I understand it well, but I cannot say it proper back. Language use among older Dutch migrants in New Zealand

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(PhD)

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Faculty of Applied Humanities
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## Attestation of authorship

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), no material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning.

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#### Abstract

The purposes of this study were (a) to examine two groups of healthy older Dutch English bilingual migrants in a New Zealand setting to investigate whether they were showing signs of L2 attrition with accompanying L1 reversion post-retirement, and (b) to identify possible factors which might play a role in the incidence of any L2 attrition and concomitant L1 reversion. Previous research has focused on similar groups of migrants in the Australian context, while New Zealand based research has focused on language shift and maintenance amongst three generations of migrants. The research design involved an analysis of sociolinguistic life, using questionnaires. These included self-assessments of L1 and L2 proficiency at three key times: on arrival in New Zealand, at time of ultimate attainment and post-retirement. Further, an analysis of assessments of respondents' L1 and L2 proficiency pre-and post-retirement completed by interviewees' adult children moderated respondents' self-reports. The findings revealed a considerable overlap between participants' self-reports and assessments by their adult children. The study also revealed a relationship between participants' level of prior education and their ultimate attainment in the L2, with those who had come to New Zealand having learned English at Secondary School English very likely to have achieved a "good" or "very good" level of L2 proficiency. Conversely, those who had not learned the L2 at secondary school prior to arriving in New Zealand, were less likely to have achieved a "very good" level of ultimate attainment as evident both from selfreports and assessments by adult children. The design also included a linguistic analysis of elicited free speech. Data focused on key indicators of age, gender, social class, prior education, occupation and predominant linguistic environment pre- and post-retirement. Free speech was examined for code-switching, response latency and L1 structure in respondents' spoken L2. Results indicated that a majority of respondents showed minimal if any signs of L2 attrition with concomitant L1 reversion, both as evidenced by their spoken L2 and as indicated by self-reports and assessments by adult children. Any signs of L2 attrition which were found appeared linked to respondents' level of prior education and L2 proficiency on arrival in New Zealand. Being exposed to a predominantly L1 social environment post-retirement also appeared to result in a lifting of the threshold for L2 lexical items, resulting in a slightly increased response latency in the spoken L2. Three participants said they experienced some problems expressing their healthcare needs to medical professionals, to the extent that they were searching for words. All stated they "got there in the end" but needed more time to paraphrase their health needs. Two subjects avoided the use of the L2 during the interview, even when prompted in English. Three respondents engaged in significant codeswitching from L2 to L1 and vice versa, with two engaging in what Muysken (2000) terms "congruent lexicalisation". Adult childrens' reports indicated that the respondents in question had always spoken in this manner, but to a greater extent now, post-retirement. Overall, a number of the healthy older subjects interviewed for the study were showing some signs of increased response latency and lexical retrieval problems when expressing themselves in the L2, but none to the degree that they were no longer able to communicate in that language.


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## Chapter One: Introduction

The trouble is by a lot of old Dutch people als ze hebben een + stroke of ze hebben een bad ziekness er something heart attack of een stroke van de honderd zijn ze eighty percent die lost d'r English. And die lost d'r English. I come in hospitals and I tell the doctor they say in Dutch is dat en dat omdat zij d'r English lost. En dat is bij eighty percent of Hollanders. Niet alleen not alleen Hollanders maar also Duitsers too Germany too. En fransmannen heb ik eronder found out: same thing All the people die kwamen van Europe en die hebben een stroke of een heart attack of een bad ziekness and they go back to Du+ to doubleDutch.
(CM03)

New Zealand welcomed tens of thousands of Dutch immigrants in the 1950s. These people who contributed so greatly to New Zealand's development are now at retirement age and dealing with the challenges elderly people face. A potential difficulty is graphically illustrated in the quote that introduces this thesis. A small number find they that have indeed "lost d'r English". This thesis seeks to explore the extent of the problem and whether it is limited to those who have suffered a debilitating illness. This study also seeks to examine what form any attrition of the second language (L2) might take and whether any specific sociolinguistic factors can be identified that might contribute to L2 attrition. There have been few studies on L2 attrition and L1 reversion among elder bilingual migrants, something which seems surprising in view of the wider social implications such phenomena would have. Obviously, any inability on the part of older migrants to communicate easily with L2 speaking children, grandchildren and friends may lead to loneliness and social isolation. It may also significantly impact on older migrants' ease of access to a range of services and may erode their enjoyment in everyday activities, such as visits to shops or cafes, all of which involve interactions with L 2 speakers.

In Auckland, special Dutch homecare services were initially set up to cater to the needs of older Dutch migrants with L2 communication problems, however these were later discontinued due to a lack of funding. Auckland's Ons Dorp Dutch Village in Henderson includes a Care Centre which employs a number of bilingual English and Dutch speaking caregivers. These bilingual care providers are employed to facilitate the provision of services to those residents who no longer speak English to a degree where they can communicate their needs readily in that language. When I visited the Care Centre in 2006, there were indeed a number of residents whose communication was completely limited to their L1. In addition, I have on occasion been asked to interpret for older Dutch migrants who were no longer able to express their healthcare needs in English. In most cases, the patients concerned were showing signs of Alzheimer's diseases, while in other cases a Cerebro Vascular Accident (CVA - commonly known as a "stroke") had affected the speech centre in their brain. These experiences made me question just how widespread such communication problems might be and whether healthy older Dutch migrants might also be showing signs of reverting to their first language.

### 1.1 Aims of study

As stated in the introduction to this chapter, to date very few studies have focused specifically on L2 attrition with concomitant L2 reversion. What studies have been done have usually involved older bilinguals who are suffering the after effects of pathological processes affecting the brain, particularly Alzheimer's disease and aphasias, where the speech centre has been affected, usually as the result of a stroke (Paradis, 2004). Research undertaken by de Bot and Clyne (1994) amongst healthy older bilingual Dutch migrants in Australia revealed surprisingly little L2 attrition. Their research also showed the role subjects' prior education and their predominant linguistic environment post-retirement.

The main purpose of the proposed research study was to identify whether healthy older Dutch immigrants (age 65 and over) are indeed reverting to their first language (L1 reversion) and whether they are doing this to the extent that they might need the help of interpreters in order to communicate with English speaking health professionals. In addition, the study aimed to examine in what particular way any signs of L2 attrition might manifest themselves. The loss of an L2 may manifest
itself in reduction and simplification processes, whether phonological, morphophonological, morphological or syntactic (Dorian, 1981). Dorian describes how language shift may lead to language death and how that in turn has been linked with both pidginization and language acquisition due to its "reductive aspects" (Dorian, 1981, p. 3). Other studies have focused on hesitation phenomena such as repetitions, filled and unfilled pauses and the use of requests for clarification such as "you know?" (Jiménez Jiménez, 2004). The study reported here focused on features of morphological and syntactic change in respondents' spoken L2, in particular signs of L1 interference. It also examined interviewees' L2 speech segments for signs of reduction, including avoidance strategies and lexical retrieval problems.

Particular attention was paid to the question of whether the process of second language attrition (or L2 attrition) was accelerated by the influence of social isolation (Clyne, 1984; de Bot \& Clyne: 1989) leading to decreased opportunities to use the L2 in a range of domains outside of the home. In other words, the study also aimed to examine whether L2 attrition and L1 reversion were in fact more prevalent amongst immigrants who were exposed to a mainly Dutch speaking social and linguistic environment, as opposed to those who were still exposed to the predominantly L2 English speaking community. To this end, it was thought useful to compare the language production skills of those immigrants who were living in a mainly Dutch speaking environment (such as that created by the Dutch retirement village) to those of the same age group who were still actively involved in the English speaking community. Other possible social factors were also examined by comparing linguistic analysis findings across various groupings based on educational and occupational attainment and gender.

### 1.2 Significance of the study

If the findings suggest that healthy older Dutch migrants no longer actively involved in the L2 speech community do indeed experience L1 reversion, these findings may well have wider implications such as an increased dependency on health and community interpreters. In addition, any inability of older migrants to communicate in the L2 would impact on their interpersonal relationship with New Zealand friends and in particular with English speaking children and grandchildren. In other words, L2 attrition post-retirement can have a significant social impact on older migrants' enjoyment of life and ease of communication in settings where the

L2 is the dominant language. Hence L2 attrition with concomitant L1 reversion would contribute to social isolation and loneliness.

As stated above, previous studies have shown a markedly low first language maintenance rate amongst Dutch migrants in Australia and New Zealand, even in the first generation (Clyne, 1991; Roberts, 1999; Hulsen, 2000). If these Dutch migrants are now starting to show signs of first language (L1) reversion, one would expect this to be equally if not more applicable to other groups of migrants, for whom a much higher rate of L1 maintenance has been reported.

According to the 2006 Census, the greater Auckland area had the highest proportion of bilingual residents ( $27.1 \%$ ) and the greatest ethnic diversity. Almost half of overseas born residents (49.5\%) were multi-lingual, however, no information is known as to what extent they are so (2006 New Zealand census). For a while, in the 1990s, New Zealand immigration policy allowed applicants to enter New Zealand with pre-intermediate English language proficiency as evidenced by an IELTS test score of no more than 5.5 overall (http://www.ielts.org). The 2006 New Zealand census did not present data on whether these bilinguals used the L1 or the L2 in the home environment. Findings from the current study may be interpreted to suggest that these migrants may never achieve a "good" ultimate attainment in English, particularly when unable to find employment in a language rich L2 English speaking environment. Again, one may expect such migrants to show far greater signs of L2 attrition post-retirement.

If a group of Dutch immigrants who shifted from their L1 to English in large numbers during the first decade or so of having arrived in this country, are now showing signs of L1 reversion, with concomitant need for bilingual caregivers, this may be equally if not more the case for groups of migrants who have so far not shown signs of shifting to English to the same extent. Obviously, any inability on the part of older migrants to communicate in English may result in a greater dependency on interpreters in health and community settings. This would constitute an emerging social policy issue which would impact on public spending now and in the future.

### 1.3 Structure of the thesis

The next chapter presents an overview of the literature studied, as this served to provide the basis for a theoretical framework underpinning the methodology and design of the study. It covers a range of studies relating to the nature of
bilingualism, bilingual language processing, and bilingualism in migrant settings. Because the respondents in the current study acquired English as a late learned L2, the literature review also looks at studies in relation to second language learning, including manner of acquisition (classroom or naturalistic), method of learning (Grammar Translation or immersion), motivation and acculturation (Schumann, 1986; Peirce, 1995). The chapter covers a range of theories, both sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic on language attrition. Methodological approaches in the study of language attrition are reviewed, together with their benefits and limitations. Relevant studies on language attrition (Gross, 2004; Jiménez Jiménez, 2004) and language reversion (de Bot \& Clyne, 1989; 1994) are discussed, with their implications for the current study.

A pilot study involving a small sample was undertaken to test research methodology for the main study and this is described in Chapter Three. Chapter Four outlines the design, implementation and data analysis method adopted for the main study. A rationale is provided to clarify the choice of sample, sample selection, data selection and method of analysis. Limitations of the study are discussed together with measures taken to mitigate the same. The findings of the L2 proficiency assessments by respondents and their adult children are discussed in Chapters Six and Seven respectively. One important challenge in the study was the need to determine respondents' ultimate attainment in their L2 in order to ascertain whether, at the time of the interview, they might have returned to a previous level of L2 proficiency post-retirement. The study used three instruments to determine speakers' level of ultimate attainment in English. The first two were based on self-assessment of L2 proficiency now and during respondents' working life. The third assessment was provided by participants' adult children, commenting on their parent's language use pre- and post-retirement.

Chapter Five briefly outlines and compares the socio-political situation which existed in the Netherlands and New Zealand at the time the respondents in this study migrated to this country. It is important to understand the socio-historical context of Dutch migration to New Zealand, particularly the 1950s, as this period saw the largest influx of Dutch migrants (Hulsen, 2000). New Zealand government policy towards migrants and the socio-political climate in New Zealand at the time are also discussed.

Chapter Six focuses on L2 proficiency pre-retirement while Chapter Seven looks at respondents' proficiency in the L2 post retirement, including their ability to
express any health concerns to English speaking health practitioners. During the interviews, speakers were encouraged to discuss their lives and daily activities. Interviewees generally used this opportunity to discuss any current health concerns and this enabled the researcher to gauge the extent to which they were able to do so successfully in their L2. The questionnaire also asked participants to self-assess whether they felt their ability to express health concerns in the L2 had changed since they had retired.

The last instrument used to assess respondents' spoken L2 at the time of the interview involved a linguistic analysis (Chapters 8 to 12). This was aimed at determining whether respondents were experiencing any lexical retrieval difficulties when speaking their L2, and whether their L2 showed a return to L1 structures or lexical items. The analysis also examined speakers' use of filled and unfilled pauses in the context in which these were produced, with particular focus on whether speakers managed to retrieve the L2 items they were looking for, or whether they resorted to a codeswitch (CS) to the L 1 , or failed to find the expected L 2 item and remained silent. The outcomes of the linguistic analysis will be presented in two parts: firstly, a discussion of the linguistic features examined, with individual examples for each of the features investigated, will be presented in Chapters Eight and Nine. Chapter Eight will present examples of L2 subclauses and verb plus complement structures involving a switch to the L1. Individual examples of L2 subclauses involving L1 adverbial placement will also be presented as well as tokens of non-standard L2 subject verb agreement produced by interviewees. Chapter Nine will provide examples of the use of filled and unfilled pauses in the context of L2 lexical retrieval. Individual tokens of filled or unfilled pauses followed by either a switch to the L1 or a "message abandonment" silence will be discussed. Outcomes per linguistic feature for all respondents will be displayed in Chapter Ten, with tables showing standardised rates for the various tokens in relation to the overall word count of spoken L2 segments for all speakers. Chapter Eleven will present a discussion of findings across different social groupings, including those based on predominant linguistic environment, gender, and educational and occupational backgrounds. Individual case studies will be presented in Chapter Twelve, with care taken to safeguard the anonymity of individual respondents. Chapter Thirteen will present an overall summary of findings and possible implications for future research.

## Chapter Two: Literature review

### 2.1 Bilingualism

The focus of this study, which includes both a pilot study and a main study, is a specific group of older bilingual migrants and the question of whether or not they are losing their second language English ability and reverting back to their first language, Dutch. This literature review therefore starts with a brief look at bilingualism and bilingual language processing, with special focus on bilingual speakers in migrant settings. The chapter then continues with an overview of the literature in relation to second language acquisition, and concludes with a summary of language attrition and language reversion studies to date and their implications for this study.

Some twenty-five years prior to this study, Grosjean estimated that about half the world's population is bilingual (1982, vii), an estimate deemed conservative by Schreuder and Weltens a decade later (Schreuder \& Weltens, 1993, p. 2). If these numbers still hold, bilingualism relates to a significant number of speakers and the societies they live in. In the most recent New Zealand census, held in 2006, almost $17.5 \%$ of New Zealand population identified themselves (or their children) as being able to speak more than one language (up from $13.6 \%$ in 1996), and with continued immigration the upward trend in these statistics might continue.

Ellis (1994, p. 694) defines bilingualism as "the use of two languages by an individual or a speech community". This definition does not contain any statement about the extent to which the individual or the speech community in question is able to use these two languages in speaking, listening, reading or writing. Neither does it tell us how this state of bilingualism came about, whether by being raised with two languages from birth, by being brought up in a bilingual country, or by acquiring a second language at a stage following the age of critical threshold (Neisser, 1984), nor does it tell us about the manner in which the second language was acquired.

According to Leopold (1939, pp. 5-6), the "ideal" form of bilingualism is when both languages are spoken equally well for all purposes of life. Later authors, however, have pointed out the existence of a continuum along which bilinguals may be situated, with abilities ranging from fairly minimal to "nativelike" ability in both languages (e.g. Hornby, 1977, p. 3). Grosjean (1982) and Weinreich (1953)
each define bilingualism in a different sense, with Grosjean referring to the regular use of both languages (1982: viii) while Weinreich (1953, p. 1) talks about the alternating use of two languages.

Aside from this, research on bilingualism has also focused on the manner in which bilinguals have acquired their two languages, with the main distinction being on "natural acquisition" versus "formal instruction". Some of the research has focused on bilinguals who were raised with two languages from birth (e.g. de Houwer, 1995; Foster-Cohen, 2003), while other studies have centred on speakers who acquired their L2 at a much later age, often as adult learners (e.g. Poplack, 1980; Myers-Scotton, 1993; Milroy and Muysken, 1995). Bahrick (1984) describes the long-term retention of L2 knowledge acquired by means of formal instruction at secondary school level. He attributes this retention to the fact that language learning may involve acquiring responses that are reproduced when retrieval takes place. Neisser (1984) offers a different explanation for the durability of such formal L2 knowledge, attributing it instead to L2 acquisition involving generalized schemas. According to Neisser, such schemas constitute a structured system of knowledge which allows learners to reconstruct responses. He proposes that such knowledge does not attrite easily precisely because of its schematic nature and that the acquisition of such schemas depends on the level of original training. This is of relevance to the study presented here, where a number of respondents had indeed acquired their L2 knowledge in a structured way in the secondary school classroom.

Interestingly, some linguists consider only bilinguals who have acquired their languages in a "natural" fashion to be true bilinguals. One of these is Grosjean (1982), although he later included bilinguals who had acquired one of their languages through formal instruction (Grosjean, 1997). Schreuder and Weltens (1993) view the former approach as quite problematic, since, as they point out, there is a continuum from formal instruction to natural acquisition (1993, p. 3). As an example they refer to the average Dutch child (brought up in the Netherlands), who would pick up at least some English and German naturally from the media ${ }^{1}$, then formally learn these languages at school, to use them naturally in the course of later life (Schreuder \& Weltens, 1993, p. 3).

[^0]The current study focuses on just such a group of bilinguals, a considerable number of whom received formal instruction in English, their L2, at secondary school and then continued to acquire it "naturalistically" (Ellis, 1997, p. 38ff) in the English speaking environment. Such bilinguals have also been referred to as "sequential bilinguals" or "consecutive bilinguals", having acquired a second language or L2, after acquiring their first language or L1.

Bilinguals such as those studied here, sometimes acquire their second language to the point where they gain and maintain good proficiency in both their languages. Lambert first used the label of "additive bilinguals" to describe such bilinguals, as opposed to "subtractive bilinguals", who learn one language at the expense of the other (Lambert, 1974). Lambert maintained that societal attitudes played a major role in determining whether language learners became additive or subtractive bilinguals. However, the distinction between additive and subtractive bilingualism has also been linked to the speakers' ultimate attainment in their L1, where a low level of L1 attainment appears predictive of low ultimate attainment in the L2 (e.g. Lambert, 1975). This distinction has also been related to learners' attitudes to both their languages, where a positive attitude to one or both languages and societies has been linked to a good level of ultimate attainment (e.g. Gardner \& Lambert, 1979, p. 271; Gardner \& Clement, 1990). In order to see whether respondents are additive or subtractive bilinguals, their proficiency in both the L1 and L2 would need to be tested, e.g. through elicited free speech tasks. However, in more recent studies the focus has shifted away from bilinguals' proficiency in their L1 and L2 respectively, to the issue of language use. Hoffman (1991) describes this as the distinction between "degree" and "function". Functional bilingualism looks at a bilingual's use of their languages, as opposed to their ability in their languages (Baker, 2001). This is very relevant in the context of the current study, as part of the study focuses on whether respondents are still able to comfortably and competently express their healthcare needs in English, their L2.

None of the previous studies appear to concentrate on yet another aspect of bilingualism, i.e. the question of whether both languages continue to be used over the span of a person's life and if so, to what extent. Fishman (2001) pointed out the importance of looking at domains of language use in relation to language maintenance. It would therefore seem important that, if bilinguals are to maintain both their languages, that both languages are used regularly over a period of time in
a variety of common everyday domains, including the domains of work, family and friends and communicating with healthcare providers. It is important to further define these domains, since even native speakers may not necessarily have nativelike competency in specialised domains such as political or legal settings. More recent studies of bilingualism have also focused on proficiency in both languages in relation to the four main skills sets: listening comprehension, speech production, reading comprehension and writing. (Fishman, 1991; Gorter, 2001) .

For the purpose of the current study, bilingualism will be best defined as "the ongoing productive and receptive use of two languages in a variety of domains". This definition incorporates the important observations made by Fishman in relation to the range of domains bilinguals are able to use their languages in. It also emphasizes the ongoing nature of bilingual competency, which is important in the context of a study which focuses on bilinguals spending (the rest of) their lives using both their languages. Obviously, any study of this nature should also include some type of measurement of respondents' ability and proficiency in the four skill sets: listening comprehension, speaking, reading and writing.

It will be clear that there are many aspects of bilingualism which need to be considered in a study of bilingual migrants. These aspects include manner of second language acquisition, characteristics of bilingual speech such as contact phenomena, extent of use of both languages in a range of domains, type of interaction with speakers of both languages, and continued receptive exposure to both languages, for example through the media.

This literature review will include a brief look at theories and assumptions about the bilingual mind, bilingual language processing, bilingualism and communication and bilingualism in a general migrant context. This will be followed by a succinct overview of relevant literature on second language acquisition and contact phenomena found in the speech of many bilinguals. Finally, there will be a brief review of the literature on language maintenance, language attrition and language reversion. Special consideration will be given to the theoretical frameworks underpinning methodological approaches employed in previous attrition studies and their possible relevance to the current study.

### 2.1.1 Bilingualism and the Bilingual Mind

Bilingualism and, more precisely, what goes on inside the bilingual mind, has been the focus of much research over the past decades. A number of theories have been proposed, some of them abandoned in favour of newer hypotheses. Some of the more recent approaches have been based on technological advances in terms of brain scanning (Paradis, 2004). New technology has made it possible to pinpoint areas of the brain involved in language reception and production. All this may assist us in understanding what goes on in the bilingual's mind, including language maintenance or language attrition. The following sections will provide an overview of some of the hypotheses proposed in relation to bilingual processing and the bilingual mind.

## Bilingual information storage and processing

A considerable number of studies have been devoted to bilingual memory and the way in which bilingual lexicon and competing linguistic systems are stored in the bilingual's mind (Paradis, 2004). This is of relevance to the completed study as some of these theories hold that storing more than one language in the brain impacts on (ease of) access to the languages stored. Taylor and Taylor (1990) hold that there are many more words stored in the brain of a fluent bilingual than in the brain of a monolingual speaker, maybe as many as 50,000 words for each of the bilingual's languages. The question is how this lexical information is stored in the bilingual's memory (not only according to meaning, but also according to language structure) and how it is processed.

Bilingual information storage theories seem to be partly linked to theories about additive and subtractive bilingualism, in that there appears to be an underlying assumption that "the brain must become full" after a certain point. This assumption of bilingualism leading to cognitive overload may have been behind the misconception that bilingualism is disadvantageous and even detrimental to school age children. This assumption is reflected in the advice given by Plunket Nurses and teachers to many of the respondents in this study, i.e. to only speak English at home lest children's performance in the L2 English speaking school environment suffer. However, more recent theorists have argued that bilinguals and plurilinguals seem to be able to store and maintain information in relation to their languages quite
easily (Baker, 2001, p. 155ff). Some of the more commonly held "storage theories" are summarized in the next section.

## Some bilingual "storage theories"

The assumption that "adding another language" may lead to overloading the brain may have been based on the theory of Separate Underlying Proficiency (SUP) (Baker \& Prys Jones, 1998). According to this model, two languages are housed within separate compartments in the mind. Each of these compartments has only a limited storage capacity - namely half the capacity of the monolingual mind. In addition, this model holds that, when some language is added to one compartment, this causes an imbalance, resulting in the loss of some other language (Baker and Hornberger, 2001). This model has also been referred to as the "separate store theory" (e.g. Paradis, 2004). This theory is relevant to the current study, because it would imply that L2 learners can never become fully proficient in their second language because of the limited storage capacity of the brain.

Linguistic research over the last four decades has turned up a lot of evidence against the SUP model, with linguists now commonly subscribing to the CUP or Common Underlying Proficiency model (e.g. Hoffman, 1991; Cummins, 2002). According to the CUP model, the surface features of bilingual's languages represent separately on a surface level, e.g. when the bilingual is speaking one of his languages. However, on a deeper level the two languages are fused and we find associations between words and images that belong to the two languages. Both languages are operated through one central processing system. The idea that there is a common store has been supported by linguistic and neurological research over the last few decades. One researcher to combine linguistic and neurological research is Paradis. He holds that there is no distinction between bilinguals and monolinguals with respect to lateralization or localization of linguistic information in the brain (Paradis, 2004). A question arises with apparent "processing problems", especially in bilinguals who appear to be losing one of their languages, and this issue has led to a number of processing theories. It is clear that processing theories are therefore of relevance to studies which focus on just that, the possible attrition or loss of one of a bilingual's languages.

## Some bilingual "processing theories"

A number of studies have shown a slower speed of response in bilingual speakers (e.g. to picture naming tasks) in one of their languages. Rao (1964) and Dornic (1975) both used decoding tasks to check speed of response. They concluded that the speed of response was related to the dominance of one of the two languages.

Other studies, particularly those in relation to language attrition, have focused on so-called hesitation phenomena in attriter speech (Hansen, 2001), i.e. in the speech of individual language users who are experiencing a loss of language competencies. Methodologies used to assess these phenomena, have usually focused on the speed with which participants have been able to access lexical items and get them "online" (cf. Levelt, 1989; Schoenmakers-Klein Gunnewiek, 1998; Hulsen, 2000). Some researchers have surmised that a slower speed of response in one of the languages may be due to either a higher activation threshold (e.g. Paradis, 2004) or to interference between similar linguistic systems (Mägiste, 1979). Paradis’ theory in particular is of relevance to the current study, since the latter involves one group of subjects living in a predominantly L1 social environment, which could arguably result in the raising of the activation threshold for L2 items, including items to do with lexis, syntax and morphosyntax.

Paradis (2004) underlines the distinction between the time of acquisition of L1 and L2 in relation to the type of memory used to store linguistic information. Paradis distinguishes between implicit and explicit memory. According to this theory, linguistic information relating to the L1 is stored in implicit memory, and is more or less automatically available, whereas information in relation to languages acquired after the "critical period" age is stored in the procedural memory. In other words, acquisition of a language prior to the critical threshold age is a subconscious process, whereas learning a language after this time leads to conscious formal knowledge. ${ }^{2}$ Paradis goes on to say that some of this information may become part of implicit memory, when some of the rules consciously learned are used so frequently as to become used almost automatically. This is of relevance to the current study, which involves individuals having varying degrees of opportunity to consolidate their L2, for example because of length of exposure, type of occupation, duration of employment in the L2 domain and need and opportunity to actively use the L2 within the work domain.

[^1]Interestingly, Paradis also points out the importance of the activation threshold in relation to "ease of access" (which might also be reflected in speed of access), suggesting that items which have not been activated for some time, become more difficult to access. This is again of relevance to the current study, in that it involves respondents with varying ease of access to the L 2 , depending on the predominant linguistic environment post-retirement. In the context of the present study it was interesting to measure response latency when interviewees were using English, their L2, compared to Dutch, their L1. The study reported here also focused on whether there were any distinct differences in response latency between the two groups of interviewees. The first group of respondents is composed of speakers mainly exposed to an L1 Dutch speaking environment post-retirement, while the second group is mainly exposed to an L2 English speaking environment.

## Possible bilingual communication modes

Grosjean (1997) describes how bilingual speakers tend to move from one end of the bilingual continuum to the other according to their assumptions about their addressees' or interlocutors' first and second language capabilities. In a laboratorybased study, Grosjean (1997) manipulated the language mode of French-English bilinguals. The bilinguals in question were asked to retell French stories, which contained English codeswitches, to three French "interlocutors". They had been given information about their interlocutors which would lead them to certain assumptions about their interlocutor's ability to understand them. The researcher expected them to modify their L1 French production from almost completely monolingual to more fully bilingual and, indeed, his findings confirmed this hypothesis. Grosjean's findings on interviewees' assumptions in relation to the interviewer's sociolinguistic background are of importance in the context of the interviewing of bilingual speakers by a bilingual interviewer, as was the case in the study reported on here. Based on this research, generally speaking, one might expect bilingual interviewees to respond in the language used by the interviewer to prompt them. Where speakers do not respond in the language they were prompted in, it needs to be asked what reasons there might be for this deviation from expected bilingual behaviour.

The idea is accepted that bilingual speakers' language systems may be in one of three modes when speaking or listening to spoken language: selected, switched on and switched off. (Paradis, 2004, p. 213). According to Paradis (2004) it is very likely that bilinguals are required to use various activation and deactivation procedures, firstly to keep their languages separate in the monolingual mode and secondly to make them interact in the bilingual mode. Grosjean (1995) and Paradis (1989; 2004) hold that bilinguals activate both their languages when in bilingual mode. Bilinguals usually choose a base language or language frame (MyersScotton, 1993a) but they can, within the same interaction, switch base languages depending on the situation, topic, interlocutor, function of the interaction, and so on (Grosjean, 1995). The idea of a "base language" was also developed by researchers such as El-Aissati and Schaufeli (1998), and others (Myers-Scotton, 1993a), who refer to it as the "Matrix Language" (ML). The current study involved a respondent who combined his L1 and L2 so creatively that it was at times difficult to distinguish which language was the ML and which the Embedded Language (EL) (cf. Myers-Scotton, 1993a). Various types of "switches" from one language to another have been reported. Some of these are described in more detail under the heading of "Contact Phenomena" elsewhere in this chapter. Not surprisingly, respondents in the current study used a range of contact phenomena.

### 2.1.2 Bilingualism in a migrant context

The fact that migrants vary in the extent to which they try to maintain their first language in a migrant context, has been well-documented (Roberts, 1999; Pauwels, 1991; Hulsen, 2000). Many authors have looked at migrants' motivations for wishing to maintain their first language and/or "shift" to their second language, usually the dominant language of the country they have emigrated to (e.g. Smolicz, 1981). It is clear from the literature that there are many different factors at play: some linked to migrants' own attitudes and motivations, others to do with host society attitudes. According to Schumann's (1986) acculturation model there can be no language acquisition without integration, because it is impossible to achieve competence in a second language (L2) without the opportunity to use that language. The respondents in the current study had ample opportunity to use their L2, since they arrived in New Zealand in a time of plentiful employment. In addition, government policy at the time focused on spreading the new arrivals around New

Zealand, so as to avoid large groups of Dutch migrants congregating in any one location (Schouten, 1992). Thus, respondents had both need and occasion to quickly acquire their L2.

It may be said that many of the respondents in the current study have become what Lambert (1975) terms "additive bilinguals", achieving a high level of proficiency in both their languages. Lambert links "additive bilingualism" to bilinguals' ultimate attainment in their L1. Lambert argues that children who have come into contact with a totally new language, before they have been able to develop their L1 language skills, will not achieve a high level of proficiency in their L2. In the current study, all respondents were asked how many years of education they had completed through the L1 medium and all were asked to self-assess their ultimate attainment in their L1, Dutch, before arriving in New Zealand.

Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977, p. 307) linked the acquisition and maintenance of bilingual migrants' two languages to the concept of ethnolinguistic vitality (EV). Giles et al. (1977) linked ethnolinguistic vitality to structural characteristics of the surrounding community, including status factors and demographic representation. The former are to do with the social status of a group of language speakers and the status of the language used. The latter involves the number of people who speak a particular language and their distribution across the geographical area of a country. Institutional support related to a language is a third factor. In a setting such as New Zealand, with immigrants from a range of countries, one would expect the languages of groups showing the strongest ethnolinguistic vitality to be likely to predominate.

Indeed, linguists exploring EV identified considerable differences between different groups of migrants, making it difficult to operationalize studies. Smolicz and others researched the different values various migrant communities in Australia placed on maintaining their L1 (1981, pp. 76-8), pointing out that to some immigrant groups language constitutes a core value in relation to their ethnic identity, whilst to other ethnic groups language did not play this role. Later researchers (e.g. Pauwels, 1991; Roberts, 1999; Hulsen, 2000) found that the Dutch language did not appear to be a core value to L1 Dutch speaking migrants in Australia and New Zealand. The current study found that Dutch was in fact an important value to some of the respondents, but was abandoned by a majority of interviewees due to the advice given by "figures of authority" in the host society.

It is interesting to note, in this context, that Baetens Beardsmore (2003) explored some other attitudes towards bilingualism, specifically those of the host country towards bilingual migrants. This is relevant to this thesis, as there is ample evidence that many of the Dutch immigrants in the study reported on here, were told not to speak Dutch at home with their children, something that likely contributed to their own shift from their L1 to their L2. The sociolinguistic life history questionnaire which was part of the pilot study reported on here, also elicited participants' experiences post migration to New Zealand and yielded some narratives similar to those recorded by Schouten (1992) and Bönisch-Brednich (2003). Respondents' answers provided insights into subjects' reasons for choosing to either maintain their L1, or to shift to their L2.

### 2.2 Contact phenomena

Bilingualism and contact phenomena such as codeswitching and borrowing are inextricably linked, especially in a migrant context. Studies reviewing such linguistic features have attempted not only to classify them, but also to identify social situations in which they may occur. Bilinguistic contact phenomena may manifest themselves in a range of ways, from one-off borrowings (nonce borrowings), loan words, loan phrases or more extended forms of codeswitching to the formation of pidgin or creoles (Milroy and Muysken, 1995; Muysken 2000; Winford, 2003).

Codeswitching and loan words are common language contact phenomena in bilingual communities, including immigrant communities. Codeswitching is a term generally used to refer to speakers using more than one language or variety in conversation, while loan words refers to people borrowing a word from one language in a speech segment spoken in another language. An example would be the use of the Japanese word sushi in English conversation. There has been ongoing discussion as to where borrowing finishes and codeswitching starts. Poplack, Wheeler and Westwood (Hyltenstam \& Obler, (Eds.), 1989) argue that typological similarity (found where languages belong to the same language family) tends to promote codeswitching while typological differences lead to borrowing.

Muysken (2000) prefers the term code-mixing to codeswitching, using it to refer to "all cases where lexical items and grammatical features from two languages
appear in one sentence" (2000, p.1). He goes on to propose a three-way taxonomy of bilingual language switching, distinguishing between (1) insertion of material from one language into a base structure of another language; (2) alternation between structures of each language; (3) congruent lexicalization of lexical items from each language into shared grammatical structures (2000, p. 32). The first two categories of codeswitching have been described in a number of preceding studies (e.g. MyersScotton, 1993), however, the category of congruent lexicalization attempts to account for a type of codemixing not previously described in great detail. According to Bakker, congruent lexicalization involves "an intricate mixture" of the languages involved (2003, p. 131), of a type not accounted for by insertional or alternational classifications of codeswitching (CS). Muysken also asserts that insertional CS is often found in "recent migrant communities, where there is a considerable asymmetry in speakers' proficiency in the two languages" (2002, pp. 8-10). He further claims that congruent lexicalization is more closely associated with second generation migrant groups, as well as with bilingual speakers of closely related languages. Muysken (2002) also claims that congruent lexicalization tends to be adopted by fluent bilinguals. The current study found forms of all three categories of codeswitching, including a few examples of congruent lexicalization, however the latter strategy was not widespread even though almost all interviewees could be described as "fluent bilinguals".

Borrowing has been defined as the use of a word from another language, showing morphological/phonological adaptation to the Matrix Language (the main language, see below). Words which are borrowed often represent concepts for which the Matrix Language has no terms, and this is particularly true in an immigration context as shown by Hutz (2004). A significant number of studies have focused on attempts to identify situations in which codeswitching and borrowing are likely to occur (Poplack, 1980; 1985; Myers-Scotton, 1990; 1993a, 1993b; Myers-Scotton \& Jake, 2000, 2001; Milroy \& Muysken, 1995; Muysken, 1995, 2000; Pauwels, 1991). A brief overview of relevant studies focusing on these so called "social constraints" on codeswitching will be presented below.

One further point to be made about codeswitching (CS) is that it was, for a time, widely considered an aspect of language use that is somehow erroneous or incorrect. However an increasing number of linguists have argued that codeswitching is so common that it may be called a normal feature of bilingual speech (e.g. Pavlenko,
2004), with some (Poplack, 1980) describing it as a sophisticated linguistic tool used instinctively by almost all proficient bilinguals, or used consciously for a variety of sociolinguistic reasons (Baker, 2001).

### 2.2.1 Social constraints on codeswitching

A number of authors have commented on the existence of social constraints on codeswitching (Poplack, 1980; 1985; Gardner-Chloros, 1985; Backus, 1996; Myers-Scotton, 1993; Grosjean, 1997; Winford, 2002) with Grosjean in particular emphasizing the relationship between the use of codeswitching and bilinguals' assumptions about their interlocutors' sociolinguistic backgrounds. Grosjean's assumptions have been confirmed by other studies (e.g. Poplack, 1985). Other researchers have found that bilinguals' language choices, including codeswitching, vary with social settings, the perceived status of the interlocutors and the perceived status of the languages involved (e.g. Gardner-Chloros, 1985, 1991; Backus, 1992; Backus, 1996; Bourhis, Giles, Leyens \& Tajfel, 1979). Within the current study, respondents' assumptions about the interviewer's educational status and attitude to codeswitching may have influenced their own language use and their own attitude towards codeswitching within the interview setting. In fact, interviewees in the current study used remarkably little CS and this may be attributable to their assumptions about the interviewer (see also Chapters 3 and 5).

Poplack found different attitudes towards codeswitching in her studies of French-English and Spanish-English bilinguals - attitudes which to some extent reflected the socio-political setting they were in (Poplack, 1985). Sometimes codeswitching may be frowned upon by migrants who wish to maintain their own identity in their adopted country, because it may be seen as an intermediate step towards integration, both linguistically and culturally (e.g. Sanchez, 1977). Conversely, codeswitching may be seen as desirable amongst migrants wishing to integrate into the host community. Respondents in the current study appeared to fit into the latter category. Backus (1996), El-Aissati \& Schaufeli (1998) and others have found considerable differences in utterances produced by first generation, intermediate generation and second-generation bilinguals in a range of settings (e.g. speaking to their mother at home, speaking to younger or older siblings, or conversing with age-group peers). Backus (1996) therefore holds that codeswitching research needs to take into account the sociolinguistic background of
the individual speakers producing the utterances studied. Questionnaires were included in the current study in order to be able to place speakers' language use against the background of their sociolinguistic life histories.

### 2.2.2 Structural constraints on codeswitching

There has been considerable focus on the distinction between codeswitching within sentences (intra-sentential switching) and outside of sentences, at sentence boundaries (inter-sentential switching). At the same time, linguists have been looking for universally applicable constraints "resulting from the interaction of universal principles and aspects particular to each code mixing situation" (Appel and Muysken, 1987, p.126). This search for universal constraints has given rise to a range of theories, including that describing the equivalence constraint (Sankoff and Poplack, 1979; Woolford, 1983), the free-morpheme constraint (Sankoff and Poplack, 1979; Wentz and McClure, 1977, p. 706) and that describing the use of a Matrix Language (ML) versus an Embedded Language (EL) (e.g. see MyersScotton, 2002 for an overview).

### 2.2.3 Intra-sentential and inter-sentential codeswitching

Intra-sentential codeswitching is switching at the level of the clause, phrase, or word level if no morpho-phonological adaptation occurs (e.g. Poplack, 1980). Intersentential switching, on the other hand, is switching above sentence level. Speakers may use intersentential codeswitching to signal a switch in participants in the conversation, to indicate to whom the statement is addressed, to emphasize a point made in the other language, or to provide a direct quote from, or reference to another conversation (see Gumperz, 1982, for a discussion of the discourse functions of codeswitching).

## Intrasentential codeswitching - Poplack

Poplack (1980), described intrasentential codeswitching (CS hereafter) in her study of New York Puerto Rican. She found that only the most balanced SpanishEnglish bilinguals practised intrasentential CS, while unbalanced bilinguals, who
were dominant in one language, tended to use inter-sentential switching as well as single word borrowings and tag switches.

Poplack concluded that the complexity of intrasentential codeswitching required speakers to have a sophisticated knowledge of the grammars of both languages, as well as knowledge of how those grammars map onto one another. She described two constraints on intrasentential codeswitching in the language pairs she observed: the equivalence constraint and the free morpheme constraint (Poplack, 1979; 1980).

According to the equivalence constraint (or structural integrity constraint), the syntax on either side of the codeswitch must be grammatical for the language in question (Sankoff \& Poplack, 1979). According to the free morpheme constraint, no switch can occur between a bound morpheme and a lexical form, unless the lexical form in question is phonologically integrated into the language of the bound morpheme (Sankoff \& Poplack, 1979). This is in contrast with Muysken's (2000, p. 32) views on congruent lexicalization, which he describes as involving items from each language being inserted into shared grammatical structures.

## Intrasentential codeswitching - Myers-Scotton

Myers-Scotton developed her Matrix Language Frame Model (MLF Model) to explain intra-sentential codeswitching, where grammatical constraints affect both languages involved. When an intra-sentential CS occurs, the distribution of two languages is asymmetrical. In other words, under the MLF model, the languages involved in codeswitching play unequal roles. The more dominant language is the Matrix language (ML) while the other one is the Embedded Language (EL). MyersScotton (1993) describes the Matrix Language (ML) as the language which provides the abstract grammatical frames into which the EL is inserted.

The various morpheme classification models developed by Myers-Scotton either alone or in collaboration with others (e.g. Jake) and applied by researchers such as Gross (2004) will be discussed in some detail in the methodology section of this study. Myers-Scotton's theories have provoked much discussion and further research and, in response, she has continued to fine-tune her theories, as evidenced by her later work.

### 2.3 Second Language Acquisition (SLA)

SLA research is of relevance to the present study, as all of the respondents acquired or learned English as a second language at some stage in their lives, and the manner in which they acquired their L2, English, may well be found to have impacted on both their ultimate attainment and their ability to maintain their L2 English after retirement.

### 2.3.1 Method of acquisition

Some of the migrants interviewed in this study acquired English in the classroom environment prior to immigrating to New Zealand, whilst others came to New Zealand with very limited knowledge of English and acquired most of their English naturally, through immersion in an English speaking social or work environment. Most of the migrants interviewed attended secondary school during or just after World War II. At that time, secondary school students in the Netherlands learned foreign languages such as French, German and English through the traditional approach now commonly referred to as the "Grammar-Translation" method (e.g. Liu, \& Shi, 2007). Liu and Shi (2007) review the strengths and weaknesses of a number of approaches to SLA, finding that the GrammarTranslation Method enabled learners to develop a good understanding of the structure and vocabulary of the foreign language learned. Scherer and Wertheimer (1964) studied groups of students studying a foreign language using different approaches. They found that students who acquired their second language using the audio-lingual method did better at speaking and listening, while those in the grammar translation group did better at reading and writing. The current study turned up interesting findings in relation to speakers whose acquisition of the English through Grammar Translation Method had been followed by total immersion in an English speaking environment.

A large-scale study known as the Pennsylvania Project (Smith, 1970) compared the effects of three language learning methods on beginning and intermediate French and German classes at secondary school level. These methods again included firstly, the traditional grammar-translation method, secondly the functional skills (audio-lingual) method and thirdly the combined functional skills/grammar method. When tested, those students who were taught by means of the "traditional
method" surpassed the "functional skills" group in reading ability. This is of relevance to the current study, as those who did acquire their L2 English in the classroom level would have learned it by means of the grammar translation method. The latter was the second language learning method employed in secondary school classrooms in the Netherlands from the nineteen thirties through to the nineteen fifties.

Also of interest in this context is research into immersion methods of SLA. Those respondents who had come to New Zealand with little or no knowledge of English, acquired it by immersion in the New Zealand workplace and New Zealand society. This situation can be compared to some extent to that which exists in communicative classrooms, where the emphasis is on understanding and being understood. Ellis (1994, p. 603) writes: "Other studies suggest that communicative classrooms may not be so successful in promoting high levels of linguistic competence". Ellis continues by saying that "researchers have for some time recognized that immersion learners generally fail to acquire certain grammatical distinctions" (1994, p. 603).

The fact that immersion learners fail to acquire certain grammatical distinctions may well be partly due to the particular type of input from and interaction with native speakers that may be observed in situations where migrants acquire a second language through immersion. However, it may also be that language learners who need to learn an L2 from scratch through total immersion in the L2 environment are at an immediate disadvantage, because they usually end up in manual type jobs which do not afford them the opportunity to acquire a high-level range of vocabulary and structures. Kam (2006) points out with reference to bilingual migrants in Australia that limited proficiency in English correlates with lower paid employment and occupational mobility. The question remains whether this initial hurdle can be successfully overcome or whether this kind of start in L2 learning in the migrant context continues to effect second language learners throughout their lifetime. All interviewees in the current study were asked when and where they learned English. They were also asked to self-assess their ultimate attainment in terms of grammar and vocabulary. A significant proportion of interviewees had acquired their L2, mainly naturalistically, i.e. they had some very limited instruction in the form of "private" classes from a teacher in the Netherlands, followed by exposure to English spoken in the workplace and in social encounters
in the New Zealand environment. ${ }^{3}$ It is interesting to compare their answers and those of respondents who had acquired a large proportion of their English in the "traditional" classroom environment. It needs to be seen whether a correlation may be found between the manner in which English was acquired, levels of ultimate attainment in English and levels of English attrition and L1 Dutch reversion postretirement.

### 2.3.2 Factors influencing ultimate attainment in the second language (L2)

Studies in Second Language Acquisition (SLA) have borne out a wide range of factors impacting on the success of second language acquisition in individual learners.These factors include linguistic factors, such as the differences and/or similarities between the learner's first and second language (e.g. Selinker, 1972; Kellerman 1977, 1978, 1979), external and internal factors. The former may involve social factors such as input and interaction, while the latter relate to the learner as an individual (e.g. Gass \& Madden, eds, 1985, Krashen, 1985). Internal factors include language aptitude (e.g. Carroll, 1981), learning styles (Willing, 1987), and motivation (e.g. Skehan, 1989). The current study investigated whether participants were showing signs of second language attrition. To do this, and in order to have a point of reference, it is important to establish to what extent learners had achieved proficiency in their L2. Several research studies have pointed to the significance of subjects' ultimate attainment in their L1 in relation to their ultimate attainment in their L 2 .

Various tools have been used to try and gauge the subjects' ultimate attainment in their L1 and L2. These have included self-reporting, where some researchers found that the accuracy of self-reporting seems to increase with subjects' level of education (e.g. Clyne \& de Bot, 1994; Hulsen, 2000). Level of education and particularly number of years spent in receiving education through the first language medium also seem to impact on the ultimate attainment in the L1 (cf Lambert, 1975; Ioup, 1989). L2 attrition researchers have used proficiency tests in the foreign language (e.g. Jordens et al, 1986), however these are usually only used for foreign language students acquiring the language in question in a formal classroom setting,

[^2]and not for migrants acquiring the L2 naturalistically by living and working in the L2 environment.

In addition, numerous research studies have found that the age at which subjects acquire their second language has a major impact on their ultimate attainment in that language, not just in terms of overall proficiency, but also in terms of pronunciation, grammar and syntax. Lenneberg (1964) claimed that the crucial period of language acquisition ends around the age of twelve and that any language, not learned before that age, can never be fully acquired. This hypothesis became known as the "Critical period hypothesis." In the same context, Neisser (1984) showed that there seems to be a critical threshold for language acquisition and that once this threshold has been achieved, linguistic knowledge acquired is not easily lost. Respondents in the current study all moved to the L2 environment as young adults, at least seven or eight years after the critical period and hence would not be expected to lose knowledge of their L1. In relation to their L2 acquistion, one would expect them to acquire any "late-learned" L2 in a different manner to their L1. Paradis (2004) argues that if learners acquire a new language after the critical age for language acquisition, language rules are stored in the procedural memory and consciously learned (see also p. 35, this study).

All this is significant when considering Lambert's (1975) assertions that there is a definite link between individuals' ultimate attainment in the L1 and their ultimate proficiency in the L2. We may assume that bilinguals who never completely and fully acquired their L1 will not become fully proficient in their L2 and may be more likely to lose their already tenuous grip on their L2 post-retirement, when there are fewer occasions to use the L2. The problem remains how to measure individuals' ultimate attainment in both their L1 and their L2, especially in retrospective studies. The study reported on here used both self-assessment and questions in relation to respondents' educational and occupational background in order to obtain part of the picture, in the absence of more satisfactory gauging methods.

## Individual differences in ultimate attainment

Individuals vary considerably in the extent to which they (are able to) acquire proficiency in a second language and this will impact on their ultimate attainment in their L2. There is a wealth of material available on individual learner differences
(or IDs). Individual differences include variables such as age, aptitude, attitude and motivation, cognitive and affective factors, general intelligence, learning strategies and personality (Ellis, 1994: p.472).

Cross-linguistic interference (CLI) and the impact of the L1 on the L 2 have been researched extensively. Some researchers maintain that the lack of linguistic distance between the first and second language will make it easier for learners to acquire the second language (Wei, 2001). By contrast, studies by Kellerman and others (Kellerman, 1977; 1978; 1986; 1989; Jordens and Kellerman, 1981) have shown that similarities and linguistic closeness between the first and second language may contribute to learners getting confused and making errors precisely because the L1 and L2 resemble each other to a considerable extent.

Kellerman observed utterances by Dutch native speakers and Dutch learners of English in the context of the relatedness of polysemic words. According to Kellerman, the transfer from Dutch (the L1) to English, the L2, was constrained not only by language distance, but also by the degree to which the L1 item (typically lexico-semantic) was a representative member of its category. The question of linguistic awareness is a recurrent theme in Kellerman's work. Kellerman (1977; 1978; 1986; 1989) has variously argued that even though learners can and often capitalize on L1-L2 similarity, there are striking cases where they do not (see also Jordens and Kellerman, 1981).

These findings are of interest to part of the current study, which will also look at the possibility of CLI affecting respondents' L2 production at lexical, syntactic and morphosyntactic level. A return to the L1 at these levels may be signaled by increased incidence of CLI with respondents' L2 showing codeswitching to the L1, or word finding silences followed by either a codeswitch to the L1 or a "blank" instead of the expected L2 items.

## Sociolinguistic factors

There seems little doubt that linguistic factors are not the only important factors in second language acquisition, but that social factors also play an important role. The main theories in this context are those formulated by Giles (1984), Schumann (1978) and Peirce (1995).

## Social Accommodation Theory (SAT)

The Speech Accommodation Theory (SAT) proposed by Giles (1977) describes speakers changing their style of speech depending on wide range of variables, including interlocutor, setting, topic of discourse and purpose of the interaction. Speakers tend to speak more slowly when conversing with foreigners (foreigner talk), or tend to use grammatically simple language with babies or children (baby talk). In other words speakers accommodate to others by adjusting their communicational behaviour to the requisite roles that participants are assigned in a given context.

This is of interest in the context of the current study, in that, first of all, according to Giles, second language learners try to accommodate their speech to that of their addressee - in the case of migrants acquiring the dominant language, this means that the migrants try to sound similar to the native speakers of the majority language. Giles's theory holds that second language learners such as migrants do this in order to emphasize social cohesiveness. Socio-linguists also refer to this as a process of "convergence", with the latter involving a dimension of accommodation. In this context, Ellis (1994) discusses the suggestion that L2 acquisition involves long-term convergence on native speaker norms. In other words, when the social conditions are such that learners are motivated to speak like native speakers, high levels of proficiency ensue. Conversely, when the conditions encourage learners to maintain their own social in-group, less learning takes place. The subjects of the current study would have found it difficult to maintain their own social in-group, given that government policy at the time was aimed at spreading the new migrants around New Zealand (Schouten, 1992). This may have motivated them to try and converge on native New Zealand English speaker norms.

Findings of studies by Roberts (1999) and Hulsen (2000) seem to suggest that Dutch speakers of English as a second language certainly tended to shift to the use of English in most domains. This appears to reflect a desire for long-term convergence. It is therefore interesting to examine whether these same subjects are now showing divergence in their retirement from active engagement in New Zealand working and social life.

## Schumann's acculturation model

Schumann's acculturation model of second language acquisition also looks at the role of social factors in second language acquisition. This model is still widely followed today, although in my view, it tends to overlook the question of natural language aptitude and differences between language learners. Schumann noticed that some migrant learners of English as a second language were not developing language competency, but rather plateaued (or "fossilized") at a very early stage of second language development, resulting in "pidginization". Schumann eliminated possible reasons for this, such as intelligence and age and arrived at the conclusion that in these cases pidginization is the result of learners failing to acculturate to the target-language group, because they are either unwilling or unable to adapt to a new culture (Schumann, 1978). Schumann concluded that social distance is the main reason for learners failing to acculturate. This is to do with the degree to which individual language learners become members of a target-language (TL) group and therefore achieve contact with them. According to Schumann, a learner's social distance is determined by a number of factors, including social distance between TL learners and native TL speakers and desire for assimilation on the part of both these groups. Schumann holds that successful L2 learning can take place if there is little social distance, both groups share the same social facilities and both groups want the L2 group to assimilate. He also holds that the L2 group will acquire the TL more easily if is small, relatively permanent and if there are many opportunities for interaction with the TL group.

Almost all of the abovementioned aspects appear to apply to the situation Dutch immigrants found themselves in 1950s New Zealand: the current study will show that many of the Dutch immigrants were manual labourers or trades people working with their New Zealand counterparts. The New Zealand government wished for Dutch immigrants to assimilate - to the extent that an Immigration Official would board ships arriving with Dutch immigrants before they docked and announcing to each individual migrant where they were to settle. In this way, the government effectively "spread" immigrants over as large an area as possible, preventing large groups of migrants from settling in the same area (Schouten, 1992). In some ways, Dutch immigrants had left behind a country which shared social structures quite similar to those they encountered in New Zealand. However, some would argue that Dutch society, although priding itself on being quite egalitarian, was in fact
highly stratified. It might also be argued that New Zealand society in the 1950s and 1960s, was much less socially stratified (e.g. King, 2004) and that the new migrants did not really see where they fitted in to the social scale of things. The questionnaire asked respondents about their class background in the Netherlands and all respondents were very firm about where they had fitted in to the social strata in the home country. Unfortunately, the questionnaire did not ask respondents where they felt they fitted in the New Zealand context.

Schumann's theory fits the respondents in the current study in that there were many opportunities for contact with the target language group. The group of immigrants was relatively small and perhaps more importantly was perceived to be relatively small, because immigrants were effectively prevented from congregating in any one particular area. Lastly, the L2 group was permanent, as they had come as permanent residents. Even if members of the L2 group felt homesick and wished to return to their home country, the trip back was expensive and involved a long voyage by sea. Air travel was only accessible to a lucky few who had the financial means to afford it. In general, Dutch migrants wishing to return to the home in the first few years after arriving in their new country did not have the means to do so.

All of these factors would have encouraged acculturation and relatively speedy second language acquisition, as well as ongoing progress and improvement in the subjects' acquisition of English as their L2. In addition, Dutch migrants to New Zealand would have wanted to "be successful" in assimilating to their new country, in order not to come across as "failed migrants", either in their letters home, or in the eyes of their new country.

## Peirce's Social Identity Theory

A relevant theory is that put forward by Peirce (1995). Peirce's theory relates to second language learning and social identity and power relations in the context of language use. Peirce describes social identity in terms of the various ways in which people understand themselves in relation to others, and how they view their past and their future (Peirce, 1995). Migrants often experience major upheavals in terms of their social identity. A well-known example would be that of the many medical doctors who migrated to New Zealand and found themselves forced to create new social identities for themselves because they were unable to practise in their new
country. Peirce argues that second language learning is successful when learners are able to summon up or construct an identity that enables them to impose their right to be heard and thus become a participant in social discourse.

Peirce's theory has a distinct bearing on the current study, in that it would appear that most of the subjects did focus considerable communicative efforts on English, their second language, rather than on maintaining Dutch, their first language (Roberts, 1999; Hulsen, 2000). Several respondents in the study stated that they had really tried to re-create themselves in a new "Kiwi' identity. This even went through to the home domain, where participants in the study were trying to recreate themselves as New Zealand parents, by speaking English at home, in the hopes that this would help their children acquire the new language more quickly and do well at school. In other words, Peirce's theory appears to be reflected in respondents' wish to construct a new social identity for themselves as fully participating members of New Zealand society.

### 2.3.3. Phases of acquisition

Several research studies have shown that learners go through specific phases when acquiring a second language (El-Aissati \& Schaufeli, 1998; Backus, 1996). This is of relevance to the current study in that a number of theorists hold that language attriters progressively lose their language skills by proceeding through the same phases, but in reverse order. Proponents of this theory, known as "regression theory", hold that "what is acquired latest will be lost earliest" (Andersen, 1982, p. 97).

## Matrix Language and Embedded Language

In the initial stages, learners use their first language as the Matrix language and the second language as the Embedded Language. In other words, in the initial stages, L2 learners use their L1 as the Matrix Language or "language frame" and embed elements from their L2 in the grammatical structure of their L1 (e.g. ElAissati and Schaufeli, 1998). As learners increase their L2 proficiency, they increasingly start to use the L2 as the Matrix Language and their L1 as the Embedded Language. The concepts of Matrix Language and Embedded Language
also play a role in insertional codeswitching as further explained below.

## Natural order of acquisition and morpheme classification

One particular aspect of SLA theory which deserves special mention in this context is that of "natural order of acquisition" in relation to different types of morphemes (Krashen, 1977). Of importance in this context is work undertaken by Levelt (1989) in relation to the different ways in which various morphemes are activated in the brain. Levelt's (1989) model proposed to explain the process of message formulation, from conceptualization to actual utterance. According to Levelt the generation of a given message is initiated by the conceptualization of the utterance, and follows a distinct pattern: First, intention is conceived, creating the preverbal message which is then fed to the formulator. The formulator includes both a grammatical encoder (which retrieves lexical items) and a phonological encoder. The articulator then executes the phonetic plan by sending messages to the neuromuscular system. Finally, the speech comprehension system checks the output for errors. Myers-Scotton and Jake's (2000) morpheme classification is partly based on an adaptation of Levelt's (1989) model.

The main difference between content morphemes (sometimes referred to as "free") and system morphemes (also referred to as "bound") relates to the level at which morphemes are selected or "activated" in the speaker's mind (Levelt, 1989). Content morphemes such as nouns and verbs are directly elected, while early system morphemes such as adverbs are indirectly elected and late system morphemes such as verbal agreement are structurally assigned (Bock \& Levelt, 1994; Myers-Scotton \& Jake, 2000). A more detailed description of the various morpheme types may be found in Chapter Three. The pilot study reported on in that chapter focused on speakers' production of various types of morphemes, using an approach similar to that followed by Gross (2004).

Many later researchers have focused on finding further evidence for this hypothesis that certain morphemes are acquired before others in SLA (e.g. Wei, 2000). Wei (2000) studied adult Chinese and Japanese L2 learners and found that they acquired content morphemes first, before system morphemes. He also found that early system morphemes, in their turn, are acquired before late-system morphemes. The question raised by many linguists is whether the "natural order of
language acquisition" is reversed in language loss. This idea was first developed by Jakobson (1941) in his study of aphasia patients and underpins the work of a number of attrition researchers (e.g. Jordens et al, 1986). This and various theoretical frameworks in relation to language attrition research will be discussed in the relevant section elsewhere in this chapter.

### 2.4 Language maintenance

The terms language maintenance, language shift, language loss and language attrition need to be defined carefully in order to avoid a confusion of terms. The definition of language shift, in particular, has sometimes been so broad as to include a number of other language change phenomena, including lack of language maintenance, language loss and language attrition.

### 2.4.1. Language maintenance and shift

Language maintenance is usually understood as (successful) attempts to keep a language alive in settings where it is at risk of shift or loss (e.g. Fishman, 1964; 1991; Roberts, 1999; Clyne, 1981; Fase, Jaspaert, Pauwels, 1991). Baker (1997) referred to language maintenance as "relative language stability in its number and distribution of speakers, its proficient usage in children and adults, and to retaining the use of language in specific domains (1997, p. 43). Hulsen (2000) found the opposite to be the case across three generations of Dutch speakers in New Zealand, where maintenance of Dutch decreased markedly from the first generation to the second and third generation of speakers.

Conversely, language shift may be defined as a shift from the predominant use of one language to the predominant use of another language. Many researchers have noticed that Dutch migrants to various English speaking countries have displayed one of the highest rates of language shift (e.g. de Bot \& Clyne, 1994; Pauwels, 1991; Roberts, 1999; Hulsen, 2000).

Smolicz $(1985,1992)$ investigated the importance of language as a core value in relation to the cultural identity of several migrant groups in Australia. He found that those groups for whom language was a core value were much more
likely to maintain their first language. Pauwels (1991) researched the reasons for the high rate of shift to English, their L2, amongst Dutch migrants in Australia and came to the conclusion that one of the reasons was the fact that language is not a core value in the Dutch cultural value system (Pauwels, 1991, p.228-240). The sociolinguistic life questionnaire used in the current study did not contain questions specifically focused on trying to elicit what value respondents attached to their two languages. However, interviews did yield spontaneous comments which revealed reasons for respondents shifting to the use of English in the home.

Another factor in large numbers of speakers shifting from their L1 to their L2 may be negative views about their L1 in the wider L2 speaking society and education system, as referred to earlier in this chapter. Within the New Zealand context this is most clearly illustrated by large numbers of Te Reo Māori speaking parents formerly opting not to continue speaking Te Reo to their children in the home environment (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000; May, 2001). The result was a widespread shift from Te Reo to English in the family or home domain (Fishman, 1991). As a result Te Reo became a language whose survival was not at all certain. That this trend is now starting to reverse is one of the success stories of reversing language loss (Fishman, 2001).

### 2.4.2 Language loss and language attrition

The relation between language shift and eventual loss has been well-established (Fishman, 1991; Hulsen, 2000). Within the context of migrant groups, the term "language loss" has come to be used to describe the loss of a language by a community (i.e. the opposite of community language maintenance), whereas "language attrition" has come to be used to describe the gradual "erosion" of linguistic skills in an individual over time. Studies have also shown a clear link between community language loss and attrition at individual level (e.g. Smolicz, 1985, 1992; Pauwels, 1992).

In addition, numerous studies have shown a clear link between language shift and language loss (Fishman, 1991; Fishman, 2001). Clyne (2003) offers an extensive overview of attempts to model the processes of language maintenance and loss over the past half century. He concludes that "no instrument powerful enough to assess language shift adequately on a large scale has yet been devised" (2003, p.21). Obviously, "no man is an island", and trends visible in migrant
communities are often reflected in individuals and vice versa. Thus, it comes as no surprise that, if a migrant community at large shows language shift and loss, this is reflected in the individuals who make up that community showing signs of language attrition.

Seliger defines language attrition as "the phenomenon, commonly found among bilinguals or polyglots, of erosion in the linguistic performance of a first or primary language which had been fully acquired and used before the onset of bilingualism (1985, p. 4). The words "fully acquired" are of interest, since later researchers found that where the first language was not acquired completely it tends to be lost more quickly and more completely. Seliger's definition seems to refer only to the speaker's "reduced performance" in his/her L1 and seems to imply that this L1 had been acquired completely prior to erosion taking place. However, it is clear from other research that the level of ultimate attainment in the L1 is dependent on a number of factors, including the extent of education received through the L1 medium and the type of L1 exposure (e.g. Ioup, 1995). An example of relevance to the study reported on here might be the difference in L1 exposure between a learner who has become an apprentice at age fourteen and one who has attended six years of pre-university education, covering a range of topics such as social studies, physics, history and languages. Even though Seliger is referring to the L1, his definition may also apply to the current study, which looks at L2 attrition, since factors such as levels of exposure and extent of formal instruction received in the L2 seem to be of significance there as well. Seliger's definition leaves the question of what we are to understand by "reduced performance" if we are not sure about the speaker's ultimate attainment in any L2 acquired by a given speaker. It should also be noted that complete acquisition cannot include total vocabulary nor total communicative competence in all domains, as it may be said that only a small minority of (native) speakers actually achieve this.

Of interest too, in this context, is Paradis' neurolinguistic theory of bilingualism (2004). According to Paradis, "every time a [language] item is used, its activation threshold is lowered, making it easier to activate again; the threshold slowly rises again when the item is not used, eventually leading to attrition" (2004, p. 226). He adds that normal age-related functional changes increase the "activation threshold of items in declarative memory, often leading to the gradual degradation of a latelearned second language" (2004, p. 226).

Paradis distinguishes between procedural or implicit memory as opposed to declarative memory systems in relation to second language acquisition. Procedural memory relates to implicit competence, something allowing spontaneous or automatic speech responses. Declarative memory, on the other hand, refers to consciously learned and consciously applied rules in relation to a language. Paradis also holds that with very frequent use, (or consolidation) consciously learned rules may sometimes become part of the L2 learners' implicit memory (2004). This is relevant to the current study, because the respondents all learned English, their L2, after the critical threshold age, thus having to rely on declarative memory (as opposed to bilinguals growing up acquiring two languages simultaneously to the point where both become part of implicit memory). Thus, one would expect these respondents' knowledge of their L 2 to be vulnerable to attrition once the activation threshold is raised, a situation one would expect to occur with decreased opportunity to actively produce the L2 post-retirement.

## Trends in language attrition research

Van Els (1986) proposed four types of language loss, depending on whether the language lost was the speaker's L1 or L2, and depending on whether the loss occurred in an L1 speaking context or in an L2 speaking context. One of the types of L2 loss described by Van Els focuses on the loss of an L2 in an L2 environment, such as, for instance, second language loss by aging migrants still living in the L2 environment, because their social contact with L2 speakers is reduced (e.g. Gardner et al., 1985, de Bot and Weltens (1995: 153), Clyne 1977; 1991; de Bot and Clyne, 1989). This is the type of language loss described by Schmid and Köpke (2004) as L1 reversion.

One of the issues with the "van Els taxonomy" is that the term loss refers to language loss in general, i.e. no distinction is made as yet between loss (at community level) and attrition (at individual speaker level). Another problem is that the taxonomy may be said to be a little too broad. For this reason, perhaps, Hansen (2001) modified the van Els taxonomy in relation to language attrition in Japanese contexts. Hansen defines eight areas of possible language attrition: four relating to possible L1 loss, and another four concerning possible L2 loss. In Hansen's taxonomy, one of the four areas of L2 attrition is concerned with L1 Japanese
learning an L2 abroad and then undergoing L2 attrition abroad, i.e. a group of L2 learners similar to some of the respondents in the current study. Other critics, e.g. Schmid and Köpke (2004), have described Van Els's taxonomy as obsolete. In addition, they feel that studies into language attrition among elder migrants in an L2 environment do not rightfully belong in his taxonomy, since confounding factors such as pathological conditions affecting memory and the speech centre are likely to be a factor in language attrition in this group.

In recent years, attrition research has focused less on taxonomies, and more on possible diagnostic tools. Schmid (2004) has provided researchers with an excellent overview of attrition studies to date, identifying possible issues and gaps, and suggesting a new way forward, with the aim of arriving at a rigid methodological network for language attrition researchers to adhere to. In reviewing reports on L1 attrition, Gross (2004) noted the lack of agreement regarding what aspects of an individual's grammatical system are most prone to attrition, something also reported on by Schmid (2002). Gross wanted to address this by coming up with a new methodology for analysing language attrition data. Gross quotes Anderson's (1982) suggestion that L1 attrition is characterized by "a lack of adherence" to L1 linguistic norms. Gross chose to investigate L1 attrition by examining speaker's adherence to L1 norms at various levels of language production based on theories originally put forward by Bock and Levelt (1994) and further developed by Myers-Scotton (2002, p. 194). As mentioned previously, Bock and Levelt described the language production process in terms of different morphemes being either directly elected (content morphemes), indirectly elected (early system morphemes) or structurally assigned (late system morphemes). Gross's prediction was that content morphemes would be more prone to attrition than early system morphemes, which in turn would be more prone to attrition than late system morphemes. Gross interviewed elderly German English subjects, all of whom had migrated to the US many years ago, and transcribed the free speech resulting from these interviews.

Gross's data analysis comprised looking, first of all, at subjects' production of idioms, fixed expressions and metaphorical phrases - these serving to represent content morphemes. Many of these showed signs of L2 loan translations imposed upon the L1. In a similar manner, Gross examined subjects' production of reflexive verbs in German as representations of early system morphemes, and case assignment as examples of late system morphemes, analysing all these in terms of inaccurate production. He found that content morphemes were indeed most
vulnerable to attrition, whilst late system morphemes turned out to be the most stable.

## Methodological approaches to language attrition studies

Attrition researchers have used a number of different methodological approaches. Methods have differed in terms of type of attrition studied, context in which attrition is studied (L1 or L2), type of data collected, linguistic features studied, data elicitation methods and competence tasks, as outlined by Schmid in her excellent overview (2004).

Linguistic features studied have ranged from phonological (Vago, 1991; El Aissati, 1997), morphological (Jordens et al, 1986; Altenberg, 1991; de Bot \& Clyne, 1994; Schoenmakers-Klein Gunnewiek, 1998; Anderson, 2001; Schmid, 2002; Gross, 2004), semantic (Jaspaert \& Kroon, 1992; Schoenmakers-Klein Gunnewiek, 1998), syntactic (de Bot \& Clyne, 1994; Schoenmakers-Klein Gunnewiek, 1998; Köpke, 1999) and lexical (de Bot \& Clyne, 1994; SchoenmakersKlein Gunnewiek, 1998; Hulsen, 2000). Subjects and language-pairs also varied. As an example, Vago examined attrition of the L1 Hungarian morphophonemic system in a bilingual Hungarian Hebrew subject, while Schmid (2002) and Gross (2004) focused on attrition of the morphological system -including case endings- in German English bilinguals. Schoenmakers-Klein Gunnewiek (1998) and Hulsen (2000) studied subjects' ability to correctly name lexical items in picture naming tasks.

Other studies have focused on attrition in relation to codeswitching (e.g. BenRafael, 2001; Berman \& Olshtain, 1993), or attitudes (Schmid, 2002) and use (Jaspaert \& Kroon, 1998; Schmid, 2002). By far the majority of these studies were carried out in relation to L1 attrition in L2 contexts, with only a small number focusing on L2 attrition (e.g. Tomiyama, 1999; Yoshitomi, 1999). Tomiyama studied L2 attrition in a young Japanese subject following his return to the L1 environment and included lexical retrieval, response latency and syntactical retrieval problems. The current study looks at whether respondents' were able to come up with expected L2 items and structures at lexical, morphosyntactic and syntactic level or whether they reverted to the use of codeswitching from L2 to L1 or came up with "blanks", abandoning the attempt to find the items or structures they were looking for. The study also focused on whether subjects were showing increased response latency in their spoken L2, in particular through the use of filled and silent pauses.

Gross (2004, p. 281) states that "one of the most disconcerting conclusions one arrives at when reviewing reports on L1 attrition, is a lack of agreement regarding what aspects of an individual's grammatical system are most vulnerable to attrition or even whether linguistic competence, once established, can be irretrievably lost" (de Bot, 1996). Gross attributes this lack of agreement to varying notions about methodology, pinpointing two major methodological considerations: data collection techniques and choice of data analysis method.

Types of data selected in attrition studies to date have ranged from free speech to findings obtained through competence elicitation tasks, lexical tasks and selfassessments. Competence elicitation tasks have included grammaticality or acceptability judgments, explicit morphological or syntactic tasks, fill-in/cloze tests, FL style exams, truth value judgments, lexical tasks (Hulsen, 2000), and selfassessments. The current study examines free speech, some of it elicited on the basis of questions about particular conversation topics, which were brought up with each of the respondents.

In recent years, a lot of attention has been focused on hesitation phenomena in attriter speech (e.g. Hansen, 2001) mostly in relation to lexical retrieval tasks such as picture naming tasks. In this way, a number of researchers have studied the speed with which participants have been able to access lexical items and get them "online". (Levelt, 1989; de Bot \& Weltens, 1991; Schoenmakers-Klein Gunnewiek, 1998; Hulsen, 2000). The underlying assumption in these studies has usually been that linguistic knowledge, once acquired, is not irretrievably lost, but has temporarily become more difficult to access (cf. Ammerlaan, 1996;; SchoenmakersKlein Gunnewiek, 1998; Hulsen, de Bot and Weltens, 1999; Hulsen, 2000).

Jiménez Jiménez (2004, p. 67 ff.) also studied hesitation phenomena, but from the perspective of SocioCultural Theory (SCT). Under SCT language attrition entails "the loss of the once attained level of self-regulation in a language (L1 or L2) or in a particular activity and the momentary return to a previous (language acquisition) stage of object- and/or other-regulation" (2004, p. 67). According to Jiménez Jiménez L2 attrition (L2A) should be regarded as task specific, just like L2 acquisition. Thus L2A occurs when a speaker experiences an increasing loss of selfregulation in a given task over time (2004, pp. 67-8). Jiménez Jiménez therefore looked at compensatory strategies employed by speakers to see if they could be classified as self-regulatory, object-regulatory or other-regulatory, regarding a return to object- or other-regulation as a sign of language attrition. He regarded filled and
unfilled pauses as intra-psychological strategies used to solve communication breakdown by slowing down the speech rate. Similarly, he viewed discourse fillers and self-repetitions as overt externalizations of the thinking process and selfcorrections as concrete solutions. Tomiyama (1999), on the other hand, views such stalling strategies as signs of L2 attrition. Similarly, in the current study, strategies such as filled and silent pauses have been considered signs of possible L2 retrieval problems. Interestingly, Tomiyama (1999) described differential strategies used by L2 attriting children, with two subjects choosing to codeswitch to the L1 when unable to retrieve an L2 item, and a third subject preferring to wait for up to 11 seconds rather than codeswitch to her L1. Jiménez Jiménez also noted that "the use of self-regulatory activities does not necessarily lead to a successful (non-attriting native speaker's preferred) outcome" (2004, p. 73). Rather than focusing on a taxonomy of compensatory strategies, the current study investigated the outcomes of such stalling strategies, and in particular on whether these involved successful L2 maintenance or code switching to the L2.

Another problem discussed by language attrition researchers is that of point of reference - how to measure what is lost, if we do not know what was there in the first place. Jaspaert, Kroon and van Hout (1986) deal extensively with this issue, calling a study which lacks the longitudinal factor, the baseline for establishing the degree of attrition, a "one-shot design". De Vries (1992) described several ways researchers might go about addressing this issue. The current study opted to use self-assessment by respondents as to their English competency at various points in time. Previous studies have found a positive correlation between the accuracy of respondents' self-assessment and their level of education (e.g. Hulsen, 2000). Schmid (2004) argues that there have been studies in which self-assessment did correspond with respondents' actual language skills. The current study has added an external check on respondents' self-assessments in the form of assessments by respondents' adult children.

Finally, the question posed by many linguists is whether the "natural order of acquisition" is in fact reversed in language attrition. As mentioned, the linguistic analysis used in the pilot study in part refers to a small study carried out by Gross (2004). A morpheme analysis of spontaneously elicited segments of L2 English speech produced by elderly Dutch-English bilingual migrants might provide some interesting insights as to whether content morphemes (usually acquired first) are
indeed the last to go and whether late system morphemes (usually acquired later) are the first to go. The pilot study discussed in this thesis carried out an analysis of speakers' ability to produce the correct (or expected) L2 morphemes at the level of content morphemes, early and late system morphemes. The main study reported on here focused on L 2 items produced by respondents at the level of lexical retrieval, syntax and morphosyntax.

## Data elicitation methods used in attrition studies

To date, a variety of methods have been used to elicit data in attrition studies. In some studies, free speech was elicited by allowing respondents to produce spontaneous speech, in a non-structured way (e.g. Seliger, 1991; Gross, 2000; Schmitt, 2001). Alternatively, it was educed through interviews (e.g. de Bot \& Clyne, 1994; Schmid, 2000) or elicited narratives (e.g. Schoenmakers-Klein Gunnewiek, 1998; Olshtain \& Barzilay, 1999; Köpke, 1999; Montrul, 2002). Other studies involved obtaining data through getting participants to complete translations, grammaticality judgments, experiments such as picture naming tasks (e.g. Hulsen, 2000), or a combination of the same. The researcher felt that none of these would present a true picture of respondents' communicative competency in the L2. Translation is a type of activity that involves specific training (cf. Mossop, 2000; Malmkjaer, 2004; Gonzalez Davies 2004; Bernardini, 2004). Most untrained translators tend to produce Source Language calques, as they exhibit a natural tendency to try and maintain Source Text lexical items and structure. Given that the use of calques may be seen as a sign of language attrition, any approach to language attrition studies involving translation tasks should be viewed with suspicion. In addition, translation tasks do not reflect ordinary everyday communicative interaction with L2 speakers and require metalinguistic competencies uncommon in bilingual populations overall. Similarly, grammaticality judgments require metalinguistic capabilities, and do not reflect communicative ability. In addition, they are receptive, rather than productive, where previous studies have shown that productive abilities are the first to go. Lastly, picture naming tasks only involve a small and rather artificial aspect of language production. In light of the above, it would appear the elicited free speech is likely to be the most effective way of assessing respondents' ability to still effectively communicate in the L 2 .

Several attrition researchers agree with this, including Schmid (2004), who advocates the use of a methodology which combines elicited free speech with sociolinguistic questionnaires and self-assessments. According to Schmid this type of questionnaire is "an indispensable part of any study involving multilinguals" (Schmid, 2004, p. 358). She hopes that such a research design will give a more detailed and more suggestive picture of language attrition in progress" (Schmid, 2004, p. 361). Likewise Gross (2004) and Jiménez Jiménez focused on elicited free speech as the best data to examine in relation to possible language attrition.

## Attrition studies focusing on L1 Dutch respondents

Attrition studies have focused on a wide range of languages, however, the following studies have centred on attrition of L1 Dutch skills. To date most attrition studies (including those carried out amongst Dutch speaking subjects) have focused on L1 attrition. An example would be studies carried out by Ammerlaan (1996), Hulsen (2000) and Schoenmaker-Klein Gunnewiek (1998) and Hulsen (2000). The last three researchers all used picture naming as a lexical task to gauge levels of L1 attrition in L1 Dutch subjects in L2 contexts. De Bot and Clyne (1994), in contrast, examined the free speech of bilingual Dutch-English migrants in the Australian setting for signs of possible L2 attrition and L1 reversion. Free speech elicited from L1 Dutch subjects by means of interviews was also examined in studies by Bot, Gommans \& Rossing (1991) and Giesbers (1997). Sociolinguistic life history questionnaires were used by a number of researchers in order to obtain selfassessments of L1 competency by native Dutch speakers in migrant settings (Jaspaert \& Kroon, 1988; Ammerlaan, 1996; Hulsen, 2000). The current study involved free speech in interviewees' L2, elicited through interviews and a sociolinguistic life questionnaire. The analysis focused on a number of linguistic features, including lexical, morphosyntactic and syntactic features. It also combined self-assessments in relation to the subjects L2 English with assessments of the same by respondents' adult children.

## Theoretical frameworks for language attrition studies

According to Schmid (2004), theoretical frameworks underpinning language attrition studies to date have included a focus on the following:

- interlanguage (e.g. Pavlenko, 2003)
- simplification (e.g. Sharwood-Smith, 1983b)
- sociolinguistics (e.g. Jaspaert \& Kroon, 1988; de Bot, Gommans \& Rossing, 1991; Hulsen 2000
- Universal Grammar (UG) (e.g. Montrul, 2002)
- 4-M Model/Abstract Level Model (e.g. Gross 2002)
- Psycholinguistic approaches (e.g. Ammerlaan, 1996; Hulsen, 2000)
- Regression theory (e.g. Jordens et al, 1986)
- Critical Threshold Theory (e.g. Olshtain, 1989)
- Sociocultural Theory (Jiménez Jiménez, 2004)

The current study takes into account a number of the various theoretical and methodological approaches outlined above, an approach also advocated by Schmid (2004). This was done to encompass as much as possible knowledge emanating from the various disciplines mentioned above. Studies on bilingualism, SLA and Critical Threshold Theory have provided a lot of information as to the way in which languages are stored in the brain. Sociolinguistics have elucidated the conditions impacting on language acquisition, maintenance and (domains of) use. Psycholinguistic research has thrown light on issues surrounding lexical retrieval and memory. The 4 M Model has provided us with a tool for examining what happens at various levels of conceptual activation in the brain. And finally, all of the above may inform us as to the circumstances in which language regression or reversion may occur. Such findings may well be found to apply to all language speakers, universally, in related ways.

To my mind, however, not enough thought has been given to date to the very real differences between L1 and L2 attrition, where the L2 was a "late-learned" language, acquired after the critical threshold and thus learned in quite a different way to the L1. Paradis (2004) argues that a fully acquired L1 is acquired by means of implicit memory, and available more or less automatically, whereas the rules of a late learned L2 have had to be consciously memorized with the aid of declarative memory. Again, the words "fully acquired" are important here, because it has been found that an L1 system can indeed be severely eroded if the attrition process sets in well before puberty (Isurin, 2000; Kaufman \& Aronoff, 1991; Seliger, 1991; Turian \& Altenberg, 1991; Vago, 1991). Similar findings were obtained for L2 attrition among children (Berman \& Olshtain, 1983; Olshtain, 1986). These different methods of acquisition and the different types of memory involved may well impact on the language use of older L2 speakers who are no longer actively participating in
the L2 community at a time when both exposure to the L2 and occasion to use the L2 have become less frequent.

## Possible Factors in Language Attrition

It will be clear that since no two individuals are the same, language attrition will be a widely variable phenomenon, depending on factors such as age at acquisition, manner and context of acquisition, continued use of the two languages, perceived status and value of the two languages. A brief look at possible factors involved in language attrition reveals many similarities with factors influencing success in second language acquisition. These factors include motivation, aptitude, frequency of use, age, level of ultimate attainment in the language, and linguistic features of the L1 and L 2 ,

Several studies into L1 attrition, found that time away from the L1 speaking environment was not a factor if there was regular contact with the L1 (e.g. de Bot, Gommans, and Rossing, 1991; Olshtain and Barzilay, 1991). Many neurolinguists and psycholinguists believe that less-frequently used items are not so much forgotten, but just more difficult to retrieve. Paradis (2004) relates this to the activation threshold being raised each time an item is not used, so that it becomes more difficult to access.

The problem is, however, how to know whether the intended item has not been retrieved, and how to know whether what is produced in spontaneous speech, is not what the speaker intended to say. One might surmise that non-retrieval of items could be identified through the speaker inserting hedges, hesitations and silences, or through the speaker only using a limited vocabulary, however, relying on such assumptions would put the researcher on distinctly shaky ground. For this reason, the current study has examined hedges such as "er" and "erm", together with silences and looked at the relation between these filled and unfilled silences and the nature of L2 items and structures to follow. Instances where respondents failed to come up with the expected L2 item, or resorted to a codeswitch were also noted.

As stated previously, Schmid and Köpke (2004) point out a number of problematic issues involved with the study of language reversion and second language attrition in elderly migrants. One of these involves the problem of distinguishing between language attrition phenomena and phenomena related to
age-related decline in language production skills in the general population. This age-related decline involves both physiological and patho-physiological decline, where physiological should be taken to refer to a decline in skills observed in the general ageing population, not related to pathological processes.

Age-related decline in language production skills has been described and researched in some detail (Bialystok, Viswanathan, Craik Klein, 2004; Gollan, Cagigas, Rascovsky \& Salmon, 2002). One may therefore surmise that age-related decline in language skills is part of normal ageing. It must be stressed that the present study focused on possible language attrition in healthy elderly individuals, therefore the brief overview of pathological causes of language loss only serves to provide some background information to the concerns voiced by Schmid and Köpke (2004).

Parthological causes of a decline in language skills usually affect specific parts of the language system. Paradis (2004, p. 14) describes how, for example, in Alzheimer's disease, it is declarative memory which is affected. Implicit memory is used to hold knowledge of the L1, while declarative memory is used to store any knowledge of an L2 learned after the age of twelve. Respondents in the current study all learned English after age 13, either in the secondary school classroom, or naturalistically in an English speaking environment. Hyltenstam (1995) reports on elderly bilinguals with dementia switching to their L1 while interacting with speakers of the L2. Interestingly, de Bot and Clyne (1989) report the same phenomenon in healthy migrants who have stopped using their L2. De Bot and Clyne (1989) also report that bilinguals tend to become less fluent and less accurate in old age and make increased use of codeswitching. Care was therefore taken to exclude confounding factors such as dementia or aphasia in relation to respondents participating in the current study. Free elicited speech in the L2 was recorded and transcribed and instances of codeswitching noted. The pilot study used linguistic analysis of different categories of morphemes produced by respondents in segments of elicited free speech in their L2 English, in order to gain an impression of the respective percentages of correctly produced morphemes and percentages of L2 morphemes replaced by L1 L2 mixed forms or L1 calques. This methodological approach underwent a slight amendment for the main study which looked at respondents' ability to produce correct L2 items and structures at the level of lexicon and (morpho)syntax.

### 2.5 Language reversion

First language reversion refers to the phenomenon of older migrants reverting back to their first language whilst still in the second language environment. First language reversion of this type has also been referred to as second language attrition by aging migrants still living in the L2 environment, because their social contact with L2 speakers is reduced (Clyne, 1977; 1991; 2003, p. 184; Gardner et al, 1985; de Bot and Weltens, 1995, p. 1531; de Bot and Clyne, 1989). This appears to suggest, first of all, that reduced contact with the L2 language community is the only contributing factor to L1 reversion. The current study investigated two different groups, with different levels of predominant social interaction with the L1 and L2 speech communities. The dual terminology also suggests that past studies have found that where there is L1 reversion in a migrant context, second language L2 attrition is a concomitant feature. For the sake of clarity, it would be better to speak of "L1 reversion with concomitant L2 attrition" and to use this with reference to what Myers-Scotton (2002) describes as a "loss of productive competency in the L 2 accompanied by a return to the grammatical frame of the L 1 , where grammatical frame includes system morphemes such as word order." This definition encompasses respondents' productive ability at the level of L2 lexicon and (morpho)syntax, which were some of the focal points in the study reported on here.

### 2.5.1 Previous language reversion studies

There is a dearth of studies into second language attrition/first language reversion, not least because of the lack of longitudinal studies into language use by bilingual migrants. Of particular interest to the proposed study are studies by Clyne and de Bot amongst L1 German and L1 Dutch migrants in Australia (Clyne \& de Bot, 1989; De Bot \& Clyne, 1994). Their studies involved the re-interviewing of bilingual subjects who had originally been interviewed in the 1970s (Clyne, 1977; Clyne, 1981). Popular beliefs that L2 attrition is inherent in elderly bilinguals were not confirmed. In contrast, the study suggested a strong relation between L2 attrition and earlier levels of L2 competency, making a clear case for the importance of establishing subjects' ultimate attainment in their L2 prior to retirement in the current study. Clyne and de Bot also found strong evidence for the
importance of social factors such as levels of involvement in the L1 or L2 community, absence from children, church attended (whether L1 or L2 spoken), all of which impacted on patterns of language use. All of these were also investigated for the current study, by means of an extensive sociolinguistic life history questionnaire. Their research has resulted in the hypothesis that relative isolation from the L2 English speaking environment will result in increased L1 reversion and L2 attrition (Clyne and de Bot, 1994).

It should be stated, however, that all the above factors could again be linked to issues relating to frequency of use. If this is the case, then frequency factors, in particular those related to productive frequency, may be found to be predominantly responsible for language attrition. The main problem in researching second language attrition in combination with first language reversion may lie in establishing whether, as Seliger (1991, p. 237) holds, due to lack of input in the attriting language, the grammar of the non-attriting language will become a source of "indirect positive influence" which will affect grammaticality judgments in the attriting language. Such effects are perhaps best investigated by means of free elicited speech, which is then transcribed and subjected to linguistic analysis to see whether L1 syntax is now intruding upon the production of grammatical structures in the L2. The linguistic analysis for the main study examined such features, mainly in relation to L 2 subclauses.

De Bot and Schmid (2004) do not rule out that, once gaps have been created in the linguistic system of the attriting language, items from the non-attriting languages might move in to fill the resulting voids. This would also seem to fit in with Paradis' views on the role of implicit and explicit memory. According to Paradis, implicit linguistic competence such as that which governs our use of our L1 arises from linguistic memory. Paradis holds that explicit memory or declarative memory governs our metalinguistic knowledge of any late-learned L2 (where "late-learned" appears to refer to "acquired after the critical threshold age" (cf. Neisser, 1984)). Lack of input from the L2 may lead to elevation of the activation threshold resulting in access and retrieval difficulties (Paradis, 2004).

### 2.5.2 Factors influencing language reversion

De Bot and Clyne hypothesized that relative isolation from the L2 might lead to
increased L2 attrition and L1 reversion (1994). In order to ascertain the truth of this assumption, the sample of respondents interviewed for the current study was divided up into two equal groups, both consisting of six male and nine female respondents of a similar age and similar sociolinguistic background. Half of the respondents were currently living in the Dutch retirement village in Auckland, and could be said to reside in relative isolation from the L 2 , at least in a social sense. The other half of respondents were still living "out in the L2 English speaking community".

De Bot and Clyne also hypothesized that the extent of first language reversion amongst elderly immigrants depends on the subjects' ultimate attainment in their L2, with those who have reached a far higher level of proficiency in their L2 being less likely to revert to their L1 than those who had not reached the same level of L2 proficiency. This important issue of point of reference in relation to this must also be seen in the context of issues of possible fossilization (Ellis, 1994, p. 353-5). Both the pilot study and the main study reported on here made use of a brief questionnaire to participants' adult children in order to secure evidence of respondents' ultimate attainment in English. Anecdotal evidence suggests that migrants' children are particularly critical of their parents' proficiency in the dominant language of their adopted society (Northover, 1988). In my own experience, migrants' children tend to be particularly sensitive to any signs of the L1 intruding in their parents' spoken L2, possibly due to the "cringe factor" linked to embarrassment on being singled out as being a migrant, and therefore an outsider. I initially also considered using letters written by respondents during their working life in order to obtain some sort of retrospective impression of their L2 use at an earlier age. I did not proceed with this as comparing spontaneous speech to written data produced under circumstances which would have allowed for repeated editing and 'other regulation' such as consulting a dictionary or more fluent L2 users, would have been akin to comparing apples to pears.

### 2.5.3 Issues with language reversion studies

Many of the issues discussed in relation to language attrition studies also apply to language reversion studies, two of the main constraints being formulated by Schmidt and Köpke (2004). Schmidt and Köpke (2004) warned that studies
investigating language in elderly bilinguals should take care to exclude confounding factors such as pathological conditions affecting memory and the speech centre. Respondents in the current study were healthy older migrants, showing no signs of (short-term) memory problems and without any history of pathological conditions affecting speech and memory. Schmidt and Köpke (2004) also emphasized the importance of establishing the level of ultimate attainment in the L2 as a point of reference (see also Jaspaert, Kroon \& van Hout, 1986). This issue was addressed in the current study by combining respondents' self-assessment of ultimate attainment in the L2, with assessment of the same by respondents' adult children. Selfassessment scores were compared to scores given by adult children to determine the extent of correlation.

### 2.6 Summary

This chapter has offered a review of some of the literature which has appeared to date in relation to bilingualism, second language acquisition, language maintenance and shift, language attrition and language reversion. Chapters to follow will contain numerous references to the overview of the literature presented here. Issues and approaches addressed by the body of previous work in these disciplines were an important consideration when deciding on a methodological approach for the pilot study (Chapter Three) and the main study (Chapter Four). Chapter Thirteen presents a summary of findings with reference back to this literature review. It also presents a brief discussion of the implications of the current study, as well as possible recommendations for future research.

## Chapter Three: Pilot study

### 3.1 Introduction

The research reported on here included a pilot study. The main aim of this pilot study was to pre-test both the hypotheses and the research instruments, to see whether they might need to be amended in some way. This chapter will start with a listing of the pilot study hypotheses and research instruments used to test these, by a brief description of the design, including sample of respondents, data selection and methods of analysis - the latter focusing on respondents' use of L2 morphemes, as well as information from questionnaires and assessments. Next, findings will be presented from both the morpheme analysis and the questionnaires (including self-assessments) and assessments of interviewees' L1 and L2 use by their children. The chapter will conclude with a brief summary of findings and their implications for the main study. Because of its placement prior to the Methodology chapter, this chapter will contain some slight duplication of methodology, however care has been taken to keep this to a minimum.

### 3.2 Pilot hypotheses

Hypotheses were tested for the pilot study to see if they might need adjusting or fine-tuning for the main study, together with the methodological approaches used to test them. In order to avoid confusion between hypotheses tested for the pilot study and those examined for the main study, the first will hereafter be referred to as "pilot hypotheses". An overview of amendments to hypotheses based on the outcomes of the pilot study may be found at the conclusion of this chapter. Pilot hypotheses were:
a. Environmental factors influencing First language reversion: low frequency of L2 use and low social contact in the L2 may lead to accelerated L1 reversion and L2 attrition in those Dutch migrants aged 65 and over who are now primarily exposed to a predominantly L1 Dutch speaking speech community compared to a similar group of Dutch migrants who are still primarily exposed to the L2 English speaking speech community.
b. First language reversion will show signs of being the reverse of second language acquisition process in terms of Matrix Language (ML) and Embedded Language (EL). Signs of first language (L1) reversion coupled with concomitant second language (L2) attrition might be manifested by a return to the grammatical frame of the L1. In other words, the L1 will be seen to replace the L 2 as the ML.
c. Attrition of late system morphemes in the second language (L2) will be a sign of more advanced second language attrition than attrition of L2 content morphemes only. Signs of advanced L2 attrition will include attrition affecting not just content morphemes and early system morphemes, but also late system morphemes, where content morphemes are seen to be proportionally more vulnerable to attrition than early system morphemes and early system morphemes are seen to be proportionally more vulnerable to attrition than late system morphemes. L2 morphemes examined included nouns, verbs and fixed expressions (as examples of content morphemes); phrasal verbs and adverbs (as tokens of early system morphemes) and subject-verb agreement (representing late system morphemes).
d. First language reversion combined with second language attrition will be reflected in L1 loan translations (or calques) of L2 content morphemes and system morphemes being replaced by their highest probability L1 equivalents.
e. Problems with troubles telling and the communication of care needs to L2 speaking caregivers. In a minority of L1 Dutch migrants this L1 reversion and L2 attrition will result in subjects having problems communicating their troubles and needs to L2 English speaking caregivers and health practitioners.

### 3.3 Instruments used to test pilot hypotheses

The first of these pilot hypotheses ( $\mathrm{a}, \mathrm{b}, \mathrm{c}$ and d ) were tested by means of a linguistic analysis of free speech elicited from respondents. The last hypothesis (e) was tested in two different ways. Firstly, respondents were asked if they felt their ability to communicate their (health) care needs to L2 speaking caregivers and health practitioners had changed in any way, and if so, in what way.

Secondly, respondents were asked how their life was going at the time of the interview. This question resulted in respondents discussing any health concerns, enabling the researcher to analyse their speech to see if they were able to discuss any health problems using the expected L2 terms or whether they had to resort to either codeswitching to the L1 or L1 loan translations.

Following completion of the pilot study, the five pilot hypotheses and the instruments used to test them were reconsidered. Based on the findings of the pilot study, some fine-tuning and adjustments were made, both in relation to the pilot hypotheses themselves, and in relation to the methodology used to test these. More detail about these amendments may be found at the conclusion of this chapter, while hypotheses for the main study have been detailed in the Methodology Chapter. This chapter will now continue with a brief overview of the conceptual design, including proposed sample of respondents, data selection and method of analysis for the pilot study.

### 3.4 Conceptual Design

As set out in the Introduction, the main aim of the research was to investigate whether older bilingual Dutch-English migrants in New Zealand were showing signs of second language (L2) attrition with concomitant first language (L1) reversion post-retirement. The design of the study needed to address specific issues in relation to data and sample selection, choice of research instruments and type of linguistic analysis as further explained in Chapter Four, section 4.3. The design of the pilot study resembled that of the main study, in that it involved applied research, involving sociolinguistic life history questionnaires and selfassessments, administered by means of personal interviews, allowing for an analysis of any free speech recorded in the course of these interviews. The design also involved brief questionnaires mailed out to respondents' adult children, asking them to assess any changes in their parents' language use over time. In consultation with my supervisors, it was decided that a pilot sample of 8 to 10 respondents would allow me to adequately test the research instruments. Interviewing a potentially vulnerable group of elderly speakers involved an application for Ethics Approval, as described in section 4.5 of Chapter Four (see also Appendix A). Data and sample selection for the pilot study are discussed in
sections 3.6 and 3.7 respectively. An examination of issues relating to point of reference may be found in Chapter Four, in section 4.11, which deals with methodology and possible limitations of the study. Lastly, the morpheme analysis used for the pilot study has been outlined in section 3.10.

### 3.5 Sample of pilot study respondents

The sample group was selected in a manner similar to that outlined in Chapter Four, with half of interviewees being Dutch Village (DV) and the other half Non-Dutch Village (NDV) respondents. A total of nine respondents were interviewed for the pilot study. Data for one of these interviewees were not used because it transpired in the course of the interview that he had in fact arrived in New Zealand in 1967, and hence did not meet the Immigration Cohort criteria. This left eight respondents (half DV and half NDV). All respondents were aged between 65 and 88 and had arrived in New Zealand in the 1950s, most as assisted migrants, (Schouten, 1992). Participants were selected by means of "snowballing", in particular those who were resident in the Dutch Retirement Village. The method of snowballing has been detailed in Chapter Four in section 4.4.1.

All participants were interviewed by the same bilingual interviewer, namely myself. I may be said to belong to the same "in group" as the interviewees in that I am a Dutch-English bilingual who came to New Zealand as an immigrant. However, I may be said to differ from the participants in terms of "time of arrival", "familiarity with English" upon arrival, and profession. I was trained as a translator and linguist this had led me to have an increased awareness and indeed avoidance of codeswitching.

In addition, I completed all my education (primary through to tertiary) in the Netherlands and I am a speaker of Algemeen Beschaafd Nederlands (ABN) or standard Dutch, whereas just over half of pilot study respondents said they spoke a regional dialect of Dutch as their first language. This means that they would have grown up speaking dialect as their first language until age six, which is the age at which children in the Netherlands used to start primary school. Once they had entered primary school, they would have learned to use Standard Dutch in the educational domain, and to reserve the use of dialect for the domain of
friends and family. Upon completion of primary school, respondents would have again been expected to use dialect only for communication with friends and family, and to use Standard Dutch in most other domains.

For the reasons outlined above, it could be argued that all respondents were in fact L1 Dutch speakers, rather than L1 dialect speakers. Section 3.5.1 contains some comments about participants' use of (possible) dialect-influenced forms. All participants were interviewed in their own environment, that is to say under conditions which were as stress free as possible and in a setting in which they felt in control. Interviews involved participants being asked questions from a sociolinguistic life history questionnaire in English. In addition, they were asked to relate their memories and "troubles". All questions were asked in English and all prompting was done in English, however, it was left up to interviewees whether they responded to these questions in English or in Dutch.

### 3.5.1 Pilot study respondents: general background information

The pilot sample consisted of six female and two male interviewees. Four of the participants had been living in the Dutch village for between three and twenty-one years, while the other four interviewees were living independently in the "English-speaking community", that is not in a primarily Dutch language environment, nor in a rest home or care facility. Of the four participants in the Dutch village, three were female, while one was male. Similarly three out of four participants interviewed outside of the Dutch Village were female, while one was male. During interviews it became clear that almost all of the female interviewees had had less exposure to English in the work place than their husbands or the male interviewees appeared to have had. This seemed to be due to the fact that many female respondents had remained at home to look after the children and that, afterwards, their work opportunities had been limited to those involving domestic work, which did not involve a lot of contact with English speaking colleagues. Two female interviewees (one inside the Dutch Village and one outside of it) who had worked extensively outside of the home were both still very proficient in their spoken English.

Respondents' ages on arrival in New Zealand varied quite considerably, although half had arrived in New Zealand when they were aged between 20 and

25, whilst three had arrived in their mid to late twenties, and one had arrived as a married person with three children at age 38. All pilot study respondents had arrived in New Zealand between 1950 and 1957, with most having arrived in the early 1950s.

Most participants had come to New Zealand with a Dutch fiancé(e), although none had told New Zealand authorities that they were in fact engaged to be married. This was because they had wanted to come out as "assisted migrants". Only single migrants were eligible to come to New Zealand as assisted migrants (Schouten, 1992). Two of the participants had arrived here with their husbands and small children.

At the time of the interview, all pilot study respondents were aged between 75 and 88 , with NDV participants slightly younger on average. Again, this may be due to the fact that there is a waiting list for units in the Dutch Village. There is also some anecdotal evidence to suggest that some people like to move to the Dutch village when they themselves feel they are getting old and frail, so that, should anything happen to them, their spouses will be well looked after both socially and in healthcare terms.

Table 3.1

Age on arrival and at interview - pilot study respondents.

| Age on arrival in NZ | Dutch Village | Non-Dutch Village |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\mathbf{0 - 2 4}$ | 1 | 3 |
| $\mathbf{2 5 - 2 9}$ | 2 | 1 |
| $\mathbf{3 0 - 3 4}$ | -- | 0 |
| $35-39$ | 1 | 0 |
|  |  |  |
| Age at interview | Dutch Village | Non-Dutch Village |
| $70-74$ | 0 | - |
| $75-79$ | 1 | 3 |
| $\mathbf{8 0 - 8 4}$ | 2 | $\mathbf{1}$ |
| $\mathbf{8 5 - 8 9}$ | 1 | 0 |
| $90-95$ | 0 | 0 |

Pilot Study Respondents' birthplaces varied from small villages ( $\mathrm{n}=4$ ) to larger regional centres $(n=4)$. All but two of the respondents stated that their first language was standard Dutch. Four respondents stated that they had spoken
provincial dialect variants on standard Dutch at home, whilst speaking standard Dutch at school and at work. Three of these respondents came from smaller villages, while one came from a large urban centre in one of the Southern provinces of the Netherlands. In his well-known study of Dutch dialects, Weijnen (1966) noted the larger influence of standard Dutch on urban dialects in the Netherlands, especially in the Northern provinces (Weijnen, 1966). There was not much noticeable dialect influence in the spoken Dutch of those who said they had spoken dialect at home when growing up, other than slight deviations in pronunciation (e.g. PDVF03 pronounced the Dutch word for "terrible" as verskrikkelijk compared to standard Dutch verschrikkelijk) and the use of some non-standard forms which are often used by dialect speakers (ik gaat, hij ken) compared to standard Dutch ik ga, hij kan (I go, he can). Detailed information relating to pilot study respondents' educational and occupational background may be found in section 3.4.2.

In social terms, around half of the pilot study respondents identified with a middle class background, while the other half identified with a working class background and this may partly explain these respondents identifying with Standard Dutch as their first language. It is important to note that those respondents whose fathers had been working in the trades, considered themselves to be of middle class background. A majority of pilot study respondents ( $\mathrm{n}=6$ ) regularly attended mass at a Roman Catholic church since arriving in New Zealand and some still attended on a more or less regular basis. In all cases, English was the language spoken in church and by the congregation. Almost all Pilot Study respondents who had been in paid employment were now fully retired ( $\mathrm{n}=6$ ) while one of the female DV respondents had never been in paid employment outside of the home. A majority of respondents had been retired for between 15 and 19 years. One of the younger interviewees had worked until quite recently to supplement her income. One NDV respondent was still involved in community activities which required her to use English, both in its written and in its spoken form. In fact, this respondent was involved in writing submissions and applications.

### 3.5.2 Pilot study respondents: class and educational background

All participants reported having completed a minimum of eight years primary schooling in Dutch language medium in the Netherlands (comparable to primary plus intermediate school in New Zealand). Interestingly, all interviewees had had some form of secondary education in the Netherlands. Both male interviewees had attended Ambachtsschool, a type of secondary school focusing on apprenticeships and trades. Four of the six female interviewees had attended Huishoudschool, a type of secondary school focusing on Home Economics and skills deemed desirable for girls, such as sewing and cooking. Two interviewees had attended Naaischool, a type of school offering parttime training in dressmaking.

None of these respondents had learned foreign languages in the secondary school classroom environment, the exception being one female participant who had attended Handelsschool, a school offering commercial studies with a great deal of emphasis on students developing correspondence skills in German, French and English. In addition to learning English at school, this interviewee had had private L2 tuition from an Englishman living in her home town. This participant was the only pilot study interviewee who reported that both her understanding of and proficiency in English were "fair" on arrival. When interviewed, this participant was extremely fluent in English and did not hesitate or search for words or idioms and expressions at all. This may have been helped by the fact that she had held a range of jobs, all of which involved a lot of people contact, at a range of levels, ranging from Nurse Aide to Manager of a retail store. In addition, this participant was still particularly active in the community, which required and enabled her to use all of her language skills, including written language skills.

All but one of the participants had had some private lessons in English prior to coming to New Zealand, while one participant had come to New Zealand without any prior knowledge of English. Interestingly, this participant was the one who stated that she felt unable to speak English at the time of the interview. Whenever this respondent was prompted in English, she responded in Dutch. Of those participants who had had private lessons in English before emigration, all stated that they had since realized that their private teacher's knowledge of

English had been quite limited. All of these participants ( $\mathrm{N}=6$ ) stated that both their understanding of and proficiency in English had been very limited on arrival in this country.

After arrival in New Zealand, only one interviewee reported having had actual on the job training in an area she had not worked in in the Netherlands. The others reported having worked in a similar area to the one they had worked in or trained towards in the Netherlands.

### 3.6 Research instruments

Research instruments consisted of interviews, sociolinguistic life questionnaires (which included self-assessments of L1 and L2 competency) and Adult Children's Questionnaires and were used to collect four distinct types of data:
(i) free speech elicited by means of the interviews,
(ii) sociolinguistic background information collected by way of the sociolinguistic life questionnaires,
(iii) respondents' self-assessments of their competency in the L1 and L2 at time of interview and pre-retirement - these questions were included in the sociolinguistic life questionnaires; and
(iv) assessments of respondents' competency in the L2 now and in the past by respondents' adult children - these were part of a separate questionnaire which was mailed out to respondents' adult children (response rate 100\%)

### 3.6.1 Rationale for instruments selected

I chose to focus on elicited free speech, rather than, for instance grammaticality judgments or picture naming tasks, because I felt that free speech would most closely resemble respondents' attempts at communication in everyday life (Yoshitomi, 1999; Jiménez Jiménez, 2004; Schmid, 2004). Other reasons for not selecting either grammaticality judgments or picture naming tasks have been outlined in the Methodology Chapter. All free speech was digitally recorded and transcribed by me. Elicited free speech formed the basis
for the morpheme analysis which was used to see if respondents' spoken L2 was showing possible signs of L2 attrition with concomitant L1 reversion. This method of analysis was based on a study carried out by Gross (2004) and described in more detail in section 3.10 below. Chapter Four contains a more detailed explanation for the rationale underpinning the overall choice of methodological tools.

### 3.7 Implementation

Procedures followed before, during and after interviews were the same as for the main study and have been detailed in the Methodology chapter. The pilot study questionnaire and interview procedure were drafted in consultation with my main supervisor. Following the pilot study, findings and procedures were again discussed with both supervisors and some amendments were made. Some changes made following the pilot study impacted on implementation of methodology in practice. These include minor changes relating to receipt of koha, interview order, some questionnaire questions, and transcription method. These have been outlined in the next paragraph. A more considerable change related to the linguistic analysis, as described at the conclusion of this chapter.

During the pilot study interviews, participants were asked to sign separately for receipt of the koha, but for the main study confirmation of receipt was included in the Informed Consent form. The other change related to interviewing married couples, and was based on one pilot study spouse to a large degree "outtalking" her husband. In the other pilot study involving a couple, spouses were interviewed separately, in order to give each partner an equal chance at speaking. This approach was continued for the main study. In addition, the analysis of the pilot sociolinguistic life questionnaires showed that some questions needed to be added for the main study, including questions on respondents' class background in the Netherlands and church attendance in New Zealand. Transcription methods were perfected during the pilot study, with a decision made to represent any English lexicon in normal print and Dutch lexicon in italic print. One interviewee was interviewed and then found not to meet the criteria for the study because he had arrived in New Zealand after 1965. Data obtained for this interviewee was not included in the study.

### 3.8 Linguistic analysis

In addition to the sociolinguistic life questionnaire to elicit information about the respondents' life history and their experiences post-migration, the tool of morpheme analysis was used to determine the extent of second language attrition with concomitant first language reversion. In order to establish a link between second language attrition and first language reversion the morpheme analysis aimed to examine "what took the place of what was lost", in other words, whether what was lost was replaced by items which may be said to either belong to the L1 or to be the result of "cross-linguistic interference" from the L1.

### 3.8.1 Rationale for morpheme analysis

The rationale for undertaking a morpheme analysis was related to three of the working hypotheses for the pilot. The first hypothesis entailed L2 attrition involving signs of speakers returning to the grammatical frame of the L1 as the Matrix Language. The second hypothesis related to attrition of late system morphemes in the L2 being a sign of more advanced L2 attrition than attrition of L2 content morphemes. The third hypothesis concerned L1 reversion with concomitant L2 attrition being reflected in L1 loan translations (or calques) of L2 content morphemes and L2 system morphemes being replaced by their highest probability L1 equivalents.

The methodological approach for the morpheme analysis was based on that adopted by Gross (2004) in his study of a small group of 6 German-English bilinguals who had been living in the USA for 40 to 50 years. Gross applied Myers-Scotton \& Jake's Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model (Myers-Scotton \& Jake, 2001), including its morpheme classification system. Gross found that the speech of some of his L1 German subjects showed many instances of incorrectly produced late system morphemes in their L1 and took this to be evidence of attrition of the grammatical frame of their L1. Gross found that content morphemes such as idioms, fixed expressions and metaphorical expressions are more vulnerable to attrition than early system morphemes,
which in turn showed greater attrition effects than late system morphemes. In this pilot study, morpheme analysis was also used as a tool for determining the degree of second language attrition in respondents.

### 3.8.2 Implementation of morpheme analysis

In line with Gross' method, representative morphemes were selected for counting in each morpheme category. In the category of content morphemes, the focus was on nouns, verbs and fixed expressions. Determiners were selected as representative of the early system morpheme category, while subject verb agreement was selected as representative of the late system morpheme category.

In order to establish a link between second language attrition and first language reversion the morpheme analysis aimed to examine 'what took the place of what was lost', in other words, whether what was lost was replaced by items which may be said to either belong to the L1 or to be the result of 'crosslinguistic interference' from the L1. Items which may be classified as the latter have been referred to as Highest Probability L1 Equivalents as explained in more detail under the findings.

Respondents were divided into two groups for the purpose of the morpheme analysis. The transcribed interview was used as the basis for this analysis. First, all interviews were transcribed in full. An overview of transcription conventions used may be found in Appendix B. Following full transcription, a 30 -minute segment of more or less continuous free speech was selected for each transcribed interview. To avoid selection of a speech segment where respondents might still have been conscious of the presence of the digital recorder, segments selected were within a time-frame of at least ten minutes into the interview.

Interviewer comments were removed from the transcribed interview for the morpheme analysis proper so an overall word count could be carried out. Tokens representing the various categories of morphemes were colour coded for ease of counting. These tokens were then counted and tallied up under the different categories (e.g. content morphemes) and subcategories (e.g. the subcategory of verbs under the category of content morphemes). The findings of the morpheme analysis may be found under 3.9.2.

### 3.9 Pilot study Findings

This section will discuss both findings from an analysis of sociolinguistic information relating to respondents and findings from the morpheme analysis. As the sample was very small $(\mathrm{N}=8)$ care was taken not to draw any generalizable conclusions from the findings, but rather to focus on testing the research instruments used in order to identify any fine-tuning that might be required.

### 3.9.1 Findings from sociolinguistic life questionnaires

Findings from the sociolinguistic life questionnaires related to respondents answers to a range of questions, ranging from their educational and class backgrounds in the Netherlands, to their occupational attainment in New Zealand, and included assessments as to their proficiency in both their L1 and L2 at various stages in their lives. The main findings will now be discussed under various subheadings.

## General background information

The pilot sample consisted of six female and two male interviewees. Four of the participants had been living in the Dutch village for between three and twenty-one years, while the other four interviewees were living independently in the "English-speaking community", (i.e. not in a primarily Dutch language environment, nor in a rest home or care facility). Of the four participants in the Dutch village, three were female, while one was male. Similarly three out of four participants interviewed outside of the Dutch Village were female, while one was male. During interviews it became clear that almost all of the female interviewees had had less exposure to English in the work place than their husbands or the male interviewees appeared to have had. This seemed to be due to the fact that many female respondents had remained at home to look after the children and that, afterwards, their work opportunities had been limited to those involving domestic work, which did not involve a lot of contact with English
speaking colleagues. Two female interviewees (one inside the Dutch Village and one outside of it) who had worked extensively outside of the home were both still very proficient in their spoken English.

Most participants had come to New Zealand with a Dutch fiancé, although none had told New Zealand authorities that they were in fact engaged to be married. This was because they had been aware that New Zealand preferred single immigrants and they had wanted to come as "assisted migrants". Only single migrants were eligible to come to New Zealand as assisted migrants (Schouten, 1992). Two of the participants had arrived here with their husbands and small children.

All participants belonged to the same immigration cohort in that they had arrived in New Zealand between 1950 and 1957. Five reported being from a working class background in the Netherlands, while three reported being from a middle class background, stating their fathers had run their own (small) businesses. All participants said they were native speakers of Dutch and described their proficiency in Dutch as good, very good or excellent. Interestingly, though, five out of eight participants reported speaking a regional dialect of Dutch as well as standard Dutch. There was not much noticeable dialect influence in their spoken Dutch, other than slight deviation in pronunciation (verskrikkelijk compared to standard Dutch verschrikkelijk) and the use of some non-standard forms which are often used by dialect speakers (ik gaat, hij ken compared to standard Dutch ik ga, hij kan).

## Findings relating to educational and occupational background

All participants reported having completed a minimum of eight years primary schooling in Dutch language medium in the Netherlands (comparable to primary plus intermediate school in New Zealand). Interestingly, all interviewees had had some form of secondary education in the Netherlands. Both male interviewees had attended Ambachtsschool, a type of secondary school focusing on apprenticeships and trades. Four of the female interviewees had attended Huishoudschool, a type of secondary school focusing on Home Economics and skills deemed desirable for girls, such as sewing and cooking. Two interviewees had attended Naaischool, a type of school offering parttime
training in dressmaking. None of these respondents had learned foreign languages in the secondary school classroom environment, the exception being one female participant who had attended Handelsschool to learn Economics, Languages, Correspondence and Accounting. This respondent was remarkably fluent at the time of the interview, as will be reported on later on in this chapter. More information on the types of secondary school available in the Netherlands when the respondents were young and the curricula these schools offered may be found in Chapter Five. One interviewee reported having had on the job training in New Zealand in an area she had not worked in whilst still in the Netherlands. The others reported having worked in a similar area to the one they had worked in or trained towards in the Netherlands.

## L2 proficiency upon arrival in New Zealand

All but one of the participants had had some private lessons in English prior to coming to New Zealand, while one participant had come to New Zealand without any prior knowledge of English. Interestingly, this participant was the one who stated that she felt unable to speak English at the time of the interview. Whenever this respondent was prompted in English, she responded in Dutch. Of those participants who had had private lessons in English before emigration, all stated that they had since realized that their private teacher's knowledge of English had been quite limited. All of these participants ( $\mathrm{N}=6$ ) stated that both their understanding of and proficiency in English had been very limited on arrival in this country.

The one exception was a participant who had learned English from an Englishman living in her home town. This participant was the only interviewee who reported that both her understanding of and proficiency in English were 'fair' on arrival. The same interviewee had attended Handelsschool, a school offering commercial studies with a great deal of emphasis on students developing correspondence skills in German, French and English. When interviewed, this participant was extremely fluent in English and did not hesitate or search for words or idioms and expressions at all. This may have been helped by the fact that she had held a range of jobs, all of which involved a lot of people contact, at a range of levels, ranging from Nurse Aide to Manager of a retail
store. In addition, this participant was still particularly active in the community, which required and enabled her to use all of her language skills, including written language skills.

## Language use after immigration to New Zealand

All of the participants reported initially speaking Dutch at home almost all of the time. However, without exception, they reported having switched to English as soon as their children went to school in the belief that this would help their children. Three of the participants expressly stated that they now realized this had been a mistake. They said they now felt their children would have become fluent in both languages anyway and felt they had not given their children the opportunity to learn their parents' first language.

Coincidentally, the three participants who expressed their regrets at denying their children the chance to learn and maintain Dutch were all very proficient in Dutch, their L1 and English, their L2. One of these participants lived in the Dutch Village, while the other two lived "in the English speech community". The questionnaire did not contain any questions inquiring whether participants regretted not having maintained the use of Dutch with their children. The comments reported above came up spontaneously in the course of the interviews.

## Self-assessment of L2 proficiency pre- and post-retirement

Almost all of the participants reported that their proficiency in English had been good ( $\mathrm{N}=3$ ) or very good ( $\mathrm{N}=4$ ). One participant reported that her proficiency in English had been limited pre-retirement. Interestingly, only one of the participants in the Dutch village reported that her proficiency in English had been 'very good' pre-retirement. In my opinion this self-assessment must have been correct as this interviewee was still very proficient in English, even though she had been retired from an active working life for more than 20 years by the time of the interview. Three of the participants who did not live in the Dutch village reported that their proficiency in English had been 'very good' preretirement.

All participants reported that their understanding of English pre-retirement had been somewhat better than their proficiency in English. Participants were less positive about their own ability to apply English grammar pre-retirement. Three interviewees reported their grammatical ability pre-retirement as 'very good', two as 'good', one as 'fair' and one as 'limited'. However, all bar two participants reported examples of mistakes they had commonly made in their English grammar. Interviewees were even less positive about their own vocabulary in English pre-retirement. Only two participants said their vocabulary had been 'very good', two said it had been 'good', while three said it had been 'fair' and one said it had been 'limited'.

These self-assessments coincided with my own impressions, which were that participants typically used a range of lexical items confined to a limited field (mostly the general domestic domain) at the time of the interview (i.e. postretirement). Obviously, this may have been due to the questions asked, however two of the adult children commented that their parents had never really mastered a wide range of "registers" in English. This comment seemed to be borne out by the fact that, when asking the language proficiency questions, I found myself having to explain the meaning of "proficiency" to all participants. Responses to the questions in relation to grammatical attainment and range of vocabulary used in English pre-retirements were very similar across the two groups of participants.

When it came to assessing their own proficiency in English post-retirement, generally speaking participants in both groups felt that their proficiency had decreased. There was a small difference between the two groups however: of Dutch Village (DV) participants, one reported her English proficiency to be 'just as good', while two reported it to be 'less' and one said it was 'much less'. Out of non-Dutch Village (NDV) participants, two said their proficiency was 'just as good' while one other said 'almost as good' and one 'much less'. However, the number of interviewees was small, making it difficult to draw generalizable conclusions. Hence it was clear that a larger study was needed to bear out whether DV participants generally reported a bigger loss in their English proficiency post-retirement than NDV interviewees.

When it came to understanding English, however, a large majority of all participants ( $\mathrm{n}=7$ ) reported that their understanding was 'just as good'. Participants mainly credited the fact that they followed the news (almost all seemed to subscribe to the New Zealand Herald) and watched New Zealand television programmes. Unfortunately the pilot questionnaire did not ask interviewees to assess their grammatical ability in English and use of English vocabulary post-retirement, so these questions were added to the questionnaire for the main study.

Interestingly, all the DV participants reported using more Dutch with their children, while all NDV interviewees reported speaking only English with their children. Also, all DV participants reported watching free-to-air Dutch satellite television (BVN) while none of the NDV participants did. There were also differences between the two groups in relation to the amount of English reported spoken. All the DV participants reported speaking less English, while half of NDV participants reported speaking 'a fair amount less', but the other two reported 'no change'. These two participants included one still very active in the community and one widow with children who she said were not able to speak much Dutch.

## Current language use

Firstly, it was interesting to note that all participants reported having switched to the use of English at home as soon as their children started attending school. This meant that, with the exception of the son of one participant, none of the adult children was able to speak Dutch to their parents at the time of the interview. It is also of note that all respondents reported that they had reverted to speaking Dutch at home with their partner as soon as the children left home or as soon as they retired from an active working life. One NDV and two DV participants had lost their husbands in recent years, which meant they no longer had someone to speak Dutch to at home. Those respondents whose partners were still alive were speaking a lot more Dutch than respondents whose principal interlocutors were their adult children. This no doubt also had an effect on the extent to which participants were still needing to actively use their L2 English.

Obviously, in all cases, their range of L2 use was somewhat limited to everyday situations in the family and friends domain (Fishman, 2001).

Another significant factor to be taken into account was that of fossilization (Selinker, 1992, p. 243). Selinker defines fossilisation as "cessation of interlanguage learning, often far from Target Language norms" (1992, p. 243). Kellerman (1995a) rightly asks the question "whether or not adults can ever acquire native-like competence in a second language or whether this is an accomplishment reserved for children who start learning at a relatively early age" (1995a, p. 219). Hence any study into speakers’ current language use should also try and assess what their language use was like at an earlier stage of the speakers' development. Of interest to any research investigating language use by speakers whose levels of active use of the language are now reduced is the phenomenon of "backsliding" (Ellis, 1994, p. 353), where fossilized forms sometimes seem to disappear, but are always likely to reappear.

An analysis of free speech elicited from respondents found individual characteristics which may or may not have been fossilized non-target forms. It proved important to establish whether these had been pre-existing features of the respondent's speech at an earlier stage as well, and whether these could as such be identified as characteristics of "fossilization". Examples were the consistent use of "an" (Dutch "een") as indefinite article before all nouns, regardless of whether these started with a vowel or with a consonant, or the use of " $m e$ " (for "my") in the speech of one DV respondent. A further example was the frequent non-use of the affix -ly and the incidence of verb forms such as "he do" and "he have" in the speech of one non-DV participant. Adult children's questionnaires were used in order to gain some measure of retrospective assessment of respondents' previous levels of L2 English use, which included identifying possible instances of both fossilisation and backsliding.

When it came to communicating with English speaking health providers and caregivers, three out of four DV participants reported having some problems in that they sometimes found it difficult to find the right word. Only one of NDV participants reported having such problems, while the remaining three said they found it just as easy as before to report their problems to health providers or caregivers. One DV participant said she noticed herself sometimes reverting
completely to Dutch without realizing it, and in fact did so on several occasions during the interview, even though her English was otherwise very fluent.

Interestingly, most of the adult children questioned felt that their parents' use of English had deteriorated ( $\mathrm{n}=5$ ). Most of the adult children commented that their parents used to feel very comfortable speaking English, but that at this stage Dutch seemed to feel more comfortable. Those children who are able to speak Dutch commented that their parent now seemed to want to speak Dutch to them all the time. It should be noted that obviously, those adult children who were unable to speak Dutch made no such comments. However, I noticed that some respondents always responded in Dutch even when I prompted them in English during the interview. In the latter case, almost the entire interview was in Dutch.

### 3.9.2 Findings of the morpheme analysis

In addition to the sociolinguistic life questionnaire to elicit information about the respondents' life history and their experiences post-migration, the tool of morpheme analysis was used to determine the extent of second language attrition with concomitant first language reversion. The morpheme analysis focused on speakers' production of representatives of content morphemes, early system morphemes and late system morphemes in their spoken L2.

## Content morphemes

In English, content morphemes include nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, free standing demonstratives, personal pronouns, conjunctions and fixed expressions. Nouns, verbs, and fixed expressions were chosen to represent content morphemes. This decision was based on my assumption, based on past experience listening to Dutch-English bilinguals, that a morpheme analysis of other content morphemes such as adjectives, free standing demonstratives, personal pronouns and conjunctions would yield few or no incorrectly produced forms. This assumption was confirmed by a cursory analysis of selected speech segments which seemed to suggest that there were very few incorrectly produced items under these categories.

After counting and colour coding all content morphemes, the numbers of nouns, verbs, and so forth were used to establish the total number of content morphemes found in the speech segment. Following this, a count was undertaken of the number of content morphemes which had been replaced by a loan translation arising from the L1 (calque) in English or by their L1 equivalent. An example of a calque replacing an English content morpheme was the fixed expression in "if you cannot count, you don't come anywhere," where the Dutch expression "dan kom je nergens" was used, but where lexical items from English had been used to replace the original lexical items from Dutch. In this context the Dutch expression "dan kom je nergens" is best translated as "you will never achieve anything".

An example of the L1 replacing an English content morpheme would be: "Mm $j a$ and so and so it gaat", where the English third person singular verb "goes" has been replaced by the Dutch third person singular verb form "gat". Another example would be "Strooing fertilizer by hand," where the -ing form has been created using the Dutch verb "strooi-en" (to scatter) ${ }^{4}$.

Percentages of overall use of content morphemes were calculated first by comparing the number of content morphemes used to the overall word count. Percentages of the various categories of content morphemes used were calculated by comparing the total incidence of content morphemes used in each category to the total number of content morphemes. Next percentages of correctly and incorrectly produced content morphemes were calculated by counting the number of cases where content morphemes had been replaced by either their Highest Probability L1 equivalent (HPL1) or an actual L1 form.

As mentioned previously, the analysis was based on a count of the number of tokens uttered per 30 minute segments. The analysis showed that firstly, L1 Dutch nouns were rarely used as Embedded Language (EL) islands in respondents' spoken L2 English (cf. Myers-Scotton, 2002), occurring mainly in longer L1 segments (i.e. entire sentences spoken in the L1, "embedded" in mainly L2 speech. This was part of the overall pattern of respondents not engaging in codeswitching, something that was possibly influenced by my presence, since I did not engage in codeswitching between English and Dutch at

[^3]all (cf. Grosjean, 1997). Overall, most respondents used only small number of L1 nouns during the interview. The only exception was PDVF03 who used 322 L1 nouns as opposed to only 111 L2 nouns.

Similarly, L1 Dutch verbs were rarely used in the L2 English, occurring mainly in longer L1 segments, that is entire sentences spoken in the L1, "embedded" in mainly L2 speech. As respondents mostly chose to use the L2 during the interviews, speakers only used a small number of L1 verbs. The exception to this was again PDVF03 who responded in the L1 even when prompted in the L2. This interviewee used 559 L1 verbs compared to 245 L2 verbs.

In contrast, L1 fixed expressions did occur embedded into L2 segments, either in "pure" L1 form, or as L1 calques or as mixed L1L2 forms. Overall, fixed expressions seemed to yield linguistically more interesting results than either nouns or verbs. This may explain why more than half of interviewees used a fair proportion of L1 fixed expressions in their spoken L2. Interestingly, out of 31 L2 fixed expressions uttered by PCF01, four involved L1 calques.

## Early system morphemes

Prepositional verbs and phrasal verbs such as "look at" and derivational affixes such as the adverbial affix -ly in "properly" were chosen to represent early system morphemes. This decision was based on my assumption, based on past experience listening to Dutch-English bilinguals. I felt that a morpheme analysis of other early system morphemes such as determiners and derivational affixes such as present participle and past participles, would yield little or no incorrectly produced forms in the L2 English speech of Dutch-English bilinguals, having very close equivalents in Dutch. The method described for the content morpheme analysis was again applied to early system morphemes which appeared in respondents' speech.

After carrying out an overall word count of all early system morphemes used, the different classes of early system morphemes were colour coded and counted under the heading of one of three different categories: determiners, derivational affixes, and prepositional or phrasal verbs. Following this, a count was
undertaken of the number of early system morphemes which had been replaced by a loan translation or calque arising from the L1 in English or by their Highest Probability L1 equivalent. Examples of an incorrectly produced early system morpheme would be "she do", and "we can pull the cord and it ring straightaway". Another example would be the incorrect use of the preposition in the phrasal verb in "he drove us on the wall". An example of a calque replacing an English phrasal verb would be "a girl came on the door", where the preposition from the equivalent Dutch prepositional verb "aan de deur komen" (literal translation: "to come on the door", back translation: "to come to the door") has replaced the prepositions which should have been used in the English prepositional verb ("to come to the door").

Again, percentages of overall use of early system morphemes were calculated in a manner similar to that outlined for content morphemes, as were percentages of correctly and incorrectly produced tokens. Two types of early system morphemes were singled out for examination, namely adverbs and phrasal verbs. With adverbs, non-standard L2 forms invariably involved the speaker leaving out the -ly as in "I can understand it well, but I cannot say it proper back." The analysis showed that only one respondent (PCF01) produced an incorrect form of the adverb with -ly construction. However it also became clear that some respondents $(\mathrm{N}=2)$ in this small sample did not use adverbs in their spoken L2 at all, which left me without indication as to whether they had been able to construct this L2 form correctly.

The analysis of phrasal verbs turned up more interesting findings, both in DV and NDV respondents, with seven out of eight respondents producing nonstandard forms of L2 phrasal verbs. Most of these incorrect forms consisted of L1 calques in L2 English as explained above. Where a speaker produced mixed forms these consisted of either an L1 verb followed by an L2 preposition or of an L2 verb combined with an L1 preposition. PDVF03 was the only pilot study respondent to produce such mixed forms of phrasal verbs. This speaker uttered 35 phrasal verbs in the L1, compared to only 8 in the L2. However it should be noted that all her L2 phrasal verbs were also "mixed forms".

Overall, the analysis of early system morphemes showed that most respondents produced correct L2 English tokens of adverb with -ly, leaving the
impression that this was an area of L2 morphosyntax which seemed to elicit few errors. However, a large number of respondents in this small sample did produce incorrect forms of English phrasal verbs and a majority of these incorrect forms consisted of L1 calques in L2 English.

## Late system morphemes

Late system morphemes can be divided into two groups: bridge late system morphemes and outsider late system morphemes. Bridge late system morphemes act as links and help to integrate content morphemes into larger constituents, e.g. the possessive marker "of" acts to link two nouns within a noun phrase. Examples of bridge late system morphemes in English are possessive "of", possessive "s", articles, and the pronouns "it" and "there" which are often used as dummy subjects. Late outsider system morphemes have grammatical relations external to their head constituent, (Myers-Scotton, 1993, p. 82). Examples of outsider late system morphemes in English are subject verb agreement (e.g. the "s" in "she eats a lot"), the copula "to be", auxiliary verbs (be/have/do) and suffixes such as ness, -able, -ful and infinitives.

Subject-verb agreement was chosen to represent the entire category of late system morphemes. This decision was based on my assumption, from past experience listening to Dutch-English bilinguals, that a morpheme analysis of bridge late system morphemes such as possessive "of", possessive "-s", articles and the pronouns "it" and "there" would yield little or no incorrectly produced forms, having very similar L1 counterparts in "van", possessive "-s", articles and the pronouns "het" and "er". For similar reasons, it was assumed that an analysis of English late outsider system morphemes such as the copula "to be", auxiliary verbs and suffixes such as -ness, -able, -ful, and infinitives would not be likely to produce a lot of non-standard forms in the L2 speech segments produced by L1 Dutch speakers who had been in New Zealand for many decades. A decision was therefore made to focus on subject-verb agreement, namely $3^{\text {rd }}$ person singular present tense with $-s$. There were two main reasons for this: firstly, $3^{\text {rd }}$ person singular is one of the few cases where errors may be made; and secondly, I had occasionally heard L1 Dutch speakers produce a non-standard form of the $3^{\text {rd }}$ person singular present tense incorrectly in L2 English segments.

Where English has a $3^{\text {rd }}$ person singular verb with $-s$, Dutch has a $3^{\text {rd }}$ person singular verb with -t, so I had assumed that this L2 English rule would be rather easy to acquire for native speakers of Dutch, due to its similarity to the Dutch morphosyntactic rule. I was therefore rather surprised to find that respondents frequently produced incorrect forms of the $3{ }^{\text {rd }}$ person singular present tense verb with -s construction. All incorrect forms consisted of respondents leaving out the -s, e.g. "he ring", "he do". All respondents producing tokens of third person singular -s had come to New Zealand with little or no English and stated that they had acquired their L2 by means of total immersion in the L2 English speech community. However, their background in this respect was shared by four other respondents, none of whom produced incorrect tokens of the third person singular. The only respondent who had come to New Zealand with a solid grounding in English was PCF03. She did not produce any tokens of incorrect morphosyntax in her speech.

## Summary of findings morpheme analysis

Contrary to expectations raised by Gross's (2004) work, incorrect use of morphemes was not only predominantly found in respondents' use of content morphemes (nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, and fixed expressions), but also in their use of early system morphemes, especially prepositional verbs and phrasal verbs, and outsider late system morphemes such as subject-verb agreement. However, respondents' use of late system bridge morphemes such as genitive/possessive "of", possessive "-s", articles and the pronouns "it" and "there" was correct overall.

Overall, respondents showed little sign of intra-sentential code switching. When switching to the L1, they either uttered entire stretches of speech in their L1. In fact, one respondent hardly used any English, even when prompted in English. The respondent in question lived in the Dutch Village and stated herself that she had never attained a high level of proficiency in English and much preferred speaking Dutch.

All in all, the morpheme analysis did not yield findings that pointed in the direction of advanced L2 attrition. There was evidence of incorrectly produced forms in the area of phrasal verbs (early system morphemes) and the $3^{\text {rd }}$ person
singular with -s construction (late system morpheme). However, it was not possible to assert that these incorrectly produced forms were the result of L2 attrition, or signs of backsliding or simply evidence of fossilization (Ellis, 1994). It may also be that phrasal verbs are more difficult to acquire in a late learned L2, because they involve conventional collocations or collocations which need to be memorized in their exact combinations. This may also make such collocations less stable in situations where L2 attrition threatens. In addition, I considered that the respondents' level of English on arrival might have influenced their ultimate attainment in the L2. Seven out of eight pilot study respondents had arrived in New Zealand without having received any secondary school education in the L2. It is possible that respondents having never received formal instruction in certain grammatical structures had never fully acquired relevant grammatical rules, making these more vulnerable to attrition.

The analysis yielded some interesting additional information in terms of possible response latency in the L2, in that some speakers hesitated a lot, producing a lot of both filled and unfilled silences (cf. Jiménez Jiménez 2004), resulting in a lower word count per 30 minutes. In other words, there seemed to be a correlation between fluency in English, the L2, and a high word count per 30 -minute segment uttered in the L2. The occurrence of both filled and unfilled silences was further investigated in the main study. In addition, some respondents occasionally lapsed into L1 segments, without noticing, sometimes only switching back into English to recount "direct quotes". Aside from this there was surprisingly little intrasentential codeswitching. Based on the pilot findings, I decided to fine-tune the linguistic analysis for the main study to include possible signs of response latency with particular focus on whether such manifestations were followed by L2 maintenance, or by codeswitching to the L1 or by a silence indicating L2 message abandonment by the speaker.

### 3.10 Summary of pilot study chapter

This chapter reported on the findings of the pilot study which was carried out in order to test research instruments for the main study. The overall findings seemed to suggest some evidence of L2 attrition and L1 reversion. Some of this came from respondents' own statements that they sometimes lapsed into the L1
without noticing. One of the respondents showed a clear reluctance to respond to L2 prompts in the L2, and also explicitly expressed the same. A comparison of the sociolinguistic backgrounds of those respondents showed that two factors stood out. The first of these appeared to be schooling. Almost all respondents had come to New Zealand without having received any classroom education in their L2 English. The one exception was a NDV interviewee who had acquired her English at Handelsschool and who had also been taught to speak English by a native speaker prior to emigrating to New Zealand. This respondent stood out because she was still very fluent and proficient in English at the time of the interview.

A second but weaker factor of influence on respondents' ability to find words in the L2 appeared to be residence in the predominantly L1 speaking environment of the Dutch Village. Findings from the linguistic analysis for all pilot study respondents were cross-tabulated with adult children's assessments of any changes in their parents' spoken L2. The latter confirmed that their parents had started to occasionally switch from English to Dutch without noticing something which all attributed to their parents' now being exposed to a predominantly L1 speaking environment.

Fixed expressions and phrasal verbs offered some interesting results, possibly because they involve lexical combinations that appear more difficult to acquire as part of a late learned L2, and that may therefore be more vulnerable to attrition. This led me to think that lexical combinations would be worthy of further investigation into possible L2 attrition at the lexical level. The occurrence of filled (er, erm) and unfilled silences in the speech of pilot study respondents was also noted as worthy of further attention and this feature became a major focus of investigation in the main study. Findings in relation to increased response latency by some respondents during any given 30 -minute segment of the interview led me to decide to count the occurrence of linguistic features per every 10,000 words rather than per every 30 minute segment. The latter method might be said to present a fairer system in terms of comparing the linguistic outputs across different speakers.

### 3.11 Implications for the main study

The findings of the pilot study led me to reconsider my hypotheses to see if these or the research instruments used to test them needed to be amended in any way for the main study. The first hypothesis tested for the pilot study related to the influence of environmental factors and specifically the linguistic environment in relation to L1 reversion. This hypothesis was maintained for the main study based on pilot study findings, with respondents for the main study again divided into two group, once primarily exposed to a predominantly L1 Dutch speaking speech community and the other group exposed to the L2 English speaking speech community.

The second hypothesis tested for the pilot study related to L1 language reversion showing signs of being the reverse of the second language acquisition process in terms of Matrix Language (ML) and Embedded Language (EL). The third hypothesis tested for the pilot study related to attrition of late system morphemes in the (L2) being a sign of more advanced second language attrition than attrition of L2 content morphemes only. These pilot hypotheses were combined into a new hypothesis focusing on signs of L1 reversion and L2 attrition at the level of morphosyntax and syntax. L1 reversion with concomitant L2 attrition will be signaled by a return to the grammatical frame of the L1, evident at the level of syntax and morphosyntax.

The fourth hypothesis tested for the pilot study assumed that L 1 reversion combined with L2 attrition would be reflected in L1 loan translations (or calques) of L2 content morphemes and system morphemes being replaced by their highest probability L1 equivalents. This hypothesis was amended for the main study to reflect a greater emphasis on respondents' ability to select the expected L2 lexical item in certain structures and also following their use of filled or unfilled pauses.

The fifth hypothesis tested for the pilot study related to L1 reversion with concomitant L2 attrition being reflected in respondents developing problems communicating care needs to L2 speaking caregivers. Pilot study findings suggested that this hypothesis should be maintained unchanged for the main study.

Research instruments were amended slightly following the pilot study, including the addition of several questions to the sociolinguistic life questionnaire. Some of these questions related to possible church attendance by respondents after arrival in New Zealand and the language spoken by the congregation. Other questions asked respondents to assess their class background in the Netherlands, as anecdotal evidence showed that this might have influenced their views in relation to women being allowed to be in paid employment outside of the home. The latter in turn would have impacted on the degree to which respondents might have been able to develop their L2 proficiency in the predominantly L2 English speaking workplace. In fact, class turned out to have been linked to the level of secondary schooling respondents had in the Netherlands, something which in turn affected their L2 proficiency on arrival in New Zealand.

One of the most important amendments made following the pilot study concerned the main focus of the linguistic analysis. This shifted from a focus on morpheme production to an analysis of speakers' "production" of spoken L2 at the level of lexicon, syntax and morphosyntax. The pilot study showed that the analysis of fixed expressions and phrasal verbs yielded interesting results, possibly because such conventional combinations are more difficult to acquire in a late-learned L2 and may therefore be less stable when L2 attrition threatens. This contributed to the decision to include verb plus complement ( $\mathrm{V}+\mathrm{C}$ ) structures in the linguistic analysis of lexical outcomes for the main study. Like fixed expressions, $\mathrm{V}+\mathrm{C}$ structures are a type of collocation that appears more difficult to acquire as part of a late learned L2. This may be partly explained by the fact that all elements occurring in such have to be remembered in the right order and combination to produce the expected (standard) L2 outcome. In addition, a decision was made to also focus on stalling strategies such as filled and unfilled pauses in the main study and to examine their possible relationship to increased response latency and codeswitching.

All in all, the pilot study was important in that its findings assisted me in finetuning research instruments for the main study as reported above. Chapters Six and Seven will report on the outcomes of the sociolinguistic life questionnaires, while Chapters Eight, Nine, Ten, Eleven and Twelve will present the findings of the linguistic analysis for the main study.

## Chapter Four: Methodology

### 4.1 Introduction

The main purpose of this study - which incorporated both a pilot study and a main study- was to ascertain whether older Dutch migrants in New Zealand are now showing signs of second language (L2) attrition and first language (L1) reversion, and if so, to what extent. It will have become evident from a review of the literature that attrition studies carried out to date have employed a range of methodologies. The following will present a brief overview and rationale in relation to the methodological approach chosen for the current study. This will be followed by a more detailed overview of the data analysis methods and their implementation. The pilot study is reported on in Chapter Three.

### 4.2 Hypotheses tested

What follows is a brief overview of hypotheses investigated for the main study and the research instruments used to test them. Hypotheses were slightly amended from those examined for the pilot study, (please refer Chapter Three).

### 4.2.1 First hypothesis

Low frequency of L2 use and low social contact in the L2 may lead to accelerated L1 reversion and L2 attrition in those Dutch migrants aged 65 and over who are now primarily exposed to a predominantly L1 Dutch speech community compared to a similar group of Dutch migrants who are still primarily exposed to the L2 English speech community.

This first hypothesis was tested by comparing findings from the linguistic analysis for the group of Dutch Village (DV) residents against those for the group of Non-Dutch Village (NDV) respondents to see if DV respondents were indeed showing signs of greater L1 reversion and L2 attrition than NDV respondents, as measured by the parameters used in the study.

### 4.2.2 Second hypothesis

L1 reversion with concomitant L2 attrition will be signalled by a return to the grammatical frame of the L1, evident at the level of syntax and morphosyntax. This will be evident from respondents failing to produce correct L2 syntactical
and morphosyntactical structures and/or these structures showing a switch to L1 syntax and morphosyntax.

The second hypothesis was tested by
(i) respondents' production of L2 subclauses with use of correct L2 ordering
a. of finite and personal pronoun
b. of other L2 lexical items, including adverbials, within the subclause in order to assess their ability to produce correct L2 English syntactical structures;
(ii) respondents' production of correct L2 verbal agreement
in order to assess their ability to produce correct L2 English morphosyntactical features.

### 4.2.3 Third hypothesis

L1 reversion with concomitant L2 attrition will be reflected in respondents either failing to use the expected L2 lexical item or selecting an item from the L1 lexicon instead of the expected L2 lexical item.

This third hypothesis was tested by looking at L2 verb plus complement structures produced by respondents. Interviewees' selection of the expected L2 complement in L2 verb plus complement structures was examined in order to see whether respondents used the expected L2 lexical item or resorted to codeswitching to the L2

### 4.2.4 Fourth hypothesis

L1 reversion with concomitant L2 attrition will be reflected in increased response latency, as evidenced by speakers' use of filled and unfilled pauses with respondents either failing to come up with the expected L2 lexical item following such pauses or selecting an item from the L1 lexicon instead of the expected L2 lexical item.

This fourth hypothesis was tested by looking at speakers' use of filled and unfilled pauses. I examined when such pauses occurred, for instance in relation to word finding, emotional reminiscences, or historical fact finding, deciding to concentrate
on "lexical retrieval" type pauses. For all such word-finding related pauses, respondents' speech was examined to see whether they had
(i) managed to come up with the expected L 2 lexical item;
(ii) resorted to a switch to the L1, or
(iii) abandoned the L2 message altogether as evidenced by a "message abandonment" type of silence.

### 4.2.5 Fifth hypothesis

L1 reversion with concomitant L2 attrition will be reflected in respondents developing increasing problems in relation to communicating their (health) care needs to L2 speaking caregivers.

The fifth hypothesis was tested in two different ways:
(i) As part of the sociolinguistic life questionnaire, respondents were asked whether they felt their ability to relate their (health) care needs to L2 English speaking caregivers and practitioners had changed since retirement, and if so, in what way.
(ii) During the interview, respondents were asked how their life was going at the moment. This question invariably led respondents to comment on their health and the resulting elicited free speech was then analysed to see if speakers had been able to come up with the expected L2 terms to talk about their current health status and health needs.

### 4.3 Design

The design of the study needed to involve consideration of the following issues:

- How to define L2 attrition and L1 reversion
- How to measure these - what data to collect from whom in what manner
- What size sample to collect the data from
- How to analyse the data collected
- How to compare data collected now to earlier stages of L2 competency

For the purpose of the pilot study, L2 attrition with concomitant L1 reversion was taken to refer to a "loss of productive competency in the L2 accompanied by a return to the grammatical frame of the L1, where grammatical frame includes system morphemes such as word order" (Myers-Scotton, 2002, p. 165). I decided to select free speech as this would give me a realistic idea of respondents' ability to communicate in the L2 at the time of the interview. I also wanted to have sociolinguistic background information on each respondent, in order to be able to place interviewees' utterances in the context of their background (Backus, 1996), which meant the use of a questionnaire. In the absence of a longitudinal study, I decided to use self-assessments in order to find out whether there had been any change in respondents' L2 competency at various stages in their lives. Assessments by respondents' adult children were added as an external check on self-assessments, so that outcomes of the former could be cross-tabulated with findings from the latter. Based on these considerations I decided that the design would involve an applied study, involving sociolinguistic life history questionnaires and self-assessments, which were administered by means of personal interviews, so as to enable me to record any free speech elicited in the course of these interviews. It was also decided to mail respondents' adult children brief questionnaires following interviews, asking them to assess their parents' L2 and L1 use and any changes observed since retirement. In consultation with my supervisors, it was decided that a pilot sample of 8 to 10 respondents would allow me to adequately test the research instruments.

Interviewing a potentially vulnerable group of elderly speakers involved an application for Ethics Approval, as described in 4.5 below. Material included with the Application for Ethics Approval may be found in Appendix A. Sample selection is outlined in 4.4 below, while issues relating to point of reference are discussed in the section on possible limitations of the study. Lastly, research instruments and the rationale for their selection have been listed in section 4.6.

### 4.4 Sample

The study focused on language use among older Dutch English bilingual migrants post-retirement, hence the sample consisted of older migrants who had retired from active working life and were aged 65 and over at the time of the
interview. The pilot study sample consisted of eight older Dutch migrants while the main study involved 30 older Dutch interviewees. The number of 30 respondents was arrived at based on choosing a number of respondents that would be large enough to produce generalizable data, without being so large that the ensuing undertaking would be so Herculean as to move beyond the scope of PhD studies. One of the hypotheses related to the possible influence of predominant linguistic environment post-retirement. For this reason, half of the sample was selected from migrants residing in the Ons Dorp Dutch retirement village in the Auckland suburb of Te Atatu, while the other half was selected from older migrants living in the L2 speech community. The former group of respondents will hereafter be referred to as DV, while the latter group will hereafter be referred to as NDV. DV respondents not only conducted a majority of their social interactions with friends and neighbours in their L1, but were also all exposed to a considerable amount of L1 media because every house in the Dutch retirement village is able to receive BVN Dutch free to air satellite television. Data were collected both by means of interviews and questionnaires which were completed during these interviews. Additional data as to respondents' L2 English proficiency now and pre-retirement were collected from respondents' adult children by means of questionnaires.

### 4.4.1 Sampling method

The sample was selected by means of "snow-balling", with the first respondent referring the researcher on to other potential participants from within their social networks. This was particularly important in relation to the Dutch retirement village as this turned out to be something of a "closed shop", with some residents referring to people from outside the village as "outsiders". It was not uncommon to hear DV residents use phrases such as "Hij is niet van hier" ("he's not from here") to refer to such outsiders, seemingly regarding them with some suspicion. The "snowballing" method was very beneficial in this setting, thanks to the assistance of two respondents in the Dutch Village who referred the researcher on to other potential interviewees.

### 4.4.2 Characteristics of sample

The sample of interviewees for this study shared some special characteristics which seem to set them apart from other groups of bilingual migrants, including
linguistic closeness between L1 and L2, method of L2 acquisition, high rate of shift to L2 in the home environment and the desire to become New Zealanders. I will return to this in the conclusion as the characteristics of the sample are likely to have had a considerable impact on the findings. First of all, the first language of the Dutch-English bilinguals interviewed for this study belongs to the Germanic family of languages of which English is also a member. All but one of the respondents stated that they had Dutch as their first language, while one speaker said he had been brought up in a bilingual Frisian-Dutch speaking environment. Frisian is a language closely related to old English, so L1 Frisian speakers might be expected to acquire English quite readily.

Secondly, none of the bilingual migrants interviewed acquired English, their L 2 , from birth. Respondents mostly acquired the "bulk" of their L2 naturalistically, in the L2 environment, although some had had the benefit of L2 acquisition in the secondary school classroom (please refer Chapter Six for more detail). They also shared a strong desire to create a social identity for themselves in the L2 and this may be related to their high rate of shift to the L2 in the home domain - although one may also argue for possible relation between this shift and host society attitudes (Bönisch-Brednich, 2003).

Respondents within the sample shared common characteristics in terms of age on arrival in New Zealand, immigration cohort, age at time of interview, and retirement situation. All respondents had arrived in New Zealand between 1950 and 1965, as young adults. They had all been eighteen plus on arrival, with most arriving as single (but usually engaged) migrants in their early twenties. A majority of all interviewees had emigrated with a Dutch fiancé(e), whom they had married soon after setting foot in New Zealand. Only two of the participants had married non-Dutch speaking partners. At the time of the interview all respondents were healthy and none exhibited any signs of pathological processes such as various forms of dementia.

However, there were also some differences within the sample, and many of these appeared to be related to social background in the Netherlands. As an example, (male) interviewees from a middle class background had generally been allowed to attend a form of secondary schooling where they had acquired sound structural knowledge of foreign languages, including English. This appeared to have resulted in a better L2 proficiency on arrival in New Zealand. Other interviewees, by contrast, had either no or very minimal private tuition in
their L2 before arriving in New Zealand and assessed their English proficiency on arrival as "non-existent" or "very limited". The current study looked at whether such "limited beginnings' (i.e. extent of L2 proficiency on arrival in New Zealand) may have had lasting effects on interviewees' resultant L2 acquisition, ultimate attainment in English and L2 maintenance post-retirement. In some cases, these early beginnings may have had lasting effect in terms of respondents' ultimate professional attainment in New Zealand. It may be said that those who went on to assume administrative and/or managerial positions were in a position to improve their L2 competency to a far greater extent than those who remained in menial jobs. Just over half of the sample was female with nine respondents in each of the DV and NDV groups.

Respondents differed in terms of their predominant linguistic environment at the time of the interview, with one group being exposed to the mainly L1 speaking social environment of the Dutch retirement village in Henderson (DV respondents) and the other living in the mainly L2 speaking social environment (NDV respondents). Overall DV respondents were slightly older than NDV interviewees, however, as mentioned previously, all were healthy and none exhibited any signs of pathology which might affect mental and linguistic processes.

Many of the respondents might be thought of as remarkably active for their age, a characteristic I attributed to the snowballing method used. However, it should be added that in describing the respondents as active, I noted with some embarrassment that I was possibly exhibiting some sort of unspoken and quite possibly obsolete societal bias, that expects retirees to show passivity and a distinct lack of social participation. Hence it may well be that the respondents in the study reflect the fact that older people are remaining younger for longer.

### 4.5 Ethics Approval

I applied to AUTEC the AUT Ethics Committee, for approval to carry out a research project involving elderly bilinguals. Older adults are considered a vulnerable group within the general population, hence there were some important ethical considerations to take into account. First of all, I wished to ensure that interviewees only participated of their own volition, without any overt or covert coercion. I also needed to ensure that interviewees were fully aware of the process and its duration, so they would not feel inconvenienced in hindsight. To
this end, I made sure that participant information was clear and easy to read. I also made sure Informed Consent sheets showed clearly that participation was entirely voluntary and that consent to participate could be withdrawn at any stage. (Please refer to Appendices II through to V for Participant Information sheets and Consent Forms). Very importantly also, I needed to consider the risk of possible harm and the need to monitor participants for unanticipated adverse effects (Whitley, 2001), such as that caused by possibly traumatic memories resurfacing during interviews. The Participant Information sheet contained information on participants having access to free counseling offered by AUT University should they suffer any adverse emotional effects from being interviewed. The Participant Information sheet also informed potential interviewees about the systems in place to protect respondents' confidentiality, such as the storage of interview data, the use of pseudonyms, and the anonimisation of interview data. All relevant information was presented to the AUT Ethics Committee (AUTEC) and Ethics Approval was granted in December of 2005 (please refer Appendix A).

Whilst applying for Ethics Approval for the study, I asked the Ethics Committee's advice on a possible exclusion of confounding variables such as pre-existing morbidity affecting linguistic processes in the brain, in particular Alzheimer's Disease (AD) and Cerebro-Vascular Accidents (CVAs). Studies have shown conclusively that subjects suffering from either AD or CVAs affecting the speech centre in the brain may return to their first language (Paradis, 2004), hence the inclusion of participants affected by either AD or a CVA might confound any findings. Both AUTEC's initial reply and its final response may be found in Appendix A. In its initial response, AUTEC affirmed that the exclusion of people who meet these criteria was appropriate in this research. AUTEC was of the opinion that it would be ethical to directly ask potential participants whether or not they met these criteria and to proceed on the basis of their response. AUTEC added that, given the researcher's own expertise in this area, it would also be ethical for the researcher to exclude data after the interview if the researcher had become aware during the interview that the participant in question in fact met the exclusion criteria. Finally, it would also be ethical for the researcher to exclude a participant on the basis of a known diagnosis, made known to the researcher, e.g. by respondents' adult children, based on assessments by health practitioners.

### 4.6 Research instruments

As mentioned above, it was important to arrive at a comparison of speaker's L2 proficiency at various points during their lives. This impacted on the choice of research instruments which needed to include assessments of respondents' L2 competency at various stages, as well as an analysis of respondents' spoken L2 post-retirement. Finally, an external check was needed on respondents' selfassessments of their L2 competency pre-and post retirement. Last but not least, it was important to have sociolinguistic background information on the speakers concerned in order to be able to "place" their L2 competency in the context of aspects such as social class, education, occupation and opportunities to use the L2. For this reason research instruments included the following:

- Analysis of sociolinguistic background information collected by means of sociolinguistic life history questionnaires.
- Analysis of respondents' assessments of their L2 proficiency at three key points in time, including
- Self-assessment of L2 proficiency on arrival in New Zealand
- Self-assessment of ultimate attainment in L2 proficiency preretirement
- Self-assessment of L2 proficiency post-retirement - including ability to express healthcare concerns in the L2.
Self-assessment questions in the sociolinguistic life history questionnaires included:
- Assessment of respondents' L2 proficiency pre- and post-retirement by adult children
- Assessment of respondents' ability to express healthcare concerns in the L2 elicited by means of "Troubles Telling" questions
- Linguistic analysis - focusing on possible L2 lexical retrieval difficulties (as evidenced by CS to L1, intrusion of L1 structures, or message abandonment silences).

Interviewees took the questions overall as an opportunity to tell me about their experiences following migration to New Zealand, which enabled me to gauge the extent to which they were able to do so successfully in their L2.

### 4.6.1 Rationale for choice of research instruments

I chose to focus on elicited free speech, rather than, for instance grammaticality judgments or picture naming tasks, because I felt that this type of data would most closely resemble respondents' attempts at communication in everyday life. Schmid (2004, p. 360) concurs, when she writes:
> "spontaneous speech data allow not only to look for problematic areas that have not yet been detected, they also provide the researcher with proficiency data, showing what the immigrant is still able to do in his language via type/token, stylistic analysis, overall morphosyntactic complexity."

The elicited free speech was recorded and transcribed using the conventions listed in Appendix H. These transcripts formed the basis for the linguistic analysis (see Chapters 9 through to 12) which focused on tokens which might possibly signal speakers' problems in accessing their L2 and reverting to their L1. However, in the absence of earlier speech material produced by the same speaker, it was necessary to introduce two additional instruments, in order to gauge whether the linguistic tokens referred to were signs of "back-sliding" to an earlier stage of L2 competence, or whether they were "fossilized items" that had come to be a constant in the speakers' L2. These instruments consisted of self-assessments and assessments by respondents' adult children.

Self-assessments in some form or other have been used by other researchers (de Bot \& Clyne, 1994; de Vries, 1999; Hulsen, 2000). Schmid (2004) asserts that although self-assessments have often been criticized (Hulsen, 2000; Schmid, 2002), in other studies self-assessments have been found to "apparently correspond to actual language skills" (p. 359). She advocates inclusion of such assessments in her preferred research design, arguing that "one of the purposes of including them in the research design is to investigate the validity of selfassessments in more detail in a broader context" (p.359).

However, Schmid (2004) adds that self-assessments have come in for criticism especially when used as the only measuring instrument for any one study (Schmid, 2004, p. 359). In order to add an additional perspective on respondents' L2 English language competencies, now and in the past, respondents' adult children were asked to provide an assessment of their
parents' ultimate attainment in English during their working lives. Adult children were also asked about their parents' proficiency in English at the time of the interview, i.e. post-retirement. It may be argued that adult children may tend to present their parents' achievements in a favourable light, perhaps in order 'not to let the side down'. However, some research (Northover, 1988) shows that migrant children may exhibit a high degree of sensitivity towards their parents' performance in their L2. It is possible that this is because the parents' performance affects how the children themselves are viewed in the L2 speaking community.

Previous studies (Hulsen, 2000) have found the reliability of self-assessments to be somewhat related to the respondents' level of education. In the current study, information gained from self-assessment by respondents was compared to that gained by means of respondents' adult children's assessments and information from the linguistic analysis. Self-assessment data was also considered in the light of information which had arisen from the sociolinguistic life questionnaires, in particular information in relation to type of secondary education and occupation respondents had worked in after arriving in New Zealand. In other words, respondents' self-assessments were not the only gauge of respondents' previous levels of L2 proficiency.

Sociolinguistic life-questionnaires were another important instrument used to shed additional light on the data. Backus (1996) commented that speech produced by any individual speaker needs to be considered in combination with what is known about that speaker's sociolinguistic background. A decision was therefore made to ask respondents to complete a sociolinguistic life questionnaire. This contained a wide range of questions focusing on education, work experience, language(s) spoken at home and at work, with friends and others. As the aim was to gauge respondents' L2 proficiency, questionnaires were not translated into respondents' L1 (Dutch) and all questions were asked in respondents' L2.

### 4.7 Pilot Study

A pilot study involving a small sample of eight respondents was carried out in order to test the research instruments and to see whether research instruments needed to be fine-tuned or amended in anyway. Findings from the pilot study did lead to some slight amendments relating to hypotheses and (self-) assessments of

L2 proficiency pre- and post-retirement. In addition, some questions were added to the sociolinguistic life questionnaires. Most importantly a decision was made to shift the focus of the linguistic analysis from morpheme analysis to an analysis of speakers' "production" of spoken L2 at the level of lexicon, syntax and morphosyntax. Evidence of apparent response latency in the spoken L2 of pilot study respondents led to a focus on the use of filled and unfilled pauses by main study interviewees. Please refer to the Chapter Three for more details. This chapter will now continue with an overview of data collection and data analysis for the main study.

### 4.8 Additional information obtained

It became clear in the course of the interviews with main study respondents, that individuals' various educational backgrounds might have had quite a significant impact on their ultimate attainment in the L2. This factor had not become immediately obvious in the course of the pilot study, as almost all pilot study interviewees had come to New Zealand with little or no English. In the course of the main study, however, it did become apparent that those respondents who had acquired their L2 in the secondary school classroom prior to coming to New Zealand had also fared better in terms of ultimate attainment in their L2. Internet searches failed to provide much information on the period in which respondents had attended secondary school in the Netherlands and the type of language teaching methods that had been used in that era.

In consultation with my supervisors, and through the kind intervention of my father, who is based in the Netherlands, I made contact with Mr Hans van den Beld, one of the research librarians at the Dutch Onderwijsmuseum (Education Museum) in Rotterdam. This librarian referred me on to an expert on the Dutch education system from the 1940s through to the 1980s. This gentleman, Paul Westerhof, although retired, continued to assist the Onderwijsmuseum in a parttime voluntary capacity.

I made contact with Paul Westerhof through Hans van den Beld and asked for permission to interview him on the secondary education system in the Netherlands in the 1940s and 1950s and in particular on the L2 teaching methods employed at the time. The informant said he would be happy to meet with me, and promised me that he would also categorize and set aside relevant
books and studies so that I would be able to consult them at the time of my visit, either before or after my interview with him.

The interview took place as planned on $30^{\text {th }}$ November 2007 at the Onderwijsmuseum in Rotterdam. I had prepared a list of questions which I put to the informant. This included questions on prescribed curricula for schools for MULO secondary school and HBS pre-university education, in particular relating to L2 acquisition and any differences between the two schools. Both these schools offered foreign language teaching in three languages, German, French and English, all of which were taught by means of the so-called Grammar Translation Method (please refer Chapter Five and glossary). The list also included questions on curricula taught at schools such as ambachtsschool and nijverheidsschool which offered trade related education and the huishoudschool with its emphasis on home economics. Information obtained from this interview has been written up in Chapter Five and references have been included in the bibliography.

The informant outlined the curricula taught at the various types of school in the Netherlands in the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s. He presented me with the literature outlining the legislation behind the introduction of particular curricular programmes, including the thinking behind these, their intended target groups and associated learning objectives. In addition, the informant explained to me in some detail how foreign languages had been taught through the Grammar Translation method at schools for MULO, HBS and Handelsschool education.

The information provided was very beneficial in that it gave me a good tool for understanding the nature of the foreign language instruction my respondents had received, both in terms of learning tools and content. It provided me with fresh insights into the structural language knowledge acquired by respondents, the way in which this was imparted, and the nature and range of vocabulary acquired. I learned that texts used for classroom instruction not infrequently included passages taken from literary works in English, French and German. In other words, vocabulary learned was not limited to functional everyday lexical items. Grammatical rules were mostly taught by means of schemata, which often included memory aids such as those used to help students remember which German prepositions were combined with what case endings. The end result had been to develop in students a thorough and solid knowledge of the structure of a foreign language with quite an extensive range of vocabulary. This knowledge
provided me with essential understanding of respondents' educational and L2 learning backgrounds.

The informant's expertise was extremely useful to the current study for a number of reasons. First of all, the informant had been an HBS pre-university secondary school student himself during the period of time in which most of the study's respondents had attended secondary school in the Netherlands. This meant he had first-hand experience with the foreign languages curriculum which was current at the time. He was also familiar with the curriculum followed at schools for MULO education, and said he had realized with surprise (and some disappointment) that his sister, who had attended MULO education, had been taught foreign languages with the aid of a curriculum very similar to what was used at the school for $H B S$ education he himself attended. The informant advised me that to his mind, the main difference lay in HBS students being taught curricular items in an accelerated fashion as compared to MULO students. The informant was also useful to the study because he had been a lecturer at a Teacher Training College, which meant he continued to be familiar with any changes that had occurred in the secondary school curriculum up until the 1980s. In brief, my interview with the Mr Westerhof proved highly informative in that it provided valuable background information to the study.

### 4.9 Implementation

Questionnaires were designed in such a way as to allow easy administration, with questions relating to key background variables being grouped together in the order in which they were to be asked during the interview, and divided up into five main categories: demographic details, educational attainment, occupational and professional attainment, sociolinguistic questions relating to language use and self-assessments, and New Zealand society.

Demographic questions were included in order to obtain information on respondents' age, date and place of birth, age and marital status on arrival in New Zealand and class status in the home country. The aim was to obtain a very general "picture" of the interviewee. Class was expected to have been a factor relating to education and occupational opportunities, also for female respondents. This question was also included because anecdotal evidence suggested that middle class females of the era under investigation were not
allowed to work outside of the home, which might have impacted on their ability to learn and use the L2.

Interviewees were asked about their educational attainment mainly in order to see whether they had come to New Zealand having received formal instruction in the classroom. In other words, it was used to supplement respondents' selfassessments regarding their L2 proficiency on arrival in New Zealand. Respondents were asked about their professional attainment in both the Netherlands and their new country, in order to see whether there was any relationship between original educational attainment and professional and occupational attainment in their adopted country.

Sociolinguistic-oriented questions pertained to respondents' use of either the L1 or L2 in various settings and domains and their rationale for choosing a particular language. This section also included the self-assessment questions relating to various stages of interviewees' lives. The reason for including these self-reports has been explained in detail elsewhere in this thesis. The questions on New Zealand society were included to gauge an understanding of host community attitudes at the time respondents arrived in this country, in order to see whether participants might have been influenced by these in any way when it came to their choice of language in particular settings and domains.

Most questions were pre-coded Likert type questions in order to make it easier to map out responses in a table. The questionnaire concluded with two open-ended questions aimed at eliciting free speech. The first of these related to the interviewee's experiences post-migration to New Zealand, while the second asked respondents how their life was going at the moment. The second question aimed to get respondents to engage in a degree of "troubles telling". This was based on the assumption that the resulting free speech might be used to gauge the extent to which speakers were able to express any health or social concerns in the L2. As a result of the advice given by the AUTEC Ethics committee, I also asked respondents some questions aimed at testing their recall (short term memory) for recent events and appointments. Answers provided to such questions showed that respondents were able to accurately recall recent events (as reported by the newsmedia in the preceding days) or were able to correctly tell me about upcoming appointments such as doctor's visits. The latter were
then followed by respondents' checking their calendars and confirming that they had given me the correct date.

### 4.9.1 Interviews

Interviews were used for two main reasons, the first one being to obtain elicited free speech for the purpose of the linguistic analysis. The second reason for interviewing participants was to administer the questionnaire. Following consultation with an experienced nursing studies researcher and senior academic, questionnaire questions were put to respondents in the course of the interview. All interviews were conducted by the researcher. The disadvantages of data collection by personal interview include the high cost and the possibly long duration. However, these disadvantages are outweighed by the benefits, which include: high data quality, high respondent motivation, high ability to clarify questions, high control of question order and high control of context (Whitley, 2001, p. 379 ff ). What follows is an outline of the procedure followed before, during and after interviews.

## Before interviews

Contact details of potential interviewees were received from a variety of sources, including people who attended a session where the interviewer presented her proposed study. After receiving the details of potential participants, the interviewer would ring the people concerned and introduce herself. She would explain that she was interested in studying language use amongst older Dutch migrants who had arrived in New Zealand in the period between 1950 and 1965. She would explain that this would involve a recorded interview and completion of a questionnaire, and that this would take about an hour of their time.

During this initial telephone contact, potential participants were told that the interviewer would also like to speak to any adult children they might have. The interviewer explained that she would like to ask these adult children just a few short questions about their parents' language use. As it turned out, all potential interviewees had adult children and all were happy for the interviewer to contact
them. However, had this not been the case, these potential interviewees would have been excluded and no further appointments would have been made. Once the interviewer had established that interviewees would be happy for her to come to their homes to interview them, she would make an appointment and reiterate that the interview should not take more than an hour of interviewees' time.

## During interviews

After arriving at the interviewee's house, the interviewer would again explain the general purpose of the interview in English and show the participant the Participant Information sheet to read. Once the participants had read this sheet, the interviewer would give them the Participant Consent Form and ask them to sign it, emphasizing the fact that all participants might feel free to withdraw from the study if they wished. Following the participants’ signing the Informed Consent form, the interviewer would give them the koha (a Gift Voucher) and ask them to sign for receipt of the same. Participants often said "Oh, something else to sign?" For this reason, the "confirmation of receipt of koha was included in the Informed Consent form for the main Study.

Once the respondents had given their consent, the interviewer would reiterate that she would also like to ask the participant's adult children some questions about their parent's language use. She would then ask which of the adult children would be best able to comment on their parent's language use. The interviewer would then obtain an address and telephone number for the adult child in question in order to be able to send them the Consent form and ring them with the questions. Once these forms had been signed, the interviewer would show the interviewee the digital recorder she was intending to use. She would then place the digital recorder on the table and set it to start recording.

The recorder used was an iAudio digital recorder, measuring approximately 40 mm by 100 mm by 10 mms . Its black colour, diminutive size and lack of any recording noise meant that interviewees seemed to forget about it almost immediately and started talking as if they were completely unaware of its existence.

## The questionnaire

The interviewer would first go through the questions in the sociolinguistic life history questionnaire (please refer Appendix F), so as to allow interviewees to forget about the presence of the digital recorder. Similarly, questionnaire questions were asked in "natural manner" in the course of the interview, in order not to avoid interviewees feeling that they were completing some impersonal survey.

On occasion the questions led to interviewees to providing quite long answers in free speech. As an example, the question relating to any professional training in the Netherlands often resulted in interviewees relating the problems of attending school during the wartime German occupation of the Netherlands. After completing the questionnaire, the interviewer would ask interviewees two more questions aimed at eliciting spontaneous speech, one relating to their postimmigration experiences and the other relating to their current life. Very often, however, interviewees had already supplied a lot of information on these topics in relation to questions included in the questionnaire.

## After interviews

After the interview, the interviewer would stop the recorder, thank the interviewee and take her leave. All of the interviewees expressed the fact that they had enjoyed the interview process and especially talking about their experiences as new immigrants in New Zealand. Some even showed the interviewer photos and other mementos of those early years. After returning from the interview, the interviewer would first of all sit down and transcribe the interview, using a system which was mainly based on that developed by researchers at Victoria University involved in the Language in the Workplace project (retrieved from http://www.victoria.ac.nz/lals/research/lwp.aspx). Some small amendments were made following the Pilot Study. As an example, all lexical items produced in Dutch were put in italics, in order for the researcher to be able to quickly identify these as being L1 rather than L2 items.

## Adult children's questionnaires

After transcribing the interviews, the researcher would ring the adult child and ask them if they had received the Informed Consent form. Once this had been confirmed, the interviewer would ask them the questions from the Participants' Adult Children's Questionnaire. These telephone interviews only took five minutes in most of the cases ( $\mathrm{n}=5$ ), however in three cases, adult children became fascinated with the topic and talked for up to twenty minutes

### 4.10 Analysis of the data

Once data collection was completed, the analysis process commenced, starting with a compilation of information arising from the Sociolinguistic life history and Participants' Adult Children's Questionnaires, and followed by the analysis of linguistic features and hesitation phenomena in the spoken L 2 of respondents.

### 4.10.1 Analysis of information contained in sociolinguistic life questionnaires

As mentioned briefly under 4.9 above, most of the questions in the questionnaires were closed-end and pre-coded. There were also some openended questions designed to obtain key background information in relation to variables, which formed the basis for tabulation. These related to class, schooling and occupation. Pre-coded closed-end questions related to selfassessment and asked respondents to self-assess their L1 and L2 at certain points, including at the time of arrival in New Zealand and at the moment of ultimate attainment pre-retirement. Self-assessment questions also asked about any changes in language use post-retirement. In addition to these, many of the pre-coded questions related to language use in a number of domains pre- and post retirement, and in a number of modes (speaking, listening, reading and writing).

Next information pertaining to indicators such as prior education, L2 proficiency on arrival in New Zealand, ultimate attainment in the L2, and language use in a number of domains pre- and post retirement was tabulated with other data in order to see if particular patterns might surface. As an example, information relating to respondents' level of L2 education in the

Netherlands was compared and cross-tabulated with information pertaining to self-reported L2 proficiency on arrival in New Zealand and occupational attainment. Similarly, such information was cross-tabulated with any selfreported changes in language use post-retirement. Likewise, information concerning respondents' self-reported changes in language use post-retirement was tabulated with data resulting from adult children's assessments in relation to the same. Information pertaining to L1 and L2 use pre-retirement was tabulated with data relating to respondents' language use post-retirement, and crosstabulated with interviewees' predominant linguistic environment.

The questionnaires contained a range of questions in relation to respondents' sociolinguistic background and life history. Most of these were pre-coded Likert type questions, while a few were open-ended. Responses provided by interviewees in response to all questions contained in the sociolinguistic life questionnaires were compiled into one spreadsheet for both DV and NDV respondents. A separate spreadsheet was then created for each of the two groups of interviewees, this time containing only responses to self-assessment questions in relation to English proficiency on arrival in New Zealand, ultimate attainment in the L2 and assessment of L2 proficiency post-retirement. Responses from adult children in relation to questions about their parents' proficiency in the L2 pre- and post-retirement were then added to the same spreadsheet for ease of cross-tabulation.

All replies to all pre-coded questions were entered into a single spreadsheet for all respondents. These spreadsheets were examined and answers were compared for each respondent individually and also across interviewees to see if any patterns became apparent. Wherever a pattern seemed to appear, the relevant data were used to create new tables or spreadsheets to see if there was any obvious relationship between particular variables. As an example, I looked at "the number of Dutch people" who lived in the vicinity when interviewees first arrived in New Zealand, and compared this across DV and NDV respondents, to find that DV respondents usually reported having very few Dutch people around them when they first arrived in New Zealand.

Next, information pertaining to indicators such as prior education, L2 proficiency on arrival in New Zealand, ultimate attainment in the L2, and language use in a number of domains pre- and post retirement was tabulated
with other data in order to see if particular patterns became apparent. As an example, information relating to respondents' level of L2 education in the Netherlands was crosstabulated with information pertaining to self-reported L2 proficiency on arrival in New Zealand and occupational attainment, as well as any self-reported changes in language use post-retirement.

The interviews had contained some open-ended questions, the answers to which had been transcribed. Since I had interviewed all respondents and transcribed the interviews, I had been able to colour code particular types of answers, so I could easily find them again later. As an example, it became apparent that quite a few respondents had been told by Plunket Nurses (New Zealand Child Health visitors) that speaking two languages at home would harm their children's education. I had colour coded all such answers by colouring the words red in the interview texts. I had then copied them into a separate file under the heading of "possible trends" and set this file aside for possible consideration later on. I used information from this file when writing up relevant comments relating to possible reasons for respondents' shift to the L2 at home. As another example, I had highlighted in yellow any mention of health concerns and copied these into a different file under the heading of "troubles telling". I used this file in conjunction with respondents' own assessment when writing up the section on interviewees' ability to express their healthcare concerns in their L2.

Finally, findings were written up and may be found in Chapters Seven and Eight. These chapters provide a wealth of information in relation to respondents'

- Background in the Netherlands including class, education, any English acquired and in what way/for how long (Chapters Four and Six)
- Occupational experience both in their home country and in New Zealand this was mainly done to gauge opportunity to consolidate L 2 in a range of registers and in both the written and oral medium (Chapters Four and Six)
- Use of Dutch and English in different domains (home, work, social) (Chapters Six and Seven)
- Attitudes of the host society and its influence on own language use in various domains (Chapter Seven)
- Ability to express healthcare needs in the L2 (Chapter Seven)

Lastly, information from the sociolinguistic life questionnaires was used to create social groupings which were used for the analysis of linguistic features, as outlined below.

### 4.10.2 Analysis of self-assessments

Self-assessment questions were used as a tool to gauge respondents' ultimate attainment in the L2 retrospectively and were thus aimed at achieving a point of reference. This was essential to the study, as without a point of reference it was not possible to ascertain whether certain linguistic features were signs of L2 attrition with concomitant L1 reversion, or simply representations of fossilized language 'habits" which had always been a feature of respondents' spoken L2. Respondents were asked to gauge the following:

- Their level of English proficiency on arrival in New Zealand
- Their level of ultimate attainment in the L2 during their working life
- Their level of L2 proficiency post-retirement
- Any changes in language use since retirement
- Their own ability to express healthcare needs in L2 post-retirement

The self-assessments again used pre-coded Likert type questions for ease of analysis (please refer to Appendix F for a sample of the questionnaire). All replies to self-assessment questions were entered into an overall spreadsheet for all respondents, which also contained answers pertaining to interviewees' sociolinguistic life histories. This enabled the researcher to view information relating to variables such as interviewees' prior education and their self-assessed level of L2 on arrival in New Zealand. This collation of data allowed the researcher to view certain patterns, (the sample was too small to speak of correlations), including one where speakers who had not learned English at school in the Netherlands almost invariably assessed their level of English on arrival as "non-existent" or "very limited". Once such patterns were observed, information from the overall spreadsheet was used to graph data that might illustrate these possible patterns. As an example, information from the overall
spreadsheet was used to draw tables pertaining only to respondents' level of secondary education and their level of English on arrival in New Zealand. Similarly, interviewees' self-assessments of ultimate attainment in the L2 were cross-tabulated with factors such as level of secondary education prior to arrival in New Zealand and type of occupation. Information concerning respondents' self-reported changes in language use post-retirement was tabulated with data from adult children's assessments in relation to the same.

### 4.10.3 Analysis of adult children's assessments

Adult children's assessments of their parents' language use were used as a tool to gauge respondents' ultimate attainment in the L2 as well as to identify any changes in their parents' L2 since retirement. They were aimed at achieving an additional point of reference. This was essential to the study for two reasons. Firstly, adult children's assessments acted as an external check on respondents' assessments, which was important in light of the fact that some interviewees may have assessed their own L2 ability either overly favourably or overly unfavourably. Secondly, adult children's assessments helped the researcher to ascertain whether some of the linguistic features of respondents' spoken L2 were signs of L2 attrition with concomitant L1 reversion, or rather representations of fossilized language 'habits" as explained above. Adult children's assessments added information in relation to the following:

- Parents' level of ultimate attainment in the L2 during their working life
- Parents' level of L2 proficiency post-retirement
- Any changes in parents' language use since retirement

The Adult Children's Questionnaires asked participants to assess their parents' language competency using pre-coded Likert type questions for ease of analysis (please refer to Appendix G for a sample of these questionnaires). All replies to all questions were entered into an overall spreadsheet for all respondents. This information was then recorded in a separate spreadsheet which also contained respondents' answers relating to their proficiency in English at various points in their life. Next, I selected just information pertaining to respondents' self-assessed ultimate attainment in the L2 and compared it to views provided by their adult children. This enabled me to see if interviewees'
own assessments overlapped with those provided by their adult children, and if not, in what way and to what extent assessments deviated. This helped me to observe a pattern, (again the sample was too small to speak of correlations), between respondents' own assessments and those provided by their adult children, which in turn provided me with an external check on the former.

### 4.10.4 Rationale for linguistic analysis

Word finding problems have been identified as a common manifestation of language attrition, either L1 or L2 (Ammerlaan, 1996; Hulsen, 2000), therefore these were a focus of the analysis. The pilot study analysis looked at language attrition phenomena in relation to different levels of morpheme activation, adapting aspects of Gross's 2004 study. This approach underwent a slight amendment for the main study, with the focus of the linguistic analysis shifting from speakers' production at the level of lexicon, syntax and morphosyntax, rather than at the level of content morphemes, or early and late system morphemes respectively.

Schmid (2004) advocates the selection of data which lends itself to analysis from a variety of perspectives. The free speech elicited in the current study lends itself to being examined from a number of perspectives, including lexical, morphosyntactic, syntactic, and sociolinguistic. As to the lexical analysis, hesitation phenomena in attriter speech have begun to receive serious attention. (Hansen, 2001). Some studies (eHulsen, 2000) have looked at a possible correlation between the time it takes to get an item "online" and attrition. One could classify such hesitation phenomena as an avoidance strategy, where the attriter is no longer able to access the correct content word he or she is looking for. In terms of L2 attrition/L2 reversion studies, a researcher should also look at what, if anything, takes the place of the "lost" or "inaccessible" L2 content word, and that is what the current study has attempted to do.

Lastly, studies investigating the regression theory (reference) have also proposed that language attriter speech may signal a return to the grammatical frame of the L1. The current study investigated this by examining the production of subclauses in the speakers' L2 English, to see whether these show L1 Dutch or correct L2 English word order.

### 4.10.5 Details of linguistic analysis

The linguistic analysis was based on the transcripts of recorded interviews, which offered a wealth of linguistic information. As stated previously, all interviews had been recorded on an iAudio MP3 recorder in MP3 format, before being saved to hard drive and converted to WAV format. Interviews were transcribed in MS Word ${ }^{\circledR}$, with filled pauses such as 'er' and 'erm' were included in the transcript, and orthographically represented as er and erm respectively whenever they occurred in a segment where they were preceded by L2 lexical items.

The linguistic analysis consisted of several types of "sub-analyses" focusing on:
(i) Lexical retrieval/word finding problems in Verb + Complement Structures ( hereafter V+C structures, see Chapter Nine) involving either

- Codeswitching, or
- "blanks"
(ii) Syntactical retrieval problems (See Chapter Nine) in L2 subclauses, involving either:
- A return to L1 in L2 subclauses
- A return to L1 syntactical structure in L2 subclauses
(iii)Morphosyntactical retrieval problems in relation to verbal agreement, focusing on respondents' ability to produce correct tokens of third person singular +s in L2 (see Chapter Eight)
(iv) Lexical retrieval/word finding problems in relation to use of filled pauses (see Chapter Nine) involving either:
- codeswitching, or
- "blanks" (unfilled silences)
(v) Lexical retrieval/word finding problems in relation to use of silent pauses (see Chapter Nine) followed by either:
- codeswitching or
- blanks (unfilled silences)
(vi)Lexical retrieval/word finding problems in relation to average duration of silent pauses (see Chapter Nine) involving either:
- codeswitching or
- blanks (unfilled silences)

In each case the emphasis was on trying to identify possible signs of wordfinding problems as manifested by the occurrence of either codeswitching (CS), L1 interference or "blanks". This was based on the assumption that the occurrence of a codeswitch from L2 to L1 or an apparent return to the grammatical frame of the L1, or the speaker drawing a blank, might all be interpreted as signs of L2 attrition or L1 reversion, depending on the context. To this end the transcript was used to undertake a count of all occurrences of certain linguistic features such as subclauses or verb plus complement ( $\mathrm{V}+\mathrm{C}$ ) structures occurring in elicited free speech in the L2 produced by respondents. All such occurrences were flagged in the transcript, colour coded and numbered in order of appearance. As an example, all L2 subclauses were coded blue, while V+C structures were coded purple. Clean copies of the transcript were used for each count, in order to avoid a confusion of colour.

In order to identify tokens of CS in L2 subclauses, I first counted all instances of subclauses uttered in English. Because some subjects showed quite considerable codeswitching within sentences, I classified those subclauses that started with a Dutch conjunction as L1 subclauses, and those subclauses that commenced with an English conjunction as L2 subclauses. I then counted all L2 subclauses which continued on with L1 lexical items and marked these with the letters "CS". Following this, I again looked at all L2 subclauses, this time noting those which showed standard L2 word order, and marking these with $\nabla$ E. Next I did the same for those clauses that showed non-standard L2 word order and marked these with these with $\boxtimes$ E. Out of the latter, I looked to see whether L1 order might have intruded upon standard L2 structure, and marked any likely occurrences of these with the words "?L1 structure". After doing this for all respondents, I made a list of all $⿴ 囗$ E ? L1 structure subclauses to see if these might show a particular pattern in ordering. I used these tokens in Chapter Nine, where I presented examples of all linguistic features examined originating from the spoken L2 of individual speakers, taking care to anonymise any such instances, so that the speaker in question cannot be identified through the utterance.

A very similar approach was followed for $\mathrm{V}+\mathrm{C}$ structures, with any nonstandard subclauses or $\mathrm{V}+\mathrm{C}$ structures were examined to see whether L1
structures or calques might have intruded upon or replaced the expected standard L2 forms. This was followed by a count of all those L2 tokens in which respondents produced either a codeswitch from L2 to L1 or remained silent, as if unable to complete the V+C structure with the expected L2 item. Similarly, all occurrences of the third person singular in English were examined to see whether L1 structures had intruded upon or replaced the expected standard L2 word structures. In fact, all non-standard forms showed omission of the suffix s. A more detailed discussion is given in Chapter Nine.

A similar approach was adopted with regard to stalling strategies, as evidenced by respondents' use of filled or unfilled pauses. Initially, all instances of "er", "erm" and repetitions such as "I I I" or "he said he said" were flagged in the transcripts as either er, erm, double repetitions (rep2), triple repetitions (rep3) or quadruple repetitions (rep4). All tokens were then counted and classified in accordance with the quality of the content word which followed them. Instances where such filled pauses were followed by a word one would normally expect were marked as " N " indicating the "neutral" or unmarked nature of the word. Filled pauses followed by a "recast" (Jiménez Jiménez, 2004) were indicated by the letter "R", while filled pauses followed by a codeswitch were flagged as CS. Instances where such pauses were followed by a silence or blank (+) were indicated by means of a $\theta$ symbol. As it turned out, repetitions were almost exclusively followed by either an expected and unmarked " N " type content word, or by a recast, in other words, respondents who used such repetitions were able to regain what Jiménez Jiménez (2004) described as self-regulatory control.

After deciding to only focus on filled or unfilled pauses in respondents' spoken L2 all such tokens were flagged and then marked with either $\theta$ or CS, as explained above. In the case of unfilled pauses the duration of the pause was recorded in seconds to the first decimal (e.g. 1.2s). All examples were examined to see in what context the speaker had resorted to CS and what the expected word might have been. This was important, as in some instances the respondent had been discussing either situations related to non-New Zealand settings or had been trying to retrieve very low-frequency words, while in other cases, speakers had struggled to find very common L2 lexical items. In the former case,
unsuccessful L2 retrieval would probably be a "frequency phenomenon" rather than a sign of L2 attrition.

After carrying out the analyses outlined above, I again looked at the completed sociolinguistic life questionnaires of the subjects in question to see how he or she had assessed their own ultimate attainment in English grammar, now and in the past. I also compared respondent's self-assessments of their ultimate attainment in English grammar to the proportion of correctly and incorrectly produced third person singular forms in English. Next I crosstabulated information collected as above to examine any possible pattern of overlap between self-assessments, adult children's assessments and outcomes of the linguistic analysis.

Last but not least, after flagging all occurrences of a certain linguistic token in the transcripts, such tokens were counted and the number of tokens recorded in a spreadsheet which included all tokens for a particular linguistic feature for all respondents. This meant I ended up with five spreadsheets showing all tokens for all interviewees for the five main linguistic features, namely CS in subclauses, L1 word order in L2 subclauses, verbal agreement and CS in verb plus complement structures. The analysis of stalling strategies resulted in two spreadsheets showing the number of tokens for filled and unfilled pauses followed by either CS or a silence for all respondents, plus one spreadsheet showing the average duration of unfilled pauses for all speakers. This wealth of data needed to be presented in such a way as to shed light both on individual manifestations of linguistic features and stalling strategies, and the distribution across respondents overall and social groupings in particular.

In consultation with my supervisor, a decision was made to do this in the following way:

Individual examples of the linguistic features examined and stalling strategies were foregrounded against the background of linguistic information pertaining to speakers' L1 and L2 in order to allow a closer analysis of tokens actually produced by respondents. These findings are presented in Chapter Eight. Similarly, stalling strategies used by individual speakers were displayed and analysed, and these are discussed in Chapter Nine. Findings for the linguistic analysis were collected for respondents individually, and then presented in a
table listing all outcomes for all interviewees per linguistic feature (please refer to Chapter Ten). Next tables were created listing outcomes for respondents across particular social groupings. Social groupings were based on some key variables identified by the analysis of data from the sociolinguistic life questionnaires, for instance those relating to L2 proficiency on arrival and type of secondary education attended in the Netherlands. Linguistic outcomes were also compared across DV and NDV respondents, based on the initial hypothesis concerning the impact of predominant linguistic environment post-retirement. These data have been presented in Chapter Eleven. Lastly, some case studies were completed for individual speakers, specifically "outliers" who produced significantly more or fewer tokens of particular features than other respondents. These case studies examine the way these individuals used their L2 at the time of the interview, analysing this against their individual sociolinguistic backgrounds. These case studies may be found in Chapter Twelve.

### 4.11 Possible limitations of the study

Like any study, the study reported on here had its limitations. Some of these were due to the fact that the study was undertaken in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of PhD , something which impacted both on the (relatively small) size of the study and on its nature, which was more akin to a "snapshot" rather than to a longitudinal documentary. This led the researcher to include retrospective assessments as a research instrument, the limitations of which will be examined below. Another limitation rather unexpectedly came from the very fact that the researcher interviewed all respondents herself, something she chose to do in order to reduce the confounding variable of interviewer bias. However, respondents' very assumptions about the interviewer may have impacted on their language use, as discussed below.

### 4.11.1 Limitations in relation to data collection

The researcher encountered some issues in relation to data collection, firstly in terms of sample selection and secondly in terms of data collection during and after interviews. Sample selection problems arose on two occasions with potential interviewees not meeting the study's criteria in terms of age and
immigration cohort. On both occasions, the problems were mainly due to the snowballing technique which was used for sample selection. On occasion, snowballing involved respondents referring the researcher to other potential interviewees who did not in fact meet all the criteria because they had arrived in New Zealand after 1965. In two cases, it only became clear during the actual interview that respondents had left the Netherlands as emigrants between 1950 and 1965, but had in fact migrated to other English speaking countries before eventually arriving in New Zealand. Since the questionnaire contained questions relating to initial responses to Non-English speaking migrants by New Zealanders, this meant the researcher was unable to include any data obtained from these respondents in the eventual analysis.

Three other types of pitfalls occurred in relation to data selection and included respondents' interrupting when their spouse was being interviewed; interviewees replying in their L1 when prompted in the L2, and a small number of adult children not immediately returning questionnaires. The researcher had become aware of the first of these problems when interviewing two couples during the Pilot Study. During one of the first interviews, the researcher had interviewed a couple and had found that one spouse had been far more talkative resulting in that respondent holding the floor for much of the interview. During the next "couple interview" the researcher had asked to speak to one spouse first, before speaking to the second spouse. This approach had worked well and had therefore been continued during the Main Study. In spite of this, on two occasions, two of the interviewees had frequently interrupted their spouse's responses, resulting in a low overall L2 word count for the former (cf. CM01 and CF01 as discussed in Chapter Eleven).

The second issue of respondents replying to L2 prompts in their L1 was discussed with the researcher's supervisors, who advised that interviewees' preferred language of response might be seen to be an indicator of their ability to still comfortably express themselves in the L2. The third issue related to respondents' adult children taking a long time to return questionnaires in regard to their parents' ability in the L2 pre- and post-retirement. In both cases, the researcher rang the adult children in question after a few weeks to politely ask whether they had in fact received the questionnaires. In one case, the adult child in question stated that she had in fact mailed back the questionnaire. A new questionnaire was posted out to her and promptly returned. In the second case,
the researcher sent out questionnaires to the daughter of a couple she had interviewed, however these were not received back for another six months. A followup phone call to the adult child in question revealed that she had gone through a period of stress, but that she was keen to participate. This experience shows that even brief questionnaires mailed out to potential participants may not be returned because of the latter's personal circumstances at the time of receipt and may explain why response rates to postal questionnaires can vary widely. In this case, the researcher sent out the questionnaires once more, with prepaid envelopes in order to reduce any kind of additional "postal" stress and received the questionnaires back within a couple of days. Thus, all data collection issues were satisfactorily resolved in the end without compromising the data collected.

### 4.11.2 Retrospective assessment

Previous researchers (de Vries, 1992; Hulsen, 2000; Schmid, 2004) have commented on the difficulty encountered when attempting a retrospective assessment of speakers' language proficiency at an earlier stage in their life. De Vries and Schmid both comment that self-assessment may still offer the best method for arriving at such a retrospective assessment. Hulsen found a possible positive correlation between respondents' level of education and the likelihood that their self-assessment was correct. The researcher was mainly concerned about the possibility of finding signs and symptoms of L2 attrition, which might in fact turn out to be manifestations of "fossilisation" (Ellis, 1994).

The rationale for the method used to retrospectively gauge respondent's proficiency in their L2 at key points in their life has been outlined under 4.6.1 above. Both the pilot and main studies in part relied on respondents' retrospective self-assessments of their ultimate attainment in English, their L2. As explained previously, adult children were asked to assess their parents' proficiency in the L2 pre and post retirement by means of a brief questionnaire (see Appendix G) and some might argue that this also presented a limitation to the study. However, in a large majority of cases, adult children's assessments of their parents' ultimate attainment in the L2 overlapped with their parents' own assessments, as explained in Chapter Six. Hence, information from adult children's questionnaires did appear to add quite a consistent external check on data resulting from respondents' self-assessments. It also provided useful additional information to findings arising from the linguistic analyses. It was
clear from additional comments written on to the questionnaire forms by adult children that they had been particularly sensitive to any signs of their parents' L1 'shining through' in their spoken L2. I would argue that this may be typical of migrants' children who are keen to assimilate into the L2 social setting and hypersensitive to anything that may reflect their (parents') non-adopted country origins.

### 4.11.3 Interviewer role and respondents' use of codeswitching

As outlined in the Chapter Two, Grosjean (1997) found that bilinguals' choice of whether to engage in codeswitching and to what extent, appears largely based on their assumptions about their bilingual interlocutor's background and attitude towards codeswitching. The interviewer noticed that the incidence of codeswitching (CS) was low during her interviews with respondents, something which was even more noticeable as she had observed the same respondents engaging in a high degree of CS during a coffee morning held at the Dutch Retirement Village's "Pavillion". It is possible that, for this study, respondents' assumptions about the interviewer's educational status and attitude to codeswitching may have influenced their own language use and their own attitude towards codeswitching within the interview setting. Even if this assumption were to be correct, one could argue that this lack of CS does not compromise the study's findings: if the aim of the study was to discover whether respondents are still able to express themselves in their L2 with someone speaking the L2 then respondents showed they were in fact able to communicate in the L2 without needing to rely on codeswitching from the L2 to the L1.

### 4.12 Summary of chapter

This chapter has examined the main aims as well as the significance of the study reported on here. This has included a brief look at the hypotheses and the research instruments used to test these. Changes in methodological approach between the pilot and main studies were discussed very briefly, with the reader being referred to the separate chapter on the Pilot Study for more detail as to any methodological amendments and the rationale behind these. The chapter has provided an overview of the various analyses undertaken in relation to data, as well as a rationale for the type of analysis selected. The chapter concluded with a brief overview of any problems encountered in relation to data selection and
sampling and how these were resolved. Possible limitations of the study have been discussed together with measures taken to mitigate these.

## Chapter Five: Migrating from the Netherlands to New Zealand

This study examines the language use of older bilingual Dutch English speaking migrants in New Zealand. The large majority of current Dutch migrants in New Zealand arrived there in the 1950s and 1960s. At the time, many Dutch citizens were keen to leave a country that was still coping with the after-effects of a fiveyear occupation by German occupying forces. Unprecedented numbers of Dutch citizens were contemplating leaving the Netherlands for 'fairer shores', with popular countries of choice including Canada, Australia, the United States and New Zealand. This chapter aims to present some general background information on the social and political situation that existed in the Netherlands and New Zealand at the time the respondents left the former country to migrate to the latter. It will also provide more background information on respondents in both the pilot and main studies.

### 5.1 Netherlands society in the 1950s and early 1960s

By 1945 the German occupation of The Netherlands had come to an end, but the country had not escaped unscathed. There had been a lot of suffering, both in human and in economic terms. Many everyday commodities such as food and fabrics were still rationed. Housing shortages posed an enormous problem, with many married couples on waiting lists for (rental) accommodation for periods of up to ten years. It was to be at least another decade before the country started to rebuild itself economically.

Before the war, the Netherlands had been fragmented along separate conservative, socialist and various denominational Christian lines, a situation known as verzuiling ("pillarisation"). This fragmentation continued to rule social, political and cultural life in the Netherlands after World War II. The various religious and political movements controlled their own newspapers, radio stations, schools and trade unions. Thus, many of the migrants who came to New Zealand in the 1950s and 1960s came from a country where Catholics did not associate with Protestants and vice versa.

The Netherlands were also a socially stratified society, although this was (and is) rarely acknowledged. Class impacted on education and occupational and professional prospects. Secondary schools were open to all students who met the academic requirements, but in practice it was the children of the (upper) middle classes who were encouraged to attend schools for secondary education. Some working and lower middle class families would have liked their children to attend secondary school, but instead found themselves to get their offspring to find a job to supplement the meagre family income. From 1946 to 1958, the Netherlands political landscape was dominated by coalitions of the Catholic People's Party and the Labour Party. These coalition governments provided a firm basis for post-war reconstruction and the establishment of a welfare state. Meantime, a similar situation was developing in New Zealand. Thus, Dutch migrants who came to New Zealand in the 1950s and 1960s found themselves in a country whose residents also overwhelmingly supported the ideal of social security for all.

Not all Dutch migrants who came to New Zealand in those years arrived here from the Netherlands. Dutch citizens living in the Dutch East Indies had also experienced huge upheavals during World War II. During the Japanese occupation of the Netherlands East Indies, all Dutch citizens in the region had been interned in camps in terrible conditions. After World War II, some of these Dutch prisoners had migrated to New Zealand or Australia directly. Others came to New Zealand after Indonesia had gained its independence in 1949.

The Dutch were not the very first non-British immigrants to arrive in New Zealand. Small numbers of others, including Jewish refugees and Polish migrants, had started to arrive in New Zealand in the nineteen thirties and forties. The narratives of some of these migrants are included in Bönisch-Brednich's (2003) interesting account. Her aptly named book recounts how most of the German speaking immigrants kept a very low profile in order to assimilate into New Zealand society as much as possible. At the time the New Zealand government still pursued a policy whereby it displayed a definite preference for Anglophone migrants. In 1939, it allowed three young Dutch tradesmen to come to New Zealand to work in 1939 as a sort of experiment (Schouten, 1992). The three assimilated well and this appears to have opened the proverbial door for other migrants from the Netherlands.

From the early 1950s onwards, Dutch migrants started to enter New Zealand in considerable numbers. They came to a country where both work and housing were plentiful. Many of these early Dutch arrivals later recalled being employed within a week of setting foot on New Zealand soil, (Schouten, 1992, pp. 90 ff,). A considerable number of men were employed by farmers or on building sites or in factories, with a large number of the women finding work either in factories or in domestic service. Many of the new migrants wrote home to report that finding rental accommodation was very easy in New Zealand, and even owning your own home not an impossible dream. All in all, some 40,000 Dutch migrants came to New Zealand in the 1950s and 1960s, (Schouten, 1992).

### 5.1.1. Netherlands education system between the 1930s and 1950s

Before I continue with a brief description of New Zealand society in the 1950s and 1960s, I would like to provide a brief outline of the Netherlands education system in the period when most of the respondents interviewed for the current study were of secondary school age. It became clear in the course of the study that level of secondary education had impacted quite considerably on migration outcomes for respondents, both in linguistic and in occupational terms. Hence it is important to provide some background information on the Dutch education system in the period from the 1930s through to the 1950s, when most respondents were of secondary school age.

As stated in the Chapter Four, all respondents were asked a number of questions about their sociolinguistic life history and this included the number of years of primary, secondary and tertiary schooling received in the Netherlands. Answers to this question provided further indication as to the type and amount of foreign language instruction received. Table 5.5 in section 5.4 .2 provides a brief overview of types of secondary school available in the Netherlands in the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s, when most of the respondents in the current study were of post-primary school age. The first column shows the name of the school, the second column gives information about the type of education offered. The third column has information about whether students attended part-time or full-time. The fourth column displays average duration while the last column contains information on the main focus of education offered at the school in question.

Information on school types that were not relevant to the current study has not been included in the table. Information obtained from the Onderwijsmuseum (Education Museum) in Rotterdam shows that all schools listed in the table followed a standard nationwide curriculum (Leliman-Bosch, 1933; van der Zanden, 1951; de Block, ten Have, de Keyser \& Velema, 1974; Boekholt \& Booy, 1987). Types of secondary education attended by respondents ranged from evening classes to secondary schooling in preparation for trades (ambachtsschool), office jobs (MULO), to pre-university education (HBS). During the era in which respondents attended school, English and other foreign languages were part of the secondary school curriculum at schools for MULO, HBS and Handelsschool education, but were not taught at schools providing instruction in home economics (Huishoudschool or Nijverheidsschool) or trades (mainly Ambachtsschool)

Generally speaking, respondents who had attended Handelsschool or institutions for $M U L O$ or $H B S$ education had learned English through formal instruction in the secondary school classroom. Those who had attended MULO were likely to have received three to four years of classroom instruction in the three foreign languages: German, English and French, while interviewees who had completed HBS preuniversity education were likely to have received five to six years of classroom instruction in the three foreign languages. Some respondents had completed three years of Avondhandelsschool through evening classes. This institution prepared students for jobs in offices and foreign languages and correspondence in those languages were an important part of the curriculum at this school. Instruction in the foreign languages was not part of the curriculum at secondary schools oriented at providing trades- or home-economics oriented instruction. The emphasis on foreign language instruction in the Netherlands may appear unusual; however it is understandable in the context of the pragmaticism that appears to characterize Dutch people (cf. Vossestein, 2005). Part of this has traditionally been an awareness of the fact that, in order to do business with other countries, one needs to speak their language. Similarly, those who wish to reside in another country prepare by learning the language spoken at their destination. Hence, those migrants who were preparing to migrate to countries such as New Zealand, Canada and Australia almost invariably arranged to receive some (private) instruction in English before departure. More detailed information on respondents' prior level of education may be found in Table 5.5 and also in Chapter Six.

Respondents in the current study were asked what type of secondary education they had attended and for how long, in order to gain an impression of the number of years they might have been exposed to formal instruction in the L2. However the number of years may not adequately reflect the amount of classroom education actually received by participants, as many reported having had their education interrupted for various reasons. For one thing, respondents spoke of school buildings being shared between schools so that some students had to attend classes in the morning, while others had to go to school in the afternoons. In addition, male students had often been too scared to attend school during the last year of the German occupation, when the occupying forces picked up teenage boys during razzias (raids) and took them away to assist with the German war effort (de Jong, 1980). Even so, information offered by respondents does give us a fair impression of type of classroom instruction received, as curricula were strictly adhered to.

### 5.2 New Zealand society in the 1950s and 1960s

New Zealand had also suffered considerable losses as a result of its contribution to the Allied war effort. More than 140,000 New Zealand men and women had served abroad during World War II and more than 11,500 had been killed (King, 2003, p. 407). King comments that World War II had bound New Zealanders together collectively and that the immediate after-effect of the war was to turn New Zealanders in on themselves. King quotes Adelson in stating that society as a whole seemed to strive for the idyll of suburban domesticity in order for the country to heal itself from the disruptions caused by the immediate past, and indeed suburban developments sprung up everywhere (2003, pp. 414-415).

Maori began to move from rural communities to towns and cities in ever increasing numbers in the nineteen fifties and sixties and this meant widespread contact between Maori and Pakeha for the first time since the 1860s. Eventually, this presented Maori with an opportunity to participate for the first time in mainstream New Zealand social, political and cultural life (King, 2003, p. 470). The fast rate of Maori urbanisation and the problems this brought to New Zealand towns and cities was identified by the Hunn report of 1960. The report was attacked by Maori and this brought to light the fact that successive New Zealand governments and indeed Pakeha New Zealanders overall, had expected Maori to 'blend in' with

Pakeha language and culture, (King, 2003, pp. 482-485). Usage of Te Reo, the Maori language, once widespread, especially in rural communities, started to decline, (Fishman, 1991, p. 230 ff; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2001). Assimilation required Maori to learn English and adapt Western ways of living. This was accepted by many Maori parents and grandparents as inevitable, but the concept was starting to be questioned increasingly by Maori "activitists" in the 1960s and 1970s, (King, pp. 470-87). It is very likely that the new migrants who started to arrive in New Zealand in the 1940s and 1950s also felt they needed to "assimilate", learn English and adapt the Pakeha New Zealand way of life, indeed many of those who arrived at the time have testified to this, (e.g. Bönisch-Brednich, 2003; this study).

### 5.3 Dutch migrants and the Dutch Retirement Village

The Dutch migrants who arrived to New Zealand as young people in the early 1950s are now of retirement age. New Zealand currently has three retirement villages which have been built to cater for the needs of older Dutch migrants, facilitating easy socialisation with other old 'Dutchies'. The first of these villages was Ons Dorp, which was officially opened in Auckland in 1984. The other two are Netherville in Hamilton and Tasman Village in Morrinsville. Ons Dorp was established thanks to the foresight and considerable efforts of Willem Verryt. Verryt had observed some older Dutch migrants in New Zealand facing isolation and loneliness once their children left home, (Schouten, 1992, p. 180). He had seen facilities created for senior citizens in the Netherlands and thought it would be a good idea to create a similar environment for older Dutch migrants in New Zealand.

In 1977 the Ons Dorp Incorporated Society was formed and in 1980 the sum of $\$ 20,000$ was put down as a deposit on a site in Henderson, (Schouten, 1992, p. 180). The Dutch Village, as it is commonly known, now boasts 92 home units, many built in a distinctive style, and surrounded by well-kept gardens. The Dutch Village also has a community centre called the Pavillion, which is used for meetings, the monthly Market Day and other types of social get-togethers. Very importantly, the Village also has a Care Centre which offers nursing staff (some bilingual) and the facilities to care for the frail elderly and those who are no longer able to communicate in English. Each unit has a special alarm button installed in it, so residents in need of medical assistance can summon initial help from nursing staff in
the Care Centre. Several respondents in the study reported on here voiced their delight at having this service at their disposal.

The presence of the Dutch Village appears to have had a significant impact on older Dutch migrants in the Auckland area, both those who reside there and those who do not. This was evident from interviews with respondents for both the pilot and main studies. Those respondents who lived in the Village often commented that it was the best option for them, and that they were really happy they had been able to make the move. Interestingly, respondents who did not live in the Village itself appear to see its very presence as confirmation of the establishment of Dutch identity within New Zealand culture. In fact, it was as if respondents took more pride in their own Dutch identity because of the very existence of the Dutch village.

### 5.4 Main study respondents

A total of 30 respondents were interviewed for the main study, all between mid 2006 and early 2007. As mentioned in Chapter Four, at the time of the interview, half of the respondents were resident in the mainly L1 Dutch speaking environment of the Dutch Village, the other half resident outside of the Dutch Village, in the mainly L2 English speech community. Again, the first group will be referred to as the Dutch Village (DV) respondents, while the second group will be referred to as the Non-Dutch Village (NDV) respondents. All respondents were retired at the time of the interview. In both the DV and the NDV group, nine respondents were female, while six respondents were male. This appears to be in keeping with overall male to female survival rates in the 70-90 age group amongst Dutch migrants, where wives appear to outlive their husbands. It may be that the strains and stresses of being the breadwinner in a new country are a factor in this. The next sections will explore some of the general background information brought up by the sociolinguistic lifehistory questionnaires for both groups of respondents.

### 5.4.1 Main study respondents - general background information

A majority of all respondents had arrived in New Zealand in the early 1950s. Within the DV group, the overwhelming majority of respondents ( $\mathrm{n}=13$ ) had arrived in New Zealand between 1950 and 1954, while one respondent had arrived in New

Zealand in 1956 and another respondent had arrived in New Zealand in 1964. Among DV respondents time spent in New Zealand from first arrival to time of interview varied from 56 years $(\mathrm{n}=4)$ to 42 years $(\mathrm{n}=1)$, but averaged around 53.5 years. Time of arrival varied more for this group than for the Dutch village group of respondents, with interviewees reporting arrival times ranging from 1950 to 1962. Even so, the majority of respondents had arrived in the 1950s ( $\mathrm{n}=13$ ), four of them prior to 1955 and eight between 1955 and 1958. Three respondents $(\mathrm{n}=3)$ had arrived in 1960 and 1962 respectively. This means that, on average, NDV respondents in the main study had arrived in New Zealand considerably later than the Dutch village group. Time spent in New Zealand varied from 57 years $(\mathrm{n}=1)$ to 45 years $(\mathrm{n}=1)$, but averaged around 50 years.

Table: 5.1
Immigration cohort main study respondents

| Immigration <br> Cohort | Female | Male | All respondents | All DV <br> respondents | All NDV <br> respondents |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\mathbf{1 9 5 0 - 1 9 5 4}$ | 10 | 7 | 17 | 13 | 4 |
| $\mathbf{1 9 5 5 - 1 9 5 9}$ | 5 | 4 | 9 | 1 | 8 |
| $\mathbf{1 9 6 0 - 1 9 6 5}$ | 3 | 1 | 4 | 1 | 3 |
| All | $\mathbf{1 8}$ | $\mathbf{1 2}$ | $\mathbf{3 0}$ | $\mathbf{1 5}$ | $\mathbf{1 5}$ |

The fact that NDV respondents, belonged to a later immigration cohort and were also slightly younger at the time of interview was of interest. Anecdotal evidence suggests that some retired men like to ensure their spouse is securely "set up" in a retirement village, so as to ensure she is well looked after socially should they predecease her. This may explain the apparent relationship between DV residency, earlier immigration cohort and slightly more advanced age at time of interview.

Respondents' ages on arrival in New Zealand varied quite considerably, although just over a third $(\mathrm{n}=13)$ had arrived in New Zealand when they were aged between 20 and 25 , whilst just under a third of respondents overall $(\mathrm{n}=9)$ had arrived here in their mid to late twenties. This approach is understandable in view of the New Zealand government policy of the era, which favoured young single people. Prospective immigrants who were outside the category of young and single had to meet additional requirements of having a job and accommodation waiting for them on arrival in New

Zealand (Schouten, 1992). In the current study, a relatively small number of subjects ( $\mathrm{n}=6$ ) stated that they had migrated to New Zealand aged around their mid-thirties, as married people with small children.

Table: 5.2

Age on Arrival - all respondents

| Dutch Village | Female | Male | All respondents | All DV <br> respondents | All NDV <br> respondents |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\mathbf{1 8 - 1 9}$ | 1 | 1 | 2 | - | 2 |
| $\mathbf{2 0 - 2 4}$ | 9 | 4 | 13 | 8 | 5 |
| $\mathbf{2 5 - 2 9}$ | 5 | 4 | 9 | 5 | 4 |
| $\mathbf{3 0 - 3 4}$ | 2 | 3 | 5 | 1 | 4 |
| $\mathbf{3 5 - 3 9}$ | 1 | - | 1 | 1 | - |
| All | $\mathbf{1 8}$ | $\mathbf{1 2}$ | $\mathbf{3 0}$ | $\mathbf{1 5}$ | $\mathbf{1 5}$ |

A majority of respondents were aged in their seventies at the time of the interview, with subjects in the DV group being slightly older than NDV participants. In fact, all DV respondents were aged over 76, with ages at time of interview ranging from 76 to 91. The mean age of interviewees was 80.2 years of age. Male respondents' ages ranged from 78 to 91 (mean = 81.2), while female respondents' ages ranged from 74 to 91 at the time of interview (mean $=79.2$ ). All NDV respondents were aged over 70 , with ages at time of interview ranging from 70 to 82 . The average age of interviewees was 75.4 years of age. Male respondents' ages ranged from 71 to 82 (mean $=77.8$ ), while female respondents' ages ranged from 66 to 76 at the time of interview $($ mean $=73.7)$.

Table: 5.3

Age at time of interview - all respondents

| Dutch Village | Female | Male | All respondents | All DV <br> respondents | All NDV <br> respondents |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\mathbf{6 5 - 6 9}$ | 1 | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| $\mathbf{7 0 - 7 4}$ | 3 | 1 | 4 | 1 | 3 |
| $\mathbf{7 5 - 7 9}$ | 10 | 7 | 17 | 8 | 9 |
| $\mathbf{8 0 - 8 4}$ | 3 | 2 | 5 | 4 | 1 |
| $\mathbf{8 5 - 8 9}$ | - | 1 | 1 | - | 1 |
| $\mathbf{9 0 - 9 5}$ | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 |
| All | $\mathbf{2 0}$ | $\mathbf{1 0}$ | $\mathbf{3 0}$ | $\mathbf{1 5}$ | $\mathbf{1 5}$ |

All but three of the respondents $(\mathrm{n}=3)$ stated that their first language was standard Dutch. One respondent identified both Standard Dutch and the Limburg province dialect variant of standard Dutch as her first language, another identified with both Standard Dutch and the Gelderland province dialect, while a third respondent said Frisian was his first language and Dutch his second language.

Table: 5.4

First language - all respondents

| First language | Female | Male | All <br> respondents | All DV <br> respondents | All NDV <br> respondents |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Standard Dutch | 16 | 9 | 25 | 12 | 13 |
| Dialect of <br> Standard <br> Dutch | 2 | 2 | 4 | 2 | 2 |
| Frisian | - | 1 | 1 | 1 |  |
| Other | - | - | - | - | - |
| All | $\mathbf{1 8}$ | $\mathbf{1 2}$ | $\mathbf{3 0}$ | $\mathbf{1 5}$ | - |

Many linguists in the Netherlands distinguish between Standard Dutch (Algemeen Beschaafd Nederlands or $A B N$ ) and urban or rural dialects, while Frisian is described as an altogether separate language. However, there is some discussion as to whether $A B N$ actually exists and this is summarized in Weijnen's influential study of Dutch dialects, (Weijnen, 1966, p. 53). Overdiep, as quoted in Weijnen (1966, p. 52), states that no two Dutch speakers speak Standard Dutch in the same way, and therefore rejects the existence of ABN or Standard Dutch. Even so, the term Standard Dutch (or ABN) continues to be in common usage until today and will be used with reference to this study.

Even though a majority of NDV respondents identified with Standard Dutch as their first language, all sounded different to the interviewer. There may be several reasons for this, and Overdiep's views as to individual differences might account for one of these. A second reason may lie in the respondent's origins and places of birth
as outlined below. Overall respondents' birthplaces varied from small villages ( $\mathrm{n}=4$ ) and larger regional towns ( $\mathrm{n}=6$ ) to larger urban centres such as Amsterdam, Rotterdam and the Hague ( $\mathrm{n}=20$ ). This may have coincided with respondents reporting standard Dutch as their first language, due to the larger influence of standard Dutch on urban dialects in the Netherlands, especially in the Northern provinces (Weijnen, 1966). Although Weijnen (1966, p. 119) warns that one should not see this as the main distinction between urban and rural dialects in the Netherlands. Weijnen (1966, p. 33) adds that within the larger cities, differences within the same urban dialect were often associated with social class. Weijnen quotes several studies which found that the dialect spoken by, for instance, middle class speakers was distinct from that spoken by factory workers (1966, p. 33). Two (NDV) respondents stated that the Brabant province dialect variant on standard Dutch was their first language. These two respondents both came from Eindhoven, a large urban centre in Brabant. The other respondents mainly came from towns and cities in the northern Netherlands.

Most of the respondents identified with a middle class background and this may explain them identifying with Standard Dutch as their first language. Again, it should be noted that those respondents whose fathers had been working in the trades, considered themselves to be of middle class background. A final reason for interviewees identifying with Standard Dutch as their first language may lie in the fact that the interviewer spoke Standard Dutch, a phenomenon pointed out by many researchers (Giles et al., 1977; Grosjean, 1997).

### 5.4.2 Main study respondents: class and educational background

The Netherlands are not generally depicted as a typical class society, yet my impression that it is in fact very much socially stratified was confirmed when all respondents clearly identified with a particular social class. Interestingly, only five out of 30 respondents overall identified with a working class background in the Netherlands, while 25 identified with a middle class background. As stated previously, those whose fathers had been involved in the trades all felt they belonged to the middle classes. Respondents' class background was generally reflected in years and type of schooling, with many of those who identified with a middle class background having attended secondary school MULO education.

Three out of twelve male respondents identified with a working class background, and these had both attended primary school for 6 and 8 years respectively, before learning a trade at the ambachtsschool. As stated earlier in this chapter, this type of school offered a combination of apprenticeship type work experience backed up with classroom teaching in relation to the trade in question. Interestingly, one of the male respondents who had identified with a middle class background had also attended ambachtsschool. He stated that his parents had got him to attend MULO education for one year, but when his results were disappointing, he had transferred to ambachtsschool.

Table 5.5 provides a brief overview of types of secondary school available in the Netherlands in the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s, when most of the respondents in the current study were of post-primary school age. The first column shows the name of the school, the second column gives information about the type of education offered. The third column has information about whether students attended part-time or full-time. The fourth column displays average duration while the last column contains information on the main focus of education offered at the school in question. Information on school types that were not relevant to the current study has not been included in the table.

## Table 5.5

Type of secondary education attended by all respondents

|  | Type of <br> Education | Full-time or <br> part-time | Duration | Focus | Number of <br> respondents |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Ambachts- <br> school | Trades and <br> trades <br> apprenticeships | Full-time or <br> part-time (e.g. <br> evening <br> classes) | $1-4$ years | Practical skills <br> and theoretical <br> knowledge <br> specific to <br> trade <br> Boys only | $\mathbf{5}$ |
| Nijverheids- <br> school | Home <br> economics | Full-time or <br> part-time | 1 or more <br> years | Home <br> Economics <br> Girls only | $\mathbf{2}$ |
| Huishouds- <br> school | Home <br> economics | Full-time or <br> part-time | $1-2$ years | Home <br> Economics <br> Girls only | $\mathbf{4}$ |
| MULO | Mixed business <br> skills/academic | Full-time | 3 or 4 <br> years | Preparation <br> for office jobs <br> Co-ed | $\mathbf{1 4}$ |

Table 5.5 - continued
$\left.\begin{array}{|l|l|l|l|l|l|}\hline \text { Handelsschool } & \begin{array}{l}\text { Mixed business } \\ \text { skills/academic }\end{array} & \begin{array}{l}\text { Full-time or } \\ \text { part-time }\end{array} & 3-4 \text { years } & \begin{array}{l}\text { Preparation } \\ \text { for office jobs } \\ \text { Co-ed }\end{array} & \mathbf{5 *}^{*} \\ \hline \text { HBS } & \begin{array}{l}\text { Pre-university - } \\ \text { academic }\end{array} & \text { Full-time } & \begin{array}{l}5 \text { or 6 } \\ \text { years }\end{array} & \begin{array}{l}\text { Pre-university } \\ \text { education, } \\ \text { Foreign }\end{array} & \mathbf{2 *}^{\text {L }} \\ \text { Languages } \\ \text { and } \\ \text { Sciences } \\ \text { Co-ed }\end{array}\right]$
*Not all respondents completed this type of school for the usual duration
**three respondents were included under more than one category: $n=1$ attended both MULO and HBS;
$n=2$ attended both MULO and ambachtsschool;

About one third ( $\mathrm{n}=6$ ) of the female respondents had attended either Huishoudsschool, or Nijverheidsschool, both of these being types of school where girls learned to cook and sew. Attendance at these types of schools was partly associated with a working class backgrounds, although a considerable number of middle class parents also felt that learning to cook would be the best way to prepare their daughters for their future life as homemakers. In fact, two interviewees who both identified with a middle class background stated that they had not been allowed to attend a more "academic" type of secondary school at all, as their parents did not think it necessary for girls to have further schooling. Other middleclass female respondents had received $M U L O$ secondary school education, whilst two had attended schools offering HBS pre-university education. Overall, those respondents who had attended schools for MULO, HBS or Handelsschool education had received formal classroom instruction in the three foreign languages: German, English and French. Respondents who had attended a trade or home economics oriented school had not studied languages.

One male respondent had not had any secondary schooling but had started working early. Remarkably, this respondent 's speech was characterized by constant codeswitching between his L1 Dutch and his L2 English, to the extent that it was often difficult to distinguish Matrix Language from Embedded Language. This might seem to fit in with the theory that there may be a correlation between number of years
of education received through the L1 medium and L1 attrition (Ioup, 1996). However, since only 1 respondent out of a total of 30 showed this type of language output, the author is wary about drawing any conclusions from this finding.

### 5.4.3 Religious affiliation and church attendance

A considerable number of respondents overall ( $\mathrm{n}=14$ ) identified with the Catholic faith and many still attended services occasionally. In all cases, English was the language used by the priest and the congregation. Other respondents attended Presbyterian or Baptist church services, with English again being the language used. Only one respondent identified with the Dutch reformed church, where services are conducted in Dutch, however, she stated she had not attended services in recent years. Another ten respondents said they did not go to church. At first glance there appeared to be a disproportionate number of Roman Catholic respondents, however a survey carried out in 1966 showed that the proportion of RC interviewees in this study closely reflected the percentage of those identifying with the Catholic faith in the Netherlands at the time of participants’ emigration (Becker, de Hart \& Mens, 1997).

Table 5.6.
Church attendance and language of congregation - all respondents

| Church <br> affiliation | Language <br> spoken | Female | Male | All respondents | All DV <br> respondents | All NDV <br> respondents |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Roman Catholic | English | 8 | 6 | 14 | 6 | 8 |
| Roman Catholic | Dutch | - | - | - | - | - |
| Presbyterian | English | 2 | 2 | 4 | 4 | - |
| Dutch Reformed | Dutch | 1 | - | - | - | 1 |
| Baptist | English | 1 | - | - | 1 | - |
| No Church <br> affiliation | Not | 6 | 4 | 10 | 4 | 6 |
| applicable |  |  |  | $\mathbf{1 5}$ | $\mathbf{1 5}$ |  |
| All | $\mathbf{1 8}$ | $\mathbf{1 2}$ | $\mathbf{2 9}$ | $\mathbf{1 5}$ |  |  |

A large majority of DV respondents now considered themselves fully retired. A small number said that, although they were no longer in paid employment, they were still actively involved in the community to the extent that they did not consider themselves truly 'retired'. One respondent taught gym classes to other senior citizens, whilst another visited a gym outside of the Dutch Village every day, despite being one of the oldest participants in the study. Several other respondents were involved in organizing "coffee mornings" and other events especially targeted at Dutch migrants. A number of interviewees were involved in meeting relating to the possible establishment of a Dutch museum and their activities involved the submission of applications and meetings with New Zealand officials, as well as other Dutch speakers. All in all, most respondents appeared to be fairly active. It is possible that this was partly due to the snowballing method used to select subjects for the study, where those involved in similar networks of activity referred other likeminded people on to me.

Table 5.7

Retirement status - all respondents

| Retirement status | Female | Male | All respondents | All DV respondents | All NDV respondents |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Fully retired | 7 | 6 | 13 | 9 | 6 |
| Still working PT | 3* | 1 | 4* | 1 | 1 |
| Still active in L1 comm. | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | - |
| Still active in L2 comm. | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| Still active in both $L 1$ and L2 comm. | 5 | 2 | 7 | - | 7 |
| Never in paid emp. | 3 | - | 3 | 2 | - |
| All | 20* | 11* | 31* | 15 | 15 |

*numbers do not add up, as some respondents were counted under two different categories, as an example two female respondents still worked part-time, as well as being actively involved in the community, and were included under both categories.

There was considerable variation in length of time since full retirement and little apparent relationship with respondents' ages. A small number stated that they had only quite recently retired from part-time work. Two interviewees said they had only fully retired two years prior to the interview. Two other respondents had retired from part-time work some five years prior to the interview, while others were still engaged in part-time community activities which required the use of English, their L2.

Table 5.8

Time elapsed since full retirement - all respondents

| Retirement status | Female | Male | All <br> respondent <br> s | All DV respondents | All NDV respondents |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Still working | 2 | 1 | 3 | 3 | - |
| 0-4 years | 2 | 3 | 5 | 4 | 3 |
| 5-9 years | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| 10-14 years | 1 | 4 | 5 | 1 | 1 |
| 15-19 years | 5 | 4 | 9 | 4 | 4 |
| 20-25 years | 1 | - | - |  | 5 |
| 25-30 years | 2 | - | 2 | 2 | 1 |
| All | 16* | 13* | 31* | 15 | 15 |

*numbers do not add up, as some respondents had never been in paid employment.

On the whole, a larger number of NDV respondents were still actively involved in either part-time work or other community work. Again, this may be partly due to the sampling method used. Respondents were selected by means of snow-balling, and it might be argued that those who are actively involved in the community are more likely to have their names put forward than other, less 'widely-known' individuals. It
may also be due to the fact that the NDV respondents were slightly younger on the whole. Overall, both groups of respondents had a surprisingly large number of people who were either still working or who had only more recently fully retired from all part-time work. As stated earlier, on noting the large number of active retirees in the study, it occurred to me that perhaps existing preconceptions of retired people as quite inactive (socially and otherwise) should perhaps be revisited.

As far as DV respondents were concerned, there was a lot of variation in the length of time subjects had resided in the Dutch Retirement Village. Some ( $\mathrm{n}=5$ ) had been there since its establishment in 1984 (New Zealand Herald, 1984), whilst others had moved there more recently. Overall, the length of time respondents had lived in the Village at the time of the interview varied from 6 to nearly 23 years. The sample was too small to explore any possible relationship between length of time respondents had resided in the Village and their L2 proficiency, hence this relationship was not explored in depth.

### 5.5 Summary

This chapter aimed to give some general background information on Netherlands and New Zealand societies at the time the respondents left the former country to migrate to the latter. It has also provided information on respondents in the main study. It will be clear from the above that participants shared similarities in terms of immigration cohort, but were a heterogeneous group in many other respects, some of which were related to their schooling in the Netherlands. Later chapters will show that the amount of L2 English education speakers had received at secondary school prior to arriving in New Zealand significantly impacted on both their occupational and linguistic attainments in their new country. Respondents also differed in the amount of L2 and L1 maintenance they engaged in and there was not always a clear relation between this and residence in the Dutch Village. Individual differences may have impacted on the outcomes of the study and will therefore be included in a discussion of the findings.

## Chapter Six: L2 proficiency and language use pre-retirement

This chapter will examine the findings of the sociolinguistic life questionnaires in relation to respondents' exposure to and proficiency in the L2 prior to retirement. I will start by presenting information on the type and duration of secondary schooling interviewees had had prior to migrating to New Zealand. Next I will present information from self-assessments relating to respondents' level of L2 proficiency upon arrival in New Zealand. Then I will look at subjects' language use in a range of domains during their working life, as well as exploring their rationale for using a particular language in a particular setting. I will present participants' replies as to whether and to what extent host society attitudes influenced any of their language choices. Lastly, I will compare subjects' assessments of their ultimate pre-retirement attainment in the L2 with those provided by their adult children. Since one of the initial hypotheses for the study related to possible differences across groups according to their predominant linguistic environment post-retirement, most tables will not only present information for all respondents, but also for speakers across DV and NDV groups.

### 6.1 Exposure to L2 English prior to emigration

As stated in the previous chapter, all respondents were asked about the number of years of primary, secondary and tertiary schooling received in the Netherlands. Aside from providing general information as to their educational and professional background, this served to provide some further insight into the type and amount of foreign language instruction received.

Table 5.5 in Chapter Five provides information about the type and duration of secondary education received by respondents in the main study. More detailed information about the curricula offered by the various school types is also presented in Chapter Five. Table 5.5 shows that almost half of all interviewees had had MULO education, meaning that they had received classroom instruction in English. In some cases respondents had seen their class attendance interrupted due to the German occupation. One respondent stated that she had been unable to attend school during the war, but that she had been allowed to complete the 3 -year MULO curriculum in an accelerated manner in the space of one and a half years. One of the respondents reported that her English teacher at $M U L O$ school had been a native speaker, a "real Pom,
complete with walking stick and bowler hat". This respondent spoke exceptionally fluent English, with the type of pronunciation commonly referred to as RP (Received Pronunciation), and without a trace of a Dutch accent. Five respondents had attended pre-university education, which included five to six years formal instruction in German, French and English. One respondent had received foreign language instruction at handelsschool, for the purpose of business correspondence.

Several respondents had combined apprenticeships with evening classes in one of the trades. Six of the female respondents had completed between one to two years of learning home economics and had started work after that. One male and one female respondent had not had any secondary schooling but had entered paid employment early. Three female respondents had not received any secondary education, two of them because the wartime occupation of the Netherlands by German forces made school attendance hazardous. None of the latter group had received any formal classroom instruction in English prior to migrating to New Zealand. Thirteen interviewees had not learned any English at school, but four of these had taken private classes in English in preparation for the move to New Zealand. Table 6.1 contains information about all types of L2 instruction received by respondents, including private tuition.

Table: 6.1

Type and duration of instruction in English - all respondents

| Venue: | Number of respondents: |
| :--- | :---: |
| Private tuition only | 4 |
| Private tuition plus secondary school L2 | 3 |
| L2 instruction at secondary school 1-2 years | 2 |
| L2 instruction at secondary school 3-4 years | 12 |
| L2 instruction at secondary school 5-6 years | 3 |
| No English instruction at all | 9 |
| All | $30^{*}$ |

* Includes participants who received L2 instruction at secondary school as well as private L2 tuition

This table shows that most of those who had learned some English had in fact acquired it formally in the classroom situation at either MULO, Handelsschool or HBS. Of the seven respondents who had had some private tuition in English before emigrating to New Zealand, four had learned English at school, but had thought it wise to have
some additional tuition. The remaining three said they had taken private classes because they had not learned any English previously. This left nine respondents who had come to New Zealand without having acquired any English beforehand. Two respondents had been exposed to some English by means other than formal instruction, one of them through being trained by American army instructors, and the other through travel abroad.

Respondents were also asked about their level of tertiary education as part of the sociolinguistic life history questions, mainly in order to form an impression of their general educational and professional background prior to migration. A small number of informants ( $\mathrm{n}=10$ ) had attended some form of tertiary or professional training after secondary school. One of these had completed professional education at university degree level and had been able to find related employment in New Zealand. Another respondent had attended two different types of health-related training in the Netherlands and had eventually worked in related areas in New Zealand. All other respondents had had ended up working in positions unrelated areas to their areas of professional training in the Netherlands.

Interestingly, most of those who had attended some form of tertiary or professional training in the Netherlands after completing secondary school were NDV respondents ( $\mathrm{n}=7$ ). The only respondent overall to have completed tertiary education in New Zealand was also one of the NDV interviewees - she had completed a Bachelor Degree. The majority of DV respondents had received on-the-job instruction, both in the Netherlands and in New Zealand, but had not undergone any formal training. A possible explanation may lie in the fact that DV respondents were slightly older than NDV subjects overall and had come to New Zealand as part of the earliest immigration cohort (i.e. between 1950 and 1954). This means it is likely that they were of secondary school age during a time when educational opportunities were impacted on by the vagaries of the German occupation. It may also been that these respondents had been teenagers at a time when families were more likely to need "all hands on deck", meaning that some young people were not allowed to attend secondary school because they needed to help supplement the family income. Whatever the reason, it became clear in the course of the study that such early beginnings had continued to impact on respondents' ultimate attainment both in terms of the L2 and in terms of their career options in New Zealand.

### 6.1.1 Type and duration of secondary school education and L2 proficiency on arrival

I was interested to see if there would be any relationship between type of education attended in the Netherlands on the one hand, and respondents' self-assessed levels of English proficiency and understanding on arrival in New Zealand on the other hand. Table 6.3 shows that those who had received formal instruction in English at MULO secondary school generally assessed their level of L2 English proficiency on arrival as "fair" or "good".

Table 6.2.
Self-assessed L2 proficiency on arrival in New Zealand and secondary education in the Netherlands - all respondents

|  | Type of Secondary Education |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Self-assessed L2 <br> proficiency on <br> arrival | None | Trades or Home <br> Economics Type <br> School | MULO | Handelsschool <br> (Commercial <br> Studies + Lang.) | HBS |
| Non-existent | 2 | 6 |  |  |  |
| Very limited | 1 | 4 | 1 |  |  |
| Fair |  | $1^{*}$ | $5^{*}$ | 1 |  |
| Good |  |  | 5 |  |  |
| Very good |  |  | 1 |  | $5^{* *}$ |
| All = 32*** | $\mathbf{3}$ | $\mathbf{1 1}$ | $\mathbf{1 2}$ | $\mathbf{1}$ | $\mathbf{5}$ |

* includes one respondent who had attended Trade School for 3 years and MULO for 1 year
** includes one respondent who attended MULO and HBS
*** two respondents appear in the table twice because they attended two types of school

One of the MULO school graduates recounted how he and his brother had arrived in New Zealand simultaneously. The respondent had learned English at school, but his brother had not. The interviewee said:

Even when we new arrived you know they say to me: you're picking it up a lot quicker than your brother is. Because my brother he he had no education at all.

He went to Indonesia and all that, but...the forming of sentences, I think. That that that what that's what but what I learned at school, that that all came back. You know? Oh yes, and then later...so after a year I was probably six months
ahead of my brother, you know. He was still stuttering and I I I started to sort of talk it more fluently. (DVM02)

It was interesting to note that all those who had learned English at a school for preuniversity HBS education assessed their level of proficiency as "very good". Both the female respondents who had had pre-university education had worked in administrative jobs. Of the three male pre-university HBS graduates, two had gone on to tertiary education. One had qualified as an engineer, and had worked in that capacity in New Zealand for many years, while the other had not worked in his area of training, but had gone on, first to managerial roles, and then to managing his own business. The remaining male HBS graduate had also ended up in a managerial position. All three were still very fluent in their L2 at the time of the interview, to the extent of being able to use puns and word plays.

### 6.1.2 L 2 proficiency on arrival and ultimate attainment in the L 2

Overall, there appeared to be a relationship between respondents' level of L2 proficiency on arrival in New Zealand and their ultimate attainment in the L2. Table 6.4 shows how most of those who had rated their L2 proficiency on arrival as "good" assessed their ultimate attainment in the L2 as "very good".

Table 6.3.

Self-assessment of L2 proficiency on arrival in New Zealand and ultimate attainment in L2- all respondents

|  | Self-assessed ultimate attainment in the L2 |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Limited | Fair | Good | Very good |
| Proficiency <br> on arrival $\downarrow$ |  |  |  |  |
| Non-existent | 1 | 1 |  | 1 |
| Very limited |  | 1 | 3 | 2 |
| Fair |  | 1 | 5 | 7 |
| Good |  |  |  | 4 |
| very good |  |  |  |  |
| All $=30$ |  |  |  | 12 |

However, individual differences in language aptitude also played a role in respondents' ultimate attainment in their L2 as will be clear when we look at those who had rated their L2 proficiency on arrival as either "non-existent" or "very limited". Of the nine respondents who had come to New Zealand without any formal instruction in the L2, one assessed her ultimate attainment in English as very good and this respondent was indeed still very fluent in her L2 at the age of 80 . Another two assessed their ultimate proficiency in English as good, while one maintained that his general proficiency in English had always remained limited. The last respondent was struggling to find English words at the time of the interview, and admitted to a considerable preference for speaking Dutch, his L1, for ease of expression. Some of those who had not learned any L2 before arriving, but who were able to use words like "hello" "thank you" and "goodbye" described their L2 proficiency on arrival as "very limited" rather than "nonexistent".

### 6.2 Exposure to L2 during working life

Aside from trying to ascertain respondents' level of prior instruction in the L2, it was important to gain an impression of the extent of their exposure to the L2 during their working life, prior to the period of relative isolation from the L2 associated with retirement. Obviously, the mere fact of living in an English speaking society for over 40 years would have influenced participants' receptivity and productivity in their L2. Exposure to English speaking media would have impacted on participants' receptive skills in the L2, while contact with English speaking neighbours, employers, colleagues and shop assistants would have had an effect on their productive skills. Nevertheless, I expected that there would have been differences between individual respondents in terms of the quality and quantity of such contact. The sociolinguistic life-questionnaires provided some interesting information in this context and answers provided by respondents have been outlined below. The following sections will look at respondents' exposure to L2 English during their working life in a number of domains, including those involving the home environment, work and social contacts.

### 6.2.1 Language spoken at home

Fishman $(1991,2001)$ emphasises the importance of the language spoken at home in relation to language maintenance and shift. Numerous studies have revealed the extent of language shift among first and second generation Dutch migrants, (Pauwels, 1991; Ammerlaan, 1996; Roberts, 1999) and findings from this study fitted in with earlier findings. The table below represents the language spoken at home by DV respondents immediately after arriving in New Zealand, in most cases before they had children. Findings from a number of studies (e.g., 2004a) show that many Dutch immigrants in fact shifted to the use of English at home within the first few years of arriving in New Zealand.

During the interviews, it became clear that in the current study respondents had shifted to using English at home within a few years, usually as soon as their children started attending school, as explained below. The shift to English at home is also reflected in Table 7.6 in Chapter Seven which represents the language spoken with the children at the time of the interview, i.e. post-retirement.

Table 6.4
Amount of Dutch spoken at home initially

|  | All | DV | NDV |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| All the time | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Most of the time | 19 | 7 | 12 |
| Fair amount | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very little | 3 | $2^{*}$ | $1^{*}$ |
| None | 3 | $2^{* *}$ | 1 |
|  | $\mathbf{2 8}$ | $\mathbf{1 5}$ | $\mathbf{1 5}$ |
| All |  |  |  |

* one spouse preferred the L2 and always answered in that language ( $\mathrm{n}=1 \mathrm{DV}$; $\mathrm{n}=1$ NDV)
** $n=2$ had English speaking spouses.

As indicated previously, a majority of respondents $(\mathrm{n}=20)$ had shifted to speaking English, their L2, at home as soon as the children started attending school. The current study showed one overwhelming reason for such a shift to be a strong desire to ensure their children could take part in the dominant mode of education and culture. In each case, this shift had followed the advice of a person in a position of authority, who had warned respondents that their children might lag behind academically unless the parents
spoke English to them at home. A desire to assimilate and the desire to conform to the attitudes and opinions of members of the host society also came to the fore when respondents were asked whether English speaking New Zealanders had any influence on what language they decided to speak at home. Almost half of respondents ( $\mathrm{n}=14$ ) said that they had switched to English as the home language on the advice of people in authority, such as teachers $(\mathrm{N}=12)$, Plunket Nurses ${ }^{5}(\mathrm{n}=2)$ and doctors ( $\mathrm{n}=1$ ).

Four respondents quoted other reasons for switching to English at home. Two respondents stated they themselves had decided it would be better for the children if they spoke English at home. Two other respondents said that their eldest child had come home from school speaking English and had taught the younger siblings who were still at home. Another two respondents said that they themselves had decided that it would be better for their children if they switched to the use of English at home. The fact that a majority ( $\mathrm{n}=18$ ) switched from Dutch to English in the home environment seems to show the desire to assimilate for the sake of their children's future. This belies a pragmatic attitude which may be said to be quite characteristic not just of Dutch migrants, but of Dutch people in general (Vossestein, 2005).

Table 6.5.

Influence of host society on decision as to language spoken at home.

|  | All | DV | NDV |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Yes | $14^{*}$ | 10 | 4 |
| No (kept up L1) | 10 | 5 | 5 |
| No, shift to L2 for other reasons | 4 | 0 | $4^{*}$ |
|  |  |  |  |
| All |  |  |  |

* teacher told us to shift to English at home n=12 (8 DV; 4 NDV); Plunket Nurse told us to shift to English at home n=2 (both DV)

The above also shows the attitude on the respondents' part as to how best to act as responsible parents - not much information on bilingualism was available at the time, they were in a new country, and they put their trust in people in positions of authority. However, the people whose advice they heeded were monolingual and their recommendations, however well-intentioned, have since been proven to be incorrect, as

[^4]many studies have now proved that bilingualism may in fact be very beneficial for children's academic success (McCaffery, 1998) ${ }^{6}$.

Ten respondents (half DV, half NDV) had kept up Dutch at home. Some had continued speaking Dutch to some of their children (usually the eldest), but spoke English to other children. It was significant that those whose children spoke Dutch always spoke Dutch to them now. A second, less frequently mentioned ( $\mathrm{n}=2$ ) but no less important rationale given for shifting to the use of the L2 at home, was a desire on respondents' part to avoid their children being bullied at school for sounding different to English speaking New Zealand children. One respondent said:

We had people we knew and er their kids were er you know laughed at at school because they couldn't speak English and I said well it's not going to happen to our kids (DVF01)

This is of interest in view of the fact that respondents themselves often reported (still) receiving comments on the fact that they still had a Dutch accent. To quote one respondent (Dutch text has been printed in italics):

Want dat zeiden ze toen wij he, ons eerste kind naar school ging, het eerste wat ons de teacher zei is: spreek geen Hollands tegen je kinderen, it stops their education. En toen geloofde je dat.

Yeah, that's what they told us. (CF01)
(Because that is what they said to us, aye, when our first child started school, the first thing the teacher said to us is: don't speak Dutch to your children, it stops their education. And at that time, you believed it.)

[^5]This respondent added that, if anything went wrong at school, it was blamed on the parents being Dutch:

If they didn't if they should have learnt something the first thing they said was: oh, yes, but the parents are Dutch. (CF01)

Another respondent commented, in reference to a similar situation (again Dutch text has been printed in italics):

> Dat is eigenlijk een beetje verkeerd van ons geweest. Toen hadden we meer Hollands moeten praten dan hadden de kinderen ook beter Hollands kunnen spreken. (CM01)

(It was a bit wrong of us to do that, actually. We should have spoken more Dutch at the time, then the kids would have been able to speak better Dutch too).

### 6.2.2 Language spoken at work

The researcher was interested to see if the interviews would reveal any pattern of relationships between respondents' exposure to English at work, type of work and ultimate attainment in English. The twelve male respondents had worked in a range of jobs and there appeared to be a strong correlation both between level of education prior to coming to New Zealand, English proficiency on arrival, on the one hand, and type of career in New Zealand and ultimate attainment in English on the other hand.

One DV male respondent had come to New Zealand without any English, having only attended evening classes in trades in the Netherlands. He had worked as a manual labourer/factory hand all of his life and assessed his ultimate attainment in English as no more than "fair". At the time of the interview, he professed a strong preference for speaking Dutch, his L1, all the time, and complained that his wife (whose English proficiency was native-speaker like) always answered in English. Two NDV male respondents showed a very similar pattern. Both had arrived in New Zealand with little or no English, though one had "picked up" some English whilst being in military
service and undergoing training in the USA. Both had done manual work all their lives and although both liked to read in both languages, both their spoken English and spoken Dutch showed persistent intra-sentential codeswitching and what Muysken (2000) terms congruent lexicalisation. ${ }^{7}$

A very different pattern was observed in those male respondents (both DV and NDV) who had learned English at secondary school before coming to New Zealand. These usually assessed their English proficiency on arrival as "good". After arriving in New Zealand, they had started in manual work, but had gone on to management positions until retirement. These respondents assessed their ultimate attainment in English as "very good". Their own assessments were supported by their adult children and also by the linguistic analysis.

Two further male DV respondents had completed trades training in the Netherlands and had both learned some English at school before migrating to New Zealand. They both assessed their English proficiency on arrival as "fair" or "fair to good" and had gone on to run their own businesses here. They both assessed their ultimate attainment in English as "good". These self-report were again supported by their adult children's assessment of their English competency and by the linguistic analysis.

One DV male respondent and two NDV male respondents had completed preuniversity education in the Netherlands, and had learned English between three to six years through the secondary school classroom. These all assessed his English proficiency on arrival in New Zealand as 'very good', had ended up in management positions and assessed his ultimate attainment in English as 'very good'. All three of these respondents were still extremely fluent in English, their L2, and used a wide range of expressions without hesitation, in spite of being among the older respondents in the study.

Table 6.6 shows respondents' self-assessed English proficiency on arrival in New Zealand and their eventual professional attainment in New Zealand. Although the sample is quite small ( $\mathrm{n}=12$ ) a relationship can be seen between proficiency in English on arrival, on the one hand, and occupational attainment in New Zealand on the other hand.

[^6]Table 6.6.

L2 Proficiency on arrival in New Zeeland and occupational attainment -male respondents

|  | Occupational attainment in New Zealand |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Manual (factory) | Trades | Administration/ <br> Managerial | Own business |
| Proficiency on arrival <br> $\downarrow$ |  |  |  |  |
| Non-existent | 2 |  |  |  |
| Very limited |  | 2 |  |  |
| Fair |  |  | 1 | 2 |
| Good |  |  | 2 | 1 |
| very good |  |  | 2 |  |
| All =12 | $\mathbf{2}$ | $\mathbf{2}$ | $\mathbf{5}$ |  |

A similar pattern of relationship between prior education, proficiency in English on arrival, on the one hand, and career in New Zealand and ultimate attainment in English on the other hand, could be observed in most female respondents. Overall female respondents had worked in a variety of jobs. Two of the female respondents had completed pre-university education in the Netherlands, with both ending up in administrative employment in New Zealand. As mentioned previously, one (DV) interviewee had learned English at school from a British teacher and spoke it like a native speaker. In fact, her pronunciation could only be described as RP. This respondent had been involved in a variety of jobs, including managing her own business and being involved in administrative and organizational work. All three of the last mentioned female respondents had assessed their ultimate attainment in English as very good. It is likely that this may be attributed partly to their prior secondary education, partly to type of employment in New Zealand and partly to individual aptitude. On the whole, those female respondents who had learned English through the secondary school class room before arriving in New Zealand had ended up in office work or other mainly administrative positions. Three had been involved in managing their own businesses, while one had gained a succession of management positions in a large organisation.

One respondent had come to New Zealand without any English, but had taught herself English through reading simple primary school type readers. She had worked in a number of jobs, ranging from manual and domestic labour to office work.

Additionally, she had studied at tertiary level and had done some teaching. She was still very active in the community.

Table 6.7

L2 Proficiency on arrival in New Zealand and occupational attainment -female respondents

|  | Occupational attainment in New Zealand |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Never in <br> paid work | Manual <br> work | Retail <br> Assistant | Administration <br> /Managerial | Own business |
| Proficiency on arrival <br> $\downarrow$ |  |  |  |  |  |
| Non-existent | 3 |  | 1 | 1 |  |
| Very limited |  | 1 | 3 |  |  |
| Fair |  |  |  | 2 |  |
| Good |  |  |  | 3 | 2 |
| Very good |  |  |  | 1 | 1 |
|  | $\mathbf{3}$ | $\mathbf{1}$ | $\mathbf{4}$ | $\mathbf{7}$ | $\mathbf{3}$ |
| All =18 |  |  |  |  |  |

On the whole there appeared to be a relationship between L2 proficiency on arrival and career progression in New Zealand, with those female interviewees who assessed their L2 as very limited or non-existent on arrival, remaining in positions involving manual work or work as shop assistants. However, it is also possibly that subjects gravitated towards types of employment that allowed them to fit paid work around their other "jobs" of homemakers.

Table 6.7 also shows that three of the female (DV) respondents had never been in paid employment outside of the home. Interestingly, these three respondents all stated that their proficiency in English' upon arrival in New Zealand was either non-existent or very limited. However, their assessments of their own ultimate attainment in English, their L2, ranged from fair to good and even very good. Interestingly, the respondent who assessed her ultimate attainment in English as "very good" had lived in New Zealand longer than any of the other respondents. In addition, she had resided in the Dutch Village since it was first opened. However, she said she had very frequent opportunities to speak English to her children, all of whom kept in close contact with
her and visited at least once a week. This respondent appears in the Chapter Twelve, which presents some case studies involving individual interviewees.

Most respondents ( $\mathrm{n}=20$ ) reported that they had always spoken English at work. One respondent had managed a large farm with her husband and stated that she had mostly spoken Dutch, except to outside contacts. Several respondents said that they had spoken quite a lot of Dutch with Dutch work mates when they first started work in New Zealand, and were working on their New Zealand government assigned contracts (Schouten, 1992) but that they had always spoken English in any successive jobs. A smaller number of respondents ( $\mathrm{N}=4$ ) said they had spoken mostly English at work, but some Dutch to their Dutch workmates, whilst two respondents said they had spoken a mixture of English and Dutch.

A similar pattern became apparent when respondents were asked how much Dutch they had spoken at work in years leading up to retirement, with a majority ( $\mathrm{n}=18$ ) replying "nil" and a small number stating "very little" ( $n=4$ ). Five respondents said they had spoken a "fair amount of Dutch at work. This included some male respondents who reported speaking their L1 with Dutch workmates when they were not within earshot of other, non-Dutch speaking workers. Two female respondents said they had spoken a mixture of English and Dutch. One female respondent had spent some time working in a German delicatessen owned by an L1 German speaking owner. At that time she had spoken a mix of English, German and Dutch with the owner and with customers.

The situation with regard to language spoken at work seemed to change slightly in the years leading up to retirement, with respondents stating that they used their L1 at work more often in the years leading up to retirement. However, this apparent increase in the use of the L1 at work may be partly attributed to the fact that some respondents were involved with a Dutch delicatessen store.

### 6.2.3 Language spoken with friends

Respondents were asked to report how much Dutch they had spoken with friends initially, i.e. soon after arriving in New Zealand. This was something which would obviously have been dependent on the number of Dutch speaking people in the area where respondents originally settled, hence, they were also asked about the number of Dutch settlers in the area initially. The analysis of questionnaire information showed that there appeared to be a relationship between numbers of Dutch settlers in the area
initially and residency in the Dutch Village post retirement. Table 7.4 in Chapter Seven shows that those respondents presently living in the Dutch village had not had as many opportunities to speak their own language when they first settled in New Zealand. The question arises whether this was something they had felt was missing from their lives and whether they were wanting to change that in retirement by moving to a mainly Dutch speaking environment.

Table 6.8 below shows that DV residents were also more likely to report having spoken very little Dutch with friends initially. This ties in with information found in Table 7.4 about the number of Dutch settlers in the area where respondents initially settled. Obviously, the government policy of spreading new immigrants right across New Zealand, especially in the early years of Dutch migration, was having the desired effect.

Table 6.8.

Amount of Dutch spoken with friends initially -all respondents

|  | All | DV | NDV |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| All the time | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Most of the time | 6 | 1 | 5 |
| Fair amount | 9 | 4 | 5 |
| Very little | 12 | 8 | 4 |
| None | 3 | 2 | 1 |
|  |  |  | $\mathbf{1 5}$ |
| All $=\mathbf{3 0}$ | $\mathbf{3 0}$ | $\mathbf{1 5}$ |  |

A slight shift seems to be apparent when comparing the amount of Dutch spoken with friends initially and the amount of Dutch spoken in the years leading up to retirement. Overall, respondents reported speaking more Dutch with friends in the years leading up to retirement, with just over half of NDV respondents stating that they spoke Dutch to their friends "most of the time'.

Table 6.9.

Amount of Dutch spoken with friends in the years leading up to retirement - all respondents

|  | All | DV | NDV |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| All the time | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Most of the time | 10 | 2 | 8 |
| Fair amount | 9 | 7 | 2 |
| Very little | 11 | 6 | 5 |
| None | 0 | 0 | 0 |
|  | $\mathbf{3 0}$ | $\mathbf{1 5}$ | $\mathbf{1 5}$ |
| All $=\mathbf{3 0}$ |  |  |  |

Respondents were also asked how much English they had spoken with friends in the years leading up to retirement. Significantly, most respondents ( $\mathrm{n}=20$ ) still reported speaking "a fair amount" of English with friends leading up to retirement or more, with only four speakers saying they used English "very little" with friends in that period. Respondents' answers seem to indicate that they always spoke English with their English speaking friends. In addition, interviewees indicated that they always spoke English with their Dutch speaking friends when English speakers were present. This seems to tie in with Kuiper's "earshot rule". In his ethnographic study involving speakers of Dutch in New Zealand, Kuiper found that Dutch was spoken only when it could not be overheard, i.e. when non-Dutch speakers were out of earshot (Kuiper, 2004b).

### 6.2.4 Host society attitudes

It is obvious from the study, that host society attitudes had an effect on respondents' choice of language in relation to a number of domains, including the home environment. When asked about the attitudes of English speaking New Zealanders towards speakers of languages other than English, most respondents ( $n=20$ ) replied that English speaking New Zealanders wanted them to speak English "all the time", while a further eight interviewees said that English speaking New Zealanders wanted them to speak English "most of the time".

Table 6.10.
Host society attitudes to speakers of languages other than English - all respondents.

|  | All | DV | NDV |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Host society wanted us to speak $\mathbf{L 2}$ <br> ALL the time | 20 | 11 | 9 |
| Host society wanted us to speak $\mathbf{L 2}$ <br> MOST of the time | 8 | 4 | 4 |
| Host society did not mind us using L1 <br> SOME of the time | 2 | 0 | 2 |
|  | $\mathbf{3 0}$ | $\mathbf{1 5}$ | $\mathbf{1 5}$ |
| Total |  |  |  |

One respondent recounted an experience he had at a camping ground where he had taken the children in the late 1950s. He had been speaking Dutch to the children when a New Zealand lady came up to him and said: "I want you to stop speaking Dutch to those children!" When he asked her why, she said: "Because I cannot understand it." To which he dryly replied: "Well, that's exactly the point, isn't it?" This respondent and his wife had come to New Zealand as educated and multilingual speakers. Like so many respondents, they had been told to stop speaking Dutch to their children at home. His wife had a stock reply to any such advice: "I can speak four languages, so my children are allowed to speak at least two". However, most respondents were very keen to assimilate as quickly as possible. Not surprisingly they felt quite hurt on being told repeatedly:

You're Dutch, aren't you. You've still got your accent. (CF03)

Comments like this were reported by a majority of respondents ( $\mathrm{n}=19$ ) and made them feel as if they were still being subtly excluded from their adopted country. One of them said:

I wanted to be a Kiwi. And I tried and tried, but I could never get rid of my accent. (CF06)

Respondents also recounted not being allowed to speak their own language with same language peers at work. One male DV respondent remembered his first job working in a 'gang' on the railways, recounting the prescripts given by the foreman:


#### Abstract

Well, in, when we were (in it) railways, see, there was all about eight eight, eight, except the the say the leader of the gang - we were, we were a gang more or less, you know, and you had the ... yeah, he was he was er he was like a New Zealander. And then er it was four Dutchmen and er but the way we did made a difference too, because a lot of Dutch people they started to work together and they kept on talking Dutch. And we did, ja, we did in a way we did when the four of us were together, but during the day, you know, because that's very strict. "No Dutch!!" "No Dutch!" "No Dutch!" (DVM02)


Other respondents reported similar experiences. When asked about the perceived attitudes of the host society towards people of Dutch identity, one answer prevailed: a considerable number of respondents said that they had been considered "hard workers". A small number of respondents ( $\mathrm{n}=5$, which equates to around $17 \%$ ) said that this had led to some jealousy on the part of other workers, who seemed to feel that it showed them up for not working as hard. One respondent had found people in smaller villages to have been more helpful than people in the big city, whereas four respondents said they felt the host society had been quite hostile to people of Dutch identity overall. Two respondents felt that New Zealanders in general had been jealous of Dutch migrants simply because 'we grabbed the opportunities'. One respondent felt this envy was

Table 6.11.

Attitudes to people of Dutch identity as reported by all respondents.

| Attitudes reported (open-ended question) | All | DV | NDV |  |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Hard workers | 18 | 12 | 6 |  |
| Hostile | Hostile overall | 1 | 1 | 0 |
|  | Hostile in the big city | 4 | 0 | 4 |
| Jealous | Jealous because we worked hard | 5 | 2 | 3 |
|  | Jealous because we grabbed opportunities | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| All | $\mathbf{3 0}$ | $\mathbf{1 5}$ | $\mathbf{1 5}$ |  |

uncalled for, and that those who had been jealous of the Dutch immigrants seemed to forget that migrants anywhere tend to do well, because they have gone through the upheaval of migrating in order to achieve something in their new country. She expressed her opinion on this as follows:

Maybe they was more jealous because we worked too hard. Ja, oh, ja! But now I mean if you hear from the er from the New Zeelanders who are in Australia, they say the same from the the New Zeelanders.
[Interviewer: They say New Zealanders work too hard?]
$J a$, in Australia! (CF03)

Another respondent commented:

No, we didn't speak Dutch.
In in when we came out, they didn't like it. New Zealanders.
They had funny ideas, you know. They thought we had so much money, when we came out. Yeah, we were in a restaurant once and we heard those blokes at the other table say: Oh, bloody Dutchies, I bet you they got a lot of money on the bank.

We only just arrived with nothing. (CF01)

Yet another respondent said:

Oh, no, no, it was like that, when die Hollanders arrived here, you know, most hadden geen geld, isn't it. Nou ze moes ze moesten hard werken om een huisje te, you know, om geld voor, en meestal had je met die Nieuwzeelanders dat daar met zes uur o'clock de closing of de pub meest sluit om zes uur, so, die NieuwZeelanders stonden daar, het zijn bierdrinkers, so, maar Hollanders deden dat niet en dat, you know, so... (CM01)
(Oh, no, no, it was like that when the Dutch arrived here, you know, most had no money. Well, they had to they had to work hard in order to ...a house, you know, in order to .... money for... and most of the time the New Zealanders, at
six o'clock, the closing of the pub used to close at six o'clock, so the New Zealanders would be standing there, they're beer drinkers, so, but the Dutch did not do that, you know, so...)

Aside from these somewhat less positive experiences, most respondents reported having received invaluable help and support from neighbours and work mates early on and having made good friends among native English speaking New Zealanders. One respondent recounted how he had wanted to build his first home. A mate from work had told him to meet him at 8 am on a Saturday morning at the site and sure enough, the work mate arrived at 8 am promptly with 'perk timber' and 'perk everything' and proceeded to help him with the construction. Another respondent recounted how one of her children had been very ill, but her GP had not taken her seriously, apparently thinking the child was just throwing a tantrum. New Zealand friends came to the rescue when they heard this and took the respondent and her child to their own family doctor who immediately diagnosed the fact that the child was in fact seriously ill.

Respondents were also asked if they felt the attitudes of New Zealanders to nonL1 English speaking immigrants had changed. Responses varied quite widely, with four respondents stating they felt their attitude had not changed at all. A smaller group ( $\mathrm{n}=5$ ) said they found New Zealanders less tolerant now. When asked why they thought this might be so, many quoted the increase in immigration. One respondent's response was quite typical when she said:

Especially immigrants from the Pacific region and from Asian countries, and those people just speak their language 'in front of you'- they don't care whereas we still think that is rude. (DVF01)

They felt that this type of behaviour, which was the opposite of what they themselves had tended to engage in (cf. Kuiper's 'earshot rule, 2004b), had done nothing to endear the new migrants to members of the host society. Other respondents $(\mathrm{n}=10)$ stated they felt New Zealanders to be more tolerant now. Those respondents who said they found New Zealanders more tolerant now, listed various
reasons for this increased tolerance, including the fact that New Zealand has opened up to the world ( $\mathrm{n}=4$ ) and that there are more migrants coming in ( $\mathrm{n}=13$ ). One respondent attributed the increased tolerance to the fact that "Kiwis travel now".

### 6.3 Ultimate attainment in English

The current study used self-assessment as a way of establishing respondents' ultimate attainment in English, their L2. As stated in the Methodology chapter, selfassessments have come in for criticism (Hulsen, 2000; Schmid, 2002), but have also been found to correspond to actual language skills (Schmid, 2004). Previous studies have shown a correlation between respondents' level of education and accuracy of self-assessment (Hulsen, 2000). Schmid (2004) advocates the inclusion of selfassessments in research design especially when their findings can be compared to those achieved by means of other measuring instruments used in the same study. In the current study, adult children were sent brief questionnaires asking for their view on their parents' ultimate attainment in English, their L2. This section will present findings from respondents' self-assessments of their ultimate attainment in English. These will be followed by the adult children's assessments of their parents' ultimate attainment in English and the outcomes of both measuring tools compared.

### 6.3.1 Self-assessment of proficiency in L2 English upon arrival

Respondents were asked to report their level of L2 proficiency on arrival in New Zealand, so this could be taken into account when examining their both their ultimate attainment in the L2 and their level of L2 proficiency post-retirement. The table below shows respondents' self-assessed proficiency in English on arrival in New Zealand. The number of respondents ( $\mathrm{n}=7$ ) who said they had come to New Zealand without any English ( $\mathrm{n}=7$ ) or very limited English ( $\mathrm{n}=6$ ) were fairly evenly divided across both groups of respondents. This means that just under half of respondents said they had come to New Zealand with little or no proficiency in English. Slightly more DV respondents assessed their English proficiency on arrival as either "fair" or "very good", while slightly more NDV respondents assessing their English proficiency as "good".

Table 6.12.
Self-assessed L2 proficiency on arrival in New Zealand - all respondents.

| Self-assessed L2 <br> proficiency on arrival <br> in NZ | All | DV | NDV |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Non-existent | 7 | 4 | 3 |
| Very limited | 6 | 3 | 3 |
| Fair | 6 | 4 | 2 |
| Good | 7 | 2 | 5 |
| Very good | 4 | 3 | 1 |
|  | $\mathbf{3 0}$ | $\mathbf{1 5}$ | $\mathbf{1 5}$ |
| All = 30 |  |  |  |

All respondents were asked to report their level of ultimate attainment during their working lives, as this should be considered when examining their L2 proficiency postretirement. Most respondents felt that they had gained a lot in L2 competency since arriving in New Zealand, including those who had assessed their L2 proficiency on arrival as "non-existent" or "limited". Table 6.13 shows that around one third of respondents ( $\mathrm{n}=12$ ) assessed their ultimate attainment in English as "good", while just under half of respondents ( $\mathrm{n}=14$ ) assessed their ultimate attainment as "very good", with numbers fairly evenly divided over both sample groups. Three respondents assessed their ultimate attainment as "fair" and this was also borne out by their productive competency in English at the time of the interview. One respondent stated that his ultimate attainment in English had been very limited, while in reality his productive skills appeared no less than those of the three respondents who stated that they had never achieved more than a "fair" competency in English. The respondent in question admitted to being somewhat depressed and his negative self-assessment may well tie in with his general state of mind. His adult child assessed his ultimate attainment as regards L2 proficiency as "fair". The other respondent worth noting was the female interviewee who reported that she had arrived with no English, but felt that she had progressed to a "very good" level of competency in English. This respondent was resident in the Dutch Village and was in fact very fluent at the time of the interview, without showing signs of avoidance strategies or codeswitching, other than the use of the occasional L1 word when recounting memories of World War II (i.e. associated
with a Dutch setting). This respondent is discussed in some more detail in Chapter Twelve under Case Studies).

Table 6.13.
Self-assessed ultimate attainment in the L2-all respondents.

| Self-assessed ultimate <br> attainment in the L2 in <br> NZ | All | DV | NDV |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Non-existent | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Very limited | $1^{*}$ | $1^{*}$ | 0 |
| Fair | 3 | 1 | 2 |
| Good | 12 | 6 | 6 |
|  |  |  |  |
| Very good | 14 | 7 | 7 |
| All $=\mathbf{3 0}$ | $\mathbf{3 0}$ | $\mathbf{1 5}$ | $\mathbf{1 5}$ |

### 6.3.2 Assessment of ultimate attainment in L2 English by adult children

Overall respondents’ own assessment of their ultimate attainment in L2 English proficiency corresponded largely with the assessment of the same provided by respondents' adult children. Table 6.14 shows the number of cases ( $\mathrm{n}=22$ ) where respondents' self-assessment of their ultimate attainment in terms of L2 English proficiency corresponds with that provided by their adult children.

Table 6.14.

Instances where self-reported of ultimate attainment in the L2 corresponded with assessment by adult children - all respondents.

| Ultimate attainment L2 <br> proficiency $\downarrow$ | Self-assessment | Assessment by adult children |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Non-existent | 0 | 0 |
| Very limited | 0 | 0 |
| Fair | 3 | 3 |
| Good | 7 | 7 |
| Very good | 12 | 12 |
| All $=\mathbf{2 2}$ | $\mathbf{2 2}$ | $\mathbf{2 2}$ |

Table 6.15 provides an overview of the number of cases $(\mathrm{n}=8)$ where respondents' self-assessment of their ultimate attainment in terms of L2 English proficiency did not correspond with that provided by their adult children, but being either more favourable than their children's assessment $(\mathrm{n}=6$ ) or less favourable $(\mathrm{n}=2)$.

Table 6.15:
Instances where self-report of ultimate attainment in L2 proficiency did not correspond with assessment by adult children - all respondents.

| Number of respondents | Self-assessment | Assessment by adult <br> children | Adult children <br> assessment |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | Limited | Fair | $1 \uparrow$ |
| 1 | Good | Very good | $1 \uparrow$ |
| 3 | Good | Fair | $1 \downarrow$ |
| 1 | Good to very good | Good | $1 \downarrow$ |
| 2 | Very good | Good | $1 \downarrow$ |
| $\mathbf{6}$ |  |  |  |

In $5 \%$ of cases ( $\mathrm{n}=6$ ) adult children were more critical of their parents' ultimate attainment in English, their L2, than the parents themselves. In each case, the adult child's assessment of the parent's attainment was one level lower than the parent's selfassessment. This might seem to correspond with the author's assumption that migrants' (adult) children might tend to be quite critical of their parents' English proficiency. In only two cases did the adult children assess their parents' ultimate attainment as better than the parents. As stated before, in one of these cases, the parent had admitted to being somewhat depressed, which is likely to have affected his self-assessment.

One of the aims of the study was to examine whether DV respondents were showing more signs of L2 attrition with associated L1 reversion than NDV respondents. I will therefore also provide separate tables comparing self-assessments by DV and NDV interviewees respectively with assessments of their language use by their adult children. DV respondents' self-reports of their ultimate attainment in English matched their adult children's assessment of their parents' ultimate attainment in the L2 in two thirds of cases ( $\mathrm{n}=10$ ). In four cases DV respondents' children rated their parents' ultimate
attainment in the L2 less favourably than the parents (respondents) themselves. In one case the respondent had a low opinion of his own ultimate attainment and gave it a rating of "very limited", whereas the adult child assessed the parent's attainment as "fair". A breakdown of assessments per respondent and corresponding adult child provides us with a little more information. Table 6.16 gives a more individualized breakdown for the Dutch Village respondents, comparing their self-assessment of their ultimate attainment in L2 English with an assessment of the same by their adult children. Information on respondents' secondary education has also been included, in order to test whether there might have been a relationship between this and the accuracy of their self-reported L2 proficiency (as tested by adult children's assessments of the same).

Table 6.16.

Instances where self-report of ultimate attainment in L2 proficiency did not correspond with assessment by adult children - DV respondents.

| Secondary schooling | Self-assessed <br> ultimate attainment <br> in L2 | Assessment by adult <br> children | Adult children <br> assessment |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Trade school/apprenticeship | Limited | Fair | $1 \uparrow$ |
| MULO | Good | Fair | $1 \downarrow$ |
| HBS | Very good | Good | $1 \downarrow$ |
| Trade school/apprenticeship | Good | Fair | $1 \downarrow$ |
| None | Good | Fair | $1 \downarrow$ |
| All: $\mathbf{n}=\mathbf{5}$ |  |  |  |

It is clear from Table 6.16 that three of the respondents in question had had little or no secondary education. The first respondent listed regretted not having had the chance to have a "proper education" in the Netherlands. He may also have compared himself to his wife, who had not only attended MULO education, but who had also achieved complete native speaker fluency in English. These factors may have played a role in him taking an unfavourable view of his own achievement in English, a view which was not shared by his wife and adult child. The second and third respondent listed in Table 6.16 had had what might be called solid secondary schooling in the Netherlands, which had included formal classroom instruction in the L2. The second respondent had learned

English at MULO, but had spoken Dutch in the day-to-day running of her farm. The third respondent had also learned English at school. At the time of the interview, this participant repeatedly stated that she now "struggled" to speak English, even though she was in fact remarkably fluent. The last two respondents listed in Table 6.16 had had little or no secondary schooling. They both assessed their ultimate attainment in English as "good" whereas their adult child assessed their attainment as only "fair". In doing so, the adult child specifically commented that her friends always said that they could not understand her parents (who both had quite strong Dutch accents in English) and she may have been a little influenced by her friends' comments.

NDV respondents' self-reports of their ultimate attainment in English matched their adult children's assessment of their parents' ultimate attainment in the L2 in more than two thirds of cases ( $\mathrm{n}=12$ ). Table 6.17 shows that in only two cases did NDV respondents' children rate their parents' ultimate attainment in the L2 less favourably than the parents (respondents) themselves $(\mathrm{N}=4)$. In one case the respondent had assessed her own ultimate attainment as 'good', whereas the adult child assessed the parent's attainment as 'very good', qualifying this with some specific comments as outlined below.

Table 6.17.

Instances where self-report of ultimate attainment in L2 proficiency did not correspond with assessment by adult children - DV respondents.

| Secondary schooling | Self-assessed <br> ultimate attainment <br> in L2 | Assessment by adult <br> children | Adult children <br> assessment |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| MULO | Good | Very good | $1 \uparrow$ |
| None | Very good | Good | $1 \downarrow$ |
| Trade school/Apprenticeship | Good to very good | Good | $1 \downarrow$ |

In two cases respondents' self-reported ultimate attainment in English, their L2, was one level better than their adult children's assessment. In one case, the respondent assessed their ultimate attainment as either 'very good' or 'good to very good', whereas the adult children assessed it as good. In another case, the respondent rated her own
ultimate attainment in English less favourably than her adult child. The latter did state that, more recently the her mother's English had started to show more signs of codeswitching, possibly due to the fact that the latter's second spouse indulged in codeswitching a lot. On the whole, though, adult children's assessments of their parent's ultimate attainment in English directly corresponded with the parent's own reports.

Lastly, it should be noted that in five out of eight cases where the parents assessed their ultimate attainment in the L2 more favourably than their adult children, the former had had little or no secondary schooling. For most of those who had enjoyed a higher level of secondary education, levels of self-reported L2 proficiency overlapped with assessments by adult children. This may confirm Hulsen's finding about a positive correlation between the accuracy of self-reported proficiency and increased level of education. Overall, however, the sample was too small to draw any statistically viable conclusions in this matter.

### 6.4 Summary of chapter

This chapter has examined findings in relation to participants' exposure to and proficiency in the L2 prior to retirement. It also looked at language chosen for use in particular domains and briefly examined respondents' reason for choosing to use a particular language in a particular setting. Participants' impressions of host society attitudes have also been presented and showed that respondents overwhelmingly felt that their hosts wanted them to speak the L2. Participants also recounted how they followed advice given by teachers and others to shift to the use of the L2 at home, thinking this would be more beneficial to their children. All in all a picture emerged of a predominant shift to the L2 in most domains, followed by increased use of the L1 in the years leading up to respondents' retirement. Subjects were asked to report their level of ultimate attainment in the L2 pre-retirement as this should be considered when examining their L2 proficiency post-retirement. Respondents' self-reports of their ultimate attainment in the L2 were presented and compared with assessments provided by their adult children in order to ascertain the degree of overlap between the two. The next chapter will focus on whether any changes have occurred in respondents' L2 proficiency post-retirement. Information relating to their L2 use and proficiency preretirement will be included for comparative purposes.

## Chapter Seven: L2 proficiency and language use post-retirement

### 7.1 Introduction

Chapter Six looked at respondents' exposure to and productivity in English, their L2, during their working life. This chapter will focus more specifically on respondents' selfassessments of their language use and proficiency pre- and post-retirement, in order to see if they report any changes, including signs of L2 attrition and L1 reversion. Respondents' self-reports will be compared with relevant assessments by respondents' adult children. The final section of the chapter will examine participants' ability to express any healthcare needs in the L2, based on anecdotal evidence suggesting an increased need for healthcare interpreters among older Dutch migrants.

### 7.2 Language use in the years leading up to retirement

It is clear from previous chapters that most respondents shifted to the use of English at home quite soon after arriving in New Zealand, and particularly so when their children started attending primary school. Interestingly, a large majority of respondents reported having shifted back to the use of Dutch at home in the ten or so years leading up to retirement. A considerable number of respondents, especially in the Dutch Village, said that they were not always consciously aware of what language they were speaking. Tables 7.1 and 7.2 below provide information on respondents' self-reported use of L1 Dutch and L2 English in the home domain in the years leading up to retirement and show that most respondents report a shift back to the use of their L1. In fact, most interviewees stated that they shifted back to Dutch as soon as the children left home.

Table 7.1.
Amount of Dutch spoken at home in years leading up to retirement.

|  | All | DV | NDV |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Nil | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| Very little | 3 | 1 | 2 |
| Fair Amount | $7^{*}$ | 6 | 1 |
| A lot | 18 | 7 | 11 |
| Mostly | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| All | $\mathbf{3 0}$ | $\mathbf{1 5}$ | $\mathbf{1 5}$ |

* 2 respondents specifically stated that they always mixed English and Dutch

All in all, only two of the respondents did not use any Dutch at home in this period. One respondent always spoke English to her spouse, because he was English-speaking. Another interviewee had divorced her Dutch speaking husband and remarried. Her second husband was also Dutch, but she said they always communicated in English because he spoke a dialect which she found incomprehensible.

Table 7.2 shows that most respondents felt that they had still spoken a fair amount of English at home in the years leading up to retirement, with a fair percentage of respondents ( $\mathrm{n}=7$ ) stating that they had used a mixture of English and Dutch. It will be clear from Table 71.1 and 7.2 that there was not always a clear overlap between information provided in relation to respondents' self-reported use of the L1 and the L2 respectively in the home domain in the years leading up to retirement. This appears to tie in with the fact that some participants stated that they were not always conscious of what language they were using in a particular situation.

Table 7.2.
Amount of English spoken at home in years leading up to retirement.

|  | All | DV | NDV |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Nil | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Very little | 7 | 2 | 5 |
| Fair Amount | 9 | 6 | 3 |
| A lot | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Mostly | 6 | 3 | 3 |
| Mixture | 7 | 3 | 4 |
| All | $\mathbf{3 0}$ | $\mathbf{1 5}$ | $\mathbf{1 5}$ |

Table 7.3 shows that NDV respondents had regularly spoken Dutch with friends in the years leading up to retirement, with just over half of NDV respondents stating that they had spoken Dutch with friends 'most of the time', as opposed to only two DV respondents. This raises the question whether having so few opportunities to use Dutch socially might have been a factor in respondents deciding to move to a mainly L1 Dutch speaking environment in retirement.

Table 7.3.
Amount of Dutch spoken with friends in years leading up to retirement.

|  | All | DV | NDV |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| All the time | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Most of the time | 10 | 2 | 8 |
| Fair Amount | 9 | 7 | 2 |
| Very little | 11 | 6 | 5 |
| None | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| All | $\mathbf{3 0}$ | $\mathbf{1 5}$ | $\mathbf{1 5}$ |

When comparing the information contained in Table 7.3 with that provided in Tables 7.4 and 7.5 an interesting picture emerges. The fact that almost half of the DV respondents reported that there had been next to no Dutch settlers in the area they settled in originally may explain why they had not had a lot of opportunity to use Dutch with friends at that time. This may also explain why they did not speak Dutch with friends a lot in the years leading up to retirement (see Table 7.3). Again, the question arises whether those living in the Dutch village had not had many opportunities to speak their own language when they first got here and were keen to change that in retirement. Please refer to Table 6.8 in Chapter Six for information on amount of Dutch spoken by with friends initially, i.e. within the first years of respondents' arrival in New Zealand.

Table 7.4.

Number of Dutch settlers in the area initially.

|  | All | DV | NDV |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| None | 5 | 4 | 1 |
| Very few | 6 | 3 | 3 |
| A fair number | 11 | 3 | 8 |
| A lot | 4 | 2 | 2 |
| A lot at first | 3 | 0 | 3 |
| Majority is Dutch | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| All | $\mathbf{3 0}$ | $\mathbf{1 5}$ | $\mathbf{1 5}$ |

A majority of all respondents $(\mathrm{n}=20)$ reported speaking "a fair amount" of English with friends in the years leading up to retirement, half of these resident in the Dutch Village and the other half outside of it. Hence, it would appear that both groups were still using English regularly in the social domain just prior to retirement.

### 7.3 Language use post-retirement

Respondents were asked about language use in the social and home domains pre-and post-retirement primarily to see whether there had been any changes which might have impacted on their L2 proficiency after retirement. It was assumed that retirement would have heralded a period in which opportunities for active use of the L2 would be much reduced, and that this in turn would impact on respondents' L2 proficiency. However, the concept of "retirement" was not as straightforward as first assumed, with seven out of thirty respondents not considering themselves "fully retired" at the time of the interview. Two participants were still working part-time as cleaners, while five others were still active in the community to the extent that they spent a considerable amount of time each day organizing activities and meetings by phone, email or personal contact. All those who were still active and not quite fully retired still used their L2 on a very regular basis. In some cases this extended to the writing of newsletters, submissions or applications, requiring a considerable degree of proficiency in English.

Out of all respondents ( $\mathrm{n}=27$ ) who had been in paid employment, five had only retired from paid employment within the previous five years, in spite of already being in their mid seventies at the time. Most of the remaining interviewees ( $\mathrm{n}=20$ ) had been retired from full-time work for at least five to ten years at the time of the interview. Hence these respondents no longer actively used their L2 English in the work domain.

### 7.3.1 Productive language use post-retirement

Respondents were asked a number of questions about active language use at the time of the interview, i.e. post-retirement. A large majority of respondents ( $\mathrm{n}=24$ ), both DV and NDV, stated that they now spoke Dutch with their partner "more than before" or "much more than before". Two respondents reported that they would always speak Dutch to their spouse, but that he/she would always reply in English. In one case, the
spouse in question qualified this by saying that she was fearful of losing her English ability post-retirement.

As to language use in the family domain, half of the respondents ( $\mathrm{n}=15$ ), stated that they now always spoke Dutch with their children. Six respondents said they always spoke Dutch with those of their children who were Dutch speaking, and English with those who were not able to speak Dutch. Four respondents mentioned that in general they spoke more Dutch to their children than before. So it is quite noteworthy that where children are able to speak Dutch, the parents said they always spoke Dutch with them now. Respondents appeared acutely aware of which children would understand them if they spoke Dutch, and which children would not. Respondents in the current study were healthy and still able to communicate in their L2, however, had this not been the case, the majority of them would have been unable to communicate with their own children in their L1.

Table 7.5.

Language spoken with children - DV respondents.

|  | All | DV | NDV |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Always Dutch with Dutch speaking <br> children | 6 | 2 | 4 |
| More Dutch now | 4 | 2 | 2 |
| Always English | 20 | 11 | 9 |
| All | $\mathbf{3 0}$ | $\mathbf{1 5}$ | $\mathbf{1 5}$ |

Also of note is the fact that in almost every single case ( $\mathrm{n}=6$ ) of DV respondents ( $\mathrm{n}=7$ ) who stated that they always spoke English to their English speaking children, the children in question asserted that the parents would frequently lapse into Dutch without realizing, whilst speaking to their children. Most adult children commented that they felt this was due to the fact that their parents now mostly spoke Dutch, their L1, during day-to-day social interactions in the retirement village.

Respondents stated that they did not have much opportunity to speak Dutch with other relatives in New Zealand. Some had come over with older siblings, but these had now passed away. One respondent still had a number of sisters in New Zealand, but these always spoke English with him. The respondent's sisters had spoken English all
of their lives since coming to New Zealand and now lived in a New Zealand retirement village where English was the only language spoken. Twenty-four respondents said the question did not apply to them, as they did not have any older relatives in New Zealand, while two participants stated they spoke English with their older relatives in New Zealand. This left four respondents who used Dutch with older relatives - three of them DV residents.

Respondents were also asked as to which language they used to communicate with younger relatives in New Zealand at the time of the interview. All respondents interpreted 'younger relatives' to refer to 'grandchildren'. Only two respondents had grandchildren they could speak Dutch to, however one of these grandchildren lived in the Netherlands. The respondent in question had another grandchild in New Zealand, but she only ever communicated in English with that particular grandchild. All in all 29 respondents stated that they always spoke English with younger relatives in New Zealand, with only one respondent replying that she always spoke Dutch.

Respondents reported keeping in touch with relatives in the Netherlands on quite a regular basis, usually either by email or by telephone. Some recounted the ease with which they were now able to keep in contact with family overseas, as compared to the situation at the time they arrived, when phone calls were so expensive as to be unaffordable, and "spoken letters" were the closest many came to making themselves "heard" back home. Where respondents reported not keeping in touch with relatives back home at all $(\mathrm{n}=2)$, or only a little $(\mathrm{n}=6)$ this was usually because their closest relatives i.e. siblings in the Netherlands had died. Interviewees varied in the amount of Dutch used with relatives in New Zealand or overseas, however it was clear that none of the respondents spent a significant amount of time communicating with family members in the L1.

Respondents were also asked about the amount of English spoken or written since retirement. As expected, more of the DV respondents ( $\mathrm{N}=6$ ) replied that they now either spoke English 'a lot less' or 'a fair amount less'. The reason they gave for this was always the fact that they were now living in a mainly Dutch speaking environment, meaning there was less need to speak English on a daily basis. This was in contrast with the NDV group of respondents where only one interviewee reported speaking English 'a lot less' and none reported speaking English 'a fair amount less'. Even so, a majority of NDV respondents reported speaking English 'a little less' post-retirement. Respondents
who reported 'no change' in their use of English their L2 were fairly evenly divided across both groups. Almost all of those who reported 'no change' in the amount of English spoken since retirement mentioned the fact that they were still speaking English with children and grandchildren.

Table 7.6.
Amount of English spoken since retirement.

|  | All | DV | NDV |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| No change | 9 | 5 | 4 |
| A little less | 14 | 4 | 10 |
| A fair amount less | 3 | 3 | 0 |
| A lot less | 4 | 3 | 1 |
| All | $\mathbf{3 0}$ | $\mathbf{1 5}$ | $\mathbf{1 5}$ |

### 7.3.2 Receptive language use post-retirement

The biggest difference with regard to passive language use post retirement lay in the amount of Dutch television watched. All residential units in the Dutch village are able receive free-to-air satellite television, broadcast by a channel commonly referred to as BVN. BVN broadcasts a round-the-clock mixture of news and current affairs programmes, games shows, documentaries and soap operas from Belgium and the Netherlands. The table below shows that DV residents were exposed to a lot more L1 media input than NDV respondents post-retirement. This may make it easier for them to discuss certain topics, be they to do with politics or sports, in their L1 as opposed to their L2.

Table 7.7.

Amount of Dutch satellite television watched by respondents.

|  | All | DV | NDV |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| None at all | 7 | 0 | 7 |
| A little | 5 | 1 | 4 |
| A fair amount | 9 | 9 | 0 |
| A lot | 9 | 5 | 4 |
| All the time | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| All | $\mathbf{3 0}$ | $\mathbf{1 5}$ | $\mathbf{1 5}$ |

Quite a number of respondents ( $\mathrm{n}=23$ ) stated that they still read in Dutch, with thirteen interviewees saying they read a fair amount and another ten stating they read a little. Two NDV respondents reported reading a lot of Dutch online, notably the daily newspapers and soccer magazines, while a small number ( $\mathrm{n}=5$ ) said that they did not read in their L1 at all. Most respondents $(\mathrm{n}=29)$ stated that they never listened to the Dutch radio, either because they never thought to listen, or because the Dutch broadcast was only on once a week at an awkward time. Quite a considerable number of respondents ( $\mathrm{n}=13$ ) reported "no change" in the amount of English listened to. In each case, respondents mentioned the fact that they were still watching television programmes in English as the reason for their reply.

Half of all respondents reported now listening to English "a little less" with most (again) stating that they still watched a considerable amount of television in English, especially the news and favourite soap operas. Two respondents reported now listening to English "a fair amount less" with one DV respondent stating that Coronation Street was the only programme she would watch on New Zealand television now.

Table 7.8.

Amount of English listened to since retirement

|  | All | DV | NDV |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| No change | 13 | 6 | 7 |
| A little less | 15 | 7 | 8 |
| A fair amount less | 2 | $2^{*}$ | 0 |
| A lot less | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| All | $\mathbf{3 0}$ | $\mathbf{1 5}$ | $\mathbf{1 5}$ |

Overall a majority of respondents ( $\mathrm{n}=22$ ) reported 'no change' in the amount of English read since retirement, with five respondents saying they now read 'a little less" and three interviewees reporting they were reading "a lot less". Out of those who reported "no change", fifteen mentioned still reading the daily newspaper, while two mention doing the daily crossword, with this latter activity obviously involving both
receptive and productive L2 skills. Other respondents reported reading books and magazines in English. Amongst DV respondents, again a majority ( $\mathrm{n}=11$ ) reported no change in the amount of English read. Out of these nine mentioned still reading the newspaper, while two reported doing the daily crossword and 3 mentioned still reading magazines in English. As to NDV respondents, again eleven reported no change in the amount of English read, with six reporting that they still read the daily newspaper and others still reading books in English ( $\mathrm{n}=2$ ) or magazines ( $\mathrm{n}=3$ ). Overall, both DV and NDV respondents were still exposed to a fair amount of the L2 both through the written and audiovisual media as many carried on a lifetime habit of reading L2 papers and watching L2 television programmes.

### 7.4 Assessment of L2 proficiency

Again, respondents' self-reports of their proficiency in and understanding of their L2, pre- and post-retirement were compared with assessments by their adult children.

### 7.4.1 Self-assessment of L2 proficiency pre-retirement

It was interesting to note that a majority of respondents $(\mathrm{N}=26)$ rated their proficiency in English pre-retirement as either "good" (n=13) or "very good" (n=13). The one DV speaker who assessed his ultimate attainment in the L2 as "limited" admitted to feeling a little "down" at the time of the interview, and this may have influenced this rather unfavourable self-assessment. The fact that his wife spoke English like a native speaker in every respect may also have led him to rate his own ability rather negatively compared to hers.

Table 7.9.

Self-assessment of L2 proficiency in the years leading up to retirement.

|  | All | DV | NDV |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Very good | 13 | 7 | 6 |
| Good | 13 | 6 | 7 |
| Fair | 3 | 1 | 2 |
| Limited | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| All | $\mathbf{3 0}$ | $\mathbf{1 5}$ | $\mathbf{1 5}$ |

A substantially larger number of respondents ( $\mathrm{n}=29$ ) assessed their understanding of English as either "good" ( $\mathrm{n}=6$ ) or "very good" $(\mathrm{n}=23)$, which seems to confirm the assumption that receptive language skills are typically ahead of productive language skills. This left one participant who rated her understanding of the L2 as only "fair" even at the point of her ultimate attainment. The type of L2 English receptive and productive skills respondents developed at work would, to a large extent, have depended upon the nature of their work. Findings from previous chapters indicate a correlation between respondents' level of secondary education prior to immigration, in particular in relation to L2 English acquisition, and the types of positions they ended up occupying on the New Zealand labour market. Obviously, respondents employed in management positions would have needed excellent oral and written competencies in English, their L2, in the area of both productive and receptive skills. In addition, respondents who worked in administrative positions would have had a different type of L2 English interaction with their workmates than respondents who worked in factories or domestic positions, with the former more likely exposed to a much wider range of vocabulary and language registers than the latter. In brief, one may posit that there was quite a strong relationship between level of (language) education and professional attainment on the one hand and level of ultimate attainment in the L2 on the other hand. Previous studies have shown that subjects who had acquired an L2 to an advanced level were less vulnerable to L 2 attrition even when contact with that L 2 was subsequently reduced (de Bot \& Clyne, 1994).

Table 7.10 and Table 7.11 show that quite a considerable number of respondents ( $\mathrm{n}=24$ ) from a range of educational and occupational backgrounds rated their ultimate attainment in terms of English grammar as either 'good' or 'very good'.

Table 7.10.
Self-assessed ultimate attainment in the L2 during working life - grammar.

|  | All | DV | NDV |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Very good | 14 | 8 | 6 |
| Good | 10 | 4 | 6 |
| Fair | 4 | 1 | 3 |
| Limited | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| All | $\mathbf{3 0}$ | $\mathbf{1 5}$ | $\mathbf{1 5}$ |

Similarly, when asked to rate their ultimate attainment in English vocabulary during their working lives, most respondents gave themselves a rating of either good ( $\mathrm{n}=11$ ) or 'very good' ( $\mathrm{n}=12$ ), as per Table 7.11. The one respondent who rated his attainment as "limited" may have, again, compared his own attainment quite unfavourably in comparison to that of his wife, who spoke English like a native speaker in every respect, as stated previously. In addition, this respondent had done manual labour all of his life, while his wife had gone on to manage her own business.

Table 7.11.
Self-assessed ultimate attainment in the L2 during working life - vocabulary

|  | All | DV | NDV |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Very good | 12 | 7 | 5 |
| Good | 11 | 4 | 7 |
| Fair | 6 | 3 | 3 |
| Limited | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| All | $\mathbf{3 0}$ | $\mathbf{1 5}$ | $\mathbf{1 5}$ |

For comparative purposes, respondents were also asked to assess their proficiency in and understanding of (standard) Dutch pre- and post-retirement. Almost all respondents $(\mathrm{N}=29)$ assessed their proficiency in and understanding of Dutch as 'very good'. Respondents may have subconsciously compared their proficiency in and understanding of Dutch, their L1 with their proficiency in and understanding of English, their L2, and this may have put a slightly more positive slant on their replies in relation to their L1. The one exception was the respondent who felt that he had never had any proper schooling and who was feeling somewhat depressed at the time of the interview. Both these factors seem to have impacted on his self-assessment of his language skills in both his L1 Dutch and L2 English.

### 7.4.2 Self-assessment of L2 proficiency post-retirement

Respondents' self-assessments of their L2 understanding and proficiency postretirement showed that a large majority felt their understanding of English was undiminished and unchanged, but that their productive skills in the L2 were now starting to weaken. This was particularly true for DV respondents, over a third of whom felt that their L2 proficiency was not as good as it had been before retirement. Selfassessments for any changes in the use of L2 grammar and vocabulary reflected a very similar picture with a majority reporting no change, but with a minority $(\mathrm{n}=8)$ reporting a slightly increased insertion of L1 nouns or phrases into their spoken L2 and a very slightly increased "lag" in relation to the production of grammatically correct L2 sentences and clauses.

Table 7.12.

Self-assessments of any changes in L2 proficiency post-retirement.

|  | All | DV | NDV |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Just as good | 22 | 9 | 13 |
| Almost as good | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Less than before | 6 | 4 | 2 |
| A little less than before | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Much less than before | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| All | $\mathbf{3 0}$ | $\mathbf{1 5}$ | $\mathbf{1 5}$ |

An overwhelming majority of respondents felt that their understanding of English had remained unchanged after retirement, with one respondent replying that it was better now. When asked to elucidate, this speaker said that her understanding of English has continued to improve over her lifetime, especially as compared to when she arrived in New Zealand, with no English whatsoever.

For comparative purposes, respondents were again also asked to assess their proficiency in and understanding of Dutch, their L1. All respondents stated that both these competencies had remained completely unchanged, although one respondent added that her Dutch seemed better now. She said that she no longer received comments from people in the Netherlands to the effect that they felt that she spoke Dutch with "an

English accent". This respondent had been one of two exogamous interviewees, both of whom had spoken only English with their first spouses. The respondent and her spouse had moved to the Dutch retirement village and since his death she had not had as much occasion to use English as before and admitted to speaking Dutch most of the time now.

### 7.4.3 Assessment by respondents' adult children

Adult children were asked whether they felt there had been any changes in their parents' proficiency in English, their L2, since retirement. Here a contrast became apparent between DV and NDV respondents, with adult children of DV respondents noting that their parents lapsed into Dutch a lot more, even when the latter thought they were speaking English at the time. This was also true for the two (erstwhile) exogamous respondents, both of whom had of necessity spoken only English in the home domain for many years. In one case, the respondent's' adult child remarked: "[name] seems to switch to Dutch sometimes now, without noticing. That never used to happen before". In the other case, the respondent's adult child commented:
[Name] lapses into Dutch now without noticing. This has been happening quite a bit more lately.

In five other cases, respondents claimed they "always" spoke English with their children, however the children themselves stated that their parents were wont to switch from English to Dutch without apparently being aware of this themselves. On adult child commented that his mother would switch from English to Dutch without noticing and that she appeared to be "mixing up English and Dutch". Another respondent's adult child said that her mother would now often speak Dutch, not just to her but also to other English speakers, without noticing. Another adult child had become aware that his father was now using both more Dutch in his English and more English in his Dutch.

By contrast, only two of the NDV respondents' adult children reported any significant changes in their parents' English. One respondent noted that her mother now seemed to be thinking in Dutch and using more Dutch words as a consequence. Another adult child reported that her parent's L2 English proficiency seemed to have gone down
a bit due to "heavy involvement" in the Dutch speaking community post retirement. Another adult child said that his mother still appeared to be translating from Dutch into English, but that she had always done so. His mother had come to New Zealand without any English and had acquired her L2 English through immersion in the workplace. Significantly, however, none of the NDV respondents reported any subconscious switching from English to Dutch when their parents were addressing them in English.

### 7.5 Ability to engage in "Troubles telling"

Part of the rationale for undertaking the current study had been anecdotal evidence suggesting an increased need for healthcare interpreters among older Dutch migrants in general. If borne out by the current study, this would involve an emerging social policy issue which might warrant government involvement. The pilot study findings had seemed to bear out the assumption that older Dutch migrants are indeed experiencing problems communicating their healthcare needs to family doctors and other providers. As stated previously, numerous studies have shown that Alzheimers Disease (AD) or a history of Cerebro Vascular Accidents (CVAs) may contribute to older bilingual experiencing communication problems in the L2. The question I wanted to investigate was whether older migrants not affected by AD or CVAs would also be experiencing health communication problems due to relative isolation from the L2 (de Bot \& Clyne, 1994). In the pilot study two out of eight respondents felt conveying their healthcare needs to the doctor was somewhat problematic now. One of these respondents lived in the Dutch Village, while the other did not. Based on this finding, I decided it would be worthwhile asking main study interviewees whether they also experienced problems with expressing health complaints post-retirement.

In all only a small number ( $n=5$ ) of main study respondents admitted to a degree of difficulty in communicating health care needs, a much smaller proportion than initially expected, based on the pilot study. Three DV interviewees and two NDV respondents felt they had any problems in conveying their healthcare needs to English speaking healthcare providers or healthcare practitioners. One of them stated:

I had all my sickness in New Zealand, so I wouldn't even know how to say those things in Dutch. (CF01)

This tied in with my own experiences of interpreting for older Dutch patients in New Zealand. In one case, my use of the common Dutch word ruggeprik as a translation for "epidural anaesthesia" had only served to produce total incomprehension on the part of the female patient I was interpreting for. Respondents had come to New Zealand as healthy young people, and hence had not had much first-hand experience with healthcare problems in the Netherlands. Consequently, they were likely not familiar with many of the common Dutch words for procedures and investigations, in particular those that related to recent technological advances.

Out of the DV residents, three people admitted to some problems in communicating their healthcare needs to providers, although the type of difficulty experienced varied. In one case the communication problem was mainly due to embarrassment, coupled with the fact that the respondent's family doctor was himself an immigrant. The interviewee in question had been prescribed a particular type of medication which caused an embarrassing side-effect which she found hard to verbalize appropriately. This had resulted in the problem not being resolved, and in the respondent resorting to finding "solutions" without the help of her family doctor. Another respondent relayed how doctor's visits now took much longer, because it took her "a very long time" to think of the right terms to express what was wrong with her, but said she "got there in the end" by paraphrasing. Another female respondent said she had no problems communicating in English, but had on occasion slipped into her L1 without realizing until she noticed the family doctor staring at her uncomprehendingly.

Interestingly, two respondents who stated that they had no problems communicating with health providers in the L2 barely spoke English during the interview, even when prompted in that language. One of these, CF02, recounted any health-related experiences in the L1, which made it difficult for me to gauge her ability to express any medical complaints in her L2. The other respondent, DVM06, only uttered around 160 words in the L2 during the interview and had also stated - in the L1 - that his health was just fine. Again, this made it hard for me to assess his ability to express his healthcare needs in the L2. A number of other respondents, both DV and NDV, recounted their respective healthcare and medical histories in great detail, using all the appropriate L2 terminology, leaving little doubt as to their ability to communicate any problems with English speaking healthcare providers.

All in all, it appeared that anecdotal evidence suggesting an increased need for healthcare interpreters among older Dutch migrants, which had been one reason for undertaking the study, was not borne out by the current research. Interestingly enough, one NDV respondent said he was often called in to interpret for older Dutch people who were ill in hospital. This speaker made the following comments about the needs for health interpreters for older Dutch migrants (Dutch morphemes have been printed in italics in the original quote and have been underlined in the back translation):

The trouble is by a lot of old Dutch people als ze hebben een + stroke of ze hebben een bad ziekness er something heart attack of een stroke van de honderd zijn ze eighty percent die lost d'r English. And die lost d'r English. I come in hospitals and I tell the doctor they say in Dutch is dat en dat omdat zij d'r English lost. En dat is bij eighty percent of Hollanders. Niet alleen not alleen Hollanders maar also Duitsers too Germany too. En fransmannen heb ik eronder found out: same thing All the people die kwamen van Europe en die hebben een stroke of een heart attack of een bad ziekness and they go back to Du+ to double-Dutch. (CM03)
(The trouble is with a lot of old Dutch people if they have a + stroke

Or they have a bad illness er something heart attack or a stroke out of a hundred there are eighty percent who lost their English. And they lost their English. I come in hospitals and I tell the doctor they say in Dutch is that and that because they lost their English. En that is with eighty percent of Dutch people. Not only Dutch people but also Germans too

Germany too. And I have found Frenchmen amongst them: same thing
heart attack or a bad illness and they go back to Du+ to double-Dutch.)

Only a small number of respondents admitted to having some problems in communicating their health care needs to an English speaking healthcare practitioner, usually their family doctor. Their problems mainly consisted in trying to find the right words and paraphrasing where necessary. DVF08 said:

Oh I can explain it to the doctor something wrong with me, maar he answer me back with all ...I ask him three times, could you explain it to me what is what I really have, I do that.

Ja, mine children, die reckon, they can er hear it on me that I speak more
Dutch than English, you know. (DVF08)

Interestingly, all affected respondents were living in the Dutch village. All respondents concerned had assessed their proficiency in English as "non-existent" or "very limited" on arrival to New Zealand and none had learned English in the secondary school class room, although some had had some private English tuition prior to leaving for New Zealand. In addition, in every single case where a respondent admitted to such problems, their adult children reported that they now often lapsed into Dutch when speaking to them or to their English speaking spouses. It may well be that the fact that the current study involved healthy older individuals resulted on me finding little evidence of healthcare-related communication problems among participants.

### 7.6 Summary of chapter

Overall, respondents did not differ much in terms of exposure to and use of L1 and L2 pre-retirement. Almost all of the respondents ( $\mathrm{n}=27$ ) had been in paid employment prior to retiring. Interestingly, all three respondents who had never worked outside of the home were now resident in the Dutch retirement village. Two of these respondents
had stayed at home to look after their (large) families, while the remaining respondent also looking after Dutch speaking boarders. The latter respondent did not appear to have attained more than a "fair" level of proficiency in English, both in terms of grammar and vocabulary, and the researcher wondered whether this might have been a factor in the respondent having moved to this mainly L1 speaking environment in retirement. All of the NDV respondents $(\mathrm{n}=15)$ had been in paid employment prior to retirement

There were some distinct differences between the DV and NDV interviewees in terms of their exposure to and productivity in their L2 English post-retirement. What set the two groups apart most of all was the fact that the respondents who lived in the Dutch retirement village now have more opportunity to receive Dutch both on a social level and through being exposed to television programmes in their L1. All DV respondents watched Free-to Air Dutch language television on a regular basis. However, a majority were also still exposed to the media in their L2 English both through reading the papers and through watching television. The Dutch village group also had more receptive exposure to L1 Dutch through everyday contacts with friends and neighbours in L1 Dutch. Through these contacts, they also had more opportunity to practice their productive skills in their L1.

At the same time, a small number of DV respondents ( $n=4$ ) had actively maintained their productive skills in their L2, having only very recently retired from paid employment, in spite of being in their late seventies or early 80s. Another DV respondent still went to the gym every day and maintained his English skills by socializing with other gym attendees. NDV respondents showed a similar pattern in that three had only retired from paid employment very recently, while one was still involved in aqua jogging at the local swimming pool. An important difference between the two groups was the fact that the Dutch Village respondents had less need to practice their productive skills in their L2, because most of their immediate social interactions with friends and neighbours took place in their L1, Dutch. Even so, more than half of NDV respondents ( $\mathrm{n}=9$ ) were still actively involved in the wider community post-retirement, using productive skills in both Dutch and English. Overall, DV respondents were slightly more likely to admit to some reduced productive skills in their L2, both in general and in terms of expressing their healthcare needs to English speaking practitioners.

## Chapter Eight: individual examples of linguistic features

### 8.1 Introduction

As outlined in the Methodology chapter, the method employed for the linguistic analysis comprised a combination of two different approaches to language attrition research, one based on production of speech at lexical, morphosyntactic and syntactic levels (cf. Gross, 2004), the other based on hesitation phenomena and avoidance strategies (cf. Jiménez Jiménez, 2004). This chapter will present findings in relation to individual respondents' spoken L2 and will investigate production at lexical, morphosyntactic and syntactic levels. Outcomes in relation to hesitation phenomena will be presented in the next chapter (Chapter Nine).

### 8.2 Focus of linguistic analysis

As stated previously, the main focus of the linguistic analysis was on finding possible manifestations of lexical retrieval problems, including the occurrence of codeswitching from L2 to L1, interference from the L1 at syntactic level, or "blanks", all based on the assumption that such tokens might be interpreted as signs of L2 attrition with accompanying L1 reversion. The analysis focused on occurrences of the features outlined below in free elicited L2 speech produced by respondents.
a. Subclauses - focusing especially on the possible occurrence of codeswitching from L2 to L1 as in "but hij deed het toch niet" (But he didn't do it anyway) or the occurrence of L1 subclause finite placement as in "if was he not there", where the finite verb has been placed ahead of the subject, or of L1 adverbial placement, as in "if she could not in the beginning properly speak", where the ordering of adverbials reflects that of the L1.
b. V+C structures (here: verb plus noun complement structures) - to see whether the L2 verb is followed by the expected L2 (noun) complement, focusing again on the possible occurrence of CS from L2 to L1 in such structures as in "I ran my own zaak" (I ran my own business).
c. Correct production of verbal agreement in the third person singular present, as in "she read every day", where the "s" has been missed out.
d. Filled pauses followed by either CS or a "message abandonment" silence, as in "I had a er compagnon" (I had a er business partner") or "she noticed he was er +" where the speaker fails to come up with the word they were looking for.
e. Unfilled or Silent Pauses followed by either CS or a message abandonment silence, as in "he had + kanker" (He had + cancer) or "He noticed + +".

As stated above, findings in relation to features $d$ and $e$. are discussed separately in Chapter Nine. What follows in 8.2.1 and 8.2.2 is a brief overview of the features listed under a to c , together with a detailed explanation as to how these were analysed. This is followed by examples for each of the features examined for individual speakers and a discussion of the same.

### 8.2.1 Word finding problems - outcomes at the level of lexical retrieval

Lexical retrieval problems were investigated by looking at all instances of "verb plus (noun) complement structures" (V+C structures) in respondents' spoken L 2 to see if speakers had come up with the correct noun complement, or whether they had needed to return to the L1. as evidenced by a codeswitch to the L1 or loan translation (calque) from the L1. ${ }^{8}$

A discussion of such problems and respondents' self-assessments in relation to their ability to discuss any healthcare issues in the L2 may be found in Chapter Seven. V+C structures were used to determine whether or not respondents were showing signs of L2 attrition in terms of lexical retrieval, because there has been evidence that L2 learners may encounter problems with the correct collocation of L2 phrasal lexemes consisting of verb plus complement. Kuiper et al. (2007) discuss production problems in relation to superlemmas, that is lemmas consisting of multiple lexical items. Obviously, verb plus complement structures are interesting from that point of view also. The analysis for this study included only those verb + (noun) complement structures which I considered to be a good test of respondents' continued ability to come up with the correct complement in English. For this reason, only "semantically demanding" V+C structures were included in the analysis, as explained in section 8.4 below. All tokens where respondents failed to come up with the expected L2 complement were noted and investigated.

[^7]
### 8.2.2 Outcomes at the level of syntax and morphosyntax

The focus of the analysis at the level of syntax and morphosyntax was on finding possible manifestations of word finding problems, including the occurrence of codeswitching from L2 to L1, interference from the L1 at syntactic level, or "blanks", all based on the assumption that such tokens might be interpreted as signs of L2 attrition with accompanying L1 reversion. This was done by examining respondents' production of verbal agreement (third person singular) and (syntactic) structure in L2 subclauses occurring in free elicited L2 speech produced by respondents. Hence, respondents' production of L2 subclauses was examined ${ }^{9}$ to see if speakers resorted to L1 Dutch placement of the finite ahead of the personal pronoun, or whether they followed an L2 English conjunction by an L1 Dutch subclause (codeswitch). Tokens of subclauses which showed L1 Dutch adverbial placement or word order were also examined. Respondents' production of morphosyntax was investigated by examining their use of standard verbal agreement in the third person singular plus " $s$ " (as in "he comes").

### 8.2.3 Presentation of data

Respondents occasionally used items or word endings from Dutch and English within a given utterance. In order to show which items were uttered in what language, Dutch lexical items have been represented in italics, and English lexical items in normal font. On occasion, Dutch and English lexical items share the same orthographic conventions, as is the case for "is" and "drink". In such cases, the item was represented in italics if it was pronounced like the Dutch version. Items which were pronounced in the English convention, were represented in normal, non-italic, font. The same method was followed where English words were pronounced as their Dutch counterparts, e.g. in the case of English item "then" being pronounced as Dutch item "dan". I realize that on occasion, respondents' pronunciation of particular English words may have made these sound like Dutch words instead. However, I consistently applied the above method for want of a better way of classifying particular lexical items as sounding like either L1 or L2 lexical items.

[^8]
### 8.3 Nature of subclauses in English and Dutch

Before discussing examples of subclauses produced by respondents, I need to dedicate a few words to the nature of subclauses in English and Dutch, with particular emphasis on any differences between the languages in terms of word order and the ordering of verb and subject in subclauses. In both English and Dutch, subclauses are introduced by a subordinating conjunction. In English, the most commonly used subordinating conjunctions are although, because, after, if/when, that, if/whether, when (in the past), when, and while. Similarly, the most common subordinating Dutch conjunctions are "als", "hoewel", "of", "omdat", "nadat", "terwijl", "toen" and "wanneer". However, there is a major difference between English and Dutch subclauses in terms of finite verb placement. In both languages, the subclauses contains at least a subject and a finite verb form. However, in English, the finite verb appears in the same position (usually in second place) in the sentence as it would in a main clause. In the following examples, the subordinating conjunction has been printed in bold and the finite form has been underlined: in

1 He says that his brother is very stingy.
Hij zegt dat zijn broer erg krenterig is.

2 He asked me if I had watched the match.
Hij vroeg me of ik de wedstrijd had gezien.

These examples show that in Dutch, the finite verb form is in the ultimate or penultimate position in the subclause, which is also where any other main or auxiliary verbs are placed. (In main clauses in Dutch the finite verb form is moved to the second position.)Therefore, in Dutch subclauses, subject and finite verb are separated with the subject located at the beginning of the clause, and the finite verb at the end of the clause, with the other verbs. Lastly, it should be noted that there could be said to be a difference between English and Dutch in relation to the preferred ordering of adverbials of time, manner and place. Dutch prefers to order adverbials as follows: time, manner,
place, while English prefers the order of place, manner, time. This may be seen in the following examples:

3a Hij ging dat jaar terug naar Nederland met zijn gezin.
(he went that year back to Holland with his family.)
3b
He went back to Holland with his family that year.

### 8.3.1 Analysis of subclauses - codeswitching

The analysis included a count of all tokens where participants started a subclause with an L2 English conjunction and then continued with an L1 Dutch subclause. An example would be "so dat doet ze niet". The percentage of subclauses showing this type of codeswitch (CS) was then worked out based on the total number of subclauses which started with an L2 subordinating conjunction. Next the total number of tokens per 10,000 words was calculated based on the number of times tokens of such subclauses appeared in the total number of L2 words uttered by the respondent in question. For the pilot study, numbers of tokens were calculated over a 30-minute segment of spoken L2. However, some respondents uttered a great many words within a half-hour period, while others uttered far fewer words. This meant numbers of tokens varied according to whether speakers had managed to utter more or fewer words over a given 30 -minute interval. For the main study, I wanted to find a way of counting tokens which would lend itself better to comparing the actual incidence of certain features over a certain number of words. By calculating the number of tokens of particular features speakers displayed per 10,000 words, I was better able to obtain a standardised rate which gave me an impression of the proportional incidence of certain tokens in their spoken L2. As an example, one respondent, DVF07 produced 9 tokens of a subclause involving a CS in a 4000 word segment of spoken L2, while CM01 produced 4 tokens in a 820 word segment of spoken L2. At first glance one might think that DVF07 produced a higher level of subclauses involving a codeswitch than CM01. However, a calculation of the number of tokens of CS occurring per 10,000 words shows clearly that CM01 produced a proportionally greater number of tokens of CS in subclauses than DVF07. Calculations showed that respondents varied considerably in terms of number of tokens produced. More detail on numbers of tokens uttered by the various speakers may be found in Chapter Ten.

Tokens of CS in subclauses always followed a similar pattern, namely that of speakers starting a subclause with a conjunction in the L2 and completing the rest of the subclause with L1 items. Back translations for all examples have been added in parentheses. L1 Dutch lexical items have been printed in italics, to distinguish them from L2 English items.

A typical example of an L 2 subclause showing CS to the L1 was:
4 "because er was een dokter..." (DVF09)

In this instance, produced by DVF09, the switch is quite unexpected because of the similarity between L2 and L1 both in terms of word order and in terms of the lexical items used. The speaker would have been expected to complete the subclause by saying: "because...there was a doctor...", but for some unknown reason switches to the L1. One possible explanation might lie in the fact that she is recounting an event that happened when she was still in the Netherlands and she associates that event with the Dutch language. However, it should be noted that this respondent's son stated that he had noticed his mother frequently switching from English to Dutch within utterances in recent years, something he attributed to her now being a resident of the Dutch Village. He commented that she herself appeared to do so without seeming to be aware of the fact that she was codeswitching.

One speaker who constantly switched from the L2 to the L1 and vice versa was CM03. In fact this speaker did so very fluently and seemingly without hesitation. CM03 produced a large number of subclauses involving CS. Most of the time this speaker started any subclauses in L2 segments with an L1 conjunction. In fact, the speaker only started 10 subclauses in L2 segments with an L2 conjunction, and 3 of these (30\%) showed CS from L2 to L1. Examples included:
where the L 2 conjunction is initially followed by an L2 adverbial, but the subclause is then completed with a sequence of L1 items ("d'r een schip aankwam"). Other examples showed evidence of switching from L2 to L1 and back again, as in:

## 6 <br> "but 'k had m'n work van 'k had een old work er van en daar putte ik de boys in" (CM03)

("I had my work van I had an old work er van and I put the boys in that").

This token is different to that produced by DVF09 above in that the latter completed a complete switch to the L1, whereas this speaker continues to switch from L2 to L1 and vice versa a few times within the confines of the subclause, a pattern also evident in the next example:

## 7 "but dat is feitelijk not one museum" (CM03) <br> ("but that is not a museum really")

I felt that this respondent's constant switching almost merited the description of "code swinging", whereby the swinging indicates the backwards and forwards motion of the codeswitching "pendulum". CM03's habit of "swinging" between languages meant that establishing the number of L2 subclauses containing switches to the L1 proved to be less than straightforward, because it was often difficult to identify which language provided the grammatical frame. Examples of such switches (from L1 to L2 and vice versa) were:

8

[^9]```
"toen was d'r nothing meer over"
("then there was nothing left").
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It should be mentioned in this context that this speaker also showed a lot of CS in his L1 subclauses, where L1 subclauses are defined as any subclauses which the speaker started with an L1 conjunction. One example of this was:
"toen I was retired I still workte bij her in die garden" (CM03)
("when I was retired I still worked in that garden of hers").

This example shows that the speaker breaches morphological boundaries with ease as he attaches an L1 suffix denoting the Past Tense to an English verb. This would fit in with Muysken's definition of "congruent lexicalisation" (2000, p. 32).

This respondent also combined personal pronouns from one language with finite forms from another language within his subclauses. An example of this may be found in:

11
Als I Engels praat I put a lot of Dutch words in between" (CM03)
("when I speak English I insert a lot of Dutch words").

The latter example is all the more interesting because it shows the speaker was aware of his CS habit. The example also contains an example of a possible L1 calque" "to put in between", where Dutch would have "er tussen door stoppen".

All in all, CM03 stood out among respondents because of the extent and regularity of his codeswitching, although the speech of two other respondents (CM01 and DVF06) also showed tokens of frequent codeswitching in subclauses. One explanation for this habit may have lain in the fact that CM03 had come to New Zealand with little or no English and had worked in manual occupations all of his life. It may be that this type of
occupation had contributed to his L2 proficiency plateauing at a particular level. He was still very active in the L1 Dutch-speaking community, but also used his English a lot as he was often involved in meetings with L2 English speakers. He also used his English a lot for the purpose of organising community activities.

As mentioned above, only two other speakers stood out because they used more codeswitching in subclauses than the majority of respondents, namely CM01 and DVF06. Both these speakers had come to New Zealand without any prior knowledge of English and had acquired the language through total immersion in work or social settings. DVF06 had never been in paid employment and had acquired her English through her children (only English being spoken at home) and her children's friends. CM01 had worked in occupations requiring manual labour all of his life. After retiring, he had switched back to the use of Dutch at home and had started reading the Dutch newspapers on the internet everyday. At first sight, subclauses involving CS produced by this speaker appeared to involve an L2 conjunction followed by L1 lexical items. One example produced by CM01 was "but ze geven toch geen antwoord" ("but they don't reply anyway"). However, on closer inspection, I became less sure as to whether subclauses of this nature could in fact be classified as L2 English subclauses. The main reason for this was that the speaker appeared to have adopted English subordinating conjunction 'so' into his L1 Dutch lexicon, seemingly in lieu of Dutch subordinating conjunction "dus". This was apparent from the fact that he produced a number of subclauses which started with 'so' but which continued with a clause consisting solely of L1 Dutch lexical items. Examples are:

## 12 <br> So ik schrijf niet veel brieven meer nou natuurlijk (CM01)

(So obviously I don't write all that many letters now)
and

So toen zijn ze weer teruggegaan naar Engeland.
(So they returned to England then.)

The respondent's wife produced an example of a very similar subclause, which seems to show that both spouses are in the habit of using English "so" instead of Dutch subordinating conjunction dus:

## 14 So nu zijn we al veertig jaar getrouwd

(So we've been married for forty years now.)

However, CM01 also produced subclauses which threw doubt on this theory, as may be seen from the next example, which contains two L2 English content morphemes, namely a dutchified L2 verb ("taken") and two L2 nouns ("Dutchies" and "pension"):

15 So die taken al die Dutchies hun pension in beslag, is het niet? (CM01)
(So all those Dutchies have their pension confiscated by them, isn't it?[sic])

The subclause is followed by an L2 calque in the form of an English tag question, represented by L1 Dutch lexical item, where Dutch would have had the question particle "hè?" As an aside it should be said that this speaker also engaged in some degree of code-"swinging" as he also produced L1 clauses which showed CS to the L2. An example of this was the clause:

Want, you know, ze geeft hardly antwoord anyway. (CM01)
(Cos, you know, she hardly replies anyway.)

In this example, the coordinating conjunction, verb (finite) and noun (direct object) have all been taken from the L1, but the adverbials and the "you know?" are expressed in the L2. One could surmise that the use of "you know" is a hesitation phenomenon, allowing the speaker time to get his sentence together, with mixed results.

DVF06 also produced a subclause starting with English subordinating conjunction "so":
(Yes, so it was not necessary)

Again, one could conceivably argue that the speaker had adopted "so" into her Dutch category of subordinating conjunctions, to be used instead of "dus" (so). Two other examples of subclauses showing CS produced by the same speaker made use of the English subordinating conjunction "because" and included a string of L1 lexical items, including one L2 content morpheme. Interestingly, one of the examples relates to the perceived need for their children to speak L2 instead of the L1:

J , because your kinderen get unpopular here
(Yes, because your children get unpopular here) (DVF06)

19 because he er, he had er prostaat cancer.
(because he, er, he had er prostate cancer) (DVF06)

### 8.3.2 Provisional conclusion in relation to CS in subclauses

Aside from the three speakers mentioned last, most respondents showed little sign of codeswitching from the L2 to the L1 in their subclauses. A small proviso should be added to this statement: a comparison of numbers of subclauses produced by speakers in relation to the overall number of L2 words produced by them showed that some speakers used very few subclauses in their spoken L2. It may be that they were aware of the possibility of "committing errors" offered by this construction and decided to avoid it altogether. If this were the case, then it might be interpreted as an avoidance strategy and might be seen as a sign that speakers are finding it (more) difficult to express themselves in the L2. Unfortunately, I was unable to follow up on this assumption, as the fact that some speakers had used very few subclauses only became apparent when the linguistic analysis was carried out. Overall, some evidence was found of respondents seemingly unable (or unwilling) to continue L2 subclauses in the L2, as shown in examples 18 and 19. This may be a sign that these speakers were finding it
more difficult to produce the L2 subclause structures and were trying to steer clear of grammatical errors by avoiding continuation of the subclause in the L2.

### 8.3.3 L1 order in L2 subclauses

As indicated above, one might expect any reversion to L1 word order in L2 subclauses to become apparent in terms of either L1 finite placement in L2 subclauses, or L1 sentence structure and word order in L2 subclauses. The analysis revealed only one possible token of L1 Dutch finite placement in an English subclause:

Then in the early days daar was er Knottenbelt (CM03)
(Then in the early days you had Knottenbelt)

On closer examination, however, the example above concerns a main clause, as it contains only one verb. Aside from this, none of the other respondents showed L1 finite placement in L2 subclauses. This surprised me somewhat, but on reflection might indicate that respondents had heard, read and produced so many L2 subclauses containing correct L2 finite placement over their lifetime that this structure has now become part of their implicit rather than procedural memory (Paradis, 2004). In other words, constant reinforcement of particular L2 structures, either through perception or through production, may lead L2 learners to adopt these structures into their implicit memories.

The analysis did turn up a number of tokens of subclauses showing L1 adverbial placement or L1 word order in L2 subclauses. A number of these involved the adverb "straightaway" as will be apparent from the examples below. The first example was produced by DVF07. She was an interesting speaker in the study, as discussed in Chapter Twelve. This respondent had been one of the earliest Dutch migrants to arrive in New Zealand. She had seen her intended schooling interrupted by the dangers posed by the German occupation, especially since her family had been involved in the resistance movement. She had bitterly regretted this at the time and proudly said that almost of her children had gone on to complete university education in New Zealand. This respondent had learned English from an English teacher in New Zealand and was very fluent in her L2 at the time of the interview. DVF07 produced six L2 subclauses
containing non-native adverbial placement, three of these containing the L2 adverb "straightaway":

21 Then she goes straightaway to bed (DVF07)
(Dutch: dan gaat ze meteen naar bed)
(Back translation: then she goes straightaway to bed)

Example 22 shows the complexities of adverbial placement in English, since "directly" would have been fine in the same position. This shows that cases of non-standard adverbial placement may involve a subcategory error rather than a placement error, i.e. the speaker has assigned the adverb to the wrong subcategory in terms of its placement.

22 Mum came straightaway running (DVF07)
(Mama kwam meteen aanrennen)
(Back translation: Mum came straightaway running along)

By contrast, example 22 concerns a syntax error since no adverb can be placed in this location in English.

Another speaker, CM04, produced the following example:

23 If I hit something there is straightaway a bruise there. (CM04)
(Dutch: als ik me aan iets stoot is er daar meteen een blauwe plek.)
(Back translation: If I myself on something knock is there straightaway a bruise.)

Example 23 is similar to example 21 in that it appears to involve a subcategorisation error because immediately will fit here. It may be that for some reason use of the L2 adverb "straightaway" triggered instances of incorrect adverbial placement, although it
is not quite clear why this was the case. It may be that the L1 Dutch respondents in question had never fully come to grips with the exact conventions as to its placement and use. However, speakers also produced examples of L1 adverbial placement in their L2 subclauses involving L2 adverbs other than "straightaway". One example was produced by DVF02:

## 24 So we are both twelve and a half years married. <br> (DVF02) <br> (Dutch: dus we zijn allebei twaalf en een half jaar getrouwd.) <br> (Back translation: so we are both twelve and a half year married.)

This subclause shows L1 Dutch placement of the past participle "married" while the finite "are" is in correct L2 position. This example may involve a loan translation of the conventional Dutch expression "x jaar getrouwd" ("x years married"). Therefore it could be said that word order in this subclause is a direct reflection of expected Dutch order, as may be seen from the highest probability Dutch equivalent and the English back translation of that equivalent. Also, it may be said that placement of the temporal adverbial "twelve and a half years" follows Dutch rather than English rules for adverbial placement. DVF02 was talking about an event in the past when she produced the following subclause:

Because maybe next year she falls in love.
(Dutch: Omdat ze volgend jaar misschien verliefd wordt.)
(Back translation: because she next year may in love falls.)

The rules of English syntax would lead one to expect: "because she might fall in love the following year". However, the order in this subclause does not fit expected Dutch sentence structure either, because one would expect the Dutch to have: "omdat ze volgend jaar misschien verliefd wordt" (back translation: "Because she next year maybe falls in love"). However, this subclause does fit expected L1 finite placement, with the finite and its complement "in love" being placed in clause-final position, and neither
does it fit expected L2 finite placement. The subclause does show the use of "maybe" in lieu of English modal "might". This reflects typical of L1 usage, which will use "misschien" (maybe) instead of a modal verb such as "may" or "might". DVF04 had come to New Zealand without any English, but had acquired her L2 through immersion in work and social settings. At the time of the interview she said she often felt herself searching for words in the L2 now.

CM04, used L1 Dutch adverbial placement in one of his subclauses, when he said:

26 a So I that day started to tear out the floor. (CM04)
(Dutch: dus begon ik op die dag de vloer op te breken)
(Back translation: so began I that day the floor to break up)

English would most likely have had:

26 b So that day I started to rip up the floor. (CM04)

Word order in this subclause fits neither English nor Dutch syntactical rules, as neither language would allow for placement of the adverbial in between subject and finite. Even so, English could put an adverbial of time between subject and finite verb as in "so I then started to....". The speaker in question had come to New Zealand with a good grounding in English and any codeswitching in his English was limited to the insertion of English nouns in relation to early New Zealand experiences. He stated that he and his wife had spoken a mixture of English and Dutch post-retirement. They frequently watched the BVN Free to Air Dutch and Flemish television programmes via satellite. This may have resulted in the speaker experiencing more L1 input at the time of the interview, something which may in turn have influenced the structure of his sentences.

### 8.3.4 Summary of findings in relation L 1 order in L 2 subclauses

The linguistic analysis showed that only one respondent showed a possible example L1 "finite-subject" order in his L2 subclauses, however it turned out that the clause in question was actually a main clause. All other speakers used correct L2 placement of subject followed by finite. An analysis of word order in subclauses showed L1 interference to be more prevalent in this area. It was noticeable that a number of respondents used L1 ordering of items within L2 subclauses when using the L2 adverb "straightaway", however no clear explanation for this could be found. In some cases, the way in which respondents ordered lexical items in their L2 subclauses could be attributed to interference by the speakers' L1. In many other cases, however, the relationship between L1 interference and ordering produced by respondents was less straightforward. Overall, little apparent evidence of L2 attrition was found in terms of respondents' ability to create subclauses in their L2.

### 8.4 Nature of V+C structures examined in this study

The analysis of Verb plus (noun) complement structures (hereafter to be referred to as V+C structures) requires some further clarification. First of all, all V+C structures examined involved a combination of a verb followed by a noun complement. Such structures such as these have proved of particular interest to linguists studying codeswitching (e.g. Muysken, 2000). Edwards and Gardner-Chloros (2007) paid special attention to compound verbs in relation to intrasentential codeswitching (2007, pp. 74). Interestingly, Edwards and Gardner-Chloros point out that in some languages, such as English, it is difficult to make a clear distinction between compound verbs and verb+object constructions such as "to have fun", and "to make haste" (2007, p. 76), which were examined in the present study. They argue that a verb like "do" is semantically versatile and can be glossed in various ways, including as "to carry out" and "to perform" (2007, p. 76). I would argue that verbs like "to have" and "to give" are also semantically versatile in a similar way. When "light" verbs such as "to have" and "to give" are combined with a complement, the specific meaning they take on comes from the complement. I included V+C structures in the analysis on the basis of semantic versatility, rather than what I would coin "semantic predictability". In other words, those V + C structures which I considered too "semantically predictable" in that their construction did not appear to demand any great proficiency in English were excluded
from the analysis This involved the verbs having, giving, buying or selling. An exception were $\mathrm{V}+\mathrm{C}$ structures involving "having" or "giving" which were fixed expressions or idioms, in other words those $\mathrm{V}+\mathrm{C}$ structures where "having" and "giving" were not used in their literal meaning, but were part of a conventional collocation with a specific meaning. Therefore fixed expressions such as "she had a baby" (which describes a process rather than a possession), and expressions such as "gave me a fright" which again describes a process, were included in the analysis. Some examples of $\mathrm{V}+\mathrm{C}$ complement structures included in the analysis were: "pay attention", "abolish the society", "admit to hospital", "attend the funeral". Prepositional verbs and phrasal verbs followed by complements were also included in the analysis, as in "vouching for". Such collocations involve multiple lexical items and are acquired poorly by non-native speakers and so may be said to be good tests of the productive competence of non-native speakers (cf. Kuiper et al. 2007).

### 8.4.1 Range and proportion of $\mathrm{V}+\mathrm{C}$ structures found

Some respondents produced very few V+C structures in English overall, while others presented a considerable number of these, especially in relation to the total L2 word count of their elicited free speech. The next few paragraphs contain examples of speakers who produced a great many nativelike V+C structures in English.

One example of a speaker who produced a great many V+C structures was CM05. This speaker had 78 of these items in his spoken L2 (overall L2 word count 2091 words), which included:
to wash away the dunes vote a political party put in a request write a request have the right of petition transfer accounts Sack the works department pay a penny
liberate us
read a newspaper
lodge a petition
not make sense
release someone from the army change jobs borrowing from Peter to pay Paul give them a fright send in the marines have bowel motions

He also included a considerable number of jokes and puns in his L2, two of them involving a $\mathrm{V}+\mathrm{C}$ structure. As an example, when asking to sign for receipt of the koha, the respondent said: 'signing for the voucher or vouching for the signer?"

Similarly, CM06 produced 77 correct V+C structures in his L2 (L2 word count 3622), including:
arrange accommodation couldn't read a word of it supply accommodation receive a cable
put my foot down
teach you manners
cancel the appointment
use the telex machine

CM06 produced one example of an L1 calque when he said "hired a house" (Dutch "een huis huren"), although in the next sentence he spoke about "renting a house".

CM04 also produced a great many correct V+C structures in the L2 (total L2 word count 3697), amongst them:
leave the car there slide the ring off her finger give me a hand have some embarrassing moments
have a chest X-ray
keep good track of
build a new maternity hospital

CF07 produced $61 \mathrm{~V}+\mathrm{C}$ structures in the L2 (total L2 word count 3230), a lot of which were to do with reminiscences in relation to her profession and society in general. These included:
need more flexibility realize her mistake earn approximately x dollars per hour sort them out
degrading the education system
praise the children
pass exams

CF09 used $72 \mathrm{~V}+\mathrm{C}$ structures (total L2 word count 4154), 70 of which were correct L2. This speaker had learned English in the classroom environment prior to migrating to New Zealand. She had worked in a range of jobs and had switched to the use of English
at home. She did not use any L1 during the interview and produced a range of L2 V+C structures, including the following examples:
give me stitches
do the lawns
serve jelly
light the fire
pick up the baby
give me a little cut do an exercise lose interest
find accommodation give me a curette he has a degree in x take turns clean the baby know my history adopt two little girls

The same respondent also produced two inaccurate $\mathrm{V}+\mathrm{C}$ structures in her spoken L 2 , namely:

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"even the lawyer's cost we had to borrow"
and
"they did all kinds of experience with her"
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In the first example, L1 influence appears likely, as the most highest probability Dutch equivalent would be: "Zelfs de notariskosten moesten we lenen." Whereas the most likely English structure would have: "the lawyer's fee" rather than "the lawyer's cost". Although one could argue that here the problem is with the noun phrase rather than the verb plus complement per se. The second example ("they did all kinds of experience with her.") is more likely just a "slip of the tongue", as the Dutch word for "experience" is "ervaring" and the Dutch word for "experiments" is "experimenten" or "proeven". The use of the preposition "met" is probably due to L1 Dutch influence, as Dutch would combine "experimenten" with "met" ("with") and not with "op" ("on").

The interviewees quoted above were all NDV respondents, however some DV speakers also produced a large number of correct $\mathrm{V}+\mathrm{C}$ structures. One of these, DVM02, produced 52 correct V+C structures (total L2 word count 4000). He also produced $3 \mathrm{~V}+\mathrm{C}$ structures which contained a CS from the L 2 to the L 1 , these will be discussed in more detail below. The speaker in question had married a New Zealand
woman and had been active in managerial roles for more than two decades. This was reflected in the wide range of $\mathrm{V}+\mathrm{C}$ structures he produced, including the following tokens:

Join the airforce represent the board reach an agreement
sit his UE exam
take my holidays grant his University Entrance demand a meal
sign a contract
representing the person involved
achieve anything at all
made a hell of a lot of spelling mistakes
postpone my holidays
give six months' notice
call the police

Likewise, DVM05 had learned English for six years in the pre-university classroom environment prior to immigrating into New Zealand. After working as a labourer and construction worker, he had held a number of different jobs, before moving on to management. Again, his use of L2 V+C structures reflected his experiences in the occupational sphere. Tokens of V+C structures used by this speaker included:
do a course
write a report
design a building
make a plan
increase your salary
distribute your family history
approve a report
avoid it
give up work
plant native trees
never take any notice
make a proposal
wipe the rest
make a profit
write history
want to know the whole story
publish this
empty out the bucket
make friends
pull out little trees

The respondent was remarkably fluent in his L2 in spite of being exposed to a predominantly L1 social environment and being one of the oldest respondents in the study. In addition, the respondent had learned English to a very good standard prior to emigration and had then been able to use this in both the oral and written medium through the managerial position he had held. Lastly, he had been involved in a lot of public speaking engagements (using the L2) since retirement and was still using his L2 a lot, because he attended a gym outside of the village at least five times a week, which
required him to use the L2 for communication purposes. Recent neurological studies have also shown that continued physical activity in old age helps subjects maintain both brain and heart health. Many studies have indeed shown the cumulative benefits of physical activity, intellectual stimulation and social engagement in older adults, also in relation to lower rates of cognitive decline (e.g. Buchner, 2007; Honea, 2008).

Interestingly, two of the DV respondents who also produced a large number of correct $\mathrm{V}+\mathrm{C}$ structures had not learned English in the classroom setting prior to coming to New Zealand, yet both were very fluent in their L2 and used a large number of V+C structures. Out of these, DVF03 had learned English through "immersion" after arriving in New Zealand. This respondent had held down a number of jobs which did not require the use of written English. She used 79 V+C structures, relating to a range of more general conversational topics. Examples included:
meet someone else on the boat have a look not take sugar it upsets your system mash pumpkin
manage the factory shop
start high school
change my pills
cut out the Cartia

The speaker produced two L1 calques in L2 V+C structures, namely "hit your toes" in relation to being careful not to knock your toes when you have diabetes. The L1 expression is "je tenen stoten" which is literally translated as "knock your toes". She also said "knock wood" and repeated this again "knock wood", as if aware that this was not the correct collocation for "touch wood". The L1 expression for "touch wood" is "afkloppen" which is accompanied by the speaker knocking on wood. The fact that the speaker was unable to come up with the nativelike collocation may be a "frequency" phenomenon, as she may not have had much occasion to use the L2 expression during her time in New Zealand. However, the fact that she repeated the non-standard expression appeared to suggest that she was at conscious of not having retrieved the standard L2 expression here.

DVF07 had also come to New Zealand without any prior knowledge of English. She had learned English from an English teacher at a primary school where her husband worked as a caretaker. However, unlike DVF03, this respondent had never been in paid employment outside of the home. Even so, the speaker used a range of $\mathrm{V}+\mathrm{C}$ structures, mostly in relation to reminiscences and general conversational topics. She did not use any Dutch sentences during the interview. Tokens of V+C structures used by her included:
make far more money than anyone else rent out a factory bring all his men with him drive me home bring one change of clothes asking her all questions, but she didn't give anything away took the lid and shut it on his fingers rent a house touch the toe doing my shopping to pick me up
had something to drink cook the tea pick him up make coffee; blow our house up play the piano look after the house get a bit of a fright speak Dutch

This respondent only used one incorrect $\mathrm{V}+\mathrm{C}$ structure when she said:

## 27 <br> He came to learn me English.

It should be added, however, that some native speakers of (non-standard) English occasionally also use "learn" instead of "teach", so it may be that the speaker picked this collocation up from an English speaker. However, it may also be argued that "learn me English" does in fact constitute an L1 calque, as everyday Dutch would have "leert mij Engels".

DVF08 produced a relatively low number of V+C structures (sixteen) in relation to her total L2 word count of 2472 . Her V+C structures did not include any CS. However two of them contained L1 calques.
(English: I did all charity work)

The marked L2 collocation (cf. Baker, 1992, pp. 47-80) "do love work" is an unmarked L1 verb plus complement structure meaning "to do charity work". The speaker has combined her L1 and L2 here to produce an L1 calque. Another example of a similar V+C structure produced by the same speaker was:

## 29 I have too busy with me own life (DVF08) <br> (Dutch: ik heb het te druk met m'n eigen leven) <br> (English: I am too busy with my own life.)

Again, the collocation "het druk hebben" is an unmarked L1 verb plus complement collocation meaning "to be busy". The speaker has combined her L1 and L2 here to produce an L1 calque. One could also argue that 25 and 26 are examples of congruent lexicalisation (Muysken, 2000) and the use of a special bilingual syntax, also referred to as a "third system" (Romaine, 1986) or a "mixed code" (Gardner-Chloros \& Edwards, 2007).

The speaker in question, DVF08, had come to New Zealand without having attended any secondary schooling in the Netherlands, i.e. without having learned any English in the classroom environment. She had never been in paid employment, but had been involved in charity work and had, by her own admission, really tried to be a "Kiwi", involving herself in many activities in the L2 speech community, including at her children's school. In spite of her best efforts, she and her adult child both rated her ultimate attainment in the L2 as "fair" at best. During the interview, DVF08 was very proficient in her L1 and reluctant to continue the interview in her L2, although she complied without much enthusiasm. Her speech contained many examples of L1 calques, including the ones outlined above. She used proportionally fewer V+C structures (or subclauses). However when she did use such structures it was noticeable that she used L1 calques in her L2 rather than switching to the L1 outright. Other respondents produced also both few instances of $\mathrm{V}+\mathrm{C}$ structures in their spoken L 2
overall but produced more examples of L2 V+C structures involving CS. These will be discussed below.

### 8.4.2 V+C structures involving CS

The analysis showed that some of the speakers who produced noticeably fewer $\mathrm{V}+\mathrm{C}$ structures also produced a larger proportion of $\mathrm{V}+\mathrm{C}$ structures which involved CS. Examples included CM01 (13 V+C structure, 2 involving CS); DVM06 (4 V+C structure, including 1 with CS); DVF05 ( $9 \mathrm{~V}+\mathrm{C}$ structures including 1 with CS); DVF08 (16 V+C structures, including 1 with CS) and DVF09 (15 V+C structures, including 1 with CS). I will now look at the V+C structures produced by each of these speakers in more detail, starting with DVF05 and DVF09, two respondents who were somewhat similar in terms of their educational and occupational background.

At the start of the interview, DVF05 stated unequivocally that she did not like doing the interview in her L2 and that she felt she would struggle to express herself. The total word count of her elicited free speech came to 2895 words, with the L2 segment comprising 1495 words. Overall, the speaker produced 9 L2 V+C structures, such as "remember names"; "remember faces". One of her V+C structures contained a somewhat unexpected a CS:

He takes all the werk (DVF05)
(He takes all the work)

It is not clear why the speaker resorted to a CS here, since "work" is a very common and short lexical item. One possible explanation might be its similarity to the L1 item werk (cf Kellerman).

DVF09 produced 15 tokens of V+C structures in her L2. Overall, this respondent switched from L2 to L1 quite regularly, so that her total L2 word count only came to 1645 words. V+C structures produced by this respondent mostly related to the occupational sphere and to her area of interest and included: "have a good smattering of English"; "score many goals"; "run one of those teams"; "chase the ball"; "play nice
soccer"; "take a team"; "take blood from"; "do simple lab tests", and "work out formulas". The respondent produced one $\mathrm{V}+\mathrm{C}$ structure involving a CS, namely:

31 Did the more simple urine tests en ontlasting
(did the more simple urine tests and stools/stool specimens)

It was not clear why the respondent switched to the L 2 here, but a possible explanation might be that the word "tests" acted as a trigger, since it is used in both Dutch and English in the context of laboratory work. DVF09 also commented that she felt she often subconsciously switched from the L2 to the L1. She said she had switched from L1 to L2 prior to coming to live in the Dutch Village and that she had started doing the opposite by switching from the L 2 to the L 1 .

The fact that both DVF05 and DVF09 engaged in CS, was interesting in view of the fact that both had learned English for at least 5 years in the classroom setting and the fact that both had attended a secondary school geared towards pre-university education. In addition, DVF09 had been married to an English speaker, so had used her L2 at home until her husband's death. DVF05 explicitly stated that she "struggled" to speak English now. Her husband commented that her memory was still excellent and this was also obvious during the interview, when she recalled recent events in detail and without any apparent difficulty. However, it may be that the "activation threshold" (cf. Paradis, 2004) was being raised as the speaker now had much less opportunity to use her L2 English. Similarly, DVF09 commented that she was conscious of frequently switching to her L1 without intending to do so. Again, DVF09 also seemed to have excellent recall for recent events, so one may assume that her CS was due to the activation threshold for L2 items being raised due to reduced opportunity to actively use such items (cf. Paradis, 2004).

The fact that speakers who produced very few V+C structures also showed more examples of $\mathrm{V}+\mathrm{C}$ structures involving CS might lead one to assume that some speakers avoided producing V+C structures in English, possibly for fear of producing non-native tokens of the same, while other speakers produced large numbers of tokens of $\mathrm{V}+\mathrm{C}$ structures. Examples of "high producers" were CM05 and CM06, who had both come to

New Zealand with a good grounding in English and were very proficient in their L2 at the time of the interview.

DVM06 on the other hand, appeared to avoid the use of his L2 and kept replying in Dutch, even when prompted in English. This resulted in a very low overall L2 word count (159 words out of a total word count of 1495). What English he did produce consisted mostly of direct quotes relating what people had said to him, for example comments made by previous employers and work mates. An example of the few L2 words produced by this speaker was:

32 Toen belde die Amerikaan op na een paar dagen, en nou ik en nou you must come there is a truck in in in Wellington, go pick it up, a brand new pickup. I come up.
(Then after a few days that American rang me, and now I and now you must come there is a truck in in in Wellington, go pick it up, a brand new pickup. I come up)

This speaker produced a total of $4 \mathrm{~V}+\mathrm{C}$ structures, including what I described earlier as semantically predictable structures such as "speak Dutch" and "speak English". He also produced one $\mathrm{V}+\mathrm{C}$ structure which seemed to involve CS namely:
(They wanted an electrician)

I included this as an example of CS even though it could be argued that the speaker was simply pronouncing the L2 word "electrician" using Dutch phonemes. However, the standard Dutch word "electriciën" is frequently pronounced as "electrisijn" and the speaker had in fact used this word in his spoken L1 previously. Hence it was decided to include this as a token of CS from the L2 to the L1. It should be added that this respondent had assessed his proficiency in English on arrival in New Zealand as "very limited". He had worked as a self-employed tradesperson for much of his life. During the interview he almost exclusively used his L1. Interestingly, this respondent also commented that living in the Dutch Village was the best solution for "us" - a comment
that was interesting in the light of the fact that he seemed to prefer speaking his L1. Overall, it may well be that the low number of L2 V+C structures produced reflected respondents' lack of confidence in their own proficiency in the L2.

Some of those who produced a relatively high number of V+C structures, also produced structures involving CS from the L2 to L1. Two of these respondents will now be looked at in more detail: DVM02 and CM03.

DVM02 had come to New Zealand with a good grounding in English, having learned it at a school for MULO education. He married a New Zealander and worked in managerial positions for most of his working life. This respondent produced a large range of $\mathrm{V}+\mathrm{C}$ structures, as outlined earlier in this chapter, with three of these involving CS.

Making kaften voor boeken (DVM02)
(making covers for books)

35
Confiscate the rogge (DVM02)
(confiscate the rye)

36 Have no fut to do anything (DVM02)
Have no energy to do anything

A closer look at the context in which the first two examples were uttered reveals that both related to events that happened in the Netherlands, one of them during the wartime occupation by German forces, when German soldiers frequently stopped people who had been foraging for food and confiscated the food. It may therefore be that, since memories in relation to these events, had been acquired through the speaker's L1, his recalling them was also influenced by the L 1 , resulting in CS.

The last example related to the way the speaker was feeling at the time of the interview, which took place on a hot and humid February morning in Auckland. It may well be that the speaker used fut (energy) thinking it was an L2 lexical item, which may
well have been the case, since it appears to fit L2 English word criteria for the formation of words.

CM03 stood out because of the high number of codeswitches he produced in his V+C structures. He also produced a high number of "new coinages" where an English verb was "dutchified" and then combined with an English noun within the confines of the L1 grammatical frame. An example was:

## 37 We dompen allemaal die turkies (CM03)

We dumped all those turkeys

When talking about the plane trip from the Netherlands to New Zealand, the same respondent commented:

38 That took vijf dage. (CM03)
(That took five days.)

It is not clear what triggered the switch from L2 to L1 here, as "took" is not a word that is shared by the lexicon of both English and Dutch. In contrast, one could argue that in the following example it was the verb "had" which triggered the switch from L2 to L1:
(I had made an arrangement with [name])

Where Dutch would have had: ik had een regeling getroffen met [name]. CM03 also produced the next example, which contains both CS and an apparent L2 interference reflected in the choice of the L1 auxiliary heb:
(I then started my own business.)

In relation to this example, one could argue that the speaker might have used the word "business" as being part of the Dutch lexicon, as it is used quite frequently by L1 Dutch speakers currently, but it is unlikely that this would have been the case before the respondent left the Netherlands. This might explain why the speaker switched straight back to Dutch after inserting this English noun. It should be noted that the last sentence also contains a switch to L2 English auxiliary in the present perfect. Dutch would have "toen ben ik m'n eigen zaak begonnen", using ben (am) as the auxiliary which is combined with the verb "beginnen" to produce the present perfect. In this case the back translation would read: "then am I my own business started"). Obviously, since the event the speaker is relating to took place in the past, English would not use the present perfect "have started" here, but rather would use the past tense "started". Overall, this speaker's L2 (and L1) both showed signs of advanced CS at all levels, as will be apparent from other parts of the analysis.

### 8.4.3 Summary of findings in relation to $\mathrm{L} 2 \mathrm{~V}+\mathrm{C}$ structures

When it came to V+C structures some respondents produced a range of tokens ranging from very common L2 structures to examples which might be said to have a lower rate of frequency of use by speakers in general. Overall, it may well be that, in some cases, the low number of L2 V+C structures produced reflected respondents' lack of confidence in their own proficiency in the L2. As indicated before, attention was paid to whether respondents codeswitched from L2 to L1 within V+C structures which started with an L2 verb, or whether they "abandoned" use of the L2 and switched to the L1. Instances of codeswitching in V+C structures varied between speakers, with some respondents switching from the L 2 to the L 1 and others not at all. There appeared to be a weak link between the number of $\mathrm{V}+\mathrm{C}$ structures produced by speakers and the proportion of V+C structures involving CS. One speaker produced many nativelike L2 $\mathrm{V}+\mathrm{C}$ structures, but also some which contained a switch to an L1 noun phrase. However, this switch occurred when he was recounting events which had become anchored in his memory through the L1 medium since they had occurred in the Netherlands. In addition, the speaker might never had occasion to use the L2 equivalent noun phrase during his time in New Zealand, which means the switch may also be
described as a "frequency phenomenon". All in all, however, some evidence was found of some respondents seeming unable (or unwilling) to continue $\mathrm{L} 2 \mathrm{~V}+\mathrm{C}$ structures in the L2.

### 8.5 Analysis of verbal agreement in the L2

All instances of the use of third person singular +s in the present tense were counted, excluding instances of "is", as the third person singular of English "to be" is the same as that of Dutch "zijn" ("to be"), orthographically (though not phonologically). In the study, some respondents left out third-person singular "s". It is not quite clear where these departures from the L2 English morphosyntactic norm originate from, since Dutch has a very similar rule for the third person singular, which usually consists of the verb "stem" followed by -t . Verbs in Dutch also take a suffix in the third person singular, namely -t. An example would be the Dutch verb "zingen" (to sing), where 'zing' is the stem and the third person singular is formed by taking the 'stem' and adding a -t , as in 'hij zing-t' (he sings). Dutch only has two cases where the third person singular does not take a -t , namely the third person singular of the verb zijn (to be), which ends in -s (hij is) and the third person singular of the verb kunnen (to be possible) which has no suffix ending (hij kan).

### 8.5.1 Findings for production of the third person singular in the $\mathbf{L} 2$

The analysis found that some respondents left out the $-s$ in the third person singular. However, the speech of all of these respondents also included correct productions of the third person singular plus -s. One of these respondents, DVF08, produced many tokens of non-native the third person singular present, in each case by missing out the " s ". Examples included:

41 She see it not right. (DVF08)

In this example, the second finite verb following the dummy subject "it" has been missed out altogether. The respondent in question had arrived in New Zealand without any prior knowledge of English and had never been in paid employment out of the
home. She had acquired her L2 English naturalistically through immersion in social settings, without any formal instruction as regards the grammatical rules of English. Similarly, DVF03 and DVF07, who had both arrived in New Zealand without any formal grounding in English, produced a few incorrect tokens of the third person singular. One of these was produced by DVF07:

She still cook the tea. (DVF07)

DVF03 also produced an example of switching to the third person singular in her L1 when she said:

43 And he zit er in a choir.(DVF03)

She was the only respondent to switch to an L1 verb in the third person singular, aside from CM03, whose spoken L2 showed signs of ongoing CS.

44 CM03 produced a large number of tokens of third person singular minus " s " in his spoken L2. Examples included:

45 but [it] still keep me occupied.
and

46 if something go wrong
(CM03)

As mentioned before, CM03 had worked in trades and manual labour all of his life. He had never acquired knowledge of L2 grammatical structures in a formal setting, in contrast to other respondents who had learned English through the Grammar Translation method. CM03 was in the habit of switching between his L1 and L2 several times in one sentence, even to the extent that he attached L1 verb endings to L2 verbs. An
example of this was 'die cutte me gras en dan me concrete en al die dings more' (here 'ten' pronounced with silent final ' $n$ ' is the suffix combined with the verb stem 'cut' to indicate the past tense for the third person plural. One other speaker, CM01, produced one token of an English verb combined with a Dutch suffix when he said:

## 47 Maar ze taken al die Dutchies hun pension af (CM01)

In this example, the stem of the English verb "to take" is followed by the suffix "en" which would typically follow the third person plural of regular verbs in Dutch. The Dutch equivalent of "they take" would be "zij (or ze) nemen". This type of feature could be representative of "congruent lexicalisation" (Muysken, 2000). It was not included in the linguistic analysis and in fact CM01, CM03 and DVF08 appeared to be the only speakers to produce these types of tokens in their spoken L2.

As mentioned before most of the incorrect tokens of the third person singular were produced by speakers who had come to New Zealand without having acquired English formally in the classroom environment. However, the analysis showed up two incorrect tokens for respondents who had come to New Zealand having learned English through the Grammar Translation Method at a school for MULO education. One of these was DVM02, the other was CF03. They produced one incorrect token of the third person singular each, namely:

48 Everybody speak to him in in in Dutch (DVM02)

She get all the experience. (CF03)

Interestingly, both speakers were married to partners who did produce a number of incorrect tokens of the L2 grammar in general. In the case of DVM02, it should be noted that DVF02 produced 1 out of 4 tokens incorrect. In the case of CF03, it may be added that, partner, CM03, did not produce any instances of the third person singular of "s". Hence he did not produce any incorrect tokens. However, CM03 did produce many other instances of incorrect L2 English verb forms as explained above. Hence, one may
argue that errors in the spoken L2 of DVF02 and CM03 respectively may have had some influence over DM02 and CF03's own production of the third person singular.

### 8.5.2 Summary of findings in relation to the third person singular in L2

Findings from the linguistic analysis showed that those respondents who had learned English through the now sometimes maligned Grammar Translation method did not produce any incorrect tokens of the third person singular. In contrast, those speakers who had acquired English naturalistically through immersion in occupational or social settings in New Zealand did occasionally leave out the "s". However, all speakers also produced correct tokens of the third person singular in English, which showed that they were aware of the grammatical rules in relation to this. One could also argue that higher levels of education in general make one more fussy in production regardless of the way one was educated. What the data does suggest is that low levels of immersion may not necessarily be conducive to enhancing L2 learners' ability to produce grammatically accurate L2 speech.

DVF08 produced the highest numbers of tokens of incorrect third person singular. This speaker had not had any English on arrival in New Zealand and had never been in paid employment outside of the home and $84 \%$ of the tokens she produced were incorrect. By contrast, DVF07, who appeared to have a very similar background to DVF08, produced only $8 \%$ of tokens of the third person singular incorrectly. The main difference between these two respondents was that DVF07 had had private one-on-one English tuition from a "proper" English speaker after arrival in New Zealand. Hence it would appear that tuition with a strong emphasis on grammatical structures had resulted in respondents getting a good grasp of the structure of the L2 and it appeared that this, coupled with total immersion in the L2 in the workplace, had led to consolidation of the third person singular structure to such an extent that speakers were still seemingly automatically producing it correctly. This would tie in with Paradis's views that, given enough opportunity for reinforcement for use, certain L2 structures will end up becoming part of L2 learners' implicit memory, to the extent that they are virtually 'erosion' proof.

### 8.6 Overall summary for outcomes at lexical, morphosyntactic and syntactic level

It will have become clear in the course of this chapter that some respondents featured remarkably frequently in the analysis, both in terms of resorting to CS or in terms of apparently failing to come up with the expected L2 lexical items or structures. One might be tempted to say that the L 2 of these respondents was showing signs of attrition, and that their frequent use of CS signalled by a return to the L1. However, this would be premature for two reasons. First of all, the linguistic analysis in itself offers some very interesting findings, but these should be looked at in conjunction with both the respondents' self-assessments of their continued ability to express themselves in the L2 and with the assessments by respondents' adult children in relation to the same. It certainly appears that the speech of some of those speakers who asserted that they believed to be "losing words" in the L2, was also showing linguistic features which might be indicative of the same. However, this does not appear to be true for all respondents, and in fact, some respondents felt that their English was unchanged, while their adult children asserted that their parents' English was "going back" and that they were reverting to their L 1 far more often.

Secondly, and adult children's assessments proved important in this regard also, the study overall showed that some respondents may never have truly come to grips with the complexities of the L2. CM03 was an example of a speaker who had reportedly always indulged in a lot of CS, to the extent that it was difficult to establish whether his spoken L2 at the time of the interview was very different to his spoken L2 at an earlier stage. Certainly, his adult child did not appear to think her father's English had changed much in that regard, although she admitted it might have got a little "worse".

Lastly, and very importantly, it may well be that some respondents simply remained under the radar, and did not feature much in any of the analyses simply because they avoided speaking the L2 altogether, something which may be deemed an avoidance strategy in itself and which may well signal increased difficulty in retrieving items and structures in the L2. Hence it may well be that these "silent" respondents were in fact the most likely L2 attriters. The next chapter will look at hesitation phenomena produced by respondents.

## Chapter Nine: Filled and unfilled pauses - individual examples

### 9.1 Focus of analysis

The previous chapter involved a discussion of examples of linguistic features at the level of lexicon, syntax, morphosyntax. The current chapter will present an analysis of hesitation phenomena (filled and unfilled pauses) produced by individuals. The rationale for the focus on respondents' use of filled and unfilled pauses has been outlined in the chapters reporting on the Pilot Study and Methodology (Chapters 2 and 5) and has also been briefly touched upon in the previous chapter (Chapter Eight). My main reason for investigating respondents' use of filled and unfilled pauses was to see if I could find possible evidence of increased of response latency, possibly in combination with L2 lexical retrieval problems, as evident from the occurrence of either CS, L1 interference or "blanks" following the use of such pauses. Information from Adult Children's Questionnaires was used in order to find out whether any signs of response latency was a relatively new feature of respondents' spoken L2 or whether it had always been a part of speakers' spoken L2. In the former case, one might assume that such tokens could be interpreted as signs of L2 attrition or L1 reversion. What follows in 9.2, is a brief discussion of filled and unfilled pauses and the average duration of unfilled pauses, together with a detailed explanation as to how these were analysed. This is followed by examples for each of the features examined for individual speakers and a discussion of the same.

### 9.2 Use of filled and unfilled pauses in spontaneous speech

As stated in the review of the literature, a number of language attrition studies have focused on the use of compensatory strategies by potential language attriters, including hesitation phenomena. Jiménez Jiménez (2004) studied the use of hesitation phenomena by language attriters, with special focus on whether these could be classified as features of self-regulatory, other-regulatory or object-regulatory activities, viewing the latter two as symptoms of a return to a previous stage of language acquisition. Obviously any study investigating whether bilingual speakers' use of pauses might constitute "response latency" in their spoken L2 first needs to consider the "normal" use of pauses by
monolingual speakers of that language in spontaneous speech. Goldman-Eisler's classical (1969) study looked at the length of pauses in spontaneous discussions carried out by monolingual speakers. She found that familiarity with verbal material resulted in reduced time and frequency of pausing. In the current study, individuals were asked about their experiences post-migration, so they could be assumed to be familiar with the topic (1969, p. 15). One might therefore assume that any pauses which might occur when individuals were relaying experiences in their L2 might be related to either wordfinding problems in the L2 or memory searching for facts such as dates and names. During her well-known study of spontaneous speech, Goldman-Eisler (1969, p. 15) found that $99 \%$ of silences occurring in spontaneous speech were of less than 2 seconds' duration When I listened to the sound tracks of recorded speech of respondents for this study, I initially flagged all silences of between 500 milliseconds and one second. I did the same for silences of between 1 and 2 seconds, 2 and 3 seconds, 3 and 4 seconds and over 4 seconds. I found that any silences of less than 1 second were so brief as to appear almost unnoticeable to me as a listener, and therefore decided to exclude all silences of less than one second.

On listening to transcripts, I made notes at those points in spontaneous speech where pauses occurred. Silences occurring at points where respondents were obviously searching their memories for names and dates were labelled with the letter ' H ' to denote such 'historical' (memory searching) silences during the count and were not included in the linguistic analysis. Likewise, respondents sometimes paused when relating events which had involved a lot of sadness. During the count these silences were labelled E (emotional) silences, and they were not included in the eventual linguistic analysis. Finally, one very fluent and proficient speaker used silences for dramatic effect, building up suspense in his narrative then pausing before delivering the surprise ending. In the case of this speaker, these silences were likewise not included in the linguistic analysis, because they were obviously part of a very purposeful deliberate delivery.

The current study examined the use of filled and unfilled pauses (all classified as examples of self-regulation by Jiménez Jiménez, 2004) in relation to the content word to follow. Rather than identifying the type of regulatory activity used, the analysis in the current study focused on the outcome of the word finding strategy. The focus was first of all on whether speakers maintained the language they had been using prior to the filled or unfilled pause, or whether they resorted to codeswitching from L2 to L1. Attention was also paid to whether speakers simply abandoned the attempt to find the
correct word in the L2 and came up with a "blank"" instead, as evidenced by a silence. Lastly, the duration of unfilled silences occurring in the middle of sentences was recorded. The assumption was that longer silences might be a sign that speakers were experiencing more severe lexical retrieval problems. This assumption was mainly based on Goldman-Eisler's finding that shorter silences are quite common in spontaneous conversation (1969). The duration of unfilled pauses was looked at in conjunction with other linguistic outcomes for the same speaker, in order to see whether those speakers who produced more tokens of 'blanks' or 'codeswitching' were also using unfilled pauses of comparatively longer duration than speakers whose speech did not appear to show evidence of lexical retrieval problems to the same extent.

It will be clear that the analysis comprised a number of different outcomes at a number of different levels (lexical, syntactic, morphosyntactic) and different features, including hesitation phenomena, rather than focusing on one particular group of tokens. It was hoped that such a composite analysis would provide a number of different clues as to whether subjects were indeed showing signs of L2 reversion and L1 attrition. It is clear from research by Gross (2004) that content morphemes were more vulnerable to attrition than early system morphemes and that these were in turn less vulnerable to attrition than late system morphemes. It may also be that the vulnerability of content morphemes such as nouns and verbs are in fact related to frequency effects, with retrieval of less frequently heard and used lexical items becoming harder to access. The pilot study which preceded the main study discussed here looked at speaker's production at three levels of morpheme production. However, findings were somewhat confounding, in that speakers were not very obviously showing more signs of attrition at the level of content morphemes than at the level of late system morphemes. I therefore decided on a slight change in methodology for the main study, deciding to focus on outcomes at lexical, syntactic and morphosyntactic level rather than focusing on different levels of morpheme production. As the pilot study showed that many speakers were silent or used a lot of fillers prior to producing particular content morphemes it was decided to examine such hesitation phenomena as well.

Since the main aim of the study was to look at possible signs of language reversion, I decided to focus mainly on what followed such hesitation phenomena, and in particular to see whether speakers resorted to codeswitching or whether they maintained the language they had started in. Also, if attempted access to an L2 lexical item failed, finding an appropriate L1 item (i.e. switching to the L1) could be a useful
communicative strategy. Hence the switch to the L1 could then signal the failure to successfully retrieve the intended L2 item.

A similar approach was taken in relation to parameters to do with syntax and morphosyntax. As an example, it was decided to see whether subjects resorted to CS to the L1 in their subclauses, and whether they produced L1 structures in their subclauses.

### 9.3 Analysis of filled pauses

As stated in the Methodology chapter, I had initially flagged all instances of "er", "erm" and repetitions such as "I I I" or "he said he said" as either er, erm, double repetitions (rep2), triple repetitions (rep3) or quadruple repetitions (rep4). When the initial count showed that repetitions were almost exclusively followed by either an expected ' N ' type content word, or by a 'recast' I decided that it might be more productive to focus only on unfilled pauses and on filled pauses involving an 'er' or 'erm' sound, as these were more likely to be followed by either CS or a message abandonment silence.

Swerts et al. (1996, pp. 1034-1035) studied filled pauses (FPs) in the speech of Dutch speakers, and found that FPs mainly took the form of uh [əh], um [əm], or mm [mmm]. Swerts et al. noted several differences between the occurrence of [əh] and (nasalized) [əm] pauses. Firstly, they found that [əh] pauses were associated with shorter interruptions, while [əm] pauses signalled more serious interruptions. Secondly, in their study [วh] pauses were usually encountered in non-initial sentence position, while "um" pauses were usually found in sentence initial position, at the onset of major discourse units. Thirdly, [əm] pauses were followed by longer (unfilled) pauses, while [วh] pauses were followed by shorter (unfilled) pauses. Lastly, FPs in general were followed by unfilled pauses/silences mainly if the FP did not occur in phrase-initial position.

The present study found instances of [əh] and [əm] in L1 spoken segments, but (surprisingly) none of [mm]. all these were initially counted so the information thus gained would be available for the purpose of a comparative analysis of speakers' use of FPs in the L1 as compared to their use of FPs in the L2 if need be. However, since the aim of the analysis was to see whether interviewees were still able to come up with the
expected L2 lexical item following FPs, the main focus was on speakers' use of FPs in their spoken L2, as represented by er [ər], erm and [əm] and mm [mm].

The analysis showed that almost all speakers made use of FPs to some extent, some more frequently than others. The speech of those speakers who used both the L1 and the L2 during the interview, tended to have FPs in both their L1 and L2 speech segments. The analysis focused on the point in the sentence at which such FPs occurred and specifically on whether these FPs were followed by either a CS or a silence. Initially, all FPs were counted and flagged in a hard copy of the transcript. All FPs were included, regardless of whether they occurred at major discourse boundaries or not. Flagged FPs were then classified according to the sentence position they occurred in, be it middle-ofsentence (MOS) or end-of-sentence (EOS). Next an analysis of all MOS Filled Pauses was undertaken to see at which point in the discourse they occurred. This resulted in the establishment of three categories of MOS Filled Pauses:

- historical (H)
- emotional (E)
- word-finding (WF)

Examples of all these follow below. Where examples have been given of respondents' utterances, Dutch lexical items have been printed in italics, and English lexical items in normal font. Where Dutch and English lexical items share the same orthographic conventions, as is the case for 'is' and 'drink', the phonological representation has been used to classify the item in question as either Dutch or English. The same method was followed where English words were pronounced as their Dutch counterparts, e.g. where 'then' was replaced by and pronounced as Dutch 'dan'. The researcher realizes that respondents' pronunciation may not have been correct, and that they may in fact have intended particular words to be English words, however, the above method was used for want of another way of classifying particular lexical items as being either L1 or L2.

Historical MOS silences were flagged with the letter " H " and involved those silences where the speaker was obviously trying to remember a date, such as in example 1 :

1 And then in erm February we got married. (DVF01)

Emotional MOS Filled Pauses were those where the speaker was recalling a life event that had been traumatic. An example was 2 below.

2 And the next week she died she had erm + [name of illness] (DVF04)

There were not many instances of FPs in this context, because speakers usually fell completely silent on such occasions. Word Finding Filled Pauses were those where the speaker was apparently trying to retrieve a lexical item. Examples were 3 and 4:

3 They just put it back on the er + God and the stink in the morning from the smoke was terrible. (CF06)

4 Then my brother was getting married and they asked me for the er for the wedding (DVF04)

In light of the research questions, the researcher decided to focus on the latter type of silences as these might provide a clue as to whether speakers were able to come up with the L2 lexical item they were looking for, or whether they resorted to either a CS or an unfilled pause, in other words, whether they drew a "blank". Instances of MOS FPs where the speaker came up with the expected L2 lexical item were flagged as " N " (for Normal/expected/unmarked) but were not included in the final analysis. Likewise, instances where an MOS filled pause had been followed by an L1 calque were counted, but such tokens not included in the final analysis. Hereafter, the term MOS Word Finding Filled Pauses will on occasion be used to refer to tokens of filled pauses related to Lexical Retrieval attempts and occurring in the middle of a sentence.

### 9.3.1 Filled pauses followed by CS

The analysis showed that there was a lot of variation between speakers both in terms of the percentage of FPs used in MOS position, and in terms of the percentage of MOS FPs followed by either a CS or an Unfilled Silent Pause (hereafter abbreviated as SP).

All in all 7 speakers out of a total of 30 interviewees had FPs followed by CS, namely CM01, DVM02, DVM03, DVF02, DVF04, DVF06, DVF09. What follows is a discussion of such FPs as produced by individual speakers, with quite a considerable proportion of these being DV respondents. The total number of tokens of FPs per 10,000 words was calculated based on the number of times tokens appeared in the number of L2 words spoken by the respondent in question. This calculation was done in order to obtain standardised rates across respondents, since word counts of transcribed interviews varied considerably as mentioned previously. The standardised rates showed that some speakers produced considerably more FPs followed by CS than others, with CM01, DVF02, DVF08 and DVF09 being amongst the "top producers" in this regard.

CM01 produced 13 tokens of FP per 10,000. A typical example was:

5 dat heb je ook Dutch people they er leven lange tijd in Nieuw-Zeeland vergeten ook er een hoop Nederlandse woorden, hoor. (CM01)
(You get that as well, Dutch people they er live in New Zealand for a long time forget a lot of Dutch words too, you know?)

This speaker used a lot of CS in both his L1 and L2. He had had no English on arrival in New Zealand and had worked first on a farm and then in a factory until his retirement. This respondent's wife, CF01, had a very similar linguistic background, although she stated she had acquired her English very quickly after arrival, both through work and because of the fact that she was, as she said, a "terrific" reader. She employed CS following pauses in both her L1 and her L2. The following examples show this respondent engaging in CS from L2 to L1 following the use of Filled Pauses:

6 And er nou toen hebben we daar gewerkt.
(And er then we worked there.)
$7 \quad$ She had her own little buns er broodjes met kaas en vlees. (CF01)
(She had her own little buns er rolls with cheese and meat [products].)

This speaker engaged in a lot of CS, both from her L2 to her L1 and vice versa, however, she mostly did so without hesitation, which might explain the absence of SPs followed by a CS in her spoken L2.

Like CVF01, DVF02, DVF04 and DVF06 had also assessed their proficiency in English on arrival in New Zealand as 'non-existent" or "very limited", not having acquired English in the secondary school setting prior to migrating to New Zealand. The speech of all three of these respondents showed MOS Word Finding Filled Pauses followed by a codeswitch to the L1. Example 8 was produced by DVF04 when she was asked whether her husband had changed when he returned from is tour of duty in what is now known as the Indonesian War of Independence:

## 8 but er ja more opvliegend

 (DVF04) (but erm yes, easier to anger)This example shows an SP followed by "ja" as if the speaker is trying to buy herself some more time. The speaker then apparently abandons the attempt to retrieve the L2 item and inserts an L1 item instead. It should be noted that in Dutch, "ja" is sometimes used in situations where English would use "well", for instance in situations where a speaker is trying to retrieve a particular word, but unable to think of it straightaway. DVF06 employs a similar "time-buying" strategy in the next example, when she repeats the preposition twice, before giving up and switching to an L1 item instead.

9 So we went shopping and put them under er under er prikkeldraad (DVF06)
So we went shopping and put them under er under er barbed wire

It should be added that barbed wire is a very low frequency word in English, whereas the speaker was quite familiar with its Dutch equivalent, due to her wartime experiences. Hence, her failing to retrieve the L2 item may also be due to its low frequency. Even so, I would have expected her to have used the L2 word barbed wire when recounting these wartime stories to her L2 speaking children. The next example shows the same speaker, DVF06, using an L1 item, then asking for outside help ("other-
regulation") to arrive at the correct L2 expression. When this fails to achieve the desired result, the speaker resorts to repeating the L1 item once more:

And I had honger oedeem. How do you call it? Honger oedeem. (DVF06)

And I had oedema due to starvation. How do you call it? Oedema due to starvation.

In the next example, the speaker, DVF02, quickly abandons the attempt to find the desired L2 items.

11 We do it later for you, and er helemaal apart.
(DVF02)
We do it later for you, and er completely separate.

The three respondents whose tokens of FPs followed by CS were quoted here had come to New Zealand with little or no English, and had assessed their ultimate attainment in the L2 as only "fair", an assessment which was confirmed by their adult children. Hence one might expect their L2 to be more vulnerable to "erosion" than that of a speaker whose ultimate attainment in the L2 had been of a higher level (cf. Paradis, 2004). However, the linguistic analysis showed that other (DV) respondents, who had come to New Zealand with a good proficiency in English, also used some FPs followed by CS. The interviewees in question had worked in administrative positions, requiring the use of English in both the oral and written medium, which might lead one to expect L2 skills to be consolidated through continued use in several mediums over a longer period of time, leading to better "attrition-proofing" of L2 competency. Paradis (2004) holds that repeated practice (e.g. through the continued use of a wide range of L2 items in the workplace) may eventually bring about the development of some implicit knowledge of the L2, but also states that this relies on implicit memory, which is less accessible to the L 2 speaker at a more advanced age. Two of the speakers in question, DVM02 and DVF09, had been married to English speakers, which might again lead one to expect greater consolidation of L2 skills. The following four examples were produced by DVM02:

He was er a sluiswachter. (DVM02)
(He was er a lock keeper.)

He was er a beroepsmilitair. (DVM02)
(He was er a professional soldier.)

But later on after the er overdracht. (DVM02)
(But later on after the er handover [of Indonesia].)

And he had a little er schram just here.
(DVM02)
(And he had a little er scrape just here.)

The speaker's hesitation here is most probably due to the fact the lexical items he is searching for are associated in his mind with L1 - either because they are associated with the L1 setting, or because they were stored in his memory through the L1, since some of these phrases related to stories relayed to him by L1 speakers through the L1. However, one could also argue that these examples are not dissimilar to that presented in example 9, in that the speaker may never have been exposed to L2 equivalents such as "lock keeper" during his time in New Zealand. A similar explanation may apply to the following example, which was uttered by DVF09:

16 They get beef tea either with beef er Maggi. What do you call it? De bouillon. (DVF09)
(They get beef tea either with beef er Maggi ®. What do you call it? Bouillon/broth.)

The speaker's use of the brand name Maggi, pronounced the Dutch way [ma: x i:], indicated that she had in fact switched to her L1. Again, the speaker's hesitation here may be due to the fact that the lexical item she is searching for is associated with a memory of an event which occurred in the L1 setting. However, it is also possible that this example is similar to that presented in 9 and 12 above and that the speaker had
never had bouillon made from bouillon cubes during her time in New Zealand. Similarly, respondent DVM03, was very fluent in the L2 and did not engage in CS much overall, but one of the few tokens of FP followed by CS he produced was related to his work experiences in the Netherlands, leading to the memory in question be be stored through the L1:

17 Supposed to learn er lassen, get the hang of that.
(DVM03)
Supposed to learn er welding, get the hang of that.

DVM03 also produced the following example of a middle-of-the sentence FP followed by CS when discussing his current health concerns:

18 That's when I er vernauwing of the aderen, weet je niet? (DVM03)
That's when I er narrowing of the arteries, don't you know?

After this CS, the speaker came up with the correct terminology when he said:

19 So I had an angiograph and angioplasty and all that sort of blah blah blah. And they put two stents in me. (DVM03)

As to example 18, there are vernacular equivalents for most medical terms in Dutch ${ }^{10}$, and it is likely that the speaker had familiarised himself with these quite readily. Overall, most tokens of FPs occurring in the middle of a sentence were in fact followed by a recast, and not by CS. In some cases, however, speakers were unable to come up with the L2 lexical item they were trying to retrieve and in those cases FPs were followed by Silent Pauses (SPs). Some examples of these will be discussed in the next section.

[^10]
### 9.3.2 Filled pauses followed by a silence

Almost half of all respondents had FPs in their spoken L2 followed by a Silent Pause, 6 of these were NDV respondents, while 8 were DV respondents. Speakers appeared to abandon their attempt to successfully retrieve the L2 lexical item they had been looking for and appeared to just leave their utterance "hanging". Examples are given below.

20

But we got to know her here again and er + yeah. (CF01)

Only thing English, but erm +
(CF01)
that we can put our cars in but er $+\quad$ (CF01)
when we write a letter our daughter goes through it, you know, change it what er + (DVF04)

All three of the above respondents had assessed their level of English on arrival in New Zealand as "non-existent". The same applied to DVF08, who produced the next couple of examples. This speaker had told the researcher that she did not really enjoy doing the interview in her L2. During the interview this respondent would frequently resort to L1 calques or would appear to just give up on trying to find the appropriate L2 word. Examples produced by this speaker included apparent diversionary tactics as verbalized through expressions such as the L2 calque "ho effe an sec" (hang on a sec) in
example 27, "amazing" in the example 28, and "weetjewel" (you know?) in example 29:

27 I watch the news and + but then, but then! Ho effe an sec!
(DVF08)
I watch the news and + but then, but then! Hang on a sec!

28 The country people war ${ }^{I l}$ more welcome and erm + more welcome and + more + erm amazing! Amazing! (DVF08)

29 Not not of a nicer er + er for me was a bit + weetjewel?
(DVF08)
(Not not of a nicer er + er for me was a bit + you know?)

DVF09 produced example 30 which has an FP followed by an SP, which was in turn followed by silence and then CS. For this example, however, one could also conceivably argue that what followed the FP and SP in this case could be interpreted as a recast (cf. Jiménez Jiménez, 2004).

But I wasn't allowed to take blood from + er bezinkingen deed ik. (DVF09)
But I wasn't allowed to take blood from + er I did ESRs ${ }^{12}$.

It should be noted, though, that this respondent, DVF09, did state that she had a tendency to suddenly switch from English to Dutch and vice versa. Similarly, the speaker in the next example, CF04 explicitly stated that she kept "losing words", as will be clear from the second example given below. In example 31, the speaker's husband (CM04) was listening in to his wife's interview and supplied the correct word ("work room") when his wife was unable to come up with it.

31 It was only a small erm + work room (CF04)

[^11]
## [Husband: work room]

They sent us some DVDs and some er + . I lost a word again. (CF04)

CM04 and CF04 did not live in the Dutch Village, but lived relatively close to it and CF04 was a frequent visitor there. In addition, both watched a lot of Dutch free-to-air satellite television and CM04 read the Dutch papers on the internet on a daily basis. Hence it is possible that increased L1 and increased opportunity to use the L1 in social settings might have led to certain L2 words becoming less easily accessible to CF04, leading to a raised "activation threshold" (Paradis, 2004).

### 9.3.3 Provisional conclusion in relation to use of filled pauses in spoken L2

Overall, many speakers produced tokens of middle-of-the-sentence (MOS) FPs, but most of these were followed by a recast and not by CS. This left only a relatively small number of respondents who produced tokens middle-of-the-sentence FPs followed by CS. Most of the speakers in the latter category had assessed their level of English on arrival in New Zealand as either "non-existent" or "very limited" and stated that they had never achieved a high level of ultimate attainment in their L2. This may fit in with earlier findings (e.g. de Bot \& Clyne, 1994; Paradis, 2004) that speakers who never achieve a high level of proficiency in their L2 are more vulnerable to L2 attrition in later years. A comparatively larger number of participants produced FPs followed by Silent Pauses, something which may be taken to indicate that they were unable to come up with the L2 lexical item they were trying to retrieve. In a number of cases such tokens of apparent L2 lexical retrieval abandonment could be attributed to the speaker not being able to find an L2 word to describe a typical L1 setting or a term or memory strongly associated with the L1. In such instances, one could argue that such tokens cannot be taken to be a strong indication of L2 attrition and L1 reversion, as the relevant terms and events have most likely been stored and encoded in the speakers' memories through the L1 medium. Lastly, respondents also produced some examples of MOS FPs followed by a silence that could in fact be argued to signal what Jiménez Jiménez (2004, p.72) would term a "self-recast" rather than an abandonment. Jiménez Jiménez classifies such "recasts" as forms of "self-regulation" and not as expressions of a return
to an earlier stage of language acquisition characterized by "object-regulation" and "other-regulation", in other words, he does not appear to class these type of "recasts" as (clear) indications of L2 attrition.

### 9.4 Analysis of unfilled pauses

As stated before, all interviews were recorded in MP3 format and then eventually saved as WAV files, which were then opened through Audacity software. The "Select Silences" feature of the Audacity software was used to identify unfilled pauses of different duration (e.g.> 1s). Pauses then appeared on the screen indicated by little red flags. The sound file was played and the hard copy of the transcript was used to mark at what point in the discourse the silences occurred. Silences were marked in the script together with their duration, point in the sentence (middle or end) and type of silence. Silent pauses (SPs) occurring at the end of a sentence (EOS) were considered to be unmarked silences occurring at major discourse boundaries and excluded from the analysis, since it was not considered that their use would be a definite indicator of (potential) language attrition. Middle of the sentence (MOS) silences were classified as either E, H or WF unfilled pauses. The letter "E" was used to flag silences which occurred when the speaker was recounting a traumatic life experience and paused because of the emotion associated with this. And example was:

33 And my husband died here, zo, ja+ (MOS E) because we were always + (MOS E) (DVF02)

MOS unfilled pauses associated with the speaker trying to recall historical data, such as dates or years associated were again flagged with the letter "H" and were not included in the final analysis. A typical example is given below:
nou ja, started at fifty-nine $+[$ MOS H] sixty I was in a hell of a bad way (DVM01)

The last type of SPs were classified as "Word Finding" SPs and were indicated by the letters "WF". SPs flagged as WF were those where the speaker was apparently trying to retrieve a lexical item. An example was

No, never really good, but you know it was + het was genoeg om + you know (CM01)

What follows is a discussion of tokens of MOS "word-finding" related unfilled pauses produced by a number of individual speakers, with particular focus on those which were followed by either a codeswitch (CS) or a silence.

### 9.4.1 Unfilled pauses followed by CS

Interestingly, the analysis showed that most of those respondents whose spoken L2 included FPs followed by either CS or silences, also produced a number of Silent Pauses (SPs) followed by either CS or silences. It should be noted that only a small number ( $\mathrm{N}=7$ ) of speakers made use of SPs followed by CS and that this finding somewhat coincided with that for the use of FPs followed by CS. Speakers whose spoken L2 includes FPs followed by a codeswitch included CM01 1, CM03, CM04, DVM02, DVM03, DVM06, DVF04, DVF06 and DVF09. With the exception of DVF09, these same respondents also produced SPs followed by silences. The latter features were also found in the speech of an additional group of respondents, which included CF03, CF04, CF07, CF09, DVM04, DVM05, DVF02, DVF03, DVF04, DVF05 and DVF08. Noticeably absent from any of these groups was DVF01, the only respondent in the study whom the researcher considered to have achieved native like competency in all aspects of her speech (phonological, morphosyntactical, lexical and discursive). What follows below is a selection of tokens of SPs followed by CS which came from those respondents who proved to be the most "prolific producers" in this regard. The following tokens came from L2 segments uttered by CM03 and DVF04. In the third example "ki" most likely represents the start of the L1 word kinderen (children).
the trouble is by a lot of old Dutch people als ze hebben een stroke + of ze hebben een bad sickness. (CM03)
(The trouble with a lot of old Dutch people is if they have a stroke + or they have a bad sickness.)

I drink every night voor I was + dat is pas een couple of years, hè? (CM03)
(I drink every night before I was + that's only been a couple of years now, hasn't it?)
with the chi $+k i+$ children we have to talk English. (DVF04)

### 9.4.2 Unfilled pauses followed by a silence

In comparison, a considerably larger number $(\mathrm{N}=18)$ number of respondents made use of SPs followed by a (continued) silence, with DVF08 standing out in this regard as a speaker who made very frequent use of this feature. Examples listed below include some uttered by CF01, DVF06 and DVF08. CF01 was commenting on the fact that some New Zealand call centre or customer service staff (in her view) pretended not to understand her over the phone as soon as they heard her accent. In example 40 DVF06 is commenting on one of her children's response to news about his father's health condition, while in example 44 she is qualifying her ability to speak a particular language. In example 42, the same respondent is trying to think of the L2 word "neutrality". In examples in 43 and 44 the speaker was unable to come up with the correct L2 lexical items, but also left the listener too few clues to guess what it was the speaker had intended to say.

39 What annoys me is when you pick up the phone and they straightway hear you're not + then they cannot understand you, you know? (CF01)

He said: "What you have to do and what you+" He was the most worried. (DVF06)

41 No I speak + I speak + no I can only to reserve and such, what you want. (DVF06)

But the Japanese don't er recognize er that. Er ja + what you call it er + nou hoe noemen ze nou? (DVF06)
(but the Japanese don't er recognize er that. Er ja + what you call it er + well, what do they call it?)

My husband was a lot better in the writing and everything but but + you know? (DVF08)

And she was sitting there and I have something on was not + you know? Not properly + . I think the seam come out. (DVF08)

It is clear from the addition of "I think the seam come out" in the last example, that the speaker was trying to add some information to help the listener understand what she meant, since she had been unable to come up with the word she had been looking for. These three respondents had all come to New Zealand with little or no English, however, this applied to many other respondents as well and does not wholly explain why these speakers in particular appeared to have trouble retrieving certain L2 lexical items. An additional contributing factor may have been the fact that DVF06 and DVF08 had never been in paid employment outside of the home. However, this also applied to DVF07 and the latter speaker was extremely confident and proficient in the L2 at the time of the interview. The only "language educational" factor that really set DVF07 apart from DVF06 and DVF08 was the fact that she had formally acquired the L2 through daily one-on-one tuition from an English teacher at the school her husband had been working at. However, the fact remained that DVF07, like DVF06 and DVF08, had not had the opportunity to consolidate her L2 through constant repeated practice in the L2 speaking work environment. In contrast, both DVM02 and DVF09 had come to New Zealand with what DVF09 described as "a good smattering of English". In addition, both had been married to an English speaking spouse and had worked in administrative occupations, which had afforded them ample opportunity to consolidate their knowledge of the L2. Yet both these speakers were producing tokens of SPs followed
by a (continued) silence, as if they were drawing a "blank". The following tokens were produced by DVM02 and DVF09:

45 but he never + he never + he was not an er not er not a very pleasant chap (DVM02)

46 he was a different type of + he was a very brainy sort of player.
(DVF09)

47 he had very solid sk + er and he would + he would never. (DVF09)

In the above examples, the speakers seem unable to come up with the desired L2 lexical item. However, DVM02 also produced tokens of SPs followed by a continued silence where one might argue that he was in fact "recasting". In example 48 DVM02 is explaining the reasons for a tragic accident, while in example 49 he is commenting on the fact that his spelling of L2 words had been better than that of his secretaries:

48 And he went + he must have saw something must have been on the road (DVM02)

49 because it + the girls, you would give them something and it would come back full of spelling mistakes (DVM02)

In fact, both DVM02 and DVF09 appeared to recast, rather than totally abandon their attempts to find the L2 lexical items they were looking for. Jiménez Jiménez also noted that language attriters sometimes used laughter when they find themselves unable to retrieve a certain word in the L2. DVF04 (example x) and DVM05 (example x) both appeared to be using laughter in a similar way, in what could perhaps be described as a type of compensatory strategy. Example 50 has DVF04 jokingly commenting on the fact that her husband worked as a cook at some stage, while in example 51 DVM05 is commenting on a university lecturer's ability to entertain his students.
and he's got them with an interesting sort of you know and a bit of a joke and a bit of they all + hahaha lovely that. (DVM05)

DVF09 appeared to make use of yet another type of compensatory strategy in one of the tokens of an SP followed by a continued silence produced by her. In example 52, the speaker is commenting on her career choice:

52 I was interested in the medical side of it rather than the + well, er, you know, nah. (DVF09)

Here the speaker appears to be using fillers such as "well" and "you know", possibly in an attempt to play for time, in the hopes of coming up with the L2 word she is looking for, before finally abandoning her attempt, something perhaps expressed by her use of the exclamation "nah!".

### 9.4.3 Provisional conclusion in relation to use of unfilled pauses in spoken L2

Only a proportionally small number of speakers made use of unfilled pauses followed by CS when compared to the number of interviewees who used unfilled pauses followed by a continued silence. This appears to coincide with the findings for respondents' use of filled pauses as discussed above. Laughter and other compensatory strategies were sometimes used by speakers in an apparent attempt to hide the fact that they were unable to come up with the correct L 2 lexical item. One respondent in particular (DVF08) inserted a "you know" comprehension check in every one of her L2 sentences. Respondents also used repetitions, but in the study these and comprehension checks such as "you know?" were almost invariably followed by a successful lexical retrieval or a "recasting" of the message (Jiménez Jiménez, 2004).

### 9.5 Average duration of unfilled pauses

Goldman-Eisler (1969) studied (unfilled) pauses occurring in the spontaneous speech produced by a number of different speakers discussing a number of different topics in their L1. Her classic study found that $99 \%$ of pauses were of less than 2 seconds' duration (1969, p. 15). A decision was made to check the average duration of unfilled or silent pauses (hereafter SPs) in respondents' spoken L2 relation to the nature of the content word to follow, be it a codeswitch or the expected, unmarked L2 item. As explained in the previous section, only MOS SPs relating to apparent word-finding problems were included. Based on Goldman-Eisler's finding that (unfilled) pauses of less than 2 second's duration are extremely common in the speech of native speaker, a decision was made not to classify respondents' SPs using very fine millisecond divisions. Rather it was deemed that classifying SPs in respondents' speech according to duration of 1-2 seconds, 2-3 seconds, 3-4 seconds and more than 4 seconds, would offer adequate information as to possible word finding problems - especially when viewed in conjunction with other linguistic features produced by the same speakers as well as sociolinguistic background information about these respondents.

### 9.5.1 Findings in relation to average duration of SPs in spoken L2

A considerable majority of speakers $(\mathrm{N}=21)$ regularly paused in the middle of a sentence uttered in the L2 for between 1 and 2 seconds, with some speakers doing so more frequently than others. Amongst those respondents whose spoken L2 included a higher than average number of 1-2s SPs were CMO1, CM03, DVM01, DVM04, CF01, CF09 and DVF06. Linguistic features of the spoken L2 of most of these speakers has already been the focus of previous discussion in this chapter. However, it is interesting to note that the spoken L2 of DVM01 and CF09 has so far escaped attention. A closer look at the use and average duration of SPs used by both these speakers showed that they may in fact have been able to successfully retrieve L2 lexical items thanks to the extra time afforded them by the use of SPs in their L2. What follows is are some examples uttered by DVM01:

She got a proper education before we $+[\operatorname{MOS} 1.1 \mathrm{~s}]$ came over to New Zealand.

If you weren't any good + [MOS 2.6s] they didn't want you of course.

56 I thought to myself: "I'm all set up for retirement, with the mountains, and + [MOS 1.9s] it fell through.

The situation is a little different for DVF09 who often appears to abandon her attempts to retrieve the desired L2 item and just continues regardless or leaves the rest of the sentence unspoken, as may be seen from the following examples. In example 57 and 58 the speaker is apparently looking for common words such as "a meal" and "staff", while in 59 she may have been looking for the expression "in agony", though this is just second-guessing on my part.

57 but to have my dog under the table when I'm having + [MOS 1.2s] (CF09)

58 One of the manager's $+[\operatorname{MOS} 1.4 \mathrm{~s}]$ he was an ex soldier. (CF09)

59 I was just [MOS 1.1s] oh I couldn't sit. (CF09)

Interestingly, where CF09 affords herself a longer SP, she is able to come up with an acceptable L2 term. In the next example, it is conceivable that the speaker was looking for the word "anaesthetic", in which case it could be said that she only managed to come up with an "approximation" of the item she was looking for:

60 They gave me a curette, no $++[\operatorname{MOS} 2.2 \mathrm{~s}]$ no injection, nothing. (CF09)

CF09 had assessed her L2 proficiency on arrival as "good" and felt her ultimate attainment in the L2 had been "very good". Similarly, DVM05, who features in the
examples below, assessed his proficiency in English on arrival in New Zealand as "very good". This respondent had worked in managerial settings, which had enabled him to repeatedly use his L2 in both the oral and written medium, in a range of registers (e.g. in relation to the writing of formal reports). In addition, he was maintaining his L2 proficiency by visiting a gym outside of the Dutch Village five times a week. During the interview, the respondent occasionally paused, as if searching for the correct L2 item, but usually managed to retrieve it, as will be apparent from the following examples.

61 we have $\mathrm{a}+[\operatorname{MOS} 1.1 \mathrm{~s}]$ special evening for everyone. (DVM05)

62 and they told $+[1.4 \mathrm{~s}]$ the press (DVM05)

63 and then all of a sudden you know you know + [MOS 2.5s] they give the course up. (DVM05)

CM01 is occasionally able to retrieve the correct L2 item, as per the example below:

64 I thought it too, you know, but I went er I went er + [MOS 3s] for a fortnight to [placename] (CM01)

However, the overall analysis of FPs and SPs showed that CM01 often resorted to using an FP or SP followed by either CS or a continued silence, in other words, he often was unable to retrieve the correct L2 lexical item. Like DVM01 and DVF09 above, DVM04 is able to use the extra time afforded him by the SP to retrieve the L2 word he is looking for, as can be seen from the following example.
oh yeah, er I er + [MOS 1.4s] learned quick enough, cos I had to like er in my job. (DVM04)

DVF08 stood out because of her very frequent use of SPs of all durations. She was one of only three respondents (the others being CM01 and DVM01) to use SPs of more than 4 seconds' duration. Some examples of SPs in the spoken L2 of DVF08 appear below. It appears that she was looking for a word like "boarders" in example 66 and possibly the name of the committee she was on in example 670. In example 68, she may have wanted to say: "everything I could to fit/assimilate/integrate".

66 I don't want er + [MOS 1.7s] I have too busy with me own life and the kids. (DVF08)

I belongs to the lunches, library, and I been $+[\operatorname{MOS} 2.1 \mathrm{~s}]$ in the committee.
(DVF08)

68
I did everything what $\mathrm{I}+[\operatorname{MOS} 2.7 \mathrm{~s}]$ in the community.
(DVF08)

Lastly, it should be added that one speaker who did not feature in the table as having produced any SPs of more than one second's duration, did in fact have a lot of SPs of less than 1 second in his spoken L2. However, these SPs did not appear to be related to any word finding problems, as the respondent in question, CM05, appeared extremely proficient in the L2. This speaker seemed to speak in "sound bites", which were separated by very regular short SPs of less than 1 second's duration. I was not sure whether this was an acquired habit, or whether it was due to physiological factors such as shortness of breath caused by some underlying medical condition. The fact that the speaker spoke in the same way when speaking in his L1 appears to lend credence to the assumption that he did so from habit, and not because he was struggling to find the right words. Furthermore, this speaker always came up with the correct lexical item without needing to resort to codeswitching. The analysis seemed to confirm that pausing particularly before a CS appeared to be related to unsuccessful L2 retrieval

### 9.5.3 Provisional conclusion in relation to average duration of SPs in spoken L2

Both CVM01 and CF09 were included in the group of respondents who used 1-2 second pauses more frequently than most other speakers in the study. The fact that both appeared in this group when the linguistic analysis did not find them to have engaged in many other possible tokens of L2 attrition and L1 reversion may indicate that these speakers managed to come up with the correct L2 items and structures when allowed the time to do so. However, the very fact that they needed a bit more time to retrieve such L2 words and structures may in itself be an indication that access to the L2 lexicon and syntax was not as easy as it used to be.

One respondent who stood out in terms of pausing very frequently in her spoken L2 was DVF08. This speaker had, by her own admission, never attained a very high level of attainment in the L2, something that was confirmed by her adult child. In addition, she had never worked outside of the home, hence had not been able to commit to her implicit memory (cf. Paradis, 1994) some commonly used L2 lexical items or syntactical structures. This, added to the fact that she was now living in the predominantly L1 speech community, may have contributed to her apparent difficulties in expressing herself through the L2. Both the speaker herself and her adult child also felt that these word and structure finding difficulties had been getting worse in recent years. Even so, the respondent was still willing to attempt a conversation in her L2, whereas other respondents, notably CF02 and DVM06, simply replied in their L1 when prompted in the L2, thereby effectively avoiding any L2 word finding problems.

### 9.6 Overall conclusions for the use of filled and unfilled pauses by individual speakers

It will have become in the course of this chapter clear that some respondents showed obvious signs of increased response latency, both in terms of resorting to CS or in terms of apparently failing to come up with the expected L2 lexical items following filled and unfilled pauses. The analysis seemed to confirm that pausing particularly before a CS appeared to be related to unsuccessful L2 retrieval. One might be tempted to say that the L2 of some of these respondents was showing signs of attrition, and that their frequent use of CS signalled by a return to the L1. However, this would be premature for several reasons. First of all, even for a fluent L2 speaker lexical retrieval from the L2 may not
be quite as fast as for his L1. Also, as we have seen in some cases (e.g. examples 9, 12, 16), lexical access may be hampered by the L2 word in question being a low-frequency item, and by speakers not having had much contact with it during their time in New Zealand. Thirdly, the findings should be looked at in conjunction with both the respondents' self-assessments of their continued ability to express themselves in the L2 and with the assessments by respondents' adult children in relation to the same. It certainly appears that the speech of some of those speakers who asserted that they believed to be "losing words" in the L2, was also showing linguistic features which might be indicative of the same. However, this does not appear to be true for all respondents, and in fact, some respondents felt that their English was unchanged, while their adult children asserted that their parents' English was "going back" and that they were reverting to their L1 far more often.

This last comment brings me to the importance of adult children's assessments in this regard also. The study overall showed that some respondents may never have acquired anything like a native-like acquisition of the complexities of the L2. CM03 was an example of a speaker who had reportedly always indulged in a lot of CS, to the extent that it was difficult to establish whether his spoken L2 at the time of the interview was very different to his spoken L2 at an earlier stage. Certainly, his adult child did not appear to think her father's English had changed much in that regard, although she admitted it might have got a little "worse".

Lastly, as also mentioned in the previous chapter, it may well be that some respondents simply did not show up in the tables simply because they avoided using the L2 altogether something which may be deemed an avoidance strategy in itself and which may well signal increased difficulty in retrieving items and structures in the L2. Hence it may well be that these "silent" respondents were in fact the most likely L2 attriters. The next chapters may throw more light on all these interesting questions, as they will look at linguistic features produced by all individuals and by respondents across different age, occupational and social groupings.

## Chapter Ten: Discussion of quantitative data for each of the linguistic features

### 10.1 Discussion of quantitative data for each of the linguistic features

The previous two chapters focused on the methodology used for the linguistic analysis and presented a discussion of examples of linguistic features produced by individual speakers. This chapter will present a discussion of all individual data for each of the linguistic features investigated, again in the framework of possible signs of L2 reversion with concomitant L1 reversion, as evidenced by CS from L2 to L1, message abandonment in the L2 and greater response latency in the L2 as apparent from speakers' use of filled and unfilled pauses. It should be added once again that only those filled and unfilled pauses which related to obvious L2 word finding problems were included in the analysis.

Tables included in this chapter will show all data for all individuals. I presented a standardised rate because all segments of recorded speech were of different word counts, so simply representing the number of tokens found in a segment for an individual speaker would not present the full picture. Hence, I needed a way to present a standardised rate. I decided to do this by calculating the numbers of tokens per 10,000 words, hereafter to be referred to as "the standardised rate". Data for any individual who has not shown at least two tokens for a particular linguistic feature will be omitted from the discussion, as to do otherwise would have meant including those whose overall production might be said to be insignificant in that they either showed a single token or no tokens at all. Another aspect to be taken into account is the fact that some speakers kept responding in the L1 even when prompted in that L2. As a result, some speakers did not produce a lot of L2 data to analyse. Three speakers in particular produced only a small amount of spoken L2, notably CM01: (800 words L2), CF02 (420 words L2) and DVM06 (160 words L2). I made a conscious decision not to exclude their data from the study, as their choice of preferred language may well say something about the extent to which they felt comfortable expressing themselves in the L2.

In the sections below, data relating to subclauses will be presented in 10.2, followed by data relating to $\mathrm{V}+\mathrm{C}$ structures and verbal agreement in sections
10.3 and 10.4. The chapter will conclude with a discussion of data relating to respondents' use of filled and unfilled pauses, and its possible relation to L1 reversion and response latency.

### 10.2 Analysis of subclauses for all respondents

As outlined in Chapter Eight, the analysis of subclauses for all individuals focused on three features:

- code switching from the L2 to the L1, this included instances where subjects would start an L2 subclause with an L2 conjunction and then follow through with a string of L1 lexical items.
- use of L1 finite structure, with the finite verb being placed ahead of the subject in the L2 subclause, mimicking finite verb placement in L1 subclauses
- use of L1 adverbial placement (or word order in the wider sense) in L2 subclauses. Instances where respondents used L1 word order in L2 subclauses were also included, as these cases might also be interpreted as a return to L1 syntax in L2 subclauses.


### 10.2.1 Analysis of subclauses involving CS for all respondents

Table 10.1 below shows that individuals varied as to the number of L2 subclauses they produced involving a switch to the L1. Nine speakers showed only one token with speakers in question quite evenly divided amongst males and females and DV and NDV respondents. This left three individuals who engaged in considerable codeswitching in subclauses and eighteen who did not have any tokens. This was interesting, since the overall sample was not a heterogeneous group in terms of sociolinguistic backgrounds. Some of the participants in this group had come to New Zealand without any English, while others had learned English at secondary school for 5 to 6 years.

Table 10.1 also shows that results varied considerably within the group. This is most likely due to variables other than age, as will be discussed in both Chapter Eleven which presents a comparison of findings across social groupings
and in Chapter Twelve, which will present some case studies. It is also clear from table 10.1 that only three respondents had two or more tokens, with two of these, CM01 and CF01, responsible for a large proportion of subclauses involving CS from L2 to L1 - with CM01 producing just over half of all such tokens as compared to around $25 \%$ produced by CF01. Since CM01 and CF01 were also a married couple, one may also surmise that CS had become a habit in the interaction between these respondents, to the extent that they were now automatically using a lot of CS in interactions with others as well. CM03 was another respondent to show a considerable amount of CS in subclauses.

Table 10.1

L2 subclauses involving a switch to the L1-all respondents.

| Respondent pseudonym | Total word count spoken L2 segment | Number of L2 subclauses produced | Percentage involving CS to the L1 | Standardised Rate |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| DVM01 | 2629 | 39 | 0\% | 0 |
| DVM02 | 4000 | 125 | 1\% | 3 |
| DVM03 | 3309 | 88 | 1\% | 3 |
| DVM04 | 3999 | 43 | 0\% | 0 |
| DVM05 | 2091 | 57 | 0\% | 0 |
| DVM06 | 159 | 1 | 0\% | 0 |
| DVF01 | 3406 | 63 | 0\% | 0 |
| DVF02 | 3003 | 92 | 0\% | 0 |
| DVF03 | 4233 | 75 | 0\% | 0 |
| DVF04 | 2085 | 33 | 3\% | 2 |
| DVF05 | 1495 | 8 | 0\% | 0 |
| DVF06 | 1820 | 28 | 0\% | 0 |
| DVF07 | 3967 | 105 | 0\% | 0 |
| DVF08 | 2472 | 29 | 3\% | 4 |
| DVF09 | 1645 | 48 | 2\% | 6 |
| CM01 | 782 | 12 | 75\% | 115 |
| CM02 | 2728 | 54 | 2\% | 4 |
| CM03 | 1639 | 10 | 30\% | 11 |
| CM04 | 3697 | 29 | 0\% | 0 |
| CM05 | 3057 | 57 | 0\% | 0 |
| CM06 | 3622 | 92 | 18\% | 0 |
| CF01 | 3141 | 85 | 18\% | 48 |
| CF02 | 421 | 3 | 0\% | 0 |
| CF03 | 1386 | 50 | 0\% | 0 |
| CF04 | 2821 | 38 | 3\% | 4 |
| CF05 | 3330 | 34 | 3\% | 2 |
| CF06 | 2004 | 28 | 0\% | 0 |
| CF07 | 3230 | 79 | 0\% | 0 |
| CF08 | 3514 | 84 | 0\% | 0 |
| CF09 | 4154 | 99 | 0\% | 0 |
| Total or mean for all respondents |  | 1581 | 2\% | 7 |

### 10.2.2 Analysis of subclauses involving L1 structure

Only one respondent showed any tokens of L1 finite placement in L2 subclauses. This was interesting, since this was not a heterogeneous group in terms of sociolinguistic backgrounds, as stated previously, leading the researcher to surmise that correct L2 finite placement in subclauses had become wellconsolidated in the spoken L2 of all respondents. In the case of one respondent, CM03, it proved rather difficult to work out the total number of tokens, due to

Table 10.2.

L2 subclauses involving a switch to L1 adverbial placement - all respondents.

| Respondent pseudonym | Total word count spoken L2 segment | Number of L2 subclauses produced | Percentage involving L1 adverbial placement | Standardised rate of tokens per 10,000 words |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| DVM01 | 2629 | 39 | 0\% | 0 |
| DVM02 | 4000 | 125 | 2\% | 5 |
| DVM03 | 3309 | 88 | 0\% | 0 |
| DVM04 | 3999 | 43 | 0\% | 0 |
| DVM05 | 2091 | 57 | 0\% | 0 |
| DVM06 | 159 | 1 | 0\% | 0 |
| DVF01 | 3406 | 63 | 0\% | 0 |
| DVF02 | 3003 | 92 | 0\% | 0 |
| DVF03 | 4233 | 75 | 0\% | 0 |
| DVF04 | 2085 | 33 | 3\% | 5 |
| DVF05 | 1495 | 8 | 0\% | 0 |
| DVF06 | 1820 | 28 | 0\% | 0 |
| DVF07 | 3967 | 105 | 0\% | 0 |
| DVF08 | 2472 | 29 | 0\% | 0 |
| DVF09 | 1645 | 48 | 4\% | 12 |
| CM01 | 782 | 12 | 0\% | 0 |
| CM02 | 2728 | 54 | 0\% | 0 |
| CM03 | 1639 | 10 | 0\% | 0 |
| CM04 | 3697 | 29 | 0\% | 0 |
| CM05 | 3057 | 57 | 2\% | 0 |
| CM06 | 3622 | 92 | 1\% | 3 |
| CF01 | 3141 | 85 | 1\% | 3 |
| CF02 | 421 | 3 | 0\% | 0 |
| CF03 | 1386 | 50 | 2\% | 7 |
| CF04 | 2821 | 38 | 0\% | 0 |
| CF05 | 3330 | 34 | 6\% | 6 |
| CF06 | 2004 | 28 | 0\% | 0 |
| CF07 | 3230 | 79 | 0\% | 0 |
| CF08 | 3514 | 84 | 0\% | 0 |
| CF09 | 4154 | 99 | 2\% | 5 |
| Total or mean for all respondents |  | 1581 | 1\% | 2 |

the fact that it was difficult to determine which language he was using as the Matrix Language. Switching between the syntactical and morphosyntactic features of both languages at several points within the same sentence appeared to be an ongoing feature of his speech.

Findings were different when it came to correct L2 word order and L2 adverbial placement in L2 subclauses as shown in Table 10.2. Four respondents (shown in bold in the table) had two or more tokens, while another five showed a single token each. DVM02, CF05, CF09, DVF02 and DVF09 were among those who had two or more tokens each. These speakers differed in terms of prior education, occupation and predominant linguistic environment postretirement. As an example, DVM02, DVF09 had arrived in New Zealand with what DVF09 termed "a good smattering of English". DVM02, DVF09 and CF09 had all worked in professional settings, using their L2 in a range of registers both in the oral and written medium. CF05 and DVF02 had arrived in New Zealand without any English and had not used their L2 in the written medium at work. Hence, there does not appear to be any straightforward explanation for the fact that all these respondents produced L2 subclauses which showed the distinct influence of their L1 in terms of word order and adverbial placement. A majority of speakers ( $\mathrm{n}=21$ ) did not show any tokens of L1 adverbial placement in L2 subclauses.

### 10.3 Analysis of V+C structures for all respondents

The analysis involved V+C structures as defined in Chapter Eight. Table 10.3 shows that four speakers showed a single token each, while two respondents (CM01 and CM03) produced two or more tokens of V+C structures involving CS. CM01 and CM03 stood out in all analyses because they engaged in a lot of codeswitching in general. The four participants who showed single tokens (CF04, DVF02, DVF06 and DVF08) had in common that they had all arrived in New Zealand without any previous knowledge of their L2. It is worth noting, however, that a majority of speakers ( $\mathrm{n}=24$ ) did not have any code switching in $\mathrm{L} 2 \mathrm{~V}+\mathrm{C}$ structures. It is also worth noting that participants produced varying rates of these structures per se, with some speakers producing less than ten of
these in their spoken L2 (e.g. CF05, DVM06, DVF05 and DVF06) and others producing a large number (e.g. CF01 and DVF07). It may be that subjects avoided the use of $\mathrm{V}+\mathrm{C}$ structures if they were not absolutely sure about what would constitute a correct L2 combination or collocation (cf. Baker, 1992; Kuiper et al., 2007). Subjects also differed as to the complexity of V+C structures they produced, with some subjects only coming up with very common and straightforward collocations such as "speak Dutch" and others producing less common ones, such as "abolish the society".

Table 10.3.
$\mathrm{L} 2 \mathrm{~V}+\mathrm{C}$ structures involving a switch to the L 1 - all respondents.

| Respondent pseudonym | Total word count spoken L2 segment | Number of L2 V+C structures produced | Percentage involving CS to the L1 | Standardised rate of tokens per 10,000 words |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| DVM01 | 2629 | 18 | 0\% | 0 |
| DVM02 | 4000 | 30 | 0\% | 0 |
| DVM03 | 3309 | 25 | 0\% | 0 |
| DVM04 | 3999 | 34 | 0\% | 0 |
| DVM05 | 2091 | 22 | 0\% | 0 |
| DVM06 | 159 | 3 | 0\% | 0 |
| DVF01 | 3406 | 27 | 0\% | 0 |
| DVF02 | 3003 | 43 | 2\% | 3 |
| DVF03 | 4233 | 31 | 0\% | 0 |
| DVF04 | 2085 | 33 | 0\% | 0 |
| DVF05 | 1495 | 10 | 0\% | 0 |
| DVF06 | 1820 | 10 | 10\% | 6 |
| DVF07 | 3967 | 40 | 0\% | 0 |
| DVF08 | 2472 | 20 | 5\% | 4 |
| DVF09 | 1645 | 40 | 0\% | 0 |
| CM01 | 782 | 3 | 67\% | 26 |
| CM02 | 2728 | 20 | 0\% | 0 |
| CM03 | 1639 | 42 | 38\% | 59 |
| CM04 | 3697 | 29 | 0\% | 0 |
| CM05 | 3057 | 50 | 0\% | 0 |
| CM06 | 3622 | 40 | 0\% | 0 |
| CF01 | 3141 | 50 | 0\% | 0 |
| CF02 | 421 | 7 | 0\% | 0 |
| CF03 | 1386 | 6 | 0\% | 0 |
| CF04 | 2821 | 5 | 20\% | 4 |
| CF05 | 3330 | 3 | 0\% | 0 |
| CF06 | 2004 | 22 | 0\% | 0 |
| CF07 | 3230 | 46 | 0\% | 0 |
| CF08 | 3514 | 36 | 3\% | 0 |
| CF09 | 4154 | 41 | 2\% | 0 |
| Total or mean for all respondents | 2618 | 786 | 3\% | 3 |

### 10.4 Analysis of verbal agreement for all respondents

Four respondents (shown in bold in Table 10.4) had two or more tokens of the non-standard form of the third person singular in the L2, while another six speakers had a single token each. All instances of non-standard tokens of the third person singular in verbs other than "to be" involved speakers leaving out the -s . However, the speech of all of such respondents also included standard productions of the third person singular plus -s .

Table 10.4.
Non-standard L2 verbal agreement in the $3^{\text {rd }}$ person singular - all respondents.

| Respondent pseudonym | Total word count spoken L2 segment | Number of L2 $3^{\text {rd }}$ person singular produced | Percentage nonstandard L2 | Standardised rate of tokens per 10,000 words |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| DVM01 | 2629 | 4 | 0\% | 0 |
| DVM02 | 4000 | 23 | 0\% | 0 |
| DVM03 | 3309 | 6 | 0\% | 0 |
| DVM04 | 3999 | 3 | 0\% | 0 |
| DVM05 | 2091 | 10 | 0\% | 0 |
| DVM06 | 159 | 4 | 0\% | 0 |
| DVF01 | 3406 | 11 | 0\% | 0 |
| DVF02 | 3003 | 4 | 25\% | 3 |
| DVF03 | 4233 | 28 | 7\% | 4 |
| DVF04 | 2085 | 13 | 0\% | 0 |
| DVF05 | 1495 | 5 | 0\% | 0 |
| DVF06 | 1820 | 6 | 17\% | 6 |
| DVF07 | 3967 | 38 | 8\% | 8 |
| DVF08 | 2472 | 30 | 83\% | 101 |
| DVF09 | 1645 | 9 | 0\% | 0 |
| CM01 | 782 | 6 | 17\% | 26 |
| CM02 | 2728 | 18 | 6\% | 0 |
| CM03 | 1639 | 0 | 0\% | 0 |
| CM04 | 3697 | 11 | 0\% | 0 |
| CM05 | 3057 | 5 | 0\% | 0 |
| CM06 | 3622 | 5 | 20\% | 0 |
| CF01 | 3141 | 16 | 0\% | 0 |
| CF02 | 421 | 2 | 0\% | 0 |
| CF03 | 1386 | 20 | 0\% | 0 |
| CF04 | 2821 | 11 | 9\% | 4 |
| CF05 | 3330 | 10 | 0\% | 0 |
| CF06 | 2004 | 5 | 40\% | 10 |
| CF07 | 3230 | 5 | 0\% | 0 |
| CF08 | 3514 | 10 | 0\% | 0 |
| CF09 | 4154 | 39 | 0\% | 0 |
| Total for all respondents | 2618 |  |  |  |

CM03 did not have any non-standard forms in his spoken L2 as he mostly talked about the past and used the third person singular present only twice, both times correctly using the finite of "to be". Out of the six speakers referred to above, all bar one, (CM06), had come to New Zealand without any knowledge of English and had then acquired their L2 naturalistically, in the work environment. One speaker, DVF08, produced a high number of instances of third person singular minus -s. The respondent in question had arrived in New Zealand without any prior knowledge of English and had never been in paid employment outside of the home. Since most of the respondents who showed incorrect verbal agreement had come to New Zealand with little or no English and had worked in trades and manual labour all of their lives, one may surmise that they had never formally learned the rule for verbal agreement in the third person singular. Overall, therefore, these instances of third person singular minus the -s may be a sign of non-optimal consolidation of English morphosyntactic rules due to respondents having picked up their L2 naturalistically through work and social contacts rather than through more grammar or rule oriented secondary school teaching. Obviously, in a naturalistic setting most of what was heard would have contained the standard verbal agreement, however it may have been the consciousness raised by schooling that had the effect of causing speakers to be more aware of producing the standard form.

### 10.5 Analysis of filled pauses for all respondents

Respondents' use of filled pauses in lexical retrieval contexts were analysed to see whether these were followed by either a switch to the L 1 or a silence. Two of the speakers (DVM03 and DVF09, shown in bold print in Table 10.5) averaged two or more tokens per 10,000 words of filled pauses followed by CS, with another five respondents showing a single token each. Details for these speakers have been represented in bold in Table 10.5. The 23 remaining speakers did not have any filled pauses followed by a switch to the L1. Interestingly, six of the speakers who switched to the L1 following a filled pause were DV residents, from a range of sociolinguistic backgrounds. Three of them (DVM02, DVM04 and DVF09) had come to New Zealand with a good grounding in English and all three said their English had improved rapidly after
arrival. One of these three (DVM02) had been employed in higher management positions for well over twenty years, while DVF09 had been working in an administrative positions and DVM04 had been working as a tradesperson. All three were very proficient in English. Two of them (DVM02 and DV09) had been married to English speakers. DVM02 was now married to an L1 Dutch speaking spouse and spoke mainly Dutch at home. DVM04 said he and his wife spoke a 'mixture' of English and Dutch. DVF09 had lost her husband since

Table 10.5

Filled pauses in L 2 followed by a switch to the L 1 - all respondents.

| Respondent <br> pseudonym | Total word count <br> spoken L2 segment | Number of filled <br> pauses in L2 <br> followed by a switch <br> to the L1 | Standardised rate of <br> tokens per 10,000 <br> words |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| DVM01 | 2629 | 0 | 0 |
| DVM02 | 4000 | 1 | 3 |
| DVM03 | $\mathbf{3 3 0 9}$ | $\mathbf{2}$ | $\mathbf{6}$ |
| DVM04 | 3999 | 0 | 0 |
| DVM05 | 2091 | 0 | 0 |
| DVM06 | 159 | 0 | 0 |
| DVF01 | 3406 | 0 | 0 |
| DVF02 | 3003 | 1 | 3 |
| DVF03 | 4233 | 0 | 0 |
| DVF04 | 2085 | 1 | 5 |
| DVF05 | 1495 | 0 | 0 |
| DVF06 | 1820 | 1 | 6 |
| DVF07 | 3967 | 0 | 0 |
| DVF08 | 2472 | 0 | 0 |
| DVF09 | $\mathbf{1 6 4 5}$ | $\mathbf{2}$ | $\mathbf{1 2}$ |
| CM01 | 782 | 1 | 13 |
| CM02 | 2728 | 0 | 0 |
| CM03 | 1639 | 0 | 0 |
| CM04 | 3697 | 0 | 0 |
| CM05 | 3057 | 0 | 0 |
| CM06 | 3622 | 0 | 0 |
| CF01 | 3141 | 0 | 0 |
| CF02 | 421 | 0 | 0 |
| CF03 | 1386 | 0 | 0 |
| CF04 | 2821 | 0 | 0 |
| CF05 | 3330 | 0 | 0 |
| CF06 | 2004 | 0 | 0 |
| CF07 | 3230 | 0 | 0 |
| CF08 | 3514 | 0 | 0 |
| CF09 | 4154 | 0 | 0 |
| Total for all |  |  |  |
| respondents |  | 0 | 0 |
| Mean for all |  |  |  |
| respondents |  | 0 | 0 |
|  |  | 0 | 0 |

moving to the Dutch Village; she also said she often noticed herself slipping from her L1 into her L2 and vice versa. However, none of these three speakers tended to codeswitch within sentences. The one NDV respondent who showed tokens of FPs followed by codeswitching was CM01. This respondent engaged in a lot of codeswitching in general. However, he mostly appeared to do so without hesitation, giving rise to the impression that switching between languages was an established feature of his speech.

The next table shows that just under half of respondents showed filled pauses followed by a silence, which meant that on occasion they unable to come up with the L2 word they were looking for. Seven speakers had two or more tokens and their details are shown in bold print in Table 10.6. A further seven speakers showed a single token each, while sixteen did not have any tokens. The mean standardised rate for FPs followed by silence was six, which was considerably higher than the mean standardised rate for tokens of FPs followed by CS, which was just under two. Again, it may be that respondents preferred abandoning their L2 message to codeswitching, perhaps influenced by the fact that the interviewer did not engage in any CS.

Table 10.6.

Filled pauses in the L 2 followed by a silence - all respondents.

| Respondent <br> pseudonym | Total word count <br> spoken L2 segment | Number of filled <br> pauses in L2 <br> followed by a silence | Standardised rate of <br> tokens per 10,000 <br> words |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| DVM01 | 2629 | 0 | 0 |
| DVM02 | $\mathbf{4 0 0 0}$ | $\mathbf{7}$ | $\mathbf{1 8}$ |
| DVM03 | 3309 | 1 | 3 |
| DVM04 | 3999 | 1 | 5 |
| DVM05 | 2091 | 1 | 3 |
| DVM06 | 159 | 0 | 0 |
| DVF01 | 3406 | 0 | 0 |
| DVF02 | $\mathbf{3 0 0 3}$ | $\mathbf{1 4}$ | $\mathbf{4 7}$ |
| DVF03 | 4233 | 1 | 2 |
| DVF04 | $\mathbf{2 0 8 5}$ | $\mathbf{2}$ | $\mathbf{1 0}$ |
| DVF05 | 1495 | 0 | 0 |
| DVF06 | $\mathbf{1 8 2 0}$ | $\mathbf{2}$ | $\mathbf{1 1}$ |
| DVF07 | 3967 | 0 | 0 |
| DVF08 | $\mathbf{2 4 7 2}$ | $\mathbf{5}$ | $\mathbf{2 0}$ |
| DVF09 | $\mathbf{1 6 4 5}$ | $\mathbf{3}$ | $\mathbf{1 8}$ |

Table 10.6. (continued)

| Respondent <br> pseudonym | Total word count <br> spoken L2 segment | Number of filled <br> pauses in L2 <br> followed by a silence | Standardised rate of <br> tokens per 10,000 <br> words |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| CM01 | $\mathbf{7 8 2}$ | $\mathbf{2}$ | $\mathbf{2 6}$ |
| CM02 | 2728 | 0 | 0 |
| CM03 | 1639 | 1 | 4 |
| CM04 | 3697 | 0 | 0 |
| CM05 | 3057 | 0 | 0 |
| CM06 | 3622 | 0 | 0 |
| CF01 | 3141 | 1 | 3 |
| CF02 | 421 | 0 | 0 |
| CF03 | 1386 | 0 | 0 |
| CF04 | 2821 | 1 | 4 |
| CF05 | 3330 | 0 | 0 |
| CF06 | 2004 | 0 | 0 |
| CF07 | 3230 | 0 | 0 |
| CF08 | 3514 | 0 | 0 |
| CF09 | 4154 | $\mathbf{4 2}$ | 0 |
| Total for all <br> respondents | $\mathbf{2 6 1 8}$ | $\mathbf{1 . 4}$ |  |
| Mean for all <br> respondents |  |  | $\mathbf{6}$ |

Interestingly also the majority of those ( $\mathrm{n}=7$ ) who showed two or more tokens of FPs followed by a silence were DV respondents. In fact, two DV respondents (DVF02 and DVM02) were responsible for over a third of all tokens of FPs followed by a silence for the whole sample of respondents. Again the activation threshold theory proposed by Paradis (2004) may go some way towards offering an explanation for this higher than average number of tokens, as DVM02 and DVF02 had lived in the Dutch Village for about 20 years by the time they were interviewed.

### 10.6 Analysis of unfilled pauses for all respondents

As explained in the previous chapter, only unfilled or silent pauses (SPs) occurring in relation to 'word finding' attempts and occurring in the middle of a

Table 10.7.

Unfilled pauses in L2 followed by a switch to the L1-all respondents.

| Respondent <br> pseudonym | Total word count <br> spoken L2 segment | Number of Unfilled <br> Pauses in L2 <br> followed by a switch <br> to the L1 | Standardised rate of <br> tokens per 10,000 <br> words |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| DVM01 | 2629 | 0 | 0 |
| DVM02 | $\mathbf{4 0 0 0}$ | $\mathbf{2}$ | $\mathbf{5}$ |
| DVM03 | 3309 | 1 | 3 |
| DVM04 | 3999 | 0 | 0 |
| DVM05 | 2091 | 0 | 0 |
| DVM06 | 159 | 1 | 24 |
| DVF01 | 3406 | 0 | 0 |
| DVF02 | 3003 | 0 | 0 |
| DVF03 | 4233 | 0 | 0 |
| DVF04 | $\mathbf{2 0 8 5}$ | $\mathbf{2}$ | $\mathbf{1 0}$ |
| DVF05 | $\mathbf{1 8 9 5}$ | 0 | 0 |
| DVF06 | 3967 | $\mathbf{5}$ | $\mathbf{2 8}$ |
| DVF07 | 2472 | 0 | 0 |
| DVF08 | 1645 | 0 | 0 |
| DVF09 | $\mathbf{7 8 2}$ | 1 | 6 |
| CM01 | 2728 | $\mathbf{3}$ | $\mathbf{3 8}$ |
| CM02 | $\mathbf{1 6 3 9}$ | 0 | 0 |
| CM03 | 3697 | $\mathbf{6}$ | $\mathbf{2 2}$ |
| CM04 | 3057 | 1 | 3 |
| CM05 | 3622 | 0 | 0 |
| CM06 | 3141 | 0 | 0 |
| CF01 | 421 | 0 | 0 |
| CF02 | 1386 | 0 | 0 |
| CF03 | 2821 | 0 | 0 |
| CF04 | 3330 | 0 | 0 |
| CF05 | 2004 | 0 | 0 |
| CF06 | 3230 | 0 | 0 |
| CF07 | 3514 | 0618 | 0 |
| CF08 | 4154 | 0 | 0 |
| CF09 |  | 0 | 0 |
| Mean for all |  |  |  |
| respondents |  | 0 | 0 |
|  |  | 0 | 0 |

sentence (MOS) were included in the count, with the focus on whether such pauses were followed by either a switch to the L1 or a silence.

Almost two thirds of respondents overall ( $\mathrm{n}=18$ ) produced unfilled pauses followed by an apparent "message abandonment" silence, with six of these speakers showing two or more tokens. The mean standardised rate for unfilled pauses followed by a silence was seven, however with a considerable proportion of tokens being attributable to a small number of speakers. "High yield"
respondents included CF01, CF09 and DVF08. CF01 features in many of the analyses and, like her husband, appears to be showing signs and symptoms of

Table 10.8.

Unfilled pauses in the L2 followed by a silence - all respondents.

| Respondent pseudonym | Total word count spoken L2 segment | Number of unfilled pauses in L2 followed by a silence | Standardised rate of tokens per $\mathbf{1 0 , 0 0 0}$ words |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| DVM01 | 2629 | 0 | 0 |
| DVM02 | 4000 | 0 | 0 |
| DVM03 | 3309 | 1 | 3 |
| DVM04 | 3999 | 1 | 5 |
| DVM05 | 2091 | 1 | 3 |
| DVM06 | 159 | 1 | 24 |
| DVF01 | 3406 | 0 | 0 |
| DVF02 | 3003 | 1 | 3 |
| DVF03 | 4233 | 1 | 2 |
| DVF04 | 2085 | 2 | 10 |
| DVF05 | 1495 | 1 | 7 |
| DVF06 | 1820 | 0 | 0 |
| DVF07 | 3967 | 0 | 0 |
| DVF08 | 2472 | 16 | 65 |
| DVF09 | 1645 | 0 | 0 |
| CM01 | 782 | 2 | 26 |
| CM02 | 2728 | 0 | 0 |
| CM03 | 1639 | 1 | 4 |
| CM04 | 3697 | 1 | 3 |
| CM05 | 3057 | 0 | 0 |
| CM06 | 3622 | 1 | 3 |
| CF01 | 3141 | 6 | 19 |
| CF02 | 421 | 0 | 0 |
| CF03 | 1386 | 1 | 7 |
| CF04 | 2821 | 2 | 7 |
| CF05 | 3330 | 0 | 0 |
| CF06 | 2004 | 0 | 0 |
| CF07 | 3230 | 1 | 3 |
| CF08 | 3514 | 0 | 0 |
| CF09 | 4154 | 4 | 10 |
| Mean for all respondents | 2618 |  |  |

word-finding problems in the L2. The appearance of CF09 in this group is a bit unexpected, but has been examined in more detail in Chapters Eight and Nine.

Overall, tokens of unfilled pauses followed by a silence were evenly distributed across DV and NDV respondents. It should be noted that the speech of some
respondents (notably DVF01 and DVF07) contained neither filled pauses followed by CS nor a silence, and both these respondents did in fact appear very fluent in their L2 at the time of the interview. It is also apparent that the mean standardised rate for unfilled pauses followed by a silence (seven) was higher than that for unfilled pauses followed by a codeswitch (five). This may be due to respondents' being aware that the interviewer was not codeswitching and trying to accommodate her (cf. Giles and Clair, 1979).

### 10.7 Average duration of unfilled pauses (SPs) for all respondents

It will be evident from Tables 10.9 below that there were considerable differences between respondents in terms of the number of unfilled pauses and the duration of these. Overall the mean standardised rate for unfilled pauses of between 1 and 2 seconds' duration was eleven. Interviewees overall showed proportionally less of the longer silent pauses, showing a mean standardised rate of only two for unfilled word finding related pauses of between 2 and 3 seconds' duration. These averages dropped even further for $3-4$ second ( 0.51 ) and 4 second plus silences ( 0.94 ). For this reason, tables showing these longer unfilled pauses have been omitted here.

The analysis showed that a small number of participants were responsible for a large number of these tokens, in particular CM01, CF01, DVM0, DVF04 and DVF08. The digital analysis of unfilled pauses was useful in that it sometimes revealed pauses which had been almost unnoticeable during the interview. As an example, CM03 appeared to switch from English to Dutch and vice versa without noticeable pausing, however the analysis showed that his L2 speech did show a number of unfilled pauses of between 1 and 2 seconds and between 2 and 3 seconds' duration.

The number of SPs in respondents' spoken L2 was not always specific to their L2. DVM04 and DVM05, for instance, both produced a fair number of SPs in their spoken L2, however, during the interview both speakers appeared very fluent in their L2, and their L1 spoken segments showed a very similar number of silent pauses. DVF06, in contrast, paused regularly in her spoken L2, but not in her spoken L1. Comparing the number of SPs in respondents' L1 and L2 provided useful additional information in trying to ascertain the possible extent
of word finding problems they were experiencing in their L2. However, some speakers only used their L2 during the interview, precluding any comparative analysis with their spoken L1.

Table 10.9.

Unfilled pauses of 1-2 seconds' duration in the L2 - all respondents.

| Respondent pseudonym | Total word count spoken L2 segment | Number of 1-2 s silences produced in L2 | Standardised rate of tokens per 10,000 words |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| DVM01 | 2629 | 10 | 4 |
| DVM02 | 4000 | 10 | 3 |
| DVM03 | 3309 | 3 | 0 |
| DVM04 | 3999 | 5 | 5 |
| DVM05 | 2091 | 4 | 5 |
| DVM06 | 159 | 0 | 63 |
| DVF01 | 3406 | 4 | 0 |
| DVF02 | 3003 | 4 | 3 |
| DVF03 | 4233 | 1 | 0 |
| DVF04 | 2085 | 5 | 0 |
| DVF05 | 1495 | 0 | 0 |
| DVF06 | 1820 | 10 | 0 |
| DVF07 | 3967 | 0 | 0 |
| DVF08 | 2472 | 5 | 16 |
| DVF09 | 1645 | 2 | 24 |
| CM01 | 782 | 4 | 4 |
| CM02 | 2728 | 0 | 0 |
| CM03 | 1639 | 4 | 6 |
| CM04 | 3697 | 1 | 0 |
| CM05 | 3057 | 0 | 0 |
| CM06 | 3622 | 1 | 0 |
| CF01 | 3141 | 6 | 6 |
| CF02 | 421 | 0 | 0 |
| CF03 | 1386 | 4 | 0 |
| CF04 | 2821 | 2 | 0 |
| CF05 | 3330 | 0 | 0 |
| CF06 | 2004 | 0 | 0 |
| CF07 | 3230 | 0 | 0 |
| CF08 | 3514 | 2 | 0 |
| CF09 | 4154 | 4 | 5 |
| Totals for all | 79,839 | 91 | 394 |
| Mean for all | 2618 | 3 | 13 |

Table 10.9 is also of interest because it provides additional insight into the spoken L2 of some speakers who do not stand out as unusual in other parts of the linguistic analysis. As an example, DVF01, who was the only respondent to show native-like fluency in her L2, in every sense of the word, appears in this
table with a number of unfilled word-finding related pauses, but did not produce a single token involving a switch to the L1. This may show that the respondent in question was able utilise these pauses to "repair" her intended communications. The same may be true for other very proficient L2 speakers such as CM06, DVM03 and CF09. In other words, the average duration of unfilled pauses per speaker may reveal those respondents who are experiencing some lexical retrieval problems in the L2, but who are still managing to selfrepair.

Table 10.10.

Unfilled pauses of 2-3 seconds' duration in the L2 - all respondents.

| Respondent pseudonym | Total word count spoken L2 segment | Number of 2-3 s silences produced in L2 | Standardised rate |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| DVM01 | 2629 | 1 | 38 |
| DVM02 | 4000 | 1 | 25 |
| DVM03 | 3309 | 0 | 9 |
| DVM04 | 3999 | 2 | 13 |
| DVM05 | 2091 | 1 | 19 |
| DVM06 | 159 | 1 | 0 |
| DVF01 | 3406 | 0 | 12 |
| DVF02 | 3003 | 1 | 13 |
| DVF03 | 4233 | 0 | 2 |
| DVF04 | 2085 | 0 | 24 |
| DVF05 | 1495 | 0 | 0 |
| DVF06 | 1820 | 0 | 55 |
| DVF07 | 3967 | 0 | 0 |
| DVF08 | 2472 | 4 | 20 |
| DVF09 | 1645 | 4 | 12 |
| CM01 | 782 | 1 | 51 |
| CM02 | 2728 | 0 | 0 |
| CM03 | 1639 | 1 | 24 |
| CM04 | 3697 | 0 | 3 |
| CM05 | 3057 | 0 | 0 |
| CM06 | 3622 | 0 | 3 |
| CF01 | 3141 | 2 | 19 |
| CF02 | 421 | 0 | 0 |
| CF03 | 1386 | 0 | 29 |
| CF04 | 2821 | 0 | 7 |
| CF05 | 3330 | 0 | 0 |
| CF06 | 2004 | 0 | 0 |
| CF07 | 3230 | 0 | 0 |
| CF08 | 3514 | 0 | 6 |
| CF09 | 4154 | 1 | 10 |
| Totals for all | 79,839 | 20 | 144 |
| Mean for all | 2618 | 0.7 | 5 |

Longer unfilled lexical retrieval type pauses were rarely found. The only respondents to show unfilled word-finding related pauses of 3-4 seconds' duration in their spoken L2 were DVM04 and CM01 with one token each. Appendix XII contains the table for all respondents. Similarly, unfilled word finding related pauses of more than 4 seconds' duration were very rare. The only respondents to show unfilled word-finding related pauses of more than 4 seconds' duration in their spoken L2 were DVM04 and CM01 with one token each and DVF08 with four tokens. Appendix XII again contains the table for all respondents.

### 10.8 Summary of discussion of quantitative data for each of the linguistic features

This chapter presented a discussion of all individual data for each of the linguistic features investigated, again in the framework of possible signs of L2 reversion and L1 reversion, as evidenced by CS from L2 to L1, message abandonment in the L 2 and greater response latency in the L2 as apparent from speakers' use of filled and unfilled pauses. Tables included in this chapter showed all data for all individuals for each of the linguistic features examined, however, it will be clear that some individuals did not show up in any of the tables, whilst others cropped up repeatedly. Overall, it will have become apparent that for the overwhelming majority of respondents I did not find evidence of L2 attrition with L1 reversion. For a small number of individuals, however, I did find features of codeswitching, message abandonment and increased response latency cropping up across a number of different analyses. One of the other DV interviewees, DVF04 explicitly referred to her inability to find the right word during the interview ("I lost a word again"), stating that it had been a more recent phenomenon, which had started to crop up after her retirement. All in all, the fact that the majority of those who showed tokens of filled pauses followed by a "message abandonment" silence were DV respondents might link in with Paradis’ (2004) theory of the activation threshold being raised for words in the less used language, in this case English. Chapter Twelve will present case studies for those respondents who stood out because their spoken L2 showed a number of features which might be termed characteristic of L2 attrition.

In general, most respondents had had more than fifty years of L2 exposure and production. One would expect that the only ones to show L2 attrition would be people who had not had much of either, such as women who were never in paid employment. In this context, Chapter Eleven will present findings of analyses across various social groupings, including those based on gender, education and employment.

## Chapter Eleven: Comparison of linguistic outcomes across social groupings

This chapter will present an analysis of linguistic features across social groupings. Interviewees obviously shared similarities in terms of age on arrival in New Zealand, immigration cohort, and present age, but differed in many other respects. Some respondents had worked as manual labourers all of their working lives, while others had been in positions of senior management. Such differences likely impacted on the opportunity subjects had to consolidate and develop their proficiency in the L2. After considering the many different variables which came to the fore, I decided to group respondents according to their age, prior education, occupation, predominant linguistic environment post-retirement and gender. A more detailed rationale for each these groupings is given in the relevant sections. Within these groups, linguistic analysis was undertaken in relation to tokens signalling possible L2 attrition and L1 reversion across the various groupings, focusing on outcomes at the level of lexicon, syntax, morphosyntax as well as an analysis of hesitation phenomena (filled and unfilled pauses). The analysis of unfilled pauses related to those occurring in middle-of-the-sentence lexical retrieval contexts as explained in Chapter Nine.

I decided to present findings across social groupings in combined tables displaying speakers' linguistic behaviour in relation to:

- L2 subclauses
- L2 V+C structures
- Non-standard L2 third person singular present
- Filled pauses in the L2
- Unfilled pauses in the L2

Respondents' production outcomes for L2 V+C structures and L2 third person singular present will be discussed under the subheading of "additional features" in each section. This has been done in order to avoid a proliferation of subsections and subheadings in this chapter.

All tables display comparisons of standardised rates, as explained in the previous chapter. Where the number of respondents was nil, the standardised rate has been shown as "n.a." for "not applicable", rather than as "-". It will be obvious from the tables in the various sections that it is mostly a few individuals who show higher levels of features. These individuals will be listed in the tables
as respondents showing two or more tokens ( $\geq 2$ tokens). All other individuals will be shown as respondents showing less than two tokens ( $<2$ tokens). Tables are followed by section summaries providing an account of findings across the various social groupings. This approach has been chosen for added clarity - in order to avoid repetition and to reduce the denseness inherent in very detailed descriptions for each table. Grouped analyses were undertaken in an attempt to identify the role of specific sociolinguistic factors in relation to possible features of L2 attrition or L1 reversion. A rationale for the particular nature of these social groupings will be presented in section 11.1 below.

### 11.1 Rationale for groupings

Respondents were grouped according to age, because previous studies have provided evidence for an age-related decline which manifests itself in particular through older speakers' problems in producing or recognizing more complicated sentence structures (e.g. Kemper, 1986; Pye, Cheung and Kemper, 1992; Rice, 1996). Kemper found that "older" adults (over 40) used significantly fewer complex sentences than younger adults, both in speaking and in writing (1986). Kemper's findings are of interest to the current study because he included both relative clauses and "that-clauses" in his study of "complex sentences". Another study by Pye, Cheung and Kemper (1992) carried out a type of Grammaticality Judgment test involving older respondents, aged from 60 to 93 . According to Pye et al. subjects in their 80 s found it harder to distinguish between grammatical and ungrammatical sentences particularly if the sentences were long and complex, especially in the case of left-branching sentences. Overall, the above findings could be attributed to a decline in working memory. Bloom, Mullins and Paternostro (1996) asked subjects from three age groups to carry out reading and writing tasks, and found that, at 50 the ability to use certain coordinating and subordinating conjunctions was starting to reduce. This is of interest since the current study also looked at respondents' ability to construct subordinating clauses in the L2. However, the current study was different from those carried out by Kemper, Pye et al. (1992) and Bloom et al. (1996) in that it involved spontaneous speech production in respondents' L2.

Respondents in the current study were grouped according to level of education pre-migration because I assumed this would have impacted on their proficiency in English on arrival in New Zealand, which was important in terms of its possible effect on respondents' ultimate attainment in the L2 (cf. Yağmur, 1997; Pelc, 2001). Occupation was chosen as a grouping, because of the varying opportunities for consolidation and practice of the spoken (and written) L2 across a range of registers and situations different types of occupations would have afforded respondents. Predominant linguistic environment post-retirement was an important grouping because of the hypothesis that "relative isolation from the L2" might affect older L2 speakers' ease of access to L2 lexical and syntactical items (cf. Clyne \& de Bot, 1994), which was one of the hypotheses investigated in this study. The hypothesis about the effect of such relative isolation from the L2 also fits Paradis's view that the "activation threshold" for use of an L2 lexical item is raised every time an L2 item is not used (Paradis, 2004, p. 226), making access to such an item progressively more difficult. Finally, outcomes for the group of male respondents overall were compared to those for female respondents overall. The main reason for doing this related to the impact gender might have had on individuals' education and occupation, both of which may be said to have an important impact on L2 learners' ability to acquire and consolidate their L2.

### 11.2 Age groups

I initially chose the following age groups: 60 to 70 years of age, 70 to 80 years of age, 80 to 90 years of age and 90-100 years of age. However, this division meant I ended up with only one respondent in the 60-70 age group and only 2 respondents in the 90 year plus group. Likewise, dividing respondents into age groups aged from 65 to 74,75 to 84 and 85 to 94 resulted in there being only four respondents in the youngest group, four in the oldest group, and the remainder of respondents in the middle group. I therefore decided to split respondents into only two age groups only: one younger group, including those aged younger than 80 , and one older group, including participants aged 80 and over. Dividing respondents up into a group of sub- 80 and 80 -plus also seems justified in relation to reported percentages of the incidence of age-related
decline in language production skill reported in the general ageing population (e.g. Bloom et al, 1986; Kemper, 1986; Rice, 1996; Pye et al., 1992; Byalystok, Viswanathan, Craik Klein, 2004; Gollan, Cagigas, Rascovsky \& Salmon, 2002). One may surmise that such a decline in language skills may increase with age, in particular in those aged 80 and over, justifying the decision to divide respondents up into a "sub- 80 " and an " 80 -plus" group.

### 11.2.1 Respondents aged $<\mathbf{8 0}$ or $\geq \mathbf{8 0}$ at time of interview

The sub-80 age group contained a considerable number of NDV respondents, reflecting the fact they were slightly younger on average than DV interviewees. The sub-80 group was quite heterogeneous in terms of prior education, proficiency of English on arrival in New Zealand and eventual occupational attainment. The 80-plus old age group contained a considerable number of DV respondents, and was again quite heterogeneous in terms of the parameters mentioned above.

### 11.2.2 Analysis of $\mathbf{L} 2$ subclauses across age groups

As stated in previous chapters, the analysis focused on three potential areas of non-standard L2 usage when it came to respondents' production of L2 subclauses, namely switching to the L1, the use of L1 finite placement in L2 subclauses, and the use of L1 finite placement. Since none of the speakers engaged in L1 finite placement, the tables below relate to the incidence of codeswitching to the L1 and L1 adverbial placement only. As stated in the introduction to this chapter, tables present standardised rates of tokens per 10,000 words of spoken L2. In a great majority of cases, the standardised rates for groupings overall were in fact due to higher than average numbers of tokens produced by a small number of respondents (outliers). Hence the tables will present standardised rates for the group overall, followed by standardised rates for those who produced two or more tokens and rates for those who produced less than two tokens.

Table 11.1 shows a comparison of standardised rates for L2 subclauses involving either a switch to L1 lexical items or L1 adverbial placement, as
explained in Chapter Eight. The analysis showed that the majority of younger respondents never engaged in any codeswitching to the L1 in L2 subclauses. Most tokens found were attributable to two of the younger group members (CM01 and CF01), with the former responsible for $75 \%$ of all such tokens, as compared to $18 \%$ produced by CF01. Similarly, in the older age group seven out of eight respondents never had any CS in L2 subclauses, while one interviewee (CM03) displayed two or more tokens.

## Table 11.1

L2 subclauses - respondents aged $<80$ and $\geq 80$.

|  | $<80$ |  | $\geq 80$ |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| L2 subclauses involving a switch to the L1 | N | Standardise d rate | N | Standardised rate |
| Entire Group | 22 | 10 | 8 | 1 |
| $\geq 2$ tokens | 2 | 81 | 1 | 11 |
| < 2 tokens | 20 | 3 | 7 | 0 |
| L2 subclauses involving L1 adverbial placement | N | Standardise d rate | N | Standardised rate |
| Entire Group | 7 | 22 | 3 | 8 |
| $\geq 2$ tokens | 23 | 2 | 11 | 1 |
| < 2 tokens | 1 | 20 | 2 | 7 |

None of the speakers in either group had any tokens of L1 finite placement in L2 subclauses, which led me to surmise that correct finite placement had become well-consolidated in respondents' L2 use. As to L1 adverbial placement in L2 subclauses, Table 11.1 shows that none of the older respondents showed any tokens, while the overall standardised rate for the younger age group was in fact attributable to just a small number of speakers.

### 11.2.3 Analysis of filled and unfilled pauses

Table 11.2 shows that the higher overall standardised rate for the use of filled pauses followed by a codeswitch in the younger age group was in fact attributable to just two respondents and that the standardised rate for the rest of the group was the same as that for the older age group overall. The analysis also
looked at speakers' use of filled pauses followed by a silence that could be interpreted as a sign that attempts to formulate the intended message in the L2 had been abandoned. Again, half of the older respondents did not have any filled pauses followed by a silence, with only one speaker showing two or more tokens. This could be interpreted to mean that for an overwhelming majority of older speakers the use of filled pauses afforded them enough time to retrieve the L2 lexical items they had been looking for.

Table 11.2.

Filled pauses in the L 2 - respondents aged $<80$ and $\geq 80$.

|  | $<\mathbf{8 0}$ |  | $\mathbf{8 0}$ |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Filled pauses followed <br> by a switch to the L1 | $\mathbf{N}$ | Standardised <br> rate | $\mathbf{N}$ | Standardised <br> rate |
| Entire Group | 22 | 7 | 8 | 1 |
| $\geq \mathbf{2}$ tokens | 2 | 9 | 0 | n.a. |
| $<\mathbf{2}$ tokens | 20 | 1 | 8 | 1 |
| Filled pauses followed by <br> a silence |  |  |  |  |
| Entire Group | 22 | 7 | 8 | 3 |
| $\geq \mathbf{2}$ tokens | 2 | 23 | 1 | 11 |
| $<\mathbf{2}$ tokens | 20 | 1 | 7 | 2 |

Table 11.3 shows the standardised rates for the use of unfilled pauses of between one and two seconds' duration across both age groups. Interestingly, the use of such shorter silent pauses appears quite wide-spread. On closer inspection, however, it becomes obvious that the relatively high standardised rate for the use of such pauses is in fact attributable to half of the individuals in both age groups. The table also shows that the use of longer two to three second pauses was much less wide-spread in both age groups and that most tokens were again attributable to a small number of speakers in each of the groups. In the younger group, two interviewees showed unfilled pauses of more than three seconds' duration, while three speakers showed unfilled pauses that lasted more than four seconds. Respondents in the $\geq 80$ age group did not show any unfilled pauses of more than three seconds' duration.

Table 11.3 also represents a comparison of standardised rates for unfilled pauses in the L2 followed by a CS to the L1 for both age groups. At first glance it would appear that the overall rate for this linguistic feature is much higher for the older age group, however this is in fact attributable to two of the respondents (CM03 and DVM06). Similarly, in the younger age group, three of the respondents appear responsible for most of the tokens of unfilled pauses followed by CS. Standardised rates of unfilled pauses followed by apparent message abandonment silences appear to be distributed relatively evenly across participants in both age groups. On closer inspection, however, the overall rates for both groups are in fact attributable to a relatively small number of respondents in each, as shown in Table 11.3.

Table 11.3.

Unfilled pauses in the L2 - respondents aged $<80$ and $\geq 80$.

|  | < 80 |  | $\geq 80$ |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Unfilled pauses of 1-2 s duration | N | Standardised rate | N | Standardised rate |
| Entire Group | 22 | 11 | 8 | 10 |
| $\geq 2$ tokens | 11 | 14 | 4 | 19 |
| < 2 tokens | 11 | 0 | 4 | 1 |
| Unfilled pauses of 2-3 s duration |  |  |  |  |
| Entire Group | 22 | 3 | 8 | 1 |
| $\geq 2$ tokens | 4 | 9 | 1 | 5 |
| < 2 tokens | 18 | 1 | 7 | 1 |
| Unfilled pauses followed by a switch to the L1 |  |  |  |  |
| Entire Group | 22 | 3 | 8 | 9 |
| $\geq 2$ tokens | 3 | 18 | 2 | 25 |
| < 2 tokens | 19 | 1 | 6 | 4 |
| Unfilled pauses in the L2 followed by a silence |  |  |  |  |
| Entire Group | 22 | 7 | 8 | 5 |
| $\geq 2$ tokens | 6 | 23 | 0 | n.a. |
| < 2 tokens | 16 | 1 | 8 | 5 |

### 11.2.4 Analysis of additional features

Participants produced varying rates of $\mathrm{V}+\mathrm{C}$ structures in their spoken L 2 , with some speakers producing less than 10 overall (cf. CF05 with 3 tokens) and others producing a large number (e.g. CF01 with 50 tokens). It may be that subjects avoided the use of $\mathrm{V}+\mathrm{C}$ structures if they were not absolutely sure about what would constitute a correct L2 combination or collocation (cf. Baker, 1992). Work done by Kuiper, van Egmond, Kempen \& Sprenger (2007) discusses the difficulties involved in the production of superlemmas, that is combinations of words involving multiple lexical items. Conventional L2 verb plus complement structures may well be classed as superlemmas and are likely to present reproduction difficulties to L 2 speakers by their very nature.

Subjects differed as to the complexity of V+C structures they produced, as outlined previously. Similarly, in the older age group, one respondent (CM03) was responsible for almost all tokens of codeswitching in V+C structures, while none of the other older respondents showed any switches. Again older age group members varied as to the number and complexity of V+C structures they produced in the L2, with some speakers producing less than 10 simple structures in their spoken L2 (e.g. DVM06, DVF05 and DVF06) while other speakers uttered a large number of $\mathrm{V}+\mathrm{C}$ structures of varying degrees of complexity.

Table 11.4.
L2 V+C structures involving a switch to the $\mathrm{L} 1-$ respondents aged $<80$ and $\geq 80$.

|  | $<\mathbf{8 0}$ |  | $\geq \mathbf{8 0}$ |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\mathbf{N}$ | Standardised <br> rate | $\mathbf{N}$ | Standardised rate |
| Entire Group | 22 | 2 | 8 | 8 |
| $\geq \mathbf{2}$ tokens | 1 | 26 | 1 | 58 |
| $<\mathbf{2}$ tokens | 21 | 1 | 7 | 1 |

Three out of 22 younger respondents showed two or more tokens of incorrect third person singular, with one respondent being responsible for the overwhelming majority of these tokens (DVF08) as per the table below (25 tokens). It was this interviewee's large number of tokens which contributed to the mean standardised rate for the younger age group on the whole up to 6.45 as compared to 1.6 for the older age group. This left fourteen younger respondents who did not display any tokens of incorrect third person singular, and five younger respondents who never showed more than 1 token. Similarly, in the older group six out of eight respondents did not produce any tokens of incorrect third person singular, while 1 did not have more than one token. This left only 1 older speaker who showed two or more tokens of incorrect third person singular as per the table below.

Table 11.5: Non-standard L2 verbal agreement in the $3^{\text {rd }}$ person singular respondents aged $<80$ and $\geq 80$.

|  | $<\mathbf{8 0}$ |  | $\geq \mathbf{8 0}$ |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\mathbf{N}$ | Standardised <br> rate | $\mathbf{N}$ | Standardised <br> rate |
| Entire Group | 22 | 6 | 8 | 2 |
| $\geq \mathbf{2}$ tokens | 3 | 38 | 81 | 8 |
| $<\mathbf{2}$ tokens | 19 | 7 | 17 | 1 |

### 11.2.5 Summary of findings across age groups

In summary, findings for the sub-80 age group varied considerably, with some individuals being responsible for a majority of tokens in relation to some features, such as CS in subclauses or CS following filled and silent pauses. There did not appear to be any clear divergence between age groups in terms of greater proportion of L2 message abandonment or greater response latency as evidenced by their use of filled and unfilled pauses followed by a silence. In brief, age did not appear to be a significantly influential factor in terms of the linguistic analysis. In saying this, it needs to be borne in mind that the study had attempted to exclude confounding variables in the way of patho-physicological factors such as Alzheimer's Disease (AD) and aphasia due to Cerebro-Vascular

Accidents. The incidence of the first of these in particular appears to increase with age, with some studies suggesting around just under $20 \%$ of those in the 80-plus age-group may be affected (Hebert et al., 2003; Plassman et al, 2007). Both AD and aphasia are known to impact on speakers' continued ability to construct sentences in their L2 (Paradis, 2004). The exclusion of participants with obvious signs and symptoms of AD may have resulted in outcomes reflecting more L2 maintenance less reversion than might have otherwise been the case.

### 11.3 Respondents grouped according to level of prior education

As mentioned above, respondents in the study shared a number of variables in relation to age, immigration cohort and initial immigration experiences, but were quite heterogeneous in terms of their grounding in English prior to emigration and proficiency in the L2 on arrival in New Zealand. For comparative purposes, respondents were divided up into two groups, according to whether they had received:

- No or very little L2 secondary school classroom acquisition prior to arrival in New Zealand (hereafter to be referred to as the "Limited L2 on arrival" group)
- L2 English acquisition in secondary school classroom at the level of MULO or Pre-University education (hereafter to be referred to as the "Secondary school L2 on arrival" group).

The first group included respondents who had either not had any secondary schooling, or who had attended a trade-oriented type of secondary school, where the curriculum did not include the teaching of foreign languages as explained in Chapter Four. This group also included respondents who had completed less than one year of foreign language education at secondary school. All of these respondents had assessed their proficiency in English on arrival in New Zealand as either "non-existent" or "very limited". The second group included
respondents who had attended MULO secondary school for at least three years, but also included respondents who had attended either HBS Pre-University education for at least four years or a combination of HBS education and Handelsschool education, with a combined duration of at least four years. More detail on the different types of secondary school and curricula offered may be found in Chapter Four, while information on respondents' proficiency on arrival may be found in Chapter Six. The analysis will refer to these groups as different "educational groups", because it was respondents' level of secondary schooling which significantly impacted on their level of L2 proficiency on arrival in New Zealand. Within the tables themselves, however, the two groups are referred to as the "Limited L2 on arrival" and the "Secondary School L2 on arrival" groups.

### 11.3.1 Analysis of L2 subclauses

Table 11.6 shows a much higher standardised rate for L2 subclauses involving a switch to the L1 in the "Limited L2 on arrival" group. However, it is also clear that the majority of such tokens were produced by only three respondents, namely CM01, CM03 and CF01. It should be noted that respondents in the "Secondary School L2 on arrival" group produced almost twice as many L2 subclauses (1087) as respondents in the "Limited L2 on arrival" group (529). It may be that some "Limited L2 on arrival" interviewees avoided L2 subclauses in an attempt to avoid production errors and this may in itself signal reduced confidence in their ability to come up with the correct L2 syntax. The table also shows a comparison of standardised rates for the use of L2 subclauses involving L1 adverbial placement in both educational groups. The table shows that in both groups, the overall standardised rate was in fact attributable to only a small number of respondents. Again, it should be noted that respondents in the "Limited L2 on arrival" group produced far fewer L2 subclauses than speakers in the group who had acquired the L2 in the secondary school classroom (529 as opposed to 1087).

Table 11.6.

L2 subclauses - respondents across educational groups.

|  | Limited L2 on arrival |  | Secondary School L2 on arrival |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| L2 subclauses involving a <br> switch to the L1 | $\mathbf{N}$ | Standardised <br> rate | $\mathbf{N}$ | Standardised <br> rate |
| Entire Group | 13 | 16 | 17 | 1 |
| $\geq \mathbf{2}$ tokens | 3 | 58 | 0 | n.a. |
| <2 tokens | 10 | 3 | 0 | n.a. |
| L2 subclauses involving L1 <br> adverbial placement | Limited L2 on arrival |  | Secondary School L2 on arrival |  |
|  | $\mathbf{N}$ | Standardised <br> rate | $\mathbf{N}$ | Standardised <br> rate |
| Entire Group | 13 | 2 | 17 | 2 |
| $\geq \mathbf{2}$ tokens | 2 | 8 | 3 | 8 |
| $<\mathbf{2}$ tokens | 11 | 0.5 | 14 | 1 |

### 11.3.2 Analysis of filled and unfilled pauses

Somewhat surprisingly, Table 11.7 shows a slightly higher standardised rate for the use of filled pauses followed by a codeswitch in the "Secondary School L2 on arrival" group as compared to the "Limited L2 on arrival" group. The table also shows that "Secondary School L2 on arrival" respondents appeared more likely to follow a filled pause in the L2 by a codeswitch to the L1, rather than abandon the message, as signalled by a filled pause followed by a silence.

## Table 11.7.

Filled pauses in the L2 - respondents across educational groups.

|  | Limited L2 on arrival |  | Secondary School L2 on <br> arrival |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Filled pauses followed <br> by a switch to the L1 | $\mathbf{N}$ | Standardised <br> rate | $\mathbf{N}$ | Standardised <br> rate |
| Entire Group | 13 | 2 | 17 | 1 |
| $\geq \mathbf{2}$ tokens | 0 | n.a. | 2 | 9 |
| $<\mathbf{2}$ tokens | 13 | 2 | 15 | 0 |

Table 11.7 (Continued)

| Filled pauses followed by <br> $\mathbf{a}$ silence | $\mathbf{N}$ | Standardised <br> rate | $\mathbf{N}$ | Standardised <br> rate |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Entire Group | 13 | 9 | 17 | 3 |
| $\geq \mathbf{2}$ tokens | 5 | 23 | 2 | 18 |
| $<\mathbf{2}$ tokens | 8 | 1 | 15 | 1 |

It is also clear from the Table that in both educational groups, a small number of interviewees were responsible for a large number of the tokens of filled pauses followed by a silence indicating L2 message abandonment. All in all, the analysis of unfilled pauses followed by either CS or a silence showed that respondents in the "Limited L2 on arrival" group were slightly more likely to use either of these than speakers in the other group.

## Table 11.8.

Unfilled pauses in the L2 - respondents across educational groups.

|  | Limited L2 on arrival |  | Secondary School L2 on arrival |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Unfilled pauses of 1-2 s duration | N | Standardised rate | N | Standardised rate |
| Entire Group | 13 | 15 | 17 | 8 |
| $\geq 2$ tokens | 8 | 24 | 11 | 12 |
| < 2 tokens | 5 | 0 | 6 | 1 |
| Unfilled pauses of 2-3 s duration |  |  |  |  |
| Entire Group | 13 | 3 | 17 | 2 |
| $\geq 2$ tokens | 2 | 9 | 3 | 8 |
| < 2 tokens | 11 | 2 | 14 | 1 |
| Unfilled pauses followed by a switch to the L1 |  |  |  |  |
| Entire Group | 13 | 9 | 17 | 1 |
| $\geq 2$ tokens | 4 | 24 | 1 | 5 |
| < 2 tokens | 9 | 3 | 16 | 1 |
| Unfilled pauses in the L2 followed by a silence |  |  |  |  |
| Entire Group | 13 | 12 | 17 | 3 |
| $\geq 2$ tokens | 4 | 30 | 2 | 8 |
| < 2 tokens | 9 | 3 | 15 | 2 |

It is clear from Table 11.8 that speakers were less likely to use shorter silent pauses of between one and two seconds' duration, as compared to silences of more than two seconds. None of the respondents in the group with limited English on arrival showed two or more tokens of unfilled pauses of more than three seconds' duration, while one single speaker in this group had several tokens of unfilled pauses of more than four seconds' duration. In the group of those who had acquired the L2 at secondary school, only one respondent showed a single token of unfilled pauses of more than three seconds' duration, while none of the other speakers showed unfilled pauses of more than three or four seconds in a lexical retrieval context.

### 11.3.3 Analysis of additional features

Table 11.9 shows the standardised rates for the use of $\mathrm{L} 2 \mathrm{~V}+\mathrm{C}$ structures involving a switch to the L1. At first glance, the standardised rate is much higher for the "Limited L2 on arrival" group, however, this is almost entirely attributable to just one single respondent, namely CM03. CMo1 produced the highest individual percentage of $\mathrm{V}+\mathrm{C}$ structures involving a switch to the L 1 , compared to $38 \%$ for CM03. ${ }^{13}$ Again, it should be noted that "Secondary School L2 on arrival" respondents produced noticeably more V+C structures in their L2 (459 as compared to 307 for the "Limited L2 on arrival" group), and also a wider range of these structures, from very common everyday to less familiar. Please refer to Chapter Eight for examples of such structures.

[^12]Table 11.9.
$\mathrm{L} 2 \mathrm{~V}+\mathrm{C}$ structures involving a switch to the L1 - respondents across educational groups.

|  | Limited L2 on arrival |  | Secondary School L2 on <br> arrival |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\mathbf{N}$ | Standardised <br> rate | $\mathbf{N}$ | Standardised <br> rate |
| Entire Group | 13 | 7 | 17 | 0 |
| $\geq \mathbf{2}$ tokens | 2 | 42 | 0 | n.a. |
| $<\mathbf{2}$ tokens | 11 | 1 | 17 | 0 |

Table 11.10 shows a much higher standardised rate for the use of nonstandard third person singular in the "Limited L2 on arrival" group, however, one needs to take into account that one respondent (DVF08) was responsible for a large proportion of the tokens. However, if we exclude DVF08 from the total, we still find a higher error rate for "Limited L2 on arrival" group, which might indicate that this morphosyntactic rule had not become firmly established in the declarative memories of speakers in this group (cf. Paradis 2004) ${ }^{14}$. Overall, errors in relation to verbal agreement may be a sign of non-optimal consolidation of English morphosyntactic rules due to respondents having picked up their L2 naturalistically rather than through more grammar or rule oriented secondary school teaching.

Table 11.10.
Non-standard L2 verbal agreement in the $3^{\text {rd }}$ person singular L1 - respondents across educational groups.

|  | Limited L2 on arrival |  | Secondary School L2 on <br> arrival |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Standardised <br> rate | $\mathbf{N}$ | Standardised <br> rate | $\mathbf{N}$ |
| Entire Group | 13 | 11 | 17 | 1 |
| $\geq \mathbf{2}$ tokens | 3 | 40 | 1 | 5 |
| $<\mathbf{2}$ tokens | 10 | 3 | 16 | 0 |

[^13]
### 11.3.4 Summary of findings across educational groups

Overall findings for the linguistic analysis across educational groups showed respondents who arrived in New Zealand with limited English to be responsible for a majority of tokens in relation to features which could be interpreted as characteristic of L2 attrition accompanied by L1 reversion. Such features included CS from L2 to L1 in subclauses and V+C structures, and greater response latency as apparent from respondents' use of filled and unfilled pauses, greater percentage of message abandonment in the L2 and incorrect tokens of the third person singular. It will be interesting to compare these outcomes with findings across occupational groups as discussed in the next section. If findings for educational groups grossly overlap with findings for occupational groups, this might suggest that prior education and level of English on arrival had a considerable effect on respondents' eventual occupations which would in turn have impacted on subjects' ability to consolidate their knowledge of the L2, at a number of levels, including syntax, morphosyntax and lexicon.

### 11.4 Findings across occupational groups

Initially, an analysis was undertaken of linguistic variables produced by respondents across four occupational groups. These groups were:

- Respondents who had been involved in mainly manual labour (factory shop floor, trades, farming, gardening, domestic work) or
- Respondents who had worked in the retail industry, as shop assistants
- Respondents who had worked in administrative jobs, in offices
- Respondents who had been employed in managerial positions.

However, this grouping was reconsidered when some of the groups turned out to be too small to produce meaningful data. In order to obtain a better insight into any possible differences between speakers whose occupation had required both written and oral use of the L2, the first two groups mentioned above were combined together, as were the last two groups:

- Respondents who had been involved in jobs requiring only spoken use of the L2 and a limited range of registers (hereafter Manual/Retail Group)
- Respondents whose occupations had required both oral and written use of the L2 and a more extended range of registers (hereafter Office/Administration Group)

Again the first two groups included those who had been involved in either manual labour such as gardening or domestic or factory work, or who had worked as shop assistants. The second group included those who had been involved in either general office work or in managerial positions. Obviously, these different types of occupations might have involved a different type of interaction with L2 speakers. Some occupations such as gardening or farm work might not have involved a lot of written interaction with L2 speakers, especially if the co-workers were also Dutch speaking. This had in fact been the case for at least five of the speakers who had been involved in farming or horticulture. Respondents involved in the retail industry, on the other hand, might have experienced more interaction with L2 English speakers and would have needed to be familiar with L2 conventions in terms of the service industry. An exception would be two interviewees who had worked in Dutch Delicatessen stores, where most of the customers would have been L1 Dutch speaking. Respondents involved in managerial positions said they had developed quite an extensive L2 vocabulary, and would have needed to be familiar with a range of registers, both in L2 oral and written interactions. Three of the respondents said they had often been required to attend meetings to negotiate and discuss issues. One would also expect employees working in administrative positions to have needed a good command over a range of L2 vocabulary and registers, both in speaking and in writing. In addition, it is likely that the level of interaction with co-workers would have contributed to respondents further developing their proficiency in the L2 or of plateau-ing at a certain level. Similarly, those respondents who came to New Zealand with a (self-assessed) 'good' level of English would have been able to consolidate their L2 through occupations requiring interaction with English speakers at a more advanced level, needing a larger vocabulary and a wider range of registers.

### 11.4.1 Analysis of subclauses

At first glance it would appear from Table 11.11 that respondents in the Manual/Retail group were far more likely to show CS in L2 subclauses than respondents in the Admin/Managerial group, however on closer inspection the high overall standardised rate was due to only three subjects. Overall respondents in the latter group showed little evidence of codeswitching in L2 subclauses, with none of the speakers producing two or more tokens.

Table 11.11.

L2 subclauses - respondents across occupational groups.

|  | Manual/Retail |  | Admin/Managerial |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| L2 subclauses involving a <br> switch to the L1 | $\mathbf{N}$ | Standardised <br> rate | $\mathbf{n}$ | Standardised <br> rate |
| Entire Group | 14 | 14 | 13 | 2 |
| $\geq$ 2 tokens | 3 | 58 | 0 | n.a. |
| $<\mathbf{2}$ tokens | 11 | 2 | 13 | 2 |
|  | Manual/Retail |  | Admin/Managerial |  |
| L2 subclauses involving L1 <br> adverbial placement | $\mathbf{N}$ | Standardised <br> rate | $\mathbf{N}$ | Standardised <br> rate |
| Entire Group | 14 | 2 | 13 | 2 |
| $\geq \mathbf{2}$ tokens | 2 | 8 | 3 | 8 |
| $<\mathbf{2}$ tokens | 12 | 1 | 10 | 0.5 |

The table also shows that both groups showed comparable findings in relation to L1 adverbial placement in L2 subclauses, with small numbers of speakers in either group responsible for most of the tokens found.

### 11.4.2 Analysis of filled and unfilled pauses

Table 11.12 shows that respondents in the Manual/Retail group were slightly more likely than speakers in the Admin/Managerial group to produced filled
pauses followed by a silence, seemingly indicating that speakers had been searching for a particular L2 lexical items, but had drawn a "blank".

Table 11.12.

Filled pauses in the L2 - respondents across occupational groups.

|  | Manual/Retail |  | Admin/Managerial |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Filled pauses followed by a <br> switch to the L1 | $\mathbf{N}$ | Standardised <br> rate | $\mathbf{N}$ | Standardised <br> rate |
| Entire Group | 14 | 1 | 13 | 2 |
| $\geq \mathbf{2}$ tokens | 0 | n.a. | 2 | 9 |
| $<\mathbf{2}$ tokens | 14 | 1 | 11 | 0 |
| Filled pauses followed by a <br> silence | $\mathbf{N}$ | Standardised <br> rate | $\mathbf{N}$ | Standardised <br> rate |
| Entire Group | 14 | 7 | 13 | 0 |
| $\geq \mathbf{2}$ tokens | 3 | 27 | 2 | 8 |
| $<\mathbf{2}$ tokens | 11 | 1 | 11 | 0 |

A closer look at the average duration of unfilled pauses (Table 11.13) used by speakers shows that almost two thirds of respondents across all occupational groups used a range of silences, varying from the shortest (1 to 2 seconds) to the longest duration (more than 4 seconds). Speakers in both groups were more likely to show "longer" unfilled silences of more than two seconds' duration. Only one respondent in each of the occupational groups showed any 3-4 second pauses. Two Manual/Retail interviewees used pauses of more than 4 seconds' duration, compared to only none of the speakers in the Admin/Managerial group.

Table 11.13 also reflects the use of unfilled pauses followed by CS across occupational groups and shows a slightly higher incidence of this linguistic feature in the Manual/Retail group when compared to the Admin/Managerial group. However, it is also clear that the higher overall rate for the former group is in fact attributable to the large numbers of tokens produced by less than a handful of speakers. The table also reflects standardised rates for the use of unfilled pauses followed by a silence in both occupational groups and shows that
respondents in the Manual/Retail group were slightly more likely to use unfilled pauses followed by a silence, seemingly indicating that speakers had been searching for a particular L2 lexical item but had drawn a "blank". However, the table also shows that in both groups the overall standardised rates had been pushed up by the contributions of a very small number of group members.

Table 11.13.

Unfilled pauses in the L2 - respondents across occupational groups

|  | Manual/Retail |  | Admin/Managerial |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Unfilled pauses of 1-2 s duration | N | Standardised rate | N | Standardised rate |
| Entire Group | 14 | 13 | 13 | 8 |
| $\geq 2$ tokens | 8 | 23 | 9 | 11 |
| < 2 tokens | 6 | 0 | 4 | 0 |
| Unfilled pauses of 2-3 s duration |  |  |  |  |
| Entire Group | 14 | 2 | 13 | 2 |
| $\geq 2$ tokens | 2 | 6 | 2 | 0 |
| < 2 tokens | 12 | 1 | 11 | 1 |
| Unfilled pauses followed by a switch to the L1 |  |  |  |  |
| Entire Group | 14 | 7 | 13 | 1 |
| $\geq 2$ tokens | 3 | 23 | 1 | 5 |
| < 2 tokens | 11 | 2 | 12 | 1 |
| Unfilled pauses in the L2 followed by a silence |  |  |  |  |
| Entire Group | 14 | 7 | 13 | 2 |
| $\geq 2$ tokens | 3 | 18 | 2 | 8 |
| < 2 tokens | 11 | 4 | 11 | 2 |

Across occupational groups, there appeared to be a much higher incidence of unfilled or silent pauses (SPs) followed by either a CS or a silence, as compared to filled pauses. This may be perhaps be attributable to speakers (perhaps unconsciously) not wishing to make it be known (i.e. heard) through the use of a filled pause that they were searching for a word in the L2.

### 11.4.3 Analysis of additional features

When it came to $\mathrm{V}+\mathrm{C}$ structures involving a codeswitch to the L 1 , there appeared to be a distinct difference in overall standardised rate for respondents in the Manual/Retail group as opposed to interviewees in the Admin/Managerial group. However, the higher overall rate for the former group was in fact attributable to two respondents, namely CM01 and CM03.

Table 11.14

L2 V+C structures involving a switch to the L 1 - respondents across occupational groups.

|  | Manual/Retail |  | Admin/Managerial |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| V+C structures with <br> CS | $\mathbf{N}$ | Standardised <br> rate | $\mathbf{N}$ | Standardised rate |
| Entire Group | 14 | 6 | 13 | 0 |
| $\geq \mathbf{2}$ tokens | 2 | 42 | 0 | n.a. |
| $<\mathbf{2}$ tokens | 12 | 0 | 013 | 0 |

Table 11.15 shows that respondents in the Manual/Retail group showed more instances of incorrect subject-verb agreement in the third person singular, when compared to speakers in the Admin/Managerial group. It is not clear why this is, although it may be linked to the fact that the sociolinguistic life history questionnaires showed that many of those in the latter group had in fact acquired the morphosyntactic rules of the L2 in the secondary school classroom.

Table 11.15.

Non-standard L2 verbal agreement in the $3{ }^{\text {rd }}$ person singular - respondents across occupational groups.

|  | Manual/Retail |  | Admin/Managerial |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Non-standard 3 <br> rd <br> singular | $\mathbf{N}$ | Standardised <br> rate | $\mathbf{N}$ | Standardised <br> rate |
| Entire Group | 14 | 2 | 13 | 1 |
| $\geq \mathbf{2}$ tokens | 2 | 7 | 0 | n.a. |
| $<\mathbf{2}$ tokens | 12 | 1 | 13 | 1 |

### 11.4.4 Summary of outcomes across occupational groups

In summary, findings varied across occupational groups, with respondents in the Manual/Retail group producing more tokens involving CS or message abandonment and greater response latency in relation to their spoken L2 than speakers in the Administrative/Managerial group. To some extent these findings overlapped with outcomes across educational groups, which was perhaps not surprising since speakers in the group who had arrived in New Zealand with little or no English generally tended to have remained in manual or retail work. In other words, it would appear that respondents in the Manual/Retail group were showing more possible signs of L2 attrition and L1 reversion than speakers in the Administrative/Managerial group. Two factors may have played a role here. The first one relates to the fact that many of those in the Manual/Retail group had acquired their L2 naturalistically in the L1 English speaking (work) environment, while speakers in the Administrative/Managerial group had often arrived in New Zealand with a self-assessed "fair to good" proficiency in their L2, which helped them to move on to administrative positions. The second factor may relate to the fact that respondents who worked in Administrative/managerial positions had greater opportunity to improve their spoken and written L2, through exposure to a range of registers and possibly also through corrective feedback received from colleagues in the work environment. This would have enabled them to consolidate knowledge of L2 grammatical rules learned in the classroom through ongoing practical use. In addition, respondents who worked in Administrative positions would have had their L2 corrected and would have benefited from this, rather than seeing their L2 plateau at a level well below optimum competence. As Schmidt (1994) pointed out, where there is a discrepancy between an adult L2 learner's interlanguage and the correct L 2 form, the adult learner will not notice this unless his attention is drawn to it. Respondents working in manual or retail jobs would have been less likely to have their L2 corrected than those working in office environment, where correct grammar and spelling are highly valued.

### 11.5 Predominant linguistic environment post-retirement

One of the main research questions was whether isolation from the L2 English environment might lead to increased L2 attrition and L1 reversion (cf. Clyne and de Bot, 1994). An analysis was therefore undertaken of linguistic outcomes for DV residents as compared to those for NDV respondents. Findings from the Pilot Study suggested that DV respondents were showing more signs of L1 reversion and L2 attrition than NDV respondents, however the pilot study sample was quite small $(\mathrm{N}=8)$ and most respondents had come to New Zealand with little or no English. Hence I was interested to see whether pilot study outcomes would be similar to those of the main study, especially since the linguistic analysis method had been slightly amended for the main study.

### 11.5.1 Analysis of subclauses

The analysis showed a much higher standardised rate for L2 subclauses involving a switch to the L1 for NDV respondents, as shown in Table 11.16. On closer inspection however, there were several factors which needed to be taken into account when looking at these findings. First of all, the average number of tokens for the NDV group of speakers was pushed up by the proportionately large number of tokens produced by a small number of speakers, namely CM01, CF01 and CM03. Secondly, respondents varied considerably in terms of the number of L2 subclauses they ventured to produce, and this in itself may reflect a reduced confidence in speakers' own ability to bring these L2 structures to a successful conclusion. Lastly, it should be noted that some interviewees did not speak much English during the interview, even though they were prompted in that language. Thus, two of the respondents (CF02 and DVM06) who did not codeswitch in their subclauses, had in fact not spoken much English during the interview, even though they had been prompted in that language. Hence it was difficult to obtain a good picture of their true ability to produce correct L2 subclauses. In sum, the information contained in Table 11.16 should be viewed in the context of these other factors.

Table 11.16.
L2 subclauses - DV and NDV respondents.

| L2 subclauses involving a <br> switch to the L1 | DV |  | NDV |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | N | Standardised <br> rate | $\mathbf{N}$ | Standardised <br> rate |
| Entire Group | 15 | 1 | 15 | 14 |
| $\geq \mathbf{2}$ tokens | 0 | n.a. | 3 | 58 |
| <2 tokens | 15 | 1 | 12 | 3 |
|  | DV |  |  | NDV |
| L2 subclauses involving L1 <br> adverbial placement | $\mathbf{N}$ | Standardised <br> rate | $\mathbf{N}$ | Standardised <br> rate |
| Entire Group | 15 | 2 | 15 | 1 |
| $\geq \mathbf{2}$ tokens | 3 | 10 | 2 | 5 |
| $<\mathbf{2}$ tokens | 12 | 0 | 13 | 1 |

The table also presents a comparison of standardised rates for L2 subclauses involving L1 adverbial placement. At first glance, it appears to present a higher rate for DV respondents as compared to NDV speakers, however on closer inspection this can attributed to the high number of tokens produced by three of the DV speakers.

### 11.5.2 Analysis of filled and unfilled pauses

Overall DV respondents showed a marginally higher rate of filled pauses followed by a codeswitch to the L1 as shown in Table 11.17. This is most likely due to the fact that they were more likely to use their L1 in everyday social contact outside of the home. This seems to support Paradis's "activation threshold" theory (2004, p. 229) even though it should be added that all of the DV respondents in the current study did continue to use their L2 post-retirement, albeit to a lesser degree. The analysis of filled pauses in the current study seems to show some evidence that DV respondents in particular appear to need more time to get L2 lexical items "online" (cf also Ammerlaan, 1985) as evidenced by their use of filled pauses (FPs). However, in spite of the additional time afforded them by the FPs they sometimes appear unable to come up with the expected L2
item, coming up with either a CS or a "message abandonment" silence, as if the speakers had "drawn a blank".

Table 11.17.
Filled pauses in the L2- DV and NDV respondents.

|  | DV |  |  | NDV |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Filled pauses followed <br> by a switch to the $\mathbf{L 1}$ | $\mathbf{N}$ | Standardised <br> rate | $\mathbf{N}$ | Standardised rate |
| Entire Group | 15 | 2 | 15 | 1 |
| $\geq \mathbf{2}$ tokens | 2 | 9 | 0 | 0 |
| <2 tokens | 13 | 1 | 15 | 1 |
| Filled pauses followed <br> by a silence | $\mathbf{N}$ | Standardised <br> rate | $\mathbf{N}$ | Standardised rate |
| Entire Group | 15 | 9 | 15 | 2 |
| $\geq \mathbf{2}$ tokens | 6 | 20 | 1 | 26 |
| $<\mathbf{2}$ tokens | 9 | 2 | 14 | 1 |

Across both groups, there appeared to be a much higher incidence of unfilled followed by either a CS or a silence, as compared to filled pauses. This may be again be attributable to speakers not wishing to be heard to search for an L2 lexical item and therefore avoiding the use of a filled pause. Table 11.18 shows a higher overall rate for the use of unfilled pauses followed by a silence for DV speakers, even when adjusting for the high numbers of tokens produced by just three members of this group. Almost half of all DV respondents were involved in producing unfilled pauses followed by a silence, compared to only around one fifth of NDV respondents. This seems to indicate that DV speakers were more likely to silently search for an L2 lexical item, before apparently drawing a blank and abandoning the message. In other words, "silent response latency" appeared to be higher in the DV group.

Table 11.18.
Unfilled pauses in the L2 - DV and NDV respondents.

|  | DV |  | NDV |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Unfilled pauses of 1-2 s duration | N | Standardised rate | N | Standardised rate |
| Entire Group | 15 | 13 | 15 | 9 |
| $\geq 2$ tokens | 11 | 18 | 8 | 16 |
| < 2 tokens | 4 | 0 | 7 | 0 |
| Unfilled pauses of 2-3 s duration |  |  |  |  |
| Entire Group | 15 | 3 | 15 | 2 |
| $\geq 2$ tokens | 4 | 8 | 1 | 6 |
| < 2 tokens | 11 | 1 | 14 | 1 |
| Unfilled pauses followed by a switch to the L1 |  |  |  |  |
| Entire Group | 15 | 5 | 15 | 4 |
| $\geq 2$ tokens | 3 | 14 | 2 | 30 |
| < 2 tokens | 12 | 3 | 13 | 0 |
| Unfilled pauses in the L2 followed by a silence |  |  |  |  |
| Entire Group | 15 | 8 | 15 | 5 |
| $\geq 2$ tokens | 2 | 37 | 4 | 15 |
| < 2 tokens | 13 | 3 | 11 | 1 |

When looking at the average duration of silences, a majority of DV respondents had a considerable number of shorter, one to two second unfilled pauses as compared to NDV interviewees. This confirms the finding that DV respondents were more likely to indulge in "silent" L2 lexical retrieval attempts than speakers in the NDV group. Table 11.18 also shows that speakers in both groups showed comparable rates of use of longer unfilled pauses, that is silences of more than two seconds' duration.

None of the DV respondents showed two or more tokens of unfilled pauses of more than three seconds' duration, while only one individual DV speaker showed two or more tokens of unfilled pauses of more than four seconds' duration. In the NDV group, none of the respondents showed two or more tokens of unfilled pauses of more than three seconds' duration, while none of the speakers showed unfilled pauses of more than four seconds' duration.

### 11.5.3 Analysis of additional features

Table 11.19 shows a higher overall rate of switching to the L1 in L2 V+C structures among DV respondents, mainly due to the large number of tokens produced by just two of the NDV speakers. Again the findings should also be seen in the context of some respondents producing very few $\mathrm{V}+\mathrm{C}$ structures in English compared to other speakers. In addition, it should be noted that respondents overall produced a range of $\mathrm{V}+\mathrm{C}$ structures, from very basic to more unusual, with the latter possibly reflecting a higher level of L2 proficiency and confidence on the part of speakers. Hence, it may well be that a low number of L2 V+C structures produced reflected respondents' lack of confidence in their L2 or a lower level of competency, and might thus have signalled possible L2 attrition.

Table 11.19.
$\mathrm{L} 2 \mathrm{~V}+\mathrm{C}$ structures involving a switch to the $\mathrm{L} 1-\mathrm{DV}$ and NDV respondents.

|  | DV |  | NDV |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\mathbf{N}$ | Standardised <br> rate | $\mathbf{N}$ | Standardised <br> rate |
| Entire Group | 15 | 1 | 15 | 6 |
| $\geq \mathbf{2}$ tokens | 0 | n.a. | 2 | 42 |
| $<\mathbf{2}$ tokens | 15 | 1 | 13 | 0 |

Table 11.20 shows a higher overall rate of tokens of incorrect third person singular present among DV respondents, however, most of these were attributable to three speakers in this group, with DVF08 responsible for a majority of tokens. Similarly, in the NDV group, one speaker (CF06) was responsible for most tokens. Findings for both groups appeared quite similar when comparing rates for respondents showing less than two tokens.

Table 11.20.
Non-standard L2 verbal agreement in the $3{ }^{\text {rd }}$ person singular - DV and NDV respondents.

|  | DV |  | NDV |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\mathbf{N}$ | Standardised <br> rate | $\mathbf{N}$ | Standardised <br> rate |
| Entire Group | 15 | 8 | 15 | 2 |
| $\geq \mathbf{2}$ tokens | 3 | 38 | 1 | 10 |
| $<\mathbf{2}$ tokens | 12 | 1 | 14 | 2 |

### 11.5.4 Summary of findings for DV and NDV respondents

In summary, findings varied somewhat across DV and NDV groups, with some DV speakers being responsible for a majority of tokens in relation to many of the features investigated. These features included CS from L2 to L1 in both subclauses and V+C structures, apparent message abandonment as evidenced from the use of filled and unfilled pauses followed by silences, and greater response latency in L2 overall as apparent from a greater use of pauses overall. This would seem to fit in with previous findings by Clyne and de Bot (1994) that relative isolation from the L2 might be a factor in L2 attrition. Paradis's threshold activation theory (2004) may offer an explanation as to why DV respondents were more likely than NDV speakers to use CS from L2 to L1 and to abandon L2 messages, as shown by their use of FPs and SPs followed by silences. Clyne and de Bot's (1994) theory constituted the underpinnings for one of the hypotheses for this study and will be therefore be revisited in the conclusion in Chapter Thirteen.

### 11.6 Analysis for male and female respondents

An analysis for findings for male and female respondents was thought useful because of the varying degrees of opportunity for L2 consolidation and practice these respondents might have had pre-retirement. My assumption was that male respondents would have been the breadwinners, in line with social expectations
of the era, while female respondents might have been predominantly at home looking after house and children. Hence the researcher expected more L2 consolidation for male respondents, resulting in greater L2 maintenance and less L2 attrition following retirement.

### 11.6.1 Analysis of subclauses

Table 11.21 shows a much higher standardised rate of L2 subclauses involving a switch to the L1 for male respondents when compared to female speakers. However, this was due to the large number of tokens produced by two of the male respondents (CM01 and CM03). Interestingly, the female group included one respondent who was responsible for a considerable number of tokens, namely CF01. If one were to exclude results for the two spouses CM01 and CF01 above, findings in terms of L2 subclauses involving a switch to the L1 would appear similar for both male and female respondents.

Table 11.21.

L2 subclauses - male and female respondents.

|  | Male |  | Female |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| L2 subclauses involving a <br> switch to the L1 | $\mathbf{N}$ | Standardised <br> rate | $\mathbf{N}$ | Standardised <br> rate |
| Entire Group | 12 | 11 | 18 | 5 |
| $\geq \mathbf{2}$ tokens | 2 | 63 | 1 | 48 |
| <2 tokens | 10 | 1 | 17 | 2 |
| L2 subclauses involving L1 <br> adverbial placement |  |  |  |  |
| Entire Group | 12 | 1 | 18 | 3 |
| $\geq \mathbf{2}$ tokens | 1 | 5 | 4 | 8 |
| $<\mathbf{2}$ tokens | 11 | 0 | 14 | 1 |

The table presents a similar picture in relation to L1 adverbial placement in L2 subclauses, with one single male respondent and less than a handful of female respondents responsible for most of the tokens in their respective groups.

Overall, male respondents appeared more capable of constructing a subclause with correct L2 adverbial placement than female respondents. It should also be mentioned that I had expected female respondents to avoid L2 subclauses, possibly for fear of producing these incorrectly. However, the analysis showed that female respondents averaged 54.5 L 2 subclauses per person, compared to male respondents' average production of 50 L 2 subclauses per person, proving my expectation unfounded.

### 11.6.2 Filled and unfilled pauses

Table 11.22 shows that male and female respondents had very similar rates for the use of filled pauses in the L2 followed by a switch to the L1. In both groups, a single speaker was responsible for most of the tokens found. The table shows a slightly higher standardised rate for the use of filled pauses followed by a silence for female as compared to male respondents. In both groups, a small number of speakers were responsible for the overall standardised rates and in fact, rates for both males and females would have been very similar had these speakers not been included. Thus, in both groups, filled pauses were produced by a small number of speakers, namely CM01, DVM02 and DVM03 in the male group and DVF02, DVF04, DVF06 and DVF09 in the female group. This showed that DV residents in both groups were more likely than other respondents to make use of FPs followed by either CS or a silence. In other words, DV respondents, be they male or female, appeared more likely to search for an L2 lexical item, and then to either switch to the L1, or draw a blank, and abandon the message.

Table 11.22.

Filled pauses in the L2- male and female respondents.

|  | Male |  | Female |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Filled pauses followed <br> by a switch to the L1 | $\mathbf{N}$ | Standardised <br> rate | $\mathbf{N}$ | Standardised rate |
| Entire Group | 12 | 2 | 18 | 1 |
| $\geq \mathbf{2}$ tokens | 1 | 6 | 1 | 12 |
| <2 tokens | 11 | 1 | 17 | 1 |
| Filled pauses in the $\mathbf{L 2}$ <br> followed by a silence |  |  |  |  |
| Entire Group | 12 | 5 | 18 | 8 |
| $\geq \mathbf{2}$ tokens | 2 | 22 | 5 | 21 |
| $<\mathbf{2}$ tokens | 10 | 1 | 13 | 1 |

A closer look at the average duration of unfilled pauses related to wordfinding (Table 11.22) shows that most male respondents used a range of silences, varying from brief to longer duration. None of the male respondents had two or more tokens of unfilled pauses of more than three seconds' duration. In the female group, none of the respondents showed unfilled pauses of between three and four seconds' duration, while one individual speaker showed two or more tokens of unfilled pauses of more than four seconds' duration.

Surprisingly, a proportionally larger number of female respondents made no use of unfilled pauses in relation to word finding, with one third of female respondents not indulging in any word-finding silences as opposed to less than one fifth of male speakers. Only three of the twelve male respondents showed two or more tokens of unfilled pauses followed by CS, among them CM03 (6 tokens) and CM01 (3 tokens). All in all, six out of twelve male respondents did not use any unfilled pauses followed by CS and only three showed two or more tokens, among them CM01 and CM03. When it came to unfilled pauses followed by a silence, the overall standardised rate in the male group was attributable to a single respondent, namely CM01. The overall use of unfilled pauses followed by a silence was higher in the female group, however the overall rate was pushed up by the contributions of two speakers in particular, namely CF01 and DVF08.

A comparison of Tables 11.21 and 11.22 shows that across both groups, there appeared to be a somewhat higher incidence of unfilled pauses followed by either a CS or a silence, as compared to filled pauses. Again this may have been due to speakers not wanting to be heard to search for a word in the L2.

Table 11.23.

Unfilled pauses in the L2 - male and female respondents.

|  | Male |  | Female |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Unfilled pauses of 1-2 s duration | N | Standardised rate | N | Standardised rate |
| Entire Group | 12 | 14 | 18 | 9 |
| $\geq 2$ tokens | 8 | 21 | 11 | 14 |
| < 2 tokens | 4 | 0 | 7 | 0 |
| Unfilled pauses of 2-3 s duration |  |  |  |  |
| Entire Group | 12 | 3 | 18 | 2 |
| $\geq 2$ tokens | 2 | 6 | 3 | 10 |
| < 2 tokens | 10 | 2 | 15 | 0 |
| Unfilled pauses followed by a switch to the L1 |  |  |  |  |
| Entire Group | 12 | 8 | 18 | 2 |
| $\geq 2$ tokens | 3 | 22 | 2 | 19 |
| < 2 tokens | 9 | 3 | 16 | 0 |
| Unfilled pauses in the L2 followed by a silence |  |  |  |  |
| Entire Group | 12 | 6 | 18 | 7 |
| $\geq 2$ tokens | 1 | 26 | 5 | 22 |
| < 2 tokens | 11 | 4 | 13 | 2 |

### 11.6.3 Analysis of additional features across gender groupings

Table 11.24 shows that ten out of twelve male respondents did not use any cod-switching in V+C structures, with only two male interviewees being responsible for the overall standardised rate. By comparison, eleven out of eighteen female respondents did not engage in any codeswitching in $\mathrm{L} 2 \mathrm{~V}+\mathrm{C}$ structures, while four respondents showed one token each. None of the female respondents displayed two or more tokens of CS in V+C structures.

Table 11.24.

L2 V+C structures involving a switch to the L1 - male and female respondents.

|  | Male |  | Female |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\mathbf{N}$ | Standardised <br> rate | $\mathbf{N}$ | Standardised <br> rate |
| Entire Group | 12 | 7 | 18 | 1 |
| $\geq \mathbf{2}$ tokens | 2 | 42 | 0 | n.a. |
| $<\mathbf{2}$ tokens | 10 | 0 | 118 | 1 |

I had in fact expected female respondents to show evidence of greater L2 attrition in relation to $\mathrm{L} 2 \mathrm{~V}+\mathrm{C}$ structures, as apparent from an avoidance of the same. Research by Kuiper et al. (2007) has shown that combinations (such as $\mathrm{V}+\mathrm{C}$ structures) involving multiple lexical items pose a problem for speakers in terms of correct (re)production. The current study showed that, female respondents in fact produced very similar average numbers of tokens compared to male respondents. Male respondents overall produced a higher percentage of $\mathrm{V}+\mathrm{C}$ structures involving CS from L2 to L1, but this was wholly attributable to two respondents only, namely CM01 and CM03. If findings for these two speakers were excluded, findings for male and female respondents in relation to CS within L2 V+C structures would have been very similar. It should be added that female respondents did tend to produce more "common or garden" $\mathrm{V}+\mathrm{C}$ structures, which might have been easier to retrieve, even in the L2.

When it came to verbal agreement, standardised rates for non-standard production of the third person singular were much higher in the female group, as shown in Table 11.25. I had expected female speakers to show evidence of greater L2 attrition in relation to the third person singular, as a considerable number of them had not acquired the L2 at secondary school and had not worked in occupational settings conducive to L2 consolidation to native speaker standard. However, while female respondents overall did show a higher error rate for the third person singular, this was almost entirely attributable to one of the female respondents, namely DVF08, with $83 \%$ of instances of the third
person singular produced by her being incorrect. If findings for this one speaker were excluded, findings in relation to the third person singular would have been very similar across male and female groupings.

Table 11.25 .

Non-standard L2 verbal agreement in the $3^{\text {rd }}$ person singular - male and female respondents.

|  | Male |  | Female |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Standardised <br> rate | $\mathbf{N}$ | Standardised <br> rate | $\mathbf{N}$ |
| Entire Group | 12 | 2 | 18 | 8 |
| $\geq \mathbf{2}$ tokens | 0 | n.a. | 14 | 31 |
| $<\mathbf{2}$ tokens | 12 | 2 | 14 | 1 |

### 11.6.4 Summary for male and female respondents

Again findings across male and female groups differed much less than I had expected, with predominant linguistic environment post-retirement appearing to be a more significant influence on speakers' L2 use. Within both groups of respondents, those resident in the predominantly L1 environment of the Dutch Retirement Village appeared to be responsible for a greater number of linguistic tokens involving codeswitching, longer response latency or message abandonment. However, other factors may have been at play also, such as the fact that a larger number of female respondents had arrived in New Zealand with limited L2 as compared to male respondents, mainly due to the fact that secondary education had not been considered essential for girls in the Netherlands during that era. In addition, female respondents tended to discuss issues relating to friends and family, which involved more everyday lexical items, whereas male respondents tended to discuss issues to do with past employment, requiring words which might be described as more specific.

### 11.7 Summary of findings across social groupings

This chapter discussed outcomes across social groupings. Findings again related to signs of possible L 2 attrition accompanied by features of L 1 reversion as evidenced by CS from L 2 to L 1 , message abandonment in the L 2 and greater response latency in the L2 as apparent from use of filled and unfilled pauses. The analysis confirmed the significance of two other factors.

The first of these appeared to be schooling. Findings from the analysis of the sociolinguistic life questionnaires suggest a lower ultimate attainment in the L2 in the case of respondents who had come to New Zealand without having learned English in the secondary school classroom in the Netherlands. The professional attainment of these respondents had predominantly remained limited to manual work. One may assume that the level of interaction with workmates in the L2 in these manual occupations had then been a factor in the ultimate attainment in the L2 in terms of register, range of vocabulary and need to use English in the written medium. These respondents appeared to have more problems finding words in English and seemed more likely to codeswitch from English to Dutch (and vice versa).

A second but weaker factor of influence on respondents' ability to find words in the L2 appeared to be residence in the predominantly L1 speaking environment of the Dutch Village. The linguistic analysis showed that DV respondents who had not learned English in the classroom environment in the Netherlands before emigrating were more likely to have problems with word finding in the L2. However, DV respondents who had arrived in New Zealand with a good level of English did not appear to have significant L2 word finding problems. On the other hand, those respondents who had arrived in New Zealand with little or no English, and who now lived in the Dutch village seemed to show more hesitancy in terms of word finding in the L2. This was evident from the increased response latency and higher incidence of codeswitching. In addition, several DV respondents in this category either did not use English even though the interviewer prompted them in that language, or explicitly stated a preference for using Dutch.

The outcomes of the comparative analysis were somewhat surprising in that aspects such as gender and age, which I had expected to have some impact on
the findings, did not in fact turn out to be strong features. This finding is probably attributable to the stronger over-riding influence of the two factors mentioned above, i.e. schooling and predominant linguistic environment postretirement.

One other aspect which should be mentioned is "avoidance". Two respondents in the study (DVM06 and CF02) kept using the L1 even though they were consistently prompted in the L2. Other respondents appeared to avoid structures which might have been difficult for them to construct correctly. Thus, some of the speakers used noticeably fewer subclauses than others, resulting in them seemingly committing less errors in the same. To some extent, the same applied to $\mathrm{V}+\mathrm{C}$ structures. The use of such avoidance strategies by language attriters is well-documented (e.g. Jiménez Jiménez, 2004).

Overall, level of English on arrival appeared to be the strongest factor in predicting respondents’ ultimate attainment in their L2 and eventual maintenance of L2 English skills after retirement. Residency in the predominantly L1 speaking environment of the Dutch village appeared to increase word finding problems in the L2 in those respondents who had arrived in New Zealand with limited or no English. Hence the effect of L2 education appeared to have had a positive effect on respondents' ability to consolidate their proficiency in the L2 throughout their lifespan. The fact that this L2 education had been effected through the grammar translation method was an interesting additional finding.

## Chapter Twelve: Case studies

### 12.1 Introduction

I interviewed 30 respondents for the main study - thirty individuals who shared a number of commonalities in terms of immigration cohort and first language, but who differed in terms of schooling, experiences and language use. It will have become clear from previous chapters that less than half of these respondents regularly produced linguistic features which might be called typical of (possibly incipient) L2 attrition, while other individuals did not show up in any of the tables. This chapter will present case studies describing those respondents who showed up most frequently in tables which presented linguistic features characteristic of possible L2 attrition. These individuals are CM01, CF01, CM03, DVF06, DVF08 and DVF09. Their case studies are presented here in an attempt to identify possible explanations for their slightly "out of the ordinary" linguistic behaviour. A seventh interviewee, DVF07 is presented here because she had a very similar background to DVF06 and DVF08, yet showed no sign of attrition in her spoken L2.

Each case study will present a very short summary of the sociolinguistic life history of each of these respondents including their social background in the Netherlands, schooling, professional training, occupational attainment, use of L1 and L2 pre- and post retirement and current language use. I will also briefly review at any features of possible L2 attrition in their spoken L2 in the context of their sociolinguistic background. Care has been taken to anonymise distinguishing features such as "working as a cleaner for Air New Zealand" by more general descriptions such as "blue colour jobs" or "manual work". Unfortunately, this sometimes resulted in case studies being slightly less "colourful", however, it was important that I kept my undertaking to respondents by omitting identifying characteristics.

### 12.1 Case study One: CM01

No L2 on arrival - manual worker all of his life. Now increased L1 exposure and maintenance

CM01 was in his mid seventies at the time of the interview. He identified with a working class background and after primary school had gone to ambachtsschool (Refer Chapter Five) for a few years to learn a trade. He had come to New Zealand when he was in his late 20s, as a single person, arriving here with little or no English. He had been assigned to a farmer in the South Island and had spent a few years working largely independently, which had not really helped his English. After a while, the farmer's neighbour had told him: "You should leave, because you're not really learning any English here". He had then moved to a city nearby, where he had worked as a manual labourer in a factory until retirement age. A few years after arriving in New Zealand he had met his wife, who had also come over from the Netherlands as a single person. They had switched to the use of English at home once the children were of school age. However, since retiring, he and his wife had shifted back to the use of Dutch at home. CM01 enjoyed reading the various Dutch newspapers and Dutch soccer magazines on the internet. Two of his children spoke English, while a third one had moved to the Netherlands and now always spoke Dutch to her parents over the phone. Since moving to Auckland, CM01 appeared to be using Dutch more in the social domain as well. He was a regular visitor at the Dutch Retirement Village for a game of "klaverjassen", a traditional card game somewhat similar to bridge in tactics, and requiring four players.

Before I discuss the linguistic characteristics of CM01's spoken L2, I should add that this respondent in fact did not get to speak much during the interview. In spite of me having interviewed CMO1 separately to CF01, the latter had been in the same room during his interview and had interjected frequently and at length. This had resulted in a high overall word count for her and a low overall word count for him Thus CM01 only got to utter 1,639 words in total (L1 +L2). Even so, it was clear that CM01 engaged in a lot of switching between his L1 and L2 and vice versa. He was also one of only a few respondents to indulge in "congruent lexicalisation" (Muysken, 2000). At first glance, CM01 also indulged in a lot of CS in his L2 subclauses, switching from L2 to L1 in 9 out of 12 subclauses after starting with an L2 subordinating conjunction. However, it is
quite possible that CM01 treated the L2 conjunction "so" as an L1 conjunction, using it instead of Dutch "dus". This may be due to the similarity between Dutch "zo" (meaning "in that way") and English "so" (meaning "therefore"). CM01 switched from his L2 to his L1 in two out of three L2 English V+C structures. His spoken L2 also contained quite a considerable number of filled and unfilled pauses, relative to the low overall word count of his spoken segment. All in all, CM's spoken L2 contained 2 tokens of filled pauses followed by silence and 2 tokens of silent pauses followed by a silence - indicating probably L2 message abandonment after searching for the appropriate L2 items. It should be noted that CM01's spoken L2 contained the highest number of all pauses of all respondents: 49 tokens of 1-2s pauses, and 12 tokens of 2-3, 3-4 and 4 second plus pauses. All tokens were calculated over 10,000 words.

Overall, CM01 appeared to be showing signs of L2 attrition accompanied by increasing reversion to his L1, an impression that was confirmed by his adult child in his comments added to the adult child questionnaire completed by him. Contributing factors to this were probably the fact that he had acquired his English naturalistically in the setting of factory and farming work and that he was now much exposed to his L1, by reading Dutch media online everyday. He was also a frequent visitor to the Dutch Village and this had likely resulted in his activation threshold for his L2 being raised.

### 12.2 Case study Two: CF01

No $\mathbf{L} 2$ on arrival - manual worker but also "terrific" reader all of her life now increased response latency in the L2.

CF01 was still in her 60s at the time of the interview. This speaker also identified with a working class background and had moved straight from (eight years of) primary school into her first job. Barely five years later, she had embarked on a boat headed for New Zealand, where she had been assigned work as a domestic in a hospital. This respondent had come to New Zealand with just a few words of English, but said she had picked the language up fairly quickly in the staff residence and at work. In addition, she stated she had taught herself a lot of vocabulary by reading "picture books" in English. After leaving the hospital, she had worked in various other jobs, all mainly involving manual
work. This respondent switched from Dutch to English a lot and vice versa, using L1 calques in her L2 and L1 calques in her L2. As an example she used L2 calques such as "tinnetjes" for cans of drinks instead of the common Dutch word "blikjes". CF01 also used L1 to L2 codeswitching in 10 out of $31 \mathrm{~V}+\mathrm{C}$ structures, where she started with a Dutch verb but completed the structure with an English complement. One example was:

Ze voelden d'r eigen een beetje guilty.
(They felt a little bit guilty.)

CF01 had suffered her share of health problems and her knowledge of healthcare terminology in the L2 was very good. She commented that she would not know the L1 Dutch words for many of the health conditions, operations and treatments in question. Like her husband (CM01) CF01 engaged in a lot of code switching in L2 subclauses, with $18 \%$ of these involving a switch from L2 to L1. However, she did not show any evidence of codeswitching in any of her $50 \mathrm{~V}+\mathrm{C}$ structures. The relatively high number of $\mathrm{V}+\mathrm{C}$ structures she produced must be seen as relative to the high overall word count of her spoken L2 segment, however, it may also be indicative of her L2 vocabulary, which was quite extensive, something she attributed to her love of reading. CF01 did not show any obvious evidence of response latency. She did not produce any tokens of filled pauses followed by codeswitching from L2 to L1 and only one token of a filled pauses followed by a silence. In contrast, her spoken L2 did contain six tokens of unfilled word finding pauses followed by silence but again none followed by codeswitching. The analysis of the average duration of pauses confirmed this response latency, with CF) 1 producing 19 tokens of $1-2 \mathrm{~s}$ pauses, 6 tokens of 2-3second pauses, but none longer than 3 seconds.

All in all, CF01 appeared to show signs of greater response latency in her L2, an impression that was confirmed by her adult child. Contributing factors to this may have been the fact that she had never formally acquired English in the classroom setting and that she had now much less opportunity to actively use her L2, aside from day-to-day conversations with her children.

### 12.3 Case study 3: CMO3

## Self-employed community champion and codeswitcher extra-ordinaire.

CM03 had come to New Zealand with little or no English and had worked in manual occupations all of his life. At the time of the interview he was in his mid to late 80 s, having only officially been retired for the past ten years or so, but he remained extremely active in the community, organizing events, meetings and applications. His schooling in the Netherlands had been limited to apprenticeship training. He had picked up his English after arrival in New Zealand, where he had also maintained a high level of involvement with the Dutch speaking community, resulting in him continuing to use his L1 a lot.

CM03 was one of only a few respondents to show signs of congruent lexicalisation, a feature of language use which Muysken describes as incidences where lexical material from either language occurs in a shared grammatical structure (2000, p. 153). According to Muysken the degree to which congruent lexicalisation occurs in different bilingual communities depends on the extent of structural similarity between the languages involved. CM03 was in the habit of not only attaching L1 verb endings to L2 verbs, but also combining this with "phonological CS" in that his pronunciations of L2 items sometimes moved towards standard L2 pronunciation, but at other times appeared outright L1 in terms of phonology. An example of this was the L2 verb "put", which was sometimes pronounced to sound like the Dutch noun "put" (meaning "well"), and at other times pronounced as in English, with a short [u]. Similarly, he sometimes pronounced grass as L2 [gra:s] and at other times as L1 [Xras]. An example of this was:

Die cutten me gras [Xras] en dan me concrete en al die dings more.
(They [used to] cut my grass and my concrete and all that sort of thing.)

In this sentence the Dutch third person plural suffix '-ten' (pronounced with silent end-syllabic ' $n$ ') was combined with the English verb "cut" to indicate the
past tense for the third person person plural. Another example of "congruent lexicalisation" was found in CM03 freely combining L1 auxiliaries with L2 infinitives as in

Maar I zei ' $t$ in Dutch and she kon ook understand it!
(But I said it in Dutch and she could understand it as well!')

In this sentence the pronoun 'in', which is shared by both English and Dutch, seems to act as a trigger for the CS.

CM03 had the custom of starting any subclauses in L2 segments with an L1 conjunction. In fact, the speaker only started 10 subclauses in L2 segments with an L2 conjunction, and 3 of these showed CS from L2 to L1. What follows are two examples - back translations have been added in parentheses.
(CM03) But ' $k$ had m'n work van ' $k$ had een old work er van en daar putte $i k \quad d e$ boys in.
(I had my work van I had an old work er van and I put the boys in that.)

But dat is feitelijk not one museum.
(But that is not a museum really.)

Incidentally, this speaker also showed a lot of CS from L1 to L2 in his L1 subclauses. Two examples of this were:
'toen I was retired I still workte bij her in die garden.
(When I was retired I still worked in her garden.)

Als I Engels praat I put a lot of Dutch words in between it and that is and that is now I've done that voor jaren for years.
(When I speak English I put in a lot of Dutch words and that is and that is now I've done that for years for years.)

As to the incidence of L1 subclause structure or L1 adverbial placement in L2 subclauses, it proved rather difficult to work out the total number of tokens for CM03, due to the fact that it was difficult to determine which language he was using as the Matrix Language due to his continual switching between L1 and L2 syntactical and morphosyntactic items. CM03 also produced an impressive 16 tokens of codeswitching in $42 \mathrm{~V}+\mathrm{C}$ structures where the complement showed a CS.

During the interview, CM03 had apparently switched from his L2 to his L1 without noticeable pausing, however the analysis showed that his L2 speech did contain a number of unfilled pauses of between 1 and 2 seconds and between 2 and 3 seconds' duration. All in all $30 \%$ of all L2 subclauses produced by CM03 involved CS to the L1, while CM03 was the only respondent to show L1 finite placement in an L2 subclause, by placing the finite ahead of the subject. Close to $40 \%$ of all $\mathrm{V}+\mathrm{C}$ structures uttered by CM03 involved CS to the L1. The respondent's use of the third person singular could not be investigated, as he mainly reviewed the past, and the only tokens of the third person singular present simple involved "is". CM03's spoken L2 did not contain any tokens of Filled Pauses followed by either a CS or silence, however his speech did contain 6 tokens of Silent Pauses followed by a codeswitch, which means he may have unsuccessfully tried to retrieve an L2 item. His L2 contained 15 tokens of 1-2s pauses, 4 tokens of $2-3 \mathrm{~s}$ pauses and nil tokens of $3-4 \mathrm{~s}$ or 4 s plus pauses. All in all, CM03 spoke what I have once heard describe as a "complete porridge" where L1 and L2 appeared to have been not only mixed but also "stirred" around to the point where it was hard to distinguish the Matrix Language (ML). A close look at this respondent's speech appears to support calls by Edwards and

Gardner-Chloros (2007, p. 75) and others for the need to recognize the use of a "mixed code" by some bilingual speakers, rather than a single ML.

In brief, CM03 was a very colourful interlocutor and a codeswitcher extraordinaire, something that was likely due to his background and personality. CMO3 had come to New Zealand with little or no English and had never formally acquired the structure of the L2. He had been self-employed all of his life and it somehow seemed fitting that he also made up his own "code". According to his adult child, this respondent's English had always been characterized by a high degree of codeswitching, although she did concede that it might be a bit "worse" now.

### 12.4 Case study Four: DVF06

## Acquired L2 through children - now increased response latency and lexical retrieval problems

DVF06 had grown up in a comfortable middle class environment. She had been unable to attend secondary schooling as she had spent part of World War II interned in a camp. She had arrived in New Zealand with little or no English, and then went on to acquire her L2 mainly through her children and social interactions with New Zealand friends and neighbours. DVF06 had never been in paid employment outside of the home, something that may be due to her husband earning enough money and with her being busy looking after a big family. Before retirement the respondent and her husband had always spoken the L2 at home, but since retirement and their move to the Dutch Retirement Village they had shifted back to the use of their L1. In fact, her husband spoke very little L2 during the interview, so presumably DVF06 did not get much opportunity for continued use of her L2 in the home environment. DVF06 herself always responded in English when I prompted her in that language, but when her husband kept replying to questions in Dutch, she eventually lapsed into Dutch as well. This respondent did not codeswitch in any of her L2 subclauses, nor did she resort to L1 word order or L1 adverbial placement in L2 subclauses. She switched to Dutch in one of her $10 \mathrm{~L} 2 \mathrm{~V}+\mathrm{C}$ structures and missed out the " s " in one out of 6 tokens of the third person singular. The fact that she had not formally learned about the structure of the L2 may have made her L2 more
vulnerable to attrition in terms of morphosyntax. Her response latency was also indicative of possible L2A, in that whereas she only produced one token of a filled pause followed by CS, her spoken L2 contained 5 tokens of silent pauses followed by CS. This may be a sign of her not wishing to make it be known that she was searching for words in the L2, and therefore preferring the use of silent over filled pauses. This respondent also produced two tokens of silent pauses followed by a continued silence indicating message abandonment. Overall, this speaker did appear to hesitate a lot in her spoken L2, producing 28 tokens of the shorter 1-2 second silent pauses. All in all, DVF06 was showing signs of greater response latency in her L2. Her adult child commented that she felt her parents' English was "going backwards". The fact that this respondent had never formally acquired the L2 and had never had to use it in the work domain may have contributed to her increasing lexical retrieval problems at a time when contact with the L2 was even more reduced, especially since she was living in a predominantly L1 environment. As the respondent's husband did not use the L2 much at all during the interview, even when prompted in that language, which probably meant DVF06 was not getting much opportunity to use her L2 in the home environment either. All these factors would have raised her activation threshold for the L2 and led to the increased word finding problems in English she appeared to be experiencing.

### 12.5 Case Study Five: DVF08

Acquired L2 through social contacts - now increased problems expressing herself in L2.

DVF08 was a charming lady, who had grown up in a family of ten children. Her father had been a tradesperson and she therefore regarded herself as being of a middle class background, the more so because home ownership was common in her family and her father had owned his own home. After finishing primary school DVF08 had helped her mother to look after younger siblings. She had also been dispatched to help other families in the village who had young children. She had not attended any form of secondary schooling. DVF08 had emigrated to New Zealand with her fiancé in the early 1950s and had lived in a number of different locations in the North Island. She had taken in Dutch
speaking boarders as a temporary arrangement to assist them in the first weeks after arrival in New Zealand. Her advice had always been "First find an job and then find an flat". Having arrived in New Zealand with little or no English, this respondent appeared to have never completely mastered the rules of the language. She consistenly used "an" as an indefinite article and often followed comments by adding "hoor" (literally "hear", used in Dutch in the sense of "you know?"), probably completely unaware of the misunderstandings this may have caused on occasion.

DVF08 had never been in paid employment outside of the home. She had however been involved in lots of community and school activities. She stated that she had really tried very hard to become a Kiwi, so she had been involved with the school as a parent helper, with the library, and with Plunket. In fact, DVF08 seemed to have made a lot of friends amongst New Zealanders. In spite of living in the Dutch retirement Village, she had maintained her many friendships and was frequently driving out of Auckland to visit old friends or to take out friends who were not driving anymore. During the interview, this respondent expressed annoyance at the thought of having to speak English and at a certain point asked if she could now speak Dutch again.

Like CM03, this respondent also indulged in an extent of congruent lexicalisation, as evident from her expression:

I have too busy with me own life
(I am too busy with my own life)

Here, informal Dutch would have: Ik heb het te druk met me eigen leven (back translation: I have too busy with my own life). Quite surprisingly therefore perhaps, DVF08 did not appear to indulge in much codeswitching in her L2 subclauses, with only 1 out of 29 L2 subclauses involving CS to the L1 and none of them involving a return to L1 finite placement or adverbial order. When it came to $\mathrm{V}+\mathrm{C}$ structures in English, the speaker produced a relatively small number of these ( $\mathrm{N}=20$ ), with only one of these involving CS to the L1. The speaker's use of the third person singular did show evidence of her perhaps
never having formally acquired the underlying morphosyntactic rule. DVF08 produced 30 tokens of the third person singular, missing out the -s was missed in 25 of them ( $83 \%$ ). She used a lot of fillers in her spoken English including pauses of varying duration and also "verbal fillers" such as "you know?" at the end of every sentence. DVF08's spoken L2 contained no tokens of either filled or unfilled pauses followed by CS. Her spoken L2 did however contain 5 tokens of filled pauses, and 16 tokens of silent pauses all followed by apparent L2 message abandonment silences. This speaker's increased response latency in the L2 also showed in the average duration of pauses, with her producing 16 tokens of 1-2second pauses and 12 tokens of 2-3second and 4 second plus pauses.

All in all, DVF08 explicitly stated that she did not enjoy doing the interview in English and would much prefer to stick to Dutch. She spoke Dutch fluently for the first half an hour of the interview and only reluctantly switched to English thereafter. Her English, however, was characterized by insertional codeswitching to the L1 to the extent that it bordered on congruent lexicalisation (Muysken, 2000). She stated that she was still able to express herself in her L2, although it was now taking her a lot longer to find the words. Her adult child confirmed that her parent's L2 had never been very good, and stated that her mother increasingly slipped back into her L1 without appearing to realize it, even though she herself maintained that she only ever spoke English to her children.

There were several factors which likely contributed to the fact that she was experiencing increased lexical retrieval problems in the L2 post-retirement. Firstly, the respondent had acquired her L2 naturalistically through social contacts, but had never acquired L2 rules in a structured manner. She had also had a lot of ongoing social contact with the L1 when she was younger, because she had always taken in recent Dutch immigrants as boarders. In addition, by the time of the interview, the interviewee had lived in the Dutch Village for a long time and although she was still visiting L2 and L1 friends outside of the village, her primary social contacts had all been in her L1 for the past ten years.

## 12.6: Case study Six: DVF07

## Natural linguist and champion L2 maintenance against all odds

DVF07 deserves mention here because in a lot of ways her background is very similar to that of DVF08. However, where DVF08 appears in a lot of tables presenting those respondents whose spoken L2 included a lot of possible L2A features, DVF07 appeared in none.

DVF07 described her family as middle class, her father being a selfemployed builder. DVF07 had been all set to attend MULO secondary school when the Germans invaded the Netherlands. She recounted how her father had arrived "on two bikes" to take her home from school. She had not been allowed to attend MULO after the German invasion, because her father had considered this too dangerous, especially since the family were also involved in the resistance movement and their situation was hairy enough as it was. In fact, at one stage, the family were evacuated from their home with just a few belongings before the house itself was blown up in reprisal for an act by the resistance movement. Hence the respondent had not been able to continue her schooling at all, in spite of really valuing further education.

After marriage, she had arrived in New Zealand in 1950 with her husband and two small children. Her husband had been successful as a builder and there had been no need for her to work at all, so she had never been in paid employment. Even so, the respondent did the entire interview in English, without hesitations and without codeswitching even once. This may be partly explained by the fact that the respondent had really valued further education and had a real aptitude for languages. The respondent also recounted how her husband had initially worked at a primary school as a caretaker. She said one of the English teachers had given her private one-on-one English tuition every evening. This may explain why she had been able to acquire a good grounding in the structure of the language, in spite of not having been able to attend primary school and never having worked in an English speaking environment. DVF07 said that her husband had shifted back to the use of L1 at home, but that she had spoken less L1 since his death some seven to eight years previously. In addition, the respondent said most of her many children only spoke English. She appeared to host her children every week and was on the phone to them on a
daily basis. Last but not least, this respondent walked at least one and a half hours every day and this high level of activity may well have contributed to her continued overall circulatory health. As indicated previously, research has convincingly shown that the latter may also contribute to"brain health".

DVF07 exhibited no CS no any return to L1 structure or adverbial placement in L 2 subclauses. She use a considerable number $(\mathrm{n}=40)$ of $\mathrm{L} 2 \mathrm{~V}+\mathrm{C}$ structures, but none of them involved any CS to the L1. In fact, this respondent only used three Dutch words during the interview, two of them relating to Dutch settings for which there is no exact L2 equivalent (MULO, 't café) and one relating to a location. Aside from this she did not use any L1 at all. She did produce three incorrect tokens of the third person singular.The respondent's spoken L2 did not contain any filled pauses, nor any silent pauses of more than 1 second's duration. All in all, DVF07 showed very little sign of L2 attrition, something which may be attributed to her obvious love of learning, reading and the fact that she had ample opportunity for the continued use of the L2. Although she was able to receive free to air Dutch satellite television 24 hours a day, she did not watch it very much, instead spending hours reading the New Zealand Herald and doing the crossword in English. This may have contributed to the very good grasp of English grammar and wide range of vocabulary she demonstrated during the interview. In addition, her high level of physical activity on a daily basis may have contributed to her unchanged ability to use the L2. Her adult child also felt that her mother's proficiency in her L2 had not changed in any way.

### 12.7 Case study Seven: DVF09

## Excellent L2 beginnings, L1 reversion against expectations

DVF09 showed up in some of the tables rather unexpectedly. On the basis of the overall findings, I was somewhat surprised to note this respondent's tendency to codeswitch, as on the face of it she possessed some of the characteristics of someone I would have expected to maintain her L2 better than most. Firstly, this respondent had had a better education than most of her peers. She identified with a middle class background and had attended pre-university education for five years, followed by two or three years of polytechnic type health-related training.

Secondly, she had married an English speaking man and had always spoken English in the home environment. Last, but not least, this respondent remained very active physically and mentally.

The respondent was very fluent in her L2 at the time of the interview, but at two points switched to the L1 and carried on in that language, seeming unaware of this switch herself. She produced 48 L2 subclauses, none of them involving CS, but 2 subclauses involving L1 adverbial placement. The respondent also produced quite a considerable number of $\mathrm{L} 2 \mathrm{~V}+\mathrm{C}$ structures ( $\mathrm{N}=40$ ), with none of them involving CS. She did show some signs of increased response latency in the L2, with producing 6 tokens of 1-2 second pauses and 12 tokens of 2-3 second pauses. Her spoken L2 also contained 2 tokens of Filled Pauses followed by a CS and 3 tokens of FPs followed by a silence. However, the most interesting aspect about this respondent's spoken L2 was her tendency to suddenly switch to the L1 and continue in that language altogether.

This respondent said that prior to arriving in the Dutch Village she had occasionally slipped from Dutch into English. DVF09 had been married to an English speaker and had always used English at home and at work. According to her son, her increasing tendency to switch an entire conversation from English to Dutch had started after she had moved to the Dutch retirement village, and he attributed this to her now being in a predominantly L1 speaking social environment.

### 12.8 Case study Eight: DVF01

## Linguist extra-ordinaire - champion of L2 maintenance

DVF01 should be mentioned because she could easily be mistaken for a very well-spoken New Zealander, yet on the face of it her background appeared similar to that of many other respondents. DVF01 identified with a middle class and it was clear from her stories that her sibling in the Netherlands had been very academically talented, as indeed I suspect she herself had been. This respondent had attended secondary school MULO education to completion and her English teacher had been "a Pom, complete with bowler hat and walking
stick". When I asked whether the Germans had this British subject from teaching at all, the reply came: "Evidently not."

DVF01 had arrived in New Zealand in 1950 with her fiancé and has been assigned to domestic work on a farm. It was clear from her stories that she had been able to successfully construct a new social identity for herself in New Zealand (cf. Peirce, 1995) thanks in no small way to her outstanding proficiency in the L2. The Appendix contains part of her transcript. The respondent and her husband had shifted to the use of their L1 at home, also to prevent their children from being bullied at school. After retirement and moving to the Dutch Retirement Village, the respondent had been doing her utmost to maintain her spoken L2 and she insisted on speaking it at home and at meetings in the Village. Her husband commented to me that even when he addressed her in Dutch, she would reply "in flippin' English'.

Not surprisingly, perhaps, DVF01 did not use any L1 during the interview. She used her L2 confidently to discuss a wide range of topics and reminiscences. Her adult child also felt that her mother's proficiency in her L2 had not changed in any way and that she was still "perfect". DVF01 attributed her continuing and seemingly unabated proficiency in the L2 to the fact that she made every effort to maintain the language, both in the home and social domains. Her concerted efforts were sometimes met with annoyance on the part of other Dutch speakers, who felt that she should not speak English within the predominant L1 environment of the Dutch Village. Her husband also commented that "bloomin' Mum" always replied in English. There is no doubt that this respondent was an outstanding and very talented linguist, whose language aptitude and determined personality both contributed to her continuing excellence in the L2.

## 12. 9 Summary of case studies

The case studies presented here give an indication of the range of differences encountered in respondents' spoken L2, even in the case of speakers who at first glance appeared to share a considerable number of commonalities. This would appear to confirm the significance of individual variables such as language aptitude, motivation and opportunity for continued second language use. The bilingual mode of two of the respondents discussed here in particular appears to
confirm calls expressed by Clyne (1987), Edwards and Gardner-Chloros (2007), Muysken (2000) and others as to the existence of a model which explains the various strategies used by bilinguals to combine grammatical and lexical features from both their languages to express meaning. In the case of at least one of the respondents portrayed here, we can distinguish a type of codeswitching that goes beyond alternational or insertional, instead comprising a whole new "code". In the cases of those who exhibit the most obvious problems with increased response latency and lexical retrieval problems in the L2, we can distinguish some similarities in terms of naturalistic, rather than formal acquisition of the L2 and also in terms of reduced opportunity to use the L2 after-retirement.

## Chapter Thirteen: Conclusion

### 13.1 Reviewing original aim of study

The aim of the study was to establish whether healthy older Dutch migrants are showing signs of L2 attrition and L1 reversion post retirement and if so to what extent. The study also aimed to examine any factors which might play a role in this. As mentioned in Chapter One, the significance of the study lay in identifying a potential social policy issue, which might impact on future government policy and public spending. If the findings suggested that the process of retirement is indeed linked with second language attrition and first language reversion (especially in terms of language production) and hence to an increased dependency on health and community interpreters for Dutch migrants, this would also have wider implications for other migrant communities. As stated in the introduction to Chapter One, any inability on the part of older migrants to communicate easily with L2 speaking children, grandchildren and friends may lead to loneliness and social isolation. It would also significantly impact on older migrants' ease of access to a range of services and erode their enjoyment in everyday activities involving interactions with L2 speakers. Aside from seeking to establish whether older Dutch migrants were indeed showing signs of L2 attrition and L1 reversion, the study also sought to examine what form any such gradual loss of the second language might take and whether any specific sociolinguistic factors could be identified that might contribute to it.

Initially this chapter will revisit the hypotheses set out in Chapter Four, to determine whether these have been proven or disproved and to what extent the study has addressed the questions raised during the review of the literature. The findings of this study will then be discussed in relation to current literature in the field. This discussion leads naturally to the study's findings in the area of language reversion and attrition. I will also suggest possible reasons for language shift in Dutch migrants. This chapter will conclude with recommendations for future research and a call for the provision of language support for older bilingual migrants.

### 13.2 Review of methodological approach

Some of the obvious methodological problems encountered have been discussed in the brief overview of the literature review. As mentioned, one potential issue was the fact that the study was carried out as a retrospective study. Hence, the absence of any longitudinal studies meant the researcher would have to establish the point of reference by some other means. Schmidt and Köpke (2004) emphasized the importance of establishing the level of ultimate attainment in the L2 as a point of reference (see also Jaspaert, Kroon \& van Hout, 1986). This issue was addressed in the current study by combining respondents' self-assessment of ultimate attainment in the L2, with assessment of the same by respondents' adult children. Self-assessment scores were compared to scores given by adult children to determine the extent to which "patterns" might show. The size of the sample meant the term "correlation" with its overtones of statistical viability did not apply.

Schmid (2004) recommends a combination of approaches including the use of questionnaires, elicited free speech and self-assessments. Backus (1996) stresses the importance of identifying the speakers behind the utterances, and this was another important reason for using a sociolinguistic life questionnaire. All in all, the study combined a number of methodological tools in order to mitigate some of the perceived limitations. Outcomes from self-assessments showed that interviewees felt that only their productive skills in the L2 had been affected, while their receptive skills had remained unchanged.

The linguistic analysis revealed features which might represent possible L2 word finding problems and a number of instances where speakers turned to L1 for the solution. However, respondents' self-assessments and assessments by interviewees' adult children enabled me to speculate on whether these were signs of fossilization or whether they perhaps signaled a return to an earlier stage of L2 competency. Adult children's assessments were perhaps the most useful indicators of their parents' ultimate attainment and possible L1 reversion at the time of the interview and provided a good external check on the accuracy of respondents' self-assessments.

The pilot study was used in order to test the research tools. Respondents in the pilot study showed features of response latency and possible signs of a return
to the grammatical frame of the L1. These findings led to a slight shift in focus for the main study, predominantly reflected in terms of the linguistic analysis, which shifted from a morpheme analysis to an analysis of outcomes at the level of lexicon, morphosyntax and syntax with particular focus on signs of CS from L2 to L1 and message abandonment. In addition, some questions were added to the sociolinguistic questionnaire, relating to social class background in the Netherlands and church attendance in New Zealand. Social class had often influenced the type of secondary schooling attended while the language spoken within church congregations had implications for added opportunities for either L1 maintenance or L2 use.

### 13.2.1 Review of instruments used to test hypotheses

The current study involved a number of instruments used to examine respondents' ability to express themselves in English, their L2. This included sociolinguistic life history questionnaires, self-assessments, adult children's assessments and recorded and transcribed interviews resulting in long segments of free speech in the L2. Together these provided a wealth of data which served as a good basis for cross-tabulation. Adult children's assessments offered a good external check on self-assessments and were indispensable in providing a critical retrospective point of view on speakers' self-assessment proficiency in the L2 pre-retirement. Similarly, respondents' self-assessments were complemented by the segments of recorded free speech, which offered me the opportunity to examine linguistic features and signs of codeswitching, response latency and message abandonment. The one major limitation was the size of the sample, which was in itself limited by the fact that the study was undertaken by a single researcher. Overall, the instruments used provided a good basis for testing the hypotheses and served to produce a wealth of research data. Most importantly, the research instruments lend themselves to duplication for other studies involving migrants of a range of linguistic backgrounds.

### 13.3 Overview of hypotheses and actual findings

The following hypotheses investigated for the main study are presented in italics, followed by the instrument used to test the hypothesis in question (see also Chapter Four). Findings for each of the hypotheses are presented following the description of the relevant test instruments.

### 13.3.1 First hypothesis

Low frequency of L2 use and low social contact in the L2 may lead to accelerated L1 reversion and L2 attrition in those Dutch migrants aged 65 and over who are now primarily exposed to a predominantly L1 Dutch speech community compared to a similar group of Dutch migrants who are still primarily exposed to the L2 English speech community.

This first hypothesis was tested by comparing findings from the linguistic analysis for the group of DV residents against those for the group of NDV respondents to see if DV respondents were indeed showing signs of greater L 1 reversion and L2 attrition than NDV respondents, as measured by the parameters used in the study.

The study showed few signs of L2 attrition and L1 reversion overall, however DV respondents showed signs of a slightly increased response latency in the L2 as compared to NDV respondents.

### 13.3.2 Second hypothesis

L1 reversion with concomitant L2 attrition will be signalled by a return to the grammatical frame of the L1, evident at the level of syntax and morphosyntax. This will be apparent from respondents failing to produce correct L2 syntactical and morphosyntactical structures and/or these structures showing a codeswitch to L1 syntax and morphosyntax.

The second hypothesis was tested by
(i) respondents' production of L2 subclauses with use of correct L2 ordering
a. of finite and personal pronoun
b. of other L2 lexical items, including adverbials, within the subclause in order to assess their ability to produce correct L2 English syntactical structures;
(ii) respondents' production of correct L2 verbal agreement in order to assess their ability to produce correct L2 English morphosyntactical features.

None of the subjects showed L1 finite placement in L2 subclauses, which may be an indication that this syntactical feature of the L2 had become wellconsolidated amongst all speakers. A number of respondents showed L1 adverbial placement in L2 subclauses, as well as non-standard L2 subject-verb agreement in the third person singular. Most of those who showed problems with verbal agreement had come to New Zealand with little or no English, hence this morphosyntactic feature of the L2 had not been acquired through formal instruction and may never have become consolidated in their language use.

The main question was whether the features found were signs of "backsliding" to an earlier stage of L2 competency, or whether these had always been part of the respondents' L2. Adult children's assessments showed that some respondents are now reportedly using more L1 word order in their L2 and that their L2 competency had decreased somewhat since retirement. Some respondents themselves also reported having "gone backwards" in terms of their correct productive use of L2 grammar. However, all of the respondents showed themselves still capable of (also) producing correct L2 English morphosyntactic features.

### 13.3.3 Third hypothesis

## L1 reversion with concomitant L2 attrition will be reflected in respondents either failing to use the expected L2 lexical item or selecting an item from the L1 lexicon instead of the expected L2 lexical item.

This third hypothesis was tested by looking at L2 verb plus complement structures produced by respondents. Interviewees' selection of the expected L2 complement in L2 verb plus complement structures was examined in order to see whether respondents used the expected L2 lexical item or resorted to codeswitching to the L2.

Findings showed that out of all subjects, female DV respondents were most likely to show a codeswitch to the L1 in L2 subclauses. Findings also suggested that these same respondents were also somewhat more likely to avoid the use of
subclauses in the L2, possibly because they were afraid they might construct non-standard L2 subclauses.

### 13.3.4 Fourth hypothesis

L1 reversion with concomitant L2 attrition will be reflected in increased response latency, as evidenced by speakers' use of filled and unfilled pauses with respondents either failing to come up with the expected L2 lexical item following such pauses or selecting an item from the L1 lexicon instead of the expected L2 lexical item.

This fourth hypothesis was tested by looking at speakers' use of filled and unfilled pauses. I examined when such pauses occurred, for instance in relation to word finding, emotional reminiscences, or historical fact finding, deciding to concentrate on "lexical retrieval" type pauses. For all such word-finding related pauses, respondents' speech was examined to see whether they had
(iv) managed to come up with the expected L2 lexical item;
(v) resorted to a codeswitch to the L1, or
(vi) abandoned the L2 message altogether as evidenced by a "message abandonment" type of silence.

The findings showed some signs of increased response latency amongst DV residents in particular, as compared to NDV subjects, with even speakers who appeared very fluent in the L2 showing increased use of both filled and unfilled pauses followed by a "message abandonment" silence. In addition, findings showed a link between level of self-reported L2 proficiency on arrival in New Zealand and use of filled or unfilled pauses followed by a codeswitch, however with a few outliers being responsible for most of the tokens.

### 13.3.5 Fifth hypothesis

L1 reversion with concomitant L2 attrition will be reflected in respondents developing increasing problems in relation to communicating their (health) care needs to L2 speaking caregivers.

The fifth hypothesis was tested in two different ways:
(iii) As part of the sociolinguistic life questionnaire, respondents were asked whether they felt their ability to relate their (health) care needs to L2 English speaking caregivers and practitioners had changed since retirement, and if so, in what way.
(iv) During the interview, respondents were asked how their life was going at the moment. This question invariably led respondents to comment on their health and the resulting elicited free speech was then analysed to see if speakers had been able to come up with the expected L2 terms to talk about their current health status and health needs.

A small number of mainly female DV respondents reported that they were currently experiencing some problems in terms of expressing their healthcare needs to English speaking health providers, however all said that, given time, they were able to paraphrase in the L2. It should be remembered firstly that the study involved only healthy older subjects, without patho-physiological problems affecting either their memory or speech systems. Secondly, it should be noted that Dutch and English are linguistically close, and that findings for this study may not be extrapolated to other migrant groups with linguistic backgrounds which are quite dissimilar to those of the speakers in the current study.

### 13.4 Previous studies and relevance to current study.

The literature review examined bilingualism, particularly in a migrant context. The respondents in the current study were mostly additive bilinguals (Lambert, 1975) who were able to use their L2 for most functions (Hoffman, 1991) in most domains (Fishman, 2001). Respondents were asked about their L2 skills in each of the four skills sets: listening comprehension, reading, writing and speaking. Interviewees stated that their receptive skills (listening, reading) in the L2 remained undiminished since retirement, however some felt that their productive skills (writing, speaking) had deteriorated somewhat since retirement. Respondents were interviewed in English and mostly responded in the same language (cf. Grosjean, 1997), however some consistently responded in the L1 even when prompted in the L2.

The sociolinguistic life questionnaire contained questions about host society attitudes especially in relation to interviewees' decision to shift to the L2 in the home domain. Previous studies (Pauwels, 1991; Hulsen, 2000) have suggested that any shift to the use of the L2 at home had been mainly due to the Dutch language not being a core value in the Dutch cultural system (Smolicz, 1981). It was clear from the present study that respondents had been advised to shift to their L2 at home and that many had done so for fear that maintaining their L1 would negatively impact on their children's education. Interestingly, much of this type of advice had been given by monolingual Plunket Nurses (Child Health Visitors) and school teachers with little obvious expertise in the area of bilingualism. This accords with Baetens-Beardsmore's (2003) findings about the impact of host society attitudes on migrants' motivation to acquire their new country's dominant language. Other respondents mentioned that their children were bullied at school and they believed that their children would assimilate more easily if they spoke as their peers did. This perception is reflected in the narratives of L1 German speaking respondents recorded by Bönisch-Brednich (2003). Lastly, Pearce's (1995) theory about migrants wishing to find a new social identity through their L2 was reflected in comments made by respondents. It is possible that interviewees tried to recreate themselves as New Zealand parents by shifting to the use of English at home.

The literature on SLA suggests that L2 learners' ultimate achievement in their L2 is influenced by a variety of factors, including type of acquisition (Ellis, 1994). This was borne out by the present study, with a dividing line in terms of ultimate attainment being visible between those who had acquired their L2 in a structured way in the secondary school classroom and those who had acquired it naturalistically, through immersion in the social and work domains. The method of acquisition also seems important, with respondents in the current study having obviously benefited from the Grammar Translation method, possibly because of the schematic memory encoding involved (Bahrick, 1984; Neisser, 1984). The literature on SLA also highlights the importance of individual factors such as language aptitude and this was seen in the case of two female respondents (one in the pilot study and one in the main study), both of whom had achieved a good level of English in spite of not having acquired their L2 in the classroom prior to emigrating to New Zealand (Carroll, 1981; Skehan,
1987). It was obvious from the sociolinguistic life questionnaire responses that interviewees had encountered a "good" learning situation as referred to by Schumann (1978). Schumann's acculturation model involves little social distance between L2 and L1 groups, both groups wishing for the L2 group to assimilate, permanency of the L2 group and lack of cohesion in the L2 group. Respondents were spread around New Zealand and were very motivated to assimilate (Schouten, 1992).

Respondents engaged in much less codeswitching than expected based on the researcher's own experience in attending social gatherings involving a number of the interviewees. It is possible that respondents attempted to adapt to the researcher in this respect, which would fit in with the Social Accommodation Theory (Giles \& Clair, 1979). It would also confirm Grosjean's (1997) views on bilinguals positioning themselves somewhere along the bilingual continuum based on assumptions in regard to their interlocutors. What codeswitching occurred was mainly intra-sentential (Poplack, 1979; 1980) consisting of single L1 lexical items inserted into the grammatical frame of the L2 (Myers-Scotton, 1993a; El-Aissati \& Schaufeli, 1998; Muysken, 2000). The current study found that only a handful of respondents engaged in what Muysken terms "congruent lexicalization" (2000, p. 32) where content morphemes and early system and late system morphemes taken from both languages are freely mixed within one sentence. As an example, one of the speakers used English verbs with Dutch past tense endings and Dutch plural endings with English nouns. Three of the speakers who engaged in congruent lexicalisation could be described as fluent bilinguals, however, one could also argue that at least in the case of one of these (CM03) the L1 and L2 systems were to a large extent merged. Looking at their speech in terms of the continuum proposed by Grosjean, one could say that rather than moving along this continuum depending on their interlocutor, these speakers rather appeared stuck in what could be described as a congruent lexicalization "rut".

Two aspects of Paradis' neurolinguistic theory on bilingualism appeared to be particularly relevant to the study. The first of these related to Paradis' thoughts on language learning after the critical threshold age, while the second concerned his theory relating to the activation threshold (2004). Both aspects could be said to be linked to language attrition studies. Firstly, adults who are
late learners of an L2 differ from L1 learners in that they need to commit the rules and procedures of their L2 to their declarative memory, whereas for the former these rules become part of their implicit memory. Paradis adds that some L2 rules are used so frequently by L2 learners that they almost become automatic, which might make these rules more immune from attrition. This may apply to respondents in the study who had the opportunity to use their L2 in a range of situations in both the oral and written form throughout their working lives. Secondly, Paradis (2004) holds that when L2 learners find themselves in relative isolation from the L2, the activation threshold for certain L2 items is raised, making them more difficult for these speakers to access. This theory is significant in light of the finding that respondents in the predominantly L1 environment of the Dutch Village did show signs of greater response latency and word finding problems when speaking their L2. Hence it did in fact appear as if the activation threshold for particular L2 items was raised, due to the fact that speakers were now using the L1 in social contacts and needed more time to retrieve the L2 equivalents in question.

Language (L2) attrition studies reviewed also included research carried out by Yoshitomi (1992), Gross (2004) and Jiménez Jiménez (2004) using very different approaches. The pilot study in part adapted the morpheme analysis used by Gross (2004) in his study of possible L1 attrition at various levels of morpheme production in a small group of older German-English bilinguals. Gross's approach was based on the Morpheme Classification Model put forward by Myers-Scotton and Jake (2000) and Myers-Scotton (2002). A similar method was used for the pilot study, involving an analysis of different L2 morphemes produced by respondents in their elicited free speech. Whilst carrying out the pilot study analysis, the researcher noted that some respondents were showing an obvious increase in response latency in their spoken L2. Pilot study respondents also seemed to show a possible return to the L1 in terms of using L1 morphosyntactical and syntactical structures. This led to a change in approach for the main study, with the focus of the linguistic investigation shifting from a morpheme analysis to an analysis of outcomes at the level of lexicon, morphosyntax and syntax. Other attrition studies had focused on the phenomenon of respondents taking longer to get lexical items online, something which was studied by means of tasks such as picture naming (Hulsen, 2000;

Schoenmaker-Klein Gunnewiek, 1998), However, the researcher wanted to see if respondents would also show greater response latency in spontaneous speech or elicited free speech, as this would perhaps give a better reflection of their communicative efforts vis-a-vis L2 English speakers (Schmid, 2004).

A study carried out by Jiménez Jiménez (2004) looked at possible language attrition in relation to spontaneous speech, but from the perspective of sociocultural theory (SCT). As discussed previously, the SCT perspective views L2 attrition in terms of a return to an earlier stage of language learning as evidenced by return to other-regulatory strategies and object-regulatory strategies, with the former including requests for repetition or clarification, or comprehension checks. Jiménez Jiménez (2004) considers the use of filled and unfilled pauses to be examples of self-regulatory strategies, calling them "stalling" or "buying time" strategies. According to Jiménez Jiménez these tactics reveal an "increase in metacognitive activity processing time" (2004, pp. 74). However, it is precisely this increase in metacognitive activity processing time which caused the researcher to classify such strategies as signs of speakers being conscious of not being able to access the L2 items or structure they were looking for. The analysis of free speech elicited from respondents in the study did in fact show respondents using the entire range of strategies described by Jiménez Jiménez including laughter, filled pauses and silent pauses. Interestingly, one respondent in particular (DVF08) inserted a "you know" comprehension check in every one of her L2 sentences. Respondents also used repetitions, but in the study these were almost invariably followed by a successful lexical retrieval or a "recasting" of the message (Jiménez Jiménez, 2004). The researcher focused on the outcome of stalling strategies, rather than on the underlying type of strategy employed. The researcher considered such stalling strategies to be signs of possible L2 attrition and L1 reversion when they were followed by CS to the L1 or a message abandonment silence. Data from free speech was looked at in conjunction with feedback from respondents' adult children to see whether data were in fact signs of L2 attrition or had always been established features of their parents' L2 use.

The literature on language reversion was relevant to the study in that it brought up a raft of methodological problems, especially those studies discussing the measurement of L2 reversion in the absence of longitudinal
studies. De Vries (1992) and Schmid (2004) were among those advocating the use of a combined approach including self-assessments and free speech. This study also included sociolinguistic life questionnaires and questionnaires asking respondents' adult children to assess their parents' language use at the time of the interview and pre-retirement, so as to have an external check on respondents' self-assessments.

### 13.5 Overview of findings and discussion

The study involved only a small sample (eight respondents in the pilot study and 30 respondents in the main study) and employed a "one shot" (de Vries, 1986) approach in order to gain retrospective insights into respondents' L2 proficiency now and in the past. In the next sections I will discuss findings following two main threads: the first one of these concerns outcomes in relation to possible L2 attrition and L1 reversion and how these may or may not be relevant for other migrant groups in New Zealand; the second one relates to the reported high rate of language shift among first generation L1 Dutch migrants in New Zealand and whether the current study may have thrown some more light on the reasons for this shift. Lastly, I will discuss implications for future research.

## Language reversion and attrition

The linguistic analysis did indeed reveal features in respondents' L2 which might represent possible L2 word finding problems. However, without respondents' self-assessments and assessments by adult children it would have been difficult to determine whether these signs were features of fossilization or backsliding. Adult childrens' assessments were a useful tool in gauging respondents' ultimate attainment in their L2 and the extent of L1 reversion. Those adult children who felt that their parents' proficiency in the L2 was showing a slow slide backwards included children of DV respondents, regardless of their history of L2 learning prior to emigration, as well as children of respondents who had come to New Zealand with little or no English. There were exceptions to this overall trend, notably speakers who said that they really
liked languages did not appear to show any reduced L2 competency, which in itself may indicate that they had perhaps had a special aptitude for acquiring languages. Chapter Twelve presents some interesting case studies describing such exceptional speakers. This chapter also includes case studies of interviewees who showed more features of codeswitching and message abandonment than other speakers.

Previous studies have shown a markedly low first language maintenance rate amongst Dutch migrants in Australia and New Zealand, even in the first generation (Pauwels, 1991; Hulsen, 2000). As stated in the introduction, the significance of the study lay in the fact that, if these Dutch migrants are now starting to show signs of first language (L1) reversion, one would expect this to be even more relevant for other groups of migrants, for whom no such obvious shift to English as an L2 has been reported, both in terms of domains and ultimate achievement.

In other words, if this group of immigrants who shifted from their L1 to English in large numbers during the first decade or so of arriving in this country, are now showing signs of L1 reversion, with concomitant need for bilingual caregivers, this may be the case to an even larger extent for groups of migrants who have not shown signs of shifting to English to the same extent. This would probably have the greatest impact on health and social services in the Auckland region. However, based on previous studies amongst various language groups in Australia and New Zealand (e.g. Roberts, 1991; Jupp, 2001) it is unlikely that current migrant groups will show a similar rate of language shift as the Dutch migrants who were the subject of this study. In addition, a considerable percentage of overseas-born residents are unlikely to speak English at home because they reportedly have older non-English speaking parents living with them. Recent migrants have been able to maintain their links with their L1 home language and culture because of advancements in media technology. In other words, the findings of the study reported on here may not be able to be applied to current migrants in the most direct sense, however, they will have some oblique implications for current migrants for a number of reasons:

Firstly, the respondents in this study are now showing some signs of increased response latency in their spoken L2, particularly in relation to less common words. A majority of these respondents switched to English at home. Recent migrants who do not shift to their L2 to the same extent and the same number of domains, because they are maintaining their L1 at home and are not able to find employment in an L2 English speaking environment may, in the future, show far greater signs of L2 attrition post-retirement.

Secondly, respondents who arrived in New Zealand with little or no English lagged behind their peers in terms of ultimate achievement in the L2, for reasons explained in the study. Findings suggest that those who arrived here with little or no English and whose ultimate achievement in the L2 was only "fair" are now showing some signs of increased response latency in their spoken L2. As mentioned in the introduction, for a while, in the past, New Zealand immigration policy allowed applicants for Permanent Residency to enter New Zealand with pre-intermediate level English as evidenced by an IELTS test score of 5.5 overall. Findings from the current study would suggest that such migrants may find it difficult to find employment in a language rich L2 environment and hence may not achieve more than a "fair" level of English at their ultimate level of achievement, which may in turn imply that they too could conceivably show signs of L2 attrition when they get older. This would present an argument for English language classes to be offered to such migrants as a means of improving their chances of finding employment in an L2 rich environment in order to further consolidate their L2 English skills.

Respondents who assessed their L2 proficiency on arrival in New Zealand as "good" to "very good" had often acquired their L2 in the secondary school classroom environment through the Grammar Translation Method, the only methodological approach available at that time. A third finding of the study was that this teaching method resulted in respondents having a very good understanding of the structure of the L2, which in turn had allowed them to build on their proficiency and vocabulary to the extent that they achieved a considerable level of L2 proficiency within one or two years.

Fourthly, those respondents who arrived in New Zealand with a limited proficiency in and understanding of the L2 tended to remain in occupations
which did not require a high level of spoken and written English. Consequently, many of them did not have the opportunity to consolidate L2 syntax and vocabulary through constant use. This fits in with the theory expounded by Paradis (2004) regarding linguistic information relating to the L1 being stored in implicit memory, as opposed to information in relation to languages acquired after the critical threshold age being stored in the declarative memory. According to Paradis some of the latter information may become part of implicit memory, when consciously learned rules are used so frequently they become almost automatic. In other words, the level of English proficiency upon entry into New Zealand may impact on individuals' chances of obtaining (skilled) employment. If migrants are unable to find (skilled) employment, this will reduce their opportunity to consolidate their L2, which in turn will affect their ability to successfully maintain the L2 maintenance post-retirement. The findings also seem to accord with the outcomes of Bahrick's (1984) study as referred to in Chapter Two. In Bahrick's study subjects showed surprisingly little attrition of an L2 learned in a structured manner half a century after receiving instruction in that L2. Moreover, they appear to confirm Neisser's (1984) argument that formal L2 instruction involves learners acquiring a structured system of knowledge that does not attrite easily because of its schematic nature. Neisser's view that the acquisition of such schemas depends on the level of original training, appears to have been borne out by the current findings as well.

Additionally, respondents exposed to a predominantly L1 speaking social and linguistic environment post-retirement appeared to be showing greater signs of increased response latency in their spoken L2, particularly in relation to less common words. This may be partly due to a "frequency issue". Even so, a majority of these respondents were still maintaining their receptive L2 skills by watching the news and a range of other television programmes in English. In addition, even DV respondents in the current study had to use English to communicate with younger family members, since their children were unable to communicate with them in their L1, as a result of respondents having switched to the use of English at home soon after arrival in New Zealand.

Finally, one may argue that it was easier for L1 Dutch speakers to acquire English, since both languages belong to the Germanic language family and share a number of commonalities in terms of syntax and lexicon. In other words, favourable findings for respondents who had acquired English through Grammar Translation method may also be partly explained from the relative linguistic closeness of the English and Dutch languages. Recent migrants have included refugees from a number of hotspots around the world, as well as immigrants from a large range of countries (www.nzis.govt.nz). In the case of many new migrants, their language is linguistically far removed from English phonetically, orthographically and syntactically. One may assume that these migrants will find it more difficult to achieve the same level of ultimate achievement in the L2 as that achieved by many of the older speakers interviewed for this study. Findings from the current study appear to suggest that a lower level of ultimate attainment may lead to a higher rate of lexical retrieval problems and response latency.

## Language shift in L1 Dutch migrants

An additional finding of the study may have thrown some light on the issue of the high rate of shift to L2 amongst Dutch migrants. I would like to propose the following three possible explanations for the oft-reported low L1 maintenance rate for Dutch migrants.

Firstly, the study showed the influence of host society attitudes as expressed by teachers and Plunket Nurses (New Zealand Child Health Visitors). Basically, these people had indicated that the L1 would not be very useful to migrants' children, whereas a good proficiency in the L2 would really heighten their educational prospects (c.f. also Baetens Beardsmore, 2003). The relatively widespread uptake of such advice by the respondents in the study may tie in with the second explanation, which is that the migrants in general appear motivated by a desire to do whatever is best for their children. Interestingly, similar parental views were reported by Hata, Rau and van der Hor in their respective presentations to the 2008 CLESOL Conference in Auckland, in relation to the use of maintenance of the Te Reo Māori and Cook Islands languages (www.clesol.org.nz).

The seemingly contradictory fact that more recent Dutch migrants to New Zealand seem more keen to maintain the L1 at home and are sending their children to the Dutch school ${ }^{15}$ for L1 maintenance may well reflect the very same attitude: these migrants have told teachers running classes for the Dutch School in Auckland that they are not sure whether they will stay in New Zealand and are afraid their children will not be able to settle back into school in the Netherlands if they have not maintained their Dutch (Sabine Berkman, personal communication, September 2008).

A third and again related reason for the high rate of shift to the L2 reported by many respondents may lie in the fact that the interviewees felt that they had made the move to New Zealand for good, so they may have felt making sure they and their children would completely assimilated was the only option open to them.

One could argue that most of the above explanations would also apply to other migrants. The view that the high rate of shift may be attributed to Dutch pragmaticism was widely shared by speakers at the 2008 Dutch Forum in Hamilton, however, this still leaves the fact that language may not be a core value (cf. Pauwels, 1991) and thus readily "given up". Interestingly, many of the second generation Dutch speakers at the Forum said they felt "disconnected" from their own language and culture as a result of their parents' choice not to use the L1 at home.

### 13.6 Recommendations for future research

The findings from the current study apply to a small group of healthy older Dutch migrants who have been in New Zealand for an average fifty years and who have made every attempt to assimilate into New Zealand social life, both linguistically and otherwise. The current study showed that these migrants had largely retained their ability to communicate in the L2, although a small number said they now found it more difficult to explain to health professionals what

[^14]ailed them. The question is whether these positive findings can be extrapolated to other ethnic and linguistic migrant groups as well.

New Zealand has experienced an influx of immigrants from a range of other countries over the past twenty years and interpreting services in New Zealand are now reportedly catering for up to 300 different languages and dialects. Auckland interpreting services alone are catering for up to 200 languages on a very regular basis, with most interpreters being needed in the healthcare setting (Lim \& Walker, 2007). Studies have shown the elderly population is amongst the highest consumers of healthcare services. The 2006 New Zealand census shows that migrants currently make up a considerable percentage of the New Zealand population, particularly in the urban areas. The group of older Dutch migrants interviewed for this study may be said to differ from more recently arrived residents in a number of ways, in terms of high rate of shift, linguistic similarity between their L1 and L2 and the fact they arrived at a time of high employment and were able to fully immerse themselves in the L2 community. It may be argued that the findings of this study, which suggest that healthy older Dutch migrants still largely retain their communicative competency in the L2, cannot be extrapolated to other migrant groups. Hence there would appear to be a clear need for further research in the area of possible L2 attrition and L1 reversion among older migrants from other ethnic and linguistic backgrounds, and such research could include a survey into current L2 and L1 use and levels of L2 proficiency.

I would like to finish this thesis with the words of one of my respondents:
but I have always + forward that they must let the people speak their own language, because what is going to happen when these people are going to be old. They have their English at a later time of their lives so their language will go and they will speak their own language. And the kids will not be able to understand them and that will be very very difficult and a lot of loneliness for those elderly people. And certainly when one of the parents died, the mother or father is on their own and the kids haven't got contact with them, that will cause a heck of a lot of trouble. (CF05)

It is important, first of all, that we respect the choice of bilingual migrants to maintain their L1 at home with their children, so that the latter will be able to communicate with their parents when these get old. Where migrants have chosen to shift to the use of the L2 at home, this should also be respected, but we should bear in mind that they may lose some or all of their communicative competency in the L2 when they get older. Hence, secondly, and no less importantly, we must ensure that older migrants who do lose their ability to communicate in the L2 continue to have access to a range of community services for example through the provision of interpreters and bilingual staff. I hope this thesis has given a voice to such older migrants and that it will contribute to an increased awareness of the language needs of other older migrants now and in the future.

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## Overview of Appendices

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## Appendix A: Ethics Approval letter <br>  <br> UN I VERSIT Y <br> te wānanga aronuio tamaki makau ral

# MEMORANDUM 


#### Abstract

To: Allan Bell From: Madeline Banda Executive Secretary, AUTEC Date: 22 December 2005 Subject: Ethics Application Number 05/170 Language reversion: factors influencing reversion to Dutch, their first language, among older Dutch immigrants in Auckland.


Dear Allan
Thank you for providing written evidence as requested. I am pleased to advise that it satisfies the points raised by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC) at their meeting on 12 September 2005. Your ethics application is now approved for a period of three years until 22 December 2008.

I advise that as part of the ethics approval process, you are required to submit to AUTEC the following:

- A brief annual progress report indicating compliance with the ethical approval given using form EA2, which is available online through http://www.aut.ac.nz/research/ethics, including a request for extension of the approval if the project will not be completed by the above expiry date;
- A brief report on the status of the project using form EA3, which is available online through http://www.aut.ac.nz/research/ethics. This report is to be submitted either when the approval expires on 22 December 2008 or on completion of the project, whichever comes sooner;

You are reminded that, as applicant, you are responsible for ensuring that any research undertaken under this approval is carried out within the parameters approved for your application. Any change to the research outside the parameters of this approval must be submitted to AUTEC for approval before that change is implemented.

Please note that AUTEC grants ethical approval only. If you require management approval from an institution or organisation for your research, then you will need to make the arrangements necessary to obtain this.

To enable us to provide you with efficient service, we ask that you use the application number and study title in all written and verbal correspondence with us. Should you have any further
enquiries regarding this matter, you are welcome to contact Charles Grinter, Ethics Coordinator, by email at charles.grinter@aut.ac.nz or by telephone on 9219999 at extension 8860.

On behalf of the Committee and myself, I wish you success with your research and look forward to reading about it in your reports.

Yours sincerely


Madeline Banda<br>Executive Secretary<br>Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee

Cc: Ineke Hendrika Martine Crezee ineke.crezee@aut.ac.nz

# Appendix B: Participant Information Sheet respondents 

# Participant Information Sheet 

Date Information Sheet Produced: 27 November 2005 (date
last reviewed: 2 December 2005)

Project Title Language use by older Dutch migrants in New Zealand.

## Invitation

You are invited to take part in a study which will look at language use by Dutch migrants who arrived in New Zealand in the 1950s and early 1960s and who are now aged 65 and over.

## What is the purpose of the study?

The purpose of the study is to gain more information about language use by this group of migrants and also to gain information about their experiences with language use when they first arrived in New Zealand and before they retired.

## How are people chosen to be asked to be part of the study?

You will be chosen to be asked if you are a Dutch migrant who arrived in New Zealand in the 1950s and early 1960s and if you are now aged 65 or over. You may live in the Dutch retirement village, or you may be living independently or in another type of retirement village or residential facility.

Some health problems may affect your ability to speak either your first or your second language. These health problems include any conditions which affect the brain.
If you have had a stroke and are now suffering some problems with speaking or understanding language, please let the researcher know.
Also, if you are suffering memory problems, which mean that you are now forgetting a lot of English, please let the researcher know.
If you have had a brain injury (such as concussion) which means that you are now suffering from concentration and/or memory problems, please let the researcher know.
Unfortunately, if you have suffered or are suffering any of the above, the researcher will not be able to use any data obtained from the interview for her study, due to the nature of the study.

## What happens in the study?

The researcher, who speaks both Dutch and English, will visit you at your home or in your room or in any other place of your choice. She will ask you some questions about your life history. She will also ask you about your experiences in the years you first arrived in New Zealand and then conclude by asking you some questions about your life at present. The interview will be tape-recorded and transcribed, however, all
information will be anonymised, so that nobody, aside from the researcher, will know who the speakers were.

Information from the interviews will be written up and presented in a thesis. You will be able to receive a copy of the research findings if you are interested in the outcomes.

During the interview, the researcher will ask you for your consent to contact one of your adult children in order to ask them 8 brief questions about your language use before you retired. The researcher will then contact your adult children and ask them for their consent to be asked these 8 brief questions about your language use.

## What are the discomforts and risks?

It is possible that some sad memories may come up when recounting your experiences.

## How will these discomforts and risks be alleviated?

If this happens, the researcher will ask you whether you are comfortable with continuing the interview. She will ask you whether you would like her to stop the recording and whether you would be comfortable with the material being used for the study.

## What are the benefits ?

Information from the study will be presented to the government, as it may help them provide better services to older migrants.

## What compensation is available for injury or negligence?

It is unlikely that you will suffer any physical injury as a result of the interview.

## How will my privacy be protected?

The interview will be tape-recorded and transcribed, however, all information will be anonymised, so that nobody, aside from the researcher, will know who the speakers were.

## How do I join the study?

You can contact the researcher by telephone or email. The researcher's contact details are given below.

## What are the costs of participating in the project? (including time)

The interview will take up to an hour. You will be given a small token of appreciation in return for your time.

## Opportunity to consider invitation

Please take some time to consider the invitation to participate and let the researcher know within two weeks of receiving this information sheet whether you would like to participate. The researcher will then contact you in order to arrange a time and a place to meet with you - at your convenience.

## Opportunity to receive feedback on results of research

Please let the researcher know if you would like to receive a summary of the findings of this research study. If you wish to receive this summary, you can indicate this by ticking the correct box on the Participant Consent Form

## Participant Concerns

Any concerns regarding the nature of this project should be notified in the first instance to the Project Supervisor.

Concerns regarding the conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary, AUTEC, Madeline Banda, madeline.banda@aut.ac.nz , 9219999 ext 8044.

Researcher Contact Details: Ineke Crezee, AUT School of Languages, icrezee@aut.ac.nz, 9219999 ext 6825.

Project Supervisor Contact Details: Prof. Allan Bell, AUT Centre for Communication Research, abell@aut.ac.nz , 9219683.

# Participant Information Sheet (Participants' Adult Children) 

Date Information Sheet Produced: 27 November 2005 (date last reviewed: 2 December 2005)

Project Title Language use by older Dutch migrants in New Zealand.

## Invitation

You are invited to take part in a study which will look at language use by Dutch migrants who arrived in New Zealand in the 1950s and early 1960s and who are now aged 65 and over.

## What is the purpose of the study?

The purpose of the study is to gain more information about language use by this group of migrants and also to gain information about their experiences with language use when they first arrived in New Zealand and before they retired.

## How are people chosen to be asked to be part of the study?

You will be chosen to be asked if you are the adult child of a Dutch migrant who arrived in New Zealand in the 1950s and early 1960s and who is now aged 65 or over. Your parent may live in the Dutch retirement village, or your parent may be living independently or in another type of retirement village or residential facility.

## What happens in the study?

The researcher, who speaks both Dutch and English, will visit your parent at his/her home or in your parent's room or in any other place of your parent's choice. She will ask your parent some questions about your life history. She will also ask your parent about your parent's experiences in the years your parent first arrived in New Zealand. She will conclude by asking your parent some questions about his/her life at present.

The interview will be tape-recorded and transcribed, however, all information will be anonymised, so that nobody, aside from the researcher, will know who the speakers were.

Information from the interviews will be written up and presented in a thesis. You and your parent will be able to receive a copy of the research findings if you are interested in the outcomes.

During the interview, the researcher will ask your parent for his/her consent to contact one of his/her adult children in order to ask them 8 brief questions about your parent's language use before he/she retired. The researcher will then contact you and ask you for you consent to be asked these 8 brief questions about your parent's language use.

## What are the discomforts and risks?

It is possible that some sad memories may come up when recounting childhood experiences, if you recall
events or periods which were not that happy for you or your family.

## How will these discomforts and risks be alleviated?

If this happens, the researcher will ask you whether you are comfortable with continuing the interview. She will ask you whether you would like her to stop the recording and whether you would be comfortable with the material being used for the study.

## What are the benefits?

Information from the study will be presented to the government, as it may help them provide better services to older migrants.

## What compensation is available for injury or negligence?

It is unlikely that you will suffer any physical injury as a result of the interview.

## How will my privacy be protected?

The interview will be tape-recorded and transcribed, however, all information will be anonymised, so that nobody, aside from the researcher, will know who the speakers were.

How do I join the study?

You can contact the researcher by telephone or email. The researcher's contact details are given below.

## What are the costs of participating in the project? (including time)

The 8 questions will take about 5 minutes of your time.

## Opportunity to consider invitation

Please take some time to consider the invitation to participate and let the researcher know within two weeks of receiving this information sheet whether you would like to participate. The researcher will then contact you in order to arrange a time and a place to meet with you - at your convenience.

## Opportunity to receive feedback on results of research

Please let the researcher know if you would like to receive a summary of the findings of this research study. If you wish to receive this summary, you can indicate this by ticking the correct box on the Participant Consent Form.

## Participant Concerns

Any concerns regarding the nature of this project should be notified in the first instance to the Project Supervisor.

Concerns regarding the conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary, AUTEC, Madeline Banda, madeline.banda@aut.ac.nz , 9219999 ext 8044.

Researcher Contact Details: Ineke Crezee, AUT School of Languages, icrezee@aut.ac.nz, 9219999 ext 6825.

Project Supervisor Contact Details: Prof. Allan Bell, AUT Centre for Communication Research, abell@aut.ac.nz, 9219683.

# Consent to Participation in Research 

This form is to be completed in conjunction with, and after reference to, the AUTEC Guidelines

## ONLY type where indicated by instructions eg <Click here and type> <br> DELETE all clauses which are not applicable

Title of Project: Language Use by older Dutch Migrants in New
Zealand

## Project Supervisor: Professor Allan Bell, AUT University - Centre for Communication Research

Researcher:
Ineke Crezee, AUT University, School of Languages

- I have read and understood the information provided about this research project (Information Sheet dated 27 November 2005.)
- I have had an opportunity to ask questions and to have them answered.
- I understand that the interview will be audio-taped and transcribed.
- I understand that I may withdraw myself or any information that I have provided for this project at any time prior to completion of data collection, without being disadvantaged in any way.
- If I withdraw, I understand that all relevant tapes and transcripts, or parts thereof, will be destroyed.
- I agree to take part in this research.
- I have received a $\$ 20$ Farmer's voucher as koha in return for my time.
- I wish to receive a copy of the report from the research: tick one:

Yes O No O

Participant signature: $\qquad$

Participant name:

Participant Contact Details (if appropriate):
$\qquad$
$\qquad$
$\qquad$
$\qquad$

Date:

# Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 16 December 2005 AUTEC Reference number 05/170 

Note: The Participant should retain a copy of this form.

## Consent to Participation in Research Adult Children of Participants

This form is to be completed in conjunction with, and after reference to, the AUTEC Guidelines

| Title of Project: | Language use by older Dutch migrants in New Zealand. |
| :--- | :--- |
| Project Supervisor: | Professor Allan Bell, Auckland University of Technology, |
|  | Centre for Communication Research |
| Researcher: Ineke Crezee, Auckland University of Technology, <br> School of |  |

- I have read and understood the information provided about this research project (Information Sheet dated 27 November 2005)
- I have had an opportunity to ask questions and to have them answered.
- I understand that the interview will be transcribed.
- I understand that I may withdraw myself or any information that I have provided for this project at any time prior to completion of data collection, without being disadvantaged in any way.
- If I withdraw, I understand that all relevant transcripts, or parts thereof, will be destroyed.
- I agree to take part in this research.
- I understand that my parent(s) has/have seen a copy of the "Children's Questionnaire" and that my parent(s) has/have given consent for the researcher to contact me and ask me the questions contained in this "Children's Questionnaire"
- I wish to receive a copy of the report from the research: tick one: Yes No O

Participant signature: $\qquad$

Participant name:

Participant Contact Details (if appropriate):

Date:

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on <click here and type the date ethics approval was granted> AUTEC Reference number 05/170 (conditional approval 16/09/05)

Note: The Participant should retain a copy of this form.

## Appendix F: Questionnaire - respondents

09 January 2006

## ENGLISH

## Questionnaire \#

$\qquad$

## LANGUAGE USE

## QUESTIONNAIRE

Before beginning the interview,
go through Information Sheet and Consent Form with interviewee,
and have Consent Form signed.

Questionnaire \#

## Interviewee (pseudonym)

## Interviewee code

## Interview details

Date

Place

Length

## Interviewer name

Information sheet given

Koha given

Consent form signed

## Interviewee demographics

Ethnic group

Age

Birthplace

Sex

Residence

## A DEMOGRAPHICS

1.1 Sex

Note:
Male $\qquad$ Female $\qquad$

To start with we need to know some background information about you:
1.2 Where were you born?
(town/ country)
1.3 What year were you born?
1.4 Where would you say you and your family fitted socially speaking in the Netherlands? (e.g. upper middle class, working class, farmers)
1.5 How old were you when you arrived in NZ?
1.6 What was your family situation on arrival in NZ?

- single, no fiancé(e)
- single, but came with Dutch speaking fiancé(e)
- married, no children
- married with children under the age of 13
- married with children over the age of 13


## B. Educational Attainment

2.1 Did you complete primary schooling through the Dutch medium? yes
no
2.2 How many years of primary school did you complete?

5 years
6 years
7 years
8 years
2.3 Did you complete any schooling in the Netherlands after completing primary school?
yes
no
2.4 If you answered yes to question 2.3, what type of secondary schooling did you complete after primary school:

| Type of Secondary <br> school | country | Number of years |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  |  |  |
|  |  |  |

2.5 Did you complete any type of tertiary education or professional training in the Netherlands after completing your secondary schooling?

```
yes
no
```

2.6 If you answered yes to question 2.5, what type of tertiary education or professional training did you complete after primary school:

| Type of tertiary <br> training/professional <br> training | country | Number of years |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  |  |  |
|  |  |  |
|  |  |  |
|  |  |  |
|  |  |  |
|  |  |  |

## 3. Education in New Zealand

3.1 Did you complete any type of tertiary education or professional training in the New Zealand after arriving here?
yes
no
3.2 If you answered yes to question 3.1, what type of tertiary education or professional training did you complete after arriving in New Zealand:

Please choose which of the following best describes your professional training?

| Type of tertiary <br> training/professional <br> training | country | Number of years |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  |  |  |
|  |  |  |
|  |  |  |
|  |  |  |
|  |  |  |
|  |  |  |

C. Occupational and Professional Attainment
4.1 How would you describe your professional attainment in the Netherlands

| Type of occupation | The Netherlands | Number of years |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Engineering tradesperson |  |  |
| Farm worker |  |  |
| Bush and sawmill worker |  |  |
| Dairy worker |  |  |
| Fully trained nurse |  |  |
| Factory worker |  |  |
| Domestic worker |  |  |
| Unskilled worker |  |  |
| Other: |  |  |

4.2 How would you describe your professional attainment in New Zealand? You can tick more than one box

| Type of occupation | New Zealand | Number of years |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Engineering tradesperson |  |  |
| Farm worker |  |  |
| Bush and sawmill worker |  |  |
| Dairy worker |  |  |
| Fully trained nurse |  |  |
| Factory worker |  |  |
| Domestic worker |  |  |
| Unskilled worker |  |  |
| Other: |  |  |

D. Sociolinguistic Life History

## Language Contact

1. What is your first language: [You can tick more than one box\}

Standard Dutch

Dialect of Dutch

$\qquad$ (which?)

Frisian
$\qquad$
Maleis (Malay)

Other
$\square$
$\qquad$ (which?)

## 2. What was/is your first spouse's first language: [You can tick more than one box] <br> Standard Dutch

$\qquad$
Dialect of Dutch
$\square$
$\qquad$ (which?)
$\qquad$
Frisian
$\qquad$
Maleis (Malay)
$\qquad$
Other(which?)
3. If you remarried, what was/is your second spouse's first language: [You can tick more than one box]

Standard Dutch

Dialect of Dutch

Frisian

Maleis (Malay)

Other(which?)
4. How would you describe your command of standard Dutch before you emigrated to New Zealand?

| 1 | poor |
| :--- | :--- |
| 2 | quite good |
| 3 | average |
| 4 | very good |
| 5 | excellent |

5. Did you learn English before you came to New Zealand?
yes
no
6. Where did you learn your English before you came to New Zealand?

1 through correspondence
2 secondary school classroom
3 university
4 from a private teacher
5 through living in another English speaking country
7. How would you rate your understanding of English upon arrival in New Zealand (so before spending any time in New Zealand)?

1 non-existent
2 very limited
3 fair
4 good
5 very good
8. How would you rate your proficiency in English upon arrival in New Zealand (so before spending any time in New Zealand)?

1 non-existent
2 very limited
3 fair
4 good
5 very good
9. How many Dutch speakers were there in the area where you initially settled?

1 none at all
2 very few
3 a fair number
4 a lot
5 the majority were Dutch
10. How much Dutch did you speak at home in the first years after arriving in New Zealand?

1 none at all
2 very few
3 a fair amount
4 a lot
5 mostly
11. How much Dutch did you speak with friends and neighbours in the first years after arriving in New Zealand?

1 none at all
2 very little
3 a fair amount
4 a lot
5 mostly
12. What language did you mainly use while you were at work in New Zealand?

1 Always Dutch
2 Mostly Dutch, some English
3 Dutch and English equally
4 Mostly English, some Dutch
5 Always English

|  | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Job 1 | $\square$ | $\square$ | $\square$ | $\square$ | $\square$ | Other language |
| Job 2 | $\square$ | $\square$ | $\square$ | $\square$ | $\square$ | Other language |
| Job 3 | $\square$ | $\square$ | $\square$ | $\square$ | $\square$ | Other language |
| Job 4 | $\square$ | $\square$ | $\square$ | $\square$ | $\square$ | Other language |

13. How much Dutch did you speak at home in the years leading up to your retirement?

1 none at all
2 very little
3 a fair amount
4 a lot
5 mostly
14. How much Dutch did you speak with friends and neighbours in the years leading up to your retirement?

1 none at all
2 very little
3 a fair amount
4 a lot
5 mostly
15. How much Dutch did you speak at work in the years leading up to your retirement?

1 none at all
2 very little
3 a fair amount
4 a lot
5 most of the time
16. How much English did you speak at home in the years leading up to your retirement?

1 none at all
2 very little
3 a fair amount
4 a lot
5 mostly
17. How much English did you speak with friends and neighbours in the years leading up to your retirement?

1 none at all

2 very little
3 a fair amount

4 a lot
5 mostly
18. How much English did you speak at work in the years leading up to your retirement?

1 none at all
2 very little
3 a fair amount
4 a lot
5 most of the time
19. How would you rate your general proficiency in English before you retired?

1 very limited
2 limited
3 fair
4 good
5 very good
20. How would you rate your understanding of English before you retired? 1 very limited

2 limited
3 fair
4 good
5 very good
21. How would you rate your ultimate attainment in English grammar during your working life?

1 very limited
2 limited
3 fair
4 good
5 very good
22. How would you rate your ultimate attainment in English vocabulary during your working life?

1 very limited
2 limited
3 fair
4 good
5 very good

Now again talking about your Dutch language skills:
23. How would you rate your understanding of standard Dutch before you retired?

1 very limited
2 limited
3 fair
4 good
5 very good
24. How would you rate your proficiency in standard Dutch before you retired?

| 1 | very limited |
| :--- | :--- |
| 2 | limited |
| 3 | fair |
| 4 | good |
| 5 | very good |

## Now thinking about the present:

25. How would you rate your understanding of English now that you are retired?
(see if answer fits into one of these categories:
1 much less than before
2 less than before
3 almost as good
4 just as good
5 better)
26. How would you rate your proficiency in English now that you retired?
$\qquad$
(see if answer fits into one of these categories:
1 much less than before
2 less than before
3 almost as good
4 just as good
5 better)
27. How would you rate your understanding of Dutch now that you are retired?
(see if answer fits into one of these categories:
1 much less than before
2 less than before
3 almost as good
4 just as good
5 better)
28. How would you rate your proficiency in Dutch now that you are retired?
(see if answer fits into one of these categories:
1 much less than before
2 less than before
3 almost as good
4 just as good
5 better)
29.What language do you mostly speak at home with your present spouse/partner?

English
Standard Dutch
Dialect (please specify)
Frisian
Other (please specify)
30. Would you say that you speak Dutch with your partner

1 much less than before

2 less than before
3 same as before
4 more than before

5
much more than before
31. Would you say that you speak Dutch with your children

1

2
much less than before less than before
same as before
4 more than before
5 much more than before

## 32. Would you say that you speak Dutch with your children

much less than before

2
less than before
same as before
4 more than before

5
much more than before
33. Would you say that you speak Dutch with your older relatives in New Zealand (e.g. brothers/sisters/cousins)?

1
2 less than before
3 same as before
4

5
much less than before
more than before
much more than before
34. Would you say that you speak Dutch with your younger relatives in New Zealand (e.g. grandchildren, nephews and nieces)?

1

2

4

5
much less than before
less than before
same as before
more than before
much more than before
35. What language do you mostly speak with caregivers and health professionals in New Zealand?

English
Dutch
Dialect (please specify)
Frisian
Other (please specify)
36. When speaking English to caregivers and health professionals in New Zealand do you sometimes experience difficulties (please tick whichever applies):Difficulties in finding the right wordDifficulties in remembering correct expressions and idioms
$\square \quad$ Mixing up Dutch expressions with English expressionsDifficulties in putting a sentence together in the right order
$\square \quad$ Other (please describe):
37. Do you find it easy to express all your (healthcare) needs and health problems to caregivers and health professionals in New Zealand?

Yes

No
38. Would you say that there has been a change in the ease with which you express your (healthcare) needs to caregivers and health professionals in New Zealand?

Yes

No
39. If so, please describe:

## Keeping in touch with the Dutch language

40 .Do you keep in touch with relatives in the Netherlands?
1 not at all
2 very little
3 a fair amount
4 a lot
5 all the time
41. Do you read books, magazines, newspapers in Dutch?

| 1 | not at all |
| :--- | :--- |
| 2 | very little |
| 3 | a fair amount |
| 4 | a lot |
| 5 | all the time |

42. Do you watch Dutch television (BVN) by satellite at the moment?

5 all the time
43. Do you listen to Dutch radio at the moment?

1 not at all
2 very little
3 a fair amount
4 a lot
5 all the time
44. Have you fully retired from an active working life in New Zealand?

No, I still work part-time (please specify)
Yes, I have retired, but I still do odd jobs (please specify)
Yes, I have retired from work completely.
45. If you answered the previous question with 'Yes, I have retired from work completely', when exactly did you retire from an active working life in New Zealand?
46. How would you describe the amount of English you have been speaking since your retirement?
(see if answer fits into one of these categories:
1 no change in the amount of English spoken at all
2 a little less English spoken
3 a fair amount less English spoken
4
a lot less English spoken now
5 hardly any English spoken at all now)
47. What would be the main reason for your answer to the previous question?
48. How would you describe the amount of English you have been listening to since your retirement?
(see if answer fits into one of these categories:

1

2 a little less English listened to
3 a fair amount less English listened to
4 a lot less English listened to now
5 hardly any English listened to at all now)
49. What would be the main reason for your answer to the previous question?
50. How would you describe the amount of English you have been reading since your retirement?
(see if answer fits into one of these categories:
1 no change in the amount of English read at all
2 a little less English read
3 a fair amount less English read
4 a lot less English read now
5 hardly any English read at all now)
51. What would be the main reason for your answer to the previous question?
52. How would you describe the amount of English you have been writing since your retirement?
(see if answer fits into one of these categories:
1 no change in the amount of English written at all
2 a little less English written
3 a fair amount less English written
4 a lot less English written now
5 hardly any English written at all now)
53. What would be the main reason for your answer to the previous question?
E. New Zealand society

## 54. In hindsight, how would you describe the attitudes of English speaking New Zealanders at the time you arrived in New Zealand as a Dutch speaking migrant?

1 thought it was fine for us to speak Dutch at any time
2 did not mind us speaking Dutch some of the time
3 did not really care if we were speaking English or Dutch
4 wanted us to speak English most of the time
5 wanted us to speak English all of the time
55. How would you describe the response of your New Zealand employers to people of Dutch identity:
56. Did you feel the attitudes of English speaking New Zealanders had an influence on you when you decided which language you were going to speak at home?

Yes

No
57. If you answered yes, please describe.
58. Do you feel the attitudes of English speaking New Zealanders towards migrants who do not have English as a first language have changed?

1 no, not at all
2 a tiny bit
3 a little bit
4 a fair amount
5 a lot
59. If you answered yes to the previous question, do you feel more comfortable speaking your own first language in New Zealand now? Please describe.

## F. Experiences post migration

60. Please tell me about the first few years following your emigration to New Zealand.
H. Your life at the moment
61. Please tell me something about the way your life is going at the moment.

## Appendix G: Questionnaire - respondents' adult children

27 November 2005

## ENGLISH

## Questionnaire \#

$\qquad$

## LANGUAGE REVERSION

## QUESTIONNAIRE

Before beginning the interview,
go through Information Sheet and Consent Form with interviewee,
and have Consent Form signed.

## INTERVIEW INFORMATION SHEET

## Questionnaire \#

## Interviewee (pseudonym)

## Interviewee code

## Interview details

Date

Place

Length
$\qquad$

## Interviewer name

Information sheet given $\qquad$

Koha given

## Interviewee demographics

Ethnic group

Age

Birthplace

Sex

Residence

Focusing on your parent's use of English:

1. How would you rate his/her general proficiency in English before s/he retired?

| 1 | none existent |
| :--- | :--- |
| 2 | limited |
| 3 | fair |
| 4 | good |
| 5 | very good |

2. How would you rate his/her understanding of English before s/he retired? 1 none existent

2 limited
3 fair
4 good
5 very good
3. How would you rate his/her ultimate attainment in English during his/her working life? Focusing on grammar first:

| 1 | poor |
| :--- | :--- |
| 2 | fair |
| 3 | good |
| 4 | very good |
| 5 | like a native speaker |

4. How would you rate his/her ultimate attainment in English during your working life? Focusing on vocabulary:

1 poor
2 fair
3 good
4 very good
5 like a native speaker
5. When speaking English to you, would your parent use any Dutch words?

1 yes, every sentence
2 yes, every couple of sentences
3 occasionally
4 hardly ever any Dutch words in any English sentence
5 never any Dutch words in any English sentence

## 6. When speaking English to you, would your parent use Dutch expressions translated directly into English in their English sentences?

1 yes, every sentence
2 yes, every couple of sentences
3 occasionally
4 hardly ever in any English sentence
5 never any Dutch expressions in any English sentence
7. When speaking English to you, would your parent use Dutch word order in their English sentences? (e.g. 'I have after that not seen her anymore.')

1 yes, every sentence
2 yes, every couple of sentences
3 occasionally
4 hardly ever in any English sentence
5 never any Dutch word order in any English sentence
8. Now talking about your parent's proficiency in English at the moment

- How would you rate your parent's proficiency in English right now:

| 1 | very poor |
| :--- | :--- |
| 2 | poor |
| 3 | adequate |
| 4 | good |
| 5 | very good |

9. Now talking about your parent's understanding of English at the moment

- How would you rate your parent's understanding of English right now:

1 very poor
2 poor
3 adequate
4 good
5 very good

## Appendix H: Transcription conventions

Transcription conventions were based on those used in the Languages in the Workplace project, but adapted in some ways to suit the study. What follows is a brief overview of the main conventions used.

## Bold - male voice

Non-bold - female voice

Italics - Dutch fragment
Non-italics - English fragment

+ short pause
Er or erm - filled pauses in English
Uh, um - filled pauses in Dutch


## Use of square brackets:

Overall, square brackets were used to indicate a range of extratextual comments, e.g. laughter, mumbling, interruptions such as interviewees getting up to get some coffee, phone ringing]

Square brackets were also used to indicate prompts by the interviewer, or points in time.
The transcription method differed to that used by other studies in that time indications were not placed in the left margin, but appeared in the text as per the example below, indicated by square brackets. If one speaker was still speaking, for instance at the exact ten minute mark, the transcript continued after the time indicator.

## Example

[Did he say that?]
No, he didn't say that, maar dat
[10:00]
bedoelde-ie wel.

Hij wist het altijd beter, you know?

## Appendix I: Sample scripts 1, 2, 3

## Sample script 1

I had a good year there, a very good year. Very little er education. I learned a lot. I learned things that nobody else learned, so when I came back after a year at school in lunchtime I was teaching the other boys about the things that I learned.

And so I applied for a job as [profession] in [placename]. You know [placename]? By [mountain]. At the bottom of [mountain]. That was big place, sixty-nine people, [laughs]. So I lasted about six or seven months over there. And and the the borough went for + went broke. And er they got er they got the wind up, because at that time, different local bodies were mucking around erm transferring accounts from that to that, what they call borrowing from Peter to pay Paul and so on and so on. The Minister had said when they catch one again he will be the man responsible for all the wrongs with our personal finances. Whoa! So that gave them a fright. So they sacked the Works Department and so on. We were out were out of the job. So then I worked for a couple of months in the local bakery.

Fellow sitting in the tearoom said: why did you come to New Zealand? I said: that's quite simple. I said: Abel Tasman's been here, but the stupid fellow forgot to go ashore. I said: so now, anyway, they're sending more + we still want to come, you see, so they now are sending a lot of people over here. I said, and when they have reached a certain n umber, they will start complaining about being a suppressed minority. I said, and then the Dutch government will send in the marines to liberate us.
[laughs]
And it was about the same time they asked me: have you got a car?
"No, not yet."
"Oh. Oh. What car do you like?"
"Oh, I don't know," I said, "I'm saving up for a Mercedes Benz."
"What?!"
The only Mercedes Benz in [placename] was a taxi. It was + it was a rare sight.
A Mercedes Benz. That will do me. And they had a few years on the waiting list for a Vauxhall.

Well, I asked for, in the Post Office, a money order or something like that, to pay for my [Dutch name] Tijdschrift [Journal]. And er they said: "You cannot do that."
"Why not?"
"Well, you have to get a New Zealand tijdschrift."

I said: "I want that and that."
"Well, yes, but you have to ask permission so you can get the money for that."
Ik zeg: "I want to read what I want and you people aren't telling me what I should read."

## Sample script 2

No, we didn't speak Dutch. In in when we came out, they didn't like it, New Zealanders.

They had funny ideas, you know. They thought we had so much money, when we came out.

Yeah, we were in a restaurant once and we heard those blokes at the other table say: Oh, bloddy Dutchies, I bet you they got a lot of money on the bank. We only just arrived with nothing.

No, I think it is because the Dutchies dug deep the moment they arrived in New Zealand and they, we're totally forgotten. They never talk about Dutchies, they talk about the English, the Scots, the Irish. Yeah, we lived completely, we did exactly what they wanted. We didn't make waves.

## Sample script 3

Oh, no, no, it was like that, when die Hollanders arrived here, you know, most hadden geen geld, isn't it. Nou, ze moes ze moesten hard werken om een huisje te, you know, om geld voor, en meestal had je met die Nieuwzeelanders dat daar met zes uur o'clock de closing of the pub meest sluit om zes uur, so die Nieuwzeelanders stonden daar, het zijn bierdrinkers, so, maar Hollanders deden dat niet en dat, you know, so +
[and you took your sandwiches from home]
$J a!~ J a$, it saves money, that was the way, you know, the way you brought up, so, that is you know, but ik geloof niet dat 't nou nog zo is.

## Appendix J: Sample Analysis

## L2 subclauses

Speaker A
1

| $1 \checkmark, 2 \checkmark$ | And they said they weren't going to do it, so we were happy, because it was |
| :--- | :--- |
| no use. |  |


| $3 \checkmark, 4 \checkmark, 5 \checkmark$, | But we don't have much fat at all, so it's not what we eat, but some people |
| :--- | :--- |
| $6 \checkmark$ | $\underline{\text { are }}$ |

6
inclined that way, but if it goes down +

## Subclauses involving a switch to the L1

## Speaker A

## 1

$1 \checkmark$, Ja! Ja, it saves money, that was the way, you know, the way you brought up, so,

2


## Subclauses involving L1 adverbial placement

## Speaker A

## 1

$1 \times$ L1 adv placemt But we cleaned seven and a half years the [location], don't forget.

2
$2 \times$ L1 adv placemt But we were then twelve and a half years married

## Speaker B

$1 \times$ L1 adv placemt But they asked me to become here manager. And that was [year] and I did that for two years.
$2 \times$ L1 adv placemt But I had straightaway trouble with her eldest son.

## 3

$3 \times$ L1 adv placemt But she speaks Dutch very often to us.

## Verb plus complement structures

## Speaker A

## 1

2

## 3

$1 \checkmark, 2 \checkmark, 3 \checkmark, \quad$ They formed a Society and they raised money and they built the village 4 5
$4 \checkmark, 5 \checkmark \quad$ but they had to form a trust, and they didn't abolish the society.

## Speaker B

1

| $1 \times$ CS L2 $\rightarrow$ L1 | Van Perth to Sydney took vijf dage met een klein vliegtuigje. En ik had een |
| :--- | :--- |
| $2 \times$ CS L1 | 2 |
| $\rightarrow \mathrm{~L} 2$ | arrangement gemaakt, met een chocoladefabriek |

## Third person singular

## 1

And in the front of everybody said: "who make_that coat? You could do it $1 \times$ better
$2 \times 3 \times 4 \checkmark 23$
but she see it straightaway, she see it straightaway. She is straight.

5
$5 \times \quad$ Oh, that hit you first, but I can see it later, you know.

Filled pauses followed by a codeswitch

## Speaker A

1

1 er + CS L2 He had er prostaat cancer [he had er prostate cancer]
$\rightarrow$ L1

1 MOS er $+\theta$ Die want me to read it in English, because the wedding is er er [silence]

## Unfilled pauses followed by a codeswitch

1
1 MOS WF + $Q$ I drink every night voor I was + dat is pas een couple of years, hè?
(I [ I drink every night before I was + that's only been a couple of years now, hasn't it?]

## Unfilled pauses followed by a silence

## Speaker A

1

1 MOS WF + $\theta$ In [placename] of course, they haven't got + [silence], but here you got all different specialists.

## Speaker B

Want to keep Dutch up, but I know how difficult it was, this I go to school, I
belongs to the lunches, library and I been in the committee. I did everything what

1 MOS WF + $Q \quad \underline{1+[\text { [silence }] \text { in the community. }}$

## Appendix K: Glossary

Attrition - see language attrition

Auxiliary verb - a 'helping' verb that cannot occur without a following main verb. The primary verbs be, have and do are used as auxiliary verbs, but can also be used as main verbs. As auxiliaries they are followed by non-finite forms of the verb as in "is helped", "is helping" and "has helped" (Kaplan \& Leech, 2006, p. 14).

Backsliding - the tendency of L2 learners to resort to the use of their own interlanguage (IL) "norm" rather than the TL norm/standard TL form, especially when they are under pressure to produce L2 language (Ellis, 1994, p. 353)

Bilingualism - Ellis (1994, p. 694) defined bilingualism as "the use of two languages by an individual or a speech community". For the purpose of the current study, bilingualism will be best defined as "the ongoing productive and receptive use of two languages in a variety of domains".

Additive bilinguals who acquire their second language to the point where they gain and maintain good proficiency in both their languages. (Lambert, 1974; also cf. Gardner \& Lambert, 1979, p. 271; Gardner \& Clement, 1990).

Simultaneous bilinguals - bilinguals who grow up with two languages at the same time, as opposed to bilinguals who fully acquire a first language, before learning a second language

Subtractive bilinguals - bilinguals who learn one language at the expense of the other (Lambert, 1974). Subtractive bilinguals'level of ultimate attainment in the L2 is low.

Borrowing - see also codeswitching; codemixing and loan words; Borrowing has been defined as the use of a word from another language, showing morphological/phonological adaptation to the Matrix Language (the main language, see below). Words which are borrowed often represent concepts for which the Matrix Language has no terms, and this is particularly true in an immigration context as shown by Hutz (2004).

Calque - please refer to loan 'translation'

Codemixing - Muysken (2000) prefers the term code-mixing to codeswitching, using it to refer to "all cases where lexical items and grammatical features from two languages appear in one sentence" (2000, p.1). He goes on to propose a three-way taxonomy of bilingual language switching, distinguishing between (1) insertion of material from one language into a base structure of another language; (2) alternation between structures of each language; and (3) congruent lexicalization of lexical items from each language into shared grammatical structures (2000, p. 32).

Codeswitching - the occurrence of switches from one of a bilingual's languages to another. including borrowing and the use of loan words.

Dummy word - word which fills a grammatical position but is empty of meaning. For instance the word 'do' often used as an auxiliary is often called the dummy operator because it has no meaning of its own but exists simply to fill the slot of operator when an operator is needed, for example, to form negative or interrogative sentences. In a similar way it is can be called a dummy subject when it fills the slot of subject in sentences like: it's a pity that they wasted so much time (Kaplan \& Leech, 2006, p. 34).

Dummy subject - please refer to 'dummy word'.
DV - Dutch Village - the Dutch Village referred to here is the Ons Dorp Retirement Village, situated in McLeod Road, Te Atatu, Auckland.

DV respondents - respondents living in the Ons Dorp Retirement Village, situated in McLeod Road, Te Atatu, Auckland.

## See also NDV - Non-Dutch Village

Embedded Language - language from which lexical items or morphemes are "embedded" into the grammatical frame of another language, the "Matrix Language" (ML) (cf. Myers-Scotton, 1993a).

First language reversion - First language reversion refers to the phenomenon of older migrants reverting back to their first language whilst still in the second language environment. First language reversion of this type has also been referred to as second language attrition by aging migrants still living in the L2 environment, because their social contact with L2 speakers is reduced (Clyne, 2003, p. 184; Gardner et al, 1985; de Bot and Weltens, 1995, p. 153, Clyne 1977; 1991; de Bot and Clyne, 1989).

First language reversion with concomitant L2 attrition - within the context of this study this term is used with reference to what Myers-Scotton (2002) describes as a loss of productive competency in the L2 accompanied by a return to the grammatical frame of the L1, where grammatical frame includes system morphemes such as word order. This definition encompasses respondents' productive ability at the level of L2 lexicon and (morpho-)syntax.

Fossilisation - fossilisation (Ellis, 1994, p. 353-5) is the term used by Selinker to describe what happens when learning ceases and the IL retains characteristics that are different to those of the Target Language.

Grammar - The study of the internal structure of words (morphology) and the use of words in the construction of phrases and sentences (syntax)

See also under syntax and morphosyntax
Grammar Translation Method - The grammar translation method is a foreign language teaching method derived from the classical (sometimes called traditional) method of teaching Greek and Latin. The method requires students to translate whole texts word for word and memorize numerous grammatical rules and exceptions as well as enormous vocabulary lists. The goal of this method is to be able to read and translate literary masterpieces and classics.

Interlanguage - (in second-language acquisition) the linguistic system characterizing the output of a non-native speaker at any stage prior to full acquisition of the target language. (Unabridged Random House Dictionary of the English Language, 1987, p.995) speakers create 'interlanguage' when trying to express meaning in a second language linguistic-cognitive system.

L2 - second language - within the context of this study, L2 will be used to refer to a second or secondary language which is acquired fully or partly after a first or primary language has been fully acquired (Seliger, 1985, p. 4)

L1 - first language - first or primary language which has been fully acquired and used before the onset of bilingualism (Seliger, 1985, p. 4).

Language attrition - this term has come to be used to describe the gradual "erosion" of linguistic skills in an individual over time. Seliger defines language attrition as "the phenomenon, commonly found among bilinguals or polyglots, of erosion in the
linguistic performance of a first or primary language which had been fully acquired and used before the onset of bilingualism (1985, p.4). see also: second language attrition

L2 attrition - this term has come to be used to describe the gradual "erosion" of second language skills in an individual over time. See also language attrition.

Language loss - Within this context, the term "language loss" has come to be used to describe the loss of a language by a community (i.e. the opposite of community language maintenance), whereas "language attrition" has come to be used to describe the gradual "erosion" of linguistic skills in an individual over time.

Language maintenance - Language maintenance is usually understood as (successful) attempts to keep a language alive in settings where a language is at risk of language shift or language loss (e.g. Fishman, 1964; 1991; Roberts, 1999; Clyne, 1981; Fase, Jaspaert, Pauwels, 1991). Baker (1997) referred to language maintenance as "relative language stability in its number and distribution of speakers, its proficient usage in children and adults, and to retaining the use of language in specific domains (1997, p. 43).

Language reversion - please refer to first language reversion

Language shift - language shift may be defined as a shift from the predominant use of one language to the predominant use of another language.

Loan word - single word borrowed from another language, as in He had prostaat cancer.

Loan translation - see also calque - literal translation from other language, maintaining the other language's lexicon and structure; non-target form

Matrix Language - term used to refer to the base language or language frame (MyersScotton, 1993; cf. also Grosjean, 1995). The idea of a "base language" was also developed by researchers such as El-Aissati and Schaufeli (1998), and others (e.g. Myers-Scotton, 1993)

## See also: Embedded language

Morpheme - the smallest significant unit of grammatical form, seen as part of a system.

Content morphemes - content morphemes are directly elected $b$ y the speaker's intentions. Content morphemes in English include verbs and nouns.

Early system morphemes - Early system morphemes are indirectly elected. They are "conceptually activated and dependent on their content morpheme head "(Myers-Scotton, 2005, p. 358) Early system morphemes in English include phrasal verbs and adverbs +ly.

Late system morphemes - Late system morphemes are structurally assigned at the functional level, so they are activated later in the production process as required by the grammatical frame of the target language. There are two types of late system morphemes: bridge late system morphemes and outsider late system morphemes.

Bridge late system morphemes are called thus because they are used to connect elements and to ensure that constituents are well-formed. An example of the bridge late system morpheme construction in English is the possessive "of" construction.

Outsider system morphemes are called outsiders because they "depend for their form on information from outside their immediate maximum projection" (Myers-Scotton, 2005, p. 338). An example of outsider late system morphemes in English is subject-verb agreement.

Morphology - the branch of grammar which studies the structure or forms of words.

Morphosyntax - (linguistics): The system of the internal structure of words (morphology) and the way in which words are put together to form phrases and sentences (syntax).

Mother tongue - often used to refer to a speaker's first language in the sense of language first acquired, usually acquired from parents in the home domain. There is an implicit understanding that speakers' mother tongues are also their most dominant language, however, this is not always the case, as can be seen in mother tongue speakers who migrate to an L2 country at an early age, before their mother tongue is firmly established.

Naturalistic second language acquisition - process of learners acquiring a second language with little formal training or teaching.

NDV - Non-Dutch Village - Here: not resident in the Ons Dorp Retirement Village, situated in McLeod Road, Te Atatu, Auckland.

DV respondents - respondents not resident in the Ons Dorp Retirement Village in Auckland, but living "outside" of the Dutch Village, in the predominantly English speaking speech community

## See also NDV

Second Language attrition - see also L2 attrition

SLA - Second Language Acquisition -the process by which people learn a second language in addition to their native language(s). The term second language is used to describe the acquisition of any language after the acquisition of the mother tongue. There is also research into the similarities and differences of Third Language Acquisition. The language to be learned is often referred to as the "target language" or "L2", compared to the first language, "L1". Second language acquisition may be abbreviated "SLA", or L2A, for "L2 acquisition".

Syntax -the grammatical rules of a language and the way in which words are arranged to form phrases and sentences [Greek suntassein to put in order]; the grammatical arrangement of words in a sentence. The word is also used to refer to the study of the rules whereby words or other elements of sentence structure are combined to form grammatical sentences.

Target language - language to be learned by second language learners; also used in context of second language learners trying to produce forms in the target language (being their second language).


[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ Presumably with reference to the considerable range of foreign language television channels which can be received in Dutch households broadcast from neighbouring countries, as well as the considerable range of subtitled English and German television series and programmes.

[^1]:    ${ }^{2}$ See also Krashen, 1981, for distinction between acquisition as opposed to learning

[^2]:    ${ }^{3}$ Ellis (1994, p. 39, prefers the label of "mixed" rather than naturalistic for natural learners who were also receiving some instruction.

[^3]:    ${ }^{4}$ Cf. English - "to strew"

[^4]:    ${ }^{5}$ Plunket Nurses - New Zealand Child Health visitors

[^5]:    $6 \quad$ It should be noted that some parents of bilingual children are reportedly still being told by (mainly monolingual) Early Childhood Teachers in New Zealand that it will be more beneficial for their children if they shift to the use of the L2 at home (Driscoll-Davies, personal communication, 2007).

[^6]:    ${ }^{7}$ Congruent lexicalisation is clearly present in a quote from one of these speakers which is presented in Chapter Seven, section 7.5.

[^7]:    ${ }^{8}$ Word finding problems in relation to healthcare needs were not part of the linguistic analysis, but were examined as part of the sociolinguistic life history questionnaire.

[^8]:    ${ }^{9}$ The overall number of subclauses produced by each speaker was also noted, although obviously, one needs to keep in mind that elder individuals tend to avoid producing syntactically complex structures, including subclauses (Kynette \& Kemper, 1986).

[^9]:    "maar they kwamen back in 't Engels"
    ("but they responded in English") and:

[^10]:    ${ }^{10}$ Simon Stevin (1548/9-1620), a Flemish mathematician, coined vernacular words in Dutch to encourage understanding of scientific and mathematical concepts, especially among the "common people".

[^11]:    ${ }^{11}$ Pronounced as the first three phonemes in Dutch waren (were).
    ${ }^{12}$ ESR - Erythrocyte Sedimentation Rate - name of laboratory test

[^12]:    ${ }^{13}$ Interestingly, CM01's spouse, CF01, showed no tokens of CS in her $50 \mathrm{~V}+\mathrm{C}$ structures in the L2, whereas 10 out of $31 \mathrm{~L} 1 \mathrm{~V}+\mathrm{C}$ structures produced by her showed codeswitching from the L 1 to the L 2 .

[^13]:    ${ }^{14}$ Declarative memory refers to everything (including the grammatical rules of a late-learned L2) that can be stored at the conscious level, while procedural memory is linked with the implicit "autopilot" like competence of native speakers.

[^14]:    ${ }^{15}$ Children can attend Dutch school programmes in Auckland and Wellington. The Dutch school is supported by the Netherlands government and its programmes meet the standards of the Netherlands Ministry of Education. See also http://www.dutchschool.co.nz.

