ethnic/cultural group. In the case of post-World War II German immigrants, because of Germany's Nazi history, societal pressure on Germans to assimilate into Canadian culture was strong after 1945, especially in the 1950s and 60s. This resulted in changes in their cultural ideologies and language loss. Historical background differentiates the experiences of immigrants from different ethnic groups, as does the process of positioning and self-identification of their descendants. In the case of Japanese Canadians, the experience of wartime internment may have

had an impact on their cultural/ethnic ideologies. For example, they may feel and express a stronger sense of Canadian identity, or resist a Canadian identity, or both.

With the advancement of globalization, these cultural/ethnic ideologies, especially those related to migration and multilingualism, have changed dramatically in recent years. The meanings of migration and of being migrants has changed. Whereas traditional immigrants moved to a new country to settle down for life with little expectation of going back to their home countries, new immigrants have more options for their future destinations and lifestyles. This situational difference differentiates their sense and desire for assimilation into the dominant culture as well (Block, 2007). Such changes would reflect on recent adult HL learners' *language affiliation*, as well as their self-identification (i.e., whether they identify themselves as HL learners or not).

Some earlier studies on HL and multilingualism in Canada portray different feelings toward multilingualism today by people who retained their HLs (i.e., multilinguals) and people who could not acquire their HLs. In Lamarre and Dagenais's (2003) study, multilingual college students in Montreal and Vancouver showed positive views of multilingualism and expressed sympathy for monolinguals. On the other hand, in Kouritzin's (1999) study, second/third generation immigrants who were not able to acquire their HLs in their childhood stressed their mixed feelings of envy and injustice towards new immigrants who are in "a more culturally sensitive climate, [and are in turn] encouraged to maintain their languages, [and] their cultures" (p. 38). They further expressed their reluctance for learning their HLs as adults and the difficulties of doing so under the pressure of today's multicultural society in which they are viewed as failed bilinguals/multilinguals.

This position assigned to them by others influences adult HL learners' positioning of

themselves. On the one hand, as previously described, they feel that it is unfortunate and not their fault that they were not able to acquire their HLs. However, on the other hand, they blame themselves for not being able to become bilinguals/multilinguals. Some participants in Kouritzin's (1999) study expressed feelings of frustration, disappointment, anger, and shame for their HL performance, which resulted in a negative self-image and a feeling of not belonging neither to their HL culture nor to the dominant culture. A Korean-Canadian participant blamed HL loss on her stupidity and commented, "I don't understand how I could have lost it. I wonder like, what --- is there something wrong with me that I lost this language? I mean, I'm not stupid; why, why did I suddenly lose it? And that my parents spoke it --- ahh, it baffles me, too" (p.177). Hinton's (1999) study reported that while some Asian-American university students who have lost or never attained fluency in their HLs feel incomplete, other students who are satisfied with their language abilities in both the HL and English tended to have a positive self-image. It appears that the ideologies about immigrants and multilingualism influence adult HL learners' *language expertise*, *affiliation*, and *inheritance*, and the advancement of multilingualism has an impact on the identity formation of a new group of adult HL learners (i.e., adult immigrant descendants with no or little HL knowledge); however, how the change of ideologies regarding multilingualism in rapid globalization influences them (e.g., language knowledge as an economic asset, and cultural accommodation) has not yet been specifically discussed in the field of L2 research. The number of studies in this line, especially studies in multicultural contexts (i.e., contexts where one specific language, English, is not dominant) is limited. This is because: 1) this new group has been recognized only recently; and 2) most studies of HL learning tend to focus on the benefits of multilingualism in order to promote 'children's' HL learning.

Language Learning & Adult HL Learners: Imagined Communities

One approach that would allow us to consider rapid globalization and the changes in ideologies regarding multilingualism in the exploration of L2 learning identity is the concept of *imagined communities* proposed by Norton and others (e.g., Kanno, 2008; Kanno & Norton, 2003; Norton, 2000, 2001; Pavlenko & Norton, 2007). According to Kanno and Norton (2003), the term *imagined communities* were first coined by Benedict Anderson in 1983. It refers to groups of people who are not directly accessible but are connected to each other through their imagination. For example, nations are considered to be *imagined communities*. Although most members of a nation do not directly know each other (i.e., never meet or hear of each other), there is some sense of belonging and a bond among them. Imagination in this concept does not mean 'fantasy' or something detached from reality. A person needs to accomplish specific requirements to gain access to and participate in these communities, and "investment in such imagined communities strongly influences identity construction and engagement in learning" (Kanno & Norton, 2003, p.247).

Utilizing the conception of *imagined communities*, Norton's (2000, 2001) studies examined English as a Second Language (ESL) immigrant learners' participation in English learning. The researcher found that their past lives in their home countries influenced the *imagined communities* in which they desired to participate in the future, and that each immigrant learner was making decisions whether and how to participate in English learning and practices at a given time and space, seeking individual future investment. Similarly, Kanno's (2003) study on Japanese returnee teenagers found that *imagined communities* played a part in their identity and Japanese language learning (i.e., L1 learning). One student put great effort into maintaining his Japanese language proficiency and Japaneseness even though he spent most of his life abroad

and Japan only existed in his imagination. He viewed Japanese language as the key to access his *imagined community* (i.e., investment). It seems that the conception of *imagined communities* can explain language learning/practices and learners' identity construction from the perspective of investment regardless of target language and the status of language (i.e., L1 or L2). Kanno & Norton (2003) emphasize the validity and potential advantage of the *imagined communities* framework in that "we can examine the interaction between national ideologies and individual learners' identities on the one hand, [and] the influence of globalization and transnationalism on language learning and identity construction on the other" (p.248). Although there are some studies on adult HL learners' identity construction and HL learning utilizing this approach, to date, there is no research focusing on adult beginner level HL learners.

Recently, Kanno (2008) extended the notion of *imagined communities* to institutionally *imagined communities*. She explored Japanese education as a L2 in Japan and claims that "schools create unequal access to bilingualism by envisioning different imagined communities for bilingual students of different socioeconomic classes and socializing them into these stratified imagined communities" (Kanno, 2008, p. 3). Combining this notion of institutionally *imagined communities* and the classic notion of individually *imagined communities*, in the present study, although incomplete, I was able to reach a comprehensive understanding of adult HL learners' identity construction in this modern globalized world to some extent, including how institutionally *imagined communities* influence individually *imagined communities* (e.g., the relations between social/national ideologies, the vision of HL students' future by universities and instructors, and HL students' individual *imagined communities*). Together with Rampton's idea of *language expertise*, *affiliation*, and *inheritance*, this approach enabled me to explore adult HL learners' identity and HL learning using spatial and temporal dimensions by asking such

questions as "Do they feel allegiance to English/French and/or the HL and to the speakers of these languages?" and "What are their feelings, sense of ownership, and sense of expertise (i.e., proficiency)?" (Hornberger & Wang, 2008, p.28). The connection between individual language learners' identities and their social ideologies is discussed in the next section.

Social Power & Adult HL Learners: Social Reward Systems

"The importance of it is beyond its truth value……something that is so important that you hold on to it because it has an importance beyond its truth" (Fishman, 1996a, p.82). Joshua Fishman proclaims that acquisition of the mother tongue differs from simple literacy; language as a mother tongue is associated with symbolism, sacredness, and sense of kinship (Fishman, 1996a). This notion begs the question of what influence HL will have on identity construction when a person did not learn it in childhood, and what possibilities are left for him/her to acquire it as an adult.

Becoming functionally literate as a bilingual/multilingual may not be the only benefit of HL learning that HL learners perceive. They feel that their heritage is fading away when they find insufficiencies in their HL literacy (Hinton, 1999). Therefore, they do not simply give up on learning, but, rather, have mixed feelings of frustration, anger, shame, and disappointment when they face difficulties in their HL learning (Kouritzin, 1999). This shows not only the significance but also the difficulty of HL maintenance. Bearing this significance and difficulty in mind, in this section, I will look at HL learning/maintenance as a social activity.

The discipline of sociolinguistics in the West was developed to a large extent by several academic researchers, including sociologist Joshua Fishman, from the 1960s on. The focus of interest in this interdisciplinary field has moved to the interaction between *language maintenance/shift* and *transformations of ethnicity* after three decades of explorations of those

two areas separately (Fishman, 1991). As for immigrant languages, four main factors have been confirmed or considered to be influential in language shift. These factors are (a) legal requirements and prohibitions, (b) intergroup social dependency, (c) relinguification as a marker of membership and reethnification as a marker of modernization, and (d) the potential for rebirth (i.e., a disappointed proto-elite goes inward, and tries to find its roots that revives them, Fishman, 1991). Fishman suggests another important principle underlying all these four factors, which is a *social reward system*. The rewards include religious ones, political ones (e.g., awards and contracts), fiscal ones (e.g., careers and promotions), and social ones (e.g., membership in the family/community/society); the reward systems in a social macrocosm require and influence the way each speech community uses the language (Fishman, 1980). Therefore, the success and degree of HL maintenance could be heavily influenced by the reward systems (i.e., depending on what kind of reward systems minority group members are exposed to).

The first thing that comes to our minds when we think about the term *social reward system* would be legal requirements and prohibitions (e.g., language policy); however, interestingly, Fishman places more emphasis on the power of society itself than on the legal aspect. He states, “Laws require authoritative implementation, such as rewards or punishments, but not even authoritarian governments can endlessly implement unpopular laws that are not reinforced by and congruent with basic societal processes, rewards, and values” (Fishman, 1991, p.232). In other words, language laws produce and enforce social attitudes/behaviours involved with their purposes and goals but are not adequate causes concerning those attitudes/behaviours. Considering this power of *social reward systems*, he and some HL researchers (e.g., Hornberger & Wang, 2008) argue that schools or bilingual programs alone are not enough to maintain HLs.

Fishman believes that the flow of language maintenance influence should be from

home-and-community into the school, not from the school into the home (Fishman, 1980, 1996a, 1996b). The school works as a secondary reward system which guides students to learn appropriate behavior in other social reward systems (primary reward systems such as family, church, work sphere, and government); thus if the school outcomes (i.e., skills and knowledge of the subject matters) are not required or rewarded by the primary reward systems, they weaken and are lost over time. Moreover, whereas mother tongue acquisition is normally intergenerational and not programmed, schools are programmed focusing on literacy development and not intergenerational transmission (Fishman, 1996b). Although literacy is important as a means to operate primary reward systems, mother tongue transmission requires the life of language (i.e., the symbolism, sacredness, and sense of kinship) which largely depends on primary reward systems.

> Even if *good* schools do *effectively* teach for language maintenance, we must immediately ask, as we do for all other subjects, what primary reward systems, above and beyond the school, will reinforce, require, and reward ethnic mother tongue skills in that "real live world" that exists beyond school and schooling? (Fishman, 1980, p.168).

Consequently, Fishman hints that a key to the success of HL maintenance is family and community building. That is, the establishment of a purposeful community with a certain political and economic power of its own. Only in this way will HL learning have meaning in macro society, the "real live world," and what is taught at school will be maintained later in life. Besides, with relation to minority education, Cummins (2001, 2009) claims that "societal power relations influence the ways in which educators define their roles (teacher identity) and the structures of schooling (curriculum, funding, assessment, etc.)" (Cummins, 2009, p. 29). On the other hand, Mead (1991) argues that adult learners' marginalization may disempower them and

inhibit self-directed learning. Even though they are allowed to set goals for learning freely, those choices could be made reflecting the values of the dominant culture (Auerbach, 1993). According to Friedman (2010), schooling has been recognized as a primary site for "legitimating cultural identity and developing national consciousness" (p.193). However, with rapid globalization, this process/model has been challenged by the idea and value of multiculturalism and is now more complex and contradictory. It appears that societal power influences the whole concept of HL education, including the ways that it is structured and practiced, which means that it is impossible to eliminate the influence of sociopolitical, socioeconomic, and sociocultural power relations on HL education.

Silverstein (1979) explained *language ideology* as "sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived structure and use" (p. 173); and Irvine (1989) noted that *language ideologies* would cross-link social cultural structures and language use by working as an 'interpretive filter' (Woolard, 1992). Societal powers could be transmitted through that interpretive filter, ideologies about multilingualism, immigrants, and so forth, to the site of HL education. They may reflect on the definitions of HL learner, and further, HL learners' view of themselves and their HL learning experience. It seems that HL education/learning depends to a large extent on societal powers. However, some researchers argue that learning provides a space in which teachers and learners can resist societal powers.

In his framework, Cummins explains that societal power relations also influence the ways in which teachers interact with students; within *interpersonal space* which is formed through these interactions, learning occurs and identities are negotiated. Eventually, "the identity negotiations either reinforce coercive relations of power or promote collaborative relations of power" (Cummins, 2009, p.29). Although societal powers influence school education and cannot

be eliminated, teachers and schools can take active roles to prepare minority students to build a just society collaboratively.

Based on this idea, Cummins suggests the application of *transformative pedagogy* in minority education. When minority children's abilities are assessed fairly without bias from the dominant culture and they are given access to appropriate education, their future positions and status in a larger society will change in a positive way. Consequently, it will transform the society itself. Along the same lines, Kanno (2008) states, "educators are capable of challenging the unequal power structures in society by preparing their students for more equitable and empowering imagined communities. They have the option of consciously resisting unequal future trajectories and instead envisioning alternative scenarios for their students" (p.4). To reach this goal, in *transformative pedagogy*, teachers carefully choose and decide how and what contents must be delivered to the learners. As suggested by Cummins and Kanno, teachers, schools, and learners are not powerless; they play their own roles in minority education and eventually HL education. Although whether this idea of *transformative pedagogy* is applicable for adult HL learners is still open to discussion, a careful study of the nature of HL education (i.e., getting a whole picture of social reward systems in relation to HL education) is needed to understand the reasons why adult HL beginner learners withdrew from HL learning in their childhood and why some have now decided to relearn their HLs. We, researchers and educators, would then be able to better consider the power, consciousness and will of the people involved, rather than looking at the link between HL education and societal power as a clear and direct one (i.e., societal power directly influences the content, goal and state of HL education without any filter or other influence). Bearing this in mind, in the present study, I tried to understand what kind of language ideologies are exercised in a multicultural/multilingual context and what

underlies HL learners' language experiences and the way they were reported, while exploring HL learners' identity and their HL learning.

Summary

In this chapter, I have provided the theoretical framework of the present study. I described the approach I used to study identity and its construction, as well as the concepts and ideas that I used to understand the process of adult HL learners' identity construction. I explained the connection to this study of the concepts of *language expertise*, *affiliation*, and *inheritance*, the notion of *imagined communities*, and the idea of *social reward systems*.

Chapter 4 Methodology and Methods: Locating the Study

Overview

In this chapter, I explain my epistemological stance and describe the methodology and methods of my inquiry. I also explain my role as a researcher in my multiple case study. By doing so, I justify my decision to be part of the interview and diary entry processes in a very personal way. I then describe the research site, the participants, and my process of data collection and analysis.

Methodology

The aim of my study is to understand adult Japanese heritage language (JHL) beginner learners' perceptions of their identities and relationships with Japanese language. In other words, I am interested in understanding individuals' experiences, and how they live their lives making sense of those experiences, from their own viewpoints. I approach this research project from a social constructivist view. With respect to human knowledge, I believe that people construct their own understandings of the world and reality through their lived experiences and interactions with others. This epistemological principle underlies my research methodology choice of a multiple-case study design. From this point of view, I see research as a site of knowledge construction where researchers participate in the research process with their participants. In this sense, the research process is dialogic and dynamic. What I get from participant X through our interaction at a certain time and place is one truth for him/her and me; however, it may be different for participant Y, for another researcher, or for ourselves, ten years later. Also, there are other truths in this world, and the truth I find in and/or with participant X does not explain everything about X. This view led me to see each participant's experiences and identity construction as a unique 'case' which cannot be replicated or generalized, and therefore

led me to first study multiple cases individually, and then, in a cross-case manner.

For the case study, although there are many different definitions, Yin (1993, 2014) emphasizes the point that a case study investigates a phenomenon (i.e., the focus of the study) not distinguishable from the context, by using multiple data sources and analysis units. Considering this principle of the case study, I felt that the case study approach best serves my inquiry. I chose it as a method to address my research questions because the focus of my study, which is HL learners' identity construction. Based on the results of earlier studies, I understand that HL learners' identity construction cannot be separated from the temporal ('Japanese re-learning' led by past events, decisions, and future plans), spatial ('Japanese re-learning' in multicultural and multilingual environments), and social (family background and community involvement) contexts. This idea is rooted in my understandings of 'identity' and 'identity construction'

Identity Construction

With respect to identity, many different approaches have been proposed and developed in the social sciences, such as essentialist approaches, sociopsychological approaches, and poststructuralist approaches (see Chapter 3, Theoretical Approaches to Identity, p.47). Originally, there was a commonly held idea that identity is determined by specific factors and has a fixed nature (Block, 2007). In the field of second language (L2) acquisition, numerous studies were carried out based on the sociopsychological idea that the relation between ethnic/cultural identity and language acts is a one-to-one correlation (Block, 2007). However, with rapid globalization, new types of learners have emerged and these traditional ideas have come to be challenged by researchers using poststructuralist approaches. Poststructuralist approaches to identity have developed which emphasize the importance of considering the fluid

and multidimensional nature of the world surrounding us, and of our own identities.

Whereas essentialist approaches ignore the influence of individuals' subjectivities on identity, and social psychologists believe in the stability of the categorization of identities (Block, 2007; Isurin, 2011), poststructuralist approaches view identity construction as a process embedded within power relations which involves individuals' subjectivities (Norton, 2013). In this paradigm, identity emerges, shifts, and transmutes within social, economic, and cultural power relations (i.e., the power of ideologies in a larger society that values and devalues particular languages). In this process, individuals consciously or unconsciously position themselves and others in a given time and space, perform and present *imposed* and *accepted identities* (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004), and express new identities. Although power relations in the larger society influence their decisions, individuals 'decide' who they are through their life experiences at a particular time and place. In the poststructuralist view, identity is not simply 'determined' by factors or 'assigned' by others involving only past and present. It is also 'created' and 'shaped' by individuals involving expectations for the future. Therefore, there is a space for the emergence of new identities and the hybridity/multiplicity of identity.

Recent identity research on heritage language (HL) learners has reported the emergence of new identities (e.g, *local identity* in Kondo-Brown, 2010) and suggested the importance of considering learners' subjectivities and self-positioning in identity research (e.g., *willing HL learners* who identify themselves as HL learners and *reluctant HL learners* who are reluctant to identify themselves as HL learners in Dressler, 2010). Referring to these findings, I approach 'identity' from the poststructuralist view and understand 'identity construction' as a process embedded in temporal, spatial, and social contexts. Also, I have included learners' subjectivities and self-positioning in my research design. That is, I used multiple and interactive data collection

methods and multiple analysis units. Therefore, I believe that the principle of the case study is congruent with my research focus, which is adult beginner Japanese HL learners' identity construction in relation to their experiences with Japanese and Japanese learning.

"Big Stories" and "Small Stories"

In order to consider and include learners' subjectivities and self-positioning in my research, then, I adopted interactive and multiple data collection methods and multiple analysis units. As for data analysis, Bamberg's idea of "small" and "big stories" (Bamberg, 2006) provided me with new insights into the potential of two levels of analysis in identity research. Although this idea was introduced in the field of narrative analysis and my study does not follow the tradition of narrative inquiry, the idea gave me some clues about 'how and where' to trace internal and fluid activities such as self-positioning and subjectivities.

Whereas "big stories" are typically conceived as complete autobiographical life stories focusing on personal experience of past events (Norton & Early, 2011), "small stories" include people's talk that shows "how they [people] accomplish a sense of self when they engage in story-telling talk" (Bamberg, 2006, p.142). In other words, "small stories" themselves are also one of the places where people's positioning and identity construction occur. The proponents of the "small story" approach propose that narrators establish the content of the talk, and the specific social interactions in particular social relationships, in and through talk in different contexts. In a "small story" approach, researchers study "how speakers signal to their audience how they want to be understood" (p. 145) by looking at two levels of positioning: what the story was designed to be about, and how the interaction between speaker and audience was coordinated (Bamberg, 2006).

It may have been possible for me to ask direct questions of participants, such as "How

do you identify yourself?" and "Do you think you are a heritage language (HL) learner or a foreign language (FL) learner?", and find the answer in their comments. However, in consideration of the emergence of new identities and the hybridity/multiplicity of the identity (i.e., the learners have been crossing borders and living in multiple realities), I focused on the dynamic nature of self-positioning and subjectivities; that is, I demonstrated that the way the learners see and define themselves may change depending on time and place. Utilizing the idea of "big and small stories", in my study, I looked at what Japanese language learning (e.g., the full gamut, from withdrawal from Japanese learning, to blank periods in Japanese learning, to the re-learning of Japanese) mean to adult Japanese HL beginner learners ("big stories", Level 1 analysis) and how they presented themselves in their interactions with the researcher ("small stories", Level 2 analysis). In this way, during the analysis, treating each case as unique (i.e., avoiding simple generalization), I tried to understand: 1) the participants' own perceptions of their identities, namely, how adult Japanese HL learners with little or no Japanese proficiency want to be recognized and understood by others; and 2) the influence of their relationships with Japanese language and Japanese language learning on those identities over time.

For this two-level analysis, in order "to corroborate certain findings" and "to capture an interviewee's own sense of reality" (Yin, 2014, p.112), I chose to use *diary interviews* (Martin-Jones & Jones, 2001) as a data collection method. This is a combination of in-depth interview and participant diary. Although the interviews are not structured, questions based on the content of participant diaries are asked in the interviews. According to Seidman (2013), although a researcher can approach people's experiences through other research methods such as surveys, observations, and literature reviews, if, as in my study, the researcher's aim is to understand the meanings people assign to their experiences, the interview method is the one that provides "a

necessary […] avenue of inquiry" (p.10). Further, Martin-Jones and Jones (2001) explain the advantage of using participant diaries as a base for interviews. From their experience of conducting diary interviews, they claim that the diary interview shifts the positionings of researchers and participants and makes researchers notice things they had not focused on themselves. I believe that combining in-depth interview and participant diary is an appropriate approach to the purpose and questions of my study.

Role of the Researcher

'Subjectivity' refers to a collection of a person's specific beliefs, values, and perspectives, which come from his/her life experiences (Canagarajah, 1996). The influence of subjectivity in qualitative research is often discussed in the research literature. That is, the subjectivity of the researcher may influence the types of data collected and the interpretation of the data. In the data collection process, in particular, conversational data collection methods such as the interview may create a methodological threat to so-called 'reflexivity' (Yin, 2013). The conversation in the interview may create "a mutual and subtle influence" (Yin, 2013, p.112) between the researcher and the participant. That is, the researcher's subjectivity may influence the participant's responses, and then, those responses influence the researcher's course of inquiry, both unconsciously. For example, even if an interview question is neutral and open-ended like "what do you think of X?", when the participant senses that the researcher has a positive attitude toward X, he/she may say something positive about X (i.e., to meet the researcher's expectation). Following that response, the researcher may then create or change the next question accordingly and/or shift the direction of the research. It is impossible to fully overcome this methodological threat. However, to minimize the threat, the researcher needs to be aware of its existence.

In my inquiry, my past teaching experience may have influenced the participants' comments and my interpretation of them. Some of the participants are Japanese heritage language (HL) learners who withdrew from Japanese school in their childhood, and I am a former teacher of a Japanese HL school who used to try to persuade students like them to stay with the school. This positioning holds the possibility that some of my comments in the interview may unconsciously have had a negative tone, and participants may have hesitated or avoided talking about some topics. Then, sensing the uneasiness of the participants, or taking their responses at face value, I may have changed or moved on to other topics. Eventually, my inquiry may have changed its direction and trajectory. However, I take this condition as an advantage rather than a problem, for the following reasons.

First, my research questions are rooted in my lived experience. As my stories in the introductory chapter show above, my past experiences were connected to each other in my head and helped me to shape my research questions. If I were not a former HL teacher who now teaches university courses or if I had totally rejected my subjectivity, this research project would not exist.

Second, my research explores identity construction, which is a social and interactive process. I agree with Norton Peirce's (1995) claim that no research "can claim to be objective or unbiased" (p.570) when we talk about identity. A researcher trying to detach himself/herself from participants is also an action and a position that he/she subjectively decides to take. Since I take the perspective that identity is constructed and emerges only through lived experiences and social interactions with others, I accept and put importance on the identity construction of the researcher in the research. The researcher shapes the research, and at the same time, the research shapes the researcher. Researchers can never discuss 'subjectivity' or 'subject position' through

research wherein the 'subjectivity' of the participants or researcher does not exist. It accords with my theoretical framework of identity to include my views and voice in the research process. Furthermore, my research focuses on the way language learners construct their identities in a social context. The research is one such context. It is therefore important to examine how learners negotiate positions with the researcher and construct their identities in the research.

Considering these points, in my research, I try to deal with the challenges of 'reflexivity' by analyzing data at the two levels of 'big and small stories' (i.e., monitoring the positioning and relationship between the researcher and the participant); corroborating interview data with information from diary data, and reflecting and reporting my subjective positioning and identity construction process in a separate chapter at the end of the thesis.

Methods

Research Site: Montreal as a Multilingual Urban Environment

The research setting is the multilingual, multiethnic metropolis of Montreal, Quebec. In 2006, I moved to Montreal to study for my master's degree. While pursuing my master's studies, I had a chance to teach Japanese as a teaching assistant at a university. Since then, I have been teaching Japanese at post-secondary level institutions. In the classes I taught, most students were multilinguals, that is, they knew at least two languages, and Japanese was often their third to seventh language. This sociolinguistic situation was very different from the one I had come from in a small town in Alberta. In that town, many of the Canadian locals were English monolinguals; thus, regardless of their resident status (e.g., temporary resident or permanent resident), the knowledge and skill of a second language was highly appreciated in the local community for its rarity. I started to wonder what it was like for Japanese heritage language (HL) learners with no or little Japanese proficiency to be in such multilingual and multicultural

classrooms in Montreal. In the language classrooms I have taught in, most students already know more than two languages and the number of monolinguals is very small. In this context, being an English-French bilingual may be standard in society and understood as a 'normal' thing, whereas being a monolingual is standard in other English-speaking areas in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2018a). The multilingualism and multiculturalism of Montreal may give another meaning to the maintenance of HLs other than English and French. Consequently, it may add another layer of complexity for those HL learners' identity construction and HL 're-learning.' Aiming to find new possibilities for Japanese HL learners' Japanese 're-learning,' I chose Montreal as a research site. I hoped that Montreal's multicultural, multilingual context would allow me to explore the influence of multilingualism on adult Japanese HL beginner learners' identity construction and language learning.

Participant

Recruiting Participants. This project had learner participants and teacher participants. In September 2011, with the help of my former students and a colleague, I recruited 12 learner participants. Simultaneously, I also recruited five teacher participants through my personal connections. The learner participants included seven adult Japanese heritage language (HL) beginner learners and five adult Japanese foreign language (FL) beginner learners. However, because they were all college or university students and the data collection period overlapped with their regular academic terms, some participants found it difficult to manage their time between schoolwork and participation in this study. Thus, one HL learner and three FL learners withdrew from the study after the first interview. In the end, I collected data from six HL learners and one FL learner. In this study, I focused on four HL learners and used the data from one FL learner as supporting data. Two HL learners' data sets were not included in this study for

the following two reasons: 1) they were studying independently and not taking any Japanese courses at the time, and 2) their interview data revealed an additional factor which played a crucial role in their identity-construction process; thus their experiences were very different from those of the other four.

Teacher Participants. In order to understand the learning context of adult Japanese heritage language (HL) learners in Montreal, Quebec, I also interviewed and collected testimonies from five former and current instructors and one teaching assistant who taught Japanese at universities in Quebec. Because of the limited number of instructors teaching Japanese at universities in Montreal, I recruited teacher participants from around Quebec. My expectation was that together with the data from the learner participants, it would allow me to see a broader picture of identity construction and Japanese learning of adult beginner Japanese HL learners in a multicultural context.

Four of the teachers were also immigrant parents. Their academic and/or educational specializations varied, including linguistics, German language and literature, French culture and literature, East Asian studies, and comparative culture. Their professional backgrounds previous to Japanese teaching also differed, including translation, publishing, and civil service employment. However, all of them came from the fields of linguistics or culture studies rather than from the field of education. Five of the six had experience living in other countries where languages other than English are spoken, such as European or South American countries. Thus, they were tri-/multi-linguals with knowledge of Japanese, English, French, German, and so forth. Table 1 presents the background information on the teacher participants.

Table 1

The Background of Teacher Participants

Pseudonym	Role in university Japanese courses	Gender	age*	Academic background Major	Languages acquired (capable of using)	Japanese language teaching experience*	Parental experience
Akihiko	Instructor	M	60	Comparative linguistics	Japanese French English	23 yrs.	None
Ikumi	Instructor	F	60	French literature/culture	Japanese French English	15 yrs.	Yes
Uta	Former-instructor	F	64	Linguistics	Japanese French English	30 yrs.	Yes
Emiko	Former-instructor	F	65	Literature	Japanese French English	20 yrs.	Yes
Orie	Former-instructor	F	67	German language/culture	Japanese French English German	19 yrs.	Yes
Katsuya	Teaching Assistant	M	32	Japanese culture/literature	Japanese English	4 yrs.	None

*As of September 2011 – May 2012

Learner Participants. As I explained in the previous section, I focused on four HL learners and one foreign language (FL) learner in this study. Therefore, hereafter, I will introduce only information related to those five learners.

As to the selection of HL learner participants, the major criterion was that their home languages were not Japanese, which means that Japanese was not the main means of communication at home. Three participants were recruited from my colleague's class, and one from a class I had taught the previous year, in 2010. As for the FL learner participant, he was also a former student from the class I taught in 2010. Although my research focused on HL learners, I decided to use the FL learner's data because he happened to be a boyfriend and classmate of one of the HL participants. Looking back at my memories from their Japanese class,

I found that their relationship meant a lot to the HL participant in terms of Japanese learning and identity construction. I already believed that life experiences themselves were part of the process of identity construction, so I considered that inclusion of the FL learner would help me to understand the HL participant's experience with Japanese and her identity construction as a whole. Table 2 below represents background on the learner participants.

Table 2

The Background of Learner Participants

Pseudonym	Age* Gender	Father (F) and Mother (M)	Home Language	Languages Studied	Japanese Learning Background*
Mayumi	23 F	F: Nisei**(not clear) M: Japanese	English French	French Spanish	Adult community class (Beginner, 5 months) University Intensive (Beginner, 10 weeks)
Meg	20 F	F: Japanese (Deceased) M: Japanese	English Japanese (Listening)	French	Saturday school in Western Canada (English-speaking, Grade1-3) University (Beginner, 8 months)
Ryota	20 M	F: Japanese M: Canadian	English Japanese (Specific words/phrases)	French	University (Beginner, 8 months)
Tomoyuki	23 M	F: Nisei** M: Italian Canadian	English	French Spanish	University (Beginner, 8 months)
Mike (FLL)	23 M	F: British M: Canadian	English	French Spanish	Adult community class (Beginner, 5 months) University Intensive (Beginner, 10 weeks)

*As of September 2011 – February 2012 **Second generation Japanese Canadian.

At the time of data collection, the learner participants were aged between 20 and 23 years old and had completed their secondary school education. The Japanese proficiency of the learner participants varied from beginner level, with the knowledge of only one writing system, *Hiragana*, to students in the second semester of a first-year Japanese course at university. At this level, students had knowledge of basic grammar and three Japanese writing systems: *Hiragana*, *Katakana*, and basic *Kanji*, which are required to read Japanese reading materials (i.e., Level 0-2 Japanese graded readers, 350-500 headwords). At this level, minimally, the learner participants

could engage in free reading, which was used as a prompt to trigger their childhood Japanese memories.

The following paragraphs are profiles of the learner participants.

Mayumi: Mayumi was a recent graduate with a degree in biology who took the Level 1 Japanese course with me in 2010. She was in the class together with her boyfriend, Mike. They lived together with his family. Mayumi actively engaged in all class activities and did very well in class in terms of tests, assignments, and participation. However, she said that she unfortunately had forgotten many parts of what she had learned. Mayumi stated that her parents were ethnically Japanese. Her father was born in Canada (Nisei, second generation Japanese Canadian or Sansei, third generation Japanese Canadian - not clear), and her mother was born in Japan. Although she has a Japanese name, she uses her English name in everyday life. In Japanese class, she used her Japanese name only a few times at the beginning of the course and only in conversation with the teacher (me). She asked me how to write her Japanese name in *Kanji* in the first class. As for Japanese learning and/or use in her childhood, Mayumi had no experience studying at any Japanese school and had never encountered any Japanese-speaking people in her childhood other than her family members, except for one Japanese boy in her elementary school whom she never really spoke with. Her experiences of learning Japanese in childhood all occurred in a family context. However, according to her, her parents did not speak Japanese much at home and the Japanese input and learning opportunities were limited. In the background questionnaire, Mayumi claimed that her mother tongue is English. At the time of data collection, Mayumi and Mike were looking for jobs and seemed to be under some stress.

Meg: Meg was born and raised in Vancouver, Canada. She came to Montreal to do her undergraduate studies (Psychology and East Asian Studies). Both her parents came from Japan,

and her father passed away several years ago when she was in high school. Her mother and younger brother live in Vancouver, and she has an elderly grandmother in Japan. Before coming to Montreal, although her parents conversed with each other exclusively in Japanese, she mainly used English at home (now, her mother talks to her in Japanese sometimes, but she responds in English). According to her, she was a little behind in English compared with her classmates back in elementary school, and her classroom teacher suggested to her parents that she attend the English as a Second Language (ESL) class in the same school for a couple of hours per week. Meg thinks that this was one of the reasons her home language became English.

As for Japanese learning, Meg went to Japanese Saturday school in her childhood. However, having to repeat Grade 1 left her and her parents with some feelings of bitterness and uneasiness, and she stopped going to the Japanese school after Grade 3 or 4. At the time that data collection was conducted, Meg was taking the Level 1 Japanese course and Japanese translation course at university. In terms of grammar, reading, and writing, she seemed to be doing very well in the Japanese Level 1 class. In the background questionnaire, she claimed that her mother tongue is Japanese.

Ryota: When this project started, Ryota was a second-year university student in Management. He was the only child born to a Japanese father and a Canadian mother in Tokyo, Japan. His family moved to Montreal, Canada when he was three years old. He has some memory about Japan and the Japanese language. He often missed places in Japan that he visited when he was little. After coming to Canada, he went to a French elementary school, and then went on to a boarding school. He used English with Japanese short phrases (e.g., greetings) at home and French at school. Although he did not have any Japanese-speaking siblings, friends, or relatives close by and had never been to a Japanese school, he was still able to receive some

Japanese input because his Canadian mother had lived and worked in Japan for nine years and had a good command of Japanese. After coming to university, because of his future career plan to become a business consultant, Ryota started studying Japanese formally by taking the first level Japanese course at university. For the past three years prior to data collection, he had been visiting his relatives in Japan with his father for about two weeks every year. In the background questionnaire, he claimed that his mother tongue is English.

Tomoyuki: Tomoyuki is Sansei (third generation Japanese Canadian) with an Italian Canadian mother. Tomoyuki was born and raised in Montreal, and "Tomoyuki" is his Japanese middle name. 'Yuki' means 'snow' in Japanese. He told me that he got this name because he was born in December. Tomoyuki's late grandfather immigrated to Canada at the age of 17 and had been teaching Kendo (a traditional Japanese style of fencing) for a long time. Tomoyuki's grandparents moved to Montreal from Vancouver during World War II. Following the recommendations of his schoolteachers, they strongly encouraged Tomoyuki's father to learn English. Therefore, the Japanese proficiency of Tomoyuki's father is limited, and Tomoyuki and his family do not communicate in Japanese at home. In the background questionnaire, he claimed that his mother tongue is English.

Tomoyuki went to Japanese Saturday school with his older sister when he was five or six years old. He does not remember how long he stayed at the school because it was a "long, long time ago" (interview, January 31, 2012). Although he has some memories about the school such as singing songs, he does not remember much about teachers, classmates, or Japanese language learning. He stated that he had never learned the Japanese writing systems until the Japanese Level 1 course at university. At the time that my data collection was completed, Tomoyuki was expecting to graduate from university with a Bachelor's degree (Urban Design)

in one month and was hoping to go to Japan with the Japan Exchange and Teaching (JET) program.

Mike: Mike is a native English speaker and Japanese Foreign Language (FL) learner. In the background questionnaire, he claimed that his mother tongue is English. He is the boyfriend of the HL learner participant Mayumi. They live at Mike's parents' house together. Mike and Mayumi had been studying Japanese together for a couple of years by taking a community class and summer intensive university course. I met both of them in the intensive university course in 2010. The reasons that Mike said he was studying Japanese were that: 1) he believes that he enjoys learning new languages and Japanese is very different from English, French, or Spanish; 2) he wants to be able to talk with Mayumi's relatives in Japan; 3) he wants to visit and talk to his oldest brother and his Japanese girlfriend, who live in Japan, in Japanese.

It seemed that Mike had a very negative experience with learning French in the past. In the background questionnaire, as an example of negative language learning experiences, he described his French learning in Quebec, "when trying to practice French in Quebec, Francophones I am talking to will frequently switch to English, which doesn't help me learn, or they will make fun of my French instead of encouraging me" (Background Questionnaire). Mike majored in geology in university but he was not quite sure what he really wanted to do in the future. Like Mayumi, he was looking for a job during the period of data collection.

Data Collection Process and Resources

For data collection, I used different methods for the teacher participants and the learner participants. I collected data from teachers through a background questionnaire and semi-structured interview, and from learners through a background questionnaire, semi-structured and in-depth interviews, diaries, and field notes. Table 3 below lays out the complete data I collected.

The reasons for not recording all of the interviews are explained below in the 'interviewing learners' section.

Table 3

Collected Data Sets

	Pseudonym	Background Questionnaire	Semi-structured Interview In-depth Interview	Diary Entry	Data Collection Period
Learner	Mayumi	✓	7 meetings Recorded: 2 semi-structured interviews (152 mins.)	22 entries (13 pages)	September 2011 – January 2012
	Ryota	✓	7 meetings Recorded: 2 semi-structured interviews (56 mins.)	5 entries (5 pages)	September – December 2011
	Tomoyuki	✓	12 meetings Recorded: 2 semi-structured interviews + 8 in-depth interviews = 10 meetings (411 mins.)	10 entries (6 pages)	January – May 2012
	Meg	✓	9 meetings Recorded: 2 semi-structured interviews + 7 in-depth interviews = 9 meetings (325 mins.)	13 entries (10 pages)	February – April 2012
	Mike (FL learner)	✓	5 meetings Recorded: 2 semi-structured interviews (65 mins.)	4 entries (4 pages) 9 joint entries with Mayumi (4 pages)	September 2011 – January 2012
Teacher	Akihiko	✓	1 meeting Recorded: 1 meeting (55 mins.)	N/A	October 12, 2011
	Ikumi	✓	1 meeting Recorded: 1 meeting (46 mins.)	N/A	April 5, 2012
	Uta	✓	1 meeting Recorded: 1 meeting (34 mins.)	N/A	September 30, 2011
	Emiko	✓	1 meeting Recorded: 1 meeting (87 mins.)	N/A	May 22, 2012
	Orie	✓	1 meeting Recorded: 1 meeting (126 mins.)	N/A	May 29, 2012
	Katsuya	✓	1 meeting Recorded: 1 meeting (53 mins.)	N/A	September 23, 2011

Background Questionnaires. Following the confirmation of participation in the study, all participants filled out a background questionnaire (see Appendix 3 and Appendix 4) and participated in a semi-structured interview for approximately 30 minutes to 2 hours to clarify and confirm their answers in the questionnaire. In the background questionnaire for teachers, I asked about their backgrounds and experiences related to Japanese language and Japanese language teaching. As for learners, I asked about their backgrounds and experiences related to Japanese language and Japanese language learning.

Interviews: Interviewing as a "Craft". For my data collection, I conducted interviews in an interactive way. On the topic of postmodern interviewing, Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) describe interviewing as a craft, as the social production of knowledge, and as a social practice. As a craft, interviewing is to be learned through practice, in contrast with the conception of research as following the rules (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). From the perspective of the social production of knowledge, interviewing is a process whereby interviewee and interviewer produce knowledge through their relationship, and at the same time, interviewing is also a new "social practice in what has been called the interview society" (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, p.18). In the new 'interview society', interviewing is no longer reserved for researchers and media reporters (Fontana, 2002). The interview is viewed as a site of producing knowledge; researchers carry on actual conversations with their participants by participating in the interview themselves.

Interviewing Teachers. In collecting data, although I valued each teacher's individual life experiences, considering the focus of this study and the time limitations, I interviewed them only once, focusing on their views of heritage language (HL) learners; I then analyzed the interview texts as testimonies or statements rather than as anecdotal stories. In other words, I performed a single-level analysis (i.e., focusing only on 'Big stories')**.**

The interviews were semi-structured and conducted based on questions related to the current and former teachers' Japanese language teaching experiences and perceptions of HL education and HL learners in Quebec (see Appendix 5). The interviews were face-to-face and audio-recorded for transcription. The language used in the interview was Japanese.

Interviewing Learners. Starting the week following the first semi-structured interview about background (see Appendix 6), each participant and I met for an in-depth interview and/or chat (i.e., confirming and discussing the contents of diaries, updating each other, and reflecting

on childhood memories related to Japanese together) on a weekly basis for 10 to 12 weeks, depending on their schedules. In the last interview (i.e., the second semi-structured interview), I repeated the questions from the first interview, to better understand any changes we had experienced during the 10-12 week in-depth interview/chat period. For the first group whose data was collected during the fall semester (September – December 2011 for Ryota, September 2011 – January 2012 for Mayumi and Mike), the interviews/chats were face-to-face, and the two semi-structured interviews were audio-recorded for transcription. I took some field notes for the in-depth interviews and chats. For the second group whose data was collected during the winter semester (January – May 2012 for Tomoyuki, February – April 2012 for Meg), the interviews/chats were face-to-face and audio-recorded for transcription as much as possible.

For the first group, I audio-recorded only the two semi-structured interviews (i.e., the first and last interviews) for two reasons. First, I wanted to minimize any stress the participants might feel. Second, assuming that beginner learners would not have much past Japanese use/learning experiences to share with me, I focused on changes in their views of Japanese language and learning through Japanese learning as adults, and considered the 10-12 week interview/chat session as a prompt and tool to establish rapport with them. However, during that first data collection period, I found that they had much richer memories related to Japanese language than I expected, and they were willing to share such memories with me. Therefore, I decided to audio-record all meetings for the second group. For some meetings, because of the situation (e.g., excessive noise in the background) and content (e.g., Japanese learning activities such as reading a Japanese book aloud together, because recording things that would highlight their proficiency level could cause them extra stress, and topics difficult for the participant to talk about), I took memos instead of audio-recording. The length of each meeting (i.e., in-depth

interview and/or chat) varied from approximately 30 minutes to two hours. The interviews were conducted mainly in English because English was the participants' strongest language. However, on some occasions, Japanese words and short phrases were used in the interviews by the participant or the researcher. This is because some participants perceived the interview as a chance to practice Japanese or found that some Japanese words did not have any English equivalent.

Learners' Diaries: Shifting the Positioning of Researcher and Researched. In addition to interviewing, I collected data through participants' diaries. Jones, Martin-Jones, and Bhatt (2001) have tried to minimize the possibility of imposing their agendas as researchers by using participant diaries "so as to be able to collaborate as far as possible on equal terms with the participants" (Jones et al., 2001, p.323). Further, in Norton's (2000) study of L2 identity, the researcher communicated with the participants through diaries. These dialogic methods worked as "a means of shifting the positioning of researcher and researched" (Jones et al., 2001, p.326) and successfully and collaboratively produced new knowledge. Following these earlier studies, I actively participated in our conversations during interviews and wrote my comments in the participants' diaries. Furthermore, I created questions from the previous diary entry each time and brought them to our next meeting so that we could discuss them in depth, which is the defining characteristic of 'diary interviews'. In postmodern interviewing, in order to create rapport with the participants, it is common and accepted to use several different resources and means together. Rather than using only one resource or means, such as the face-to-face structured/semi-structured interview, the combination of interviews with other resources such as diary, e-mail, and Internet chat is accepted and encouraged.

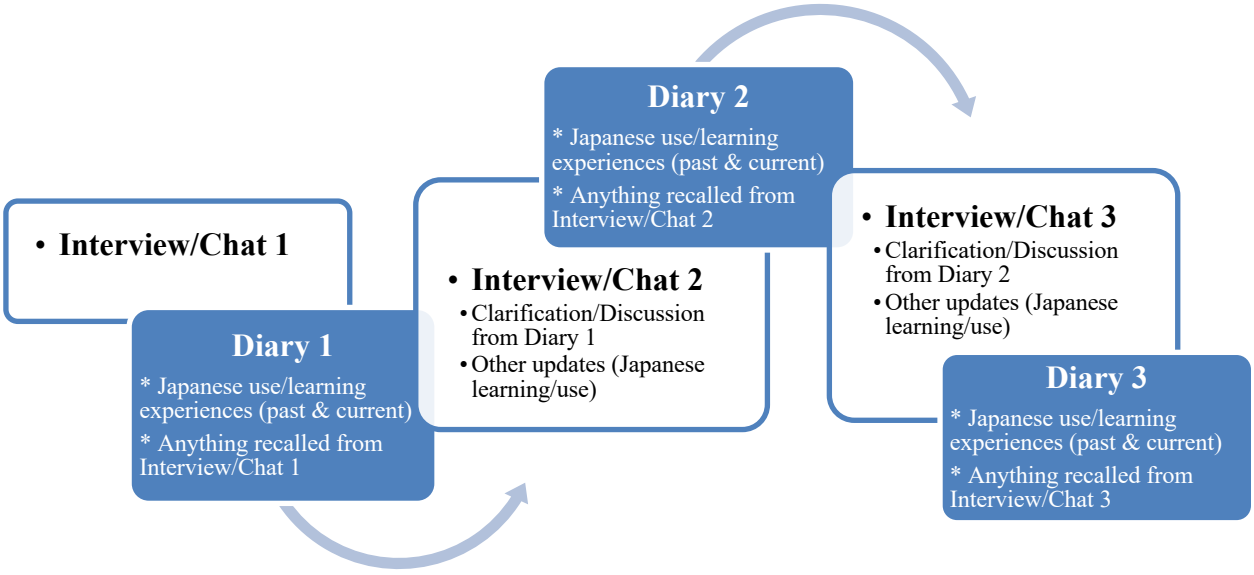
Diary Entries and Diary Interviews. The diary writing proceeded concurrently with the interview/chat sessions. During the 10-12 week data collection period, the learner participants made a minimum of one diary entry per week through the online application Google Docs (for creating and sharing documents online) in English, which allows both the participants and the researcher to write, read, and edit documents anytime. The learner participants wrote about their experiences related to Japanese or Japanese learning both currently and in the past (e.g., memories of listening and/or speaking Japanese in their childhood, their parents' and their own attitudes towards Japanese and Japanese learning, and current Japanese use and/or learning), in their diaries between interview/chat meetings. The following instruction was given to the learner participants with the research invitation letter.

> There will be no rules for the length of the diary. The contents of the diary could be "how, when, and where you use Japanese", "with whom you use Japanese", "what happens when you use Japanese (how your interlocutor acts and how you feel)", "what Japanese words you remember well or use often", and "what Japanese words you want to learn." If you agree, I would also like to discuss the comments you have made in your diaries when we meet.

They also wrote their thoughts on the topics discussed with me in our meetings if they recalled something they felt was relevant. On my side, I read their diary entries and wrote my comments and questions from those entries or brought my questions about them to our meetings. Participants sometimes responded to my comments and questions in the diary, other times during the next meeting. Based on the contents of the diaries, the learner participants and I discussed and explored the meanings of Japanese and Japanese language for them together during the interview/chat meetings (See Figure 1).

Figure 1

The process of the 10-12 week interview/chat sessions (combination of interview & diary)



Data Analysis

During the process of analysis, I paid particular attention to the following two points. First, I had to be aware of the influence and consequences of my positionality as a researcher. I am the one to interpret and represent others' stories, and "representation has consequences: How people are represented is how people are treated" (Hall, 1997 cited in Madison, 2012, p.4). The permission to represent others is accompanied by a responsibility for the consequences of the representation (Madison, 2011). How I approach the stories of participants in this study may have an impact on the readers' views of adult Japanese HL beginner learners, and consequently, it may change how they are viewed and treated in the society and in the classroom. Considering these consequences, I tried to approach the research questions of this study with a view that adult beginner HL learners are not powerless victims in a multicultural society. This is because the aim of this study is not to criticize anyone for anything, and I do not expect such learners to be seen as 'sympathetic figures'. Instead, I see these learners as the ones who 'decide' for themselves

who they are and what kind of relation they will have with their HLs.

Second, I tried not to ignore "particular silences and omissions" (Pavlenko, 2004, p. 39) and "not to smooth them [contradictions] over by adopting one and ignoring the other [comment/statement]" (Kanno, 2008, p.36). Given that one of the goals of this research project is to grasp the influence of social and cultural ideologies in current globalized society on HL learners' identity construction, it was necessary to note that there are ideological forces behind the silenced voices. I tried to examine not only the contents of what was told, but also what participants avoided talking about and where those silenced voices came from.

Considering these two points, in my data analysis, I avoided seeking the 'causes' of the participants' withdrawal from Japanese learning in their childhood. The decision to withdraw was probably not the participants' own decision, but rather that of others, such as their parents. Since the focus of my study was on the learners, I tried instead to interpret how they 'perceived' the withdrawal on their *return* to Japanese language learning.

Teachers' Data. The interview texts from teacher participants were organized and analyzed around three points: 1) how HL education is perceived and understood by the teachers, 2) how HL learners are understood in terms of their proficiency and motivation for learning by the teachers, and 3) how HL learners are treated, or believed to be treated, in actual university courses in Quebec. First, I listened through each recorded interview and transcribed them briefly without stopping the recorder (one to two hours straight). Then, I wrote my interpretation for some main points new to me in a short memo for each interview. The following is an excerpt from my memo for an interview with Orie. Since interviews with teacher participants were carried out in Japanese, I wrote my memos in Japanese. The left-hand column is an original Japanese text, and the right my English translation.

その国で母語を学ぶときは、周りが使っていて、それを聞いた子ども自身が言葉を選ぶ作業をしている。しかし、ここでは親、自分がその作業をしなければならない。責任がすべて自分。	When a child learns his/her mother tongue in the country where the language is spoken, the child does the task of choosing vocabulary to learn by him/herself by listening to other people talking. However, here, we parents (immigrant parents, from Orie's perspective) are the only ones to do that task. All the responsibility for our own child's vocabulary acquisition is on us, the parents (Orie's perspective).

(Excerpt from my memo for the interview with Orie on May 29, 2012)

Next, I listened to the interview once more and completed transcriptions. After this transcription, I highlighted the parts in the transcription from which I had gotten the ideas and feelings I wrote in my short memos. I repeated this process for all the interview data. In the transcription below, the underlined and italicized part corresponds to the memo that I presented above. The part underlined and italicized in the following excerpt is the highlighted part in the original transcription. "O" refers to "Orie" (participant), and "Y" refers to "Yasuko" (myself, the researcher). The right-hand column is the English translation.

O:私，最初はね，カタカナ語は入れまいと思ってたのね。でもフォークなんてどうしたらいいの？	O: At first, I was thinking of not teaching Katakana words [loan words from European languages] to my children. But what should I do with "fork"?
Y: そうですよね。しょうがないですよね。	Y: I see. It cannot be helped.
O:「ピンク」にしようか「桃色」にしようかって考えるわけ。ところが日本語の「桃色」とは別の意味があるでしょ。	O: You see, you start wondering whether you choose "Pinku [pink]" or "Momo-iro [peach color]" to teach. But then, "Pinku" has meanings other than "Momo-iro", right?
Y: そうですね。	Y: Right.
O:それはまずいかなとか考えますよ，うん。	O: Then, you think like "it's not good", yeah.
Y: そうですね。	Y: Right.
O:うーん，結局日本だったら周りの人が使っててそれを子ども自身が選んでいくけどここでは私が選ぶしかない。だからねー，うん，考えることが多かったですよ。	*O: Well, at the end, if I were in Japan, children could listen to surrounding people's language use [talk] and choose words to learn from there by themselves, but here, there is no other way but I have to choose. So, yeah, I had lots to think about.*
Y: 難しい。	Y: It sounds tough.

(Orie, interview, May 29, 2012)

Once I went through all the interviews, I grouped the highlighted parts centering around the three questions previously mentioned, and looked for common themes that emerged. In this process, I took particular care not to exclude contradictions and conflicts. For example, one

teacher participant, Katsuya, first expressed his impression about HL learners' proficiency and attitude toward Japanese learning as "あぐらかいちゃってる [Resting on laurels. Being lazy.]". However, a few lines later, he revealed that he does recognize the struggle that HL learners face when he commented, "何回教えても細かい綴りができない。やらないというかやってもできないのか？[How many times I teach, they cannot spell accurately to the smallest details. I wonder if it is more like they cannot do it than they do not do it.]" In my data analysis, I kept both comments, and with other teachers' comments, I analyzed them as 'uncertainty'. I took notes, "considering the cause of HL learners' unbalanced language skills to be psychological, but uncertain."

Learners' Data. For some parts, data analysis proceeded in parallel with data collection. I kept some reflective notes about things I noticed in our meetings and diary communication. This is an excerpt from my reflective note about a meeting with Mayumi and her boyfriend Mike. Originally, I wrote notes in Japanese. I provide the English translation in the right-hand column.

本の Exchange のあと三人で XX で食事。日本の旅行の話になる。注文はどうしても英語になる。ウェイトレスの日本語が少ししかわからないとややがっかりしている様子。日本語になると緊張しているのが分かる。日本に行って話すのはそれほど抵抗がないようなのに，ここではほとんど使おうとしない。日本では Mayumi さんの服装や態度から日本人ではない？日本育ちではない？ことがすぐに周りの日本人に分かるから日本語がそれほどできなくても大丈夫という。逆に少し日本語ができると Appreciate されるという。私がアルバータでフランス語を話すときとここでフランス語を話すときと違うふうに感じるのと似たようなものなのだろうか。	After exchanging books, we three [Mayumi, Mike, and I] dined at XX [the name of a Japanese restaurant]. The topic of our conversation moved to their trip to Japan. She seemed disappointed when she could not understand the waitress's Japanese very well. I could feel how nervous she becomes when it comes to using Japanese. It seems that she does not feel so awkward speaking Japanese in Japan. Nevertheless, she barely tries to use Japanese here at all. She said that she was okay in Japan because Japanese people there could figure out that she was not Japanese or was not raised in Japan, based on her clothes and behavior. When she spoke a bit of Japanese, they appreciated it so much. I wonder if her feeling is similar to how it feels different for me when I speak French in Alberta or here?

(Excerpt from my reflective note, November 10, 2011)

Transcription of Interviews. Once data collection was completed, I listened to each learner's recorded interviews and transcribed them briefly, typing in only the parts that I could hear clearly. Then, together with diary data and my reflective notes, I outlined the participants' backgrounds (in one paragraph of up to a half page) and briefly wrote my first impressions of their comments in the interviews and diaries. I then went back to the recorded interview data and transcribed them word for word including pauses and fillers.

Multiple Passes Through the Data and Emergent Themes. Following the transcription, I analyzed the data utilizing Bamberg's (2006) idea of two levels of positioning: what the story was designed to be about (i.e., '*Big story*'), and how the interaction between speaker and audience was coordinated (i.e., '*Small story*'). For the former, I read the interview transcriptions and diary texts by focusing on participants' decisions about Japanese learning and perceptions of those decisions. For the latter, I focused on two points: 1) how each participant viewed and positioned me in our conversation; and 2) how each participant shaped his/her position in our conversation.

First, I compiled and analyzed data sets (interview data and diary data) for each participant. The inductive coding process involved several steps: 1) I looked for keywords/phrases that emerged from each participant's data for both levels of positioning (i.e., '*Big story*' and '*Small story*') and sorted those keywords and key phrases in a table, 2) Using the table, I created codes and categorized them into three groups (coding frame): Japanese language, Identity, and Japanese re-learning, 3) I then went through the data line-by-line to code as much as possible for each category/concept (i.e., I conducted three separate codings for each participant), 4) I created a large chart (horizontal axis: code, vertical axis: interview/diary date) with excerpts from the diary texts and interview transcriptions for each category.

After the coding, I focused on changes over time, and conflicts between and overlaps across codes. I tried to explain them with the help of reflective notes and field notes. I then looked for and identified themes for each category. I repeated this process three times: once for Japanese language, once for Identity, and once for Japanese re-learning; I then looked through all three charts together to study relationships among those three concepts by focusing on overlaps and similarities.

Finally, I went back to my research notes (field notes and reflective notes) and all participants' files (tables of keywords and key phrases, charts for three categories/concepts, and findings of each participant's case) and looked into my findings across participants. The purpose of taking this last step was to follow the trajectory and/or narrative thinking that I experienced in my data collection process and to organize the new knowledge that the participants and I constructed in our communication.

Summary

In this chapter, I have described the methodology, methods, and data collection process of this study. I believe that human knowledge can be gained through lived experiences and interactions with others. By extension, I understand research as a site to construct new knowledge with participants, which is collaborative and dialogic. Considering the focus and nature of my inquiry, which is identity research looking at Japanese heritage language (HL) beginner learners' perceptions of their identities and relationships with Japanese and Japanese learning, I chose multiple case studies for this research. After addressing my epistemological stance and research methodology, I introduced the profiles of the participants and the process of data collection and analysis.

It is my hope that this may lay the groundwork for the following chapters: 'The

teachers' perceptions of HL learners' (Chapter 5), 'The findings of each learner's case' (Chapter 6), and 'The findings across cases' (Chapter 7).

Chapter 5 Teachers' Perceptions of Heritage Language Learners

Overview

In this chapter, I present my findings from the teacher participants' data, and discuss their perceptions of Japanese heritage language (HL) learners and learning. I thus contextualize adult Japanese HL learning in Quebec through university instructors' testimonies and statements. In order to understand the learning context of adult Japanese HL learners in Quebec, I interviewed five former and current instructors and one teaching assistant about three points: 1) how HL education is perceived and understood by instructors in post-secondary education, 2) how HL learners are understood by instructors in post-secondary education in terms of their proficiency and motivation for learning, and 3) how HL learners are treated or believed to be treated in actual university courses by instructors in post-secondary education.

Heritage Language Education at an Early Age

One instructor who raised her children in the 1970s stated that we see more Japanese mothers speaking Japanese to their children in Quebec now compared to when she raised her children. She believes that this relates to a large extent to changes in the status of Japan and the Japanese language in the international community. In this changed context, how do Japanese language instructors at post-secondary levels perceive and understand Japanese heritage language (HL) education? Is it perceived as offering an economic advantage, or other benefits?

In the interviews, all instructors showed a positive view of Japanese HL education. They recommended that immigrant descendants learn Japanese at an early age by saying,"自分を豊かにする財産なのだから、投資である[It (a heritage language) is an asset which can provide personal enrichment. It is an investment.]" (Akihiko, October 12, 2011), and "親が日本で育ってきたのであれば、家庭内で精神的に日本語に頼りたいだろうから、家庭内では

必要 [Because parents who grew up in Japan may rely on Japanese emotionally at home, it (using Japanese at home) is necessary.]" (Katsuya, September 23, 2011).

Interestingly, their reasons for recommending heritage language (HL) learning seemed to closely relate to the particular linguistic characteristics of Japanese, the value of Japanese as a language tool, and the regional characteristics of Montreal, the most urban area of Quebec. First of all, instructors suggested that Japanese had a rarity value because it is a difficult language to learn as an adult, and is also a minority language in Canada. It appears that although it varies depending on the person's proficiency and location, this rarity value gives Japanese users better and more employment opportunities in the job market than other language users. Instructor Akihiko, who majored in comparative linguistics in his doctoral studies, argued that Japanese is linguistically distant from English and French, which are the official local languages in Canada. Therefore, for adults who already know English and/or French, Japanese seems quite unfamiliar and "大人になってから取り掛かるにはエネルギーが必要 [Learning Japanese as an adult requires a great amount of energy.]" (October 12, 2011). Due to the fact that Japanese users need to understand and use three writing systems all together in the course of their day-to-day activities, literacy is crucially important in Japanese learning. On the one hand, this linguistic characteristic of Japanese attracts many adult foreign language (FL) learners, but at the same time, it requires a considerable amount of motivation and devotion. Akihiro explained that starting to learn Japanese at an early age (as a mother tongue) is a great opportunity for the learner to acquire Japanese without such pressure or barriers. He further stated, "それを逃すのはあまりにも惜しい[It's a shame to let such an opportunity pass.]" (October 12, 2011).

Another reason that instructors cited was the local value and expectation for immigrant children to become multi-language users in this multilingual society of Montreal. Comparing it

to other regions such as Europe or South America where they had experience living in the past, all instructors claimed that this city had a much more multi-lingual atmosphere. The 'multi-lingual atmosphere' they refer to does not mean 'societal multilingualism', but rather 'individual multilingualism.' The instructors explained that although many languages exist and are used in Europe, South America and so forth as well, they felt that the population of multilinguals (i.e., people who use three or more languages) in Montreal was much higher than in those regions. Children from immigrant families are expected to become trilinguals (bilinguals in the case of immigrant families from English/French speaking countries) because of this linguistic situation. In the case of children from Japanese immigrant families, including children from inter-ethnic marriages, instructor Akihiko says that whereas children from 'Anglophone' families becoming English-French bilinguals is perceived as a predictable result, children of Japanese parent(s) (i.e., children from 'Allophone' families) becoming English-French bilinguals without Japanese (i.e., mother tongue other than English or French) is perceived as a failure by the local people. As a result, it leads to a negative evaluation of their language abilities and the impression of "逃した魚は大きい [the fish you lose is the biggest.]" (October 12, 2011) and "チャンスを逃した [you missed a chance.]" (October 12, 2011).

However, one participant suggested that more weight is put on the quantity rather than quality of multilinguals in Quebec. Orie, who raised two children to be multilinguals, stated that:

> 一つ自分の言葉をきっちり作ってあげるのも親の役目だと思う。そうしないと「セミリンガル」っていう言葉あるでしょ？あれになる。・・・・・・どれもレベルがあまり上手になれないっていう、それはかわいそう。・・・・・・それでも３ヶ国語、４ヶ国語を話すというレッテルは貼られるのね。[It is also a parent's responsibility to make sure their child acquires one language properly. You

> know the word 'semi-lingual[1]' right? Otherwise, that is what the child becomes …… They cannot reach high level in any of the languages. I feel sorry for them. …… But still they are labeled 'trilingual' 'quadlingual' and so on]." (Orie, May 29, 2012)

She does not deny the benefit of multilingualism nor the idea that knowing many languages is good. Rather, thinking of immigrant children, she fears the social pressure that may be producing many semi-linguals/double limited language users, and emphasizes the importance of paying attention to each child's knowledge of each language. It is hard to paint a precise picture of multi-language users in Quebec or Montreal, such as how proficient each user is, and the actual function and quality of multilingualism in Montreal as a multilingual society (i.e., compared to other cities/provinces, how flexible language standards among people in everyday life for each language are, and how tolerant to 'errors' they are). However, Orie's statement may indicate the influence of the ideology of 'multilingualism' in this region and the possibility that this ideology encourages HL learning at early age to a certain degree. It appears that the locality of Montreal and the linguistic characteristics of Japanese have had an impact on the development of positive attitudes and views for HL education for children in Quebec or Montreal. However, these positive views of HL education do not simply lead to support from the teachers for Japanese language classes for young children. Among the teachers I interviewed, there was a difference of opinion regarding such classes between permanent resident teachers who had experience teaching or sending their own children to such classes in Quebec, and a teaching assistant who lived in Quebec temporarily and had no relationship with such classes. With respect to vocabulary acquisition, the use of language, and the motivation for language use, the teachers

[1] A person who knows more than two languages but with limited knowledge and skills in all languages. The term originated in Sweden in the late 1960's and was used widely in the field of second language acquisition. However, because of its focus of value rather than fact and its negative connotation, it is no longer used.

who had lived in Quebec for a long time suggested that heritage language schools and courses would be the best place to learn heritage languages. They stated that learning a HL properly at schools such as "補習校 [Hoshuko]" had a great influence on children's acquisition of the language. Hoshuko was originally established for the purpose of supporting Japanese children temporarily residing outside of Japan to readapt themselves into the Japanese education system smoothly on their return. Therefore, the program follows the national educational curriculum of Japan. The Japanese language is taught as a national language (mother tongue); and other subjects such as mathematics, science, and social studies are taught in Japanese.

On the other hand, based on his experience teaching at an HL school in the U.S., the teaching assistant, Katsuya, stated in a forceful tone:

> （日本語学校に通わせるのは）ほとんど親のエゴだと思う。親が集まりたいということで子どもの意見を無視して学校に通わせているように見えた。無理強いして学校に行かせなくても、家でやればいいのではないか。[I think that (sending a child to a Japanese school) came from the parents' ego. It seemed that they were sending their children to the school without considering those children's feelings/opinions, just because they wanted to get together with other parents. Instead of pushing children to go to schools, it (HL learning) can be done at home.] (Katsuya, September 23, 2011)

Later, he added that his negative view may have been linked to the regional characteristics of the small U.S. town where the school was located, and that the situation may be different in Montreal, which is a relatively large city. He said that the area where he had worked was "the middle of nowhere" (September 23, 2011), and that Japanese immigrants may have felt isolated, and getting together at the school may have been the only the enjoyment they had.

According to CensusViewer (2019), the population of Asians in that state comprised only 1.25% – 1.74% of the total state population between 2000 and 2010, around the time that Katsuya was there.

Although it is difficult to generalize on the basis of the above points because these testimonies were collected from a limited number of people over a limited period of time, it appears that Japanese HL education for children receives a positive reception from the local Japanese/Japanese -Canadian community in Quebec at a certain level. Currently in Montreal, Hoshuko and the Japanese Language Center offer Japanese courses for children.

With regard to methodology, Hoshuko offers a total immersion context, in which all courses, in addition to Japanese language courses, are taught in Japanese. By contrast, the Japanese Language Center offers only Japanese language courses: HL courses for children, and foreign language (FL) courses for adults. In the HL classes, although instructions are also given in Japanese, the aim of the program is purely to learn Japanese, and no other subjects are taught. In these institutions, HL learners can learn Japanese until Grade 9; after that, there is almost no option to continue learning Japanese except through private tutoring. This means that there is a gap of at least three to four years with no opportunity to study Japanese formally before these learners enter university courses.

Recognition of Japanese Heritage Language Learners

Almost all instructors categorized heritage language (HL) learners into two groups. They defined one group as advanced level learners with a strong command of colloquial speech and the other as learners with Asian features and/or Japanese names but no Japanese knowledge. Some of them mentioned that the first group of learners often had Japanese mothers and the latter tended to have Japanese fathers or were third to fourth generation Japanese immigrants

themselves. There was also mention of the recently widening gap in proficiency levels among learners. The retired instructors Emiko and Orie explained that this widening proficiency gap applied not only to HL learners but also to all Japanese learners, and they attributed this mostly to recent advancements in technology and rapid globalization. In this era of technology and globalization, there are more opportunities to visit Japan, watch Japanese drama and/or animation, and listen to Japanese music. compared to a couple of decades ago. Even in a foreign language context, the sources of Japanese input and the situations in which learning occurs are not limited to the classroom. As in second language contexts, depending on their financial states and interests, some learners can have access to much more Japanese input and many more learning opportunities outside of class than others.

The instructors identified differences in some specific areas of language skills and performance between foreign language (FL) learners and HL learners. All the instructors said that they found no difference at the beginner level between HL learners and FL learners, but saw a large difference among advanced level learners. They noted that whereas oral language competence such as speech fluency and pronunciation was much higher for HL than for FL learners, improvements in their reading and writing skills in class came relatively slowly (e.g., inaccuracy in spelling and persistency of errors). This reveals an imbalance in their language skills, in that they appear to have a large vocabulary and high language competence, but in fact they are using the same kinds of words and expressions repeatedly. This situation agrees with Hornberger & Wang's (2008) "Swiss cheese" analogy (p.22; i.e., the "holes" in HL learners' abilities are unbalanced and unpredictable like Swiss cheese). Some instructors consider the cause of this situation to be psychological: "まわりも本人もできると思って安心しているから（学習に対して）熱心でない。[Both the learners themselves and the people around them

think that they can do well (in Japanese learning). Thus, they take things easy, and don't feel so enthusiastic about learning.]" (Ikumi, April 5, 2012), "努力しないとと（こちらは）いうんだけど、怠慢。[I urged them (HL learners) to make further efforts, but (they are) lazy.]" (Emiko, May 22, 2012), and "胡坐をかいている感じでやらない。間違いが固まってしまっている。[It is like 'resting on laurels.' They make the same errors repeatedly and persistently.]" (Katsuya, September 23, 2011). However, at the same time, the instructors showed uncertainty and commented: "話せるようになるのと読み書きの学習開始時期との間隔に Critical age のようなものがあり、あまり間があくと逆に習得が難しくなるのではないか。Blockage のようなものを指導していて感じる。[I have been thinking that there might be a kind of 'critical age' between the time that children start to talk and the time they start to learn reading and writing, and if they wait too long, language learning becomes a lot harder after that. I could sense some kind of blockage when I was teaching Japanese to HL learners.]" (Uta, September 30, 2011), "やらないというか、やってもできないのかもしれない。[It is more like they *cannot* do it than they *do not* do it.]" (Katsuya, September 23, 2011), and "まわりも本人も『こんなに話せるのに』というジレンマを感じているのではないか。[Both the learners themselves and the people around them might be faced with a dilemma like, 'I/he/she can speak this well. Why can't I/he/she {do better in class}?']" (Uta, September 30, 2011). Either explanation relates to 'positioning'; that is, how learners and the people around them position them as language learners and/or users.

As for the HL learners' limited vocabulary knowledge, the instructors understood that "親や友達とのやり取りでは、決まった言葉しか使っていないので、母語話者と同じような語彙は得られない。[Because people use specific and limited vocabulary in the

information exchanged among family members and friends, learners cannot acquire the same kind of vocabulary as native speakers.]" (Orie, May 29, 2012) and "語彙はきちんと『勉強』しなければ、ある一定のところ以上は増えない [Especially for vocabulary, they can't go beyond a certain level if they don't 'study' it formally.]" (Orie, May 29, 2012). In the field of HL learning, it is generally believed that HL learners have a good command of spoken language but have trouble with written language; however, these instructors' testimonies show that HL learners have difficulty learning vocabulary whether it is spoken or written.

Other than skills, the instructors mentioned things related to motivation and identity as differences between FL learners and HL learners, such as reason for learning and learning goals. Katsuya, the teaching assistant who used to teach in a small town in the U.S., stated that Japanese language learners in Montreal had more opportunities to go to Japan because of their urban living environment and that they have "リアルな [real]" (September 23, 2011) and clear learning goals that they can relate to their future, that they "日本語を使ってこういうことがしたい [want to do things like this in Japanese]" (September 23, 2011). As for the case of HL learners, he explained that because HL learners had relatives in Japan, there was a greater likelihood of needing Japanese in the future compared to FL learners, so their learning goals became more real.

However, at the same time, comments from the instructors who had long teaching careers in Quebec pointed out that the reality and/or concreteness of the HL learners' learning goals are not always proportionate to the strength of their motivation for learning. One former instructor, Emiko, says, "継承語学習者の場合、日本語が完全にコミュニケーションの道具になっていて、言語としての文化的要素を失っている。[In the case of heritage language learners, for them, the Japanese language has become simply a communication tool and

has lost its cultural element.]" (May 22, 2012). Ikumi, a current instructor and mother of an HL learner, gave comments similar to Emiko's. Ikumi explained that the lack of a cultural element leads to a low degree of interest in the cultural aspect of Japanese, and because of that, HL learners lack the incentive to study Japanese (to do learning activities as such) compared to FL learners who have a strong interest in Japanese culture. Ikumi stated, "日本にいるおじいちゃん、おばあちゃんと話したいというだけでは、（学習）動機は弱い。[The goal of being able to communicate with grandparents in Japan is not strong enough to motivate them to actually learn Japanese.]" (April 5, 2012).

As for identity, Orie, who taught her own child in her own university course, pointed out the fluidity and hybridity of HL learners' identities, which agree with the findings of earlier studies about bi-/multi-linguals' identities. Orie stated, "一つに定まらないところに生きている [They live in a fluid and wobbly realm.]", "本人は最初は自分は毛色が変わっていると感じていたようだが、後に自分は二つのものをもっていると思うようになったらしい [It seemed that my daughter first felt that she was different from other children, but later, she started to see herself as a person who has two things whereas others have only one.]", and "私のように『日本人』というのとは違う世界にいる [They live in a different world from the one that I as 'a Japanese' live in.]" (May 29, 2012). With respect to this point, another instructor, Akihiko, mentioned the influence of the belief in things innate in Japan. He says, "血の流れ、コントロールできないことに重きをおく。 [Japanese people put more weight on things that are out of their own control, such as bloodline.]" (October 12, 2011). What Akihiko means is that having a Japanese bloodline has added high value for Japanese HL learners in terms of identity construction, and they cannot ignore it or mix it with other things. That is, they feel that they

have something with a rarity value which other learners can never obtain. He therefore assumes that HL learners believe that Japanese ability is a part of their inheritance, something innate, and may thus feel a strong sense of embarrassment if they were not able to acquire Japanese as children, which their parents inherited and use easily and naturally. As a result, they sometimes hesitate to continue or restart learning Japanese as adults.

The Current Situation of Japanese Education for Adult Japanese Heritage Language Learners

At universities in Quebec, currently, heritage language (HL) learners are learning Japanese in proficiency-based courses together with foreign language (FL) learners. In this situation, what difficulties and/or benefits do instructors perceive when teaching those mixed classes? During the interviews, all instructors answered that they found no particular difficulties or benefits in beginners' classes. On the other hand, they gave me several examples and stories about difficulties and benefits they encountered when teaching intermediate or advanced level courses.

As benefits, the instructors noted that FL learners were stimulated by hearing HL learners' stories about Japan, and FL learners benefited in oral practice and oral assignments from HL learners' oral skills. It appears that most of the benefits teachers identified in mixed classes were benefits for FL learners. As for difficulties, some instructors cited competition between HL learners and FL learners in terms of proficiency. They explained that HL learners feel that "自分はできる [I can do well. I am good at Japanese.]" (Ikumi, April 5, 2012), while FL learners feel like they have been "純粋培養 [cultivated purely in class]" (Orie, May 29, 2012), and therefore feel inferior and have qualms about participating in class. However, in contrast to this statement, another instructor talked about complaints that she had received from

FL learners that HL learners' lack of basic grammar knowledge was negatively affecting their learning. She said that because HL learners sometimes lack basic grammar knowledge such as verb/adjective conjugation and forms, they make mistakes that are normally considered to be elementary level errors. To support them in correcting those errors, the instructor provided grammar explanations and reviewed those basic grammar points in class. The FL-learner students disliked this, and viewed it as a disruption to their learning. Although it is clear that rivalries between the two groups of learners may create obstacles to their learning in some way, the power relationship between the two groups is not fixed, but fluid and changing depending on the learning content and skills targeted.

As for the future prospects for teaching HL learners in university courses, all the instructors expected no changes in Montreal or Quebec. Many of them suggested that separate tracks for HL learners would be beneficial to intermediate and/or advanced level learners when there is a wide proficiency gap between HL learners and FL learners, as this would be more fair in terms of evaluation and would eliminate the wasted time in teaching/learning. From his experience teaching mixed classes, Akihiko suggested the possibility that separate tracks would give HL learners a chance to share their problems and to improve their Japanese through friendly competition in terms of learning goals and identity construction. He believed that this situation may bring them a sense of connectedness and/or solidarity. However, regarding the introduction of separate tracks, all instructors showed some hesitation by emphasizing the regional characteristics of Quebec or Montreal, "アメリカ、トロントやバンクーバーなど他の地域ではありえるが、 ここではニーズがない [Places like the U.S., Toronto, and Vancouver may be able to offer such courses, but there is not enough need for that here.]" (Akihiko, October 12, 2011) and "ここはまだそういう時代にはならない [It's not time for that here yet.]"

(Emiko, May 22, 2012). These comments are likely rooted in the fact that the Japanese population is still small both in Quebec and Montreal, where French proficiency is also required to work and study. In practice, at the administration and management levels, it is difficult for universities to offer such new courses unless the courses can secure a certain enrolment. Although Montreal is the second largest city in Canada in terms of population, the numbers of Japanese Canadians and Japanese immigrants are much smaller than in other Canadian cities such as Vancouver and Toronto. It is likely that the instructors' statements were made based on their understandings of this situation. Furthermore, since there is not much difference in proficiencies between HL and FL learners at the beginner level, they did not see any point in having separate tracks at this level.

Summary

In this chapter, I discussed the teachers' perceptions of Japanese heritage language (HL) learners and learning by presenting my findings from the teacher participants' data. Instructors' comments and testimonies showed that Japanese HL education at an early age was perceived relatively positively by post-secondary level instructors in Quebec. They also indicated a certain connection between their understanding of HL learners and the proficiency level of HL learners. It seems that instructors recognized two different types of HL learners: advanced/intermediate level HL learners and beginner level HL learners, and find it more challenging to teach the former. Although it is not fixed, there is a power relationship between HL learners and FL learners in advanced/intermediate class, and it leads to competition between them in terms of proficiency. In terms of proficiency, adult Japanese HL beginner learners are viewed and treated the same way as Japanese foreign language (FL) learners (i.e., learners with no Japanese background) in university classes in Quebec. However, the instructors still feel and/or see those

Japanese HL beginner learners as different from FL learners in terms of their learning motivations and identities. HL learners' Japanese learning goals are more 'real' than those of FL learners. However, the reality and/or concreteness of the learning goals are not always proportionate to the strength of the learners' motivation for learning. Also, because HL learners see Japanese language as a part of their inheritance in relation to identity construction, it is not simple for them to continue or relearn Japanese as adults.

This chapter has given some context for adult Japanese HL learning in Quebec as background to the findings for the individual learners, presented in the following chapter (Chapter 6) and the discussion of the cross-case findings (Chapter 7).

Chapter 6 Portraits of Re-learners with Japanese Heritage

Overview

In this chapter, I introduce four re-learners with Japanese heritage in relation to their Japanese re-learning trajectories. Since my research focuses on the meanings of Japanese for the re-learners and its influence on their learning, and because my background is that of a Japanese language teacher and Japanese immigrant to Canada, I focus specifically on three types of experiences: experiences related to Japanese language, experiences related to Japanese heritage, and general language experiences in Canada and Montreal. During my interviews with participants, I found that our conversations naturally moved to these topics, perhaps due to a certain shared sense of reality between myself and the four re-learners. In the following sections, I describe some themes that emerged in the stories the learners shared about their experiences, and I explore the rationales underlying their decisions in relation to Japanese learning. To be more specific, I address how they negotiated suitable compromises for themselves and made decisions that they found personally acceptable.

The Case of Mayumi

Mayumi was born in Switzerland to a Canadian father (third generation Japanese Canadian) and a Japanese mother, and moved to Canada with her parents and her two younger sisters at the age of six. Since then, she has been living in Montreal. As mentioned in Chapter 4 (see Learner Participants, p.75), her parents did not use Japanese much at home. She communicated with her parents in English and some French. After completing her primary and secondary education in French, she went to an English *Collège d'enseignement général et professionnel* (CÉGEP) and university. CÉGEPs are pre-university schools publicly funded in the Quebec education system, which corresponds to grade 12 and the first year of university in

other Canadian provinces. In two interviews (September 28, 2011; January 11, 2012) and 22 diary entries over a period of three months (October 2, 2011 – December 12, 2011), it was clear that Mayumi was truly committed to reflecting back on her childhood memories and past experiences with Japanese language and culture in Montreal, and to thinking about her more recent experiences with Japanese learning in Montreal and Japan. While she and her boyfriend Mike, who was also a Japanese language learner, were traveling in Japan (November 22, 2011 – December 22, 2011), they wrote joint diaries using Google Documents so that I could follow their travel experiences. This allowed me to get a real sense of their positive experiences as well as their troubles and concerns. In order to understand Mayumi's experiences in depth, I also had Mike's help. At the time of data collection (September 28, 2011 – January 11, 2012), Mayumi and Mike were living with Mike's parents and had been studying Japanese together. They had also been to Japan together twice. One of their purposes in visiting Japan was to meet Mike's oldest brother and his Japanese girlfriend who were living in Japan. Mike participated in two interviews (September 28, 2011; January 11, 2012) and made four individual diary entries. As I explained in Chapter 4 (see Learner Participants, p.79), although Mike was a FL learner and I did not include his portrait in this study, I used his data as supporting data because he happened to be Mayumi's boyfriend and classmate. Looking back at my memories from their Japanese class, I found that their relationship meant a lot to Mayumi in terms of Japanese learning and identity construction. The inclusion of Mike's data helped me to understand Mayumi's experience with Japanese and her identity construction as a whole.

Fluidity and Diversity in Conceptions of 'Japanese-ness' and 'Canadian-ness'

In interviews and diaries, Mayumi and I talked about her feelings and experiences related to her Japanese heritage, or what she referred to as her "Japanese part" (Interview,

January 11, 2012). Giving several examples, Mayumi described how she understood other people's intentions and the expectations in regard to 'Japanese-ness' underlying their attitudes toward her. She expressed her concerns about disappointing those people and herself. Through our discussions, I realized that Mayumi's relationship with Japanese language and her experiences of Japanese language learning were likely an extension of her experiences of ethnicity (i.e., her experiences as a visible minority, greatly influenced her relationship with Japanese language and Japanese language learning experiences). These experiences made her think more about the notion of 'Japanese-ness (i.e., the quality of being Japanese)' and 'Canadian-ness (i.e., the quality of being Canadian)'. Throughout her life, Mayumi had apparently been reshaping what Japanese heritage and/or Japanese language meant to her. She was motivated and/or demotivated to learn Japanese through experiences rooted in her ethnicity and through her understandings of 'Japanese-ness' and 'Canadian-ness'. In this section, I will describe what I saw of her ideas and understandings of 'Japanese-ness' and 'Canadian-ness', and how she seemed to contextualize those ideas and understandings through her experiences with Japanese as an adult.

Locality: Being Japanese is "My Charm, Safety". The experience of growing up in Quebec added another layer to Mayumi's understanding of herself and of Japanese-ness/Canadian-ness. It offered her a context in which she could choose to belong to one group at one time, and another group at other times, and she thus acquired an ability to cross over between different groups and identities freely and created her own ways of using that ability. Such ability and identities cannot be fully expressed through categories such as 'Canadian', 'Japanese', or 'Japanese-Canadian' which appear in, for example, Canadian history textbooks. Mayumi's understanding of herself and of Japanese-ness/Canadian-ness reveal much more

flexibility and a more complex internal logic than a simple integration of the notions of Japanese(ness) and Canadian(ness).

Mayumi explained that living in Quebec meant that "there are lots of clashes between Anglophone mentality and Francophone mentality, like forced mergers" (Interview, September 28, 2011), but the fact that she had Japanese heritage helped her avoid becoming involved in such "clashes." Her Japanese heritage was her "charm, safety" (Interview, September 28, 2011), especially when she was in high school, where "teenagers are […] loud about their opinions" (Interview, September 28, 2011). When Mayumi was in high school, there was a great deal of drama stemming from the social separation of Anglophones and Francophones. Since she had friends in both groups, this situation was very hard for her and she felt as if she were "being pulled either way" (Interview, September 28, 2011). To avoid taking sides in such situations, she usually told her friends, "Oh no, I am Japanese-Canadian. I am different. I am not French-Canadian or English-Canadian […] I have nothing to do with this. I have no opinion because I am Japanese-Canadian" (Interview, September 28, 2011). By identifying herself as 'Japanese-Canadian', she was able to remain politically and culturally neutral and was able to avoid membership in either the Anglophone or the Francophone group. Her friends did not go any further in asking her for comments on 'Anglophone-Francophone' issues. Mayumi believed that both groups were ultimately saying the same thing, and that it would be better for them to talk to each other than to yell at each other (Interview, January 11, 2012), but she chose not to become involved in such arguments. She was "happy to have" this neutrality, which was rooted in her Japanese heritage (Interview, September 28, 2011).

Mayumi's comments about enjoying a sense of neutrality made me wonder if she also felt a sense of exclusion and/or rootlessness. However, she explained that not belonging to a certain

group was not very significant or important to her because she had “a good group of friends” (Interview, September 28, 2011) and was fluent in both English and French.

> I think so [a person’s language ability influences the way he/she sees him-/her-self]. Actually I think that to……well, like I said, you know, that there in my high school there was a separation of Anglophones, Francophones, so that the fact that I can speak both languages fluently and the fact that I sort of belong to both groups made it such that I belong to neither in certain cases, so that only did have an effect on where I felt that I belong so that’s how I saw myself also, I guess. (Interview, September 28, 2011)

Since she had been in the French educational system and used English at home and in her neighborhood, she learned both languages simultaneously and became fluent in both. Her English-French bilingualism gave her access to both Anglophone and Francophone groups, and she was not completely detached from either of them. Depending on the context, she could be a member of an Anglophone/English-Canadian group or groups, a Francophone/French-Canadian group or groups, or unattached. Her language abilities seemed to give her flexibility in developing an identity for herself in the Quebec context. However, it must be noted that her Japanese ability did not carry much weight in this context where she identified herself to her friends who already knew her to some extent. This is probably because what was important to those people was not whether she belonged to the Japanese group or not, but the fact that she did ‘not’ belong to either the Anglophone group or the Francophone group. Although “teenagers are [were] loud about their opinions” (Interview, September 28, 2011), her ‘good friends’ did not needlessly pry into her ethnic and cultural background. For them, her Asian looks and Japanese family name were enough proof of her Japanese heritage and her lack of both an Anglophone mentality/background and a Francophone mentality/background.

In the context of the local community of Montreal, Mayumi seemed to choose her positioning from among multiple options rather than as an either-or binary. However, this is not to say that Mayumi would "select" an identity such as "Japanese" or "Canadian" as though from off a shelf. Rather, she seemed to be saying that "if you look at me from this side, I am Japanese, but if you look at me from another side, I am English-/French-Canadian…" In other words, she herself did not change anything (e.g., in behavior and appearance); rather, people's perspective of her shifted from one to the other (e.g., ethnically and linguistically). Although she used the word 'Japanese part', this likely did not mean that she identified clearly separated parts inside herself. Rather, it more likely suggests that people could see and/or understand her differently from different angles. This kind of situation may not emerge or become apparent in countries where a majority of people are monolinguals and there is not much political or cultural friction. This could be said of other provinces in Canada, and Mayumi's situation may not apply to all 'Japanese-Canadians'. This may be one of the reasons that Mayumi did not use the term 'Japanese-Canadian' consistently to identify herself in interviews and diaries. In the past, she had identified herself as Japanese-Canadian to her friends. However, when she was describing those episodes to me, she never identified as Japanese-Canadian, but rather described herself as someone with Japanese heritage or a 'Japanese part'. When she considered her own experiences in the local community from an outsider's view, they looked different from her image of who or what a 'Japanese-Canadian' was, and the term 'Japanese-Canadian' could not quite encompass all her experiences. Her Allophone (i.e., speakers of other languages than English and French) experiences and mentality were probably not included in her ideas of Canadian-ness or Japanese-ness.

Degree of 'Canadian-ness' and 'Japanese-ness': "More" and "not a Whole". As seen in Mayumi's experiences in the local society, some different elements such as language, physical appearance, and family name influenced her own and others' ideas of who she was, such as 'Japanese', 'Japanese Canadian', 'English Canadian', or 'French Canadian'. Rooted in such experiences, she seemed to understand 'Canadian-ness' or 'Canadian-ness in Quebec' and 'Japanese-ness' as multifaceted concepts. From her perspective, 'Canadian-ness', changed depending on the angle from which one looked at it. One of the experiences she described shows how she tried to use this idea to deal with a difficult situation related to her roots:

> […] one point, I was in the bus, people were yelling at me that I should go back to my home country. Then, I told them, "why don't you?" because everyone in Canada is pretty much immigrant, you know? No one is native Canadian or native aboriginal, you know? But they didn't get it. So, they didn't understand my historical reference. […] Joke in a sense. My father was born in Canada. His father [Mayumi's grandfather] was born in Canada. My mother came from Japan. And Mike's father came from England, and his mother, her family came from Argentina. So…like technically, I am more Canadian than he is if we go get background wise. But it doesn't show. (Interview, September 28, 2011)

Visually, Mayumi was not accepted as 'Canadian' or 'Canadian in Quebec' by some other Canadians, and was thus not expected to speak French (Interview, September 28, 2011). Nevertheless, she is technically more Canadian than Mike, whose ancestors immigrated to Canada much later than Mayumi's ancestors did. Based on this awareness, she tried to change the views of people who questioned her 'Canadian-ness'

For Mayumi, it was not only 'Canadian-ness' which seemed to be multifaceted, but also 'Japanese-ness'. In an interview, Mayumi explained that the meaning of being 'Japanese' had

many different aspects:

> The things about looking Japanese, I might look Japanese, but I don't dress or act or speak Japanese. So it was, I think to the Japanese people, it was very obvious that I was not Japanese. Although I like, I look like someone who might have, maybe maybe my parents might have taught me Japanese, but I am definitely, you know, not Japanese as a whole. So, I think the people in Japan were happy when I spoke just a bit of Japanese. So that, you know, they didn't really expect anything much. So, like they were happy, always happy, always polite. (Interview, September 28, 2011)

'Japanese-ness', as one of the facets of Mayumi's identity, was expressed in different ways such as through her physical appearance and behavior, as well as through her Japanese language ability.

Furthermore, as is evident from her description of herself as "not Japanese as a whole" (Interview, September 28, 2011), for Mayumi, 'being Japanese' was likely a matter of degree. However, to be recognized as Japanese by Japanese people, she needed to fulfill all of the aspects and areas of Japanese-ness. This may also be true of 'Canadian-ness'. She felt that she was technically more Canadian than other Canadian people such as Mike; however, other Canadian people did not recognize her as Canadian 'as a whole' because of her visible Asian ethnicity. There was a conflict between her sense of belonging to various Japanese/Canadian groups, and the group members' general conception of what it meant to be Japanese/Canadian. Possessing certain qualities of Japanese-ness/Canadian-ness did not necessarily guarantee acceptance as Japanese/Canadian by the group members. Therefore, Mayumi was fine with simply discussing the topics of Japanese-ness/Canadian-ness with the members of these groups, but she was troubled when she sensed that the discussion was focused on whether or not she

'qualified' as Japanese and/or Canadian and therefore was a 'legitimate' member of the group. This was especially the case when Canadian people saw her as Japanese and 'not Canadian as a whole'. Interestingly, she minded less when Japanese people saw her as Canadian and not 'Japanese as a whole'. This was probably because she felt much more connected to Canadian culture than to Japanese culture, and there was a greater gap between her sense of belonging to the Canadian group and the Canadian people's judgment of her identity as such.

In relation to her connection with culture, she explained how it is difficult for her to distinguish between, and discuss, Canadian culture and Japanese culture. "There are some things that are little foreign" (Interview, September 28, 2011) to her about Canadian culture, and she could not really pinpoint which things she was familiar with from Japanese culture. With regards to Japanese culture, she stated,

> My mother has given, has, I guess, given me a lot of her heritage. But it wasn't like, "oh this is the Japanese way." It was like, "this is how things should be." So, I can't really say that certain things I feel are specifically Japanese. I just know that that's how my mother brought me up, that's how I know. When someone asks me like "do you really live in a very Japanese household?", I cannot really say "yes" or "no" because that was my parents' household, and I know that it is different from what I have seen in Japan, but also it's different a lot from what I've seen in Canada. It's my parents' household. (Interview, September 28, 2011)

However, when it came to the question as to which culture she 'feels' more attached to, she answered, "I probably associate most with Canadian culture just because I have lived here most of my life. I know that there are some things that are little foreign to me from Canadian culture. Still, but you know, it's still probably the closest thing for me" (Interview, September 28, 2011).

Thus, whereas she did not mind much when Japanese people did not recognize her as Japanese, when other Canadians did not recognize her as Canadian, she may have felt more uncomfortable or that something was not quite right.

Canadian-ness/Japanese-ness played an important role when Mayumi thought about who she was in terms of her relationships with or membership in Japanese/Canadian groups. However, there are various aspects to the notions of 'Canadian-ness' and 'Japanese-ness' and these cover a wide range of spheres; the impact of each point/item in the spheres on those relationships and memberships may vary. For example, whereas English/French abilities (i.e., language aspect of Canadian-ness) were very important for Mayumi to be associated with 'Canadian' groups, Japanese ability (i.e., language part of Japanese-ness) did not have much impact on her relationship with the 'Japanese' group. On the other hand, her visible ethnicity (i.e., visual part of Canadian-ness/Japanese-ness) had a significant impact on her relationships with both the Japanese group and the Canadian group.

Contextualization of 'Canadian-ness' and 'Japanese-ness' through Japanese Re-learning. Mayumi inherited some kinds of 'Japanese-ness' from her mother, and there were certain feelings and experiences that they shared. One of these such signs of 'Japanese-ness' was her visibly racial connection with Japan (i.e., Japanese and/or Asian looks and ethnicity). This influenced people's attitudes toward her, and such attitudes made her uneasy,

> Yeah. It's a little weird 'cause I know that some people who do ask might be kind of fanatical about Asian people like Japanese people. There was also a weird situation in my CEGEP where someone asked me, "what's your ethnicity?" and I answered "Japanese" and suddenly the room goes quiet. Never seen Japanese people, it hasn't been any Japanese people in this club, or whatever for a long time; and I am thinking "oh oh what I

> got myself into?" Suddenly I am very popular. This is weird. I don't know I was like a mascot, like I am an ambassador or something from Japan, but I am not from Japan. (Interview, September 28, 2011)

Her Japanese ethnicity piqued people's interest and curiosity; however, she knew that she could not fulfill their interest/curiosity. In such situations, the extent of their enthusiasm for her 'Japanese-ness' made her feel uneasy. She explained that this was a feeling she shared with her mother, and why she felt that way,

> She [mother] doesn't like excessive interest shown to it [Japanese ethnicity]. I was little worried and I feel that a bit too. I think I got a little bit of conflicts. I worry that someone is interested in me because I am Japanese not because of who I am because that happened before. So yeah, I have a little bit of unease when it comes to that, but because I trust Mike and his family by the way the enthusiasm shown I knew it was about the place not because of me in any way. (Interview, September 28, 2011)

Through past experiences, she learned that there were some people who focused exclusively on her 'Japanese-ness', which was only one part of her identity, and was something that many other Japanese people also shared. In other words, she knew that there was a possibility that when people were showing excessive interest in her ethnicity, they might be ignoring her uniqueness as a person. That is why she felt uneasy and was hesitant to make friends with such people. This also seemed to have influenced her Japanese-language learning style.

Mayumi appeared to prefer studying through formal classes, books, and communication with her Japanese friends. She was not eager to participate in activities or events outside of class such as language exchanges, where she would meet many other Japanese language learners interested in talking with Japanese people. Even though she participated as a Japanese language

learner, there was a chance that some other Japanese learners may try to become friends with her simply based on their strong interest in Japanese culture and/or Japanese people (Diary, November 9, 2011). Since she cannot change the ethnic part of her 'Japanese-ness', she chose to avoid situations where her ethnicity may be a factor in people's attitudes.

Mayumi also inherited some cultural aspects of 'Japanese-ness' from her parents, especially from her mother. As the episode in the previous section shows, although she was not quite sure whether it was a matter of 'Japanese culture', Mayumi learned some elements of Japanese culture at home through observing her mother's behavior, using Japanese words in the kitchen, watching Japanese films, reading Japanese children's books, and so on. She seems to have had little difficulty acquiring some Japanese cultural knowledge (i.e., objective superficial knowledge) such as traditional Japanese cuisine and myths/folk tales. However, she had a hard time fully understanding and using Japanese cultural concepts (i.e., deep conceptual knowledge) such as 義理 [*Giri*: moral obligation/responsibility/a sense of duty]. She knows the word and its English meaning literally and can feel the sense of *giri*; however, to her, it is unclear what exactly the Japanese people expect from her in terms of *giri* and how she should handle each actual situation involving *giri*. In interviews and diaries, she repeatedly expressed her distress related to *giri*,

> We [Mayumi and Mike] just had to send him [Mike's brother who lives in Japan] back with many many gifts for her [brother's Japanese girlfriend's] family. Part of this is what I felt was the right thing to do (and I wanted to repay and do justice to their kindness), another part was what I knew (from Japanese customs learnt from my mother and other sources) that it was how things were done. I think my mother calls it "ぎり [giri] " and it has been the source of much anguish and stress in my life. It is not a bad thing per se, as

> it has taught me the concept of being grateful, but I do think that there are some senses in which "ぎり [Giri] " becomes quite sinister. (Diary, October 23, 2011)

Maintaining family relationships also involves this concept of *giri*. The concept of *giri* affects Mayumi's relationships with her aunt and uncle in Japan. Her mother normally does not want her children to meet her sister's family in Japan because there are some things that must be done properly when relatives meet each other, to maintain a good relationship. However, those things are not like tasks on a checklist and are not as simple as 'done or not done'. Even though you do one thing, if it was done incorrectly in terms of amount, timing, and so on, it can negatively affect the relationship. Mayumi knew about this complexity involved in maintaining a good relationship. Thus, she felt caught between Canadian ways (i.e., meeting relatives casually and/or often) and Japanese ways (i.e., not meeting relatives so often because of *giri*) of maintaining family relationships,

> Because of the "*giri*", and like maintaining family relationships, it's [meeting with her Japanese relatives in Japan is] complicated. Because I'm, I'm Japanese Canadian, but my mother is Japanese, and like my cousin's family is Japanese. So, what is expected from me is maybe different from what is expected from my mother, and my mother, what she expects of herself is different, too. And if my mother tells me that she doesn't want me to go see her, her sister, then you know, I, I feel, I feel like, I have a… I feel like I want to meet my, my family, but I also feel like I'm not supposed to because she doesn't want me to… So, I, in this case what happened was I contacted my cousin because my mother said it's ok that I can talk and meet my cousin but she didn't want me to meet my aunt. So… I said "ok. I won't, I won't talk to my aunt then." (Interview, January 11, 2012)

Under such circumstances, Mayumi could not depend completely on her own judgement,

because her mother had much more expertise in handling such situations related to *giri* than Mayumi did, but at the same time, she felt that people's expectations toward her were different than they were toward her mother. It was a complicated situation for both Mayumi and her mother. Mayumi and her mother knew that they were two different people; however, to other people, they were mother and daughter from the same family. Therefore, when people considered Mayumi and her mother individually and separately, their expectations toward Mayumi, who was not raised in Japan, and her mother, who was raised in Japan, were of course different. However, when people regarded them as a mother and daughter, the idea that 'the apple does not fall far from the tree' comes into play. Even if Mayumi did not follow the Japanese way of doing things, people would not get disappointed with her or blame her. However, they may think that her mother did not fulfill her responsibility to nurture her child as a Japanese mother. If Mayumi tries to be as she is and maintain her 'Canadian-ness', she may not be able to fulfill her role as a daughter. This kind of contradiction may occur not only with *giri* but also with other Japanese cultural concepts. This is a part of 'Japanese-ness' which she cannot learn naturally by simply observing and following her mother's behavior, because their lived experiences are different. Also, on some occasions, Mayumi found that she could not really judge whether her mother's behaviors stemmed from a Japanese way of thinking (i.e., 'Japanese-ness') or whether these were just part of her individual personality. Therefore, she needed to find or create her own way of using such cultural concepts in her own life. This is not an easy process, however. It seems that she became aware of a need to adjust her behaviors through her communication with other Japanese people during her trips to Japan as a Japanese learner.

Every time she tried to speak Japanese, Japanese people were happy because they viewed her as Canadian and treated her as a guest. These types of attitudes made her feel very

comfortable rather than excluded. Furthermore, she probably learned that Japanese people's expectations toward her and towards her mother were different, as she explained with regards to *giri*. Although she was still troubled by Japanese cultural concepts such as *giri* when faced with specific situations to navigate, as an adult she seems to have found her own relatively stable position and has come to see 'Japanese-ness'/'Canadian-ness' from some distance. In an interview, she stated,

> There is something I don't really understand. There is something I am really glad that I don't really have to deal with frequently. Like, I am very happy to be Canadian with Japanese heritage because it gives me a perspective on Japanese culture, but also gives me appreciation for what I commonly have in Canada. Of course, those go the other way around. Something like, "I wish I had that in Canada. Why people are so mean here?" (Interview, January 11, 2012)

She further reflected on Canadian people's attitudes toward English/French language learners; and as an English/French native speaker, she expressed her willingness to help the English/French language learners in the way she was treated as a Japanese language learner in Japan, with "seemingly boundless generosity" (Diary, November 26, 2011). In a sense, she is willing to use her 'Canadian-ness' (i.e., being an English/French native speaker) in conjunction with her 'Japanese-ness' (i.e., understanding the Japanese style of generosity and returning what she received from native Japanese speakers to other language learners, like the way that *giri* works). Perhaps, this is how she was able to find a middle ground somewhere between 'Japanese-ness' and 'Canadian-ness'. As a Japanese language learner, she may have found a place where she could integrate 'Japanese-ness' and 'Canadian-ness' and strengthen a sense of belonging to the Canadian group without losing appreciation for her Japanese heritage.

Expectations Related to Japanese Language

Turning to Mayumi's relationship with Japanese language, her memory of Japanese learning starts at somewhere around four years old. She remembers counting from 1 to 20 in Japanese with her sister in the bathtub and doing some casual vocabulary quizzes with her father. She also has some other memories of Japanese learning.

> When my aunt came to visit, before we moved from Switzerland, I guess I was like four or five years old or so, my mother instructed me to copy every word my aunt said, which ended up being kind of funny, because then my aunt reacted me copying her. She said, "kawaii [cute]!" and I said "kawaii [cute]!" and just I don't think I really learned much, but at least it gave me the flow 'cause I imitated exactly what she said. Even though I didn't know what she was saying, it's probably kind of cute. (Interview, September 28, 2011)

Mayumi's experiences of learning Japanese in childhood all occurred in a family context. This is because she had no experience studying at any Japanese school and never encountered any Japanese-speaking people in her childhood other than her family members, except for one Japanese boy in her elementary school whom she never really spoke with. Even in such an environment, where she lived as a French-English bilingual with no Japanese contact in the local community or society, Mayumi seemed to have a strong awareness of her Japanese language abilities because of her own and other people's various expectations of her in everyday life. In the following sections, I address two notable types of expectations related to Japanese language and the temporal change in and across those two types of expectations in Mayumi's story.

Expectations Rooted in Ethnicity: "They Want to Practice". In large part, Mayumi's experiences as a person with Japanese heritage in Montreal overlapped with her experience as a visible minority. The attitudes of the people in the experiences she talked about were often influenced by her 'Asian-if-not-Japanese' looks and her Japanese family name 'Sugita' (pseudonym). Their comments and behavior toward her appeared at times to be spiteful, and at other times well-intentioned. For instance, people in a passing car had once yelled "Chinese something" at her, and until she started university quite recently, she had been told on many occasions to go back to her home country. Yet, at the same time, she occasionally encountered people's 'positive' attitudes, in which the person believed that he/she was doing or saying something positive toward her. For example, although she had been "in a French system since like years and years" (Interview, September 28, 2011), people frequently complimented her on her French, assuming from her physical appearance that she was a non-native French speaker.

Mayumi's friends were "shocked" to hear about these negative attitudes, but Mayumi was "used to it" (Interview, September 28, 2011) and was able to see it as stemming from ignorance. She would just think, "uh, those people" or "that's funny" (Interview, September 28, 2011), and was able to either ignore or counter the statement with her own knowledge,

> Then, I told them, "why don't you [go back to your country]?" because everyone in Canada is pretty much immigrant, you know? No one is native 'Canadian' […]. But they didn't get it. So, they didn't understand my historical reference. (Interview, September 28, 2011)

For her, these types of straightforwardly negative attitudes were not so difficult to handle because the speakers' assumptions are made clear in their statements, and also, they do not expect any response, correction, or benefit from their interaction with her. In other words, such

statements and behaviors carry almost no expectation in terms of her response, ability or knowledge. However, it was the 'positive' attitudes that troubled her,

> It does happen often, quite often, that people ask me "where are you from?" and then, I say "Canada" and then, people ask me "no, no, I mean where were you born?" and then, I say "Switzerland" and then… It's almost like a game because they need to ask a right question to get a right answer. […] "What is your ethnicity?" [is the question they need to ask. What you look like essentially is what they want to know. […] It is a question that I do hear often. Sometimes that's from very like random people, strangers, who might some…at one point this guy at the bus stop, just like, a public bus stop. He asked me those questions, "where are you from?" and you know, first I answered truthfully, but I started to feel very awkward because I knew that he wanted to know that I was Japanese. (Interview, September 28, 2011)

Some people used the question, "where are you from?" to start a conversation with Mayumi. The question itself is neutral and could be heard in any conversation with anyone. What troubled her was the fact that people were not usually satisfied with a truthful answer, because they already had some sort of pre-conceived assumptions behind such 'positive' get-to-know-you questions and statements. 'Positive' statements and questions initially appear to welcome any response, but in fact her freedom to respond was quite limited. People expected her to confirm their own assumptions of her ethnicity, believing their assumptions to be right; however, she felt that such assumptions were not only rude, but also incorrect. One of the reasons that she felt this way was probably because she sensed that they would have further expectations in terms of her knowledge of Japanese culture, including Japanese language. That is, she knew that her answer would permit people to ask further questions about Japanese culture

and to share their knowledge of Japanese culture with her as if they were close friends. The following statement by Mayumi illustrates how easily people seemed to connect her Japanese ethnicity to her knowledge of Japanese culture; and how she felt about that reaction,

> Once he [the 'stranger' who asked her where she was from] knows I am Japanese, it's like, some people feel like that some intimate knowledge and suddenly they know a whole bunch of you, like the fact that you do martial arts, you got a kimono, that you got this concept of honour. They associate all of that to the fact that I have Japanese ethnicity, and I am sure they are thinking… […] Because, because, sometimes they say, "I think we can learn a lot from each other." Because I am Japanese? Uh, ok… […] even if that's true, that's kind of rude, I think, that assumptions made. In a sense, I guess this is flattering in a way but it's, I am Canadian too. (Interview, September 28, 2011)

It appears that there is a gap in understanding regarding the ethnicity-culture relationship between Mayumi and those who ask her questions. In her view, it is true that she is ethnically Japanese, but this does not mean that she can represent Japan culturally and completely, or that the term 'Japanese' can fully describe her cultural identity. In that sense, people's assumption that she is Japanese (ethnically and culturally) is not entirely accurate in her view, and she therefore wants to correct it. However, the assumption itself is not clearly made in their statements in a way that allows her to correct them without giving them her personal background information, which she believes 'strangers' should not have access to. She is therefore forced to wonder whether she should correct such assumptions or whether she should ignore them. She does not have any obligation to give further information to 'strangers' who are being "rude" (Interview, September 28, 2011) by asking such personal questions, yet she also worried about being 'rude' herself by correcting 'strangers' and disappointing them at the same time.

Consequently, she was faced with an awkward situation. She explained her feeling of unease in such situations as follows,

> In Canada, I feel like the question [where you are from] is prying and at times indecent. I find myself dodging the answer. Perhaps it is due to the attitude of the people who are asking. I don't really mind when the person asking is a friend or another Asian. I feel like they are simply curious and are extended the right for me to ask the question as well, if I wish. I do mind when it is a stranger. Then I feel like they are thinking that I am some sort of exotic animal that they want to know more about. (Diary, December 12, 2011)

From her perspective, it seemed that 'strangers' asked this question not from their interest in her as an individual, but to satisfy their appetite for knowledge about 'Japanese' in general. Furthermore, her truthful answer may not be accepted, and her voice may not actually be heard.

The assumptions surrounding such attitudes extended to Mayumi's knowledge of and ability in the Japanese language as well, at times putting her on the spot:

> When I was waitressing, at one point, there was this man who I don't know. He asked me my ethnicity. And I told him I am Japanese which I honestly, I started to really resenting the question, but anyway I answered him. And he said, what did he say? He said, "o-*je*-n-ki desuka?" that's what he said. And I didn't get it. So, like "what is it?" I wasn't even expecting it to be Japanese. I had no idea what it was. And then, he started blaming me because I didn't recognize it. He was like, "you don't speak Japanese? Isn't this a part of your culture? Isn't this important?" Wait, I was Japanese, first of all, and second of all, oh, what it was? I think he meant "o-*ge*-n-ki desuka? [How are you?]" Doesn't sound the same at all. (Interview, September 28, 2011)

She knew that basic phrase in her memory but was not able to recognize the phrase with a

phonetic error on the spot. It made her look dishonest in her response to the person's question and/or disloyal to her own culture, and she found his attitude "very rude" (Interview, September 28, 2011). However, because of her position as a waitress serving a customer in this context, she felt unable to justify herself or counter his comments. She "politely smiled and said, 'No, I don't speak Japanese. Sorry, I guess.'" (Interview, September 28, 2011), and he became "happy having established superiority" (Interview, September 28, 2011) as a Japanese language learner and Canadian expert in multiculturalism. Here again, she needed to hold her tongue even though she felt that the person had misjudged her, treating her like a dishonest or disloyal person who needed to be corrected. Incidents such as these made Mayumi more aware of people's expectations with regard to her Japanese language abilities,

> There are some people here who speak Japanese more than I do which isn't saying that much but you know even back in high school and stuff and they would probably be disappointed when they, they found that I didn't speak much Japanese probably because they wanted to practice. I don't know… So yeah, I do feel like the standards here are they expect more from finding out that I am Japanese descendant and I should speak Japanese. It did come to the point even that I would resent that my mother didn't teach us more forcefully. (Interview, September 28, 2011)

As a result, she tended to become more careful and stressed when answering questions about her origin and ethnicity, and she would become much more annoyed and troubled with people's 'positive' attitudes than with their 'negative' attitudes. Since there was no way she could correct their assumptions or make her voice heard in such situations, she chose to avoid meeting and having contact with "those [rude] people" (Interview, September 28, 2011) as much as possible. She did not feel any need to unnecessarily broaden her circle of friends through

activities such as language exchange. However, over time she did appear to develop other types of expectations related to Japanese language, through formal Japanese re-learning and through trips to Japan.

Expectations beyond Japanese Language Ability: "Good Luck!". After starting her undergraduate study, Mayumi took two Japanese courses in 2010: a community class with Mike and his family members, and a summer intensive university course with Mike. She also visited Japan in 2009 and 2011 (during the data collection period of this study) with Mike. Mike's family created opportunities for Mayumi, both for learning Japanese and for trips to Japan. Through such experiences directly linked to new relationships (i.e., not the relationships established through parents in childhood) and to Japanese language, she came to have more confidence in her Japanese learning abilities and became more "gutsy" (Interview, January 11, 2012) about using Japanese. This change could in part be attributed to her encounter with expectations toward her in Japanese class or in Japan, which differed from the ones she had encountered in local society.

At the beginning, because of her past experiences in Montreal, Mayumi was nervous about being placed in a Japanese environment. With respect to their first trip to Japan, she stated, "I was also scared of going [to Japan] alone [so, I did not have any plan to go to Japan before that.]. Because as I said, I was worried that people would think I am Japanese, and they would be disappointed. So, I was scared, and would be like, 'why with a name like Sugita [pseudonym], you cannot speak Japanese? What is this?'" (Interview, September 28, 2011). However, much to her surprise, Japanese people's reactions were quite different from what she expected.

On both their first and second trips to Japan, although Mayumi encountered several situations in which people asked her or Mike where they were from, people's reactions to her

answer and her feelings towards the question were very different from what she experienced in Canada and Montreal,

> [while visiting Akiyoshi-do] There was a salesperson who was asking us where we were from. When we responded "Canada", he asked me where I was from. I responded Canada, and the matter was settled. I thought this was very nice, since I was not pestered further about the matter. This did get me thinking though. I don't really mind when people in Japan ask me if I am Japanese or if I speak Japanese. I feel like this is a fair question. I have a Japanese last name and I do look Asian, if not Japanese. I do feel a little embarrassed that I do not speak more, but I am proud of what I can do. This is very different from when people ask me the same question while in Canada. (Diary, December 12, 2011)

It is possible that she felt differently about the question in Japan than in Canada because Japanese people accepted her answer as it was and the conversation did not go further into her ethnicity and cultural background; furthermore, their attitudes toward her Japanese language abilities made her "proud of" (Diary, December 12, 2012) what she could do. During the trips, she found that many Japanese people were very happy to see foreigners and were very pleased to see her and Mike try to speak a little Japanese (Interview, September 28, 2011; Diary, December 12, 2011). Certainly, people in Japan also have expectations toward her Japanese language abilities because of her Japanese name and Asian looks; however, once they found out that she had not acquired Japanese naturally but rather had 'studied' Japanese, their focus moved from her Japanese language abilities to the effort she put toward learning Japanese and her success in doing so. Their expectations were directed more at her learning abilities and personality. Since Japanese does not have as much power as English at the international level, and many Japanese

people are monolingual, they were very pleased to discover that she had put some effort into communicating with them, and admired and praised her for her achievements. Her exposure to such attitudes, although she still felt a little embarrassed at times, helped her to recognize her own progress and encouraged her to use Japanese, especially on their second trip after she had studied Japanese formally. These types of experiences also made her think about the differences in how native speakers of a language treat non-native speakers or learners of the language in Montreal and Japan. While preparing for their second trip to Japan and communicating with Japanese exchange students, she looked back on their first trip and thought,

> There is one thing that I have noticed about Japan: it is unlike Montreal, where non-native speakers of French do not feel very encouraged to speak French. My experience (last time we went to Japan) was that people were very happy to see Mike and I try to speak Japanese, even if I am sure it sounded terrible and wrong. It is very nurturing, in that sense. (Diary, November 4, 2011)

Once again, she found another difference in native speakers' attitudes toward non-native speakers on their second trip,

> Another thing I really enjoy about many Japanese people we encounter is the concern they have for us when they realize we do not speak a lot of Japanese. They start to worry about us traveling to areas that don't speak English at all. They go the extra mile to provide us with detailed maps or directions or times for transit. The concern is very touching, and I do believe it is genuine. These people are not necessarily friends, sometimes they are simply people I have asked a question to. This is such a contrast from some things that may happen in Montreal, especially when it comes to the French language. (Diary, December 12, 2011)

These “nurturing” (Diary, December 12, 2012) attitudes were particularly evident in Mayumi’s aunt’s comments and behavior in an episode in the diary from the second trip, and it seems that Mayumi’s reaction to her aunt’s comment was influenced by her own reflections on native speakers’ attitudes toward non-native speakers in Montreal.

When Mayumi and Mike met Mayumi’s relatives (her aunt, uncle, and cousin), her aunt said to Mayumi and Mike, “well, I am not gonna be learning English anytime soon, so good luck” (Interview, January 1, 2012). Mayumi and Mike understood that as, “so it’s your job to learn Japanese”, and they were amused by this comment. They also agreed with her and felt that they had to continue learning Japanese (Interview, January 11, 2012). They could feel this way because they knew that her teasing way of saying that also showed her intimacy toward them, and they could see improvement in their Japanese during their conversation with her, compared to the first trip (first meeting with her) two years before. In my interview with them after the second trip (January 11, 2012), Mayumi explained that although she knew her Japanese was not good enough to have a normal conversation with her aunt, there were times when her aunt said something Mayumi and Mike could understand and were able to answer. It made both the aunt and Mayumi very excited. From her aunt’s reaction as such, Mayumi could feel that her aunt understood the efforts and the progress she had made. She explained how her aunt’s comment of ‘good luck’ motivated her to continue learning Japanese,

> I thought that I know that my Japanese is… isn’t high up to the conversation, normal conversation with my aunt. But I do know that my Japanese got lots better since the last trip. So, I’m not ashamed of…of my level of Japanese… and proud I progressed this far, and I’m also proud that I was able to being more gutsy about using my Japanese, … still kind of embarrassed about it, but you know, like, it’s like “I did it. That’s good.” It’s how

> you learn. So, I, …I know that I still have work to do, but I also know that I came this far. So in that sense, I know that she does know that too. And I, … It's like "Yes, good luck. Thank you." You know, like "Yes, I have to keep studying." (Interview, January 11, 2012)

Together with this motivation, she explained the reason that she wanted and/or needed to learn Japanese in a simple and easily comprehensible way.

According to Mayumi, studying Japanese made sense because she wanted to "be able to extend a hand instead of just asking them [her family and friends in Japan] like 'why don't you know English?'" (Interview, September 28, 2011), and her aunt is "older and learning is more difficult" (Interview, January 11, 2012). This reason shows that she saw Japanese language learning not simply from a position as a heritage language learner of Japanese, but also from her position as a native English speaker. It also shows that her motivation to learn Japanese stemmed from a desire to be a certain kind of person rather than to achieve a certain goal (e.g., career, skills, family relations). This understanding may also have come with the maturity of adulthood. Her past experiences and development as a person may have been formative in her arrival at this idea. People's expectations of her gradually shifted to her own expectations for herself; and now, for her, the use of the Japanese language is "a fun test where your success is measured by the other person's reaction" (Interview, January 11, 2012),

> It [the use of Japanese] seems like it usually goes much better than I think it would. Because between what I am able to bring together and what the other person is able to provide as the input, umm, usually works out alright. So, I feel relieved that worked out. Because generally we keep going trying till things work out. I feel relieved, sometimes satisfied, sometimes little embarrassed, I think. (Interview, January 11, 2012)

Although this may change in the future, at that moment in Mayumi's Japanese language use, she was focusing more on people's efforts to understand each other (consideration to each other) than on their expertise in the language.

The Meanings of Japanese Language: Childhood Japanese Learning and Japanese Re-Learning

In addition to changes in expectations held by herself or others related to Japanese language, the meanings of Japanese language for Mayumi seemed to change through her experiences re-learning Japanese and her trips to Japan. In the experiences she recounted related to Japanese language use, I identified several different types of roles and/or meanings of Japanese language for her: it functioned as a part of childhood family memories, as a communication tool, and as a marker of intimacy. In the next section, I look into those roles and/or meanings and describe the ways in which they influenced each other; that is, how Mayumi connected those roles/meanings, and reshaped her relationship with her Japanese heritage.

Childhood Family Memories and the Establishment of New Relationships. Besides recalling her Japanese learning experiences from childhood (e.g., counting numbers in the bathtub and so on), in the process of writing diaries, Mayumi noticed that occasionally, small episodes involving Japanese language would come up in conversation with her family. Such episodes made her and her family smile and laugh:

> A while back, I was given a large plush turtle from Chinatown. This weekend, while we were eating dinner, my sister wanted to know the word for turtle in Japanese. I told her it was "かめ [Kame: turtle]". She then wanted to know why the plush turtle I had was called "Kuma-kuma". My father pointed out: "Doesn't that mean "bear-bear"? That's a

> silly name!". I then had to explain that I had called it Kuma-kuma, for that was the brand name that was on its tag. And thus, a rare exchange involving the Japanese language took place with my family. (Diary, October 12, 2011)

She also noticed that there were certain words in Japanese that she used with her family normally. They were often names of animals and food.

> She [Mayumi's younger sister] stayed over for dinner and asked me if I wanted to use chopsticks, using the Japanese word for it. There seem to be words I tend to use naturally around her, such as "おはし [O-hashi: chopsticks]" and "おしょうゆ [O-shooyu: soy sauce]". This I know to be due to the fact that my mother would use these terms around us. Although Mike's family know the terms, I do not tend to use them around them. I refer to the objects in English terms. It only comes naturally when I am talking to my sister. (Diary, October 3, 2011)

She explains that this type of Japanese use was a result of the shared childhood with her siblings. In their childhood, their mother usually referred to some food items which were often present in their home, such as soy sauce and tea, in Japanese; and those words were frequently used in family conversation. Eventually, she and her sisters came to refer those items in Japanese among them, and Japanese and food items came to be linked in her head. When she was a little child "pretending to speak Japanese", she was "stringing Japanese words for food together in a nonsensical pseudo-sentence" (Diary, October 12, 2011). She seemed to have developed a sense of intimacy in Japanese language use through such daily experiences in her childhood. The Japanese words for food items were used very frequently but only at meals in their kitchen where her mother did not feel comfortable having people from outside the family, that is, where access was limited to family members. Thus, for Mayumi, Japanese was a kind of intimacy marker that

she could use with people who were in contact with her on a routine basis and emotionally close to her. This function of Japanese appeared in her current Japanese language use as well. In her diary, Mayumi wrote,

> I noted that I tend to ask Mike "だいじょ[う]ぶ [Daijoobu: Are you alright]?" when I want to know if he is feeling alright. I don't think I ask that to anyone else, since nobody else around me speaks Japanese. Apparently, I feel like the question in Japanese conveys my concern in a more accurate way than in English. I cannot really say why. Perhaps I like the fact that it is more difficult for someone to read into what I am asking... I don't think so though, since the question almost transcends language.

A couple of days later, she further analyzed her use of "だいじょうぶ [daijoobu]" to Mike,

> I feel like the meaning of "daijoobu" is more familiar, but I think that is mainly because of the layer of distance created by most people not knowing what I am asking. Of course, this is somewhat of an illusion, since anyone who watches anime would know the expression, as it is used frequently. I think I feel the same way when asking someone "*ça va*?" in an English-speaking environment. (Diary, October 7, 2011)

When Mayumi wants to discuss or speak of something in private, she uses Japanese mixed with English, and the specific word "だいじょうぶ［Daijoobu］" was probably chosen because the word has the sense of 'concern' which she and Mike often observed in Japanese people's behavior during their trips. As I mentioned in the previous section, during the trips, one of the things that Mayumi enjoyed about her encounters with Japanese people was "the concern" people showed for herself and Mike, and she felt that "the concern is very touching" and "genuine" (Diary, December 12, 2011). Thus, it is possible that her Japanese language use was influenced both by her past experiences as a child and her more recent experiences as an adult.

This may explain why she was not expecting the customer at the restaurant in Montreal (see the previous section) to be speaking Japanese to her and she was unable to recognize the Japanese phrase he spoke. That is, he was a 'stranger' with whom she did not feel any intimacy, and the activity of ordering a meal did not involve 'concern'.

However, there were situational differences between the remembered contexts of intimacy from Mayumi's childhood and her current Japanese use. At the time of this study, Mayumi used Japanese primarily in conversations with Mike, with her Japanese cousin Kayano whom she met for the first time only a couple of years ago, with Japanese exchange students who stayed at Mike's parents' house, and with Mike's brother's girlfriend Asako. These people were all relatively new to Mayumi (i.e. people whom she met during or after high school); none of them were people she knew from childhood. Whereas in her childhood, her Japanese use was limited to family settings, now, she also used Japanese as a tool to establish and develop new relationships outside of family. In other words, she was no longer a child to be given words to mimic or to be quizzed, but a grown-up capable of reaching out voluntarily to others through linguistic communication.

Feelings toward Japanese Learning and Use as an Adult. As an adult, Mayumi chose to put some effort into Japanese learning and use, with the hope of becoming "a capable Japanese-speaking tourist" (Diary, December 7, 2011) who is able to reach out to other people. In the process of learning and using Japanese, she sometimes felt happy and motivated, and other times, she encountered difficulties and frustrations.

For example, Mayumi felt a great sense of accomplishment when she was able to do very simple things that she wasn't able to do in Japanese before, such as asking for directions to get to a specific place (Interview, September 28, 2011; Diary, December 12, 2011). She felt motivated

by such experiences and felt that she "want (s) to do better" (Diary, November 4, 2011) in her Japanese learning and use. She explained how she felt differently now about her ability to understand Japanese than she did when she was a child: "now, I would want to understand every sentence [in Japanese anime films which she watched in her childhood], if possible. If I do not, it would bother me much more than it did before" (Diary, October 25, 2011). She was not satisfied with the amount of Japanese input she currently had, and was thus willing to learn and practice Japanese more of her own volition. However, after completing the summer intensive course and graduating from university, her life became quite busy with looking for a job and other family matters, and she was struggling to find the time to study and practice Japanese.

Although Japanese was an important part of her life, one that allowed her to "keep on tracking my [her] family" (Interview, January 11, 2012) and to establish and develop new relationships with the people around her, it was not incorporated into Mayumi's whole life. As a result, she worried about forgetting what she learned and felt somewhat stressed. In an interview, she stated,

> I don't think they [all the Japanese words and grammar points she learned] are all gone. We learned it once, we can learn it again, but I think it's, it could be hard, hard because you know that you did know and you should…. So, it's like a mixture of guilt and embarrassment. (Interview, September 28, 2011)

Yet, beyond that feeling of "a mixture of guilt and embarrassment" (Interview, September 28, 2011), her goal was still "to keep learning" (Interview, January 11, 2012). Perhaps at that point Mayumi was mature enough to understand that results are not everything, and that she can accept the results, and trust the decisions she made in reaching those results. As for her lack of Japanese learning in the past, Mayumi commented, "now I am old enough to ……be confident in myself

and also what my mother chose to teach us. I feel like it was her choice, and it was our choice as children not to push on it so although those people [think that her mother should have taught her Japanese more forcefully]" (Interview, September 28, 2011).

Summary of Mayumi's Case

It seems to me that Mayumi's trajectory of Japanese language learning and her relationship with the Japanese language was a part of her development as a person, which is an ongoing process with no end, and with many curves in the road. The question of what kind of person she wanted to be seemed to underlie the changes in the roles and meanings of Japanese language in her life, changes that have influenced both her motivation and her methods for Japanese learning. It was not about who she wanted to be in terms of a national or cultural label (e.g., being Japanese, Canadian, and/or Japanese-Canadian), but about how she wanted to *use* her 'Japanese-ness' and 'Canadian-ness' to become the kind of person she wanted to be, that is, a person who was generous and polite (i.e., not rude). In the kind of theoretical framework proposed by Pavlenko & Blackledge (2004), she, an individual, was consciously or unconsciously positioning herself in a given time and space, performing/presenting *imposed and accepted identities* and expressing new identities. She had been adjusting and adapting the heritage she inherited from her parents. This was not a matter of simply following her parents' instructions or paths. It has been necessary for Mayumi to choose what changes to make and to what degree, negotiating within circumstantial restrictions such as people's expectations toward her, and creating her own way of reaching her goals. Interestingly, what impacted Mayumi's identity construction the most were her experiences of being *denied* full membership rather than being granted membership in a specific group.

Although there were things Mayumi could not change or understand easily in the

process of adjusting/adapting her heritage to her circumstances, such as other people's views, her phenotypic inheritance, and the actual application of cultural concepts, Japanese language remained a part of herself that she could change and adapt to her context. It was also a means to create a place where such adaptations/adjustments could happen. Not only did Japanese language improvement strengthen her 'Japanese part' and her relationships with Japanese people, but her experiences as a Japanese language learner also made her more conscious of her identity as an English/French native speaker and allowed her to develop her relationships with Canadian people and to build new relationships with Japanese people. Mayumi found a new position in which she was 'gutsy' and a 'capable Japanese-speaking tourist' who reached out to other people. She came to develop new identities as a Japanese language learner and as an English/French expert. Through this process of identity construction, the role of the Japanese language in her life moved beyond old family memories and became a vehicle to establish new relationships (e.g., relationships with relatives in Japan, with Mike and his family, and with Japanese exchange students), while still maintaining some of the original meanings of Japanese language for her, that is, expressing intimacy and 'tracing' her family. A similar process was found in some earlier studies on HL learners' identity construction (e.g., Kim, 2020; Makoni, 2018). In those studies, due to the contradictory social ideologies of assimilation and racialization (i.e., constant misidentification as non-Americans and non-native English speakers by the dominant culture), non-white HL learners (i.e., Korean HL learners in Kim, 2020, and African-American HL learners in Makoni, 2018) "transform[ed] their ambivalent language experience …… into 'third space'" (Kim, 2020, p.12) and recreated new identities which Makoni (2018) calls "identity of resistance" (Makoni, 2018, p.71).

Mayumi's starting points for Japanese re-learning may have been a sense of *language*

inheritance (Rampton, 1990) and a desire to communicate with Japanese relatives. However, what now motivated her to keep learning and/or using Japanese was not limited to these factors. When I first started interviewing Mayumi, I thought that her aunt's attitudes and Mayumi's reactions to them came purely from a sense of connection with family. However, later on, when I interviewed Mike, he brought up the same episode to explain how he was motivated to continue learning Japanese. I then found that this was not just Mayumi's (a learner with Japanese heritage) experience but also Mike's (a foreign language learner) experience. For both Mayumi and Mike, improving and communicating in Japanese was a way to repay the generosity they received from the people they met in Japan, and a way to extend a hand to others as well. This motivational orientation goes beyond the realms of heritage language learning and/or second language (L2) learning. It seems that a sense of '*language affiliation*' (Rampton, 1990) was gradually formed in Mayumi's relationship with Japanese language, and it strengthened her motivation for learning Japanese together with '*language inheritance*'. On the other hand, a sense of '*language affiliation*' in Mike's relationship with Japanese language became stronger by sharing Japanese language experiences with Mayumi, who possesses '*language inheritance*'. This could be a case that strong *affiliations* become new *inheritances*, and '*language affiliation*' promotes a powerful connection between a speaker and the language. Thus, it could be said that conventional fixed ideas of L2 learning motivation and motivational orientation such as Gardner and Lambert's dichotomized model (1972) of instrumental and integrative motivation may not explain all learners' cases. Since the 1980s, this model has come to be seen as overly simplistic by some researchers (e.g., Au, 1988; Crookes & Schmidt, 1991; Dornyei, 1994). They mainly claim two issues: 1) the model sets a false border between instrumental motivation and integrative motivation, and 2) the model ranks an order of dominance between those two types of motivation

(i.e., it claims that integrative motivation is stronger and has more impact on the success of second language learning than instrumental motivation). Mayumi's case similarly shows that this model is too simplistic. What Mayumi was aiming for was not simply integration into a certain group or access to better jobs. It was something much wider, deeper and more flexible. When I tried to understand her reasons for re-learning Japanese, it was almost impossible for me to ignore her development as a person, and her ability to cross the borders of time, space, and language. Kawakami (2010, 2013) proposed a new framework of '*Children Crossing Borders*' to explore and analyze the identity development and construction of people who were born and raised in multicultural and multilingual environments. This framework focuses on one's life experiences and memories formed through spatial mobility (space), linguistic mobility (language), and language education mobility (e.g., native language education, second language education, and foreign language education). Mayumi's case resonates with others analyzed by this framework.

The Case of Meg

When I met Meg for the purpose of this study, she was a second-year university student double majoring in Psychology and East Asian Studies. She was born and raised in Vancouver, a city in Western Canada, and came to Montreal for university in 2010 after completing her secondary education. According to her, her Japanese father felt that he did not quite fit into Japanese society and moved to Canada when he was young, and her Japanese mother met him in Vancouver while she was traveling. Meg's father passed away in 2011, and when I met her two years later, her mother and younger brother were still living in Vancouver.

Between her primary and post-secondary education, there was around a ten-year period in which Meg's Japanese learning and use dropped significantly. Until grade three or four, she had

been going to a Japanese school that offered Japanese language classes twice a week for Japanese immigrant children. However, because of negative experiences there, she withdrew from the school and suddenly stopped using Japanese with people other than her parents. At the Japanese school, Meg was made to repeat grade one because of her lack of Japanese language ability. She and her parents were very shocked and upset when she was sent to a grade one classroom on the first day of the second year without any prior consultation or notice. Meg continued going to the school for another one or two years; however, she could not overcome her feeling of dislike toward Japanese language and the school. Sympathetic to Meg's feelings and concerned about her ability to follow English instruction at the local school, her parents ultimately allowed her to withdraw from the school. After that, Meg's exposure to and use of Japanese dropped significantly until she enrolled in a Japanese beginner class at university. Although her parents spoke to her in a mixture of English (around 70% of the time) and Japanese (around 30%), she often responded in English. In other words, her Japanese ability and use were limited to receptive skills, so there was a large gap between her receptive and productive skills.

Although it may not have been easy or comfortable for Meg, over the course of nine interviews (February 1, 2012 – April 25, 2012) and 13 diary entries (February 6, 2012 – May 14, 2012), she made earnest efforts to reflect on her past experiences of Japanese learning and use, with her mother's help (e.g., confirming the information about the incident at the Japanese school with her mother on the phone) and described her current experiences of Japanese learning and use in and outside of Japanese class. Her stories mainly revolved around school and language learning in school.

Beliefs in the Power of Language and Formal Language Learning

Although Meg did not express an attachment to a specific culture (e.g., Japanese culture, Canadian culture, English culture, or Chinese culture), the language aspect stood out whenever she considered questions of culture in general. At the time I interviewed Meg, she did not express any sense of connection to a particular culture. In response to questions such as "which part of your culture do you like/dislike?", she first tried to choose one ethnic and/or cultural group to talk about. However, each time she chose one group and tried to identify the parts she liked and/or disliked in that culture, she noticed that she "[didn't] really know" (Interview, April 25, 2012) that culture in detail. Her grandmother in Japan saw her as "a Japanese living in Canada" (Interview, February 1, 2012), but Meg felt that "Canada is more my country" (Interview, February 1, 2012) and saw herself as a 'Canadian Japanese'. However, when it came to culture, although she felt that Japanese Canadian or Canadian Japanese culture was something of a "mixture" and "a hybrid kind of thing" (Interview, April 25, 2012), she was not quite sure what it actually meant and what kind of things were included in that culture. In the end, she found it difficult to distinguish Japanese Canadian culture from other cultures, since her mother raised her "in a really Japanese environment" (Interview, February 1, 2012). Also, there was almost nothing that Meg could identify that left a particularly strong impression to her in Canadian or Japanese culture. She felt neutral about both Japanese and Canadian cultures and could not identify aspects of either culture, such as mentality or tradition, which she liked or disliked. She did, however, refer to the power of language.

Meg felt good about being Canadian because she knew English, which was a language of power in the world. In terms of career and education, she felt, "I can probably go anywhere in the world" (Interview, February 1, 2012). Her brother and her Bangladeshi friend who had been

educated in Japan were stronger in Japanese than Meg, but Meg's English was stronger than theirs. Before graduating from elementary school, Meg was removed from her English as a Second Language (ESL) class because of her rapid progress, although the class was fun and she did not want to leave. The high status accorded both to English and to her abilities in it made her like Canada and feel proud to be Canadian. Also, along with her negative experience of 'failure' (to use Meg's words) at a Japanese school, this successful experience in an ESL classroom seemed to cultivate Meg's belief in formal instruction, that a language must be learned properly at a proper school from a certified/proper teacher.

Meg told me that she did not like the school system in Japan. This feeling of dislike toward the Japanese school system seemed to stem from second-hand information through her parents and family members, and also from her experience at the Japanese school in her childhood. When Meg was in Vancouver, she often heard from her parents and family friends that Japanese people who left Japan did not like life in Japan (i.e., could not fit into Japanese society), so they came to Canada to learn English and to live like Canadians. Thus, she internalized the idea that such Japanese people willingly chose to give up their 'Japanese-ness'. In addition, Meg also heard negative things about the Japanese school system, that students were very competitive, that the school workload was extremely heavy, and that the students were constantly writing exams. Furthermore, she had unpleasant experiences at the Japanese school in Canada when she was a child. According to her, the activities at the school were tedious; the teachers were "just volunteers"; they were "not really certified" (Interview, April 4, 2012), and they worked there for only a short term. Therefore, the teachers could not establish close, strong relationships with their students. She felt this especially when she discovered that she had to repeat grade one at the school. Her grade one teacher did not tell her or her parents at the end of

the year that she would have to repeat grade one, and Meg learned this only when she was sent to a grade one classroom on the first day of the second year. This infuriated her mother, and Meg felt that the way that teacher handled the issue was dishonest and improper. She expressed her feelings and thoughts in interviews several times, as follows:

> Meg: I was like one of the worst ones [at the Japanese school] […] I think they tried to fail me one grade. I was that bad. […] They tried to pull me back and made me repeat it. I think they just wanted more money. But like, it also shows I'm not really good compared to... I guess. […] I guess I wasn't really good compared to the other people … All I know is that I just didn't do well. […] The teacher didn't tell me. That's so weird! When you tell, you tell your student first before you go to the parents. Or like, when you tell, at least at the same time or something, right? Actually, they even spoke Japanese to me.
>
> Yasuko: Maybe you were in grade one, so…
>
> Meg: They just still tell! Oh well, eventually it's gonna happen, right? It's stupid. Just 'cause she doesn't want to feel guilty or something. But anyway, I didn't like Japanese school. […] I was too young to know, but like, I feel like you should still tell your student, right? 'Cause I feel like just telling parents is like…well, maybe not before, but like, eventually she should tell…never told me…I don't think it's the language thing that stopped her…as in Japanese or whatever. Like, even if she told me in Japanese, I probably would understand at that point. So it's not like she didn't say because she thought if she explains it in Japanese, I wouldn't understand. Yeah, so she just DIDN'T because she DIDN'T want to hurt my feelings or whatever. (Interview, April 4, 2012)

Meg felt that her teacher did not follow proper procedures, and the reason that she made such mistakes was because she was just a volunteer and not a certified teacher (unlike the ESL teacher at the local school), and because the overall system of the school was not good. This negative experience seemed to make her dislike the Japanese school system and by extension, to feel resistance to using Japanese. In Meg's view, it is proper, formal language instruction that leads to improvement. Without that, she could not feel confident enough to use it. For Meg, a language was not something naturally or easily learned on one's own.

Beliefs about Japanese Language Use

In terms of Japanese language use, Meg felt that Canadian people's expectation that Japanese people speak Japanese was "normal, and perhaps normalized" in Canada (Interview, April 4, 2012). She accepted this common expectation in Canada and did not doubt or challenge it. As long as this expectation did not manifest itself in her actual life, it was all right with her. However, she herself had certain beliefs about language use, and clear ideas of the domains in which she would use Japanese.

As mentioned in the previous section, Meg's interviews and diaries suggest that she believed that a language must be learned with formal and proper instruction. Further, she repeatedly stressed the importance of a vast amount of input in order to become able to actually use the target language. For her, a person could start using a language in his/her actual life only once he/she had become fluent in the language. She explained that her idea of language fluency involved all four skills: reading, listening, writing, and speaking, and 'being fluent' meant being 'familiar' with the language in all those four aspects. For example, if we say, "she is fluent in English," in her view, this means that the person is quite familiar with reading, listening, writing, and speaking in English. By this definition, she was not 'familiar' with Japanese in all these

aspects and thus not ‘fluent’ enough to actually use Japanese. Similar to how Meg considered it ‘normal’ for people to expect Japanese people to speak Japanese, she also felt that it was normal to avoid unfamiliar things, and for someone who is ‘not fluent’ to avoid using Japanese. In order to become ‘familiar’ with Japanese, she needed a large amount of input; that is, she needed to be exposed to various patterns and vocabulary many times, and to regularly practice them in both written and spoken forms. On the premise that a language needs to be learned through formal instruction, for Meg, this meant studying in Japanese language classes and classes in East Asian Studies at university where the majority of students were already familiar with Japanese language and culture to some degree.

Previously, Meg had limited her use of Japanese to communication with family members in Vancouver. This was not because she did not have a chance to meet Japanese speakers such as relatives in Japan or other Japanese immigrants. Rather, she intentionally chose to avoid doing anything in Japanese with anyone except her parents and brother. She seemed to choose and give permission only to certain people to converse with her in Japanese.

Especially after her withdrawal from the Japanese school, Meg hated using Japanese and steadfastly avoided being in situations where she had to use Japanese. Fortunately or unfortunately, the environment in Vancouver allowed her to continue to live that way. Her family lived in an area with a large population of Chinese residents, and she went to a high school where the majority of students were Chinese. Probably because of people’s prejudice and/or understanding about the area and her association with her Chinese classmates and neighbors, she was normally taken as Chinese and not seen as Japanese at all, even though she did not understand or speak Chinese. Therefore, unlike Mayumi, she did not encounter any situations where she was spoken to in Japanese or expected to speak Japanese by strangers. Even

her Japanese-speaking friends and family friends did not try to talk to her in Japanese because they could sense that she could not speak much Japanese and did not want to speak. She showed such hesitation and/or vulnerability that people did not feel inclined to try out their Japanese with her. Her discomfort with Japanese was very clear to those around her, and her resistant attitude was difficult for others to penetrate. Meg described situations in which she answered a telephone call for her parents in Vancouver and was confronted with Japanese:

> Meg: Sometimes, I picked up the phone in Vancouver and it would be like for my mom or dad whatever. And um, they are speaking Japanese. It would be so awkward. (huhuhu).
>
> Yasuko: So, then what do you do?
>
> Meg: I respond in English? Then I was like, "oh, I'll go get whoever." That's about it. Really. [……] They don't say much. Like I probably don't even know what they are saying. I just know that they want to talk to whomever. So, I just…yeah… [if my parents were not at home] I think I just said, "she is not home…do you want us to call you back?" or something. And usually, they switch to English or try to switch to English. It works. […] That [the person other side of the phone does not understand English] really didn't happen so much. If my brother is home, I just give it to my brother or something, but, yeah usually it doesn't [happen]. Yeah, I think people who call are not, like, from Japan. (Interview, March 21, 2012)

Meg emphasized that she intentionally avoided picking up the phone unless it was absolutely necessary, simply because she didn't like speaking Japanese, especially when she was in high school. She knew that if she answered the call, there was a possibility that it would be from her parents' Japanese friends, and she would be put in a situation where she needed to reject the

other person's language preference in favour of her own, which felt awkward for her. Using examples from Montreal, she further illustrated the 'awkward' feeling that she experienced when switching to English in such situations.

> How do I feel [when I switch to English]? Ahh, it's a bit awkward. Um, [clear throat], yeah, I think just really awkward to both of us. The person is not looking at me, but yeah, that's about it…. Like I cannot really communicate. I feel like, [……] it's [the call was] like for my parents or something, then, I would have to, like communicate with someone who really doesn't know what I'm saying kind of thing. And it's kind of awkward for me … I don't know how to word it (huhu) …Isn't it normal? I don't know……'cause you don't know what they are saying. That happens to me in French too. Like when I'm here. Because they speak to me in French, […] Ah, I usually ask if they can speak English. If they say "no", I'll, I can usually, I can kind of pick up what they are saying because they are usually like "oh, where is the street whatever?" or "where is XX?" so usually I can pick it up and then I'll explain in English (haha). And yeah, works out fine. …… I think it's unfamiliar and insecure because I don't know 100% of other's saying? Like 90 or anything. It's just …this is like the uncertainty whether I'm saying the right things to the question or whatever. And yeah, […] no one calls me in Japanese [in Montreal]. (huhu) (Interview, March 21, 2012)

Meg tried "to avoid putting myself [herself] in such a situation [where she has to speak Japanese] in the first place" (Interview, April 25, 2012), and if she happened to end up in such a situation, although she felt awkward about it, she would signal clearly to the person that she could not speak Japanese, and preferred using English, by switching completely to English. As a result, the people around her had no choice but to use English to communicate with her. Back in

Vancouver, her family members were the only people who could reach her through Japanese.

The reason that Meg still used Japanese with her family members, even though she 'hated' it, appeared to be because they all shared certain linguistic and cultural limitations. While Meg's Japanese was quite limited, her parents' English was also limited. Her brother's English was also not as good as hers. Also, there were certain experiences that her parents had never gone through themselves, such as primary and secondary school in Canada, and Meg thus needed to take a leader's role in the family. In other words, outside of her home, she could not depend entirely on her parents, even though they had much more life experience than her, or on her younger brother, whose Japanese was much better than hers but whose English was more limited. This situation, in which different family members were more strongly skilled in different areas, drew them closer together. Thus, Meg did not feel guilty for not being able to understand or speak Japanese one hundred percent of the time. It seemed that they had established their own way of communicating with each other at home. Their conversation and/or communication was flexible in terms of mixing English and Japanese, and switching back and forth. This was especially so in Meg's conversations with her mother. According to Meg, she and her mother understood each other even though they could not always find the right word or could not express their feelings exactly and accurately in one language. One day, she wrote in her diary:

> I called home yesterday. Talked to my brother for the first twenty minutes. But we spoke in English so that is irrelevant. I tried to explain to my mother about upgrading to an honor major; I think I failed for the most part. I do not feel too bad about not being able to explain to her about my studies and how things work at XX [name of university], though [because I accepted that my lack of Japanese has led to these consequences, a sort of acceptance on my part]. Moreover, my mother does not push me

> to explain either. Perhaps we have a sort of mutual understanding. We talked a bit about my apartment lease and other financial related things- This was easier since my mother is familiar with words like “lease” and such. As mentioned before, I do not feel uncomfortable speaking to my mother in Japanese; after all, I can randomly start speaking in English or substitute Japanese words I do not know by using English words. (Diary, February 27, 2012)

She further explained that she supposed that her mother found it inconvenient at times that they could not fully communicate using Japanese, but still, it seemed to work out all right for her and her mother. However, moving to Montreal and starting her university studies changed her beliefs and ideas about the domains in which she used Japanese.

Much to her own surprise, as soon as she entered university, Meg started thinking about majoring in East Asian Studies, on the advice of her mother’s Japanese friend that she learn about her roots (Diary, February 29, 2012). Inspired by the bi-/multi-lingual environment in Montreal at the same time, she decided to take a Japanese language course in addition to the Korean and Japanese culture courses that she was taking for her major. As a re-learner in this context, she felt that it was all right for Japanese teachers and classmates to speak to her in Japanese, because it was part of the input and practice involved in becoming a Japanese user. She was always a ‘normal student’ and did not need to take any specific role in the Japanese class. From her view, there was no clear power relationship in class, and she was not a particularly good or a bad student. In response to an interview question about her position or role in the Japanese class, Meg told me that she had actually never thought about her position in the class or compared herself with her classmates.

Yasuko: What is your position or role in the class, in the Japanese class?

Meg: Ummm, just a student…I don't know. I think everyone the same. […] I don't talk to everyone; so, …people are very surprised I'm in East Asian Studies? […] People usually ask me "oh, why you are taking Japanese?" or whatever. Not I really need for major or something, studying for? People seem to be really surprised by that? […] Ah, I'm a quiet person. (huhu) yeah…I guess quiet. I don't have much like a role or anything in the class. My class doesn't talk to everyone really. (huhu) […] I don't look at classmates and think, "oh, so and so's role in class is", yeah. I think most people in my class are hardworking anyway.

Yasuko: And in terms of proficiency?

Meg: Ummm, there is one girl I think is really really good. She has like super good memory. Actually, there are a few but like she stands out.

Yasuko: How do you evaluate your proficiency in class?

Meg: I would learn words a bit, maybe I don't know, it's a bit faster 'cause I can't compare with other people, […], I never compared with other people, but like, …yeah…I would pick up words a bit faster, but then, I would forget it. But now I think about it, it's hard for me to say that, because I never compared it with anyone else other than my friend …yeah, I thought that I'm just normal.

(Interview, March 21, 2012)

At the time I interviewed her, although she was not speaking Japanese much in the class yet, she started to feel that using Japanese was not as bad as before and that she should use Japanese more with Japanese teachers, classmates, and other people in East Asian Studies. The domains in which she used Japanese seemed to expand, and university classes functioned as a site of

preparation or apprenticeship for becoming a 'fluent' user of Japanese, and a 'bi/multi-lingual', which was standard in Montreal. Thus, all of this could be seen as part of the process of her adaptation to a new community and society in Montreal, that is, to an academic community and a bi-/multi-lingual society.

The Meanings of Japanese Language: Bi/Multi-Lingualism and Japanese Re-Learning

In the first interview, Meg commented that Japanese had been "a burden" (Interview, February 1, 2012) for her. Looking back on her childhood, she concluded that this feeling and understanding of Japanese stemmed largely from the power that English had in the society in which she and her family lived. When she was a child, "out of my house was everything English. English was kind of my priority. But I wasn't good at it. So, Japanese was always like a burden kind of thing" (Interview, February 1, 2012). Furthermore, she "didn't find much value in knowing Japanese back then [when she was at a Japanese school]" (Interview, February 8, 2012). Eventually, this feeling of being overwhelmed with extra work led her to "hate Japanese school", and she "abruptly stopped" using Japanese after the event of her withdrawal from the school (Interview, February 8, 2012). However, Meg said that her feelings toward Japanese changed gradually, and she became more interested in Japanese because of "environment things" (Interview, April 25, 2012). Thus, this shift seemed to emerge as a result of changes in life environment and experience with new types of relationships.

Geographical Change — Place. Meg was fortunate to have had "really good" and "enthusiastic" (Interview, April 25, 2012) English teachers in her elementary school ESL class and in her high school English classes, and she thus came to like English. At the beginning of our interview session, her experience learning English seemed unrelated to the change in her feelings and attitudes toward Japanese. However, as the interview session went on, and she tried to recall

when and why her feelings toward Japanese had changed, the influence of her positive experience in English learning became clear to both Meg and me.

In grade ten, Meg had a classmate who struggled with English writing at the beginning, but ultimately got a good grade at the end of the course, all because of her great effort and the support of the 'good', 'enthusiastic' English teacher. This event opened Meg's eyes in terms of her view of learning in general. Through this experience, Meg realized that a person could develop his/her abilities by putting in the extra effort to learn. If one hoped and tried really hard to improve, it would happen. This discovery made her think more deeply about the acquisition of knowledge and/or skills, and was instrumental in her decision to relearn Japanese when she moved to Montreal for her university education.

Upon moving to Montreal, Meg discovered that most of the people she met were bi-/multi-linguals. They seemed to fully enjoy their bi-/multi-lingual lives in Montreal, a multilingual society, and to benefit a great deal in terms of their career, academic life, and simple enjoyments such as reading books. She excitedly told me how 'cool' and 'nice' it was to be a bi/multi-lingual. In Montreal, she came to understand the value of being proficient in multiple languages, and felt that being able to speak more than two languages was considered standard or normal. Thus, in this new society in which she found herself, she knew that it would not be a waste to put in the time and effort required to learn a language other than English. Like her classmate in the grade ten English writing course, she realized that a person would be rewarded accordingly for the time and effort they put into language learning. This idea motivated her to relearn Japanese; and Japanese language thus became a key to her membership in a bi/multi-lingual society. Although she had spent a great deal of time studying French in elementary and high school, and French learning was therefore in some ways much more familiar to her than

Japanese, she chose to take Japanese over French at university. The reason for this was that somewhere in the back of her mind, she felt that Japanese was her mother tongue, as seen in her answer for the question about mother tongue in the background questionnaire (see Chapter 4, Learner Participants, p.75), and therefore had priority in terms of language learning; furthermore, the environment in East Asian Studies had awakened her interest in Asian cultures, especially in Japanese and Korean cultures, which she was drawn to for their familiarity.

Development as a Person — Time. The geographical change of starting a new life in a new community and society, separated from her family, seemed to have an impact on Meg's development as a person as well. In Montreal, she could not easily call on her mother or brother for help in everyday life, especially for things related to university. As seen in the episode of telephone conversation with her family in the previous section, she was not able to discuss and share detailed information about her academic life with her family, because her brother was still a high school student who had no experience with university life, and her mother did not entirely understand what it meant, for example, to 'upgrade to a honours program' in language and culture. Meg told me of another example, in which she had struggled to explain to her mother what a 'TA' was. Although she was able to explain that 'TA' stood for 'teaching assistant', her mother could still not really understand what a 'TA' was, probably because she was not familiar with the university system in Canada and the concept or role of teaching assistants in that system. Thus, Meg eventually came to speak about her academic experiences and future/career plans more with her classmates in East Asian Studies than with her family. In turn, she also came to be influenced by the views and visions of those classmates.

Meg's classmates in Japanese and Korean courses were always very excited when they talked about visiting or living in those countries in the future. Furthermore, the East Asian

Studies department building was always filled with people speaking in East Asian languages. Meg could hear Japanese being spoken all around her, like background music. Sometimes it was conversations between faculty, and other times, it was classmates discussing their assignments or projects. Meg enjoyed this environment, and it inspired her to consider working and living in Japan in the future. In interviews, she repeatedly told me that she is wondering whether she should concentrate on psychology and go to a medical school, or live in Japan and take whatever job is available after her graduation from university. Throughout the period of our interviews and her progress through her Japanese courses, her feelings and opinions seemed to fluctuate on these matters, as though she were making small adjustments. In her diary, she stated that "participating in this study has also encouraged me to read more Japanese and immerse myself in Japanese culture" (Diary, February 29, 2012). Her participation in this study may also have influenced her future plans in terms of career and place of residence.

In her imaginative future in Japan, Meg did not feel that it would be "inconvenient" (Interview, February 1, 2012) to communicate with people in Japan, to read Japanese signs or to talk with native Japanese speakers using the correct register. During the interview sessions, she also realized that it would be wonderful if she could communicate freely in Japanese with her 88-year-old grandmother who could not understand English at all, and this could be one of her motivations and goals in learning Japanese. In the past, it was her relatives in Japan who made accommodations for Meg. When they had a chance to make small talk with her in Japanese, they spoke to her as they would to a small child, asking questions such as "how was school?" Now, however, Meg was motivated to change her position in these dynamics, and to extend a hand to her elderly non-English speaking grandmother out of respect and affection.

Seemingly, the meanings of Japanese language for Meg had changed from being 'a

burden' to being a key to membership in a bi/multi-lingual community. It also meant stepping forward into a new life as an adult, by taking the initiative to develop her relationship with her grandmother, and by establishing new relationships with university classmates who were mostly bi/multi-linguals. In Vancouver, most of the information and knowledge about Japan and Japanese language, and most of her exposure to and use of the Japanese language, was through her parents and their friends. At that time, Meg's social spheres overlapped with those of her parents. However, her geographical move to Montreal, and the psychological changes that accompanied it, pushed her to create another circle of relationships, and extended her life sphere. This was also likely one of the reasons that her feelings and attitudes toward Japanese changed.

Feelings toward Japanese Learning and Use as an Adult. During and after the interview sessions, Meg seemed to be enjoying her life as Japanese learner and as an apprentice English-Japanese bilingual. She stated that she felt "more familiar with the [Japanese] language now" (Interview, April 25, 2012). With regard to Japanese learning, she " [did] not feel so burdened" (Interview, April 25, 2012) by Japanese learning at that moment. Meg believed that her attitude toward Japanese and Japanese learning began to change positively when she took a beginner Japanese course and a translation course at university. She was "more willing to write letters and stuff" (Interview, April 25, 2012) in Japanese to her grandmother and mother. Even after the interview sessions, Meg excitedly reported to me that she had written a Mother's Day card in Japanese.

In Montreal as a university student, Meg did not receive any Japanese phone calls, which she had found so troublesome back in Vancouver. Thus, she no longer needed to avoid or fear the awkwardness stemming from those experiences. It was now entirely up to her to decide how and when she would use Japanese, and with whom. However, Meg seemed to understand

that she had to be the one to take the initiative, and that the freedom and responsibility to do so were inextricably linked. She stated, "[I now feel] much better [about Japanese learning]. I'm more interested in learning. I feel almost like obligated to [study Japanese]" (Interview, April 25, 2012). As an adult, Japanese learning shifted from being a burden for Meg to being an obligation, which she saw as something positive coming from within herself. It was not something imposed on her by others, but something that she felt a need to do if she wished to become a bilingual, which was standard in the society and/or community to which she now belonged. Also, by this time she had probably gained more confidence in her academic abilities, and knew that she was capable of learning Japanese as an adult. Although she no longer had to deal with Japanese phone calls, she now came to feel that her avoidance and reluctance to speak Japanese was "one of the things I would like to change as I continue studying Japanese" (Diary, February 6, 2012).

Meg's goal in re-learning Japanese was now to become a 'fluent' bilingual, for example, someone who could translate between English and Japanese smoothly. Looking back at her Japanese learning experiences and her relationship with the Japanese language and with her parents in the past, she suggested the following advice for people in a similar situation;

> I think it's interesting to know a lot of languages, but like, if the kid doesn't want to [study them] then I don't think it's worth forcing it. 'Cause if they do gradually get interested in, they start studying it themselves anyway. […] not force anything. Maybe partly because why I was so repulsed by Japanese is because my parents wanted me to study and they kind of forced me to be attracted to school, right? Well, ok, they really forced me, but…like I said I was really bad at it. So, I don't know, maybe it's the pressure that made me like avoid it altogether. (Interview, April 25, 2012)

This comment may sound as though Meg believed that her withdrawal from Japanese learning in childhood was her parents' fault. However, in the process of going through all her interview transcriptions, diary entries and personal communications, I felt that there was a broader narrative underlying this comment, that is, that she understood and respected her parents' feelings and decisions back then, and on the contrary felt thankful to her parents for letting her leave the Japanese school and take a break from Japanese for a certain period of time. Through her experience of Japanese re-learning, she seemed to realize that her parents had not given up on her Japanese, but rather had been patiently watching over her and waiting for her to return to Japanese learning. She expressed her understanding and thoughts about this in comments such as "my parents kind of want me to continue, or like they are happy that right now I'm studying it" (Interview, April 25, 2012) and "she [my mother] said 'finally' [you got interested in Japanese culture and language]" (Personal communication, 2014 – on the occasion of Meg's application for an English teaching job in Japan). As seen in the 'upgrading to an honors program' episode in the previous section, Meg knew that there had been a mutual understanding between her and her mother that they would never touch the topic of Japanese even if they felt some "inconvenience" in communicating with each other in Japanese. She never asked her mother whether she found it inconvenient to communicate with her in Japanese, and her mother never made any comment to that effect, but Meg suspected that they both found it inconvenient to some degree. Throughout this study, Meg showed that she appreciated the care and consideration that her mother showed her in this regard. The following two excerpts show Meg's feelings about Japanese learning after she had taken Japanese courses at university, and her desire to share her progress with her mother.

> I noticed that I get really happy when I recognize kanji and/or grammar structures I learned in class within the books. Applying things that I learned in class makes me feel like I am making progress; seeing the result of my studies is nice, too.
>
> (Diary, March 28, 2012)

Meg meta-cognitively examined her experiences as a Japanese learner and apprentice user and found that her concrete progress gave her a feeling of achievement and fulfillment. Then, to share this feeling with her mother, she wrote a Mother's Day card in Japanese on her own initiative without anyone's help.

> I just wanted to add that I attempted to write a Mother's Day card in Japanese! I usually write them in English so this is probably my first time. Content wise, I used the letter to my grandmother as a base so it wasn't really that much different; however, I felt quite proud. It is really rare for me to initiate anything in Japanese but I am more willing now than before I had started my language studies. I think I also wanted to show my mother my progress. Kind of short but I thought it was important. (Diary, May 14, 2012)

If Meg believed that her mother had given up on her Japanese long ago, she may not have written this message to her mother in Japanese, and she may not have felt this desire to show her mother her progress.

At the end of the interview period, Meg was still in the process of making and revising her future career plans. In that process, she was trying to get a sense of her Japanese re-learning and to find a place for Japanese in her future plans by integrating her academic interests in psychology and East Asian Studies. In interviews, she told me she would like to do psychology research that focused on East Asian and especially Japanese culture and people in graduate school. According to Meg, this was because not much research had been done in East Asian

countries in the field of psychology; that is, most widely accepted psychological theories had been built on 'Western' research. Proficiency in Japanese would help her to read 'Eastern' research papers and to carry out her own research on Japanese culture and people. By integrating the two fields, psychology and East Asian studies, she found a justification for learning Japanese and a way to negotiate more freely with the 'Canadian' society's expectations and norms toward Japanese people to speak Japanese. This could be seen a case of the internalization of social norms and values. However, this was not simply a matter of living up to the expectation that 'Japanese people speak Japanese'. Rather, Meg adapted and recreated these norms and expectations according to her own ideas and values using the knowledge that she had newly acquired. This process of recreation and adaptation is likely to continue as she experiences new things and gains new knowledge.

Summary of Meg's Case

At the beginning, when I looked at Meg's stories focusing on her relationship with Japanese language and culture, it seemed to me that there was a large blank in Meg's Japanese re-learning trajectory. However, when I stepped back and looked at the whole of her experience, I realized that for Meg and her family, this was not a blank, and their lives had been changing and evolving in other ways during that period of time as well. In other words, Meg's Japanese re-learning trajectory was only one part of her life. During the 'blank' period, although Japanese was something of an untouchable topic for her and her family, this did not mean that its presence was not felt. Although Meg's contact with Japanese was very limited during this "blank" period, she was not the same person when she left Japanese learning and/or use and when she came. By returning to Japanese learning in university, she was not simply restarting her Japanese learning from the point where she left off. Even during that 'blank' period, she had been growing as a

person, thinking about what she wanted, considering possibilities and testing her abilities. In that process, Japanese gradually came to have intrinsic value for her and became visible in her life as a skill.

Furthermore, she had been expanding her living sphere and establishing relationships with people outside the home. This allowed her to learn from her experiences with other people such as English teachers or school friends who had no Japanese background, and in consequence, she gained confidence and a new perspective with regard to language learning in general. By abandoning a fixed concept of 'mother tongue' or 'heritage language' and seeing Japanese simply as one language among many, Meg no longer needed to feel vulnerable or detached in relation to Japanese language and/or culture. She was able to see her Japanese ability not as something that was lacking in her nature, but as something that she could improve by formal learning, the same way that other English speakers do. This new way of thinking about her relationship with Japanese helped to make her feel ready to return to Japanese learning. In addition, starting a new life as a university student in Montreal, a multilingual city, also encouraged her to re-learn Japanese. It seems that she gained an aspect of '*language affiliation*'(Rampton, 1990) in her relationship with Japanese by letting go of '*language inheritance*'(Rampton, 1990) to a certain degree.

By meeting bi/multi-linguals in and outside of class, Meg came to imagine herself becoming one of them. In this imaginary bi/multi-lingual community, she would speak English and Japanese 'fluently' without feeling any "inconvenience" (Interview, February 1, 2012) and she would be the one who would accommodate other people's language preferences, for instance, by communicating in Japanese with her monolingual grandmother who was now "too old to do travel and thing" (Interview, April 25, 2012). She also realized that she could work in

Japan, using her English skills like other English-Japanese bilingual people do because it is “a bonus” (Interview, interview date) for people in Japan to speak English, and Japanese society values English-Japanese bilingualism very much. She could also pursue graduate studies in an interdisciplinary field combining psychology and East Asian studies if she wished. Like the immigrant women in Canada in Norton’s (2000) study and the young Japanese returnees in Kanno’s (2003) study, Meg too was creating and reshaping her own imagined community that she felt willing and able to join. To access that community, she needed to improve her Japanese, and it seemed likely that she could achieve this goal. As repeatedly expressed explicitly and implicitly in interviews and in her diary, Meg believed that knowing and doing were different things, and felt that now, as a university student and adult, she needed more input and practice to become fluent in Japanese. This attitude of hers may be explained by Lave and Wegner’s (1991) concept of *legitimate peripheral participation*.

Lave and Wenger (1991) explain that learning is not a matter of simply filling an empty space with new information and knowledge, but rather involves participation in a ‘community of practice’. In their view, there are many different ways to participate in a community of practice and the way that each person participates changes over time. Those who are new to a community learn how to handle tasks and matters and to behave properly in that community by seeing how old-comers/experts act, and by having contact with them as a kind of apprentice. Thus, they partially and peripherally participate in the community, assessing their own abilities and being assessed by others. They then gradually gain status in the community and move toward full participation, or sometimes toward other directions such as non-participation. For Meg, using Japanese in university classes was not her goal; those classes worked as a site of “apprenticeship” in becoming an expert bilingual in her imagined community. She was learning

how to become an expert bilingual through activities and communications in university classes with bi/multi-lingual classmates and teachers. In Japanese language class and translation class, she was also able to practice and assess her Japanese use. Moreover, writing to her mother and grandmother in Japanese and reading Japanese graded readers in this study allowed her to see, and to show others, her overall progress in terms of bilingualism (i.e., how much her Japanese improved, and how smoothly she could cross the border between Japanese and English). Although it is impossible to know whether this applies to all university students or language learners who are seeking to be bi/multi-lingual, at least for Meg, being in such a space, in an 'apprentice' zone, was comfortable and made her feel that she "achieved something" (Interview, April 25, 2012) each day. It seemed to me that Meg considered the space and time of apprenticeship, such as formal language learning, to be of crucial importance for her to gain full participation in her imagined bilingual community.

The Case of Ryota

Ryota and I met for the first interview in September 2011 when he was just starting his second year at university. He was a management student hoping to become a small business consultant in the future. He was the only child born to a Japanese father and a Canadian mother in Tokyo, Japan, and moved to Canada with them when he was three years old. He and his family had been living in Montreal since then. Until university, his exposure to Japanese was limited to the home, with only short phrases such as "いただきます [itadakimasu : I will take it thankfully] (commonly used before a meal)" and "いってきます [ittekimasu : I will go and come back] (commonly used when one leaves home for work/school/errand)." He often felt a vague sense of missing places in Japan that he had visited when he was little, although he did not remember any specific events or people in detail. After coming to Canada, he went to a French

elementary school, and then went on to a boarding school. He used English mixed with short Japanese phrases at home and French at school. Although he did not have Japanese-speaking siblings, friends, or relatives close by and had never studied at a Japanese school, he was still able to receive some Japanese input because his Canadian mother had a good command of Japanese and some knowledge of Japanese lifestyles. She had lived in Japan for nine years and worked in advertising, so she was accustomed to a Japanese lifestyle and to using some Japanese words and phrases in everyday life. According to Ryota, "she is very good" at Japanese and "understands most of it" (Interview, September 29, 2011). Because he was exposed to Japanese from a very early age, he saw Japanese as his first language, then English, and then French as a learned language from school.

At university, Ryota decided to start studying Japanese formally by taking a Japanese course, because he felt that it would be beneficial for his future career plans. Thus, he took First Level Japanese from September 2010 to April 2011. At the time I met him for this study, his future plan was to work as an international business consultant that would allow him to travel to different places. One of the places he wanted to work and live was Tokyo. According to his vision, he would work in Tokyo for about three or four years and then raise his family in Canada. For the three years prior to our meeting, he had been visiting his relatives in Japan with his father for about two weeks every year. During the trip, he and his father normally visited his grandparents in Iwate prefecture, northern Japan, and his uncle and father's friends in the Yokohama/Tokyo area. When they were staying in the Tokyo area, Ryota usually went off by himself during the day.

In two interviews (September 29, 2011 and December 21, 2011) and five journal entries (October 3, 2011 – December 5, 2011), Ryota reflected on his Japanese use in everyday life and

his Japanese learning experience in class, and described his relationships with Japanese culture and Canadian culture as a "half Japanese half Canadian" (Interview, September 29, 2011; Interview, December 21, 2011), and further explained how Japanese language learning fit into his plans for the future. His stories mainly revolved around his communication with his father and his experience in the university Japanese course.

Nostalgia for Japan

Ryota was born in Japan and raised in Canada. It seems that 'exposure' to Japanese culture and Canadian multicultural ideas in childhood encouraged in him a sense of attachment to Japan and a sense of Japanese community, as well as a belief in multiculturalism. This internal development had a great impact on his feelings and attitudes toward Japan and his future plans.

Ryota lived in Tokyo, Japan until he was three years old. Although he did not remember any specific people, words, or events, he still remembered and felt nostalgia for certain places, such as parks in Shimokitazawa, one of the most popular areas for the younger generation, located in the western part of central of Tokyo. He also felt nostalgia for Japanese fables that his parents had read to him when he was little. This nostalgic feeling always came back to him when he encountered anything related to Japan, and made him want to go back. This sense of attachment to Japan became stronger after he re-visited Japan as a youth/adult for the third consecutive year prior to this study. During the trip, he and his father normally stayed at his grandparents' home in Iwate in northern Japan for four to five days, and then in the Yokohama/Tokyo area for seven to ten days. He very much enjoyed going on day trips and seeing all kinds of new things without his father's help. He thought that walking around alone was "cool" (Interview, September 29, 2011), and remembered such experiences as favorable and precious moments. In his diary and interviews, Ryota explained how such moments and feelings

of attachment and nostalgia came back to him whenever he encountered things related to Japan and/or Japanese people.

In the middle of the data collection period, Ryota once heard two women talking in Japanese on his way home from university. This encounter reminded him of "being in Japan and being in family" (Interview, December 21, 2011) and made him "happy" (Interview, December 21, 2011). In his diary, he described the event and reflected on the feelings and thoughts that came to him after the event.

> Recently, like last week I've spent a lot of time at the library and not that much time at home with my family, so my Japanese speaking has been limited. However I was walking towards the train station the other night and I heard two women speaking Japanese. This experience doesn't happen very often and it was quite a nice surprise. Although I couldn't understand exactly what they were saying, I felt a sense of comfort listening in. Hearing people speak Japanese makes me feel at home and as if I'm a part of a larger community. It reminds me of the great trips I've had in Japan and my fondness for Japanese people. (Diary, December 5, 2011)

This incident further reminded him of another memory in which he had felt like he was part of a larger community, when he met a Japanese student at boarding school. He understood this as a kind of peer identity toward Japanese people that was rooted in experiences in Japan that he assumed to be shared with the people there;

> It [hearing two women speaking in Japanese] also reminded me of when I went to boarding school and there was one student from Japan called Takao. He was two years younger and we didn't have any classes together or even talk that much yet I was always happy to see him just because he was Japanese. I felt that even though we didn't know

> each other very well, I knew that he'd been to Akihabara and he's eaten ramen and that we have all of these experiences in common that I didn't have with anyone else at that school. (Diary, December 5, 2011)

The 'community' and the feeling of camaraderie that Ryota described in his diary and interviews may be explained by Benedict Anderson's idea of *imagined communities*. In his book of the same title (1983), Anderson offers a definition of *nation* to argue that nationality/nation-ness/nationalism are 'cultural artefacts' [sic] of a particular kind, and explain why these particular cultural artefacts have aroused such deep attachment. He defines *nation* as an imagined, limited, and sovereign community. The members of the community "will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion" (p. 6); however, the community has finite boundaries, and "regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each", it is "conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship" (p. 7). Although Ryota's 'larger community' may not be a *nation* and is not directly connected to the concept of 'sovereignty' or 'nationalism', it is an imagined and bounded community, and in a sense, could be called *nation-ness*.

Ryota did not talk with the two Japanese women or the Japanese student at the boarding school and he didn't know anything about their actual lives, but still, he had a sense of shared experiences and felt a deep, horizontal comradeship and attachment toward them. This modality of the community and the sense of being part of it are probably not interchangeable with words such as 'patriotism', an idea rooted in ethnicity or regional loyalty rooted in actual experiences, since his actual life was not lived in Japan and his life did not often cross with other members of the imagined community. In an interview, Ryota said that his parents exposed him to Japanese culture and that it was a part of who he is – that he was now half Japanese (Interview, September

29, 2011). From his point of view, he was not simply born ‘half Japanese’. Rather, with exposure to Japanese culture and experiences in Japan, he became ‘half Japanese’.

In relation to Japanese language, in the same diary (December 5, 2011), he wrote, “I think all this [is] to say that despite me not being able to speak Japanese that well or know that much about Japanese history, I still feel very Japanese and attached to Japanese culture even though to Japanese [people], I probably don’t seem Japanese to them at all” (Diary, December 5, 2011). Regardless of how other members of the imagined community saw him, Ryota attributed his sense of belongingness to the community to cultural ‘exposure’ and ‘experience’ more than to his ethnicity or his cultural, historical, or linguistic ‘knowledge’. However, to obtain actual membership in the ‘community’ and to interact with other members in real life, he assumed that Japanese language ability was essential. When he heard Japanese people talking, the fact that he knew they were speaking Japanese gave him the comforting feeling of being in Japan and with family, even if he could only understand a few words and didn’t know exactly what they were saying (Interview, September 29, 2011).

At the end of the diary (December 5, 2011), Ryota stated, “I always wish that my Japanese was good enough so I could jump in and say ‘日本人ですか？[nihonjin desuka?: Are you Japanese?]’ Hopefully in the near future I will be able to do so” (Diary, December 5, 2011). He seemed to feel that he was missing a necessary key in order to actually interact and be connected with other members of the imagined community, and if he wanted to do so, he would need to make a special effort. This idea was rooted in his desire to communicate with other members of the imagined community in real life and his belief that it was important to respect one’s own culture or heritage. Whether or not he could communicate with other members of the imagined community in real life may or may not have had a significant impact on his feeling of

belongingness to the 'community', yet he wished to do so nonetheless. Reading through his other comments, I felt that Ryota's desire to interact with other members of the imagined community was contextualized and became a realizable goal through his beliefs about culture and multiculturalism. I will explain this further in the following section.

Japanese Heritage in Canadian Multiculturalism

Ryota often used the words 'half Japanese' and 'half Canadian' to describe himself in interviews and in his diary. At first, I thought he was simply referring to his ethnicity or nationality. However, after reading through his diary and interview transcripts several times, I realized that for Ryota, 'being half Japanese half Canadian', did not simply mean that he was born to a Japanese father and a Canadian mother; It also referred to a specific cultural background and life history. His comments about his culture and on the maintenance of heritage language suggested that he identified as 'half Japanese half Canadian' because he had been 'exposed' to both Japanese culture and Canadian culture in his everyday life. When I asked him which part(s) of his culture(s) he liked, he answered,

> I like being half Japanese. I like best of both worlds. I'm still exposed to Japanese culture, Japanese food, you know, and sometimes Japanese movies, but I still really like living in Canada. I like being in a really multicultural country, and I think those are two things I really like about my culture that I'm able to have both. (Interview, September 29, 2011)

Instead of particularizing what his culture(s) is/are and separating the two cultures completely, he viewed his culture as a single one with multiple aspects. He liked being half Japanese (i.e., someone exposed to Japanese culture) while living in Canada, and being able to have the best of both worlds. Also, together with his comment about a sense of attachment toward Japanese people in the previous section, his answer shows that cultural 'exposure' for him was not

'cultural knowledge/information' such as history, politics, and cultural artifacts, but rather a matter of the 'cultural concepts, values, and norms' underlying things in everyday life such as food and movies. Whereas 'cultural knowledge/information' can be obtained by studying and can be explained in words, 'cultural concepts, values and norms' cannot be obtained simply by studying or fully explained in words. For example, by checking a dictionary or reading a book, you can know that 'Wabi-Sabi' means 'beauty in imperfection'; however; it does not mean that you can actually sense it at the right moment. 'Cultural concepts, values and norms' are more like mutual understandings and/or feelings between people who share daily and cultural experiences, that cannot quite be explained in words.

On the other hand, Ryota found that there was a contrast between Japanese and Canadian beliefs and policies in general, and it was not something he wanted to deal with or be involved in. In response to my question, "what don't you like about your cultures or countries?", he answered,

> That's a hard question…I guess… being a part of Canada, being Canadian, where it's so multicultural, and then you have Japan, which is known to have a very strict immigration policy and 'pure blood' kind of that idea, so I guess it's that contrast [is my answer to your question]. (Interview, September 29, 2011)

Since each country or culture has its own cultural values and norms, if Ryota wanted to consider "his culture" to be singular, he had to strike a balance between the two cultures and adjust his individual cultural values and norms accordingly. For anyone who has lived in one culture and moved to another (e.g., adult immigrants), this negotiating process would be part of the general internalization process of cultural values and norms (i.e., the process of understanding and integrating new cultural values and norms into their own cultural values and norms, and/or

creating their own new cultural values and norms based on all the cultural values and norms they have encountered). However, for Ryota, he encountered a conflict between two concurrent cultures with regard to this specific policy/belief, which made it hard for him to internalize two different cultural values and norms in a balanced way. However, his statements and comments in interviews and in his diary explained how Japanese culture and Canadian culture could be connected and could make sense to him beyond the differences in immigration policy and cultural beliefs. The following excerpt about heritage language maintenance shows the logic of this cultural belief.

Yasuko: Let's say, if I settle down in Canada and have kids, and my parents pass away, then I lose connection to Japan. I wonder if I should really teach Japanese to my kids. What do you think?

Ryota: I think it's definitely…maybe harder and little or less motivated, if you don't have direct connection to Japan. But I still think that's really important kids exposed to [their] culture and they know about their ancestors and a part of their culture.

Yasuko: Do you think there is a meaning of learning culture for the kids?

Ryota: Right. I think just in terms of being you … more accepting other cultures, you know when you are of your own and if you are more exposed the better it is.

Yasuko: Do you think they need it?

Ryota: ……I don't think they need it, but I think that it would be definitely something they can really benefit from and that I would really pass on…

Yasuko: The benefit, you mean something like future career?

Ryota: I think benefit is being more complete person, and you know, um, understanding other cultures besides of the one that you were brought up in Canada. You know,

> we are in a multicultural world and multicultural society now. It's really important to understand other cultures but as well as you are…
>
> Yasuko: To be like international [overlapping with Ryota's comment]
>
> Ryota: [overlapping with Yasuko's comment] Exactly. Yeah, like be international citizen kind of thing.

This explanation shows that the fundamental ideas and beliefs of Canadian multiculturalism enshrined in the 1971 multiculturalism policy had a direct impact on Ryota's views of culture, wherein Japanese culture is 'his own' culture, and at the same time, 'another' culture to him (i.e., as in the above interview excerpt, he keeps switching the words between "their [immigrant children like himself and his future children] culture/ancestry" and "other culture"). On the website of Citizenship and Immigration Canada (2016), the Government of Canada describes 'Canadian Multiculturalism' as follows.

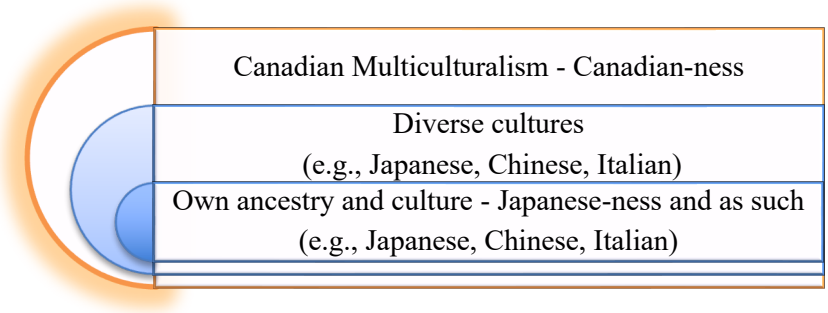
> Canadian multiculturalism is fundamental to our belief that all citizens are equal. Multiculturalism ensures that all citizens can keep their identities, can take pride in their ancestry and have a sense of belonging. Acceptance gives Canadians a feeling of security and self-confidence, making them more open to, and accepting of, diverse cultures. (What we do, Canadian Multiculturalism, para.1)

As seen in this statement, 'Canadian Multiculturalism' is comprised of two aspects: respecting and maintaining one's ancestry (i.e., own culture), and accepting diverse cultures (i.e., other cultures). However, this statement carefully avoids the use of the terms like 'own' and 'other'. It rather equivocates about the own-other distinction and/or the Canadian-nonCanadian distinction. In Canadian multiculturalism, 'respecting and maintaining one's own ancestry and culture' and 'accepting other cultures' could be two sides of the same coin. Respecting one's own ancestry

and culture (immigrant cultures as own culture) can be seen as part of the pursuit of Canadian multiculturalism as a Canadian. From a Canadian point of view, immigrant cultures are not mixed or unified as one 'Canadian culture', but each culture exists within the framework/exercise of 'Canadian multiculturalism' as a crucial element (see Figure 2). In other words, the concept of 'Canadian multiculturalism' and/or 'Canadian-ness' cannot exist without diverse immigrant cultures. Both aspects of Canadian multiculturalism (i.e., 'respecting own culture' and 'accepting other cultures') are inseparable and exercised at the same time. One immigrant culture has two aspects and works as both 'own culture' and 'other culture' in Canadian multiculturalism.

Figure 2

Canadian Multiculturalism and Cultures



*Each culture exists individually within each circle.

Ryota's comments closely resemble this statement of Canadian Multiculturalism. Ryota believes that being exposed to Japanese culture is important for him because it means that he is respecting his ancestry as Japanese, and it is also part of 'accepting other cultures' as Canadian. In this way, being half-Japanese-half-Canadian becomes possible for him, beyond the cultural and political contrast between the two countries. This is not because he has two separate "own" cultures (Japanese culture + Canadian culture = half-Japanese-half-Canadian), but rather because Japanese culture has two meanings to him in Canadian multiculturalism (Japanese culture exists

in Canadian culture and Canadian-ness functions as both own culture and other culture at the same time).

At the time that Ryota and I met for this study, he found it comfortable to live in a multicultural country, Canada, while being exposed to Japanese culture such as food and movies (Ryota understood and confirmed that 'multicultural society' means being exposed to Japanese culture such as food and movies to him). Perhaps Canadian multiculturalism is a space in which he can create and secure a place for himself to perform such hybrid and fluid identities. In this multicultural, or said-to-be-multicultural society, he has the flexibility to call Japanese culture either 'his own' or 'another' culture; and more interestingly, he can call it both 'his own' and 'another' at the same time without taking any single position, such as "Japanese" or "non-Japanese" (or "full Japanese" in Ryota's words). For him, a specific individual who was raised in Canada, Japanese culture may feel like both 'his own' and 'another' culture at the same time. That is, he felt nostalgia toward Japan; yet his cultural values, norms, and/or beliefs were influenced more by his long-term life experiences in Canada and by Canadian multiculturalism than by exposure to Japanese culture.

Looking back my own experiences in Japan and in Japanese communities in Canada, I feel that many Japanese people, including people who were raised in Japan, though not all, also understand the foundational ideas of multiculturalism, that it is important to respect ancestry and 'one's own' culture and to accept 'other' cultures. It seems that what is really difficult for Japanese people (not only Japanese people but people including myself who were born and raised in a monocultural/monolingual environment) to understand, is the fluid and multifaceted aspect of Canadian multiculturalism, in which 'one's own' and 'other' culture can be two sides of the same coin. For people who were raised in a multicultural society, a culture could be both

'one's own' culture and 'another' culture at the same time (i.e., it is difficult for them to categorize one culture under either the category of 'own culture' or the category of 'another culture'.). If a person with Japanese heritage says that Japanese culture is both 'their own' and 'another' culture, Japanese people (people who were born and raised in a monocultural/monolingual environment) are likely to understand this to mean that the person sometimes sees Japanese culture as 'their own', and at other times sees 'the other' culture as 'their own'. Many people may find it hard to understand the idea that the person might consistently identify with Japanese culture as both 'their own' and 'other' culture at the same time. Because of the Japanese idea of "pure blood" (Interview, September 20, 2011), in which people inherit nationality from their parents by nature (e.g., bloodline and can only have one nationality at a time (e.g., dual citizenship is prohibited), Japanese people may be more likely to see culture as closely and directly linked to nationality. Such cultural beliefs may have been the cause of my confusion and misinterpretation of Ryota's words, 'half Japanese' during our interviews and diary exchange. At first, I thought that he was talking about categories or fixed positions and switching around those positions, but it is more likely that by using this term, he was describing his cultural experiences, expressing his Canadian-ness, and living out Canadian multiculturalism.

The Meanings of Japanese Language: From Exposure to Asset

Over time, Ryota's attitude toward Japanese language seemed to shift from a more passive position to a more active one. This change seems to have occurred through the process of becoming independent from his parents, and especially from his father. Ryota's father figured prominently in his explanations about his Japanese use and learning.

Ryota described his Japanese use or learning at home as 'exposure' and emphasized that

it was not “real learning” (Interview, September 29, 2011; Interview, December 21, 2011). According to him, as a ‘half Japanese’ person living in Canada, he was ‘exposed’ to Japanese language as a part of Japanese culture. His parents read him Japanese children’s books such as folk tales when he was little, and they mixed some Japanese words and phrases into their English conversation with him. For example, the greetings before and after meals at home were always said in Japanese. The following excerpt shows what other types of Japanese words he used in his everyday life.

> I found myself speaking Japanese when I was in the car with my father and he said something, which I can’t remember, and I replied うそう[sic. You are lying]！I think this reflects how we use Japanese in our household: small words or phrases that we have always used since I was young. And I guess sometimes, I feel that a word expressed in Japanese may sometimes best represent what I’m trying to say. Another example is ちがうよう[sic. It is not/It’s wrong]！ (Diary, November 3, 2011)

Ryota felt that Japanese words best represented his feelings for certain types of emotions such as fatigue and surprise, and whenever he heard Japanese, he felt at home, whether he understood the content of the conversation or not (Diary, December 5, 2011; Interview, December 21, 2011). Similarly, Hiromi Goto, a Japanese Canadian writer, states in her book ‘Chorus of Mushrooms’ (1994), “… I’m glad I learned Japanese because now I can juggle two languages and when there isn’t one word in English, it will be there in Japanese and if there’s something lacking in your tongue, I’ll reach for it in English” (p.54). In this way, Japanese was consistently present in some form in Ryota’s everyday life, and Ryota thus felt a sense of nostalgia and familiarity toward Japanese (Interview, September 29, 2011). He explained that because of this feeling of connection, when he was asked to choose books for the reading section of this study, he chose

Japanese folk tales at the beginning, which he was already familiar with from his childhood, rather than other easier or more interesting books (Interview, December 21, 2011). As mentioned above, he also felt at home when he met a Japanese student at a boarding school or heard two Japanese women talking in Japanese (Diary, December 5, 2011; Interview, December 21, 2011). Furthermore, his later visits to Japan as a youth/adult seemed to encourage his independence from his father, and piqued and cultivated a sense of fondness and attachment towards Japanese language and people.

Future Plans – Working in Japan and Raising a Family in Canada. In interviews, Ryota spoke with delight about his visits to Japan as a youth/adult. Spending time exploring on his own in Japan was an enjoyable experience and an opportunity for him to practice using Japanese. The following excerpt from our interview on September 29, 2011 shows how he got along using Japanese in Japan;

Yasuko: You are always with your family when you are there [in Japan]?

Ryota: Yes. When I go with my dad, we fly together and then when we are in Mizusawa [name of a city]; we are usually with family but when we go to Tokyo, I usually go off by myself during the day, go on kind of day trips.

Yasuko: So, you use Japanese when you are there?

Ryota: A little bit. Yeah.

Yasuko: Then, you can practice [Japanese] a bit.

Ryota: Exactly. My Japanese course will definitely help in terms of when I go back and ask directions, order [foods in] Japanese……. Stuff like that.

Yasuko: You have no problem hanging around [Japan by yourself]?

Ryota: No, I really like hanging around Japan by myself, actually. That is really cool.

Yasuko: Do you try to use Japanese all the time or sometimes switch to English?

Ryota: Usually, I'll use it as much as I can, but when…if they don't understand, I switch to English. I'll use it until they don't understand, yeah.

It seems that his experiences using Japanese in Japan were always very positive and enjoyable, without any trouble or stressful situations. When I told him about my former student's experience in Japan, that Japanese people did not listen to his Japanese and spoke to him in English instead, I asked if he had similar experiences. He answered, "That's funny! I guess since I'm half Japanese, I kind of look a bit of Japanese, …that didn't happen to me at least" (Interview, September 29, 2011). In this Japanese context, his words "half Japanese" referred to his ethnicity and race. He thought that what helped him to use and practice Japanese in Japan was not only his growing understanding in terms of culture and language (i.e., knowing some Japanese words and culturally acceptable behaviors), but also his appearance. This positive experience in Japan strengthened his desire to live in Japan, and made his future plans to do so more realistic and clearer.

At the time of the data collection, Ryota already had a detailed plan for his future: he would improve his Japanese, go on an exchange and take business and Japanese courses at a prestigious Japanese university, and finally, become an international business consultant with the ability to travel around many countries including Japan. He also told me about his broader life plans, in which he would live and work in Japan for three to four years and then raise his family in Canada. In order to realize these goals, and motivated by his positive experiences using Japanese, he felt that it was important to force himself to study and practice Japanese. Based on his beliefs about multiculturalism, his connection with Japanese came to represent "a big asset" and/or "a benefit" and became something "valuable" that must be "fostered" within himself

(Interview, September 29, 2011). Having and fostering a connection with Japanese culture and/or language was valuable both in order to recognize his multicultural Canadian-ness and to realize his future career plans. This connection with Japanese differs from that of his father and from that of his childhood (e.g., nostalgia, and unconscious, non-intentional exposure), and seems close to Norton's (1995) idea of *investment* and a motivational orientation toward Japanese learning.

'Real' Learning. Ryota explained that his Japanese use with his father was not 'real' learning and not enough for him to become a "プロフェッショナル [purofesshonaru: professional]" Japanese user (Interview, December 21, 2011). By 'real learning' Ryota was referring to formal learning such as actively studying and memorizing new grammar points and vocabulary. On the other hand, he felt that he was limited in how much more Japanese he could learn from his father. Reflecting on his Japanese use with his father, he said,

> I've realized that when my family and I use Japanese, it's usually short "sayings" or sentences. Rarely do we speak Japanese to each other in full sentences. For example, when I came home from school today my father said "たいへんですね [taihendesune: It's tough.]" and I nodded. When I heard him say that I had a sense of comfort. It's a saying he's used for a while now and it's familiar to me. Another example was when I was studying from home and looking tired and he said "つかれた？ [tsukareta?: You got tired?]". Once again, a short saying that we used in our house. Sometimes I will say: "とってもつかれています [tottemo tsukareteimasu: I am very tired.]". Often times I'm not sure if what I'm saying is proper Japanese grammar and I tell my dad to correct me, but he doesn't do it very often (maybe doesn't want to embarrass me). (Diary, October 14, 2011)

Although using Japanese with his father gave him comfort, it stopped there and did not give him an opportunity to further improve his Japanese because his father did not correct him. In the last interview (December 21, 2011), he also pointed out that there was "no real learning" in conversations with his father because his father usually used words that he already knew. He thought that this situation would not help him to learn new grammar points or words that he could use for business, or for communication with other Japanese people in Japan and in Canada. Finally, he believed that the way he could learn those grammar points and words was through a formal Japanese class and teacher.

In the beginner-level Japanese course at university, what he enjoyed the most was learning new grammar points and vocabulary and practicing them in the language laboratory. Learning Japanese formally in class with other learners was something very new to him; however, he made a place for himself in the class. During the interview on December 21, 2011, when he and I were discussing whether or not a separate track for heritage language learners would make sense at the university level, he expressed a preference to study together with other heritage language learners as a matter of comfort, and explained how he felt about his current position in a class together with non-heritage learners.

Ryota: [……] It's just, it was a bit weird for me being half Japanese and in a class with full of other, you know, I kind of felt that I should have, I should kind of know more than I do? I guess, being in a class with other people in the same boat make me feel more comfortable, I think.

Yasuko: Is that like a pressure?

Ryota: Yeah, definitely. I mean, you know, like, if you are half Japanese and you know you have Korean[s] that are doing better than you, it's little embarrassing, right?

So, I think that stuff is a part of it.

Yasuko: Do you think your classmates [in the Japanese class] mind that kind of thing?

Ryota: Ah, I don't think they mind. I just think it's sort of a bit…I remember the first day when XX-Sensee [Japanese class teacher's name] and we were doing all the names, my name's Japanese, a couple of people looked, you know, "oh, why are you in Level 1?" kind of thing or so.

It seems that initially, Ryota felt a little out of place and uncomfortable to be in a beginner class. However, he tried his best to make a place for himself in the class. He had a couple of friends in the class and he explained to them that his father had come to Canada to learn English, and he (Ryota) had never learned Japanese at school. According to him, these friends were "really nice about it and they said 'oh, that's ok'" (Interview, December 21, 2011). Ryota's site of Japanese learning thus moved from home to school, or in his words his 'real' learning place, and he created a new identity as a language learner there. At the time that Ryota was taking the course, Japanese had become more than just a site of nostalgia; it was now present in his everyday life as a university student, and something that he wanted to attain in the future.

Feelings toward Japanese Learning and Use as an Adult. As this study and the semester drew to a close in December 2011, Ryota seemed to be both nervous and motivated about continuing with his Japanese learning. He had become more independent as a language learner. Over time, his identity as a language learner came to be expressed more often in his statements and comments in diaries and interviews. This change may have been influenced by his formal Japanese learning experience the year before, as well as by the change in his living arrangements. At the time of my writing this, Ryota had not been engaged with "real" Japanese learning for more than six months after the completion of the beginner-level Japanese course.

His only chances to use Japanese were when he was with his father and when he was meeting with me for this study. However, these chances were gradually diminishing as well. Ryota's parents were moving to Western Canada, and the interview and/or chat session (see Chapter 4, Methods, p.71) of this study was also about to finish.

In his interview with me on December 21, 2011, Ryota stated that the reading session of this study made him realize how much he wanted his Japanese to improve, and that learning Japanese had become more important to him than before,

> I guess through the readings, I realized that just sort of how much I wanna read even more and how much I wanna get good at it because it's kind of I got frustrated sometimes when I wasn't able to like finish a book quickly or something like that. So, it's just kind of like maybe I wanna learn Japanese even more, I think. Then I can be more pu-ro-fe-ssho-na-ru [professional]. (Interview, December 21, 2011)

The main reason that he felt this way was because he had noticed that his Japanese was getting worse compared to when he was taking the Japanese course, and he thus realized the importance of ongoing practice for language learning.

> [……] because when I was taking a Japanese course, I was doing it every day so I was getting quite good at it. But and then, since I wasn't able to take it this year, and I realized that it's something that I have to do often. 'Cause even I haven't done it in maybe like six months but I see that my Japanese is going a lot worse than it was then when I was doing the course. So, I think that just maybe I realized that I have to constantly be doing Japanese. (Interview, December 21, 2011)

By learning Japanese formally, he was able to develop an identity as a language learner, by learning new and effective ways to improve his Japanese, and by joining a learner's community.

He also discovered a new aspect of language learning, which is that the knowledge gained in learning does not remain unchanged forever, and thus language learning requires ongoing, consistent effort. From his perspective at the time, Japanese learning was not easy or difficult, but it was "just something you have to keep on doing […] over a long period of time" and something "you can't just do it for a year intensely and then stop" (Interview, December 21, 2011). Yet, in order to confront that reality, he was actively seeking ways to overcome these difficulties, similar to the way that he had tried to make a place for himself in class. Knowing now what 'real' learning was like and how it must be done, he analyzed his problems in Japanese learning as "just a matter of really learning it and then just getting a habit of speaking only in Japanese" (Interview, September 29, 2011). With regard to "getting a habit of speaking", he came up with many ways to use Japanese, such as participating in a language exchange, making "Japanese friends as opposed to international friends" (Diary, November 20, 2011) during the exchange program, and talking with his father on the phone (Diary, November 20, 2011; Interview, December 21, 2011). In the last interview (December 21, 2011), he stated that although joining a Japanese conversation would make him feel more intimidated than before because his Japanese ability had gone down compared to when he was taking the Japanese course, he would try to do his best in spite of the difficult challenges. It seemed to me that he came to take more responsibility for his own Japanese learning. Furthermore, he hoped to construct new relationships with Japanese-speaking people outside of his family in the future, and believed that Japanese language was an essential key in pursuing this goal. As mentioned earlier in this section, when he described his encounter with two women speaking in Japanese, he stated, "Hearing people speak Japanese makes me feel at home and as if I'm a part of a larger community. It reminds me of the great trips I've had in Japan and my fondness for Japanese

people. I always wish that my Japanese was good enough so I could jump in and say "日本人ですか？ [nihonjin desuka?: Are you Japanese?]" Hopefully in the near future I will be able to do so" (Diary, December 5, 2011). Thus, the more recent changes in his attitude did not represent a complete shift from nostalgia/familiarity to new kinds of relationships. He had always had a sense of attachment and desire to be connected to Japanese people who were members of 'a larger community'; these new relationships could be built upon his already existing nostalgic attachments and desires. What had changed was that he no longer waited for Japanese people to talk to him or gave pre-emptive apologies such as "My Japanese is not very good" (Interview, September 29, 2011); rather, he had become willing to approach others more proactively. The meanings of Japanese for him probably changed from mere 'exposure' to being 'a real asset', and with that change, his attitudes toward Japanese learning and use changed from passive to active.

The development of Ryota's independence and his development as a person and as a language learner were also evident in his comments about a Japanese folk tale, 一寸法師 [issunbooshi: One-Inch Boy], which he chose as his text for the reading session for this study. In the story, the main character, 'one-inch boy,' leaves his home for Kyoto, the old capital of Japan, to see and learn new things. At first, Ryota could not understand "why 一寸法師 [one-inch boy] wanted to go to Kyoto so much to learn with 立派な先生 [rippana sensee: great and famous teacher] and not stay with his parents that love him so much" (Diary, October 3, 2011). However, one month later, he seemed to identify himself with the main character, and wrote, "I think this story [One-Inch Boy] is trying to show that sometimes, you have to go away from your family and grow and experience things before you return. Maybe I am way off!" (Diary, November 3, 2011).

Summary of Ryota's Case

When I met Ryota for the first time, he already had a clear and detailed plan for his future. I felt that he was an 'average' university student in a foreign language class who had just started to learn a new language for his future career. His attitude towards Japan or Japanese culture seemed to be neither positive nor negative. He was not obsessed with Japan or Japanese culture and hesitated to call himself Japanese. However, while I was transcribing our interviews and reading through the transcriptions and his diary, I realized that he had been feeling the presence of a larger Japanese community, which was not an actual community he lived in, and that 'imagined' community was created and sustained by his relationships with two countries, Japan and Canada.

Being born in Japan and exposed to Japanese culture in his childhood, Ryota had always had nostalgic feelings toward Japan. His 'imagined' community was built upon such nostalgia and childhood memories, and at the same time, it was supported and maintained by Canadian multiculturalism. He was able to view that community in a positive way and keep imagining it because he was raised in the context of Canadian multiculturalism, which promotes having and accepting multiple cultures. By imagining and cherishing a Japanese community, he was also able to express his Canadian-ness and pursue Canadian multiculturalism. Moreover, although there are great gaps between Canadian culture and Japanese culture, because of his beliefs about multiculturalism, his 'imagined' Japanese community became a space somewhere between those two cultures for him.

However, what had shaped and reshaped this community had been his experiences as a youth and/or adult, and the desires and decisions that arose from those experiences. Furthermore, these experiences added a new aspect of reality and future possibility to his sense of '*affiliation*'

with Japanese language (i.e., the transformation of '*language affiliation*'), and influenced the way that he related to the community. In particular, his later visits to Japan as a youth/adult and his formal Japanese learning experience at university seemed to have a great impact on his relationship with and approach to the community. These experiences gave him a chance to become independent from his family, especially from his father, and to create a new identity as a language learner and university student. In consequence, he was able to gain direct access to his 'imagined' Japanese community without the filters of his father and his nostalgic childhood, and the community thus became more real to him. In other words, he felt that he could actually interact with other members of the community if he wished. Ryota's 'imagined' Japanese community thereby became attainable and aroused in him a desire to be connected with other members in real life, unlike in Anderson's concept of *imagined community* for *nation*, which does not include such desire or reality. Ryota was now able to decide for himself how and what kind of relationships he would have with Japan, Japanese people, and Japanese language, and take control of his own Japanese learning.

The Case of Tomoyuki

When I first met Tomoyuki in January 2012, he was in the last semester of his undergraduate studies and was hoping to go to Japan with the Japan Exchange and Teaching (JET) program after graduation. Although he was an architecture student studying urban planning and the JET program did not directly relate to his future career plans, he considered it to be a valuable opportunity for him because he wanted to see Japan for himself and experience Japanese life. Tomoyuki was born and raised in Montreal and had never been to Japan. Therefore, he had no way to personally confirm the stories about Japan that he heard from his Japanese family and friends. He felt that he wanted to go and to see for himself if those stories

are true and whether the customs he and his family practiced at home really had roots in Japan.

Tomoyuki's paternal Japanese ancestors immigrated to Canada before World War Ⅱ and moved to Montreal from Vancouver. His father was raised in Montreal and met Tomoyuki's mother, who was from an Italian immigrant family, in his childhood. They became childhood friends and grew up in the same area. They both lost their 'heritage' languages as they grew up. When Tomoyuki's father was in the lower grades, his schoolteacher told his parents (Tomoyuki's grandparents), to stop using Japanese with him at home because of his lack of English and French abilities. As an adult, Tomoyuki's father was able to understand what was said in basic Japanese, but he could not read or write Japanese. Tomoyuki himself, having formally studied Japanese, had stronger reading and writing skills than his father.

Tomoyuki and his elder sister, who was a graduate student in Alberta at the time of our interviews, went to Saturday Japanese school when they were little, but only for a very short time. The sister chose not to learn Japanese at university. Neither Tomoyuki nor his sister could understand Italian, and their communication with other family members at home was carried out primarily in English. However, some Japanese words and expressions were occasionally used at home because of the influence of their elderly Japanese grandmother, who lived nearby. She normally spoke in English; however, in certain situations and circumstances, she would use specific Japanese words or expressions, such as "天狗になる [tengu ni naru：becoming a long-nosed goblin] (being conceited/all puffed up)" and "白人 [hakujin: white people] (a negative term for Caucasian)." Tomoyuki visited her often.

Tomoyuki went to English schools but was in a partial French immersion program in high school. For the French language class, native French speaking students and non-native French speaking students were placed in different classes. However, Tomoyuki challenged this

policy and asked to be placed in a class for native French speaking students, in spite of his low level of French. As a result, he gained a good command of French and became an English-French bilingual.

After entering university, Tomoyuki met some Japanese people at the Japanese restaurants where he worked part time. Through this experience, he became motivated to take a preparatory Japanese course and then go to Japan after graduation. Thus, in his final year at university, he enrolled in First Level Japanese. Tomoyuki was taking that course during the period of data collection, from September 2011 to April 2012. Tomoyuki was not living with his parents at the time, but was living in an apartment with his girlfriend. However, he often visited his parents and grandmother. On such occasions, he read Japanese books to them or went to Japanese restaurants with them in order to show them how his Japanese had improved.

In eleven interviews (January 31, 2011 - May 3, 2012; 10 interviews were recorded) and ten journal entries (February 2, 2012 – April 11, 2012), Tomoyuki did not focus on his experiences from the past, but rather reported and described his current feelings toward Japan, Japanese culture, and Japanese learning. He also spoke willingly about his experiences learning French and his thoughts on language learning and language policies in Quebec. His stories often reflected upon Japanese Canadian history and the experiences of the Japanese Canadian community.

Japanese Canadian Inheritance and Exclusion

The Confusion among Co-existing Cultural Values and Norms. Tomoyuki was very proud of his Japanese ancestors, including his grandfather who was a well-known Kendo master, and a Japanese relative who was a member of the Vancouver Asahi baseball team, which is famous in Japanese Canadian history and Canadian baseball history. Vancouver Asahi was a

Japanese-Canadian baseball team established in 1914 and based in Vancouver. The team won numerous championships in the 1930s and was inducted into the Canadian Baseball Hall of Fame in 2003. During World War II, the team was disbanded and its members were dispersed across Canada as a result of the Japanese-Canadian internment.

Tomoyuki seemed to have unconsciously inherited Japanese cultural concepts from his father and Japanese grandparents to a certain degree. Although he stated in his background questionnaire and interviews that he had no Japanese use or input at home, he sometimes used Japanese words and expressions not used in class or public spaces, such as '馬鹿 [baka: stupid]', '天狗になる [tengu ni naru: to become bigheaded]', and '白人 [hakujin: White, negative term for Caucasian]' during the interviews. Such words and expressions normally have negative connotations, and are thus usually used with family members and close friends in Japanese society. Tomoyuki understood not only the words and expressions, but also the negative connotations. This was probably the reason that, in our conversations, I often felt as if I was talking with a Japanese person from Japan. However, at the time of the interviews, he seemed to be struggling with understanding and accepting Japanese ways of thinking, and seemed stressed about Japanese learning. His description of one particular incident that happened at the end of the Japanese course showed his frustration and disappointment with himself and with Japanese society.

At the end of the semester, all the students in the Japanese course needed to form groups and present skits, and as preparation, each group was asked to make an appointment and bring a draft of their script to the instructor and teaching assistant. However, none of Tomoyuki's group members showed up for the meeting with the teaching assistant, and were reprimanded by the instructor the next day. According to Tomoyuki, the reason that his group members did not come

for the meeting was that most of the members were not in class on the day the instruction about the skit was given, and one of them who had been present gave the wrong instructions to the other members. Tomoyuki had also been present in class that day, but he was not confident in his Japanese and not quite sure whether he had correctly understood the teacher's instructions. Thus, he simply followed the mistaken instructions of the other member. In our interview which was conducted in the same week as this incident, Tomoyuki seemed upset and depressed at the same time. He kept telling me that he could not understand why his teacher was so upset about their 'misunderstanding' and had scolded them so harshly. He felt that people needed to move toward the future by finding solutions rather than looking back and dwelling on past mistakes. During the interview, I told him that I thought his teacher's reaction was understandable, and explained why I felt that way. That night after the interview, he made a long journal entry expressing his feelings and thoughts about the event. The journal entry showed his frustration and disappointment toward a Japanese mentality that did not accept him as he was, and also toward himself who was not able to comprehend it.

> This week was interesting, I dealt with a bad teamwork experience, but it was interesting how you viewed the situation, and how XX sensei [teacher] did as well. I feel like Japanese culture can be quite unforgiving, especially with regards to respect. I think YY sensei [teacher] must have felt insulted, (rightfully so), but XX sensei [teacher] seemed happier to ignore our group after our genuine misunderstanding rather than find a solution. Even when speaking to you, I felt that you were more focused on conveying the gravity of the situation rather than finding a solution. Maybe it's just me (I take things in stride and move past things), but I think there are more effective [ways] to dealing with problems. I could have been extremely mad at ZZ, my group member who failed to

> inform us of the situation, but instead I chose to find out a solution. It was not because she is my friend that I wanted to be nice, she is just another student-- I'd rather shoulder her failure and find a solution instead of add to her stress. The stress connected to anger and shame is more than the stress of finding a solution, therefore I always try and do the latter. (Diary, April 12, 2012)

It seemed to me that Tomoyuki was trying to justify his behavior at the time, and to show that he did not mean to disregard or disrespect either his instructor or me. I felt that he was struggling, making an effort to not disappoint us. Although he did not say this outright, it seemed to me that he was expecting me to deliver this message to his instructor. In this diary, he suggested in a negative tone that the gap between his own perception of the incident and that of myself and the instructor might be due to cultural differences.

> I wonder if I will experience this when I go to Japan... It will have to be an area of interest for me. I have heard that Japanese culture can be quite extreme in some cases. In the most drastic of cases, seppuku [suicide by disembowelment] was a form of dealing with shame and disrespect amongst samurai (I think, right?), but also in lesser cases in the present day, as seen in the Makioka Sisters movie [a Japanese movie based on Jun'ichiro Tanizaki's novel, *the Makioka Sisters*], saving face is extremely important in order to avoid the shame connected to shortcomings and embarrassment.
>
> (Diary, April 12, 2012)

The Japanese mentalities that Tomoyuki encountered seemed very foreign to him. He tried to find explanations in stereotypes of Japanese culture from the past and from old movies. The contents of this diary entry conflicted somewhat with the general beliefs and ideas he expressed in most of his diaries and interviews.

In both his interviews and diaries, he often emphasized the importance of firsthand experience and acceptance of other cultures. For example, with regard to his own culture (Canadian culture), he commented, “I think that Canadian culture is diverse, and I think that’s what makes Canadians Canadian ……I think the nicest Canadian culture is that you don’t necessarily need to assimilate. You can be, you can retain whoever you were before you came to Canada” (Interview 1, January 31, 2012). This image of the tolerance and openness of Canadian culture was portrayed throughout Tomoyuki’s interviews and diaries. However, when he encountered something unfamiliar to him or very distant from what he believed about ‘North American culture’, he often contrasted it with negative stereotypical ideas about Japan and/or Japanese people, using strong words such as ‘xenophobic’ and ‘切腹 [seppuku: suicide by disembowelment]’. I felt that he was unintentionally trying to reject Japanese culture and/or society before being rejected and hurt by them. He seemed very upset about not being able to understand or accept the things that seemed to be mutually understood among Japanese people. Instead of asking or talking with a Japanese person about it, he chose to challenge such mentalities by connecting to them to cultural differences represented as a good/bad dichotomy. At the same time, he actively displayed his knowledge about Japanese culture to the people around him, including Japanese people such as his instructor and myself. He may have been trying to express implicitly that he knew about Japanese culture, but that he ‘chose’ not to be a part of it himself. It is possible that this was a tactic to avoid being excluded or hurt by Japanese culture or society in advance. His frustration seemed to come from some confusion in his values and beliefs, which were both consciously and unconsciously influenced by the cultural values in Japanese and/or Japanese-Canadian society. The skit event shook his confidence in such values and beliefs and made him feel confused.

In the interviews and diaries, Tomoyuki always expressed his thoughts, opinions, and beliefs in a very clear and strong way without hesitation. Among them, there were several things that I felt were very close to my own beliefs and cultural values in Japanese society. One of them was his belief in hard work. Tomoyuki believed that attending class every day made him a good student, and so he did this. In the interviews, he repeatedly told me that he attended all the classes, sat in the front, and went to his instructor's office often. In Japanese society, hard work is often more highly valued than talent in many areas such as study, work, and sports. For example, a handwritten homework assignment is more highly valued than typed homework. This value applies to attendance as well. Someone who attends class every day will be considered a much better student than someone who is not in class physically, but has perfect assignments and exams. Tomoyuki understood these values and norms and behaved accordingly. However, he felt that the skit event had nullified his efforts, and the penalty he got was worse than he expected. This experience made him look like a bad student rather than a good student, which was a surprise to him, since he believed that he understood Japanese culture and expectations much better than his classmates in the Japanese course. He was very proud of his Japanese last name, Japanese grandfather and Japanese-Canadian relatives. His interviews and journals show that he talked about them and showed old pictures and books written about them to his teacher and classmates during the semester. He seemed to consider himself more knowledgeable than his classmates in terms of Japanese culture, and to have a closer relationship with his teacher and with me, both from Japan. He seemed very confident in his knowledge and proud of his connection with Japan. However, all of sudden, he had become a worse student than his classmates who did not know much about Japanese culture. It is possible that this incident hurt his pride, and he felt excluded and/or rejected from Japanese culture and society as a result.

Another of Tomoyuki's beliefs regarding Japanese culture was also challenged. He understood that cooperation was an essential part of Japanese culture and that consideration for others was important. Therefore, he was protective of the group member who was likely responsible for the misunderstanding with the skit, and hesitated to tell his teacher or me exactly what had happened. However, this tactic did not work; indeed, it irritated us. Our reaction probably surprised him and made him start thinking that the things he believed were good, such as working hard and being cooperative, may not be from Japanese culture, and that there must be something else going on in Japanese mentalities that he did not understand. It is possible that he needed something that would help him to make sense of this conflict and the situation in which he was placed.

Similar to Mayumi's story about '義理 [giri: a sense of duty]', some Japanese cultural concepts and values had developed inside of him consciously and unconsciously, but not fully. There were still some aspects that were very foreign to him. Certainly, 'hard work' and 'cooperation' are important parts of Japanese culture. However, there is a core idea underlying such values, a reason why 'hard work' and 'cooperation' are highly valued. That is, one's individual actions are carried out in conjunction with other people, and one must therefore be considerate to those people who are or will be influenced by his/her actions. One must show respect to those people; it is a matter of 'responsibility' rather than of 'saving face'. For example, in terms of 'hard work', a student who does not show up for class and studies at home may be studying harder and for longer hours than a student who is sitting in class every day; however, the latter is seen as more 'hard-working' and as a better student. This is because taking a course involves many people and taking the time to come to school means that the student is showing respect to the people involved, such as his/her teacher, classmates, and parents who support

him/her. These actions are highly valued compared to actions and events not involving others and can be seen as ‘cooperative’ and ‘considerate’ actions as well. In this sense, two seemingly different values, ‘hard work’ and ‘cooperation’, are connected. In the case of the skit event, although Tomoyuki was a ‘hard-working’ student in general and was considerate to his group members, there were other people involved in this event, and their seemingly simple ‘misunderstanding’ had an impact on the other people involved as well. To avoid the same mistake and show respect to the others affected, such as their teaching assistant and teacher, it was very important to understand and explain clearly what had happened before shielding group members from blame. I believe that in each culture, there are many different beliefs and values that co-exist and cannot be considered separately. In each situation, a person is probably prioritizing one belief/value over others and/or modifying their own beliefs/values while following the core ideas underlying these beliefs and values. Therefore, it may require a great deal of effort to understand the core idea underlying beliefs and values and the relationships between each belief and each value, which may confuse people who grew up in a multicultural environment where many different beliefs and values co-exist and they must go through a process of cultural negotiation every day.

The Gap between Inheritance and Appearance. Tomoyuki also faced a conflict between the way he looked and Japanese or Japanese-Canadian cultural values. He viewed Japanese culture as “a little xenophobic” (Interview 10, May 3, 2012). Although he had never encountered any incident where he was treated differently or discriminated against, he got this idea of Japan and Japanese culture from his experience with his Japanese family, especially the way his Japanese grandmother viewed and treated his Italian-Canadian mother.

I think my dad has some influence on my perspective of how Japanese people are, and

> just being around with my grandmother and her friends, and my grandfather, just, it's a little bit different [from watching movies and so on]. …Historically speaking, Japanese have been little bit xenophobic… Just like my grandmother calls my mother 'hakujin [White]'. That's not the nicest word to call someone, right? Little rude? And then when you are over there, you call [foreigners] 'gaijin [foreigner, outsider]' right? Just like labeling just because people look different, labeling of an outsider.
>
> (Interview, May 3, 2012)

Tomoyuki had seen his Japanese grandmother call his Italian-Canadian mother '白人 [hakujin: white]' and understood its negative connotation, that the word is used when Japanese people are looking down on Caucasians. It seemed that his Japanese grandmother did not have positive feelings toward Caucasians. This negative view may have been rooted in a past historical event, that is, the Japanese-Canadian internment and evacuation during World War II; however, Tomoyuki perceived this as typical of Japanese views in Japan. In this globalized and highly mobile world, many Japanese people in Japan, especially the younger generation, also travel to other countries and admire 'whiteness', like other Asian people. Nevertheless, he had a preconceived idea that Japanese people in Japan still harbored feelings of dislike toward foreigners who were visually different. He believed that the aim of the JET program he was applying for was "introducing Japanese people to outside of Japan" (Interview, May 3, 2012), even though the Japanese government's stated intention is 'cultural exchange', which aims not only to receive cultural knowledge from abroad, but also to promote Japanese culture in other countries. Tomoyuki's image of Japan or Japanese society was very different from that of other Japanese learners who had been to Japan and/or had watched Japanese movies and animations. As he himself stated, his exposure to Japanese culture and/or cultural environments was probably

"a little bit different" than that of the majority of Japanese learners. His Japanese-Canadian family history, with grandparents who immigrated to Canada before World War II and never went back to Japan after that, may have influenced his view of Japan and Japanese culture. This "little xenophobic" aspect of his own image of Japanese culture seemed to bother him very much, as his frustration about the function of Japanese cultural concepts and values in the 'skit' event showed.

Tomoyuki did not look particularly Asian, and normally, he was not taken as Japanese unless he gave his Japanese last name. He seemed to feel that he looked '白人 [hakujin: white]' to Asian-looking Japanese people, and did not want to be seen as the same as other '白人 [hakujin]'. Although he did not accept xenophobic ideas, he was not completely opposed to the category of '白人 [hakujin]'. He did not want to be included in that category, especially the type of '白人 [hakujin]' who devoted themselves to Japanese language and culture but did not have an in-depth understanding. He looked down on such people and clearly separated them from Japanese native speakers. In an interview (Interview, March 27, 2012), while he was explaining the relationship between language and culture, he shared with me an episode that illustrated what he saw as the danger of using a foreign language without learning it properly.

> Like other day, all over the XX [name of the area], there is a graffiti artist, who tags the name 'Akira'. He is curious about that Japanese name, ok? But he ties the name with Katakana. And I got annoyed because why would he write 'Akira' [Japanese name] in Katakana all over the walls? You know? I found out that the guy is actually just a white guy and he is just like absolutely obsessed by Japanese language and characters. But he is unaware of what it means. And I just don't wanna be ignorant like that guy. Not only he is vandalizing but he is doing it without being aware what it means, if it was, I thought

> that Japanese person who is making a statement saying like “I am a foreigner in a foreign place and my language is foreign” so then maybe that makes sense instead of writing in Hiragana or I don’t know ‘Akira’ written in Kanji? (Interview, March 27, 2012)

In his mind, there was a clear difference between ‘a white guy’ writing a Japanese name in Katakana and a Japanese person living in Montreal writing it in Katakana. He thought that he had “more of a connection to the language in my [his] personal life” (Interview, March 27, 2012), as his father and grandparents were Japanese and they “still keep in touch, to a certain extent, with the Japanese community” (Interview, March 27, 2012). Nevertheless, he was still at risk of falling into the ‘白人 [hakujin]’ category and felt the need to learn Japanese properly. He had pride in his Japanese roots, but he felt that his physically different appearance made it difficult for him to be accepted by Japanese or Japanese-Canadian society. Also, because he grew up in that Japanese-Canadian culture and inherited some of its cultural values, he could not entirely reject the category of ‘白人 [hakujin]’ and could not avoid seeing himself as a person who could easily fall into this category. He once stated that there was ‘something’ that his father had inherited culturally from his Japanese grandfather, as had Tomoyuki himself (Interview, May 3, 2012). It appeared that this conflict between his Japanese cultural inheritance (i.e., way of thinking and norms) and his non-Asian looks irritated and confused him on a certain level. Even though he did not like the concept of ‘白人 [hakujin]’ in Japanese or Japanese-Canadian society, he still believed in the validity of the category and wished to remain outside of it. It is possible that this relates to his belief that people should move toward to the future rather than looking back, and find solutions rather than focus on causes. This belief probably applies to his opinions about Japanese-Canadian history as well. Tomoyuki had a great interest in Canadian history and politics, including Japanese-Canadian history. However, he avoided discussing or

arguing about such issues and distanced himself from issues such as the Japanese-Canadian internment and questions of redress. He felt that if he tried to reveal his opinion about such issues, he may encounter some kind of conflict, such as being associated with '白人[hakujin]'(i.e., he may have an image of 'Canadian = 白人[hakujin]' versus Asian) . It is possible that he was unconsciously avoiding such complications, as well as the feeling of exclusion and/or rejection by Japanese or Japanese-Canadian society that would come with it. Focusing on the future was likely one of his strategies for dealing with such conflicts and for overcoming the associated negative feelings. It may be the case that he needed to live in a grey zone and find a third space somewhere between cultures in order to avoid conflict.

Canadian Multiculturalism and Quebec Language Policy

While Tomoyuki struggled to find an appropriate degree of distance from Japanese or Japanese-Canadian culture and society, he seemed to be comfortable with Canadian multiculturalism, and at the same time, sought help there. In the first interview, he defined his cultural identity as Canadian and stated,

> I'm just like a mix of cultures which is what Canada is, you know everyone's coming from everywhere, so in that sense, that's how I feel about it. I feel very Canadian. But at the same time, when I feel the need or the desire, I can always identify with specifically one nationality from either my mom or dad's side. (Interview 1, January 31, 2012)

Tomoyuki also claimed without hesitation that his favorite aspect of Canadian culture was its diversity. It seems that Canadian multiculturalism gave him the freedom to choose his culture and national identity and allowed him to cross such cultural and national borders freely. Even if Japanese or Japanese-Canadian society did not accept him, as long as he was 'Canadian', he could claim Japanese and/or Japanese-Canadian identity for himself and his claim would be

accepted in the broader Canadian society. Tomoyuki was making the most of being 'Canadian', and linked Canadian multiculturalism with the flexibility of retaining one's language.

> I think, the nicest Canadian culture is that you don't necessarily need to assimilate. You can be, you can retain whoever you were before you came to Canada. I don't think that applies necessarily to me because I'm Canadian but for an immigrant, you don't, you can be, you can retain your language, and you can be; still have that, um how do I say? …Um, identity. (Interview 1, January 31, 2012)

Ironically, the insider-outsider concept that is evident in the terms '白人 [hakujin]' and '外人 [gaijin: foreigner, outsider]' in Japanese was woven into his daily life and understanding of Canadian multiculturalism. He clearly distinguished between 'Canadians' who were born in Canada and 'immigrants' who came to Canada later on, and positioned himself in the category of 'Canadian'. During the interviews, he often distinguished between 'Canadians' and 'immigrants'. On the other hand, in his view of 'Canadian multiculturalism', Quebec was not included. In the same statement, he continued,

> …For an immigrant, you don't, you can be, you can retain your language, and you can be, still have that, um how do I say? …Um, identity…whereas other places, … perhaps Quebec specifically you are asked more to use the language that is spoken here just through the language law, like you have to be educated in French regardless of what you want to be educated in as growing up as a child. So, I don't know, it's tough. Quebec, I think is a little bit different than the rest of Canada. (Interview 1, January 31, 2012)

From his perspective, Canadians who were born in Canada and immigrants who came from other countries were different, and also, his views toward language protection in Quebec and that of other parts of Canada were different. Throughout the data collection period, he expressed

unfavorable impressions of Quebec language policy, stating that the situation in Quebec conflicts with Canadian multiculturalism, and that is a little problematic in terms of language maintenance and learning. The way that Quebec society treats immigrants judicially and administratively in terms of language did not fit into what he believed Canadian multiculturalism to be. At the same time, however, this insistence on the maintenance of the French language in Quebec raised his language awareness and contributed to the development of strong beliefs in the power of language.

Through his experiences learning French, Tomoyuki learned that there was a demarcation between native French speakers and non-native French speakers at school, and that the line could be crossed only by acquiring a high level of French proficiency. In an interview, he told me a story about his French learning experience at high school. As mentioned, at Tomoyuki's high school, native French-speaking students and non-native French-speaking students were separated and placed in different French classes. He was a non-native French speaker and placed in a 'non-native' class at first. Although his French proficiency was not very high, he asked teachers to place him in a 'native' class. As a result, he did not receive a good grade in French, but felt that his French improved greatly. After that, he never encountered any problems in Montreal and did not see any difference between native French speakers and himself in the way people treated him. He explained that he liked a challenge and normally preferred to challenge himself with something interesting with high stakes rather than taking the safe or easy way. Thus, he did not regret his decision to switch into the native French classes and saw his choice as a success. This successful experience gave him confidence in his language ability and confirmed its importance in being accepted by the society. Although he did not approve of Quebec language policy, his view of the relationship between language and cultural understanding seemed to be influenced

by Quebec notions of linguistic ability. Based on his own first-hand experience and success, he explained the strong link between language and culture in his diary as follows:

> I think learning a language is essential to fully understanding a culture. I don't know if one can ever fully understand everything if there is always a language barrier in between. If words and texts are translated, there is always a middleman interpreting. If one wants [to] interpret and understand a culture first hand, there cannot be a translator in between. (Diary, April 11, 2012)

In his view, culture and language could not be separated, and a culture could not be fully understood without learning and acquiring its language. This idea seemed central to his ability to position himself and other people in society. This may be the reason that he was so harsh in the way he spoke of the 'white guy obsessed with Japanese language' introduced in the previous section, who did not in Tomoyuki's view have proper knowledge of Japanese. He probably could not welcome such a person into his Japanese or Japanese-Canadian community or accept him as a peer of equal rank. Tomoyuki's beliefs about culture and language was likely behind his persistent suggestion that I study French harder and never give up.

One day during the interview, I told him about an experience I had in Montreal, in which a cashier at a retail store, assuming that I could not understand French, skipped my turn and started talking to the next customer behind me in French. I could understand what she was saying to the next customer, and could see that the person was feeling very uncomfortable with the way the cashier had treated me. After telling Tomoyuki this story, he wrote the following comments in his diary, illustrating his opinion about language and power:

> For example, I can tell you that French Quebecers are ignorant and should encourage immigrants to learn the language instead of being insensitive, but until you learn the

> language and converse with the people yourself, I'm not sure you'd get the whole story. I have experienced what you experience with French as well. I think that Francophones here in Montreal revert to English far more than English people speaking French. I believe that it is a result of being constantly flooded with English media and culture. It may be a knee-jerk reaction to laugh at someone who is unable to speak the language, I know I do it sometimes, but it doesn't mean that it is malicious. For sure the case that you described at Canadian Tire sounds malicious, but I would encourage you to continue to use the language. Perhaps find someone who will help you learn …… Next meeting will be conducted in French and Japanese. OK? (Diary, April 11, 2012)

This behaviour of finding and sharing a commonality between him and me (i.e., my French experience in Quebec as Asian and his Japanese experience in Japanese class as 白人[hakujin]-looking Canadian) may have been a way for Tomoyuki to feel like an equal with me, and eventually, to be accepted by a Japanese community in general, but at the same time, it showed his strong belief in the relationship between language ability and power. This belief seemed to have some impact on his view of multiculturalism as well. In Tomoyuki's view, if one does not know a language, he/she cannot understand the culture. Although he saw Quebec's language policies as being out of line with Canadian multiculturalism, his image of 'multiculturalism' was rooted in his belief in the power of language formed by his language experiences in Quebec.

Also, as seen in his reaction to the '白人 [hakujin]' who had posted the Japanese graffiti, he understood that the issue was not only whether the mainstream culture/society accepted minority cultures/societies, but also whether a minority culture/society accepted mainstream members. He saw no difference between mainstream culture/society and minority culture/society with regards to *access* to those cultures/societies. Being a member of mainstream

society did not grant a person membership in any minority culture/society. In that sense, Tomoyuki believed that culture was something that could not be taken over by political power, and that it treated people equally. For example, even though the government promotes immigrants' assimilation into the mainstream, the cultural values and beliefs of each minority group still function within the group on the level of mutual understanding, and access to such values and beliefs is given only to the group members. He saw language ability as a minimum requirement for access to a specific culture. In this sense, he seemed to have an ideal vision of Canadian multiculturalism in mind. For him, Canadian multiculturalism was not a one-way phenomenon or event, in which multiple cultures/societies simply co-exist and are accepted by mainstream Canadian society (i.e., people in mainstream society who have positive attitudes toward other cultures), but it must be built upon 'real' multilingualism from both sides, from the cultures and societies of the majority and of minorities. Without putting some effort into learning the language of a culture, one cannot understand or be accepted by the culture/society and cannot be seen as a multicultural Canadian, and vice versa. If one wants to be accepted by another culture and be a multicultural Canadian, he/she must learn the language of the culture. In his mind, if one acquires a language, the person may be able to understand the culture and be accepted by the society. It is possible that Tomoyuki placed his hope to be accepted by Japanese or Japanese-Canadian society on his Japanese language ability, and that he believed he could become an ideal multicultural Canadian by learning other languages, including Japanese.

The Meanings of Japanese Language: Language Barriers

Tomoyuki seemed to be studying Japanese out of a hope and desire to be accepted by Japanese and/or Japanese-Canadian society; however, he also seemed to experience the Japanese language as a barrier and/or challenge rather than a key to success. He rarely talked about his

past experience with Japanese language. Moreover, he seemed to avoid reflecting in detail on his motivations to learn Japanese. What I understood from his comments was only that he went to Japanese Saturday school for a short period of time with his elder sister, and that meeting Japanese colleagues at work inspired him to take a Japanese class at university. Tomoyuki gave almost no comment about the period of time between those two events. Every time I asked further questions, he seemed annoyed and answered that he did not remember much. He emphasized that the time sequence of past events was not so important for him. It seemed that for him, only the events that were visible to everyone had meaning. Knowing and/or reflecting on why and how those things happened would not change anything in the present or future, and was better kept hidden. This idea may reflect his strong belief that people should look toward the future rather than back at the past, but it is also possible that he hesitated to talk to me, a cultural 'insider' from his perspective, about things that he may have felt himself an 'outsider'. It is possible that he was trying to avoid going through a negative experience of rejection again. In the following sections, I discuss what kinds of meanings Tomoyuki assigned to Japanese language.

Japanese-Canadian Family Values and Japanese Learning. In interviews and diaries, Tomoyuki often analyzed himself and described his personality and beliefs in detail, suggesting that it was his personality and beliefs that caused him to make certain decisions. The way that he saw himself, including his personality and beliefs, may explain his motivation to learn Japanese and the meanings of Japanese language for him. At almost every meeting with me, Tomoyuki spoke of the struggle that he was currently experiencing with his Japanese studies. However, he never complained about anything related to the Japanese course or showed any regret for his decision to take it. Although he was very busy with his other classes and with his part-time job,

which paid for his tuition, he continued to study Japanese consistently and diligently. His persistence seemed to come from his personality as a stubborn person who liked a challenge, and his belief that culture can never be learned without knowing its language. It seemed that actively learning Japanese and becoming proficient were keys to his acceptance at a micro-level into the Japanese-Canadian community within his family, and to stabilize his position therein as a Japanese-Canadian. While he feared being an ignorant 'white guy' who would be rejected by Japanese and/or Japanese-Canadian communities, he did not want to give up his legitimate right to inherit membership into the Japanese side of his family.

It seemed that Tomoyuki could feel his progress the most when he used Japanese at home in front of his parents, especially through his ability to read Japanese texts. There was a Japanese restaurant downtown that he liked, which had menus written in Japanese on the walls; he would sometimes go there with his parents and read out the menus. He would also sometimes read a simplified Japanese book to his parents when he visited their home. His mother could not understand Japanese, so she always asked her husband, Tomoyuki's father, whether the story Tomoyuki told made sense. Most of the time, he could read the text correctly, and his parents were very impressed with his Japanese reading skills. As can be seen in these episodes, he felt especially satisfied with his progress in the area of literacy (i.e, being able to read Japanese characters). This may be due to his awareness of his father's lack of Japanese literacy.

Tomoyuki's father stopped using Japanese when he was in elementary school. Therefore, his Japanese literacy skills were very limited. Although his oral skills were higher than that of Tomoyuki, he could not read or write as many Japanese characters as Tomoyuki could. In this sense, Tomoyuki seemed to be trying to get the better of his father. During interviews, he mentioned that his father could not read or write Japanese and emphasized his father's limited

Japanese ability on several occasions. I got the impression that Tomoyuki was very conscious of his progress in Japanese, and felt the most fulfilled when his abilities were superior to his father's and recognized as such by his family. It seemed that although Japanese was not used in communication in his family at all, for Tomoyuki at least, Japanese language ability played an important role in his positioning and orientation within the family.

Tomoyuki was very proud of his Japanese-Canadian family and relatives, and he seemed to have a particularly positive feeling about the fact that members of his Japanese-Canadian family had been a visible and important part of Canadian history. The Japanese-Canadian memories that he inherited and that were built into him were not negative or miserable. When he told stories about his Japanese-Canadian relatives to his Japanese teacher, classmates, friends, and myself, they sounded like the stories of great historical figures.

Besides, he admired his elderly Japanese grandmother, *Obaa-chan* [Grandma], and visited her often. According to Tomoyuki, she was very tough and sarcastic, but he liked her toughness and enjoyed talking with her and being challenged by her. For Tomoyuki, who had never been to Japan and had no connection with other Japanese relatives, *Obaa-chan* herself was a kind of Japanese-Canadian community for him. One of his motivations for learning Japanese seemed to be cultural acceptance from his grandmother, whom he saw as a proper member of a Japanese-Canadian community. When he heard from his father that his grandmother was proud that he was studying Japanese, he was very happy. In his presence, his grandmother was always cynical and never praised him about anything. However, he knew that she acted that way because she understood his personality well. His grandmother often told him that he could easily 天狗になる [tengu ni naru: get a big head and show off], so he should be careful not to behave that way. Therefore, even when she was very proud of him, she did not tell him directly.

Similarly, following her advice, he tried not to show his Japanese achievements or progress to her directly. Rather, it was his parents to whom he actively showed his progress. It was not only Japanese language ability, but also his methods and attitudes towards Japanese learning that were keys for Tomoyuki to gain a certain position within his family. Nevertheless, learning Japanese was not as simple for him as learning French.

In general, Tomoyuki believed that there was an end point for language learning (i.e., there are a limited number of grammar points that people learn and are exposed to, and people can then move on to understanding the culture once they have learned a certain amount of grammar and other linguistic functions). However, Japanese was not the same as other languages that he had learned before, such as French or Spanish. There seemed to be no end point to Japanese learning for him because he had a stronger connection to Japanese in his personal life (Interview, March 27, 2012), and he had a compelling desire to understand Japanese culture. In response to my question as to whether he felt that there was an end point for Japanese learning, he stated,

> I would like to learn, continue learning [Japanese] through my life. I just don't know what opportunities I will have to be exposed to that. Like ideally, I would like to be at a proficient level that like when I have children still be able to pick up on it. ……But I don't know… I just wanna be, I just really wanna understand as much as I can about language, about culture. (Interview, March 27, 2012)

Tomoyuki had a very strong desire to understand Japanese culture, but his limited Japanese ability was a barrier to studying and understanding it. "Things are more opportunities. This movie came out in 2010, right? So, this, if I was totally fluent, it would be more study on the culture or the film itself versus it's language [I study on]" (Interview, March 27, 2012). At the

time of the interview and diary session, Tomoyuki was stressed about his progress in Japanese. He commented several times that he was satisfied to a certain extent with his improvement (e.g., Diary, March 5, 2012); but that the progress he felt did not show on the results of his daily assignments and tests in class. Rather than experiencing his Japanese learning as a key to success, he seemed to be sensing barriers, and to feel that Japanese learning was an endless process with no clear goal.

Summary of Tomoyuki's Case

During the data collection period, I could not really understand why Tomoyuki had chosen to take a Japanese course. He had never been to Japan, nor did he have any connection with his relatives in Japan. There seemed to be no need for him to understand or use Japanese at home or for his future career. Besides, something in his 'tone' irritated me. Listening to interview data and reading his diary data several times, I came to realize that it was his attitude of superiority towards me, referring to me as an 'immigrant' and treating me like a representative of 'the Japanese' who came from an underdeveloped country. However, later on while I was analyzing data and trying to organize my thoughts, I realized that he was behaving that way because he was very much afraid of being rejected by Japanese and/or Japanese-Canadian communities. Rather than a sense of superiority, it stemmed more from a sense of insecurity and a desire to avoid being hurt. This fear seemed to be rooted in stories he heard from his Japanese grandparents and their attitudes towards his Italian-Canadian mother.

His grandparents had moved to Canada before World War II and did not have much connection with their Japanese relatives after the move. Therefore, the impression of Japan that Tomoyuki got from his grandparents was a very limited and old-fashioned one. Also, he had seen his grandmother talk about his mother, who is visually different from Japanese, in

disrespectful ways. Since Tomoyuki himself looked different from Japanese people, he imagined that he might be treated like that if he went to Japan and tried to become a part of the society there. Yet regardless of such fears, he decided to apply for the JET program and chose to take a Japanese course at university. This was likely due to his strong desire to be accepted by his grandparents and his belief that culture could not be learned without also learning the language.

From his past language experiences in Quebec, Tomoyuki had gained hope that he could obtain membership in Japanese and/or Japanese-Canadian communities through his Japanese language learning. However, at the time of the data collection, he was feeling that Japanese was not the same as other language learning for him, and that it was endless. Also, in class, he was facing the reality that he could not fully understand and accept some parts of Japanese culture and mentalities that he had believed he could understand much better than his classmates. The 'skit' event confused and disappointed him. In such situations, Canadian multiculturalism worked as an anchor and safe zone for him. Similarly, Hiramoto (2015) and Takei (2021) reported that their youth JHL learner participants created new cultural values (i.e., tattooing their bodies with Japanese text) and/or third space (i.e., using the term 'half' to describe themselves) to distance themselves from native Japanese from Japan. Due to the lack of '*expertise'* in Japanese culture/language, their Japanese contact experiences weakened their sense of '*affiliation'* to Japanese while declaring their '*inheritance'* of Japanese-ness.

Tomoyuki's case suggests that for him, the matter of multiculturalism was not only whether a mainstream culture/society accepted minority cultures/societies, but also whether a minority culture/society accepted mainstream members. For him, there was no difference between mainstream culture/society and minority culture/society in terms of access. Shortly after the data collection, Tomoyuki learned that he was not accepted by the JET program and started

working for an architecture firm in western Canada. In 2017, he was traveling, exploring, and working as an architect in Australia, but he was hoping to visit Japan as a next stop. His *Obaa-chan* passed away that same year, and from the obituary, I discovered that her name was Natsuko [natsu: summer, pseudonym] and that both her name and Tomoyuki [yuki: snow]'s name were linked to the seasons. When I mentioned that to him, he sounded very happy and ended our conversation by saying "thank you" [arigatoo] in Japanese. I hope that in the near future, Tomoyuki can have the chance to live in Japan and build his own image of Japan from first-hand experience, regardless of his Japanese language ability.

Summary

In this chapter, I portrayed four (re-) learners with Japanese heritage in relation so their trajectory to and of Japanese (re-) learning, focusing on experiences related to Japanese language, experiences as a person of Japanese heritage, and general language experiences in Canada and Montreal. For each case, I first described some themes that emerged from their experiences and explored the rationales underlying their decisions in the past and for the future in relation to Japanese learning. Through their experiences, each person was negotiating suitable compromises and making decisions that they found personally acceptable. In this process, it seemed that Canadian multiculturalism and Montreal's multilingual context had some impact on the four (re-) learners' decision-making processes and identity construction.

In the next chapter, I will analyze and discuss the influence of the participants' decisions on their identity construction, and how the decisions related to their *imagined communities* and the multi-lingual/cultural context in which they lived. I will then outline the kinds of difficulties that Japanese HL beginner learners face compared to Japanese FL learners or advanced Japanese HL learners in the context of the multicultural society of Montreal in this era of globalization.

Chapter 7 Discussion

Overview

In this chapter, I return to my three research focuses: 1) what Japanese language means to Japanese immigrant descendants with little or no Japanese knowledge, 2) how their decisions about Japanese learning were made, and 3) how they perceive their Japanese learning as young adults. I will report my findings and then discuss the process of identity construction in a multicultural context.

The Meanings of Japanese Language

The portraits of four Japanese immigrant descendants with little or no Japanese knowledge in this study showed that the meanings of Japanese language for them were not simple, but multifaceted. Their Japanese proficiency was limited and Japanese language had more or less lost its role as a communication tool at home. However, for these university students, the Japanese language had mainly two meanings: it functioned as a vehicle for sharing childhood memories and inheriting family cultural values, and also as a key to accessing multi-lingual/cultural communities and constructing multicultural Canadian identities.

Nostalgia and Inheritance

For these students, Japanese language was something they had been "exposed to" (Ryota, Interview, September 29, 2011), like the air they breathed, since they were born. Without considering which part of their home life was cultural and which part was 'language', they practiced Japanese cultural ideas and concepts and used Japanese words at home. For example, Mayumi could not explain whether her household was "Japanese household" (Mayumi, Interview, September 28, 2011) or not, or which aspects really were Japanese style, but she knew the concept of "*giri* [moral obligation/responsibility/a sense of duty]" and its feeling. During the

interviews, the word "*giri*" was split off from the consciousness that it was a Japanese word, and used rather at a concept/feeling level as I myself normally do as a native speaker of Japanese. Moreover, Mayumi used the word as a feeling that she could share with her Japanese mother and me. In a similar fashion, Ryota used the word "*tsukareta* [got tired]" to express his feelings with his Japanese father, and Meg used the word "*kawarimono* [an odd fellow]" to share this special idea with her family and me. Tomoyuki, who claimed that he had never used Japanese as a communication tool at home in his childhood, also used the word "*hakujin* [white (person)]" in a similar way unconsciously. This type of knowledge cannot really be considered to be a part of Japanese 'language' proficiency and inheritance in general. However, it was clearly inherited to them as a part of family culture through their everyday interactions. Even though Japanese language had lost its role as a communication tool at home, it existed in their childhood memories and remained as a vehicle of sharing such memories with their family members and Japanese people more broadly. Whether those memories were perceived as positive or negative depended on the learner; however, the Japanese words they used during interviews were often connected to their childhood memories, and all the learners seemed to feel at least somewhat nostalgic when they looked back at their past experiences related to Japanese. Mayumi laughed and smiled as she talked about her childhood memories of mimicking her aunt's saying "*kawaii* [cute]" and counting numbers in Japanese in the bathtub with her father. Ryota also explained how much nostalgia he felt whenever he saw a Japanese person and/or heard people speaking in Japanese. On the other hand, to my surprise, "quiet" and "normal" (Meg, Interview) Meg strongly expressed her disappointment and anger while she talked about her memory of withdrawal from a Saturday Japanese school, and Tomoyuki spoke bitterly about how some Japanese words such as "*hakujin* [white (person)]" were used in a derogative way by his favorite

Japanese "*obaa-chan* [granny]" in his childhood. Hearing the word '*Nihongo* [Japanese language]' during the interviews brought all the learners vivid childhood memories and a feeling of nostalgia. Even though the learners and I were relatively new to each other and had nothing in particular in common in our everyday lives, when the topic of our conversation moved to Japanese language experiences in the past, our conversation always lasted more than a half hour as if we were old friends or relatives.

Furthermore, Japanese language played an important role in the learners' positioning in their family. Having Japanese cultural knowledge such as the concept of "*giri* [moral obligation/responsibility/a sense of duty]" gave them a sense of belonging and closeness with their families, and their improvement in Japanese, even if it was only at the level of basic vocabulary, allowed them to play a stronger role in their families. Mayumi and Meg expressed the idea that now that they are young adults, they are the ones who extend their hands and try to communicate with their elder Japanese family members through learning and using Japanese. It used to be Mayumi's aunt and Meg's grandmother who tried to communicate with the girls when they were little. Thus, it seems that there has been a shift and/or development in their relationships. Also, Ryota began to make efforts to be more independent from his father by reading a Japanese folk tale and learning Japanese from someone other than his father. Meanwhile, it seemed that at times, Tomoyuki (consciously or unconsciously) attempted to use his Japanese to surpass his father (several times he compared his own Japanese proficiency with that of his father) and gain recognition from his Japanese grandmother. Thus, Japanese language was working not only as a vehicle to sharing memories and nostalgic feelings, but also as an important element of positioning themselves in their families. However, Japanese language also seemed to have another meaning for them as an asset and/or symbol of intimacy outside of

family in the broader society (e.g., Mayumi's use of Japanese with her boyfriend).

Multi-Cultural and Multi-Lingual Canadians

During the interviews, when the four Japanese heritage language (JHL) learner participants talked about their current lives and/or future plans as university students, they described Japanese language as an asset in becoming multi-cultural and multi-lingual Canadians and a symbol to express intimacy in their new relationships as young adults (e.g., Mayumi's new relationship with her aunt and boyfriend, Meg with her mother and grandmother, Ryota with Japanese people he may meet in the future, and Tomoyuki with his Obaa-chan, father, and Japanese co-worker). They seemed to envision multi-cultural or multi-linguistic communities and viewed Japanese as a key to accessing such communities. Ryota and Tomoyuki, who grew up in a multi-cultural and multi-lingual society, believed in Canadian multiculturalism and aspired to become multicultural and international Canadians by cherishing their Japanese roots. Meg, who came from an environment where linguistic diversity was more limited and English had much more cultural power than minority languages, began to dream of becoming a part of a bi/multi-lingual community and enjoying its benefits while she was at university, living in a multi-cultural/lingual society and studying East Asian cultures. Mayumi was developing a clear image of who she wanted to become (i.e., her 'ideal self'), which was someone who extended a hand to help others who cannot speak English. The place in her imagination could be Japan, Canada, or anywhere else, but it was always a community where people would not be pushed to use one specific language, and where being monolingual would also be accepted (those with a greater range of linguistic competence would help those with less). All of the communities that the participants envisioned were non-specific and imaginary in nature and related in some way to Canadian multiculturalism and multilingualism. Tomoyuki and Ryota clearly stated that Canada

was multicultural. Their discourse hinted that multiculturalism was an essential part of Canadian-ness in general.

Canadian multiculturalism has two aspects, like two sides of the same coin. It not only emphasizes or exercises the acceptance and recognition of 'other' cultures, but also suggests respect and appreciation for one's 'own' cultural roots. For immigrant descendants from non-English/French countries, their culture and language can be seen as an 'other' culture and their 'own' culture at the same time. The participants of this study expressed and gained their sense of Canadian-ness through an appreciation/acceptance of Japanese culture, including Japanese language. Further, Mayumi and Meg's discourse indicated their belief that maintaining their heritage language and being bi/multi-lingual is an important aspect of being a good Canadian. In the case of Ryota, he explained that this idea of Canadian multiculturalism and multilingualism came from the input he received in his childhood from his mother and from Canadian TV shows (Email, confirmation during the data analysis). It can thus be said that Canadian multiculturalism and multilingualism had some impact on the meanings of Japanese language for the participants of this study. Some Canadian studies have reported similar cases with regard to the development of multicultural identity and Canadian-ness (e.g., Byrd Clark, 2009; Guardado, 2010). However, the understandings/views of Canadian-ness and Japanese-ness may vary across participants depending on their experiences related to visual ethnicity/race.

The findings of this study show that race-related discourse was functioning in the participants' everyday life both at home and in society, and it has a stronger impact on their understandings/views of Canadian/Japanese-ness and their identity construction than language proficiency. For example, Mayumi's Asian features influenced people's attitudes (e.g., strangers shouting at her to go back to her country, and praising her French ability) and expectations (e.g.,

strangers expecting her to speak Japanese, and wanting to become friends – the 'we-can-learn-from-each-other' idea) toward her as Japanese and/or Canadian, and such experiences made her feel more excluded than included. On the other hand, for Tomoyuki. whose appearance is more 'white' than 'Asian', he inherited *Obaa-chan*'s (i.e., the Japanese-Canadian Issei) view of white Canadians ('*hakujin*') and struggled with the gap between his 'white' appearance and Japanese cultural views. These experiences may have influenced the construction of each participant's ideas of Canadian-ness/Japanese-ness (i.e., who qualifies as more Japanese/Canadian and how much a person is Japanese/Canadian). This could be explained from the perspective of raciolinguistics (Rosa & Flores, 2017), and though concepts such as 'Whiteness' in critical race theory and LangCrit (Critical Language and Race Theory, the relation between race, language, and identity, Crump, 2014). While further analysis and research from this perspective is needed, Tomoyuki's episode of '*hakujin*' in this study suggests the possibility that 'Whiteness' does not always work favourably for 'white' people, 'the host' and/or 'the mainstream', while 'non-white' people, 'the hosted' and/or 'minority groups' sometimes turn such concepts against 'white' people, 'the host' and/or 'the mainstream' (i.e., racism is not only individual behavior or group behavior, but also an idea underlying a social system).

The findings for the meanings of Japanese language in this study indicate that first, it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to separate language from culture and focus only on linguistic issues when talking about the meanings of Japanese as a heritage language, especially for Japanese immigrant descendants with little Japanese knowledge. Second, unlike dichotomous concepts such as past and future, negative and positive, ethnic identity and international identity, or integrative motivation and instrumental motivation (Gardner et al., 1972), the two main meanings of Japanese language for the Japanese descendants in this study (as a vehicle for

sharing childhood memories and inheriting family cultural values, and as a key to accessing multi-lingual/cultural communities and constructing multicultural Canadian identities), could not be viewed separately or in isolation. Both of them are fluid and change over time. These meanings emerge and change in the process of a person's maturation, which means that they both unfold through the process of human development. The meaning of Japanese language as a part of everyday practice at home gradually becomes a vehicle for sharing nostalgic feelings with family and Japanese people more broadly, and another meaning as a key to accessing a new community emerges, as the person expands his/her sphere of actions and relationships. Fishman (1980, 1996a, 1996b) claims that heritage language must be inherited through family, and for the maintenance of heritage language, social rewards are an influential factor. The findings of this study agree with this claim. Fisherman's idea of *social rewards* likely includes one's development as a whole person (i.e., self-identifying as a good citizen of the society or being viewed as a good citizen of the society by others). When we, researchers and educators, consider and discuss the idea of social rewards, we tend to think about the rewards and benefits gained through expertise in an individual language. However, in such discussions, we should not disregard the role of the specific language in multiculturalism and/or multilingualism, in this era of globalization.

Decisions About Japanese Learning

For the JHL learners in this study, there was a gap in their Japanese learning history between the childhood learning/input stage and the university (re-) learning stage. For various reasons, they either did not study Japanese or withdrew from Japanese learning in their childhood, but after entering a university, they began to (re-) learn Japanese as adults. Although there must have been countless situations in which they needed to make a decision consciously

or unconsciously in relation to their Japanese learning in everyday life, there were two major turning points; that is, the point at which childhood heritage language learning opportunities arose (e.g., entering Saturday school or Hoshuko as preschoolers, and starting literacy homeschooling) and the point at which adult foreign language learning opportunities arose (e.g., taking a Japanese course at a language school and/or university).

Learning Japanese at an Early Age

As for the decisions with regard to Japanese language learning at an early age, none of the JHL learners had any negative or positive feelings about their parents' decisions to not formally teach them Japanese. In their memories, Japanese language was woven into the fabric of daily life but was not the only tool they had for their communication with their family members. Therefore, it was not something they 'needed' to learn, and they did not specifically feel that they had withdrawn from learning Japanese or chosen another language or activity (e.g., soccer practice) over Japanese. Their comments in the interviews illustrated their views as young adults that their parents' decisions were reasonable under the circumstances and that not learning Japanese at early age did not mean giving up Japanese heritage or lacking respect for their own heritage. There were no complaints or regrets found in their comments or in their ways of expressing those comments. This was the case, for example, for Meg, who was consciously aware of her withdrawal from formal Japanese learning. She very much appreciated her parents' decision to withdraw her from Japanese Saturday school. However, in her case, the decision to withdraw from Japanese learning and use entirely was primarily her own. At the time, she was only a 2nd or 3rd grader; however, her parents respected and accepted her decision to stop learning and/or using Japanese. Meg seemed to think that her parents' acceptance of her decision allowed her avoid coming to hate the Japanese language itself, and left open the possibility of re-

learning Japanese as an adult.

Learning Japanese as an Adult

With regard to the decision to (re-) learn Japanese as an adult, the JHL learners in this study, including Tomoyuki, who was struggling with Japanese learning at that time, did not express any regret for their decision. However, their reasons and goals for learning Japanese were not clearly stated by them during the interviews. Similarly, the process by which they reached the decision was not spoken about willingly. It seemed that they regarded Japanese learning as quite natural, and it was difficult for them to think and explain why they decided to learn Japanese at university or what kind of experiences led them to that decision. When I asked Meg "what kind of message do you want to give to children who are in a similar situation as you with their parents?," she told me that the parents should not worry, because even if their children are resisting the use or study of Japanese now, they will "eventually" want to study Japanese. Other learners also expressed their idea that their Japanese learning came not from a need, but rather from a desire whose starting point they could not identify. Ryota and Mayumi clearly stated this idea during the interview, and whenever I asked Tomoyuki about his decision to take a Japanese course at university, he asked me whether the reason really mattered, and told me that for him, past events and their temporal sequence were not so important. Nevertheless, the stories they told me during the 13-week interview session illustrated some kind of motivational orientation for taking a Japanese course.

In the field of motivation studies in second language learning, types of motivational orientations and their correlation have been discussed intensively (e.g., Noels, Clément, & Pelletier, 2001; Noels, Pelletier, Clément, & Vallerand, 2003; Noels, 2003; Smith & Li, 2022). However, the four JHL learners' stories in this study showed the difficulty of coding and

categorizing their motivational orientations. In the past, some HL research has reported that HL learners have longitudinal integrated motivation (Dressler, 2008) and JHLs come to Japanese class to strengthen their ethnic identity and to fill the gap in their unbalanced HL skills (Shinbo, 2004). However, in those studies, the relationship between the two motivational orientations, strengthening ethnic identity and balancing their HL skills, was not sought. Mayumi, Meg, Ryota, and Tomoyuki's stories suggested the possibility that there might be numerous incidents and feelings behind such explicit and definite reasons, and there may be a larger motivational orientation at a different level. Although they could not clearly explain their motivational orientations for learning Japanese as adults (they wrote short answers in the questionnaire, but it was more like they were simply choosing the closest answer because they were asked to fill out the form, even though it didn't quite match their feelings or situation), their comments and episodes suggested some reasons behind their decisions to learn Japanese as adults. The reasons were not clearly separated, and the relationships were not simple ones.

As in the case with the meanings of Japanese language, the participants' motivational orientations for Japanese (re-) learning seemed to have a dual nature: a familial nature and a social nature. Their stories about Japanese (re-) learning were basically about two kinds of issues: what kind of role they wanted to play in their family (i.e., how they wanted to be seen by other family members), and what kind of person they wanted to be in society (i.e., how they wanted to be seen by people outside of the family).

As their elder family members grew older, the participants started to think that they were the ones who needed to accommodate other family members' needs. For instance, Mayumi stated that she needed to study Japanese hard to communicate with her Japanese aunt because she was younger than her aunt and it was easier for her to study Japanese than for her aunt to

study English. Similarly, Meg said that she should be the one to study Japanese to communicate with her grandmother in Japan. Her relatives in Japan had been trying to accommodate her needs by using simple Japanese words only; however, seeing her grandmother grow old, Meg felt that she should improve her Japanese. In the case of Tomoyuki, he said that his old "*obaa-chan* [grandmother]" had to go through all the procedures of renunciation of inheritance in Japan by herself even though she was very old, because no family members in Canada, including Tomoyuki and his father, could not understand Japanese well. On the other hand, Ryota did not talk about his relationships with his elder family members. Nevertheless, he showed his desire to be independent from his father through his analysis of a Japanese folk tale, "Issun booshi [Inch boy]." This shift/change in the father-and-son relationship was seen in Tomoyuki's case as well. At the same time, the change in living arrangements made them envision their desired selves, and Japanese learning or knowledge of Japanese language and culture became a key to becoming these selves.

As for the role in society, Ryota and Tomoyuki's stories showed their strong belief in Canadian multiculturalism and their desire to become good multicultural and international Canadians. Tomoyuki emphasized that we could never understand a culture without knowing its language. He further connected Japanese xenophobia with exclusive attitudes toward languages other than French in Quebec (e.g., language policy), and seemed to seek a nod of agreement from me. He saw Quebec language policy as something that conflicts with Canadian multiculturalism and was struggling with the discrepancy between Canadian multiculturalism and exclusive insider-outsider ideas (e.g., the ideas of '*gaijin* [outsider]' and '*hakujin* [white]') in Japan, which were also held by his *obaa-chan* and himself. Ryota also expressed his difficulty accepting and dealing with the contradiction between Japanese cultural views and Canadian cultural values. It

seemed that my participants came to a stronger awareness of these cultural values and differences through the changes in their living environments, such as entering university and starting to talk about their life plans with classmates in the same major, or living by themselves and meeting Japanese co-workers at a part-time job. It further made them realize the option of becoming an active participant in the international community and led them to the idea that their already existing knowledge about Japanese culture, including Japanese language, was a key tool for success.

In the same manner, physical moves or transfers made Meg and Mayumi realize the option of becoming active participants in the international community. Meg recognized the benefit and possibility of becoming bi/multi-lingual by moving to a city where individual multilingualism (plurilingualism) is practiced. In this city, i.e., Montreal, it was acceptable not only to switch languages depending on interlocutors but also to mix languages within a single discourse exchange because most people can understand and use more than two languages. When a person cannot find the right word to express a specific situation or their feelings in one language, they can simply find it by using the other language. Such flexibility lowered the hurdle of expertise (e.g., correctness and native-ness) and softened Meg's resistance toward Japanese use and negative self-image. She thus found potential to become bi-/multi-lingual in herself. On the other hand, Mayumi discovered the benefit and meaning of multilingualism by living with her boyfriend's family, who had no Japanese background, and by traveling to Japan with him. She started to think that she could be a good transnational person by improving her Japanese and understanding Japanese cultural concepts deeply. Thus, the way that my participants constructed their self-images in society also seemed to be behind their decision of (re-) learning Japanese as adults.

The above two motivational orientations, the familial one and the social one, seemed to be two separate reasons for learning Japanese as adults. However, if we take a closer look, they share some aspects. One shared aspect is their active participation in communities, whether they be family circles or social circles. As adults, the participants were trying to be more active participants in both familial and social spheres than when they were children. Learning Japanese was one action that represented such active participation. Although Mayumi "use[d] 'fixed' categories …… in a fluid way to construct the self-image(s)" (Gyogi, 2020, p.328), in the Quebec Francophone-Anglophone context (e.g., Japanese-Canadian, Anglophone, and Francophone), on the whole, rather than simply seeking a place where they felt accepted and comfortable, the four learner participants struggled to create such a place for themselves as adults.

Similar behaviour was reported in some earlier studies. In Takei's (2021) study, ten Japanese mixed heritage youths in Canada tended not to use a single category such as 'Japanese' or 'Canadian' and preferred to use the term 'half' to identify themselves, which expresses the differences/distance from Japanese people in Japan while acknowledging their Japanese heritage. The researcher assumed that the reason that they used the term 'half' was largely due to their lack of Japanese proficiency. Moreover, Hiramoto (2015) reported a localized practice among Japanese in Hawaii of tattooing themselves with Japanese text to acknowledge their Japanese heritage, while also conveying that their newly created cultural values differed from that of native Japanese in Japan, since presenting one's "true Japaneseness" (p.107) in such a way (i.e., tattooing) is "unthinkable and unacceptable to native Japanese" (p.107). The researcher concluded that this practice and sense of membership relate to mobility and depth of time and historical experience. On the other hand, Makoni's (2018) study found that third-generation

American-born Africans in the United States construct a new 'non-American' identity to resist marginalization/rejection in the dominant culture. These results indicate that for youths with multicultural backgrounds and experiences, developing a sense of heritage (i.e., identifying themselves in relation to their heritage, and having a 'hometown') may require conscious effort on their parts, not only to reject and/or negotiate with imposed identities by others but also to create new space/identity for themselves.

Similar situations underlying the construction of new space/identity may apply to the cases of the four learner participants in the present study. Mayumi had been experiencing consistent misidentification (i.e., not being accepted as Canadian/Quebecois); Meg had a negative self-image deeply rooted in her language experiences related to Japanese proficiency; and Ryota and Tomoyuki were aware of the conflicts between the cultural values in Japan and those in Canada and kept some distance from 'pure/true' Japanese culture values. Also, Mayumi's case and Tomoyuki's case showed the historical influence on their self-positioning. The lack of '*language expertise*' (Rampton, 1990), their historical/mobile experiences (i.e., experiences as the descendant of immigrants), and the experiences of being rejected/marginalized constantly by the dominant culture could be some of the situations that prompt a creation of new space/identity.

Another aspect was taking control of their own lives. The participants used to be the ones who were accommodated, but now they tried to be the ones who accommodated others. Underlying these aspects were their own personal growth and increasingly mature socialization. As they grew, they gained the ability to go back and forth between familial spheres and external social spheres more freely. Also, they started to become independent from their parents and elder family members. However, this does not mean that they simply left their family circles and

moved around the world, rootless. Rather, they aimed to become cosmopolitan world citizens who had roots and a 故郷 (furusato/kokyoo) [home/hometown]. Pollock and Van Reken (2001) have explained that Third Culture Kids (i.e., children who spent their childhood in different cultures from that of their parents, and/or in places that are not their parents' home countries, a term first coined by sociologist Ruth Hill Useem in the 1950s) may sometimes feel that they do not have a 'home/hometown' in the sense that their parents who grew up in one specific culture have. This may also apply to the participants in this study. It is possible that they struggled to create their own 'home/hometown' instead of inheriting all of their cultural values from their actual neighbors/local people. They may have tried to find people who shared similar experiences of moving between family and society frequently. When they were little, they probably did not know that there were people with whom they could share cross-cultural experiences and nostalgic feelings outside of their own family. By meeting new people from other immigrant families and other countries as youth, they were able to see the possibility of having their own 'home/hometown,' not exactly the same as that of their parents, but still something special to them. This process could be considered as a trajectory of finding a "third place" (Kramsch, 1993). This process shows their effort and the challenge of creating, rather than finding, a place in which they could negotiate the conflicts of cultural values and feel more comfortable, and at the same time, it reveals the difficulty of choosing this path. Their decision to learn Japanese as adults was just one aspect of this process of creation and negotiation for them. This may explain why these four individuals hesitated and avoided clearly stating their reasons for (re-) learning Japanese as adults, and shows that there are motivational orientations at a different level than definite and isolated ones such as intrinsic/extrinsic motivation, instrumental/integrative motivation, and constructing identity/building skills.

The Perceptions of Japanese Learning as Adults

Earlier studies about HL learning at a university level found difficulties for HL learners in foreign language classrooms: HL learners' HL skills were unbalanced (Hornberger & Wang, 2008; Kondo-Brown, 2010). This current study found that university instructors of Japanese in Quebec understood that there were two types of JHL learners: advanced JHL learners who use Japanese at home, and beginner JHL learners who rarely use Japanese at home (see Chapter 5, Recognition of Japanese Heritage Language Learners, p.97). In general, instructors had a hard time teaching the group of advanced HL learners, but not the beginner HL learners. HL learners in the latter group were considered and treated as FL learners. Mayumi, Meg, Ryota, and Tomoyuki, the four student participants in this study, also stated that they were technically at the same level as their FL learner classmates. Meg stated that she was just a normal student and had no specific role in class. Ryota also said that he did not see much difference in learning style, speed and so on. However, they strongly and repeatedly claimed that they were not FL learners and seemed to be keeping a distance between themselves and their FL learner classmates. Besides, they appeared to focus less on test scores compared to their FL learner classmates. As for how they differentiated themselves from FL learners, their stories showed that their conception of Japanese 'knowledge' differed from Japanese knowledge in general; it was broader than general language skills such as writing, reading, and vocabulary, and did not stay within the fields of linguistic and technical abilities. Rather, these students had knowledge of cultural concepts such as Mayumi's "*giri*" and Tomoyuki's "*hakujin*", which is a different level of language knowledge than the knowledge that can be evaluated in tests. This type of knowledge was not recognized in class and/or tests. Thus, Tomoyuki was irritated by the fact that he had much more 'knowledge' than his FL learner classmates and could feel the

improvement in his Japanese, but this was not reflected in his test scores. On the other hand, Mayumi, Meg, and Ryota, who achieved high scores on tests, still seemed to lack confidence in their abilities and did not feel completely satisfied. Although all of them felt their Japanese had improved, because they knew that words and language are rooted in a kind of mutual cultural understanding that goes deeper than simple meanings or usage, they seemed to feel that something was missing in their Japanese learning. Their FL learner classmates may not have felt the same way.

The 'Japanese knowledge/ability' that the participants imagined or aimed for was probably a deeper cultural knowledge and understanding that could not be simply translated into linguistic terms. For that reason, they may have chosen to talk about the episodes related to such cultural knowledge when I asked about their Japanese use and learning experiences. In those episodes, they expressed or showed signs of wanting to share deeper cultural knowledge with their family members and other people with Japanese background (e.g., Japanese teachers, Japanese schoolmates, and me). The events and incidents they chose to talk about were likely the moments when they could feel a sense of fulfillment and see an improvement in their Japanese. There is a possibility that such examples (i.e., the times when they could share not only linguistic knowledge, or simple cultural understanding such as knowing what a '*kimono'* is and having a '*kimono*' but also deep cultural concepts connected with childhood memories) helped them to feel that their Japanese knowledge and improvement were properly evaluated and recognized by authoritative specialists such as their Japanese family members and people with Japanese background (e.g., Japanese teachers, Japanese schoolmates, and me) . For this type of Japanese 'knowledge/ability', a certain level of continuity between the learner's childhood memories or experiences and the linguistic information of a word, sentence, or discourse may be required.

When asked what he thinks about having a separate track for JHL learners at a university level, Ryota answered that although he was fine being in a regular Japanese class in terms of learning grammar points, Kanji and so on, he would love to be in a JHL learner class if there was one. He explained that in such a class, he could share childhood and home experiences and hang out with his classmates outside of class. It is true that in a multicultural society, all the students in a language class have different backgrounds and many of them may share immigrant and/or pluralistic cultural experiences. However, the cultural concepts underlying words differ depending on the language, and words/language related to childhood memories and experiences cannot be fully shared with people who have no background in that language (i.e., people who have never learned that language or had input from that language in their childhood). This type of Japanese 'knowledge/ability' could motivate JHL learners to learn Japanese on the one hand, and may also make them feel, on the other hand, that they are facing 'obstacles' or 'barriers' (i.e., they may feel demotivated and nervous because the course objectives and/or the results of assessments do not match their learning goals and/or expectations).

Immigrant Descendants' Identity Construction in a Multicultural Society

The four JHL learners in this study had been negotiating cultural values and concepts between two or more cultures in daily life since they were children. As they grew up, they began to more actively seek an agreeable space somewhere between or among cultures. Canadian multiculturalism was such space for them. Although specific goals or images differed depending on the learner, becoming a multicultural Canadian was something they all dreamed of or aimed for. Because Canadian multiculturalism has two facets—accepting and appreciating other cultures, and respecting and appreciating one's own roots—although the Japanese language had already lost its communicative role at home for the participants, the knowledge of Japanese

language and/or culture became a key component for success in long-term multicultural Canadian identity-building for them.

In Canadian multiculturalism, the participants could view Japanese language and/or culture both as 'other' and as their own 'roots' at the same time (see Chapter 6, Ryota's case, Japanese Heritage in Canadian Multiculturalism, pp.169-171) and were not required to decide whether Japanese is 'other' for them or not. This might be one of the reasons that they prioritized Japanese learning over other culture/language learning, even though there were many other options available for them to exercise multiculturalism (i.e., various language and/or culture courses are offered in Montreal). They may have found potential and/or assets in Japanese knowledge that led them to strengthen their Canadian-ness and become 'more' multiculturally Canadian faster. At the same time, Japanese always had a place in their experiences growing up and it became something that evoked nostalgic feelings. This nostalgia did not stop at an individual level, but also made them want to share their memories related to Japanese with Japanese family members, other JHL learners, and people in/from Japan as young adults. By doing so, they were able to continuously confirm their positions both in family and society and create their own 'home'.

This 'home' could be similar to or one type of the third space reported and discussed in earlier studies. As mentioned in Chapter 6 (Mayumi's case and Tomoyuki's case), some earlier studies on youth HL learners' identity construction reported that their Asian HL learner participants created new cultural values and a 'third space' by transforming their ambivalent language experience into them to distance themselves from native Asians from Asian countries (Hiramoto, 2015; Kim, 2020; Takei, 2015). Their 'third space' appears to be a combination of two concepts: 'third place' as coined by Ray Oldenburg, which is a space between first place

(home) and second place (work/school) where an individual can be a community member (i.e., comfort zone), and 'third space' by Homi K. Bhabha, which is a space where an individual can negotiate their socio-cultural identities. I use the word 'home' instead of 'third space' or 'imagined community' here because what I found in this study involves a sense of the past and home whereas 'third space' focuses more on the present and the space between home and work/school, and 'imagined community' focuses more on the future and society (outside of the family sphere). By saying 'home', I mean a space not totally separated from first place (home) where people can negotiate their socio-cultural identities including changes in their views of themselves in the past and the meanings of past events/experiences (i,e,, rewriting, supplementing and reconceptualizing childhood memories).

The lives of the learner participants in this study had been characterized by mobility in language and culture on a daily basis, since they were continuously crossing borders geographically and temporally (between past and present, present and future). In such mobile lives, they likely found it difficult to simply have a sense of 'home (town)' like that of their parents or grandparents, and thus felt a need to create a 'home' for themselves. For them, being a multicultural Canadian is not exactly the same thing as being a cosmopolitan person, but means being someone who lives a mobile life while having a sense of 'home' where they can share and reconceptualize their multicultural and/or multilingual childhood experiences/memories and return anytime. The place where these JHL learners practice multiculturalism is not limited to the wider society, but also enters the family domain. Canadian multiculturalism in their minds cannot be simply explained as 'individual' multiculturalism (i.e., pluriculturalism) or 'social' multiculturalism (i.e., multiculturalism). In a sense, they cross the borders between family and society frequently and freely. This mobility allows them to pass through cultural conflicts inside

and outside the family, and to find their own ways of becoming adults.

Some of the findings in this study align with the findings of earlier studies and others do not. In the last two decades, many identity studies in second language education have used concepts derived from a poststructuralist view of identity, such as Norton's idea of *imagined communities* as applied to the field of second language learning (2001), to understand second language learners' identity construction process, and found that learners' participation in language learning was promoted when they were able to see the target language as a key to accessing their imagined communities. The four learners in this study also imagined communities of some kind (e.g., multicultural Canadian community and bi-/multi-lingual community) and saw Japanese as a key to accessing such communities. However, those communities had no specific location and related to no specific physical move. Most results in earlier studies were based on the idea of a relationship between 'host' and 'hosted'(Kawakami, 2018). In these studies, there is a host or mainstream society/community, and a newcomer in the process of imagining a community or of entering the imagined community. For the four JHL learners in my study, there was no such clear distinction. Their imagined communities were not attached to a specific and existing country, society or community such as that of Japan, Japanese immigrants, or a professional society.

Second, in terms of time, whereas most earlier studies reported the process of identity construction as a one-way and temporally positive-direction activity, the four JHL learners in this current study were continuously crossing such temporal borders and it seemed difficult to conclude that they were looking solely towards the future. This is not to suggest that earlier studies disregard the importance and role of learners' past experiences in identity construction. Many studies emphasize that the desire for the future derives from countless past experiences.

However, past experiences stay in the past and do not change in the identity construction process reported. For example, a negative experience or event in the past remains negative while it influences the learner's desire for the future and the process of identity construction. It does not grow or change along with the desire for the future. Past experiences were viewed as fixed events. In the case of the four JHL learners in this study, their childhood memories and experiences not only gave them a feeling of nostalgia, but also made them want to share those experiences with others such as Japanese family members and people in/from Japan, and thus create their own sense of 'home'. Although they cannot change what happened in the past, the four learners deconstruct and reconstruct the meanings of those events and experiences in the process of their identity construction.

Another difference is the role of family and the relationship between family and society in adults' identity construction, in relation to language learning. While earlier studies separate family space and social space, and illustrate a progressive movement from family space to social space for young adults, the four JHL learners' cases indicate that they moved back and forth between family space and social space freely, and that Japanese learning had an impact on their positions not only in a society/community but also in their families. Moreover, they tried to find and/or create their own 'home' somewhere between family and society, since this 'home' is not something given to them as simply and automatically as it is for people who grow up in a monocultural environment. Rather, the border between family and society is blurred. More specifically, because the cultural values/norms at home and in a society sometimes differ greatly or conflict, to avoid and/or overcome such cultural conflicts, they move between the spheres of family-society frequently and create and develop their own cultural values/norms somewhere between these two spheres, which cannot be clearly distinguished as home culture or social

culture. Furthermore, although these learners also gradually become independent from family, and, like everyone, continuously negotiate their positions within their families, HL still has a strong impact on their positioning in the family even after they become adults, and this positioning process is much more complicated. To see a more complete picture of their identity construction, the fluidity of their positioning in their families cannot be overlooked.

For these learners, in their imagined communities, past experiences and families exist not as an influential 'past', but as a part of their present and future communities. It is possible that poststructuralist approaches to second language learners' identity construction may still have some kind of fixed dichotomized idea and/or categorization, especially in views of past experiences, and the relationship between time, memory, and mobility. It is not my intention to deny the poststructuralist approach or suggest a new approach, but in this globalizing world and era, it is important to review approaches to second language learners' identity construction and to consider including the concept of 'mobility' (i.e., not unidirectional but bi-/multi-directional mobility). Kawakami et al. (2018, 2022) state that 'mobility' is no longer unusual in the modern era of expanding globalization, and if we try to see things from the standpoint of a person with mobile experiences, we are required to shift our view from a sedentary perspective (i.e., viewing the move in terms of immigration or emigration, or host and hosted) to a mobile perspective. He further suggests that researchers should look at people's life experiences not by focusing on the individual person, but rather by focusing on the event/concept of mobility, which means that by using 'mobility' as the base, researchers can avoid simply labeling and categorizing people with mobile experiences as movers/travelers, and thus be freed from the misperception that a host group always exists and that its view is fixed and standard. These mobile experiences are not limited to physical/geographical moves such as immigration. They also include temporal and

linguistic moves.

In relation to the labeling and categorization of people with mobile experiences, to be critical, we may also need to consider the 'locality' that underlies 'unexpected moments at unexpected places' (Pennycook, 2012). While analyzing the four JHL learners' stories in my research, it was difficult for me to ignore their mobile experiences and abilities. Without the concept of 'mobility', I could not see their struggles and their growth process and make sense of the 'small stories' that circulated between them and myself. Kawakami's notions of '*mobility and language*' and '*children crossing borders* (in place, time, and language)' (e.g., Kawakami, 2010) together with a new view of 'locality' (Pennycook, 2012) may add a new angle to the poststructuralist approach and allow us to revisit our understandings of 'HL' and/or 'FL' categorization, second language learners' identity construction process, and researchers' positioning in research.

Furthermore, when we approach such issues, we may need to take an extra caution when applying and/or referring to specific concepts/notions such as 'native speaker' and Rampton's (1990) '*language expertise, language inheritance, and language affiliation*'. In the current study, the notions of '*language expertise, language inheritance and language affiliation*' helped me to understand the participants' decisions and motivational orientations underlying their imagined communities. However, there seem to be two issues that arise when applying this notion to the cases of young adult learners in a multicultural and/or multilingual context (i.e., people who have multicultural experiences in their childhood). First, this notion has been created and discussed from the language perspective (i.e., focusing on one specific language such as Japanese language expertise, Japanese language inheritance, and Japanese language affiliation). In other words, the relationships among plural languages' *expertise, inheritance,* and *affiliation* are not included in

the notion. However, the participants in this study showed their senses of *expertise*, *inheritance* and *affiliation* toward Japanese as embedded in Canadian multiculturalism, and it was difficult to understand and explain their self-positioning and motivations with regard to Japanese learning by using only Rampton's (1990) notions of '*language expertise, language inheritance and language affiliation*'. Also, the fluidity of these three concepts could not be ignored (e.g., in some cases *affiliation* can shift to *inheritance* or vice versa, and some cases may fall into more than one of these categories, or into none of them). These two issues are the reason that I did not refer to Rampton's three concepts much when reporting the results of each learner's case in Chapter 6.

Rampton (1990) states, "For many purposes, the concepts *expertise, inheritance*, and *affiliation* will be inappropriate, and they obviously leave out certain issues that are relevant to language and inter-group relations (for example, as they stand, they don't treat language enmity)" (Rampton, 1990, p.100). Although these concepts "help us think about individual cases and about general situations more clearly than do the concepts native speaker and mother tongue" (Rampton, 1990, p. 100), for the case of learners with multicultural experiences in childhood, to understand their identity construction and/or language learning motivation, alternative or additional concepts may be required.

Summary

In this chapter, I have returned to my three research focuses: the meanings of the Japanese language to Japanese immigrant descendants with little or no Japanese knowledge, their decisions about Japanese learning, and their perspectives on JHL learning as adults. I have reported my findings based on the four learner participants' stories. I then discussed their identity construction, with a focus on the multicultural context. Through this discussion, I claimed that the concept of '*imagined communities*' alone may be insufficient to explain the longitudinal

trajectory and relationship of HL and HL learners, and the identity construction of youths. I also suggested the need to include new views and/or concepts such as '*mobility*' (Kawakami et al., 2018, 2022) in the poststructuralist approach to avoid overlooking the learners' struggles as children and/or youth, and the process of growth.

Chapter 8 Conclusion: Reflections, Implications and Directions

Overview

This qualitative study includes not only participants' subjectivities but also the researcher's subjectivity. The influence of subjectivity in qualitative research is often discussed in the research literature, such as how the subjectivity of the researcher influences the types of data collected and the interpretation of the data (e.g., Norton Peirce, 1995; Yin, 2013). In my inquiry, my past teaching experience and experience as an immigrant may have influenced the participants' comments and my interpretation of them. However, I saw this as an advantage rather than a problem because: 1) my research questions are rooted in my own lived experience; and 2) my research explores identity construction, which is a social and interactive process. Considering these points, I tried to deal with the challenges of 'reflexivity' by analyzing my data at the two levels of 'big and small stories' (i.e., monitoring the positioning and relationship between the researcher and each participant), and by corroborating interview data with information from diary data. In addition to these approaches, in this chapter, I reflect and report on my subjective positioning and process of identity construction as a researcher, educator and immigrant in this inquiry. Following the reflection, I conclude by discussing some of the study's implications for research and practice, and suggesting some directions for future research.

Reflections on My Subjective Positioning in the Inquiry

My research questions are rooted in my past teaching experience in Alberta; thus, I began or tried to begin this study from the perspective of a former heritage language teacher. At the time that I was designing this study, I simply thought and believed that I could know the meanings of 'withdrawal from' and 'returning to' 'heritage language' learning for 'heritage language' learners by directly asking them questions (i.e., finding answers in their comments),

and that I could ‘re-define’ the terms of ‘heritage language learners’ and ‘heritage language education.’ However, as soon as I started interviewing my participants, I realized that qualitative research does not work that way, and I found that it was extremely difficult for me to maintain one position and stay in an emotionally safe place during data collection, data analysis, and discussion of findings. This is because both I and my participants are human beings living our lives, and when the participants needed to reflect on their past experiences and memories, I could not avoid doing the same. I was asked or required to reflect on my own past experiences and memories just as much as my participants were required to do so. At times, it was painful. I could sense the feelings of irritation, uneasiness, and ambivalence that emerged both in my participants and in myself.

The interviews with participants who were teachers made me realize my own lack of knowledge, experience and imagination regarding not only teaching but also multiculturalism. Before the interviews, I was simply comparing experiences between monocultural society and multicultural society, monolingual experiences and multilingual experiences, and seeing things from a general monocultural perspective. However, after hearing comments from the teacher participants who were multilingual themselves, I realized that although we all came from Japan and lived in the same multicultural society, what we saw in ‘heritage language learners’ and in our experiences in a multicultural society were different. Also, unexpectedly and rather fortuitously, I was able to hear about their parenting experiences in Quebec and learn about the kinds of dilemmas that parents in a multi-cultural/lingual society actually experience (e.g., Orie’s episode of teaching her children the Japanese word ‘pink’). I realized that Japanese language learning in Quebec is not just a matter of the Japanese language itself (i.e., separated from experiences with other languages), or of minority language versus majority language (i.e.,

whether we learn/use Japanese or English/French). This awareness forced me to face my preconceptions and assumptions about multi-cultural/lingual society and multi-cultural/lingual experience, and offered me another way of seeing things besides that of a former 'heritage language' teacher from Japan and Alberta, both of which are societies dominated to some extent by one language. For that reason, I increased my number of meetings with learner participants, and although I focused on their Japanese language experience in my reporting and analysis of their comments and stories, I tried to avoid pinpointing their Japanese language experiences during the interviews themselves (i.e., we talked more randomly in terms of topic). This adjustment/change in my research design allowed me to attain more and richer information from the participants; however, it also forced me out of my own comfort zone and made me reflect on my lived experiences as an immigrant.

As excerpts from the interviews in Chapter 6 show, the learner participants and I exchanged our views and opinions during the interviews. Whether I wanted to or not, I was put in a position where I needed to share my stories and views with the participants, as well as hoping that they would share theirs. Surprisingly, those stories and views were not related to 'heritage language' or Japanese language teaching. Rather, I felt that the learner participants expected me to share my views as a Japanese immigrant or native Japanese rather than as a teacher, graduate student, or researcher. Sometimes they seemed to want to discuss certain issues and topics with me, and at other times to confirm their ideas or to receive advice from me. For example, Tomoyuki asked me about my experiences in Quebec with the French language and as an immigrant while he was sharing his views with me about Quebec, French, and language in general. Also, to greater or lesser degrees, all four participants seemed to want me to confirm their ideas/images of Japan or the Japanese language ('giri' for Mayumi, 'kawarimono' and

education system in Japan for Meg, ‘hakujin’ for Tomoyuki, and the ‘Issunboshi’ story for Ryota). Therefore, I could not avoid looking at myself as an ‘immigrant’ and re-examining my experiences not only as a ‘heritage language’ teacher, but also as a whole person, during the data collection and analysis. Throughout that process, I struggled considerably as a researcher. My interviews with the learner participants lasted a long time, and it was emotionally difficult for me to listen to entire interview recordings repeatedly. During the data analysis and writing process, I often felt confused as to whether I was examining and describing my own story, or whether I was telling their stories and truths, and I kept scribbling and throwing away notes. I was continuously positioning and repositioning myself. This was one of the reasons that it took me longer than anticipated to complete this study. The research process also revealed the trajectory of my identity construction as a researcher and as a whole person.

Theoretical Implications

The four Japanese heritage language (JHL) learners in this study seemed to be actively seeking an agreeable space somewhere between or among different cultures. Canadian multiculturalism represented such a space for them. All of them stated or showed a consistent and clear favor for Canadian multiculturalism. It might also be an important key to understanding the identity construction process of youth in Canada, especially immigrant descendants who were born after 1988 when the Canadian Multiculturalism Act was enacted. As Ryota in his childhood was influenced by Canadian TV shows that share immigrants’ stories, it is possible that this Act has had an impact in the fields of child-rearing, education, media and so forth, and eventually, it may have influenced young people’s views of culture, language and themselves. Further study about the influence of Canadian multiculturalism on the identity construction of Canadian youth is needed. For instance, studies from the perspective of family

language policy (FLP) may shed light on the influence of Canadian multiculturalism (social ideology and policy, macro level) on the process of identity construction for children and youth. The current focus in the field of FLP research is agency, ideology and identity (King, 2021), and some FLP studies look at children's growing pains and emotional experiences from the children's own perspective (King, 2021). Although we cannot ignore the outcomes and impacts of FLP in terms of language acquisition (e.g., proficiency), studying such experiences and processes may allow us to grasp a more complete view of Canadian multiculturalism and reveal its influence on an individual's entire life.

Another imperative point in understanding the identity construction process of young immigrant descendants is the mobility that characterizes their lives. The lives of the four JHL learners in this study experienced linguistic and cultural mobility on a daily basis. They were continuously crossing borders not only geographically, but also temporally. They moved back and forth between the space of the family and that of society frequently and freely. Although these learners gradually become independent of their families, and all people continuously negotiate their positions within their own families, for these learners, HL continued to have a strong impact on their positioning in the family even after they became adults. There is a possibility that this positioning process is more complicated compared to young adults in a 'mono-culture/lingual' context. Further research is required. Also, in terms of the influence of past experiences on their identity construction process, these participants were constantly crossing temporal boarders; they were not looking solely towards the future. Although they could not change what happened in the past, they deconstructed and reconstructed the meanings of those events and experiences in the process of their identity construction. In order to see a more complete picture of their identity construction, the fluidity of their positioning in the family and

the meanings of their past experiences cannot be overlooked.

For these learners, in their imagined communities, past experiences and families exist not simply as an influential 'past', but as a part of their present and future communities. It is not my intention here to reject the poststructuralist approach or to suggest a new approach, but in this globalizing world and era, it is important to review approaches to second language learners' identity construction and to consider including the concept of 'mobility' (i.e., not unidirectional but bi-/multi-directional mobility). It is possible that poststructuralist approaches to second language learners' identity construction may still be rooted in fixed, dichotomous ideas and/or categorizations, especially in terms of views regarding past experiences, and the relationship between time, memory, and mobility. In this modern era of expanding globalization, it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, for researchers to ignore people's geographical, temporal and linguistic experiences of mobility, including the researchers' own. The event/activity of 'mobility' is no longer unusual. Keeping this in mind, we may need to approach identity construction not only from the perspective of those researched but also from the perspective of mobility. Kawakami's notions of '*mobility and language*' and '*children crossing borders* (in the categories of place, time, language, and language learning)' (e.g., Kawakami, 2010) may add a new angle to the poststructuralist approach and allow us to revisit our understandings of 'HL' and/or 'FL' categorizations, second language learners' identity construction process, and the positioning of researchers.

Educational Implications

I end this thesis by outlining its educational implications. Before beginning this study, I believed that establishing 'heritage language' education for adult learners, such as having a separate track for 'heritage language' learners at the university level, would help 'heritage

language' learners to be freed from the stress of acquiring/maintaining their 'heritage languages'. It was my intention/purpose in this study. However, after the data analysis, I realized that it is actually not that simple. In this study, regardless of language proficiency or bi/multi-lingualism, the four JHL learners' experiences of growing up in a multi-cultural/-lingual context had a great impact on their identity construction process. Those experiences were complex and sometimes associated with pain (e.g., experiences of failure or inability to communicate with someone close). That pain did not always come with and/or lead to progress or drawbacks in terms of Japanese language learning. It is questionable as to whether we can view this type of experience simply as a 'heritage language' experience or a linguistic experience, and thus treat it only at the linguistic level (i.e., in terms of mother tongue or foreign language, or in terms of the relation between language and identity). Special caution may be required when naming and grouping immigrant descendants or people whose parents come from different ethnolinguistic backgrounds as 'heritage language' learners in the context of language learning because it may result in devaluing or limiting the richness of their 'mobile' multi-cultural/-linguistic experiences. Also, there is a risk that instructors or institutions may make blind assumptions and oversimplify learners' motivational orientations (e.g., to strengthen 'Japanese' identity and to communicate with Japanese family members), and limit their learning goals one-sidedly (e.g., focusing only on the ability to communicate with Japanese family members or acquiring basic Kanji knowledge). As I reported in Chapter 6, it is sometimes difficult for such learners to clearly separate the cultures surrounding them or to claim that their motivation to learn Japanese is to strengthen their Japanese identity. Instructors and institutions at the post-secondary level may need to create a learning environment in which learners can share their 'mobile' and multi-cultural/-linguistic experiences with each other, rather than focusing on how to label learners.

This need could also apply to adult Indigenous language learning, as well as other heritage language learning besides Japanese. In the case of Indigenous language learning, for historical reasons, there are sometimes very few speakers of the target language (i.e., the target language lost its linguistic vitality and was not passed on the next generation), and people in the community tend to study their language as adults (i.e., through Indigenous language revitalization (ILR) programs). McIvor (2020) states that although there are conceptual and historical differences between heritage languages and Indigenous languages (i.e., Indigenous people are in their homeland and the concept of geographical 'mobility' does not apply to them in the same way), "the language learning situation and motivations of heritage language learning are likely closest to ILR" (p.84) and "there is much similarity in the experience of learning either a heritage language or an Indigenous language as a second or subsequent language in an environment dominated by another language" (p.84).

For instance, in addition to regular linguistic lessons and practices, incorporating some metacognitive and reflective activities into the curriculum or course (e.g., making time to share childhood memories related to languages/cultural concepts in- and outside of class) may encourage learners to embrace and value their 'mobile' experiences and abilities, and allow the learners to envision their futures together with such experiences and abilities. Although experiences and events from the past cannot be changed, the meanings of those experiences may change for them, and the associated pain may be experienced instead as growing pains. This is not limited to 'heritage language' learners or learners with experiences of physical or geographical movement. Looking back at our childhood experiences, most of us likely have 'mobile' experiences and memories. I was raised and educated in a 'mono-cultural/lingual' context, but still, I remember how I felt when I tried to communicate with my friend's parents

who had a hearing impairment, and how I felt when I listened to a conversation in Chinese between my friend and her mother, who was a Japanese orphan left behind in China. Everything that I have experienced until now, including these 'mobile' experiences, have made me what I am today. Moreover, the memories of these 'mobile' experiences are what led me to this inquiry in the first place. This also indicates that educators do not always need to be bi-/multi-lingual and/or bi-/multi-cultural to teach multilingualism and/or multiculturalism. Similarly, teachers who are not native speakers are not necessarily disadvantaged as language instructors. Mono-lingual/-cultural teachers and/or non-native language teachers would be disadvantaged only if we view culture, language and language education from the perspective of one certain culture/language and categorize them in terms of 'mother-tongue', 'heritage language', 'second language' and 'foreign language'. It is my hope that this study will shed some light on people's experiences of conflict and growth not only with Japanese language, but also with 'mobility', and that it will become a first step towards a vision of language education that is not separated from culture, allowing all youth/adult learners to value their past experiences and embrace their childhood memories.

Summary

In this final chapter, I have reflected and on my subjective positioning and identity construction process as a researcher, educator and immigrant in this study. Following my reflections, I concluded by discussing some of the study's implications for research and practice, and suggested some possible directions for future research and practice.

The research process revealed the trajectory of my identity construction as a researcher and as a whole person. Through this study, I was able to rethink what 'research' really means to me. I now know that there is no research without subjectivity and pain, and just one study cannot

prove or solve any issue. At the same time, however, I know that the truths and/or solutions lie only beyond it. At this moment, I am only beginning to understand what a vision of language education might look like that allows HL learners to keep future possibilities open to maintain their relationships with their HLs and to return to learning their HLs without any time limit. I hope this study will be the first step towards the realization of such language education and contribute to an understanding of adult HL learners' desires, challenges, and efforts to create a 'home' for themselves through their HLs.

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Appendix 1-A: Invitation Letter - Instructors

Date

Dear Participant:

I am a doctoral student in the Department of Integrated Studies in Education at McGill University. I am currently conducting research entitled "Heritage language learners in a multicultural society: the influence of Japanese immigrant descendants' relation with the Japanese community on their identities and Japanese learning" under the supervision of Dr. Mela Sarkar at McGill University and Dr. Marlise Horst at Concordia University. This is to invite you to participate in the study.

The purpose of this study is, through questionnaire and interview, to explore how the ideologies in current multilingual/multicultural societies influence Japanese language learners' experience, especially focusing on vocabulary. Your participation in the study will entail a questionnaire and oral interview. In the questionnaire and interview, you will be asked about your background and experiences related to Japanese language and Japanese language teaching. Through this research, you will be expected to benefit from the sharing of the Japanese language teaching experiences with the researcher and possibly other instructors.

Your participation is voluntary and you may choose not to participate or withdraw at any time or refuse to answer any question you don't want to. Also, the personal information will be kept completely confidential; your record will only be accessible to the researcher and will be kept under locked conditions. Your name will never be used in any of the reports describing the results of this study.

If you are aware of the purpose and procedures of this study and wish to participate in the study, please sign and return the consent form attached with this letter to the researcher. Should you have further questions or concerns about the study, please contact me directly by e-mail at yasuko.senoo@mail.mcgill.ca or mela.sarkar@mcgill.ca.

Thank you very much for your cooperation and assistance in this study.

Sincerely yours,

Yasuko Senoo
Ph.D. candidate
Department of Integrated Studies in Education
McGill University

Appendix 1-B: Consent Form - Instructors

This is to state that I agree to participate in a project being conducted by Yasuko Senoo of the Department of Integrated Studies in Education at McGill University.

A. PURPOSE

To explore how the ideologies in current multilingual/multicultural societies influence Japanese language learners' experience, especially focusing on vocabulary

B. METHODS

I give my permission to participate in a questionnaire and personal interview. The questionnaire and interview will involve questions about my experiences related to Japanese language and Japanese language teaching.

C. CONDITIONS OF PARTICIPATION

- I understand the purpose of this research.
- I understand that I may decline to participate in the research without any negative consequences.
- I understand that I am free to withdraw my consent and discontinue my participation at any time without negative consequences.
- I understand that my participation in this study is confidential (i.e., the researcher will know but will not disclose my identity).
- I understand that the data from this study may be published or presented at a scientific conference; data will be reported in a way that protects each participant's identity.

I HAVE CAREFULLY STUDIED THE ABOVE AND UNDERSTAND THIS AGREEMENT.
I FREELY CONSENT AND AGREE TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS STUDY.

_____	_____	_____
Participant's name	Participant's signature	Date

_____	_____	_____
Researcher's name	Researcher's name	Date

If at any time, you have questions about your rights as a research participant, please contact me directly by e-mail at yasuko.senoo@mail.mcgill.ca or mela.sarker@mcgill.ca.

Appendix 2-A: Invitation Letter - Learners

Date

Dear Participant:

I am a doctoral student in the Department of Integrated Studies in Education at McGill University. I am currently conducting research entitled "Heritage language learners in a multicultural society: the influence of Japanese immigrant descendants' relation with the Japanese community on their identities and Japanese learning" under the supervision of Dr. Mela Sarkar at McGill University and Dr. Marlise Horst at Concordia University. This is to invite you to participate in the study.

The purpose of this study is, through questionnaire, diary, and interview, to explore how the ideologies in current multilingual/multicultural societies influence Japanese language learners' experience, especially focusing on vocabulary. This study includes three parts: 1) a questionnaire and primary personal interview, 2) reading session (one to two hours free reading per week) and diary study for 12 weeks, and 3) second and third personal interviews.

In the questionnaire and interview, you will be asked about your background and experiences related to Japanese language and Japanese language learning. As for the reading session and diary study part, you will be asked to keep a diary in which you regularly make comments about your experiences in learning Japanese while you are engaged in reading (reading Japanese books for one to two hours per week for 12 weeks). The basic rules are: 1) submitting one diary per week minimum and 2) choosing books from the researcher's book collection. There will be no rules for the length of the diary. The contents of the diary could be "how, when, and where you use Japanese", "with whom you use Japanese", "what happens when you use Japanese (how your interlocutor act and how you feel)", "what Japanese words you remember well or use often", and "what Japanese words you want to learn." If you agree, I would also like to discuss the comments you have made in your diaries every two weeks when you check out the books. Through this research, you will be expected to benefit from the sharing of the Japanese language learning experiences with the researcher and possibly other learners. As well, I hope it will give you a chance to practice and improve your Japanese.

Your participation is voluntary and you may choose not to participate or withdraw at any time or refuse to answer any question you don't want to. Also, the personal information will be kept completely confidential; your record will only be accessible to the researcher and will be kept under locked conditions. Your name will never be used in any of the reports describing the results of this study.

If you are aware of the purpose and procedures of this study and wish to participate in the study, please sign and return the consent form attached with this letter to the researcher. Should you have further questions or concerns about the study, please contact me directly by e-mail at yasuko.senoo@mail.mcgill.ca or mela.sarkar@mcgill.ca.

Thank you very much for your cooperation and assistance in this study.

Sincerely yours,

Yasuko Senoo
Ph.D. candidate
Department of Integrated Studies in Education
McGill University

Appendix 2-B: Consent Form - Learners

This is to state that I agree to participate in a project being conducted by Yasuko Senoo of the Department of Integrated Studies in Education at McGill University.

A. PURPOSE

To explore how the ideologies in current multilingual/multicultural societies influence Japanese language learners' experience, especially focusing on vocabulary

B. METHODS

I give my permission to participate in a questionnaire, diary study, reading sessions, and personal interviews. The questionnaire and interviews will involve questions about my experiences related to Japanese language and Japanese language learning. The participation in the reading sessions and diary study will include reading Japanese books one to two hours per week and keeping a diary about Japanese learning.

C. CONDITIONS OF PARTICIPATION

- I understand the purpose of this research.
- I understand that I may decline to participate in the research without any negative consequences.
- I understand that I am free to withdraw my consent and discontinue my participation at any time without negative consequences.
- I understand that my participation in this study is confidential (i.e., the researcher will know but will not disclose my identity).
- I understand that the data from this study may be published or presented at a scientific conference; data will be reported in a way that protects each participant's identity.

I HAVE CAREFULLY STUDIED THE ABOVE AND UNDERSTAND THIS AGREEMENT.
I FREELY CONSENT AND AGREE TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS STUDY.

_____	_____	_____
Participant's name	Participant's signature	Date

_____	_____	_____
Researcher's name	Researcher's name	Date

If at any time, you have questions about your rights as a research participant, please contact me directly by e-mail at yasuko.senoo@mail.mcgill.ca or mela.sarker@mcgill.ca.

Appendix 3: Background Questionnaire – Instructors

The following questions are about your background and language teaching experience. Please write your name and answer the questions.

Name: ( ) Age: ( ) Gender: ( )

General

1. Where are you from? _____
2. What do you do in Canada? _____
3. How long have you stayed in Canada? _____
4. Do you have any Japanese ancestry? YES / NO
5. What is your ethnicity?

   I consider myself _____.
6. What is your father's ethnicity?

   I consider my father _____.
7. What is your mother's ethnicity?

   I consider my mother _____.
8. Do you have any work experience other than teaching Japanese? YES / NO

   If YES, what are they? _____
9. What is your future plan? (i.e., residency and carrier)

   _____

   _____

Language

10. What is/are your mother tongue(s)? _____
11. What language/languages do you use at home?_____
12. What languages have you studied? _____
13. Do you enjoy language learning in general? YES / NO
14. What has been your favorite experience in language learning?

    _____

15. What languages did/do you teach other than Japanese? _____
16. Do you enjoy language teaching in general? YES / NO
17. What has been your favorite experience in language teaching?

_____

Japanese teaching

1. How long have you been teaching Japanese? _____

2. What level(s) have you taught or do you teach?

3. How do you rate your Japanese proficiency? (What do you think of your Japanese proficiency?)

_____

4. Do you visit Japan often? YES / NO

   If YES, how often? _____

5. What is the reason for teaching Japanese?

_____

_____

6. Have you taught or do you teach heritage language classes? YES / NO

   If YES, a) at where? _____

   b) when? _____

   c) how long? _____

7. Have you taught or do you teach heritage language learners in a foreign language class?

   YES / NO

   If YES, normally

   a) in which course (level) do you have them?_____

   b) how many of them do you have in one class?_____

Comment

Appendix 4: Background Questionnaire - Learners

The following questions are about your background and language learning experience. Please write your name and answer the questions.

Name: ( ) Age: ( ) Gender: ( )

General

1. Where are you from?

   _____

2. What do you do in Canada?

   _____

3. How long have you stayed in Canada?

   _____

4. What is your future plan? (i.e., residency and carrier)

   _____

   _____

5. Do you have any Japanese ancestry? YES / NO

6. What is your ethnicity?

   I consider myself _____.

7. What is your father's ethnicity?

   I consider my father _____.

8. What is your mother's ethnicity?

   I consider my mother _____.

9. Do you have siblings? YES / NO

   If yes, are you first born, second born, or other? _____

10. Do you have Japanese friends? YES / NO

Language

11. What is/are your mother tongue(s)? _____
12. What language/languages do you use at home? _____
13. What other languages have you studied? _____
14. Do you enjoy language learning in general? YES / NO
15. What has been your favorite experience in language learning?

_____

Japanese learning

8. How long have you been studying Japanese (including self-study)?

_____

9. How do you rate your Japanese proficiency? (What do you think of your Japanese proficiency?)

_____

10. Have you taken Japanese courses before? YES / NO

    If YES, a) at where? _____

    b) when? _____

    c) how long? _____

11. Have you ever been in Japan? YES / NO

    If YES, how long? _____

12. What is the reason for learning or wanting to learn Japanese?

_____

_____

Comment

Appendix 5: Interview Questions – Instructors

- **Culture and Language**
  1. Could you describe your culture?
     a. What do you like best about your culture/country?
     b. What you don't like about your culture/country?
  2. Is it common in your country/community to use more than two languages?
  3. Do you feel that how you see yourself attributes to your language learning abilities?
- **Japanese Language**
  1. What is the status of Japanese in your home country?
  2. What do you think is the status of Japanese in Canada/Quebec/Montreal?
  3. What do you think being able to use Japanese language mean to Japanese language learners in Canada/Quebec/Montreal?
     a. How important is it for them to become proficient in Japanese?
     b. What are their goals of Japanese language learning?
- **Japanese Teaching**
  1. Could you describe your first-time teaching Japanese?
  2. Did you find teaching Japanese easy or difficult? Why?
  3. What language(s) do you use for classroom instruction? If you use more than two languages, how much for each language?
  4. What kind of activities/pedagogies do you normally use in your classroom teaching?
- **Heritage Language Learners**
  1. How do you define heritage language learners?
  2. Do you find any difference between foreign language learners and heritage language learners? If so, in what way do they different?
  3. What do you think is the meaning/goal of learning Japanese for heritage language learners? Do you think it differs from the one for other foreign language learners?
  4. What is your experience of teaching heritage language learners in a foreign language class?
     a. What were the difficulties you had?
     b. What were the benefits your class shared?
  5. Do you agree with the idea of having a separate truck for heritage language learners? If so, what is the reason for that?
- **Vocabulary Teaching**
  1. What pedagogies do you normally use to teach vocabulary in your class?
  2. Do you use reading for vocabulary teaching?
     a. What kind of reading materials do you use? (e.g., newspaper articles and books)
     b. What genres are those reading materials? (e.g., folk tale, mystery, and academic)
     c. Have you ever tried the extensive reading in your class? If so, how did you find it?
  3. What is your priority to teach vocabulary in terms of vocabulary type? (e.g., academic words, general frequent words, special interest words – anime, school life, business etc.)
  4. What do you suggest your students to do when they encounter a new word?
  5. What do you suggest your students to do to find the meaning of a new word?
  6. What do you suggest your students to do to remember a new word?

Appendix 6: Interview Questions – Learners

- **Culture and Language**
  1. Could you describe your culture?
     a. What do you like best about your culture/country?
     b. What you don't like about your culture/country?
  2. Is it common in your country/community to use more than two languages?
  3. Do you feel that how you see yourself attributes to your language learning abilities?
- **Japanese Language**
  1. What is the status of Japanese in your country?
  2. What does being able to use Japanese language mean to your life?
     a. How important is it for you to become proficient in Japanese?
     b. What is your goal of Japanese language learning?
- **Japanese Learning**
  1. Could you describe your first-time learning Japanese?
     a. Have you ever learned Japanese in the classroom settings? What kind of experience did you have?
     b. Have you learned Japanese at home when you were little? What kind of experience did you have?
  2. Did you find Japanese learning easy or difficult? Why?
  3. Do you use Japanese in your everyday life? If so, in what situation and with whom do you use Japanese?
  4. Are you satisfied with the contact you have with Japanese? What would you like to change or keep the same?
  5. How do you feel when you listen to a Japanese conversation?
  6. How do you feel when you confront with a conversation that requires your use of Japanese?
- **Vocabulary learning**

  When you are learning a language…
  1. From where do you normally pick up new words?
  2. What is your priority to learn vocabulary in terms of vocabulary type? (e.g., academic words, general frequent words, special interest words – anime, school life, business etc.)
  3. What do you do when you encounter a new word?
  4. What do you do to find the meaning of a new word?
  5. What do you do to remember a new word?

For the second and third interviews only

- **Participatory Vocabulary Learning**
  1. Do you generally like reading books?
     a. Do you consider yourself a good reader?
  2. How did you find the extensive reading?
     a. What kind of books did you read during the session?
     b. What were the criteria of your choice of the books?
     c. What words do you remember well in your reading?
     d. Why do you think those words had such impact on you?
     e. Do you think knowing those specific words is important to you in relation to your real life?