Language Usage of Indonesian Technical Intern Trainees Engaged in Fisheries

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要約

本研究は漁業分野のインドネシア人技能実習生の言語使用を明らかにすることを目的とし、就労場面や生活場面のインタビュー調査や参与観察などを行った。調査の結果、就労場面ではすでに意味交渉がなされた「合言葉」やジェスチャーなどの社会的リソースを介して言語活動が達成されていることがわかった。技能実習生への日本語教育は、日本語の教育だけではなく、現場で行われている言語活動を教育に反映させる重要性が示唆された。
キーワード: 技能実習生, インドネシア人, 漁業, 言語使用

Abstract

In the current labor shortage situation in Japan, the acceptance of foreign workers is increasing. In particular, the acceptance of technical intern trainees under the Technical Intern Training Program, which was established in 1993, has increased in recent years. This study focuses on the language use of technical intern trainees in the fisheries sector. Interviews and participant observations were conducted with technical intern trainees and Japanese crew members while they worked together. The survey revealed that, in the workplace, language activities are carried out through social resources such as "catchwords," whose meanings have been negotiated. It is suggested that Japanese language education for technical intern trainees should not only teach the language but also its use in the work context. The Technical Intern Training Program is currently under debate, but even if its name is changed, the acceptance of foreign workers is likely to continue. In the future, communication understanding will become extremely important, not only for technical intern trainees but also for those who receive them.
Keywords: *Technical Intern Trainees, Indonesian, Fisheries, Language Use*

1. Introduction

In Japan's current labor shortage situation, foreign workers' acceptance is increasing steadily. Particularly, the acceptance of technical intern trainees under the Foreign Technical Intern Training Program established in 1993 has risen in recent years. In addition, in June of this year, a law discussing the replacement of this program was proposed, and the new program for foreign workers will commence in 2027. Nakagawa and Kamiya (2018) researched technical intern trainees, focusing on the Japanese language learning environment of these trainees. Recent research includes surveys of technical intern trainees, such as Iida (2021), on Japanese usage. Much of the research to date has pointed out systemic problems with the Technical Intern Training Program and the Japanese language proficiency of technical intern trainees. However, the discussion about the specific language used by technical intern trainees in their work and daily life remains unclear. Therefore, this study aims to clarify the following:

1. To elucidate the language usage of technical intern trainees in everyday life and work situations
2. To clarify the language usage of those who host technical intern trainees
3. To elucidate the function of each language (Japanese, Indonesian, regional languages)

By elucidating the language usage of technical intern trainees and clarifying the type of communication and expectations required in workplaces where they collaborate with employees, the results of this study can furnish technical intern trainees with an education that is both more practical and germane to their professional development.

2. Methods

This study focuses on Indonesian technical intern trainees engaged in fisheries in Hokkaido and the Japanese crew members who work on the same vessels. In the fishing industry, there are coastal and offshore fisheries operating domestically, as well as deep-sea fisheries based overseas. Currently, many technical intern trainees are employed in offshore fisheries. Most of them are graduates of fisheries high schools in Indonesia. This background is influenced by the presence of well-established fisheries education schools in Indonesia and the employment situation in the country.

The subjects of the research are four Indonesian technical intern trainees engaged in "crab and shrimp pot fishing" and one technical intern trainee engaged in "squid fishing." The detailed information about the technical intern trainees is summarized in Table 1 below. Please note that all vessel names and individual names used in this study are pseudonyms.

Table 1 Technical intern trainee information

Name	Place of origin	Age*	Time of arrival in Japan (Length of stay*)	Languages used
Ahmad	West Java	24	November 2018 (2 years and 9 months)	Japanese, Indonesian, Sundanese
Wildan	Central Java	22	November 2018 (2 years and 9 months)	Japanese, Indonesian, Javanese
Bayu	Central Java	20	January 2020 (1 years and 7 months)	Japanese, Indonesian, Javanese
Yuda	Central Java	20	January 2020 (1 years and 7 months)	Japanese, Indonesian, Javanese
Reyhan	Central Java	24	January 2021 (7 months)	Japanese, Indonesian, Javanese

*The information regarding age and length of stay is based on the start of the survey.

The X-maru, involved in "crab and shrimp pot fishing," is a large vessel that can accommodate up to 13 people and operates with a crew. The research subjects aboard the X-maru in this study include the ship owner and five Japanese crew members. The Y-maru,

engaged in "squid fishing," operates with just the captain and a technical intern trainee named Reyhan. While interacting with Reyhan, there were also interactions with the captain, but in this study, the captain of the Y-maru is not included as a research subject.

The research was conducted from August 2021 to September 2022. While most of the research was conducted face-to-face, surveys for technical intern trainees who had already returned to Indonesia were conducted using WhatsApp chats and video calls.

In this study, ethnography was used as the primary research method, and the research was conducted by combining semi-structured interviews, questionnaires, and participant observation according to specific research objectives. According to Oda (2010), "Ethnography is a research method aimed at understanding people's lives, activities, and work from an insider's perspective." This study adopted ethnography because it is essential to understand the daily lives and work environments of Indonesian technical intern trainees engaged in fisheries from an insider's perspective to elucidate their language use. The following sections will describe the specific research methods employed.

Semi-structured interview

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with technical intern trainees and Japanese crew members. This method was the primary technique used throughout the research. Broad question items were prepared in advance, and more detailed questions were asked based on the respondents' answers. Interviews with the technical intern trainees were conducted in Indonesian, a language they can use freely and a common language with the researcher.

Questionnaire method

The surveys conducted using questionnaires with the technical intern trainees consisted of two parts: a general questionnaire and a language usage awareness survey. The general questionnaire focused on demographic information such as age and place of origin and was administered at the beginning of the research. The language usage awareness survey asked questions about their language usage in different contexts, divided into daily life settings such as at home and in supermarkets, and work settings. Each language usage domain is composed of interlocutors, locations, and topics. Even if the interlocutors and topics are the same, the language used may differ depending on the context, such as face-to-face conversations, SNS chats, or phone calls. To clarify the detailed language usage of the technical intern trainees in various contexts, the questions were divided into specific items. In the preliminary stages leading up to the language usage awareness survey, it was already known that the main languages used by the technical intern trainees were Indonesian, regional languages of Indonesia, and Japanese. Therefore, the language section listed these three languages. For both the general questionnaire and the language usage awareness survey, the researcher was present and asked the questions in Indonesian, reading them aloud.

Participant observation method

As mentioned earlier, this study proceeded with the intention of understanding not only individuals but also their contexts, making use of the ethnographic approach. Semi-structured interviews serve as the primary research method in this study. This approach is considered to be both reasonable and significant because it involves asking the survey participants about what the researcher wants to know and having them share their experiences. However, with semi-structured interviews, the researcher can only learn about what the participants explicitly discuss, other aspects cannot be understood. What is discussed in the interviews is only a small part of the whole, and relying solely on semi-

structured interviews has limitations in fully capturing the language usage of the technical intern trainees. To complement these limitations, this study employs participant observation, where the researcher personally joins and observes certain situations, alongside semi-structured interviews as a key method.

Researcher/ Author's position

In qualitative research, depending on the depth of involvement in the field, researchers are classified into various positions. Minoura (1999), an anthropologist, categorized researchers' approaches in "micro-ethnography," where attention is focused on understanding the meaning of worlds individuals live in through their actions and narratives, into four positions. The four positions are "complete participation," "active participation," "passive participation," and "observer role only." In this study, the researcher's involvement varies depending on the context of participant observation. For example, in daily life settings, the researcher actively engaged as an "active participant" rather than observing from a peripheral position, interacting proactively with the technical intern trainees and those around them during the investigation. On the other hand, during participant observation in work settings, especially to ensure that the research subjects and other crew members' tasks were not affected and to maintain safety, the researcher engaged in "passive participation" in a manner that was suitable for those specific contexts.

Analysis method

Regarding the language usage of technical intern trainees, the analysis was conducted by dividing the language usage in daily life settings such as at home or while shopping and the language usage in work settings. For daily life settings, questions about the language used were based on language usage awareness surveys and focused on the interlocutors, contexts, and the language used for each conversation. Furthermore, the audio data and recorded data from the researcher's participant observation were also included in the analysis. From these data, an analysis was conducted to determine whether the language used varied depending on the interlocutors, contexts, and topics.

In the work settings, it was determined that "language activities" were conducted involving one or more individuals. These were classified as "language activities in work settings" and will be analyzed. The language primarily used between technical intern trainees and Japanese crew members in the work settings is Japanese. To understand how Japanese is used in various contexts and for what purposes, the concept of "primary speech perspective" and "secondary speech perspective" from Okamoto (1985) was employed.

Primary and secondary speech perspective

According to Okamoto (1985), "primary speech perspective" is the spoken language used among "specific intimate individuals" who share contextual backgrounds such as situational contexts and behavioral contexts. On the other hand, "secondary speech perspective" is the language used among "non-specific individuals" who do not share the same context, supported by the language context, and may include written language or written language-like spoken language. Furthermore, while "primary speech perspective" functions adequately as language despite being simplified and sometimes grammatically insufficient due to being used among individuals who share context, supplemented by other social resources (Kikuoka & Kamiyoshi, 2010:131), "secondary speech perspective" is noted to require various linguistic resources as it is used with non-specific individuals who do not share the context. In other words, "primary and secondary speech perspective" can be understood as concepts illustrating the construction of language activities based on the

sharing or non-sharing of context.

Social resources that complement language activities

When analyzing language activities in work settings, the framework of the three social resources that complement language activities proposed by Kikuoka and Kamiyoshi (2010) was utilized. Kikuoka and Kamiyoshi (2010) state that language activities in work settings are achieved through social resources, such as shared physical objects, bodily actions, shared experiences, and shared knowledge among workers who share contexts. The following describes the three frameworks: 1) surrounding objects and actions of activities, 2) shared experiences, and 3) shared knowledge.

Kikuoka and Kamiyoshi (2010) analyzed the language activities of foreign employees and Japanese employees in a company manufacturing computer-based machinery. The "surrounding objects and actions of activities" include the "machinery" used in the work and the "act of attaching parts to the machine." In language activities that involve surrounding objects and actions of activities, it is noted that demonstrative pronouns such as "*kore* (this)" and "*koko* (here)" are used. It is pointed out that even without detailed verbalization of the content of demonstrative pronouns, it is possible to sufficiently convey instructions for the work processes.

In the concept of "shared experiences," the use of the speech "*sakkino* (the one earlier)" is highlighted. It is stated that through the shared experience that workers have with the object referred to as "*sakkino* (the one earlier)" it becomes possible to achieve language activities without the need for a more specific explanation beyond the linguistic expression "*sakkino* (the one earlier)." Furthermore, these experiences, when repeatedly associated with language or symbols, become specialized terms indicating stable knowledge and experiences within the social context. This is referred to as "shared knowledge." Kikuoka and Kamiyoshi (2010) have shown numbers like "674 (*roku-nana-yon*)" and symbols like "KHY (*kei-eichi-wai*)," discussing them as shared knowledge. It is noted that language activities become possible because these numbers and symbols share a common understanding of the meanings they represent.

In addition, regarding shared knowledge, Kikuoka and Kamiyoshi (2010) discuss the concept while referencing Bakhtin (1979). According to Bakhtin (1979), "in conversations among individuals who share a context like shared knowledge, there is a phenomenon referred to as 'catchword,' where the meaning of words that have already undergone negotiation of meaning is no longer verbally articulated on the surface" (Kikuoka & Kamiyoshi, 2010:135). The concept of "catchword" includes not only the object it represents but also various experiences that have become unspoken through becoming a "catchword." Furthermore, through repeated use, a "social language" organized within a specific group and holding organized meanings (Bakhtin, 1988) develops. Using this concept, Kikuoka and Kamiyoshi (2010) point out that the number "674 (*roku-nana-yon*)" and the symbol "KHY (*kei-eichi-wai*)" encapsulate the knowledge and experience of the work, indicating stable meanings, and thus are referred to as the company's "social language" (Bakhtin, 1988).

Using the framework of analysis mentioned above, the next chapter discusses the research findings.

3. Results and Discussion

Language activities in work settings

First, this chapter discusses the language activities of loading ice before departure and unloading cargo after returning at X-maru, where the researcher conducted participant observation. The researcher conducted participant observation from the position of "passive

participation" as classified by Minoura (1999), to avoid disrupting the workflow.

In the cargo unloading process, there are three main tasks. One involves pulling baskets containing fish from the hold using a rope on the ship's deck and loading these baskets onto the truck bed. Another task includes receiving the baskets on the truck bed and stacking or arranging them. In Case 1, this paper captures an example of how "surrounding objects and actions of activities" complement language activities. Case 1 involves a scene where a Japanese crew member asks the technical intern trainee, Yuda, to hand him a "*tekagi.*" A "*tekagi*" is a tool to latch onto and transport items such as baggage or fish. The Japanese crew member and Yuda are standing on the truck bed, receiving crab baskets. In addition to the "*tekagi,*" there were other tools like ropes on the truck bed. However, despite the lack of any gestural cues, Yuda immediately handed the "*tekagi*" to the Japanese crew member. This indicates that the language activity was accomplished because they shared knowledge of the surrounding objects, the "*tekagi,*" and the "action" of when and how to use it.

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Case 1 Surrounding object and actions of activities

Japanese crew member: *sore, choudai* (Can I have that?)
Yuda : (takes the "*tekagi*" in the cargo bed and hands it to the Japanese crew member)

A similar observation of a language activity that shares surrounding objects and actions comes from Case 2. A Japanese crew member standing on the ship's deck instructs Bayu to bring "*are* (that) " out. "*Are* (that)" refers to a crab cage. According to Japanese crew members, crabs left in the fish hold at the end of the work cannot be sold, and often, they are purchased at a low price by the Japanese crew members. This interaction, as in Case 2, is a common practice at the end of the unloading work. The action of "bringing out the crab cage," a common occurrence in daily life, is shared in the context of the ending of unloading work, which enables such language activities.

Case 2 Surrounding object and actions of activities

Japanese crew member: *Bayu, are dashite* (Bring that out)
Bayu : (takes out the crab cage from the ship's fish hold)

Additionally, the use of demonstrative pronouns such as "*sore* (it)" and "*are* (that)" complements language activities in scenes where the surrounding objects and actions of activities are observed. In such language activities, the content represented by demonstrative pronouns is not further verbalized. Nevertheless, as shown by Yuda in Case 1 and Bayu in Case 2, it is still possible to provide sufficient instructions on how to perform the task effectively. The use of demonstrative pronouns in workplace settings is listed as part of the "Japanese expressions required in work settings" by the Enterprise Japanese Curriculum Development Study Committee (2008). In addition, Hakamada (1999) presents that in factories with foreign workers, regardless of whether one is in a guiding role or being guided, the "*ko-kei*" (Ko-type on-site demonstrative pronouns) are the most commonly used. This can be attributed to the restricted environment of working on a manufacturing assembly line within the factory, leading to the frequent use of "*ko-kei*" pronouns.

This study concludes that in the case of X-maru, the use of demonstrative pronouns is not limited to the "*ko-kei.*" Furthermore, demonstrative pronouns are associated with specific

meanings in certain contexts. In Case 1, during the unloading operation, the transfer of the crab cage on the truck bed is a scene where the demonstrative pronoun "*sore* (that)" is associated with a particular meaning. In Case 2, at the end of the unloading operation on the ship's deck, the demonstrative pronoun "*are* (that)" is associated with a particular meaning. Using a certain demonstrative pronoun in a scene functions as a specific indicator of meaning. In other words, even if there are errors in using "*kore*" (this), "*sore*" (that), "*dore*" (which), or "*are*" (that), the meaning related to the task is still understood, and the language activity is accomplished. This is because, in the context of X-maru's unloading operation, "*sore*" (that) and "*are*" (that), for example, function more as "catchwords" (Bakhtin, 1979) rather than purely as demonstrative pronouns.

Next, this paper suggests examples of utilizing shared knowledge and shared experiences in the unloading operation. In Case 3, a Japanese crew member is asking the technical intern trainee, Ahmad, how many crab cages are loaded on the truck bed.

Case 3 Shared experiences and shared knowledge

Japanese crew member : *Ahmad, nanbo* (How many?)
Ahmad : *22, 31, 21*
(counting the number of crab cages on the truck bed)
Japanese crew member : *21, 31, 21 na* (It is 21, 31, 21)

"*Nanbo*" means "how much" or "how many" according to Kojien dictionary, but it is not a vocabulary word commonly covered in the early stages of Japanese language education, such as in the Japanese language training under the Foreign Technical Intern Training Program. After the completion of the task, when Ahmad was asked if he understood the meaning of "*nanbo*," he stated, "Artinya tidak tahu, tapi ditanya, aku menjawab nomor." (I don't understand the meaning, but when asked "*nanbo,*" I answer with a number.) This suggests that in the context of the truck bed during the unloading operation, the term "*nanbo*" is functioning as a previously negotiated "catchword." Furthermore, through repeated use in a particular context, it becomes evident that "*nanbo,*" meaning to answer the number of crab cages, has evolved into a "social language" within that setting.

As an example of shared knowledge and experience, this paper considers Case 4. Case 4 involves a language activity during the ice-loading operation. In the ice-loading operation, there are tasks performed on the ship docked in the port and tasks near the ice-making machine located around 50 meters away from the ship. Near the ice-making machine, there is a task of putting ice from the ice-making machine into baskets, and then arranging the baskets filled with ice onto a pallet, which serves as a base. The process involves lining up 15 baskets on one pallet and transporting them to the ship using a forklift operated by a Japanese crew member.

Case 4 Shared experiences and shared knowledge

Japanese crew member : *10 yama* (10 levels.)
Wildan : *Un, 10 yama* (Yes, 10 levels)
Japanese crew member : *Acchi, acchi mottette* (There, take it over there)

This is a language activity between the Japanese crew member operating the forklift and Wildan. In this context, "*yama*" refers to stacking 10 baskets in a row to create 10 levels. In this case, the Japanese crew member instructs Wildan to stack the baskets filled with ice

into 10 levels and place them on the pallet to be taken "over there." When the Japanese crew member utters "*10 yama,*" Wildan responds with "*un*" to indicate his understanding. This exchange shows that they share the meaning conveyed by "*yama.*" In essence, within X-maru, the word "*yama*" has been previously negotiated for its meaning and now functions as an "catchword" (Bakhtin, 1979), no longer being overtly verbalized. Moreover, during the stacking of the baskets, the repeated use of the catchword "*yama*" incorporates the knowledge and experience of the operations within X-maru, indicating a stable meaning. Therefore, it can be considered as a "social language" (Bakhtin, 1988).

From Case 1 to Case 4, an analysis of the language activities in the work setting of X-maru was conducted based on the "surrounding objects and actions of activities," "shared experiences," and "shared knowledge," which serve as social resources complementing language activities, as indicated by Kikuoka and Kamiyoshi (2010).

In the following case studies, this paper presents examples of language activities in the work setting where exchanges related to the tasks were not verbalized. While nonverbal communication exists as a form of communication that does not rely on spoken language, the examples where verbalization did not occur, as depicted in this thesis, differ from what is commonly expressed through nonverbal communication. The exchanges related to tasks that are not verbalized, as discussed in this thesis, are more context-dependent compared to common nonverbal communication. This study defines these interactions as "silent codes." Before presenting examples of "silent codes," it is necessary to define "code" in this context. According to Bernstein (1971), there are two types of codes: elaborated code and restricted code. Language spoken through an elaborated code has a weak dependency on context (situationally independent). On the other hand, language generated through a restricted code has a strong dependency on context (situationally dependent). Bernstein (1971) points out that working-class children use language through a restricted code, while middle-class children use language through an elaborated code. The term "code" used in this thesis illustrates a concept based on Bernstein's (1971) work, indicating the characteristics of a restricted code with a strong dependency on context.

In the work setting of X-maru, the use of "silent codes" was observed in several scenes. Case 5 depicts the unloading operation between a Japanese crew member and the technical intern trainee Yuda. In this interaction, both parties are not uttering words. However, at a particular moment during the unloading operation, when Yuda is handed a rope, he assesses what he needs to do and proceeds to tie down the crab cages loaded on the truck bed. This task is a repetitive operation in the X-maru unloading process and is a routine task. Therefore, it is evident that instructions regarding the task are being conveyed from the Japanese crew member to the technical intern trainee Yuda even without verbalization.

Case 5 Silent code

Japanese crew member : (hands the rope to Yuda)
Yuda : (receives the rope and ties down the crab cages on the truck bed)

Other examples of using "silent codes" include a Japanese crew member handing crab cages to a technical intern trainee without speaking, the trainee then taking them to the designated spot and stacking them, or a Japanese crew member passing tape to a technical intern trainee who then applies the tape to the crab cages, all without verbal communication. All of these interactions take place one-on-one during a specific moment in the task, incorporating shared experiences and knowledge to accomplish the work at hand.

Summarizing the aspects of the language activities so far, the language activities in the work setting of X-maru are achieved through social resources such as shared experiences, shared knowledge, gestures, and various non-verbal elements in addition to the language present in the context of those language activities shared by the crew members. As a result, the language activities among the crew members exhibit characteristics of a highly simplified "primary speech perspective," emphasizing interactions that are straightforward and to the point. These characteristics are observed not only in the interactions between Japanese crew members and technical intern trainees but also in the exchanges among Japanese crew members themselves. Furthermore, the "silent codes" illustrated in Case 5, like various other social resources, are revealed to be non-verbal acts of task communication strongly dependent on a particular context. While not verbalized, "silent codes" function as symbols to facilitate communication.

Language use in everyday life

The researcher accompanied the technical intern trainees of X-maru and Y-maru in various everyday life situations, observing their language usage each time. As a result, it became evident that Indonesian and regional languages such as Javanese and Sundanese are used in their shared accommodation where the technical intern trainees live together and in interactions with their home country.

Regarding the living arrangement of the technical intern trainees, 4 people of X-maru share a wooden single-story house located about a 5-minute walk from the fishing port for their accommodation. Living next door to their house is Reyhan, a technical intern trainee of Y-maru. There is a convenience store and a supermarket within a 700-meter radius.

During the research period, the researcher visited restaurants and supermarkets within and outside the town with the technical intern trainees. The researcher drove during these trips. Inside the car, it was common for Ahmad, a technical intern trainee of X-maru who was praised for his Japanese skills, and Reyhan, a technical intern trainee of Y-maru, to sit in the front passenger seat. In the popular restaurants in town, the technical intern trainees conveyed their food preferences by pointing out if the menu had both Japanese and photos. If the menu was in Japanese only, they would order by mentioning the name of their usual dish without looking at the menu. Calling the waiter or interacting with the staff during ordering was mainly handled by Ahmad as well. After Ahmad returned to Indonesia, this responsibility was taken over by Reyhan.

The shopping scenes where the technical intern trainees use Japanese are during the payment at the checkout counter, for example in supermarkets. Case 6 involves an interaction between the supermarket staff and the technical intern trainee, Reyhan. This supermarket in Case 6 is located close to the technical intern trainees' accommodation and is a frequented store by them.

Case 6 Language use at the supermarket

Supermarket staff	: *Fukuro wa tsukaimasuka?* (Would you like a bag?)
Reyhan	: *Tsukau*. (I would)
Supermarket staff	: *Ichi mai de?* (Is one enough?)
Reyhan	: Hai. (Yes.)

At supermarkets, convenience stores, and various stores, cashiers almost always ask whether you need a plastic bag. Here is how technical intern trainee Reyhan describes his interaction with the cashier at the checkout counter. "Saya tidak mengerti apa yang dia

katakan ketika saya pertama ke sini, tapi sekarang saya bisa mengerti." (At first, I didn't understand what they were saying, but now I can comprehend.) The cashier's statement "Would you like a bag?" is a shared contextual phrase used during the payment process at supermarkets and convenience stores. It is repeatedly used, and the actual meaning of the uttered phrase is not overtly verbalized. This phenomenon is similar to the "catchword" concept mentioned earlier and can be considered as such.

Complex interactions in Japanese are required during procedures at medical services or the post office/bank. In such situations, even Ahmad and Reyhan, who are praised for their proficiency in Japanese, find it challenging to handle independently. They receive support from Japanese crew members, the captain's wife, and the author to navigate these situations. However, in everyday life settings like restaurants and supermarkets, Ahmad and Reyhan take the lead in interactions between technical intern trainees and Japanese individuals.

4. Conclusion

This study aimed to clarify the actual language use of technical intern trainees. The following summary addresses the research objectives outlined in Chapter 1.

The objectives of the research were elucidating 1) the language usage of technical intern trainees in everyday life and work situations, and 2) the language usage of those who host technical intern trainees by using the following methods: ethnography as the central research method, the study involved immersion in the environments where technical intern trainees and Japanese crew members interact, are recording actual language use and events as they unfolded. In addition, questionnaire surveys regarding language use awareness primarily in Indonesian were conducted with technical intern trainees to collect data. This facilitated for the identification of the actual language used in subtle moments in work and daily life settings.

It became evident that in work settings, language activities are achieved through social resources such as gestures, objects other than language in the surroundings, shared experiences, and knowledge, facilitated by the crew members who share the context of the task. The Japanese language used in these contexts functions as an already negotiated "catchword" and sometimes transitions into "silent codes" where verbalization is not necessary. Additionally, in the tasks performed on the X-maru, the repetitive use of these "catchwords" serves as a "social language," indicating a stable meaning in that operational setting. The language activities facilitated through various social resources mentioned above were not only observed in interactions between technical intern trainees and Japanese crew members but also among the Japanese crew members themselves. This can be attributed to the relatively fixed nature of the tasks in the fishing industry, the environmental factors such as the sound of the ship's engine and machinery like ropes used in the work, the limited instances where verbalization is necessary, and the importance of gestures in communication. It was observed that Japanese crew members would repeat instructions or provide examples when technical intern trainees had difficulty understanding, to facilitate smooth communication.

In daily life settings, technical intern trainees use Javanese, which is a regional language from Indonesia, among themselves. If technical intern trainees speak different regional languages, they use Indonesian. They seldom face language difficulties when dining out or shopping, resorting to tools like Google Translate on smartphones or seeking assistance from technical intern trainees who can communicate in Japanese, especially when visiting new stores.

Regarding the results concerning the functions of each language (Japanese, Indonesian, and regional languages), Japanese is deemed essential for daily life in Japan and

is crucial in work settings as well. However, there is no demand for a high proficiency level in Japanese, as language activities are made possible through the use of a limited vocabulary and expressions. Indonesian and regional languages serve as a common language connecting the technical intern trainees, allowing them to express themselves freely. It was found that regional languages are predominantly used in most daily life settings.

In this study, the focus was on the language use of technical intern trainees in the fishing industry, and an analysis was conducted. It was found that the Japanese used in collaborative work on fishing vessels and in fishing ports, where technical intern trainees spend a significant amount of time, is limited. Based on these findings, it is suggested that Japanese language education for technical intern trainees should emphasize the communication skills required in the field, ensuring that they can effectively communicate. Additionally, communication education should also be provided to those in positions accepting technical intern trainees. This suggests the importance of incorporating the language activities carried out in the field into education, rather than relying solely on textbook-based Japanese language education.

This study holds significance in shedding light on the actual language use of Indonesian technical intern trainees supporting Japan's fishing industry. However, in the ever-growing fishing sector where foreign workers, especially technical intern trainees, are expected to increase, focusing on a single case study may have limitations in providing a comprehensive overview. In the future, it would be beneficial to investigate neighboring technical intern trainees and explore the period before and after the arrival of Indonesian technical intern trainees to Japan.

The encounter and interactions with technical intern trainees were the catalysts that sparked the author's interest in studying the language use of technical intern trainees. In addition to the technical intern trainees studied in this research, the author continues to interact with Indonesian technical intern trainees engaged in the agricultural sector in other prefectures and Indonesians living in Japan under residence statuses other than the Foreign Technical Intern Training Program. Through these interactions, it became apparent that the language needs and language environments vary significantly depending on the residential areas and workplaces. As discussed, with the Foreign Technical Intern Training Program being formalized in 1993, now after 30 years, there are discussions about revising the program, and plans are underway to start receiving foreign workers under the new system. Just as this study progressed with an ethnographic approach to understanding the lives of technical intern trainees from within, and by listening to their narratives, it is believed that understanding the lives of technical intern trainees and the language environment surrounding them will become clearer. Moving forward in Japanese society, it is hoped that technical intern trainees, working and living together, can lead secure and safe lives.

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