

**Raising Bilingual and Trilingual Children:
Japanese Immigrant Parents' Child-Rearing Experiences**

by

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A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
Department of Curriculum, Teaching and Learning
Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the
University of Toronto

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ABSTRACT

This research collected and documented the voices of six Japanese immigrant parents who raised or are raising their children as bi- and trilinguals in Toronto, Canada. It is an attempt to show the intricacies and complexities behind the language choice immigrant parents make on behalf of their children. In order to reflect the rich narratives of these parents, a life history research method was chosen. Life history research allows the researcher to examine the people's stories by placing them in a larger social framework.

This study shows that the major motivating factor behind choosing to use L1 (i.e., Japanese) at home is the desire, on the part of immigrant parents, to maintain strong family bonding. This in turn implies that L1 oral communication, which is a vital tool for family cohesion, is fostered and encouraged, but the development of L1 written skills is, in some cases, not given equal attention. Furthermore, when the goal is to achieve communication and not necessarily to nurture bilingual development, important elements such as elevated vocabulary usage is not actively sought by the parents.

Some parents seemed to have fallen victims of the myth about second language acquisition (SLA) that their insistence on L1 maintenance could be burdensome or damaging to their children. The desire for their children's academic success deters some parents from actively pursuing L1 maintenance or considering L3 learning. In fact, in interviews some parents shared their feelings of guilt for choosing to raise their children using L1 at home, blaming their own limited L2. Yet their consistent use of L1 is a vital instrument in successful bilingual child-rearing. It is unfortunate to see how immigrant parents, given more-or-less successful bilingual child-rearing experiences, are caught in an inescapable predicament of guilt.

As far as the L1 maintenance and L2 learning was concerned, a clear division of labour was

found. Home was where the L1 was fostered and used with the children, and the school was where the children's L2 was taught. This clear schism functioned as a double-edged sword: The exclusive use of L1 by the parents seemed to endorse their Japanese identity and helped children to focus on their L1. Similarly, at school, the consistent and continuous L2 usage helped the children's SLA. However, in many cases parents' adherence to L1 and their limited L2 and the school's focus only on L2 skills led to the alienation of the parents from the school, leading, in turn, to non-communication between the two. Some parents believed that the sharp division also contributed to a lack of development of certain language skills in L1 and limited vocabulary growth in L2.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

This research focuses on those whose voices are rarely heard when discussing immigrant children's language learning: the parents (Berryman, 1983; Sancho, 1979; Soto, 1997).

Making a language choice on behalf of their children is one of the most crucial choices immigrant parents need to make (Ono, 1994, p. 123, p. 183). Yet parents are often ill-informed about the options they have, the possible consequences of these options, and what their role is in choosing a particular option.

This study examines the motivation behind the language choices Japanese immigrant parents make, and documents their experiences in raising their children bilingually and trilingually in Toronto, Canada. Their narratives focus on such things as their views on language maintenance and the ways they encourage language learning.

Research Questions

The research questions explored in this work are as follows:

- What factors influence immigrant parents' language choice for their children?
- What social support is there that is conducive to language learning and maintenance? What are the dynamics among these social supports?
- What are the strategies used by immigrant parents to enhance their children's language learning?
- What is the nature of the experiences these immigrant parents have when raising their children in a foreign environment?
- Are the observations made by the immigrant parents congruent with claims made by SLA theories, especially in terms of vocabulary learning?

In the past, in the majority of educational research, especially in the field of applied linguistics, the focus has largely been on the language learners. Although I perceive such lines of research to be important, over the years I have come to appreciate the intricacies involved in the mechanism of language learning and maintenance, and I now see language learning as a social as well as a cognitive process (see Hakuta & Garcia, 1989; Snow, 1992). For this reason, the above

research questions are examined using the life history research method which looks at the connection between people's narratives and society in general.

Overview of the Study

The first chapter focuses on the rationale for this study, tracing my own journey to my chosen topic, namely that of language policy in Japanese immigrant households. This calls for describing my philosophical as well as experiential orientation through personal narrative (Pinar, 1981) in order to manifest my beliefs and values. In order to do this, I have set my narrative in social, political, and educational contexts.

Chapter two reviews research pertaining to language learning and maintenance in a family setting, including case studies of the bilingual child's language learning process, guidebooks for parents, research pertaining to the extension of L1 use at home and consequence for L1 loss, literature with a Japanese-English bilingualism focus, and studies which look at the lexical acquisition patterns of bilingual children.

Chapter three discusses the research methodology, including the description of my six participants, the nature of the data and the data collection process.

Chapter four is the collection of "stories" of my participants. They are written in a narrative mode, with characters and milieu (Connelly & Clandinin, 1988, 1990) intended to provide what Geertz (1973) terms "thick description", following Wolcott's (1994, p. 16) suggestion to "stay descriptive as long as possible". The following is a brief profile of the six participants:

Participant 1: Eiko

Eiko is a 46-year-old woman who immigrated to Canada in the early 1980's. She lives in a predominantly white, affluent neighbourhood with her Japanese husband and their only daughter Karin, age 14. Eiko and her husband use only Japanese with Karin. Karin currently attends a local public school and discontinued Japanese supplementary schooling a few years ago.

Participants 2 and 3: Hiroshi and Yumiko

Hiroshi is a 50-year-old artist who specializes in Japanese paintings (*nihonga*) and his wife Yumiko is a hair stylist. Like Eiko, Hiroshi and Yumiko also immigrated to Canada in the early 1980's. They have two young daughters, Yuki, aged 9 and Ai, aged 6. The two girls are enrolled in an early French immersion programme where they are exposed to French, beginning in Senior Kindergarten. They are introduced to English in Grade three. On Saturdays, the girls also attend a

Japanese supplementary school designed for immigrant children who are in Canada for a long period of time. The family uses only Japanese at home.

Participant 4: Naoko

Naoko is a local Japanese newspaper editor. She and her Japanese husband have a teenage son, Joh, who is now in Grade 11. The parents use only Japanese with their son, although they realize that English is the more dominant language for Joh. Joh attends a Japanese supplementary school designed for Japanese children whose fathers are stationed in Canada temporarily for business purposes.

Participant 5: Michiko

Michiko is a Japanese language instructor. She and her Japanese husband have two children; their son Kei is 29 and their daughter Risa is 26. Kei and Risa both attended Japanese Saturday school up to the middle school level. Although Michiko feels that English is the dominant language for her children, the family uses only Japanese at home.

Participant 6: Tama

Tama is a home-maker who raised her three adult children, now all in their 30's, to be bilingual. Due to a lack of social support, Tama took on the responsibility of teaching Japanese to her three children, herself. She did this by using Japanese textbooks and workbooks sent from Japan and spending an hour after school with each of her three children. She and her Japanese husband use only Japanese at home.

I also include an account of my own story, or rather my story intersecting with the stories of my participants (See Cole & Knowles, in press). Here I share the discoveries, surprises and confirmations which I made, having listened to other people's stories.

Chapter five is an analysis and my way of bringing everything together and interpreting what I heard, saw, and felt through this study, using the Activity Model (Engeström, 1999). Overall, the participants expressed their desire to maintain a strong family cohesion (Wong Fillmore, 1991c), and they perceived L1 to be an essential tool in achieving that goal. None of the participants expressed their desire to raise a bilingual child for the linguistic benefits of bilingualism - instead, their goal was to maintain a strong family bonding.

Chapter six is the discussion on implications, issues, concerns and limitations of this research, and leads to the concluding chapter.

Rationale

The choice to focus on language maintenance among immigrant households as my thesis topic was not a difficult one. My personal upbringing as an English-Japanese bilingual in a multi-ethnic metropolis like Toronto since I immigrated to Canada in the mid 1970's contributed to the reasons why I became interested in learning more about how immigrant families arrive at certain decisions pertaining to two main issues; children's language use at home and the ways in which they put their decisions into practice.

Knowledge of a language cannot be separated from knowledge of its culture (Halliday, 1978). The ability to converse in one language has far-reaching consequences in the life of an individual, affecting their cognitive (Baker & Prys Jones, 1998) as well as cultural development (Scribner 1985). Yet each family must come to a decision at a relatively early stage in the child-rearing process, as to which language will be primarily used at home. This calls for the early introduction to the process of language acquisition for these immigrant families. Their lack of knowledge in this area could lead to unanticipated, grave circumstances which could mean the loss of cognitive and communicative tool within the family (Cummins, 1992) as well as family cohesion (Wong Fillmore, 1991a, 1991c).

The process of language acquisition and maintenance is not a simple phenomenon. In order for us to explore this, we need to look at it from numerous angles, taking into consideration the social, educational, economic, and political factors at work (Landry & Allard, 1991, p. 201). These factors do not exist in isolation but overlap, intertwine, and influence each other's trajectories.

This work attempts to provide an in-depth account of the reasons behind the language choices made by Japanese immigrant parents and to share this account with others. Such accounts should contribute to a broader understanding of parents' decisions in terms of language choice and use at home. They could also be useful for other parents, not in a sense that the information could function as a prescription which could be replicated and faithfully followed by other members of the Japanese and other immigrant communities, but as a guide from which other parents could extract relevant information (See Eisner, 1991; Donmoyer, 1990; Beattie & Conle, 1996, p. 322; Conle & Sakamoto, in press).

Social Context

Japanese residing in Canada

Immigration to Canada has remained at a high level throughout the past decade.

According to Statistics Canada (1997) there were 4.7 million people who reported a mother tongue other than English or French in 1996, a 15.1% increase from 1991, and 2.8 million people, almost one of every ten in Canada, spoke a language other than English or French most often at home.

Table 1.1 The ten largest groups in Canada with a mother tongue other than English or French in 1996

Mother tongue	Number	Percentage of the Canadian Population (%)
Chinese	736,015	2.6
Italian	514,410	1.8
German	470,505	1.6
Spanish	228,580	0.8
Portuguese	222,870	0.8
Polish	222,355	0.8
Punjabi	214,530	0.6
Ukrainian	174,830	0.6
Arabic	166,150	0.6
Tagalog (Philipino)	158,210	0.6
Aboriginal Languages	208,610	0.7

Note. Adapted from "1996 Census: Mother tongue, home language, and knowledge of languages," <http://www.statcan.ca:80/Daily/English/971202/d971202.htm#ART1>, Statistics Canada, 1997.

Especially in a multicultural city like Toronto, the term "diversity" includes diversity of many kinds, not necessarily just encompassing ethnic diversity but diversity deriving from inter-racial marriages and diversity arising from generation gaps within the same ethnic group (Hanscombe, 1994). We face a great challenge in learning more about these people and meeting their needs.

For this study, I have chosen to focus on Japanese immigrant families who are raising

Canadian-born children. In 1996, the Japanese population in Toronto was 17,055, quite small compared with many other ethnic groups such as Chinese, which totalled 335,185 (Statistics Canada, 1996); nevertheless, the Japanese population is showing a steady increase in North America and in most countries around the world (See Table 1.2).

Table 1.2 The number of Japanese residing abroad (1994–1996)

Region	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998 (compared to the previous year)
Asia	120,565	136,581	153,386	161,784	161,176(-0.4)
North America	279,920	289,077	300,331	311,614	317,966 (2.0)
South America	119,825	116,859	114,446	112,189	108,724(-3.1)
Western Europe	118,984	128,239	134,618	132,625	137,023 (3.3)
Eastern Europe	3,102	3,230	3,467	3,665	4,193 (14.4)
Middle East	4,904	5,158	5,358	5,567	5,760 (3.5)
Africa	5,267	7,866	7,926	8,385	7,494(-10.6)
Worldwide	689,895	728,268	763,977	782,568	789,534 (0.9)

Note. Adapted from “*Kaigai zairyu hojinsu tokei* [Number of Japanese residing abroad],” The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, 1999, http://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/toko/tokei/hojin99/1_3.html.

Many are Japanese businessmen being transferred to Toronto for a certain period of time. Their number showed a rapid increase due to Japan’s prosperous economic growth in the early 1980s. However, these families are destined to return to Japan after a certain number of years in Canada, so I have differentiated them from other Japanese immigrants.

By Japanese immigrants, I am referring to those who are called *Shin-Ijusha* or “the New Immigrants” by the Japanese. These immigrated to Canada in recent years, after the world war two (WWII). We call those who were born in Japan but who now live in foreign land, *Issei*, or “first-generation Japanese”, and the foreign-born children of *Issei* are *Nisei*, or “second generation Japanese”.

It is important here to distinguish *Issei* of pre-WWII from *Issei* of post-WWII. Those

Issei who endured hardships during WWII in Canada perceive Japanese culture and Japanese language in a totally different way from post-war *Issei*. They were living in a foreign country which was at that time in the midst of a war with none other than Japan. Their community was ghettoized in what were concentration camps, and their language and culture were regarded as inferior, to say the least, by the rest of Canadian society. On the other hand, a sense of great inferiority and shame is a somewhat alien concept for current *Issei*. As Japan quickly gained enormous economic power and world leadership after the war, the Japanese language began to enjoy a higher status among nations, and having knowledge of the Japanese language quickly became a useful tool in making social advancements.

Historical development of bilingual education: Linguistic, cognitive, and political development

Over the years, bilingualism has taken a dramatic turn from being regarded as an undesired outcome which would interfere with L1 learning and lead to abnormal cognition (See Cummins, 1984, 1989, 1996) to something much more enriching, valuable, and advantageous in life (Dulay, Burt, & Krashen, 1982; Swain & Lapkin, 1982; Cummins, 1981, 1989, 1991c, 1996, 2000; Cummins & Danesi, 1990). It has been argued in recent years that L2, L3, or even Ln learning have positive effects on one's cognition (Cummins, 1981, 1989, 1991c, 1996; Ben-Zeev, 1977; Johnson, 1991). These positive findings in the area of SLA research support programmes such as French immersion (henceforth FI) (See Swain & Lapkin, 1982; Johnson & Swain, 1997) and heritage language (henceforth HL) (Cummins & Danesi, 1990).

However, recently it seems that the dominant ideology is increasingly suffocating the ideals in bilingualism and bilingual education by leading us to believe that languages are not essential to our lives, and that they are a frivolous enterprise, wasting tax payers' money (See also Bialystok & Cummins, 1991, p. 227; Cummins & Danesi, 1990). However, Cummins and Danesi (1990) reveal how these bilingual individuals should be perceived as an important asset and an important resource for the society's economic growth and social advancement (pp. 74-75, p. 78; See also Fishman, 1991, p. 84).

The challenge for the immigrant and minority families then becomes centred on realizing and identifying any misrepresentation of bilingualism which may be posed by the current school system, and which would hinder language development and cultural maintenance in the education

of their children. In other words, investigation is called for in examining the current education system and societal supports to find any flaws or to identify any ill-effects on the language learning of these children. In order to do this, it is proposed here to listen to those who have direct contact with our schools and have the most stake in our system - the immigrant families themselves.

Educational Context

Dewey's (1897, 1900, 1902, 1938) emphasis on connection between the students' lives and learning and experiences at school has been reinforced over the years. If this is the case, we need to learn more about our students in order to deliver a meaningful and effective curriculum. How could this be achieved in a multicultural society? It is now obsolete and naïve to assume that researchers and educators have all the answers about our students' learning and development. The Royal Commission's report (1994) recommends more parental involvement in educating our students. We cannot afford to dismiss the contributions these parents can make in furthering our academic understanding. Realizing this, Dewey (1916a) argued that we need a democratic way of knowing and educating our students. This implicates again the political dimension in conducting research: that those who have been given the opportunity in the past to explore the field of bilingualism and bilingual education must come to relinquish their monopoly and invite those who have been for too long neglected in our academic dialogue (Soto 1997). I propose that the knowledge of immigrant parents, who have been able to observe and supervise the child longer than any other adult, is rich and vital in furthering our understanding of our students (Berryman, 1983; Moll, Amanti, Neff, & Gonzalez, 1992; Moll, 1992).

Personal Context

My personal background has strong ties with the topic of language maintenance. As Pinar (1981) contends, "Understanding of self is not narcissism; it is a precondition and a concomitant condition to the understanding of others" (p. 186). Merriam (1988) also notes how it is important to reflect and make explicit one's own assumptions from the outset of case study research (p. 21). For these reasons, I feel it is important to introduce "my story" here.

People are amazed when I tell them that, despite living in Canada for 25 years, I still feel uncomfortable and frustrated using the English language from time to time. On the other hand, I

feel that my much stronger sense of attachment to the Japanese language and culture has helped me to preserve the language to this day. Japanese persons initially interact casually with me until they find out my length of stay in Canada. Then they usually remark in amazement, “Your Japanese is so good!”

As a Japanese-English bilingual, I have had many opportunities where other monolingual peers have not. I have been fortunate to have had wonderful part-time jobs as a high school and university student, working as a writer for a local Japanese newspaper firm and later working for the Japanese Consulate for the 1988 G7 Economic Summit that was held in Toronto. I felt much demand when the Consulate called me following the Summit, well before my graduation from university to ask me to work for them as a full-time employee for the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

However, my life has been not been entirely auspicious. I still vividly recall an incident which took place when I was a high school student. My English teacher was testing our comprehension regarding one of the Shakespearean plays we were studying that year. She asked a question, addressing it to the entire class. Eager ones immediately put their hands up. I remained silent in my seat. I knew the answer, but I was not compelled to share my answer with the rest of the class since I was already labelling myself as an “ESL student”. Ignoring all the hands up in the air, my teacher called out my name, expecting an answer. I began to awkwardly and nervously answer the question, “The character was not happy at the time because...” and the teacher unexpectedly interrupted me. “Happy is not a word!” she exclaimed, “Why can’t you use other words, like ‘grateful’ or...” and she continued on, listing several adjectives that would replace the word “happy”. My mind simply went blank. Apparently my teacher was becoming frustrated with my limited English vocabulary and poor writing skills when my oral proficiency was nearing that of native-speaker’s norm. My sense of inferiority towards the English language deepened from this day onwards. Ever since my grades in English were always poorer compared to other subjects, and I am beginning to wonder if my English skills will ever be perfect. At the same time, I fear that any improvement in English will hamper the development of my Japanese skills, and I will forever lose the tools (i.e., Japanese language and cultural knowledge) which allowed me to enjoy numerous privileges thus far. Most of all, Japanese language was the only means for me to communicate effectively with my parents. I certainly wished to improve my English but not at an expense of losing Japanese.

In the midst of confusion and ambivalence, I was blaming not the teacher, school, or my parents, but myself for my limited knowledge in L2. I ascribed my failure to learn English well as my own fault.

My own experience has led me to understand and appreciate bilingualism. Bilingualism provides a particular, unique way of life. Having immigrated to Canada in the mid 1970s from Tokyo, Japan, my parents were forced to make their decision quickly as to which language was to be used at home. Were they to abandon L1 (i.e., Japanese) usage altogether and use only L2 (i.e., English) at home, or should they attempt to keep L1? What kinds of consequences could be expected from the choice they made? Could any ill-effects be predicted? There were many questions to be answered, but since both my parents had a limited command of English, they had very few people to turn to for advice. Aside from advice they sought from other Japanese immigrant parents, they had to decide on their own, and they chose to maintain L1 at home. Now that I reflect on this decision, and having studied in the field of applied linguistics in recent years, I think this was a “good” decision according to the extensive literature reporting the positive effects of bilingualism on a child’s cognitive development (Baker, 1995; Saunders, 1982; Arnberg, 1987; de Jong, 1986; Harding & Riley, 1986). However, what if not all immigrant families are lucky and fail to make the “right” choice? After all, my parents had a fifty percent chance of getting it “right”, but an equal fifty percent to get it “wrong”.

However, the story does not end here. My strong belief in bilingualism became undermined over the years, having come to perceive bilingualism not just as a cognitive and linguistic advantage but as a by-product of a social process (See also Hakuta & Garcia, 1989; Snow, 1992). If it is a social process, there must be social factors which support or discourage language learning. In other words, the issue of language learning is not whether it is good or bad. It is far more complex, involving numerous factors which all come together when the parents make their language choice. Therefore, my questions became “What are the social factors influencing language choice, learning, and maintenance? What are their effects on the child and his/her family?”

Learning L1 along with L2 had, needless to say, a tremendous effect on every aspect of my life: how I think, what I value, how I interact with others, and so on are all affected by the languages I know and cultures with which I identify. In other words, I would not be the same person today if I had been raised without any access to L1 or C1 (first culture). This is the reality of which all

parents should be aware. Their choice can greatly alter the path which their children will follow, and this has far-reaching effects on the child's cognitive, academic, and emotional growth. What is more frightening about this is that the path taken by the child would become almost unalterable once the parents had made their choice on the child's behalf. That is, by the time the parents realize that they have made a "wrong" choice, it may be too late (Wong Fillmore, 1991a, 1991c). One possible explanation of this is the critical age hypothesis in second language learning. Although there is no consensus as to the exact critical period for SLA in general, researchers seem to agree that there is a critical period of phonological ability (Long, 1990; Johnson & Newport, 1989; Sakamoto, 1994; Nunoi, 1987). Phonological ability is strongly related to accentedness of speech. In other words, the decision pertaining to language learning and language usage cannot be put on hold, reversed, or take a different course in the midst of learning that language. Once the family decides to abandon L1 usage altogether, it will be very difficult to regain L1 command after the critical period has passed for the children: the process may be somewhat irreversible.

I have observed many cases where ill-advised parents who first decide to abandon L1 usage regret their decision later in a child's life. The child, naturally, is unable to communicate well with his/her parents who have little command of L2. This inability to communicate extends to other parts of these immigrant families' lives, breaking emotional ties and creating a schism between family members. This translates to the child's feeling of shame of L1 and of their parents who only know L1 (Wong Fillmore, 1991c, p. 342; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981, p. 154).

Many Japanese immigrants, once they learn that my field of study is bilingual education, approach me for advice as to how they can raise their own children bilingually. They are eager to learn more about SLA, yet they are ill-informed about second language acquisition theories and research findings. Why? I ascribe this not to the ignorance of these parents, but rather to the inaccessibility of the language and tools that researchers use in exploring the phenomenon of SLA. The findings are being shared and recycled largely within the realm of academics; the information is not made accessible to ethnic communities at large. What I have observed is that these parents, compensating for their lack of theoretical knowledge about SLA, rely on stories from others and their own observations about their children's language learning processes. From their knowledge, they have come to devise their own theories about language attrition and language maintenance. These parents are what Eisner (1991) calls "connoisseurs" who have become experts in the field from their own experiences. This valuable fund of knowledge (Moll, 1992; Moll, Amanti, Neff,

& Gonzalez, 1992) should not be wasted, but should be appreciated and shared with others.

At first, it may appear contradictory to portray immigrant parents as “ill-informed” and at the same time as “connoisseurs”. I argue that this is not contradictory; these parents have acquired a keen awareness of language learning process upon which they have relied on in making language decisions on behalf of their children. These rich insights and experiences are largely untapped resources which educators, researchers, and policy makers have failed to recognize and appreciate. Without a meaningful dialogue between the parents and educators, the understanding of immigrant children will forever be partial and incomplete. Too often immigrant parents, despite their rich experiences of raising their children are given the wrong information (See Cummins, 1989, 1996) which can result in confusion and anguish.

Similarly, without incorporating immigrant parents’ expertise in their understanding of immigrant children, education for immigrant children will always be L2 and C2-biased.

CHAPTER 2

Literature Review

Literature in the field of bilingualism and bilingual child-rearing is available in a variety of and in different forms. In this chapter I review case studies describing the learning process of bilinguals, guidebooks written for parents, empirical research comparing the L1 and L2 systems of bilinguals, and successful programmes in which immigrant parents make significant contributions for the betterment of academic performance of their children.

Case Studies

Children's language acquisition process has long been a fascination for many scholars in our field. The well-known, classic example is that of Leopold's comprehensive longitudinal study of his daughter Hildegard's simultaneous language learning process. In his four-volume work, Leopold (1939-1949) gives a detailed account of his daughter's acquisition of German and English. His daughter grew up in an English-speaking environment, but Leopold used German with his daughter while the wife used English. Leopold claims that bilingual child-rearing is a possible and auspicious goal to have.

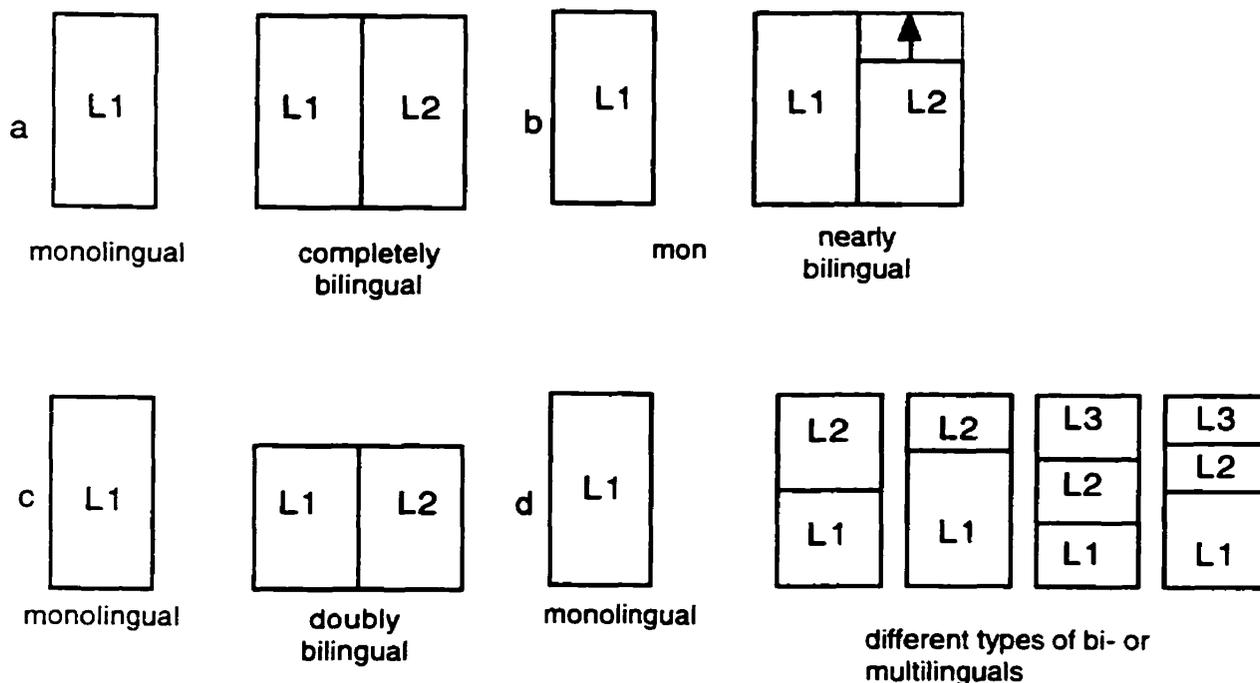
Volterra and Taeschner (1978) followed Leopold's study and tracked German-Italian acquisition process of two infants, one from 1;5 to 3;6 and other from 1;2 to 2;6. The result showed that the children attained bilingual concepts from a very early stage, going through three distinct stages: First, Volterra and Taeschner argue that a child initially begins with one lexical system and his/her language system begins to develop much like a monolingual child. In the second stage, the child distinguishes two different lexicons but applies the same syntactic rules to both languages. The lexical capacity seems to be relatively similar at this stage. Finally, in the third stage, the child speaks two languages differentiated both in lexicon and syntax (p. 312).

Vihman (1985) followed Volterra & Taeschner's study and kept a record of linguistic development of an infant who was exposed to Estonian at home but English outside the home. The researcher found that the establishment of dual lexicon occurred early, and that the child began to avoid language mixing and chose his language according to his interlocutor.

Guidebooks for Parents

In his books intended for lay persons as readers, Saunders (1982, 1988) gives similar accounts of his children's German-English acquisition process and concludes that bilingualism is indeed a reachable and preferable goal to that of monolingualism. Similarly, Harding and Riley (1986), De Jong (1986), Arnberg (1987), and Baker (1988, 1995, 2000) address bilingual child-rearing, including descriptions of the theories in SLA, possible consequences of bilingualism, case-studies, and roles parents can play in facilitating bilingual child-rearing. Skutnabb-Kangas' (1981) work is frequently cited by many of these authors. It comprehensively covers the notion of bilingualism, beginning with the definition of bilingualism. The following graphs illustrate different types of bilingualism:

Figure 2.1 Types of Bilingualism



Note. Adapted from Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981, p. 36.

Skutnabb-Kangas also dedicates one chapter on the role parents and schools can play to facilitate children's acquisition of two languages. The following are some practical hints she suggests for those parents who are interested in bilingual child-rearing:

- Talk to the child as much as possible and as early as possible. Even babies a month or two old may like to listen to poetry, just as they like hearing someone singing. Even though they understand nothing of what the words mean, other things are being communicated to them, by rhythm, by closeness, by contact, and by observing the interplay between linguistic and non-linguistic expression.
- Try to organize for the child as many varied linguistic situations as possible in both languages, including literature and songs. Make sure that the child has contact both with adults and children in both languages. Try to help the child to learn (and experience) in one language whatever she knows also in the other.
- Play linguistic games with the child. Help the child discover that language is exciting and that it's fun to learn to pick out linguistic and cultural differences and similarities.
- Try to arrange for the child to get mother tongue instruction in *both* languages, not only instruction in one as a mother tongue and in the other as a foreign language, which is often what one can get in the best case, the situation frequently being that there is no instruction whatsoever in one or the other of the languages.
- Try to show the child in practical situations, not only by discussion, how splendid it is, how useful and rewarding, to be able to participate as a native in two different cultures. Try to give the child a chance to be proud of her bilingualism and her cultural competence. (p. 152)

These suggestions require conscious effort on the part of parents. We will see in subsequent chapters examples of how my participants recognized these needs and how they actually practised them.

Similarly, Conklin and Lourie's (1983, in Baker & Prys Jones 1998, p. 182) lists the following political, social, demographic, cultural, and linguistic factors that encourage or discourage language maintenance:

Table 2.1 Factors Encouraging or Discouraging Language Maintenance

Political, Social and Demographic Factors Encouraging Language Maintenance	Political, Social and Demographic Factors Encouraging Language Loss
1. Large number of speakers living closely together	Small number of speakers well dispersed together
2. Recent and/or continuing in-migration	Long and stable residence
3. Close proximity to the homeland and ease of travel to homeland	Homeland remote or inaccessible
4. Preference to return to homeland with many actually returning	Low rate of return to homeland and/or little intention to return and/or impossible to
5. Homeland language community intact	Homeland language community decaying in vitality
6. Stability in occupation	Occupational shift, especially from rural to urban areas
7. Employment available where home language is spoken daily	Employment requires use of the majority language
8. Low social and economic mobility in main occupations	High social and economic mobility in main occupations
9. Low level of education to restrict social and economic mobility, but educated and articulate community leaders loyal to their language community	High levels of education giving social and economic mobility. Potential community leaders are alienated from their language community by education
10. Ethnic group identity rather than identity with majority language community via nativism, racism, isolation and ethnic discrimination	Ethnic identity is denied to achieve social and vocational mobility; this is forced by nativism, racism, isolation and ethnic discrimination

Cultural Factors Encouraging Language Maintenance	Cultural Factors Encouraging Language Loss
1. Mother tongue institutions (e.g. schools, community organizations, mass media,	Lack of mother tongue institutions
2. Cultural and religious ceremonies in the home language	Cultural and religious activity in the majority language
3. Ethnic identity strongly tied to home language	Ethnic identity defined by factors other than language
4. Nationalistic aspirations as a language group	Few nationalistic aspirations
5. Mother tongue the homeland national language	Mother tongue not the only homeland national language, or mother tongue spans several
6. Emotional attachment to mother tongue giving self-identity and ethnicity	Self-identity derived from factors other than shared home language
7. Emphasis on family ties and community cohesion	Low emphasis on family and community ties. High emphasis on individual achievement
8. Emphasis on education in mother tongue schools to enhance ethnic awareness	Emphasis on education in majority language
9. Low emphasis on education if in majority language	Acceptance of majority language education
10. Culture unlike majority language culture	Culture and religion similar to that of the majority language

Linguistic Factors Encouraging Language Maintenance	Linguistic Factors Encouraging Language Loss
1. Mother tongue is standardized and exists in a written form	Mother tongue is non-standard and/or not in written form
Use of an alphabet which makes printing and literacy relatively easy	Use of writing system that is expensive to reproduce and relatively difficult to learn
3. Home language has international status	Home language of little or no international importance
4. Home language literacy used in community and with homeland	Illiteracy (or aliteracy) in the home language
Flexibility in the development of the home language (e.g. limited use of new terms from the majority language)	No tolerance of new terms from majority language; or too much tolerance of loan words leading to mixing and eventual loss

Note. Adapted from Conklin & Lourie, 1983 (In Baker & Prys Jones, 1998, p. 182).

We shall explore in the subsequent chapters the extent to which the experiences of my participants

reflect the claims made by Conklin and Lourie.

Consequences for L1 Loss

Wong Fillmore's (1991c) work is the research which led me to become fascinated with the social influence on bilingual child-rearing. In this study, the researcher analysed 1001 families, 690 in the main sample consisting of various ethnic groups and 311 Spanish families in the comparison sample. The comparison group (i.e., Spanish families) sent their children to preschools which conducted programmes entirely in L1. The author found that children in the main sample were quickly losing their L1, therefore losing the means to communicate with their parents. On the other hand, the comparison group managed to maintain their L1 (See Table 2.2).

Table 2.2 Changes in Language Use at Home After Children Attended Early Education Programmes

	Main Sample		Comparison	
	No.	(%)	No. (%)	
No noticeable change	188	(30.9)	49	(18.3)
Negative change (Less HL, More E)	308	(50.6)	29	(10.8)
Positive change (More HL)	98	(16.1)	185	(69)
Neutral (Less E)	15	(2.4)	5	(1.9)
Totals	609	(100)	268	(100)

Note. Adapted from Wong Fillmore, 1991c, p. 332.

The paper cites one tragic example of a breakdown in family unity in a Korean family. The author warns about the long-term consequences of L1 loss, indicating social and psychological damage it may cause in an immigrant household.

Cummins (1991) also conducted a similar study with 20 Portuguese background primary schoolers residing in Toronto. He found that language shift was occurring even in homes where the parents used predominantly L1 (i.e., Portuguese). He also found that L1 proficiency and L2 reading skills were positively related.

From these two research studies, an obvious question arises: If L1 maintenance is such a

vital component for the wellness of immigrant families, why are not all parents pursuing bilingual child-rearing? (See also Snow, 1992) What are the factors which deter them from making the decision to raise their children bilingually? Later in this research I will show how intricate social settings contribute to the language policy my participants adopted.

Work with Japanese-English Focus

Three books specifically target the notion of Japanese-English bilingualism. One is by Ono (1994) who, much like Colin Baker's (1988, 1995, 2000) work, offers a comprehensive view of bilingualism. His book is intended for non-academics who are unfamiliar with various SLA theories, and he presents the material in an accessible way. He also provides numerous case-studies to illustrate his point. His stance is that bilingualism should be encouraged so that the Japanese returnees will be able to keep their L2 (i.e., English). However, he emphasizes the importance of cultivating a solid foundation in one language first before adding on a second language.

Nakajima's (1998a) work is also similar to that of Ono's, intended for parents as readers. By introducing numerous research studies pertaining to SLA in a way that is comprehensible for non-academics, the author de-mystifies the process of becoming a bilingual and urges Japanese parents to consider bilingual language learning as a plausible and desirable goal for Japanese children. Contrary to Ono's work which focuses on Japanese returnees in Japan, Nakajima's work is intended for those who are raising Japanese children outside Japan. In her other work, Nakajima (1998b) writes for readers who are raising Japanese children abroad and the ways parents can promote Japanese learning and maintenance. However, Nakajima (1998a) is cautious not to celebrate biligualism without question. Instead she concludes with an important remark about the uniqueness of bilingual children (p. 227), much in line with the notion that bilinguals are multi-competent (Cook, 1992) and that bilingualism does not simply equate to the sum of two monolingualisms (Grosjean, 1989). Therefore, reconceptualization of bilingual competence is called for in order to correctly assess bilingual children.

Academic Success and L2 Proficiency: Concern for All Parents

Any parents' primary concern is the well-being of their children. Academic success is often regarded as one factor which contributes to the child's success in life. It is only natural that

the immigrant parents share the same concern. They realize that in order to succeed academically in our society, English proficiency is an absolute prerequisite. As a result of the fear that L1 maintenance might have a detrimental effect on English development, some immigrant parents abandon L1 usage at home (Wong Fillmore, 1991c; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981).

Vocabulary Growth and Bilingualism

Of all the SLA research and theories, I wished to look closely at bilingual children's vocabulary acquisition for two reasons: first, vocabulary acquisition was a topic of discussion and concern for many of my participants who believed L1 maintenance interfered with academic achievement (Garcia, 1991, in Corson, 1995, p. 27), and secondly, vocabulary knowledge is a common marker and tool of assessment in our education practices (Corson, 1995, p. 15).

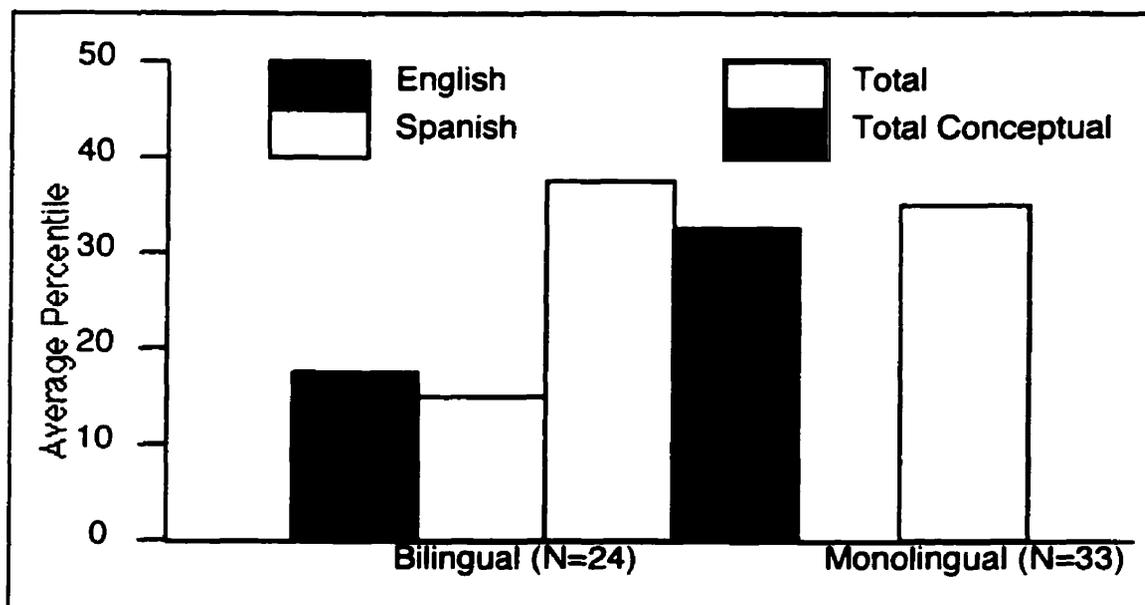
Pearson, Fernández, and Oller

Pearson, Fernández, and Oller (1995) conducted a study consisting of 24 Spanish-English bilingual children aged three years or younger. They were compared to 35 monolinguals using four measures of lexical knowledge: English, Spanish, Total Vocabulary (TV) and Total Conceptual Vocabulary (TCV). TV measured the knowledge of lexicon in both English and Spanish, minus the common words found in both languages. TCV counted the lexical concepts. Therefore, shared concepts in the two languages were counted as one.

The goal of the researchers was to test the generally accepted negative effects of bilingualism on lexical measures. That is, to see if bilingual children show lower levels of receptive vocabulary compared to monolinguals as noted by previous research findings (Ben-Zeev, 1977; Rosenblum & Pinker, 1983; Doyle, Champagne, & Segalowitz, 1978). Pearson, Fernández, and Oller, much like the earlier comment made by Nakajima (1998), question the appropriateness of using monolingual vocabulary norms to evaluate bilinguals, and in order to account for the whole lexical knowledge of bilinguals, they developed four measures of lexical knowledge: English, Spanish, TV, and TCV.

As suspected, each language of bilingual children did show fewer words than in the monolinguals, but measures of the bilingual children's production in the two languages together indicated comparable vocabularies for bilingual and monolingual children (See Figure 2.2).

Figure 2.2 Bilingual and monolingual percentiles averaged across ages (Production)



Note. Adapted from Pearson, Fernández, & Oller, 1995, p. 44.

Pearson and Fernández

In this study Pearson and Fernández (1994) extended the previous research and explored the relationship between the L1 and L2 vocabulary acquisition by comparing the rate and pace of the lexical spurt experienced by bilingual children to that of monolinguals'. They describe the lexical spurt to be the time when children's rate of acquisition sharply accelerates around acquisition of 25 or 50 words (p. 620). According to the norming sample given in MacArthur Communicative Development Inventories (CDI) by Fenson et al. (1991), which presents vocabulary measures for 1,600 children, the age of first words is generally between nine and 14 months; the median age for producing 50 words is between 16 and 17 months; and the median age for 100 words is between 18 and 20 months.

Pearson and Fernández (1994) found similar rate and pace of development in bilingual children compared to monolingual children. However, they found no child showing a spurt in both languages at once. Furthermore, only a few children showed equal growth in both languages. That is, the majority of the children appeared to concentrate growth in one language at a time.

Umbel and Oller

Umbel and Oller (1995) mention two possible significant factors which influence bilingual lexical development: social attitude and interdependence between L1 and L2.

The authors cite Lambert's (1977) additive and subtractive bilingualism which are a product of social attitudes about language in the community. Appreciation and openness toward majority and minority cultures and languages lead to additive circumstances. Umbel and Oller conclude that the social environment as well as the socioeconomic status of the family may influence linguistic and educational outcomes in bilingual children.

Umbel and Oller collected data on Spanish and English receptive vocabulary development among 102 Spanish/English bilingual students in grades one, three, and six. They found that increased exposure to English at home was related to increased English receptive vocabulary development, but Spanish scores were near mean values regardless of the extent of English exposure at home. They also found that by the sixth grade, the children in the study had native-like receptive vocabulary skills in both English and Spanish, suggesting that they did not suffer subtractive bilingualism and its hypothesized negative effects. Therefore, they conclude that learning two languages at once does not harm development in the first language. They claim that Spanish receptive vocabulary development was the strongest predictor of English receptive vocabulary scores, thereby supporting the interdependence hypothesis (Cummins, 1979). They conclude that increased exposure to English at home was unrelated to Spanish receptive vocabulary performance, and that exposure to English and Spanish at home appeared sufficient both to maintain Spanish receptive vocabulary skills and lay the ground work for improvement in English receptive vocabulary development. However, it is important to note that Umbel and Oller only took note of *receptive* lexicon in both languages. It is crucial not to extrapolate their findings in terms of overall vocabulary development.

Lindholm and Padilla

Lindholm and Padilla (1977) examined the language samples of five Spanish/English bilingual children between ages two and six and found that only two percent of the total utterances contained mixes. The mixes were mainly single lexicon, and very few phrasal mixes were observed. The authors conclude that mixing may have occurred because of the absence of the lexical entry in the appropriate language or because mixed entry is more salient to the child. They conclude that children are able to differentiate their two linguistic systems from an early age

because whenever the mixes occurred the structural consistency of the utterance was maintained.

Genesee

Similar to the claim made by Lindholm and Padilla (1977), Genesee (1989) also sees bilinguals as possessing not only one lexical system but two differentiated sub-systems. He explains that mixing may decline with development, not because separation of the language is taking place but rather because the children are acquiring more complete linguistic repertoires and, therefore, do not need to borrow from or overextend between languages.

Besides the complementary effect of L1 and L2 lexicon, he also proposes that perhaps parental input may be another source for language mixing by bilingual children. That is, it is possible that bilingual children mix the two languages because they have heard mixing by their parents or other speakers in the environment. To support his claim Genesee cites Goodz's (1989) finding, that frequency of occurrence of children's mixed utterances is correlated with the frequency of occurrence of parental mixing (See also Goodz, 1994). Therefore, Genesee suggests that bilingual children are able to differentiate their language systems from the beginning. He concludes that it is necessary to study the language models to whom bilingual children are exposed to in order to understand all possible sources of mixing.

Emerging Notion of Bilingualism

Following the earlier discussion, we come to view bilingualism not as a sum of two monolingualisms, but rather consisting of complex interplay between L1 and L2 systems (Grojean, 1989; see also Cook, 1992). Furthermore, it seems that bilinguals' languages develop according to different social functions these languages serve, depending on the environment they are immersed in, instead of following an unitary path for both languages.

All of the studies reviewed above seem to agree that simultaneous multiple language learning does not hamper L1 or L2 lexical growth (Pearson, Fernández, & Oller, 1993; Pearson & Fernández, 1994; Lindholm & Padilla, 1977). Furthermore, social factors seem to play a significant part in lexical development (Umbel & Oller, 1995; Genesee, 1989), home environment being one of them. Therefore, examination of the nature and amount of parental input at home would give us important insights into learning about vocabulary learning of bilingual children. Bilingual children have been too often wrongfully blamed for their apparent "slowness" in the past, but Cummins (1984) contends that :

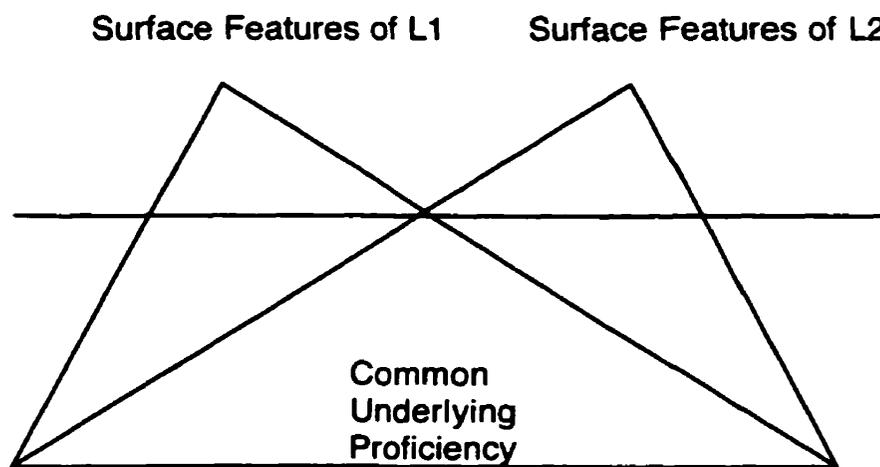
Information from either parents or L1 teachers regarding the student's functioning in an L1 context can also sometimes provide clues about whether the student is experiencing genuine learning problems as opposed to temporary difficulties due to a non-English background. (p. 56)

For this reason, parental input becomes even more essential in de-mystifying the language acquisition process of bilingual children. Furthermore, the parents can become actively involved as a liaison between L1 and L2 teachers. This liaison function is currently missing from our current education system. That is, they can serve as a link between "regular" school teachers and HL teachers.

In sum, when each language system is assessed separately, these studies suggest that bilingual children's lexical capacity in L2 (i.e., English) is smaller than that of their monolingual peers. In the various bilingual models of figure 2.1, Pearson, Fernández, and Oller's (1993) findings suggest that bilingual children's lexical capacity can be best described by the model (c), "doubly bilingual".

The findings do not necessarily refute Cummins' (1979, 1996) interdependency hypothesis, which proposes that there is an underlying common proficiency between different languages.

Figure 2.3: Dual Iceberg Representation of Bilingual Proficiency



Note: Adapted from Cummins, 1996, p. 111.

However, when the two "icebergs", each representing a language system, are only seen individually and with an attitude privileging L2 capacity, bilinguals' language system can be

wrongly perceived as deficient.

Despite the contention of researchers (i.e., Nakajima, 1998a; Grosjean, 1989; Cook, 1992) that it is inappropriate and misleading to measure bilingualism using monolingual norms, immigrant parents are concerned about the possible negative effects of learning two languages simultaneously. If learning L1 is perceived as learning at the expense of L2, some parents would opt out from pursuing bilingual child-rearing. Parents' perceptions of possible costs associated with promoting L1 in the home are influenced by the structure of our education system which systematically privileges monolinguals over bilinguals.

Immigrant Parents Making a Difference

Parental role in language learning and maintenance

Teaching and learning languages communicatively has been a trend in the field of SLA research (See Brumfit & Johnson, 1979). Krashen and Terrell (1983) support language learning in a "natural" way, devoid of rote learning or explicit grammar teaching. In this sense, immigrant children are immersed in an ideal situation in which they have the means to learn L1 communicatively at home and L2 at school where the focus is not so much on linguistic forms but on communication.

School programmes soliciting parental involvement

In terms of academic and literacy development, there are several research studies which document the positive effects immigrant parents exert in educating their children. One example is by Ada (1988) which notes the successful literacy programme for the Pajaro Valley School District in California. Of the 14,497 students in the district, approximately 54% are Hispanics; 26.9% are migrant children; and 34.5% do not speak English fully. High school drop out rate was reported to be 34.5% for the general population and 53.6% for the Hispanic population (Ada, 1988, p. 224).

A concerned group of Hispanic parents gathered once a month to seek ways to improve children's literacy. The school established a partnership with the parents in support of their action. Information regarding the use of Spanish at home was disseminated, and suggestions were made for the development of language skills. One task was creative reading. Parents were invited to choose a book in Spanish from the school library which they could take home and read to their children. Parents were also given a list of questions to facilitate home discussions with

their children. This project produced a great increase in Hispanic children's literacy skills. Because of the very inclusive nature of the project, parents' input was deemed important for decision making and goal-setting, which in turn increased the comfort and confidence level of Hispanic parents.

Likewise Moll, Amanti, Neff, and Gonzalez (1992) document how immigrant parents' skills were recognized, appreciated, and incorporated in curriculum design and delivery. Immigrant parents were seen as an important source of information in educating children.

As the above research indicate, immigrant parents are important partners in educating their children. Without their input and support, the education of these children will forever remain partial and insufficient. In order to invite their participation, it is vital that we learn the complex and intricate experiences of these parents.

CHAPTER 3

Research Methodology

This research gathers the recollections of, or stories, of immigrant parents. My hope was to unveil the feelings, the conflicts, the hopes and ideas of immigrant parents who chose to maintain L1 at home, and share my findings with other researchers, educators, and policy makers.

Life History Research

In order to make my findings accessible to all, it was important for me to find a method and a way to disseminate my findings which any layperson would be able to understand and appreciate. I also needed a methodology which would allow me to take account of numerous variables in a holistic way (Valsiner, 1989, pp. 292-293; Landry & Allard, 1991, p. 201; Merriam, 1988, p. 10, p. 16). As Cummins (1999) notes that in most scientific disciplines:

knowledge is generated not by evaluating the effects of particular treatments under strictly controlled conditions but by observing phenomena, forming hypotheses to account for the observed phenomena, testing these hypotheses against additional data, and gradually refining the hypotheses into more comprehensive theories that have broader explanatory and predicative power. (p. 30)

I believe that although qualitative research may not be appropriate to derive a general theory applicable in any situation, it allows me to confirm or negate existent theories or hypotheses. What I wished to do was to collect and analyse data which are not confined to artificial, controlled conditions but which reflect naturally occurring reality, and see how these data fit the theories proposed by academics.

For these reasons I turned to qualitative research methodology with which I can retrieve rich and detailed data. Because I wished to make a connection between personal experiences and social factors, I chose life history research (Cole, 1991; Dollard, 1971; Goodson, 1992; Hatch & Wisniewski, 1995; Sparkes, 1994) as my research method.

Life history research allows me to collect narratives which are then placed in a larger social setting for analysis (Cole & Knowles, in press). Instead of only analysing the narrative itself, life history research further incorporates social factors which can help recover the meaning of the

narrative (Hatch & Wisniewski, 1995). It is especially crucial to realize the importance of social factors in this study because the external factors are believed to be the agent of individual belief and action (Wertsch, 1985).

Life history research, I believe, is particularly relevant and appropriate in this study because the experiences of immigrant parents are largely untold stories (See Soto, 1997). Their visions are largely missing from academic and professional discourse, and it is important for educators, researchers, and policy makers to recognize and appreciate the rich and complex experiences of immigrant parents in raising their children in a foreign country. Cole and Knowles (in press) write:

life history inquiry, fundamentally, is about gaining insights into the broader human condition by coming to know and understand the experiences of other humans. It is about understanding a situation, profession, condition, or institution through coming to know how individuals walk, talk, live and work within that particular context. It is about understanding the relationship, the complex interaction, between life and context, self and place. It is about comprehending the complexities of a person's day-to-day decision-making and the ultimate consequences which play out in that life so that insights into the broader, collective experience may be achieved. (pp. 11-12)

Merriam (1988) also writes how the:

research focused on discovery, insight, and understanding from the perspectives of those being studied offers the greatest promise of making significant contributions to the knowledge base and practice of education. (p. 3)

My interests are these: I wish to better understand the experiences of Japanese immigrant parents; to find out why, how, and in what context they made their home language choice. Furthermore, as Cole and Knowles (in press) point out, I believe “every in-depth exploration of an individual life-in-context brings us that much closer to understanding the complexities in communities” (p. 12). My hope is that our enriched understanding of immigrant families will allow us to re-examine our own connections and practices as teachers, educators, and policy makers, ultimately resulting in better education for all immigrant children.

Epistemological Function of Narratives

Narrative inquiry has long been devalued in academic settings (Conle, 1997, p. 183). The validity of qualitative research findings has been much debated in the past. However, qualitative research certainly does not imply that “anything goes” (Eisner, 1991), although one might ask, “how could we challenge someone else’s story? If the narrator claims the story to be true, there is

not much one can do to test his or her claim!” The goal of qualitative work, such as life history research and narrative inquiry, is not to test the “truthfulness” of someone else’s story or “applicability” of someone’s story to that of another (See Cole & Knowles, in press). Rather, I believe stories are a meaning-making tool, with which we organize and understand our experiences (Conle, 1997c, p. 206). Often the meaning-making process occurs on a sub-conscious level, or what Carr calls the “pre-theoretical level”, a level of everyday experience where our awareness “is not informed by the cognitive interests of a discipline” (Carr, 1986, p. 18). However, when we come to narrate our stories, we come to a greater understanding and appreciation of our own experiences. In this sense, self-reflection using narrative means can be a very intra-personal process.

Reflection can also occur on a social, inter-personal plane. Connelly and Clandinin (1990, p. 4) contend that understanding is a social process. As we tell our stories and listen to others’, there is a transformation; reformulation of our understanding constantly occurs as a result of experiential storytelling as well as story listening (Conle, 1997c, p. 205). As Jackson (1987) notes, stories change us (p. 313) and make us who we are (p. 316).

However, despite the enriching experience narrating and listening to narratives affords us, not all of us appreciate and feel comfortable with telling stories. This notion was one of the first obstacles I had to grapple with in soliciting participation for this research.

Difficulties Soliciting Participation

Initially the study was designed to interview six different parents; three of those who are now raising their children and three who have finished child-rearing. However, difficulties arose when it came time to recruit participants, largely due to three factors:

- 1) perception of research in general on the part of the parents
- 2) the possibility that some parents perceived themselves as failures
- 3) restrictions imposed by the research design

Let us begin by discussing the first point.

Perception of Research

When I first approached several families in the spring of 1997, many showed reluctance to participate in the research. Their typical reason for not wanting to participate was “We aren’t experiencing any problems regarding our children’s language learning, so we really don’t have

anything to talk about” or “We haven’t done anything special, so I have nothing to share”.

The assumption was that they had to have a “problem” or something “special” to share in order to participate meaningfully in this study. Some even seemed rather offended that I had approached them, perhaps because they assumed that I had perceived them as examples of failure in raising bilingual children, which certainly was not the case. In my letter of consent, I provided an outline of my research intentions and agenda and explained to them the nature of the research - that I did not wish to be judgmental about their practices but simply wished to document their experiences. Yet, none of the effort seemed to change their minds.

For me, opening up and sharing my stories with others are important routines in my everyday life. Having appreciation for sharing narratives (Conle & Sakamoto, in press) and believing in the social creation of knowledge (Wertsch, 1985), I perceived story telling and sharing to be one of the constructive things one can accomplish. I had assumed that others shared such appreciation when in fact that was not the case. Even among those who willingly participated in this study, some were still very reluctant to open up and share their stories as I had wanted them to.

Parents Perceiving Themselves as Failures?

I also got a sense that some parents were not willing to participate in this research because they felt they have failed in raising their children bilingually. However, this is strictly a conjecture since none of the parents I approached mentioned this in a straightforward manner, therefore I end my claim “Parents perceiving themselves as failures” with a question mark. Some mentioned time restrictions, some expressed uneasiness in sharing stories, and some simply refused to give any reason for not wanting to participate. What is interesting is that this reluctance to participate not only was a trait of mothers who had given up raising their children bilingually but mothers who were successful in raising their children bilingually also shared this reluctance. However, for ethical reasons I did not force them to go into more details about their reluctance to participate, so I cannot make firm conclusions. Although I tried to show a non-judgmental stance by never ranking monolingualism, bilingualism, and trilingualism, I suspect that some parents adopt the social ideal that one is better than the other. On the other hand, one very successful mother in raising her two children bilingually expressed her unwillingness to participate in this research because, interestingly, she was not particularly proud of her accomplishment. She is of course happy for and proud of her children’s success, but she said sadly that she simply raised them bilingually because she cannot speak English. In other words, she was extremely proud of her children, but

not of herself.

The Nature and Design of the Research

The fact that the life history research requires the researcher and the participant to engage in meaningful dialogue required me to find participants with whom I felt comfortable to work. Although Glesne and Peshkin (1992) warn of the dangers in 'backyard research' (p. 21), I did not wish to work with just anybody, even if they fulfilled the necessary requirements to be participants. For this reason, I solicited my participants from people that I already knew.

In some cases, even though I felt strong bonding with some Japanese immigrant mothers, I did not recruit them because they were married to a non-Japanese. That is, many Japanese immigrants are married to Canadians and people of various ethnic backgrounds. Inter-ethnic couples were purposely avoided in this study because this additional factor was thought to be confounding and would further complicate the matter pertaining to language use at home. This also severely restricted the number of potential candidates for the study.

Participants

Five Japanese immigrant parents were interviewed. In order to participate in this research the following criteria had to be met:

- Both parents are Japanese immigrants
- The parents immigrated to Canada within the past thirty years
- Both parents were educated in Japan

Inter-ethnic couples were eliminated from this research because the inter-ethnicity complicates the study due numerous confounding factors. Japanese-Canadians and Japanese immigrants residing in Canada for more than forty years were also omitted in selecting the sample because of the belief that their lengths of stay in Canada would possibly allow them to be much more "Canadian" than Japanese. The assumption is that, if they are already very much "Canadian", they would not experience as great an ideological and linguistic gap compared to the recent immigrants, therefore not really reflecting the difficulties new immigrants face or the needs they have. For example, I believe that language maintenance within a household would be the most pressing issue for the first-generation families but not necessarily so in second- and third generation families.

Despite my difficulties in soliciting participation, I was fortunate to have six wonderful participants: Eiko, Hiroshi and Yumiko, Naoko, Michiko, and Tama. They are all Japanese-born and Japanese-educated, and married to a fellow Japanese with children who are all Canadian-

educated. Eiko, Hiroshi, Yumiko and Naoko have children who are attending school; Michiko's and Tama's children are now adults. Hiroshi and Yumiko are a couple. All of my participants practice "one-parent, one-language" policy where English and Japanese are not mixed together. Instead, each participant claimed to use only Japanese with his/her children.

Table 3.1 Profile of Japanese Immigrant Parents Interviewed

Name	Occupation	Year of Arrival (Years in Canada)	Children at home (Age)	Canadian-born children?
Eiko	Homemaker	1983 (17)	Karin (13)	Yes
Hiroshi	Artist	1983 (17)	Yuki (9), Ai (7)	Yes, Yes
Yumiko	Hair stylist	1983 (17)	"	"
Naoko	Journalist	1979 (21)	Joh (16)	Yes
Michiko	Teacher	1968 (31)	Kei (29), Risa (26)	Yes, Yes
Tama	Homemaker	1976 (24)	Shuji(38), Kimiko(37) Mineko (32)	No, No No

It is interesting to note how children who are born in Canada are given names that are either easy to Anglicise or easy to pronounce (e.g., Karin is very similar to the English name Karen; Yuki and Ai are short and easy to pronounce). Eiko, Hiroshi, and Yumiko chose to maintain their true names. Others opted to use pseudonyms in this study. Although Naoko's, Michiko's, and Tama's children's names are pseudonyms, I tried to give them names that reflect the original names. I believe the children's names are symbolic of what the parents long for; their children's acceptance in Canadian society as well as preservation of their Japanese identity.

A description of each participant is given in detail in the following chapters so they will not

be provided here. However, the reasons for choosing them are as follows.

Reason for Choosing My Participants

Eiko

Having met Eiko and her family on several occasions, I felt that this family lived quite contentedly in Toronto. Eiko's daughter, Karin, spoke both English and Japanese fluently, and I recall being very impressed with Karin's mannerism which to me seemed very Japanese-like: quiet, gentle, and polite.

Eiko's friendly, approachable, and open personality, was also an important factor for me. Being able to share stories with someone else is no easy task, but I felt that we could engage in a meaningful dialogue.

Hiroshi and Yumiko

I had known Hiroshi and Yumiko through my parents who were very impressed by the way they were raising their two daughters, Yuki and Ai. When I met them for the first time, it made me feel very content to see such a happy family. Both Hiroshi and Yumiko are very dedicated parents who always listen attentively to their daughters and respond in a respectful, loving way. My desire was to seek parents who could possibly be role-models for other mothers. I felt that Hiroshi and Yumiko would be ideal participants for this reason.

The fact that Yuki and Ai were enrolled in an early French immersion programme was another appealing factor. Although there are many families in Canada pursuing their challenge to raise their children bilingually, of the families I approached, I found only this family who was raising their children trilingually.

Naoko

Naoko and I have known each other for a long time. My first part-time job as a high school student was to write a monthly article for the Japanese local newspaper which Naoko and her husband publish. When I started working there, their son Joh had just been born, so I had the pleasure of knowing him since he was an infant.

I always liked Naoko and respected the way she managed demanding work and motherhood at the same time. She was well-known in the Japanese community in Toronto, due to the nature of her work as an editor and writer for the newspaper company, and I felt that she was one of a few people who had lots of exposure to different stories. One interesting comment made

by Naoko that caught my attention was, “I chose to raise Joh as a bilingual, seeing how well you learned two languages.”

Michiko

I have also known Michiko for several years. Our relationship first began as a student and a teacher; she was my Japanese language teacher when I was in my 7th and 8th year at *hoshuko* in Toronto. She was a popular teacher among my classmates for her enthusiasm in teaching. Later, she became my supervisor when I began teaching Japanese at a college in Toronto. She was also teaching Japanese there and was acting as a programme coordinator.

Because she has dedicated many years to Japanese education in Toronto, I was interested to listen to her stories. Interestingly, she did not impose Japanese learning on her two children.

Tama

Tama happens to be my friend’s mother, and I have had the pleasure of knowing Tama through her. I wanted to interview Tama because she represents an interesting case where the parent did not make her children attend Japanese school, but nevertheless her children attained a high level of Japanese proficiency. My belief was that language learning is difficult without institutional support, and I was curious to find out what kind of effort Tama put in raising her children to be bilingual.

Data Sources

The data were collected from various sources: one-to-one interview, field notes, photographs, children’s works, my journal, my feedback notes to participants, and written reflective accounts of some participants.

Interview

One-on-one interviews were an integral part of this study. They ranged in frequency, as each of my participants had different schedules and work demands. Eiko was most generous with her time, allowing me to visit her once a week for three months and spending two hours for each interview. Hiroshi and Yumiko allowed me to meet with them for two hours for each interview as well, but our meetings only lasted for a month due to the beginning of summer holidays. That summer, Hiroshi and his family travelled to Japan for two weeks, visiting relatives. Naoko is a busy working mother, but she made every effort to meet me as often as time allowed. This meant

meeting about once every three weeks. On the other hand, meeting with Michiko and Tama only took one meeting since their stories are already 'complete' in a sense that they have finished raising their children bilingually, unlike other mothers who are grappling with the task in progress.

Field Notes

Field notes were taken throughout each interview session. These were to provide back-up information for the tape-recorded interviews as well as to note questions and issues arising from the interview. Other details such as the physical descriptions of the settings and participants and basic information such as the date, time, and duration of the interviews were also documented. Later, the field notes provided one of the means by which important segments of the interview were identified and extracted for further analysis and thematization.

Artifacts

Some participants initiated sharing of concrete artifacts such as family photographs, and children's homework assignments and tests. One parent, Naoko, showed me a booklet not made by her son Joh but by his former Japanese classmates as a farewell gift.

Besides those items shared by my participants, I also noted any interesting artifacts I found in my participants' homes. Paintings or posters drawn by my participants, types of books and videos in the room, pets they have, even the types of furniture in the room; they were all very telling of who my participants were.

Journal

In order to identify and follow my thoughts and where I was heading, I kept a journal throughout my data collection. This helped me during the time I was collecting my data and afterwards in analyzing the data when I wanted to recall my emotions and thoughts as I was doing the interviews.

Feedback Notes

Feedback notes were written by me in a form of a letter to each of my participants. They were written usually within three days after each interview. They reflected my interpretation of what they had said in the interview, and raised issues for further clarification when I was uncertain about some issues. They also contained questions which I did not get a chance to ask during the interview session.

These letters were written in Japanese, about a page in length. I normally began my interviews by asking my participant to read it first while I was setting up my equipment for tape

recording and note taking. Therefore, each interview, in a way, built up on the previous interview.

Written Reflective Accounts of Participants

As an option I asked my participants to write down their thoughts about the previous interview session. Eiko and Hiroshi wrote me extensive notes on their thoughts about bilingual child-rearing (Appendix A & B) which facilitated the thematization.

Data Collection and Analysis: The Process

In order to ensure rigor, transparency of the research process is a vital component in qualitative research (Wolcott, 1994; Cole & Knowles, in press). The following is an account of the meaning-making process I experienced as I collected, analysed, and interpreted my data.

Data collection

As I had hoped to interview Japanese immigrant families from the onset of my doctorate programme, I had approached several families on a casual basis, explaining my research intention. However, I began formally soliciting participants with my letter of consent (Appendix C) in the spring of 1998. My weekly meetings with Eiko commenced on April 1, 1998, which lasted until July of 1998. Naoko was contacted in April of 1998, thereafter meeting about once every three weeks. Hiroshi was also contacted in April of 1998, and our weekly meeting began June 12 which lasted for about two months.

Michiko and Tama were only interviewed once because their child-rearing experience is not on-going but past. Michiko was contacted in August of 1998 and interviewed in September of 1998. Tama was also contacted around that time, but due to personal reasons, our interview had to be delayed till the fall of 1999.

Interviews with Eiko, Hiroshi and Yumiko, and Tama took place in their homes. Because Naoko works, our interview took place in a coffee shop located below the office at which she works. Michiko visited my home to be interviewed. Each interview, except with Naoko, took at least two hours each. Due to time constraints at work, Naoko's interviews were approximately 45 minutes to an hour each. Our conversations were all recorded on tape, and field notes were kept during all interviews.

I offered to conduct the interviews in the language of choice for my participants (i.e., either in English or in Japanese) but as expected all participants requested to be interviewed in Japanese.

Although I had initially encountered resistance from four parents who had declined my

request for interviews, all my participants showed appreciation and eagerness for their opportunity to share their experiences. One of my journal entry describes how:

surprisingly the conversation immediately took course from the very beginning before I had a chance to record anything. The conversation flowed so smoothly and casually that it would have been a shame to interrupt it, just to take notes or to record. (April 6, 1998)

From this experience I learned to begin recording very early, even as I was setting up my equipment.

Although all tapes were played and listened to repeatedly after each interview, only parts of the tapes, where I thought important points were covered, were transcribed and the rest was not. There is a reason for doing this. My initial plan was to transcribe everything on the tape first and then work with my transcripts, but as I began to do this I quickly became concerned about many metalinguistic cues (e.g., the tone of the voice) that were omitted in the transcript. I was afraid that my analysis may resultedly be skewed if I work only with the transcripts. I perceived my taped conversations to be the primary data source, and I preferred to select relevant items not from a prepared transcripts but rather from the actual conversations.

The feedback notes, along with my journals, served as my preliminary data analysis tool, allowing me to make meanings out of the conversations we had by identifying concepts or themes and making connections among them. Making connections was facilitated by using the Activity Model (Engeström, 1999) which not only enlists the agents, or themes, of the activity (i.e., in this case bilingual/trilingual child-rearing) but allowed me to display them in a dynamic manner as well as to place the activity in a social framework. This was particularly useful not only for representation purpose but also for organizing my thoughts and understanding the connection among themes.

Analysis

The analysis of my data occurred on several different levels. First, the story that was told by my participants was already, in a sense, “analysed” by them as they shared with me what they deemed relevant for my research topic (i.e., language learning and maintenance of their children). Then I recorded my interpretation of their stories in a form of feedback sheet which was given to each participant in the subsequent interview. Our interview sessions frequently began by referring to the feedback sheet, negotiating and clarifying the meaning of the stories my participants had previously shared. In a sense, this was our collaborative meaning-making process, contributing to

the refinement of my understanding of their stories.

Then their stories were further analysed by me as I listened and selected pieces of taped stories which I believed to be relevant to my research topic, and then categorized the selected pieces according to emergent themes. This preliminary analysis of individual story is given as part of my “description” phase of the research in the next chapter. The stories I composed for the “Findings” chapter were then shared with each participant to confirm whether my writing reconstructed adequately his/her experiences. In doing this, instead of asking them to read excerpts of my writing, I met with my participants on an individual basis and translated my writing into Japanese as I read parts of my draft to them. This process served as a means of triangulation (Merriam, 1988, pp. 168-169) and added rigour to this study.

I further identify the essence of each participant’s experience and present it in a diagram in Chapter 5, using the Activity Model (Engeström, 1999), representing the dynamic connection among the themes identified rather than listing the themes detached from each other. Then, the models are compared in order to identify commonalities as well as differences in order to propose an “ideal” Activity Model believed to be conducive to language learning and maintenance. Finally, the ideas were extrapolated further to identify obstacles which would deter the actualization of the ideal model and the ways to overcome these obstacles are explored.

Conducting a Life History Research

My first difficulty was in soliciting participants. My assumption was that parents loved to engage in a conversation about their children, and that it would be relatively easy to seek participants. However, this was not the case.

Because of the demand the task placed on them, having to be interviewed frequently on a regular basis, as well as the nature of the research, requiring them to open up and share their personal stories, parents who have small children, those who work, and those who know me little showed reluctance to participate.

This led me to solicit participation from those that I knew well. Although Glesne and Peshkin (1992) warns about conducting “backyard” research, I believe there were many positive sides in conducting one. For example, I believe it had a great affect on how much people were willing to open up to me (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992, p. 35). The rapport I had established with them prior to research contributed to the profound discussions I managed to engage with them.

Furthermore, the nature of the research allowed our rapport to strengthen, allowing us to reach a better mutual understanding. My understanding, or interpretation, of what my participants were telling me was also facilitated because I already had information about their personal backgrounds and where they were coming from.

My second difficulty was getting my participants to understand the philosophies behind life history research. Despite the fact that I explained the nature of the research in my letter of consent I distributed (Appendix A & B) and the fact that I re-explained it at the beginning of the first interview session, many seemed to feel uneasy at first to “just talk casually”. When they think of “research” and “interview”, they seem to envision something formal and rigid. My participants’ common claim was that they had nothing special to share with me; that they were concerned if whatever they have to say will be worthwhile to study. The following is an excerpt from my journal:

All six prospective candidates I approached said that they don’t know if they have a worthwhile things to say in interviews: one said they don’t have any ‘policy’ per se, another said they are just moving along, finding their way through the dark. One said that she didn’t have any problems to share with me. I was a little taken back by their reactions. None of them valued and took ownership of their own decision making. In other words, they don’t seem to give enough credit for themselves. They don’t have strong belief in what they are doing. (April 1, 1998)

The very fact that these parents felt powerless and unguided, as well as their limited conception of what research entails, made me feel stronger about the value my research has to offer (See Soto, 1997).

In terms of technicality in collecting data, I learned little things as I went along, such as to start taping at the very beginning, even before any conversation takes place, as not to make the act of recording too obvious and interfere with the conversation and to avoid abrupt change in topic as it contributes in creating a rigid atmosphere.

Despite a few obstacles, overall my research experience was largely a positive one. I enjoyed meeting the Japanese immigrant parents on a regular basis, as their stories were inherently connected to mine. I also enjoyed listening to and transcribing tapes: as I listened to them I was able to feel the profound love each parent had for the children.

In analysing data, I first imagined doing a straightforward thematic analysis, going over transcripts, field notes, feedback sheets, and so on to see if there were any recurring themes (Wolcott, 1994; Woods, 1986). However, when I was attempting to apply activity model

(Engeström, 1999) to my data for illustrative purpose. I felt that this would be the best way to present my data. Activity model allows me not only to show recurring themes, but represent the dynamic relationship among these themes.

CHAPTER 4

Research Findings: Participants' Stories

The following is a symphony of six voices: Eiko, Hiroshi, Yumiko, Naoko, Michiko, and Tama. They are written in a narrative mode in order to identify them not merely as “research participants” but also as “real people” in “real contexts”.

Quotes included in this chapter were originally entirely in Japanese. I present both my English translation and the original excerpts of the transcript. Inaudible recordings are indicated by four asterisks. Square brackets in English translation indicates parts of speech that are understood and omitted in Japanese.

* * *

Eiko's Story

Eiko is a 46 year old who lives with her husband and their 13-year old daughter Karin in an affluent neighbourhood in the east-end of Toronto. She is petite with wavy, shoulder-length hair. She immigrated to Canada in 1983 having married her husband who had already immigrated and worked in Toronto. Karin is Canadian-born.

Eiko is a vibrant women whom I immediately liked when I was first introduced to her through my husband several years ago. She happened to be the wife of my husband's colleague.

I found Eiko to be very approachable, always smiling and easy to talk to. She has a great sense of humour, is sensitive and compassionate. When I first mentioned this research to her, she showed keen interest in participating, and it was a great pleasure to meet her once a week for three months to carry on our conversation.

Eiko's character made my data collection task a very enjoyable one, but her home also played an important role in allowing us to feel comfortable in sharing our stories. Every time I arrived at the doorstep, Eiko would always greet me with a smile on her face, and invite me into the spacious living room.

She always kept her home immaculately tidy, with her compact stereo, potted green plants,

CDs, and photos displayed along the large living room window which took up the entire one side of the room and overlooked a quiet cul-de-sac. This huge window allowed in lots of sunlight and made the room nice and bright. Eiko sometimes had classic music on when I arrived, which she turned off when we began our interview. There were also several acrylic paintings in the room, some on the wall and others on an easel. One painting was a picture landscape, of trees whose branches were covered with pink flowers, which I believe are cherry blossoms. Cherry is the national flower of Japan, and it is a common annual tradition for the Japanese residing in Toronto to visit High Park in late April to early May to enjoy the magnificent blooming of the cherry trees which align the pond in the park.

Another painting which sat on an easel was still unfinished. It was a picture which Eiko was working on at the time of the interview. The painting was of her, her husband, and their daughter Karin. She also had a huge painting of young Karin and their dog Ringo, nicely framed and mounted on the wall. All of her paintings use abundant pastel colours such as of pink, white, and yellow and give the viewer a sense of warmth. Eiko said she has been taking art lessons for the past three years with other Japanese immigrant mothers. The instructor is also a Japanese artist. Eiko seemed to know how to pursue and enjoy the good life.

Our interview normally took about two hours for each session. Half way through our conversation, she would always slip into the kitchen and bring back a cup of steaming coffee or Japanese green tea for the two of us. Many times she also served me sweets such as a cake slice, Japanese rice crackers, or fruit salad, which were all good and refreshing. She would have the coffee poured in very delicate, fine tea cups or the Japanese tea in pastel coloured, slender, modern Japanese mugs. The coffee, tea, and snacks always tasted good, and I immediately realized that she was a gourmand who enjoyed good food. Many aspects of her lifestyle intrigued and inspired me. She seemed to be “laid back” and “easy-going” but she certainly was not a lethargic individual who did not care about the quality of life. She seemed to know herself well, and she seemed to be aware of little things which brought her joy.

Eiko emphasized several times at the beginning of the data collection process that her child-rearing experience may not be interesting and that it may not be useful for my research. However, as we met every week, her claim that her stories were not interesting subsided, and it seemed to bring back many memories which had been “hidden” underneath her consciousness. My weekly feedback (Appendix E) and literature I shared with her regarding with child-rearing abroad (e.g.,

Ono, 1994) seemed to have an impact on her thoughts and beliefs as well. My impression was that she was becoming more and more aware of the connections between her experiences and social factors surrounding her. Her thoughts were becoming more critical and profound.

It is strikingly evident from the transcripts that many of Eiko's stories struck a chord with my own experiences which I had not reflected upon until our interview. Her stories resonated with (Conle, 1996) and brought out many of my own stories, some of which I had forgotten for a long time. Our interviews seemed to help not only Eiko reflect and share her stories with me, but also helped me reflect on and share my own experiences.

Life Story of Eiko

Eiko studied child psychology at a Japanese university and holds a teaching certificate to teach elementary school children. She was born and raised in Fukuoka, a city located in the southern island of Kyushu. She had later moved to Tokyo.

Eiko has a younger sister who is now married with two children, one in grade one, the other in grade five. Because of her husband's assignment in the US, Eiko's sister and her family moved to Chicago where they have been living for six years.

This younger sister was the reason why Eiko came to Toronto in the first place. Even from an early age, Eiko's sister always dreamed of residing in a foreign country, learning and using English. Her sister fulfilled her dream by coming over to Toronto. She was hoping to immigrate to Canada.

One summer Eiko decided to visit her sister. Because she was only a tourist, she just enjoyed her stay by doing sightseeing, spending her time with her sister and her friends. Although Eiko enjoyed her stay, she had no intention to live in Toronto, until she met her husband through her sister. They got married and moved to Toronto in 1983, and their daughter Karin was born two years after their marriage.

Eiko mentioned that one of the first things she thought when she found out that she was pregnant was "What if I end up not being able to communicate with my child?" She feared that having to raise a child in Toronto implied an enormous, almost impossible task of raising a child using Japanese. "Until when will I be able to communicate to my child? Eventually the child will only speak English."

I thought about things like, "Oh, eventually I might end up not being able to

communicate (with my child)". That, even if he/she is my own child, we might lose the ability to communicate with each other. Wonder how much longer I would be able to convey what I want to convey to my child, wonder if I will be able to do so, thinking that someday the child will only come to know English.

あ、いつか会話ができなくなっちゃうかもしれないな、とかね。
思ったりしたんですよね。
自分の子供でありながら、あの、会話ができなくなっちゃうって
いうことあるんじゃないかな、とかね。... あ、いつまで子供とこんな風に
きちんとね、割と伝えたいことが伝わるっていうか。そういうことが
できるかな、とかね。私は子供っていうのはいつか英語になっちゃうんじや
ないか、とかね。

Challenges and Difficulties: Feeling of Doubt, Feeling of Fear

Eiko's feeling of fear and ambivalence was shared throughout the data collection process. Some of the sources for her feeling was the differences she perceived between Canada and Japan, the connection of language and thought, and language development for her daughter.

For example, she confessed that there are things in Canadian society which are not looked upon favourably by the Japanese society. Sitting cross-legged is one example. In Canadian society, children and adults alike sit cross-legged. However, in Japanese society, this is only done by men. Things like giving hugs and kisses as terms of endearment are also not commonly practised in Japanese culture. On the other hand, bowing is a habitual courteous routine for the Japanese but it is not practised in Western society. "How far can I impose Japanese ways of doing things to Karin?" questioned Eiko. After a pause she answered her own question: "I feel bad for hassling Karin to comply with Japanese ways of living, but I also feel it's important to convey how I think, and in the long-term, it will be beneficial for Karin to learn them". Although at the time she sounded convinced and assertive, later in the interview she again said, "I'm resistant to Karin adopting the Canadian way of life, but at the same time I feel sorry to impose on her the Japanese way. I have come this far still without solutions."

花梨がカナダ人的になるのもちょっと抵抗があって、かと言って
日本人を押し付けるのも花梨には負担だろうとかね、いう課題
ありますよね。...それは解答がないままこう来てるんですけど。

Her feeling of doubt does not only stem about discrepancies between Canadian and Japanese cultures. She is also not very confident about the choices she has made regarding

Karin's language learning. For example, she second guesses herself in her decision to allow Karin to discontinue *hoshuko*. Eiko questioned herself whether attending a supplementary school on Saturdays and managing both Canadian and Japanese school at the same time are burdensome tasks for Karin. "If I had met you earlier, I may not have made Karin quit *hoshuko*," she laughed, "but I feared that (attending *hoshuko*) may have been burdensome for Karin, knowing that regular school work was the most important..."

あ、もっと早くね、光代さんにお会いしていたらね、花梨も補習校辞めさせずに済んだなあとか（笑）思ったんですよ。と言うのは、あの私が光代さんが言ったみたいに、あ、これは花梨にとってあの、負担になるんじゃないか、現地校がどうしても主流になるのがわかっているの、あまり、補習校、補習校って言って、他の全然こっちに関係ない日本の例えば社会とか ...

Talking with me and having read a book entitled *Science of Bilingualism* (Ono, 1994), Eiko began to question the proficiency level Karin has attained in Japanese. She remembers how Karin used to make errors frequently in Japanese when she was younger. Whenever she pointed out the errors, Karin looked embarrassed, so ever since then Eiko said that she tries to minimize Karin's feeling of embarrassment.

When Karin was in elementary grade, she used to make many mistakes in Japanese. ...Because some of them are funny, I would laugh, right? Then she was somewhat hurt, looks embarrassed...I see Karin's reaction like that and think to myself, "Oh, I better not say something like this", fearing that she would begin to resent speaking in Japanese.

昔花梨がまだ低学年の頃に日本語の間違いが一杯あったんですね。...こっちがね、おかしいから笑っちゃったりするでしょ？そしたらなんとなく傷つくっていうかね、恥ずかしそうにしちゃうとかね。...私もそういう、こう、花梨の仕草を見て、「あ、あんまりこんな風に言うといけないな」とかね。日本語を喋らなくなっちゃったりしたらいけないな、とかね。

At the same time, Eiko feels that there's not much more she can do to encourage the Japanese language development of Karin within the boundaries of Japanese usage at home. Normally, Eiko and her husband do not use Japanese vocabulary which Karin will not understand. She expects Karin to acquire new vocabulary through reading Japanese literature.

When I think, "Oh, Karin won't understand this," then I automatically refrain from using such words when talking to Karin...but I would think that she would pick up (Japanese) vocabulary from other sources such as books.

あ、これは花梨は分からないな、とかいうような言葉はもう使わないようにもうしちゃいますよね、花梨と一緒に話してる時は。...だから、あとは本とかね、そういうので色々なポキャブラリーを習得するでしょうけど。

Ono's book (1994) seemed to have increased Eiko's awareness about language development and the relationship between the L1 and L2. She said she was eager to learn more about linguistic issues, but felt a barrier in getting more information here in Toronto, largely due to the language barrier. She noted:

I feel [that lots of information] is basically lacking...and the number one problem has to do with the school...But I can't attend things like seminars [about language learning and development] because of my limited English ... Mind you, I do not think aggressively of retrieving information...

沢山あると思いますね。...そして、一番基本はやっぱり学校の問題ですよね。...だけど結局、例えば英語のなんか集まりがあってもそういうふうな所に行けないんですね、私ね、英語力が乏しくて。...だけど、ある面では「情報、情報」っていう風には思わないですね。...

Instead of research findings which she felt did not always reflect reality, she wanted to hear stories of other parents. She feels that other people's stories and role-models can shed a positive light onto the challenges of raising bilingual children.

Assets in Raising a Bilingual Child

Eiko valued story telling as a source of useful information. Other positive influences Eiko mentioned in raising Karin as a competent bilingual included: language status of L1, multicultural environment in Toronto, admissions policy of Japanese universities, and raising an only-child.

Other parents' stories served as an unique and important resource for Eiko. They were examples of failures and successes in raising bilingual children. Each was a case-study full of implications and 'lessons' to be learned. She noted, "I'm interested in the stories of other mothers who are ahead of me in terms of child-rearing" and "I try to learn from other peoples mistakes and successes."

For example, Eiko said she assumed that all Canadian-born children will grow up learning English without any difficulties. Yet she's heard from other mothers with teenage sons and daughters that some of them dislike English, even when they are Canadian-born. Another example

she shared was a conflicted Japanese family whose Canadian-born child's values and Japanese-born parents' values collided.

Hearing other people's stories is also a reassurance for Eiko that she is "on the right track". She said, "I used to think that I'm the only one making Karin do Japanese Kumon, but when I heard veteran mother's story [that they too made her children take Kumon], I felt encouraged" and "I feel encouraged to see successful examples of bilingual child-rearing."

Eiko notes that she might not have been so encouraged to use L1 at home if the Japanese language did not enjoy the somewhat 'prestigious' status it enjoys today. She said, "I question whether I would have taught Karin Japanese if Japan was not such a prosperous nation."

Multicultural environment was another positive factor Eiko mentioned several times:

E: Because there are many immigrants here (laugh). [Canadians] don't impose by saying, "That has to be like this". On top of that, they do not interfere with non-Canadians.

M: Yes

E: No matter if you're Japanese or someone of other nationality, they don't seem to have any overwhelming expectations for non-Canadians (laugh).

M: Yes, yes

E: In that sense, [this country] is a good country for foreigners to live in

M: Yes

E: Up to now, I've never felt being overtly discriminated against.

映: ここは、カナダ人はね、移民者が多いから (笑)、いろんな人がいるから、こうじゃなくちゃいけないよ、っていうのは。で、それで、それプラス、あの、他の国の人にあまり干渉しないとかね

光: うん

映: 日本人だろうか、外国人であろうか、過度の興味がないっていうか (笑)

光: うんうん

映: そういう意味では外国人にとっては暮らしやすいというかね

光: ええ

映: 私今まで、不愉快な思いしたことないですしね

In fact, she is somewhat puzzled by the generosity of Canadians:

I [don't quite understand why] Canada accommodates foreign culture to

this extent...Canada accepts people from various nations...so I like the fact that it is not composed of one major ethnic group. Therefore, well, there must be a sense of comfort [living in Canada] for people like Karin.

異文化をここまで受け入れるっていうのは私は...カナダっていうのは沢山の人受け入れてるから、あまりにもいろんな国の人っていうか。...だから偏っていないのがいい。だから、ま、でも、そういった面の過ごし易さは花梨達もあるかもしれませんね。

At the same time, she is also thankful for the fact that Karin is growing up accustomed to and appreciative of diversity and differences. For example, Eiko notes how Karin interacts with other Muslim girls wearing veils without particularly noting the religious differences:

E: There are a few [Muslim children] in Karin's class too. When I visited the school, I took note that even children [wear veils]

M: Yes, yes

E: There are so many people from diverse backgrounds. Yes. It's a good thing.

映：なんか花梨のクラスにもいるんですけど、ま、学校に行くとそういう人が走り回っているの、ああ、子供でもこういう事するんだな、ってね

光：うんうん

映：あまりにも、なんかいろんな人がいるからね。うん。いいことですよね

Similarly, Eiko believes that *kaigaishijo*, Japanese students residing overseas, also are privileged because they are often exempted from having to take an entrance exam with other Japanese students when applying to a Japanese university. Instead they are usually required to write a short essay and go through an interview process, and in some cases, they are exempted from everything and their admission is determined solely by their high school marks and recommendation letters. In short, Japanese students residing abroad have an easier time getting into good universities than their Japanese-educated counterparts. "I was surprised to learn how easily a *kaigaishijo* can be admitted into a Japanese university" Eiko said. It is a fact she views not entirely fair to the Japanese students who must face tougher means to gain admission. Nonetheless, it is a policy which works in favour for *kaigaishijo* like Karin. "I tell Karin that she has a good chance to attend a Japanese university," Eiko smilingly said to me.

Finally, raising an only-child was regarded by Eiko as an asset in maintaining L1 at home. She believes that L2 usage among siblings is unavoidable and as a result, children quickly lose L1 (See Wong Fillmore, 1991c):

Parents may speak in Japanese but children answer them in English. And many families adopt this pattern...And there are families like ours, **** I'm a little concerned, but, it's like, people are simply amazed. I think it's because [i.e., Karin is able to maintain Japanese] [Karin is] the only child... [in fact] even when I told Karin that she can use English [whenever she's stuck]. For example, there are times when it's much clearer when you use English. But she said that was not necessary.

あの、日本語で話して、あの、日本語の答えは英語とかね。それは、もう、見本にされてるお家、多いですよ。そしたら、うちみたいに、あの、それこそ***ちょっと私心配してるんですけど、人がびっくりされるみたいだね、感じなんですよ。それはね、結局一人っ子のせいじゃないかなと私、思っているんですけど。...私言ったんですね、いいよ、英語で話したって、てね。たら、例えばね、英語で言った方が感覚が分かる時ってあるじゃないですか。でもいいって。

It seems that Karin identifies her mother as a Japanese, and this identity and Japanese language usage go hand-in-hand.

Perception of Bilingualism and Language Development

Eiko holds a rather realistic perspective of bilingualism. She noted how bilinguals were at one time given a high social status. Yet now she believes that this is no longer the case. She said, "There is now a necessity to raise a 'good' bilingual". That is, she feels that just having the ability to speak in English is no longer good enough; that specialized knowledge and written skills must be cultivated to be appreciated in our society. She also feels that more language one has, the better it is.

What seemed to have an impact on her understanding of language development was the book by Ono (1994). She said she had never read a book on bilingualism before and found it very intriguing:

I was shocked...but this was good. I never critically reflected in a profound way about bilingualism...

あのね、ショックはショックだったですよ。...でもそういうの良かったんですね。そういうこといままで考えたことなく。ほんとにね、漠然とバイリンガルってということについて考えていて...

Apparently this book provided 'confirmation' to some of the things Eiko had noticed but never really thought about in detail. For example, Eiko mentioned how she was doubtful whether L1 usage at home was good enough in raising a bilingual child. In the book, Ono (1994: pp. 54-55) mentions that it is difficult, if not impossible, to raise a bilingual with home L1 usage alone:

If the child is born in the United States, begins schooling in the States and be raised in the environment as is, without question the child's L1 will probably become English. Then how about Japanese? If the mother is Japanese, Japanese will also be native-like?- I sometimes receive this type of question, but my answer is, "No"...When the Japanese language environment is very limited as in the case where [only] the mother speaks Japanese, the child will become capable to converse simplistically in L1, but I'd say the likelihood for the child to become bilingual in such an environment is nil.

アメリカで生まれ、英語で教育を受け始め、そのままの環境で成長していけば英語が問題なく母語となるでしょう。では日本語は同じでしょうか。母親が日本人だから、日本語も同じように母語レベルになるか - 答は「ノー」です。...日本語の環境が母親との会話などごく限られたものである場合、ちょっとした日常会話は日本語でできるようになりますが、そのままの環境でその子が自然にバイリンガルになる可能性はまずないといってもよいでしょう。

Having read the book, Eiko became somewhat anxious about Karin's language development:

I was shocked to think that Karin's Japanese proficiency level may be quite low...but now [having read the book], as I mentioned to you earlier, I can see what I've been practising in a much clearer way.

身に付いてるとは思えないから。かなり低いだろうなってね。思ったんですね。それは、それで、それがちょっと、だからショックっていうか。...だから自分が今までしてきた事がちょっと、前にも言いましたね、(本を読んで)クリアになってきたっていうのは。

She seemed to have reconfirmed her belief in the values of what she had been doing:

Bilinguals are not made without exerting effort....Having seen it, I know that there is no guarantee for bilingualism just because you are born here or just because you have a set of Japanese parents. I think I mentioned this before, but even Japanese residing in Japan study *kanji* [Chinese characters]....This means that [children residing outside Japan] must make an extra effort to study kanji even more. You need to make that time. Fundamentally it's true that bilinguals aren't simply born bilinguals... Therefore parents also need to spend a certain amount of time. It is quite a demand of time from the children too. And it is a testing time for persistence on the part of parents (laugh).

やっぱりね、ただじゃ出来ないですよ、バイリンガルってあの、ただここで生まれただけで、日本人の親だからって、出来ないっていうのはもう、見て来てるっていうか。私達はね。そして、あの、前も話したと思いますけど、日本人であっても漢字の練習はするんですよ、日本に住んでいたって。...尚更自分で意図的にそここのところへ持っていったりね。その時間を取らないと。ここで生まれたからバイリンガルになる訳じゃないっていうのが基本ですよ。...だから、やっぱり、こう、ある程度の時間っていうか、子供にとってはかなりの時間ですよ。で、親にとってもある時期の忍耐力とかね（笑）。

Eiko also believes that a bilingual child must study twice as much as a monolingual

M: Last week you briefly mentioned that learning both Japanese and English might mean twice the workload. Do you still believe that learning two languages equates to twice the workload?

E: Um, having seen Karin, yes, simply put, I believe it does mean twice the workload.

光：先週ちらっとあの、日本語と英語やるのは2倍の勉強量、っていうことなのかな、っていう話が出たんですけども。やっぱり2カ国語やるイコール2倍の勉強量とお考えですか？

映：うーん、あの一、だから、花梨を見てて思うのは、うーん、単純に言えばやっぱり2倍だとおもいますね。うん。

Awareness and Critical Reflection

Like her learning from Ono's (1994) book, it seemed that Eiko was learning something new and was increasingly engaging in critical thinking. This began first with Eiko realizing her own assumptions. She reflected:

I thought [about these things] on my own and discussed with my husband from time to time, but I didn't really have a chance to reflect [on my actions in the past]....It's interesting....[Now] I myself am curious [about what will surface from interviews].

自分でもね、あの、ちらっとは考えたりね、彼とその時話したりはしてたんですけども、そんな事、反芻することないですしね...あの、面白い...自分自身興味深いっていうかね

After a while Eiko began to critically think about bilingualism:

Until now I didn't problematize anything. I was naïve.

問題意識が足りなかったというか。ナイーブでしたね

Naturalness

What struck me as fascinating was the reason for Eiko and her husband to raise Karin bilingually. They were not determined to raise a child using Japanese at home for the sake of bilingualism, but rather to establish and maintain family bonding. This, I find, to be the striking difference between those families who send their children to French immersion programmes. For people like Eiko, bilingualism is not a luxury; it is an essential means for creating family unity and harmony. In other words, the proficiency in both Japanese and English, for these families, is a survival strategy to ensure family cohesion. Therefore, this is a powerful motivator for them to maintain L1 at home.

* * *

Hiroshi and Yumiko's Story

This was one family in which both the father and the mother were very willing to cooperate and give their time for this research. Hiroshi is a 50 year old established professional Japanese artist, and his wife Yumiko is a hair stylist in the upscale fashion district in Toronto. They have two lovely daughters, Yuki, age nine, and Ai, age seven. They are both currently attending a French immersion programme offered at a nearby public school. Yuki, now in grade four, has been learning French since Senior Kindergarten. Her school is a bilingual school, offering both English and French immersion programmes, so the couple chose to enrol their children in the French immersion. The French immersion programme in which they are enrolled offers core English classes beginning in grade four, so this year was the first year for Yuki to be learning English formally at school. Yuki's younger sister Ai is also enrolled in the same programme, and last year was her first year being introduced to French in Kindergarten. Their school is approximately ten minute drive from their home, located in the quiet neighbourhood in the inner-city Toronto. Their father Hiroshi drives the two girls to and from school everyday.

I met Hiroshi and Yumiko through my parents. I recall my mother sharing her impression when she first met the family: "These children are Canadian-born, but they speak perfect Japanese. They can even use the polite Japanese form (called *keigo*) which even native adult

speakers have difficulties with sometime. The parents are also quite extraordinary: they listen attentively to what their children say, and gently and lovingly respond to them.” Having met them, I knew right away what my mother was saying. The parents are patient and respectful towards their children, always talking *with* them, not *to* them.

The Family

Hiroshi is from Shiga prefecture which is located just north of Kyoto. He had studied Japanese art and went on to become a professional painter. He lived in Toronto from 1974 till 1980, then went back to Japan for three years and returned to Toronto in 1983. He is of medium-build, wears a short beard, and always has a smile on his face. Yumiko is from Hokkaido, the most northern island of Japan. She immigrated to Canada in 1983. She is slim, wears her hair short, and speaks softly but firmly. The couple met and got married in Toronto in 1984. They said they go back and visit Japan perhaps every four to five years for approximately a two to three-week stay.

Yuki was only four years old when I first met her, on my wedding day. The family came to my house because Yumiko arranged my hair for me that day. It was the first time meeting Yuki, and initially she seemed rather shy and quiet, but she began to talk after her shyness subsided. Pointing to me, who by that time had my wedding dress on, Yuki said, with an amazement, in Japanese, “She has turned into a princess!” To this, Yumiko replied gently in Japanese, still working on my hair, “You will someday be a princess too.” While Yumiko busily attended to me, Hiroshi was looking after the younger daughter, Ai. At that time, Ai hadn’t began to speak yet, but I recall Hiroshi speaking to Ai in Japanese.

The family is now living with two friendly cats, a long-haired white and ginger tabby called Ginger and a black short-haired cat called Lucky, in a high-rise located on a quiet street in the core of downtown Toronto, near the University of Toronto. Their apartment is on the 19th floor with a magnificent view of the city skyline.

When I first visited their home, numerous things immediately caught my eye. The entrance took me first into their living room, where I found a sofa and a coffee table and two small wooden chairs for children. In one corner there was an electronic organ and in another corner a large design desk where Hiroshi works. There is also a book case where the family keeps books and videos. One wall is a huge window which leads to a balcony.

I was invited into their dining room, offered a chair. Hiroshi sat opposite me with the two girls sitting by his sides. As I explained to Hiroshi the nature and purpose of my research, he listened attentively, nodding from time to time, showing his interest. All along, the girls sat there, very curious, but not at all disturbing us. As I was explaining, I noticed a large poster on the wall behind Hiroshi. It was a table of Japanese script, or *Hiragana-hyo*, which is common for a family with small children to have displayed on the wall. I recall that I had one myself as a child. However, what was strikingly different about their hiragana-hyo and mine was that theirs was made by hand by Hiroshi, whereas the one I used to have was commercially manufactured. “That is amazing. Did you make that?” I asked Hiroshi. The table has all forty eight Japanese letters, and each letter is accompanied by a Japanese word which begins with that letter and a picture corresponding to the word is drawn underneath each one. Under the letter *yu*, there was a photograph of Yuki when she was a baby, and under the letter *a*, likewise, a photo of baby Ai. “It took me three days to make this,” Hiroshi answered me smiling. Yuki and Ai were quick to interject, eagerly explaining to me in Japanese that the picture of Yuki was taken when she was three and Ai was just a baby. The children seemed to follow the conversation between Hiroshi and I throughout the interview, making relevant, appropriate comments here and there and readily providing us with their feedback whenever they were asked to share their thoughts by their father or myself. They were invited by their father to sit by us at the dining table. When Hiroshi went in to the kitchen to make tea, he asked his daughters, politely and gently, “What would you like to have?” and poured hot-chocolate, as requested by his daughters, into their Peter Rabbit mugs. While Hiroshi and I continued our conversation over a cup of tea, the two girls quietly and enjoyed their cup of hot-chocolate. Comments made by Yuki and Ai were entirely made in Japanese, without any interference/mixing of two or more languages. This was evident throughout the four interviews I conducted with them, with Yuki in only one instance using an English word when trying to seek its equivalent word in Japanese from her mother Yumiko. Yumiko gently spoke to her daughter, providing the Japanese word. I never observed a similar instance with Ai during our interviews. Ai spoke only in Japanese. “Does this happen frequently?” I asked Yumiko. Yumiko said sometimes the children ask for the Japanese word which they already know in English. “We began providing them with dictionaries for children when Yuki was in grade one,” she said and showed me the picture dictionary for children. “We encourage them to use the dictionaries whenever they encounter an unfamiliar word.” I gasped, learning that Yumiko began

doing this when her daughter was as young as six years old. At that age, I thought that the children barely knew how to read, let alone spell and look up words in the dictionary!

There were many other things about these children that amazed me. For example, one time during our interview, Ai sat quietly reading a Japanese children's magazine, and Yuki, who at that time was just eight, began to do knitting. "You know how to knit already?" I asked in amazement. Yuki shyly answered, "My mother taught me when I was in grade one," and she went to show me an outfit Yumiko had made for the stuffed rabbit Yuki treasured, smilingly saying "Mother made this for my rabbit." "What other things can you do? Can you cook?" and Yuki said "Yes". Yumiko said, "Her father has been letting them use sharp knife to cut things. I find it dangerous but..." and smiled.

Hiroshi is a well-known figure in the Japanese community in Toronto. He is a professional artist who paints and also teaches Japanese painting. He has had numerous exhibitions across the country. His paintings are mostly that of nature: flowers, plants, small insects and animals, scenic landscapes. They are all gentle and happy paintings.

Yumiko is a popular hairstylist who works for a French-Canadian in the middle of downtown Toronto. Despite her long work hours, she is a dedicated mother who likes to spend her time with her daughters. Every night she used to read her children a Japanese story, and no matter how tired she is, she attentively listens to her daughters' daily report on what happened at school that day. "If I don't do this, I notice an immediate decline in [my children's] performance in Japanese," she told me.

When you don't study Japanese even for one day, you can immediately feel the consequences. Even for the parents. I would go over the Japanese work with my children, right? And some days I feel tired (laugh), and sometimes I forgo with writing exercises and just do the Japanese reading and cover five days worth of work in three or four days, and it immediately shows.

でも、あの、やっぱり日本語って一日でもその、予習みたいのさぼると絶対結果に出ますよね。あと親も。あの、日本語一緒に見てあげてるでしょう？で、私がどうしてもなんか今日は疲れたな、とか思って(笑)本読みぐらいなら皆できるんだけど、やっぱり読み書きって、あの、書く方ですよ、それを今日はちょっと辞めて読むだけにしようかな、って言って普段は五日やることを四日とか三日ぐらいにすると、すぐ出ますね。

Why are they such wonderful parents? What are the driving force behind their disciplined actions? My interviews began with questions to find this out.

Reasons for Raising Trilingual Children

The reasons Hiroshi gave for raising trilingual children were interesting to say the least. The reasons he gave for having his children learn Japanese is, although there are overlaps, slightly different from that of learning French. He mentioned basically two factors repeatedly for having his children learn Japanese: maintaining meaningful communication with his daughters, and keep career options open for his daughters. For having them learn French, he emphasized about the connection between language knowledge and cultural knowledge and how he wanted his children to come to appreciate aesthetic beauty inherent in French culture.

First, he felt that he needed to adhere to L1 learning and maintenance in raising his children because he felt that he would not be able to teach his children intricate values and beliefs which he could only share using his Japanese. English is still very much a foreign language for him, and he expressed his limitation/inadequacy in utilizing English in raising his children. He felt that if he had chosen to convey what he wants to say in poor English, eventually children will lose respect for him. "I've been told by a person working for the Amnesty International not to discontinue using Japanese at home," he told me. In fact, he mentioned about this several times in the interview and in the reflective writing he gave me. In his family, Japanese learning and usage are perceived to be something "which is done without any questioning", a minimum duty children must perform in the household.

Second, Hiroshi and Yumiko realize the importance of learning all four skills (i.e., reading, writing, speaking, listening) to be appreciated by the society. His understanding of a "bilingual" is someone with all these skills. "I have my children learn Japanese much like the way other children may take violin lessons," he said. In other words, it is somewhat an extra-curricular activity but on a very serious level. "I hope my children's language skills will be of asset when they go out into the society," he remarked.

Because both Hiroshi and Yumiko have artistic careers, they appreciate aesthetic beauty may that be in literature or art, and they feel that French culture is rich with aesthetic values. Academic success is surely regarded highly by this family, but Hiroshi and Yumiko's wish is to raise their children who are not only good at school work but balanced individuals who can

appreciate fine artwork. They perceive language learning as a step towards better cultural understanding which in turn makes oneself more well-rounded.

Factors Influencing Language Choice

There were several reasons why the family chose the option of trilingual child-rearing. It depended on the parents' beliefs, availability of babysitter and school programmes, and stories of other parents and authoritative figures.

The parents' emphasis on aesthetic values was already mentioned in the previous section, but the work environment of Yumiko also played a role in establishing a positive attitude towards French people and language. The salon she works at is owned by a French-Canadian, and for this reason it caters mostly to French-speaking clientele. Yumiko herself has come to appreciate and understand French a little.

When Yuki was born, she was first babysat by a French-Canadian woman. "It was not that we purposely looked for a French-speaker. This woman happened to live in the same building as ours so we asked her to look after Yuki." This woman apparently had a child of her own who is about Yuki's age. The woman spoke mostly if not entirely in French, and for this reason French was the language Yuki was most exposed to in the early years of her life. Hiroshi noted how there were times when Yuki responded to him in French: "When I asked her something[in Japanese], she answered 'C'est bon!'" Appreciating their daughter's learning of French, the couple wished to continue Yuki's language development in French. They learned of the public school nearby which offered early French immersion, and had Yuki enrolled there.

Hiroshi and Yumiko's intention to raise their children trilingually were supported by several people whom they met when they were beginning their child-rearing process. There were basically four sources: a Canadian working for the Amnesty International, Yuki's teacher, other Japanese immigrant parents, and Hiroshi's cousins who are Canadian-born *Nisei*, i.e., the second-generation Japanese-Canadians.

Hiroshi's desire to raise his children trilingually was encouraged by what a personnel from Amnesty International had told him: "Immigrants should not abandon their first language". He had told Hiroshi about sad cases where the parents discontinued the use of L1, and the children came to look down upon their parents who could not speak English fluently.

For Yumiko, the confirmation that she was on the right track came from Yuki's teacher

when Yuki was attending Senior Kindergarten. This teacher was a Quebecoise who had been teaching for many years. Her advice to Yumiko was that “it doesn’t matter what language it is - just pick one and continue language development to its fullest. Then the child will come to speak any language” and that “the child may show lag in language development in the first two to three years, but eventually she/he will catch up with the monolingual peers.” These words provided feeling of relief for Yumiko because until then she was still unsure about her decision to have her daughters study French on top of learning Japanese. The teacher’s remarks proved that Yumiko was doing something right for strictly adhering to Japanese language use at home.

Another source which affected the family’s language choice was the stories they had heard from other Japanese immigrant mothers. For example, the family knows several inter-ethnic couples. Many of these families decided to give up Japanese language usage at home and now they had regrets. “Because they did not succeed in raising bilinguals, they mention the importance of Japanese language usage at home and they encourage us to continue,” Yumiko said. One thing they have seen is cases where the parents regret their initial decision to discontinue L1 usage and attempt to use L1 at home later in the child’s life, but by that time, it is practically too late. “Other people’s stories have really affected us,” she added.

Yumiko also mentioned about a time when she saw a Japanese bilingual interviewed on TV. This fellow is a year older than I am, my childhood friend who is now a successful practising doctor in Toronto. He is quite well-known in the community because he is often cited as a successful example of a bilingual child-rearing. Apparently Yumiko noted what he said his mother did for him when he was younger so that he could learn and maintain his Japanese. “He said that his mother read to him everyday,” Yumiko also read to her daughters every night when they were younger. In fact, Yumiko did many things to assure healthy language development for her two daughters: she began reading stories to Yuki when she was four months old; she played tapes of Japanese songs for children whenever they were travelling; fearing that her children would code-switch if she mixed the two languages she intentionally spoke only in Japanese; watched Japanese videos with the children; she took her children to the local events hosted by the Japanese community; and she had Japanese books sent from Japan about twice a year.

Hiroshi has cousins residing in Toronto. They are Canadian-born second-generation Japanese-Canadians. They have expressed their regret in not being able to speak Japanese. Having heard their stories, Hiroshi came to realize the importance to continue L1 learning at home.

Trilingual Child-Rearing - Division of Teaching

Hiroshi and Yumiko realize their limitations in their ability to raise their daughters in any other language but Japanese. But this fact did not discourage them from opting for trilingual child-rearing. This called for strategic ways to learn about and utilize the resources outside the home.

Japanese language teaching

The language at home is Japanese only. The two girls speak to their parents as well as with each other only in Japanese. Whenever the children encounter words which they do not know in Japanese, they ask their parents or look them up in their dictionaries. Yumiko said, "If the parents code-switch, the children will learn to code-switch too. So we try not to mix the two languages."

M: I'm fascinated by the fact that, even they are so small, they still seem to understand the relationship between language and identity.

Y: I wonder

M: I would think that they would be tempted to code-switch since it's much more convenient.

Y: Oh, you think so?

M: But they didn't (code-switch) at all the last time I was here

Y: Yes. I think it has a lot to do with the parents' (attitude). If the parents code-switch (then the children will be doing it too). When I first came to Canada and visited homes of other Japanese, I noticed that children mix languages when the parents do.

M: In that sense you are consciously strict (about L1 use at home)?

Y: Yes, I am always being careful (not to mix the two languages). There are times when using the English word would be so much easier (than using Japanese expressions)...

M: But you consciously avoid using them...

Y: Yes, yes

- 光： なんか小さいながらにね、言葉とアイデンティティーの関係ちゃんと把握してるんだなあ、と思って。
- 由： どうなんでしょねえ。
- 光： すごくちゃんぽんになりやすいと思うんですよね。楽だから。
- 由： あ、そうですか。
- 光： でもそれが全然なかったの、この間お邪魔したとき。
- 由： うん。でもそれはやっぱり親でしょうね。親がやっぱり混ぜてちゃんぽんにしちゃうと。よくあの、私もカナダに来てよそのお家を、日本人のお家をお伺いしたときに思いましたけど、あの、子供がちゃんぽんで喋ってるなーと思って聞いていたら親も喋ってますよね。
- 光： そういう意味では、じゃ結構自分で意識して厳しくしてるなとかって思ってらっしゃいました？
- 由： う～ん、気を付けてますよね。いつも。だって、そんな英語喋れないけど英語の単語が入ったほうが簡単な言葉ってありますよね。
- 光： でもそれはあえて使わないで...
- 由： うん、うん

Yuki and Ai both attend a supplementary Saturday school which focuses its curriculum on Japanese language and culture. It is offered from 9:00am till 2:30pm every Saturday. The children bring back lots of homework focused on Japanese and Chinese script forms (*hiragana* and *kanji*). They are tested on these on a weekly basis. *Hoshuko* on the other hand teaches other subjects besides the Japanese language, including math and science. I asked why the family did not opt for *hoshuko*. Hiroshi's response was:

I heard [from other parents that school attended by Yuki and Ai] was a school dedicated [to Japanese language teaching]... Um, and [they teach] Japanese language, social studies, and music. When the children become older, like Yuki when she turned grade three, they learn Japanese calligraphy. And when they are in senior grades, they learn things like geography and history. And when they reach middle school, [the teachers] teach word processing. (6 seconds) *Hoshuko* is ...yes, um, for those who mostly go back to Japan.

いろんな熱心な学校だということは聞いてたもんですからね。...
えーとね。あの、国語と、それから社会。それから音楽。
それから、裕紀なんか三年生になるとあの、なんだ、書道、ですね。...
それから、あと社会も高学年になると地理とか歴史とか。それから、
中学生とかになるとワープロを教えたりしてます。(6秒) それと、
補習校の場合は、...うん。あの、まあ、日本に帰られる人が多いからね。

Hiroshi felt that the school most appropriately met his children's needs.

Besides using L1 at home and sending the children to Japanese Saturday school, the couple take the children to most of the social events hosted by the Japanese-Canadian Cultural Centre (JCCC) in Toronto as well as celebrating Japanese events and festivities at home and at Japanese school in order to increase exposure to Japanese culture

H: And, in order to maintain Japanese culture, because they have to know Japanese culture, we go to things like the Spring Festival at the Japanese Canadian Cultural Centre

M: Yes, yes

H: Whenever there are events, I want (the children) to continually be exposed (to Japanese cultural events)

M: I see (2 seconds). Do you also celebrate things like the Doll's Festival at home?

H: Ah, our apartment is small (laugh) so we don't have a large doll display. But we do display a small one from Japan. Yes (3 seconds). And when they are at school, ah, what do you call it, they scatter beans in February (according to the Japanese ritual, *setsubun*, believed to ward off evil spirits)

M: I see. That's done at school

H: (Interjecting) Those events are covered during the social studies class at school

M: I see

博: それのと、あと、まあ、日本語を維持するために、あの、日本の文化も知らないといけないので、まあ、日系文化会館とかで、あの、そういう「春祭り」とか

光: はあはあ

博: 行事があると、あの、まあ出来るだけ、あの、触れてくようになってしまう風には、思って触れていきたいなって思ってますけども。

光: はあ (2秒)。家でもあの、お雛祭りとかやるんですか？

博: えーとね、その、場所とか、アパートが狭いもんですからね (笑)。その大きなお雛段も持ってないもんですから。ただ、ちょっと日本から送ってもらった小さな、ほんとにままごとのを飾ったりはしますけれど。うん。(3秒)それから学校でいると、あのーなんていうんですか、豆撒きをやったりね、節分の、2月に。

光: はあはあ。それは学校で

博: そういう行事は、あのー学校の社会の時間でね、ちょっと先生がそういうのをやったりしてくれるので

光：なるほど

Yumiko is an avid fan of Japanese television programmes, and the family frequently rent them and watch them together. That is, the children not only watch programmes made for children but watch movies and documentaries together with adults.

The family has Japanese books sent from Japan approximately twice a year. They include magazines and comic books. “Because they don’t have much access to new books, the children read the same book over and over again,” Hiroshi smilingly said. They also have the children read *Mainichi Kodomo Shinbun*, a Japanese newspaper for children published by Mainichi Newspaper. “All *kanji* [i.e., Chinese characters] are accompanied with *hiragana* [i.e., Japanese script to facilitate reading],” Yumiko explained to me.

M: Do you rather think that the language will develop fully when you are only learning one?

Y: No, I don’t think so. The teacher I mentioned to you the other day recommended me to teach Japanese (to my children). That way they will be able to read French like they can read Japanese.

...

Y: The Japanese version has Japanese characters (for all *kanji*). It’s like a newspaper for children, typed across (instead of vertically) so that they can read easily

H: It’s called *Mainichi Kodomo Shimbun* [Mainichi Children’s Newspaper]

Y: It’s interesting

光：それともやっぱり語学は一つだけの方が伸びるというか

由：いや、そんなことはないと思います。で、あの、その、前言った先生がね、日本語をきちんとやると絶対いい、って言ってくれて。日本語と同じようにフランス語の方も読めるようになりますし。

...

由：あと日本語のは読みがながのってるんだよね、子供新聞みたいなのでね、日本語を横に打ってる。自然に読むように。

博：... 毎日子供新聞っていうのかな。

由：あれは面白いよね。

Yumiko recognizes, however, that the most difficult skill to cultivate for her daughters is the written skill:

Writing and reading. Uh, writing. If I say, “Let’s not do [writing] and just do reading” and only do things four or three days [a week] which I normally do [with the children] five days, it shows immediately.

やっぱり読み書き、って。あの、書くほうですよ。それを今日はちょっと辞めて読むだけにしようか、なんて言って普段は五日やることを四日とか三日ぐらいにするとすぐ出ますね。

Despite Hiroshi and Yumiko’s efforts in raising their daughters in L1, they did encounter a problem when Yuki was two years old. Because Yuki spent majority of her time with her French-Canadian babysitter, she was not picking up Japanese as the parents had wished. “She would react to Japanese but she couldn’t speak Japanese,” Yumiko said.

H: (Yuki) didn’t speak Japanese back then

Y: I would read to her everyday. Read books, read books everyday, have her listen to Japanese music everyday, but she still wouldn’t speak Japanese.

H: She was listening to Japanese at home but because her time with us was limited as far as speaking goes...We used to hire a babysitter because both of us worked. Therefore she didn’t speak much, although she understood us but we felt that she should be able to speak (in Japanese) a bit more

Y: Yes, that’s when she was two and a half

H: That’s right

Y: She would react to us whenever we spoke in Japanese.

博：日本語あんまし喋れなかったんですよ。

由：毎日ね、本を読むでしょ。本読んでるでしょ。毎日本読んで、毎日曲聞かせてるのに日本語喋らないんですよ。

博：家では聞いてたんだけど喋るのは、やっぱり親と接する時間が限られていたんですよ。あの～、ベビーシッター頼んで。二人とも働いていたもんですからね。ですから、やっぱりあんまり

喋んなかったから、あの、聞いては解るんだけど、うーん、
なんかもうちょっと喋っていいんじゃないかな、と。

由： そう、それが二才半の時だね。

博： そうそう

由： 反応はするんですよ、日本語喋っても。

The couple changed to a Japanese babysitter and also had Yuki attend a Japanese nursery. In six months time, Yuki became totally fluent in Japanese.

French language learning

There are several sources from which Yuki and Ai picked up French. The primary source is the school, but other factors such as babysitter, television and books, and interacting with other French speakers also contribute to their learning of French.

Yuki and Ai both began French as a kindergartner. They began with English programme in Junior Kindergarten, but early French immersion started when they entered Senior Kindergarten. Yuki brings back French homework from school. Because the parents do not know French, Yuki is convinced that she must do work on her own

M: Do you have them learn French on their own?

Y: (To Yuki) Are you doing it on your own?

Yuki: Yes

H: Not so much “on her own” but only because we can’t teach her (laugh).
She has no other options but to learn it on her own.

Y: Yes, as far as French goes, she has no other choice but to learn it on her own.

光： フランス語はもう自主的になさってるんですか？

由： 自主的ですか？

裕： うん

由： 自主的にやってますか？裕紀さん？

博： 自主的というより親が教えられないから（笑）。自分でやるしかない、っていう感じで。

由： そう、フランス語はもう、ね、自分でやるしかないもんね。

“I had heard from others that this school [they now attend] is a good school,” Hiroshi said.

Y: I chose (my language for child-rearing) based on three people’s education policies. The very first one was said by a British woman for whom

I used to babysit. She said to me, “Take your child on your lap and read to him/her till he/she is ten years old”.

M: Till age ten?

Y: Till age ten. She said this was very important. And then the French immersion teacher? The teacher who said (learning two languages simultaneously) was absolutely okay. And the school principal. There’s a day called “Parents Day” once a year. And the teachers and other mothers were all teary in their eyes (as we listened to the principal). The principal made one wish, asking each parent to take his/her child’s hand and talk with the child before going to bed. She said that if we do this, our children will grow up to be good adults (laugh). We all became teary. I was so moved (by this speech).

H: I’ve heard comments from teachers of other schools pointing out that “that school is doing a good job”, so we thought it would be okay (to send our children to that school)

由： 私はそれでね、三つの、三人の人の教育方針で私はほんとに決めたんですけど。一番最初ベビーシッターしてた時代のイギリス人の人のね、「十才まで子供膝に乗せて本は読んであげなさい」って言うんですよ。

光： 十才まで？

由： 十才まで。これもう絶対大事、って言うんです、彼女は。で、そのフレンチイマージョンでいったその先生？絶対大丈夫、って言った先生。で、あと校長先生はそういう「ペアレンツデー」ってなんかあるんですよ、一年に一度。で、もう先生とかお母さん達もちょっとなんか涙浮かべましたけどね。校長先生が言うには、私はね、あの、この子供達の両親にね、勉強をね、教えてほしいとはね、全く頼みません、って言うんですよ。えー、勉強を教えてほしいとは願っていません。私の願いはただ一つ。どんなに忙しくても、寝る前に時間を作って十五分でもいいから子供の手を取って目を見つめてね、お話ししなさい。そして本を読んであげてください。そうすれば子供はね、必ず良く育つ、って言ったんです(笑)。もう、なんか先生とかお母さん達でね、なんか皆で涙うるうるしちゃって。なんかすごい感激しました。

博： えーと他の学校の先生も「あそこの学校はちゃんとやってる」っていう評判をなにかから聞きましたから、ま、いいんじゃないかな、と。

The availability of French immersion programme at a nearby public school was fortunate for this family, but Hiroshi said, “Even if there wasn’t a French immersion programme, I would have sent them to French summer camps or have them take private French lessons.” For Hiroshi,

knowledge in French is something he seriously desires for his children. "I want them to continue studying French in one way or another," he said.

- M: Yes (2 seconds). Ah, yes, yes (24 seconds). If there were no French immersion schools in this area, what would you have done?
- H: Hm, if there weren't any we would have placed them in an English school and perhaps have them study (French) in their spare time, say, during the summer holiday.
- M: In any case you would have had them study French from a young age
- H: (interjecting) Yes. I think it would be ideal if you can speak both in Canada
- M: I agree
- H: I wanted them to (learn French) if there was a chance
- ...
- M: Do you intend to have them continue with French immersion even after elementary school?
- H: Um, Yuki's school only goes up to grade six. And after that I want her to continue in one form or another.
- 光： うん（2秒）。えーと、ふんふん。（24秒）もしフレンチイマージョンの学校がこの近所に無かった場合、どうされてたと思いますか？
- 博： う～ん、なかったらば、仕方無しに、仕方なしにって英語の学校に入れて、まあ、夏休みとか、あるいは空いた時間にでもあの、勉強してくれたらいいな、とは思っていたん
- 光： やはり、どちらにしろ小さいうちからフランス語をやらせるお気持ちで
- 博： そうですね。ま、できたらやっぱりカナダは二か国語できた方がいいな、と思うのでね。
- 光： そうですね
- 博： できたら、やらせたいな、とは思っていたんですけどね。
- ...
- 光： もうこのまま、じゃ、ずっとフレンチイマージョン、小学校卒業しても、中学校も高校もフレンチイマージョンでいかれる予定ですか？
- 博： うーんと、まあ、裕紀の学校は六年生まで。それからまあ、あの、できたらずっとなんらかの形で続けさせたいとは思うんですけどね。

French-Canadian babysitter's influence on Yuki's language growth was more than the

couple had expected. Hiroshi laughingly said, "There were times when I would ask Yuki a question in Japanese, and she would reply to me in French!"

M: What made you decide to have your children learn French?

H: (interjecting) Ah, at first, Yuki's babysitter, who used to live in this apartment

M: Yes

H: was French, a French fellow, and a French-Canadian, um, Québec, a Québécoise

M: Oh

H: And (2 seconds), um, she (referring to Yuki) grew up listening to French because both of us used to work during the day

M: Yes

H: Time we spent together in the evening, the time spent using Japanese, was shorter

M: Yes, yes

H: So

M: She was used to French

H: That's right. She's been listening to French from the very beginning

M: Yes, yes

H: So, it was more like she didn't understand Japanese. But, um

M: Is that so

H: Yes, "What's this" (laugh), um, (I would ask her) "Does it taste good?" and at first she would reply, "Non!"

M: You're kidding!

H: (laugh)

M: (laugh) So she understood what her father was saying (in Japanese) but she responded in French

H: Yes, there were times like that

M: Wow!

H: Yes, so...

M: (You would say) "What's this?" and the reply would be "Non!"!

H: Yes

M: I'm impressed

Yuki: If you say, "C'est bon," that means "This tastes good"

H: Yes

光: そして、フランス語に入れようと思われたのはどういう

- きっかけですか。
- 博： えーとね、えーと。一番初め裕紀がね、あの、ベビーシッターをお願いした人がこのアパートに住んでいる人で
- 光： はい
- 博： あのー、フレンチ、フランス人の男性と、フレンチカナディアン、ケベックですね、ケベックワの女の人だったんですよ。
- 光： はあ～
- 博： で、（2秒）あのー、この子は割とフランス語をまあ、聞いて育ったんですよ。僕ら昼間働いてましたから。
- 光： はい
- 博： 夜接する時間は日本語で接する時間の方が短いぐらいだったんですよ。
- 光： うん、うん
- 博： だから
- 光： もう耳に入ってたんですね
- 博： そう。初めから、あの、聞いてたみたいなき感じですよ。
- 光： うん、うん、うん
- 博： うん、だから日本語の方があんまり分かんない、って感じだね。ただーあの～
- 光： そうですか。
- 博： うん、「これ何」って（笑）あのー「これ美味しい」とか言ったりして「Non! 」って言うかんじにとったんです、初め
- 光： ほんとー! ?
- 博： （笑）
- 光： （笑）
- 光： じゃ、お父さんが言ってる事は分かったけど、答えるのはフランス語で答えてた
- 博： そう、ま、そういう時もあったんですよ。
- 光： へー!
- 博： うん、だから、あのー
- 光： 「これどう?」って聞いたら、「Non」かあ
- 博： うん
- 光： すごい
- 裕： 「C'est bon」って言ったら「それは美味しい」
- 博： うん

Although this was a nice surprise, the couple became anxious about Yuki's Japanese language growth and had her enrolled in a Japanese nursery where her Japanese improved dramatically.

When I was interviewing in their living room, Yuki showed me her three Disney animation

Pocahontas tapes: an English-version, Japanese-version, and French-version. “They watch one depending on which [i.e., English, Japanese, French] mood they are in,” Hiroshi smilingly said.

M: Ah, is there anything else you do to maintain Japanese?

H: Yes, well, we have them attend a Japanese Saturday school, and we also have them watch videos, Japanese videos. So we have several videos in three different languages: Japanese, English, French (laugh)

M: You’re right!

H: The same (video) in different

Yuki: In English and in French and

H: Things like “My Neighbour Totoro” but

Yuki: French “Pochahontas” is, um

Ai: It’s from Yuki’s friend

Yuki: From my French babysitter

M: Oh that’s who you got it from? Is that so. And you watch all three (version) the same way?

H: Yes, they watch various things. They watch it in Japanese, in English, according to their mood.

M: Oh

H: (laugh) Yes

Yuki: “My Neighbour Totoro” is over here

M: Oh, a Japanese version and an English version.

Ai: And one more

M: (interjecting) Oh it’s my first time seeing this. These three versions. (3 seconds)

光： えーと、特に日本語を維持させるためにあの、他になんかなさっていることありますか？

博： うん、まあ、一つは学校へ連れていっているということと、もう一つは、えーと、ビデオ、日本語のビデオを、あの、見せていますね。だから結構うちね、日本語、英語、フランス語と、三カ国語のビデオが、あります。(笑)

光： あー、ほんと！

博： いろんな、同じあれでね。同じ

裕： 英語とフランス語と

博： 「となりのトトロ」とか、でも、うん

裕： フランス語の「ポカホントス」はね、えーと

- 藍： 裕紀ちゃんの友達から
 裕： フランス語のベビーシッター
 光： これもらったの？ああ、そ～う。で、三本ともそうやって* * * *
 同じようにご覧になるんですか？
 博： うん、割といろんなの見てますね。日本語で見たり、英語で見たり。
 気分で。
 光： ほお
 博： (笑) うん。
 裕： 「となりのトトロ」はこっち
 光： あ、日本語と英語と。あ～
 藍： もう一つ、ちょっと
 光： これ、初めて見ましたね。この三カ国語。う～ん (3秒)

“Children explain them [i.e., English or French animation] to us [in Japanese],” said Yumiko.

Yuki and Ai sometime go over to stay with a French-speaking family for a couple of days. This is also a conscious effort on the part of the couple, wishing to increase language exposure for their children as much as possible.

English language teaching

The couple did not explicitly state how they are assuring English learning for Yuki and Ai. The couple’s effort is primarily concentrated on Japanese language learning and maintenance, and they seem to perceive school as the major provider for French language learning. Then who is taking care of English language learning?

Despite the seemingly lack of English teaching at home and at school, Hiroshi concluded that English is the dominant language for Yuki. “She seems most confident when speaking English. She speaks the fastest when she’s speaking in English. On the other hand, Japanese seems to be the strongest language for Ai.” Hiroshi attributes this English dominance to English television programmes and English summer school which he has his children enrolled since age four.

- H: At home, everything is in Japanese. Yes
 M: Then where do they pick up English? TV
 H: (interjecting) They did pick up English from TV and
 Yuki: And at age four I attended an English school
 H: Oh, yes. During the summer holiday and times like that I have them attend an English school

- M: I see
- H: Yes
- M: And did they experience any difficulties?
- H: I don't think they had any (2 seconds). But when I hear them talk, I believe English is (Yuki's) strongest language
- M: Really?
- H: Yes
- M: When do you feel that way?
- H: Ah, the speed of her speech is definitely faster in the case of English. More than French (3 seconds) Um (2 seconds)
- M: Is Ai the same way?
- H: (interjecting) Oh, Japanese is the strongest language for Ai
- 博: もう全部家の中では、全部日本語ですよ、はい
- 光: 英語はじゃあどこで覚えてるんでしょ? テレビ
- 博: 英語はですね、ま、テレビで覚えたのが一つと
- 裕: そして四才の時に英語の学校に行ってるし
- 博: あ、そうか。英語の学校に、夏休みとかね、そういう時はね、僕あの、英語の、なんていうの、学校に入れてるんです。
- 光: なるほど
- 博: ええ
- 光: で、困ったこととかは、別に?
- 博: そーれーは、無いみたいですね。(2秒)で、でも、僕なんか聞ってるの一番やっぱり英語が得意じゃないかな、と思います。
- 光: ほんとに
- 博: うん
- 光: どういう時にそう感じられますか?
- 博: あのー、喋るスピードが全然速いですよね、英語の場合。フランス語よりも。彼女の喋ってるのは。(3秒)うーん(2秒)
- 光: 藍ちゃんもそうですか?
- 博: あ、藍ちゃんは日本語が一番得意です。

However, this is not to say that the children learned English without any major difficulties.

Hiroshi shared one incident Yuki encountered when she first began Kindergarten:

Because she didn't understand English, she threw sand at other children at school. Seeing this, the kindergarten teacher told us to use English at home. I understand why she said this, but I had heard stories from others [how L1 learning and maintenance are important]

- M: Yes (7 seconds). I believe there are things like Parent-Teacher Night
- H: Yes
- M: Did teacher ever say things which left an impression on you or things that lingered in your mind?
- H: Um, at (Canadian) school. Let's see. At first Yuki did not listen [to grownups] (laugh)
- Yuki: (shyly smiles)
- M: Oh, is that right? (laugh)
- H: Yes (laugh)
- M: I see (laugh)
- H: Yes, she was made to sit at the very back, away from everyone [in class] (laugh)
- M: (interjecting) What? (laugh)
- H: There were times like that. Hmmm
- Ai: At that time I
- Yuki: I don't remember
- M: (laugh)
- Ai: I was in Kindergarten at that time so I didn't do things like that
- H: (interjecting) And when Yuki entered Kindergarten, because she understood English only a little bit
- M: Yes, yes
- H: She was, like, I don't know if it was because she was pushed by others but. [She] threw sand [at others]
- M: It was thrown at her?
- H: No, she threw it
- M: Oh, *she* threw it! (laugh)
- H: That's right (laugh). And we were asked by her teacher to discipline her in Japanese (laugh)
- Yuki: On the sand
- M: But that must have been...Were you picked on because you didn't know English? (1 second) I see.
- Yuki: ****. I don't remember clearly
- M: Um, adults often say that the kids pick up a language in no time

- H: Yes, yes
- M: Without much effort. But I came here when I just entered grade three
- H: Yes
- M: And it wasn't easy
- H: Oh, yes
- M: And the two are born here
- Yuki: Yes
- Ai: Yes
- M: I'm sure they went through tough times. At first, in Kindergarten, you didn't speak a word of English?
- Yuki: No
- M: Then were you sad not being able to understand what they were saying?
- Yuki: Yes. But they showed me using their hands, "You do this like this"
- M: (interjecting) Oh, your friends did
- Ai: But I
- Yuki: My friends and my teacher
- M: The teacher?
- Ai: I undertood a little bit of English. So I understood a little
- M: Yes
- Yuki: Times when the teacher read to us (2 seconds)
- M: (turning to Hiroshi) Did you have any fears then? In Kindergarten, in Japanese, you used Japanese at home
- H: Yes
- M: Thinking that they didn't quite fully understand English
- H: Yes
- M: And you took them to Kindergarten. Did you have any fears?
- H: Yes, but we were aware of this, having talked with others. That we don't need to worry since they would get used to it in a six months to a year.
- M: Yes
- H: So we didn't have much fear. But when they do things like throwing sand (at other children) (laugh)
- M: Your heart stopped (laugh)

- H: I thought, "this is a problem"(laugh)
- M: Yes, yes
- H: Yes (4 seconds)
- M: But in reality they got used to things in six months to a year
- H: (interjecting) That's right. I wonder how long (it took) (2 seconds). She seemed quite comfortable after three months. After three or four months, I believe
- Yuki: (interjecting) When I was five
- H: Yes
- Yuki: ****
- M: Hmm
- H: And after a year she seemed quite comfortable. How would you say. After the first three months she looked somewhat comfortable but after a year she began to talk a lot with her friends.

- 光： うん（7秒）。父兄面談とか学校であると思うんですけど。
- 博： はい。
- 光： そういう時に、あの、なんか、あの、先生に、なんかちょっと、印象に残ったこととか気にかかった事とか、言われたりとかしたことありますか？
- 博： うーんと、こちらの学校で、そうですね。初めあんまり裕紀は言うことをきかない方だったのでね（笑）
- 裕： えへ
- 光： あ、そうですか？（笑）
- 博： そう（笑）。
- 光： へえ、そうなの（笑）
- 博： うん、なんか、特別に横の後ろに、皆と離れて座らされたり（笑）
- 光： えー（笑）
- 博： したこともあったね。う～ん
- 藍： 藍ちゃんその時
- 裕： 覚えてない～。
- 光： （笑）
- 藍： 藍ちゃんその時、幼稚園だったからそんな事しなかった。
- 博： それから、裕紀がやっぱり幼稚園入ったとき、英語がやっぱり少ししか分からなかったから
- 光： うんうん
- 博： こう、なんか、皆に押された事があったのか知らないんだけど。砂かなんか、砂場でバーッと砂を投げてね。

- 光： 投げられて
 博： いえ、投げたの、彼女が。
 光： あ、あ～投げたんですか！（笑）
 博： そうそう（笑）それで親が怒られたというかね。あの、注意して、日本語で注意してほしいっていう風に言われて（笑）
 裕： 砂の上
 光： でも、それはやっぱり、あれですよ。英語が分からなかったからいじめられたの？（1秒）あ、そう
 裕： ****けど。覚えてない。
 光： えーと、よく、あの、子供はすぐ言葉を覚えるとかいいですよ、大人は。
 博： うん、うん
 光： あんまり苦労しないで。でも私自分小学校三年生なってすぐ来たんですけれども
 博： うん
 光： すごく辛かったんですよ、幼心に。
 博： あ、うん
 光： だからね、彼女達もこちら生まれ、二人
 博： うん
 裕： はい
 藍： はい
 光： で、でもやっぱり大変だったと思うんだけど。最初、幼稚園に行ったとき全然英語は話せなかったの？
 裕： うん
 光： で、言ってる事もじゃ、分かんなくて、悲しかった？
 裕： うん。でもね、なんかね、えーと、手とかで教えてくれた。これはこうやるんだよって
 光： あー、お友達が？
 藍： だけど藍ちゃんはねえ
 裕： お友達とか先生
 光： 先生が？
 藍： ちょ、ちょっとね、ちょっと、英語知ってたけど。だきょーちょっと意味分かった。
 光： うん
 裕： 先生が本読む時とか（2秒）
 光： ご両親は不安とかはありましたか？じゃ、そういうところ、なんか幼稚園に、日本語、家では日本語を話して
 博： うん
 光： 英語はまだはっきり分かってないな、と思って
 博： うん

- 光： だから幼稚園につれていきましたよね。で、なんか不安とか、
ありましたか？
- 博： う～ん、それは、まあ、あの人からもいろいろまあ、
聞いてましたのでね、あの一、半年、一年もすれば慣れるからね、
あの一、そんなに心配はいらないっていう風に聞いてたのでね。
- 光： うん
- 博： あの一、そんなに不安はなかったんですけど。やっぱり実際砂
投げたりすると（笑）ちょっと
- 光： ドキッと（笑）
- 博： これは、困るな（笑）っていう風な、あの一（笑）思いました
けどもね。
- 光： はあはあ
- 博： うん（4秒）
- 光： でも実際半年一年したら慣れちゃった訳ですね。
- 博： う～ん、そうですね一。どれぐらいかかったかなあ（2秒）。
やっぱり三ヶ月ぐらいしたら割と慣れた感じで。三ヶ月か四ヶ月
ぐらいだったな。
- 裕： 五才のときにね、ちょっと
- 博： うん
- 裕： * * * *
- 光： うーん
- 博： で、一年いたら割と慣れましたね。まあ、しっかりとって
言うんですか。あの一初め三ヶ月ぐらいちょっとようやく、
なんとなく馴染んできて、で、一年ぐらいたったら結構友達なんか
とも喋ったりしてたから。

Despite abundant positive research findings pertaining to bilingualism (e.g., Cummins, 1981, 1984, 1989, 1991a, 1991b, 1991c, 1991d, 1993, 1996; Malherbe, 1946, 1969, 1978; Verhoeven, 1991a, 1991b, 1994; Ben-Zeev, 1977; Ianco-Worrall, 1972; Duncan & De Avila, 1979; Hakuta & Diaz, 1985), teachers, although in their best interest for the children, can give possibly 'harmful' advice to parents. If Hiroshi had complied with the suggestion of the teacher, language outcome for Yuki may have been dramatically different to that of hers today. Like Eiko in the previous chapter, Hiroshi exercised his own judgment based on stories he had heard from others.

Another source Hiroshi mentioned that the closeness of bonding between the siblings is also contributing to English language growth. Although the girls do not talk in English to each other, they do use English when they are with other Canadians. When Ai makes a mistake while she talks in English, Yuki gently corrects Ai's mistakes.

Language and Identity

Language is very much connected to perception of identity in this family. For example, the children do not speak to each other or to the parents because they view themselves to be a “Japanese household”. On the other hand, they talk to their Canadian friends and teachers because they identify them as “Canadians”. Interestingly, they speak to their cats Ginger and Lucky in English because these cats were given to the family by a Canadian acquaintance, therefore the girls identifying cats as “Canadians”.

The girls themselves perceive them as having different identities depending on the language they use. When they are using English, they see themselves as Canadians; when they are speaking Japanese, they perceive themselves as Japanese.

Identity is linked to language usage, and different languages are sharply separated in terms of use in different context depending on the identity of the interlocutor. This implies that establishing and maintaining distinct identity are important in fostering language growth.

Other People’s Stories

Hiroshi and Yumiko’s decision in using L1 at home was supported by many stories of others: friends’, other parents’, relatives’, and teachers’ stories. Yumiko clearly remembers three stories that impacted her decision to raise her daughters trilingually: the parent she used to babysit for when she first arrived in Canada, Yuki’s Senior Kindergarten teacher, and Yuki’s school principal.

When I was babysitting for an English family, the parent said it was important to read to children at least till age 10...Yuki’s Senior Kindergarten teacher reassured me that I had nothing to worry about [in raising a trilingual child]. She herself was a bilingual, and based on her experience, she advised me not to mix different languages...The school principal said to group of us who were gathered at the school for a talk, “There is only one wish I have: please read to your children before going to bed, even if it’s only for 15 minutes.”

These are the things Yumiko always keeps in mind and practices when interacting with her daughters.

When Yuki had difficulties coping with English when she first started Junior Kindergarten, other parents assured them that it normally takes six months to one year for the children to begin comprehending and speaking English. Actually, Yuki began to show signs of comprehension after

three months.

A person who had influenced Hiroshi's decision to maintain L1 at home was a worker for Amnesty International:

H: Um, when the parents use limited English to raise their children, the children will eventually come to inferiorate their parents.

M: Yes, yes

H: And I heard that the children come to neglect their parents, so the kids become, how would you describe them, delinquent or run away from home. That they come to be disrespectful of their parents.

M: Yes, yes

H: And disciplining them, um, I feel that I can't do it without using my strong language

M: Hmmm

H: So, when I talked with a person working for Amnesty International, um, she told me these things which sounded very convincing.

博： あの一、親がまあ、中途半端な英語でね、教育するとすると、そうすると今度は子供がどんどん成長したときに、親がまあ充分な、まあ、英語力がないために、親を馬鹿にしてしまうと。

光： はあはあ。はいはい

博： で、親の言うことを聞かなくなってしまうというので、子供が、ちょっと、なんて言うんですか、あの、不良と言うか、あの、ま、家を出ていってしまうとか。あの、親を尊敬出来なくなるという事も起こったりすると。

光： うんうん

博： そして、やっぱり躰っていうことが、やっぱり、あの、細かな部分までね、あの、は、やっぱり、あの、得意な言葉でないと充分出来ないような、と思いますね。

光： はあ

博： ですから、あの、そのアムネスティで働いておられる方と話した時に、あの、そういう事をね、聞いたので、うん、あの、すごいもっともだな、と思いましたね。

In his reflective note he also wrote:

things like disciplining the children and handing down cultural values, I feel, is the responsibility of the parents. There is a story which left an impact for me. It was told by a person working for the Amnesty International (Organization dealing with ethnic issues). He said that there are many cases

where the parents could no longer discipline their teenage children who did not maintain mother-tongue, and the children simply lose respect towards the parents and become involved in things like crimes and run away from home. In order to avoid this, he told me to teach mother-tongue to my children. What he said stoke a chord with my own beliefs, and I felt reassured and confident.

しつけや精神文化を伝えるのは親が家庭でするべき勤めだと思います。ある時アムネスティ（*人種問題を扱う組織）の仕事をしている人と話す機会があり印象に残った話があります。それは子供に母国語を教えなかったために子供がティーンエイジに成長してから親の貧しい英語力では子供を説得できなくなり、子供が親を尊敬しなくなり非行に走ったり、家を出て行くといったケースが多いのでしっかりと子供に母国語を教えてしつけの教育をなささいという話で私たちの父母としての考え方と一致していたので確信を得ました。

In terms of setting examples, seeing other children grow up to be successful bilinguals were also very telling for the couple. “At one time I saw a Japanese fellow being interviewed on TV. He was fluent in both Japanese and English, although he was raised here,” Yumiko recalled. Seeing successful examples of bilingual child-rearing provides reassurance for those who envision their children also to become successful bilinguals in the future. Hiroshi also wrote in his reflective piece:

You said you were studying language education and that you wanted us to participate in your research, but having heard you speak Japanese and English fluently, we too wished to learn directly from you how someone can become like you.

坂本さんが言語教育について研究されていて、ぜひ研究の対象になって欲しいとのことでしたが、逆に私達にとっては坂本さん自身が日英両国語を美しく話されていることから、どのようにしたらあなたのようになれるかということを直接お聞きしたいと思っていました。

It is certainly a great honour to be perceived as a “successful bilingual” by others in the community. However, although I am fortunate to be able to utilize both Japanese and English to some extent, I am not by any means native-like in all aspects in Japanese and in English. Hiroshi also recognizes that one needs to cultivate all four language skills (i.e., reading, writing, speaking, listening) in order to qualify for the label “bilingual”.

Meaning of “Bilingualism” for Hiroshi and Yumiko

For Hiroshi, being able to understand Japanese is falling far short of being considered as a bilingual. “There are families where the parents speak to the children in Japanese, and the children understand them, but they respond in English,” he said. He believes that this is not enough to nurture Japanese language growth. “One cannot call someone bilingual unless all four skills are cultivated,” said Hiroshi. “For our children, learning Japanese is their duty” and that “it is something done without questioning”. “We perceive it something like an extra-curricular activity, much like other children who take piano or swimming lessons,” he said.

However, this is not to say that the parents have placed onus entirely on the children. In fact, both Hiroshi and Yumiko are very conscientious about their role in maintaining and improving their children’s Japanese. “If the parents give up [on Japanese language teaching and maintenance], children no doubt will give up too.” “I noticed that if we leave Japanese study for a day, it immediately reflects in children’s reading and writing,” “In order to raise the children as ‘professionals’ in Japanese, parents’ efforts are indispensable,” “Parents must show preference for Japanese language,” : these are some of the beliefs Hiroshi and Yumiko shared with me in raising Yuki and Ai using L1.

The couple has been noticing a positive correlation between L1 development and other other languages (i.e., English and French) and vice versa. “I’ve noticed that same language skills show signs of improvement across languages at the same time,” Yumiko noted:

I’m fascinated by the fact that, although they are learning reading and writing only in French, they can also read and write in English. It’s fascinating.

私達が不思議に思うのはその、読み書きはフランス語しか習ってないんですけど、英語でも読み書きできますね。不思議ですね。

But in grade three, um, grades for French are good in reading and writing. So it’s developing much the same way as the Japanese. Right? Yuki is now in grade three but her French reading skill, apparently, is at a grade four level. And according to the teacher’s report card, Japanese is not bad at all either. Yes. So I believe the same skills are developing.

でもやっぱりこの場合3年生になったら、あの、フランス語の方の成績みたい、やっぱり読むとか書くのが得意なんですよ。だから日本語と同じように伸びてるんですよ。ねえ？あの裕紀さんはね、フランス語は今3年生なんですけどレベルは4年生なんですって。で、日本語も全然

悪くないみたいです、先生の成績表は。うん。だから同じことが伸びてるな、
 と思います、私。

This may be explained by Cummins' (1984, 1989, 1991b, 1991c, 1996) interdependence hypothesis, but I suspect that there is a prerequisite for the interdependence hypothesis to be in effect: positive attitude towards languages.

Both girls showed positive attitudes towards languages. When asked which language they liked the best, they readily answered, "All of them!" Hiroshi said that they even show keen interest in learning new languages such as Chinese. At such a young age, they seem to already appreciate knowledge of different languages and cultures. Hiroshi is hoping the girls to continue their task of further understanding foreign languages and cultures because he believes it leads to self-enrichment. At the same time Hiroshi realizes that this is an endeavour which takes time and something largely dependent of social factors.

* * *

Naoko's Story

Naoko is a career woman, working as a chief editor and a journalist for a local Japanese newspaper firm which she and her husband own and run. She may not fit under the stereotype of a dependent, passive, docile, "typical" Japanese female image: Naoko is outgoing, outspoken, sociable, intelligent, hard-working, positive, caring and independent. I met her for the first time when I was sixteen, working as an occasional reporter for the paper, my very first part-time job. Ever since our first acquaintance, she has always been supportive and kind, calling me by the nickname which at that time only my good friends at school used.

Naoko is university educated, having studied French at one of well-known universities in Tokyo, Japan. Upon her graduation she got a job working for a publishing firm, editing and publishing books. She married her husband, immigrated to Canada, and established their own newspaper company. Today, it is one of the major local Japanese newspaper companies in Toronto. Naoko is in charge of practically everything, doing lay-outs and writing articles. She is one of the major reasons for the company's success.

For these reasons, it was somewhat difficult to see Naoko on a regular basis during my

data collection process. However, she was very accommodating to meet my requests for interviews. I would visit her at her office located on the top floor of a downtown office complex, then go down to the coffee shop on the ground floor to “chat” over a cup of coffee.

Naoko has a teenage son, Joh, who is now in the eleventh-grade, and who was just a baby when I was working for them as a reporter. Joh is the only child.

Joh is enrolled in a gifted programme offered by the Toronto Board of Education, and until recently he also attended *hoshuko*, the supplementary school which I used to attend. Joh is an outgoing and talented young man, interested in many different things ranging from acting to sports.

L1 and L2 Development

One of the first things Naoko shared with me was Joh’s academic performance at his “regular” school. He is excelling in all subjects, except for English. Naoko said,

N: Problem is, he gets A in everything but he gets B’s in English

M: Ah

N: It’s because the essays...vocabulary is limited no matter what. My son gets half the English vocabulary compared to those from 100% English speaking families because the other half is Japanese, right?

M: Yes, yes. That’s interesting

N: So he says that his (English) vocabulary is limited

M: Ah hum

N: And that we don’t help with his essays

M: Yes, yes

直： で、問題が全てAなんだけれども、英語だけがBなの。

光： ああ

直： 何故かっていったらエッセーがね、ボキャブラリーがどうしても、うちの子が悩むのは、英語の家庭、100%英語の家庭よりも、半分日本語でしょ？

光： うんうん、面白いですね。

直： だからボキャブラリーが少ないってどうしても言うわけ。
 光： ああ、ああ
 直： それと、親がやっぱりエッセーを見てくれない、と。
 光： うんうん

Naoko is convinced that her son is disadvantaged because he is only receiving L1 input at home. Her belief is somewhat in line with Pearson, Fernández and Oller's (1993) claim that bilinguals have fewer words in one language than in the monolinguals. Because the regular school programme does not validate and appreciate Joh's L1, he is being assessed with the monolingual standard, and Naoko showed her concern of Joh's limited English vocabulary which is reflected in his grade.

Apparently Naoko was concerned about the possible negative influence L1 learning would have on L2 learning. For example, she feared that L1 usage would interfere with the L2 pronunciation, but she was relieved to learn from Joh's teacher that she didn't have to worry about that:

...Sometimes when I go to teacher-parent interview, I would ask things like if using Japanese has detrimental effect on Joh's English pronunciation, but the teacher said that it was okay. Mind you, teachers over here praise the students (all the time). They always say "Excellent, excellent"

うーん。私は実際にその、英語の学校で英語を受けてる家の子を見てるわけじゃないから。ま、時々面談で先生に英語の発音が日本語どうしてもやってるからあれじゃないか、とか色々聞くのね。ただそれは大丈夫だって。ま、こちらの先生は誉めるからね。エクセラント、エクセラントっていうけれども。

For Naoko, Joh's academic success and his well-being in the Canadian society are her utmost concerns. Contrary to her concern about Joh's L2 development, she takes somewhat a relaxed stance towards Joh's L1 acquisition. For example, Joh is proficient in all four language skills in Japanese, except for the usage of the honorary forms, or *keigo*, which is used to show courtesy or humbleness towards elders and superiors. Naoko believes that Joh is not proficient in utilizing the form correctly, acknowledging the fact that Joh is not immersed in an environment which requires him to learn and use the form.

Naoko also observes L1 and L2 confusion on the part of her son. The phrase which Joh continues to use, no matter how much Naoko corrects him, is the phrase "I'm coming". Joh literally translates the English phrase into Japanese by using the verb *kuru* (to come). However,

Japanese use the verb *iku* (to go) instead. The resulting phrase *Boku socchini kuru* (=I'm coming over there) sounds quite foreign to a Japanese ear. The correct phrase should be *Boku socchini iku* (=I'm going over there).

As for the L1 lexical acquisition, Naoko notes how Joh asks her for explanations whenever he encounters Japanese words which he does not know:

N: He definitely asks for the meaning of, well may be not all, the words he does not know in Japanese

M: He asks you?

N: Yes

M: Ah, to you

N: Yes. And it's sometimes difficult to explain to him

M: Ah huh

N: There are times when I explain to him in English

M: Yes, yes

直： で、必ずね、分からない言葉、ま、全部じゃないけれども、あれどういう意味、それどういう意味って、もう、必ず聞く

光： 聞く？

直： うん

光： ああ、直子さんに

直： そう。それが、こっちが、その、説明しにくいわけよね

光： ああ

直： それは英語で説明する場合もある

光： はあはあ

.....

M: I see. (2 seconds) On the other hand, are there times when he asks you about an English word?

N: Never asks

光： へえ。(2秒) 逆に英語を聞いてきたりとかはしますか？

直： まず聞かない

...

M: Then what does he do?

光： じゃ、どうするの？

...

N: I wonder if he looks it up in the dictionary or asks his friends.
He's never asked us about English

直： 辞書を引いたり、友達に聞いたりするのかなあ。英語はまず私達には
聞いたこと
ないわねえ

Naoko complains that Joh only reads Japanese comic books. She wishes him to read Japanese novels to expand and enrich his Japanese vocabularies, but she seems reluctant to force it upon him. Rather, she has left it to Joh's own will to read Japanese books.

Although Naoko feels these to be problems, she does not seem to view them as grave issues. Even without the honorific forms or the misuse of the verb *kuru*, the mother and the son are able to communicate effectively and meaningfully with each other.

When it came time to discuss about L3 (i.e., French) learning, Naoko's fear for negative influences on multiple language learnings reveal itself again:

M: (3 seconds) There are things like French immersion here

N: Yes

M: Didn't you think of sending Joh to place like that?

N: No, actually I did think about it

M: You did? (laugh)

N: Little bit, just a little bit, uh, I did, but well, I think it's quite a challenge. Ah

M: You thought it would be a challenge? Felt sorry (to make your son learn three languages)?

N: I do. Yes, English, French as well as Japanese. I've also heard many stories of those who failed (in the attempt to teach three languages to their children)

光： (3秒) あれ、こっちの学校、フレンチイマージョンとか
あるじゃないですか

直： うん

光： そういうのには入れようと思わなかった？

直： いや、ほんとはそうは思ったんだけど

- 光： 思った？（笑）
 直： ちらっと、ちらっとね、えー、思ったけど。まあ、ちょっとそれはかなり厳しいから。
 光： 厳しいと思った？可哀相？
 直： 思う、うん、英語とフランス語と日本語もね。で、失敗した人の話をだいぶ聞いた

Naoko has also heard of ineffectiveness of immersion programme from her neighbours:

- N: ...She has been learning French since kindergarten, for more than ten years, but (her parents) claim that they've never heard her speak French (laugh).
- 直： あの、フランス語ずっと、幼稚園の時からずっとやってて、もうね、十何年行ってるけど（親が）一度もフランス語喋ったの聞いたことないって（笑）言うの。
- ...
- N: French (of kids from French immersion) is great, but I wonder how they are when it comes to speaking French. How much can they actually speak French.
- 直： 確かにフランス語はすごいけど、喋るのはどんなんだろうね。どれぐらい喋れるのか。

There seems to be assumption that language learning is burdensome and at times ineffective.

In fact, Naoko perceives bilingualism as entailing more than learning two language systems.

The question then becomes, if Naoko suspects negative L1 influences on L2 learning, as revealed by her conception of L2 vocabulary growth and belief in L1 interference in L2 learning, what motivated her to adhere to L1 usage at home?

Role Models and Other People's Stories

Naoko has mentioned to me several times how I was an aspiration for Joh's Japanese learning:

- N: And the reason why I wanted to send my son to *hoshuko* is because, well, you did have an influence on my decision.
- 直： それでね、ま、補習校にずっと行かせたいと思ったのは、ま、

あなたの影響もあるはね。

.....

M: Did you think it was good to be bilingual, having seen me? (laugh)

N: Yes. I think it's because you attended *hoshuko*.

光： なんか、私見てるとそんなにいいなと思いました？（笑）

直： うん。やっぱし、これ。やっぱし、あなた、補習校に行ったからだと思う。

In order to decide on and continue with language maintenance, she says that it is necessary to have a concrete vision, or a firm confirmation, that bilingual child-rearing is a possibility:

M: Don't you think that if the prospective mothers, those who will be raising children, had these information, their child-rearing practices will be influenced quite a bit?

N: Yes, I, children, um, I think the mothers believe that two language [teaching] is simply impossible.

M: I wonder why?

N: More or less. But children, I don't think that's the case

M: I agree

N: Yes, that's what I think. So, first of all, the fact that it [=bilingualism] is a definite possibility

光： なんかこれからお母さん、これから子供を育てなきゃいけない人とか、こういう事知ってたら、なんか、だいぶ子育てに大きな影響があると思いませんか？

直： うん、私、子供、その、お母さん達がね、2カ国語は無理だっていう風に頭から思っていると思うの。

光： なんでだろう？

直： どっちかって。でも子供はね、そんなことないと思うのよ。

光： 私も

直： うん、そう思う。だから、絶対大丈夫だっていうこと。まず

Unless parents feel reassured about the possible outcome of their child-rearing, they feel insecure

and at times give up the hope of raising bilingual children.

Being consistent and firm about the decision for L1 maintenance is one of the challenges immigrant parents face. Naoko shared with me a sad story about her acquaintance whose child was misdiagnosed as mentally slow because she hardly spoke in class:

The child is a very quiet type. Then the parents were told by the kindergarten teacher that perhaps the child was having problems speaking English. Apparently at home the child was speaking Japanese when she was younger. But the parents were told, when the child began schooling, that she may be mentally retarded...but the child is quite clever.

大人しいの。すごく、子供が。そしたら、先生から、幼稚園か
なんかの時に、言葉があんまり喋れないんじゃないかって言われて、
英語が。あ、小さい時は日本語で喋ってたらしいの、家ではね。
ただ、英語の、その、普通の学校に行った時に、その、知能が
遅れてるんじゃないかって言われたんだって...でも頭いいのよ。

The strong will to raise children bilingually can be challenged by one's own child. Joh apparently showed strong reluctance to learn Japanese and continue Japanese schooling:

N: And, around grade 6, grade 5 or 6, there was tendency (for Joh) to dislike attending *hoshuko*. Because Japanese learning became harder, you see.

M: You mean homework?

N: Homework, and Japanese became harder. He was fine till grade 4. But starting around grade 5,6 *kanji* (i.e., Chinese script) became harder. Then he went on to middle school. Then he entered rebellious stage in his life

M: Ah huh

N: And he even asked his teachers why, being a Canadian, that he'll be here for the rest of his life, that he won't be going back to Japan, he needs to study (Japanese) for a year and a half. He was depressed and a lot happened during that time. And every time he asked that question, my answer was that it would definitely be an asset for him in the future and that he might end up going over to Japan after all, and then he'll be thankful (that he had continued Japanese studies).

直： で、小学校のね、6年生の時ぐらい、5、6年の時からちょっと
補習校を嫌う傾向があったわけ。大変になったから、日本語が。
光： 宿題がっていう意味で？

直： 宿題もあったし。日本語も難しくなってきたし。4年生ぐらいまでは全然平気、ね。5、6年から漢字が難しくなってきた。それから中学に。その頃に反抗期にもなってきたね

光： はあはあ

直： それで先生にもどうして僕はね、あの、カナダ人で、あの、ここにずっといるのに、日本に帰る必要がないのにね、勉強しなきゃいけないかっていうことを一年から一年半ぐらい、それですごく本人も悩んであれして色々あった。その間は、色々。で、そのたんびに私の答は、あー、日本語と英語と両方やっていればね、絶対将来いいし、日本に行くことがもしかしたらあるかもしれない、その時に絶対あんたは感謝するっていうことをずっと言い聞かせて、もう、その質問がね、その一年、一年半続いたわね。一年から一年半。で、反抗期もあって色々あったね。

.....

M: Have you ever felt sorry for Joh, for making him learn Japanese?

N: Yes, of course, like when there's a lot of homework. When he was very rebellious, I just told him to quit if it is simply too much for him

M: Yes, yes

N: When I told him to quite, he said, "Mom, this is an important matter. Why do you dismiss it so easily?" (laugh)

光： なんかかわいそうだな、とか思ったことありますか。なんかこの子に日本語やらせるのは可哀相だな、とか

直： うん、そりゃ、やっぱり、宿題が多い時は、もう、現地校に。あ、もうそんな大変だったら辞めていいのよ、ってすごい反抗期の時私言ったの

光： ああ、ああ

直： もう、ほんなら辞めなさいよって言ったらね、「ママ、どうしてそんな大変な事をね、一言で簡単に言うの？」って言ったの(笑)

What is interesting here is that it seems Joh himself is rather convinced of the importance of language maintenance, although he did complain to his mother about all the work he must do to maintain his L1.

Discontinuity in L1 learning was circumvented by the principal of *hoshuko* at that time:

N: ...there was a bit of problem at *hoshuko*. The principal, the one

who just returned to Japan, had a talk with Joh. And it seems that ever since then Joh's life has completely changed around. Joh never revealed to me what they had discussed but...

直： えー、ちょっと色々と問題があって、補習校であって。校長先生から、この前帰ったばかりの校長先生からとっても、あの、ディスカッションして。それでね、なんか人生が大分変わっちゃったみたいなの。本当にどういう話をしたか私には言ってくれなかったんだけど

Having the right resources and people to support one's decision for bilingual child-rearing is crucial.

The understanding and appreciation of language learning can be furthered by listening to other people's stories. Naoko shared with me a story of her co-worker whose son is now in his 20's. She regrets the fact that she did not raise her son bilingually. Apparently the family lived in other areas of Canada before moving to Toronto five years ago, and they did not have access to multicultural setting as that enjoyed by Torontonians. They sent the son to a heritage language school when the programme became available in the area they had lived, but by then it was too late.

Naoko has also witnessed so many cases of semilingualism in the Japanese community. That is, she has seen many parents who resort to L2 usage at home. The children of such parents become fluent in English of course, and gain somewhat a working knowledge of Japanese but fail to read and write Japanese. Naoko feels that *hoshuko* is one of the options Japanese immigrant parents have to assure their children's balanced development in all four language skills. She feels it is important to gain academic language knowledge because reading and writing extend to the formation and modification of one's belief and act as tools for self-expression. This, she feels, impacts how we think and what we absorb (See also Ono, 1994, p. 126).

External Factors Conducive to Language Maintenance

Naoko feels that Canadian teachers, especially those in Toronto, have a good understanding of and accept multiculturalism. So far, Naoko feels encouraged by Joh's teachers with her decision to maintain L1 at home.

Naoko was quick to list three other factors which she thought were conducive to Japanese learning and maintenance for Joh. They are:

- Using only L1 (i.e., Japanese) at home
- Send the child to Japan once in a few years
- Send the child to Japanese school

It seems that she already has formulated this prescription in her head as her guide in raising Joh bilingually, and she seems quite content with the outcome she sees in Joh.

Naoko explained to me how Joh was sent to Japan that past year for a two-month stay. Apparently it was Joh's idea to go over to Japan, and he had requested to be enrolled in a local Japanese public middle school. His admission to the school was granted in no time. Naoko went on to say how much Joh enjoyed his stay in Japan, and that he was planning to return to the same school again in the coming summer. She joyously showed me four small, colourful binded construction paper, with about the thickness of a phone book, with messages and pictures drawn by all 200 students who were enrolled in the same grade as Joh at that school.

Joh's transfer into the school was facilitated by the school board which accepted him right away as well as the students and teachers who warmly welcomed him. However, the fact that the students were using the same text books as those used at *hoshuko* made his transfer easier academically. Because they were covering the same material using the same resources, Joh did not suffer any lag in studies. In fact, what they were covering at *hoshuko* in Japanese, math, and science were more advanced than the school in Japan. However, Naoko contended that Joh had a bit of difficulty in social science.

Since coming back from Japan, Joh has shown strong eagerness in learning and continuing his Japanese education. Unlike the time when he should great resistance in attending *hoshuko*, Joh now is eagerly assuming responsibilities in his Japanese education. "He now goes to *hoshuko* an hour earlier," Naoko said, "It's like a dream". Joh is also currently attending *juku*, or a cram house, once a week where he is getting extra drill in *kanji*.

Language and Identity

Despite Joh's passion to learn about Japan and Japanese language, interestingly he identifies himself as a Canadian who happens to like Japan. Yet, although he considers himself as a Canadian, he always interacts with his parents in Japanese. He never speaks to his parents in English, and never asks for help in English or with homework from the regular school. Even when his Canadian friends are over, he would talk to his friends in English, turns around and speaks to his parents in Japanese. Naoko confidently said that using Japanese at home has been the house rule ever since he was a baby and that Japanese has been used without question at home.

For Naoko, consistency is very important. She decided strictly on L1 usage with Joh,

having seen other Japanese parents interacting with their children in English. This gave her an impression of unnaturalness and awkwardness. When she once chose to speak in English to Joh, Joh asked his mother why she bothered to say it in English. It seems that, for Joh, mother's identity as a Japanese is associated with the Japanese language usage.

* * *

Michiko's Story

Michiko is one of "veteran" mothers that I interviewed. I requested her for an interview for several reasons. Michiko herself is a Japanese language instructor, having spent more than twenty years at *hoshuko* teaching Japanese as well as working as a programme co-ordinator and senior instructor at a local college. Yet, interestingly, she has chosen not to force her children to attend *hoshuko* and maintain their L1. For this reason, her son Kei who is now 29 and her daughter Risa now age 26 both left *hoshuko* by the first year in high school. She said that her children have no problem understanding Japanese and use Japanese exclusively at home, but nevertheless she admits that they are weak in Japanese writing and reading skills. Michiko, however, does not seem to regard this as a great threat.

Michiko is a person who enjoys life. Her high spirits and generosity and kindness towards others attracts people of all walks in life. She is an outgoing person who is well-known, liked and respected by the Japanese community in Toronto. She loves to play golf with her friends, is a Christian who attends church every Sunday, volunteers to help the elderly, and so on. She always dresses very nicely, wearing accessories and make-up which complements her looks. In short, she is someone very nice to be with.

Michiko graduated from a junior college in Tokyo Japan, having majored in English language and literature. Upon her graduation, she became an English teacher at a local middle school. She immigrated to Canada in 1968, shortly after she married her husband. She had both her children in Toronto, Canada.

Attitude Towards Canadian and Japanese Education Systems

“Initially, we were planning to go back to Japan after a few years,” she said. “Kei, Risa, and I actually went back to Japan for a year or so when Kei was in grade one. During that time I had Kei attend a local public school,” Michiko recalls. However, her recollection of Japanese schooling was not an entirely a positive one. She remembers how Japanese school was rule-oriented and teacher-student ratio was much higher than that of a Canadian classroom. In terms of curriculum content, she recalls how, having attended *hoshuko*, her children did not suffer academically for all subjects except for music (Japanese children learn to play different instruments in music class at school. Music is one subject not taught at *hoshuko*). The children adopted Japanese language quickly, although they had lost English almost entirely when they returned to Canada a year later. “They had forgotten English entirely...They couldn’t speak English,” Michiko remembers. Yet, despite L2 loss, the children again quickly conformed to Canadian way of life, made friends and enjoyed going to school. However, at this time, Risa’s teacher suggested Michiko to help expand Risa’s L2 vocabulary at home by playing such games as “Scrabbles”.

Overall, Michiko’s perception of Canadian schooling is very positive. She mentioned number of times that the teachers all followed Kei’s and Risa’s progress very carefully. Throughout their schooling, the children succeeded academically, although their grades in English were somewhat slightly lower than other subjects such as Science. Michiko admits that she never helped with her children’s homework, and children never asked for assistance either. Despite her lack of involvement and support in their children’s academic life, she is quite pleased with her children’s academic achievements, and this allowed her to place trust in Canadian education system. “I relied on school for their English acquisition,” Michiko said, “And this is why (Kei) had no English competence before enrolling in kindergarten...Kei cried on the first day of attending kindergarten...I never taught him English.” “Did you regret not using English with him?” I asked, but she replied that that didn’t occur to her:

He cried the first day, but he went (to kindergarten) happily the next day
 ...The teachers, the kindergarten teachers, were wonderful...there were two
 (in the classroom) and one veteran teacher looked after Kei very well...at first,
 I explained that this person (i.e., Kei) does not understand English at all, but she

reassured me that that was okay, that things will be fine. Since we're in this (multicultural) country, I'm sure there were other immigrants (teachers had to deal with)

なんか、でも、だって、初めの日（幼稚園に行くのに）泣いて、二日目からはね、嬉しそうに行ったの...私は、それはね、すごくいい先生だったの。幼稚園の先生がとってもいい人だったの。やっぱりね、もう、ちゃんとね、よくね、二人いたのね、その先生がそのクラスに二人ついてたの。...で、一人の年配の先生がね、あの、すごくよく見てくれて。あの、初めに、この人英語はなにも分かりませんって、ま、説明したでしょ。そしたらいいです、大丈夫ですって。ま、ここの国だから他にもイミグラントの人がいたんでしょね。

Michiko repeatedly noted how fortunate she was to have had so many wonderful teachers for her two children. She shared one sad story of her friend, whose child was misdiagnosed as mentally challenged because of the slow L2 development. The family apparently switched over to exclusive L2 usage, and the child, although he still understands Japanese, has lost the ability to communicate in Japanese with his parents. Michiko attributes this language loss to the lack of supervisory support on the part of the teacher: “(In this case), I think the teacher wasn’t carefully observing the child. In our case, I feel that we were very fortunate to have all good teachers.”

Prioritizing L2 and C2 Over L1 and C1 Learning

For Michiko, adopting L2 and C2 take priority over L1 and C1 maintenance if the place of residence predominantly consists of L2 and C2. When the children were small, she encouraged L1 maintenance because she had initially planned to return to Japan after a five-year stay in Canada. However, when she and her husband changed their plan and decided to make Canada their permanent home, Michiko’s insistence on L1 maintenance was dramatically reduced. “If you are going to live in Canada, it’s not necessary (to maintain L1). Of course it would be good if you can, but...” she contended. “As long as we can communicate (in Japanese) on a daily basis, and that the children can communicate with relatives in Japan, I’m content,” she said. Maintaining strong family bonding is, much like other participants in this research, important for Michiko. She claimed that she, her husband, and the children engage in lengthy talks on a daily basis, entirely in Japanese. However, she points out that this in turn resulted in limited L1 proficiency on the part of her children. One example she mentioned was the use of *keigo*, or the honorific form in Japanese.

Keigo is one aspect of the Japanese language which Nakajima (1998a, p. 161) lists as one of linguistic elements which are difficult to be acquired by resorting only to L1 home language use. However, Michiko is not disturbed by such lack because Kei, who worked in Japan for three years upon graduating from Canadian university, learned *keigo* during his stay. Michiko said that she is not worried for her children's L1 skills because the basics are already there which can be quickly recovered or enhanced once immersed in L1 and C1 (See also Kouritzin, 1999, p. 181 for similar claim made by her participants).

Factors Conducive to L1 Learning

One regret Michiko has in raising her children was the lack of emphasis on L1 reading:

I didn't tell them to read Japanese books...but I think I should have made them read more

This is much the same as the claim made by Naoko earlier, believing that reading exerts a great impact on vocabulary learning. Michiko further claimed that reading facilitates acquisition of *kanji*.. She also mentioned the usefulness of videos in allowing children to familiarize themselves with the "real" Japanese language. On the other hand, Michiko interestingly does not place so much emphasis on the importance of writing:

As for writing, um, things like *hiragana*, are better taught. *Hiragana*. *Kanji* is learned as you read, so, um, unless there's a necessity for writing, but, um, as long as you can communicate...The most important thing is that I can communicate (with the children). Well, if you will be (going back to) attending Japanese schools, it's a different story.

書くのは、そうね、やっぱし、ひらがなとか、そういうね、最低限は教えた方がいいと思うわよ。ひらがな。で、本読むうちには漢字を見てると覚えるから、ま、あの、書く必要があれば、あれだけども、ともかく、あの、コミュニケーションが出来るようなね。一番大事なのはコミュニケーションが出来るってのが私。ま、日本の学校に行くとかそういうのだったら、また、ちょっと別ですけどね

When I asked what other advice Michiko could give to mothers who are now raising their children bilingually, she raised two more points. One is the necessity to exclusively use Japanese at home, and the other is to incorporate as many new vocabulary in speech:

at home, entirely speak in complete Japanese sentences...not Japanese mixed with English...And this is what I heard but, um, what kind of expressions you use (is important). For example, instead of saying, "It's raining", say "It's pouring

outside”...by including lots of things like adjectives? You can increase your vocabulary by including them in your conversation, right?

やっぱり、その、家では全部ね、簡潔な日本語を使っています、話してるって、ね。...なんかね、英語交じりの日本語じゃなくて。そして、あの、これは私も聞いた事、そうだけでも、あの、どういう表現するかね。例えば雨が降ってるわ、って言わないで、雨がざあざあ降ってるわ、とか...その、形容詞？とかをやっぱし入れてね、あの、会話をすると語彙が増えるでしょ？

However, ultimately she attributes children’s success in becoming bilinguals to the attitude and effort exerted by the parents:

Parents’ attitude, if you really want to maintain Japanese, it ultimately means that the parents will have to do it, if you want to do it right...Parents’ attitude is so important. Yes. I think, if you want to take Japanese learning to the ultimate where you can read anything like magazines and newspapers, the parents will have to put quite a bit of effort into it.

やっぱり、でもね、親の姿勢はね、ほんとに日本語をすごくやらせるんだったら、親の、やっぱり日本語を親がするしかないでしょ？ちゃんとやるには...親の姿勢がね、ものすごく大事。親の。うん。ほんとにもう、日本語をね、徹底して、あの、週刊誌でも新聞でもなんでも読めるようにしようと思ったら、やっぱり親がかなり協力しなきゃいけないと思います。

In her case, she admits that she did not wish to vigorously pursue L1 maintenance because it is a lot of work, and she also wished to give her children the freedom to choose what was in their best interest. For example, Kei left *hoshuko* in grade 10 for several reasons. Kei was swamped with homework, his friends were returning to Japan, and *hoshuko* was beginning to cut into his schedule. Although initial plan was for Kei to continue studying Japanese on his own at home, but this did not last very long. Michiko was disappointed with her son’s discontinuation of Japanese schooling, but at the same time had no strong urge to force Kei to continue. Our two-hour interview culminated with her remark about her attitudes about child-rearing in general: “In other words, it’s like, not being imposing. Really (respecting) autonomy (on the part of the children)”.

Language, Beliefs, and Identity

While Michiko respected her children’s choices, she expected her children to show similar respect towards her. She feels most comfortable using Japanese and associating with other

Japanese friends. She addresses to her children in Japanese, and it is understood that Japanese was the language at home. The children always used Japanese with their parents. I then asked, “Don’t your children use English when speaking to each other?” but she quickly replied that they only used Japanese. “For example, when Risa uses English, Kei used to remind her to speak in Japanese” Michiko said. However, this is not the result of her pestering children to use L1 at home. “I don’t recall telling them to use Japanese at home,” she said. It is just an family arrangement with which the four family members are most comfortable.

* * *

Tama’s Story

Tama’s daughter Mineko, who is now a lawyer working in Toronto, has been interviewed several times by the local Japanese newspaper for her excellence in academia and career. Indeed, Mineko’s Japanese is flawless, experiencing no problems communicating with other Japanese speakers. What is so remarkable about this case is that Mineko never received any supplementary Japanese schooling such as *hoshuko*. That is, Tama herself taught Mineko in becoming fluent in all four skills (i.e., reading, writing, speaking, listening) in Japanese.

Tama, age 60, lives in an affluent neighbourhood in the northern end of Toronto with her husband, age 63, and her daughter Mineko, age 31. She also has two older children, age 38 and 37, each with their own families. Tama immigrated to Canada in 1970 along with her husband and three children. Her son, the eldest in the family, was in grade four at that time, and her eldest daughter was in grade three. Mineko, the youngest, was only three years old.

Tama is a petite lady with a vibrant personality. When I arrived at her home for an interview, she greeted me with a big smile, wearing a white floral T-shirt and cotton blue shorts, which looked like a short flared skirt on her. Her hair is somewhat short and permed, the curls bouncing outward away from her face. She was wearing no makeup but had small pearl earrings on which added elegance to her youthful facial features.

She asked me to be seated in their living room while she quickly went to the back room to finish her telephone conversation. The living room had a dark brown velvety sofa set and a long rectangular wooden table on which there was a floral needle-point centre piece and a beautiful

round crystal, perhaps meant for flower arrangement.

Tama came back hurriedly, apologizing for making me wait, but in fact I was the one who was 10 minutes late to arrive at her home. In turn I said, "I'm so sorry to ask you for your time when I'm sure you are terribly busy," and she replied, laughing, "Oh, yes! Everything seems to happen all at once, you know." Having heard this honest comment, I knew right away that she is someone who will be able to open up and recount her experiences in a very natural, flowing and honest way. I was right.

My normal procedure was to re-explain to my participants what my research objective was and how I wanted to conduct the interview. However, my session with Tama was very different from the very beginning. "Shall we begin?" I asked then we just had the tape recorder record our conversation, and we just kept chatting for hours. My previous sessions were all an hour to two hours in length, but this one lasted for four. This reflects how much we enjoyed each other's company. One thing about Tama was that she was constantly smiling and at times laughing out loud in joy throughout the entire interview session, and her cheerfulness eased me as a listener and made the session even more enjoyable.

Tama went to the kitchen and brought back hot cups of green tea for the two of us at the beginning of the interview, but the tea got cold as we were eagerly talking without any moment of pause to sip and enjoy our tea.

Maintaining and Strengthening Family Ties: Reason for Home Schooling

She began her story by accounting an example of child-rearing she had seen at another Japanese household. "The child was able to read Japanese books, but he could not carry out a conversation with his parents," she remembers, "I was shocked...I wanted to make sure that I'd be able to communicate with my own children...I heard that if the family decides to use English at home, the one who is the least competent in English (i.e., the parents) will be left out of the family circle. I thought I'd be in jeopardy if that happened in our home." She further added, "I was afraid to lose the means of communication with my children."

For this fear she decided to use and teach Japanese at home to her three children. "Exactly what did you do?" I asked. She laughingly said, "Nothing too special. I would perhaps spend 45 minutes or so with each child as he or she came home from school. I would have him/her sit beside me and make them read out loud a Japanese passage or have him/her practice writing

Japanese scripts as I did house chores.” “You mean you didn’t teach them all at once but you taught one by one? That means you spent about three hours teaching your children everyday!” I was surprised. Apparently she did this until her children graduated from high school, although it was most intense when the children were younger. “How did you manage to do something like this and be so persistent?” “Actually I enjoyed doing it. I had forgotten what children learn in each grade and I was fascinated about the materials they covered. Perhaps I was having more fun and learning more than my kids,” she giggled. Tama has a younger sister residing in Japan who happens to be an elementary school teacher. “I had text books and other teaching materials such as teaching manual sent to me by my sister. That’s what I used to teach my children,” she said.

Another issue I wanted to ask her was about Japanese supplementary school: why did she not send her children to Japanese Saturday school? One simple answer; there wasn’t any back then. “By the time the Japanese school was established, children were getting busy with their Canadian school. When they were asked whether they wanted to attend Japanese school, they said that my teaching was fine and that they did not wish to go.”

Belief in Language Learning

Tama believes in the benefits of learning as many languages as possible, but not at the expense of forcing them on her children. Tama said numerous times during the interview, “The more languages you know, the better it is,” yet :

Um, the kids won’t definitely learn if you force them. But I did try to motivate them to come to appreciate Japanese. For example, I tried to supply them with Japanese books to facilitate Japanese learning. I know some families put restrictions on what their children can read ...My father was such a person. I felt opposed to such a policy. I think it is better (for the children) to choose what they believe to be good for them.

あの、無理にやらせても絶対覚えません。あの、興味を持たせるようにはしたかもしれませんよね。まあ、私、うちがしたことっていうのは、日本語覚える為には、もう、ちゃんとした本を与え、あの、ね。変な漫画とかそういうのは、もう全部与えないって家庭もありますよね...私父親がね、そうだったんですよ。それ、すごい反発があったの。なんでも聞いて、聞かせて、そこから自分でいいものを選ぶのが、ね、いいんじゃないかなって

When asked why she did not send her children to French immersion, her reply was that there weren't as many French immersion programmes as today, and when she asked her children they showed disinterest so she did not bother pursuing the option any further. This in turn may suggest that, in order for the language to be learned and maintained at home, the children must come to share the view of the parents, appreciating the benefits of language learning as well.

Tama feels that it is easier to maintain languages when there is a strong foundation underlying language usage, such as religion (Fishman, 1989; Wardhaugh, 1987). She attributes the high maintenance of Hebrew among Jewish households to the strong tie to the religion. She said:

It would be a shame ...to lose something which is so valuable...
I think the language among the Jewish community is well-maintained largely due to their religion. On the other hand, Japanese people do not share such a strong bonding force.

せつかくのものを、ね...無くしちゃうっていうのをやはり、とても悲しいですね...ジュウイッシュの子が何故続くかっていったら、あれ、宗教がやはりすごい多きいんじゃないんですかと思いますけど。日本人ってやはり、根本的な、それが無いじゃないですか。

In place of religion, she feels the only strong bonding force among Japanese immigrants contributing towards language maintenance is the feeling of despair for survival and fear among the parents:

T: Um, it might not be appropriate to say that one must be inconvenienced (laugh)
M: (laugh)
T: I do think that it is selfishness on the part of parents. But it does mean that parents must be so desperate
M: Yes, yes
T: the children won't learn languages

た： ま、困んなきゃ（笑）っていうのは、すごい、こう、あれなんだけど。（笑）

光： （笑）

た： すごい親の勝手だと思いますけどね。でも、もう、それは、それぐらい親が、あの、必死にならないと

光： うんうん

た： 子供は語学っていうのを覚えないうってことね

Tama is thankful that her children came to appreciate what she was doing. She believes

that, having to learn Japanese themselves, her children knew what it was like to be learning a foreign language and instead of showing disrespect towards their parents' limited English proficiency, they readily offered to help out their parents.

“Didn’t you ever get discouraged, and think of using only English at home? Were there not teachers who advised you to use more English with your children?” I asked. She said, “Never. It never occurred to me to use English at home... There were teachers who did advise us to use English more often, but instead of complying, I shared my view about language learning with those teachers; that children will be confused if I use my limited English at home. I think it’s better to separate the two and have the children learn English at school and I teach Japanese at home.”

Although Tama admits that her English is very limited, she seemed to show no hesitancy in talking with school personnel. This, to me, was odd since she did say that she had not much contact with the Canadian society in general:

There’s not much contact with Canadians. Perhaps through my husband’s work and with the neighbours...Perhaps I should have just given up on my kids’ Japanese and put more effort in learning English myself (Laugh)...Canadians are very friendly and welcoming, don’t you agree? But after a little while it begins to feel painful to be interacting with them. I know that if I bear the discomfort then I would learn more English and things would go much smoother. So I know it’s no good if you are not outgoing.

あるとは言えない方じゃない。ま、お話し、近所の方と、ちょろっとお話ししたりなにかはしますよね。それと会社関係の人達なんか、どの、あれですね。それから、ま、うちのハズバンドを通してのお友達で、こう、っていうのはありますけど、自分で、こう、だれだれさんと仲がいいとかってそういうのは無いですよ。...だからそういう点では、ま、子供放っぼりだしても、自分の英語勉強するべきだったかな (笑) ...すごいこちらの人って、すごく手を差し伸べてくださるでしょう？でも段々辛くなっちゃう訳...ね、それを、こう、あの、辛くてもずーっとこうしてたら、あの、もっともっと英語が分かって、スムーズになる、あの、あれじゃないですか。だからもうこちらの生活って積極的じゃなかったら駄目ですね。

If she did not initiate much interaction with the Canadians, why did she even dared to approach and convince the teachers of her belief in language learning?

It would be a tragedy if one ends up with a teacher who advocates for English usage at home...I would do anything for the children (laugh). It’s like, there’s no question about going [to talk to the teacher]...I would be sorry for my children if I didn’t speak up on their behalf...

あの、お家でも英語を習ってください、なんていう先生に当たった人は、ちょっと悲劇よね。...私子供のためだったら、もう、なんていうの、勇気もなにもないのよ（笑）。もう行かなくちゃなんないっていう。あの、言わなかったら可哀相じゃないですか。

Fortunately the teacher was convinced with Tama's argument and respected her belief.

Child-Rearing in a Foreign Setting: Difficulties and Coping Strategies

Although the Canadian educators were supportive to Tama's values, Tama did encounter numerous obstacles in raising her children in a foreign setting. To begin with, there were ideological differences between Canadian and Japanese cultures:

In Canada, children are constantly praised for their performance. On the other hand, in Japan children are never praised but scolded for their deficiency...Here, it is expected that you voice your opinion. In Japan, you are expected to conform to the rest of society.

Although Tama was at first surprised to learn of such great gaps between Canadian and Japanese cultures, she seems to prefer the Canadian values. "I like the Canadian way myself," she said.

On the practical side, she recalls how it was troublesome to teach mathematics to her children. "You see, there are many concepts in math which are entirely the opposite in Japanese." For example, when handing change to a customer, the cashier counts so that the amount is added onto the purchase price. In other words, the concept involved here is addition, whereas, Tama claims, in Japan it is subtraction.

Another source of confusion is the difference in mathematical language convention between Japanese and English. For example, when reading a fraction, Japanese read the denominator first then the numerator; it is exactly the opposite in English - the numerator first, then the denominator. That is, when shown a number such as $\frac{4}{5}$, Japanese would read it as "Five from which four" instead of "Four fifth". Similar concept applies to time. In English one would say "Two a.m." but in Japanese it is "A.M. 2".

As far as language confusion goes, Tama remembers several occasions for 'unsuccessful' language transfer. That is, there were times when her children directly translated English expression into Japanese but did not make sense in Japanese. For example, the word "to fall" can be used to describe an object falling off from some height, or a person to falling down. In

Japanese, we have two separate words for these: *ochiru* is used when there is some height involved, and the word *korobu* is used as in the case of falling down onto the ground. One day Mineko came home and wanted to explain to the mother that she fell on the ground at school. Instead of using the appropriate expression *korobu*, she used the word *ochiru*. Poor Tama was at first distraught to hear that her daughter had fallen from quite a height, then quickly realized the language transfer. Another confusing concept, Tama recalls, is the notion of “come” and “go”. In English we often say, “I’m coming!” but in Japanese one would say “I’m going!” Naoko’s son Joh has a similar problem in using these verbs appropriately.

When the children were just learning English, at times they encountered problem of being left out. Little Mineko came to her mother one day, complaining that other Canadian children seem to be saying nasty things to her. “So I told her to go and say something back in Japanese, so Mineko went back to the group and said *baka* (a word meaning ‘stupid’ in Japanese). However, this didn’t work very well as the word ‘baka’ is easy to repeat. When Mineko said “Baka!” the children said it right back to her “Baka!” I laughed so hard when she came back and reported this to me,” she told me amusingly.

The older two children were placed in a regular school but were pulled from class one to two hours a day and were given remedial help in English, and in the summer they attended an intensive summer school. “We were very fortunate back then. There weren’t that many ESL students, so the teacher managed to handle them. I have a feeling that today many students are being neglected because there are simply just too many of them,” she remarked.

In terms of maximizing Japanese cultural exposure, she did several things besides using Japanese at home. For example, Tama regularly visits Japan and had Mineko enrolled in a Japanese public school when she was in grade one and grade six. This worked well for the family since the Canadian school finishes the year in June where as the Japanese schools go on till late July. This way, Mineko never had to be absent from her “regular” school in order to attend a school in Japan. Tama also encouraged her children to read anything Japanese, including comics which some parents disallow.

For Tama, obstacles were not perceived as obstacles; rather she knew the ways she could enjoy her experiences. Her cleverness and sense of humour allowed her to adapt to the new way of life in Canada. I believe such positiveness compensated for the lack of support she got from other Japanese immigrants. She is one participant who did not mention of having role-models or

learning from other immigrant parents. “Back then there weren’t that many Japanese to begin with,” she said. “Then who did you consult when you encountered difficulties?” I asked. She replied, “I kept in touch with my friends from high school, and I wrote letters to my parents and siblings in Japan.” However she did acknowledge the support she gained from the second-generation Japanese-Canadians. “They helped us out a lot,” she said.

She also began her story with a case she encountered at another Japanese household; how the child was able to read but not speak Japanese. It seems that, having seen such a case, her determination to raise her children using Japanese was triggered. In this sense, although she claims that she never had an ideal ‘role-model’ to follow or person to consult, other people’s “stories” did seem to affect her determination.

She also notes how she was kept so busy while she was raising her three children. “I didn’t have any time to reflect on what I was doing, let alone be discouraged and depressed.” She believes that, ironically, this also contributed to her optimistic outlook on child-rearing.

Despite her lack of time and supportive social network, she did try to participate in her children’s education. She said she often attended school events and volunteered at school, despite the fact that she felt overwhelmed at times being with others. Her love for and her concern about the well-being of her children forced her to participate actively in school. In retrospect, Tama regrets not having been involved more:

- M: Did you often attend school events?
 T: I did go whenever something was on. And the children, um, what, they ask for volunteers
 M: Yes
 T: Asking to participate in something
 M: Yes
 T: At first I went now and then but, gradually, um, you tend to miss it when you become busy
 M: I see
 T: If I had continued (to participate), I may have improved my English and have made more friends
 M: Yes, yes
 T: People here, they always want to help you out
 M: Yes, that’s true
 T: They invite you to things like tea. And “having tea together” is nice, but after an hour, I become uncomfortable (laugh). After all, I don’t understand English. It becomes increasingly agonizing.

- 光： よく学校行事とかには参加されてたんですか？
 た： あ、もうなにかあれば、あの、行ったし。で、あの、子供達が、あの、何、ボランティアなんか募集しますじゃないですか

- 光： うん、ええ
 た： で、何に参加してくださいとかって。
 光： うん
 た： 初めのうちはね、ちよろちよろ行きましたけど、段々なんか、もう、あの、生活も忙しくなったりなんかすると、あの、抜けるっていうことの方が多くなりますよね。
 光： ああ
 た： だからそれをずっと続けてれば、もっと自分の英語とか、お友達なんかも、あの、すごい増えて良かったのと違いますか？
 光： うんうん
 た： すごいこちらの人って、すごく手を差し伸べてくださるでしょう？
 光： ええ、そうですね
 た： あの、で、お茶飲んでってください、とか。で、「お茶飲んでってください」もいいけど、もう一時間したら冷汗出る訳ね（笑）。なにしろ英語分かんないからね。なんも、段々辛くなっちゃう訳。
 光： ああ
 た： ね、それを、こう、あの、辛くてもずーっとこうしてたら、あの、もっともって英語が分かって、スムーズになる、あの、あれじゃないですか。だからもうこちらの生活って積極的じゃなかったら駄目ですね。それが一番

Because the children learned from an early age that the parents cannot be relied upon to solve their problems, they began to cooperate and solve them themselves. To this day the three get along very well with each other. This was a welcoming outcome for Tama who always wanted her children to be independent, considerate, and kind-hearted.

Spin-Off Effect

Throughout the interview, Tama repeatedly mentioned that “Nothing was planned in advance. Everything just fell into place. We were lucky.” This is what Wertsch (1995) calls “spinoffs” (p. 26). That is, what she did while she raised her children stem from her own convictions derived from her own upbringing, and that seemingly “worked out” to produce bilingual children. Tama attributes this to her luck, but here my intention is to discover precisely what sorts of elements, and what combinations, worked well to bring about a positive result. In this sense, if all the combinations are “wrong” or “damaging”, it is simply so “unfortunate”, to use Tama’s term.

Life Story of Tama

Tama, as a child, was physically very weak. This led to her belief that nothing mattered more than good health. “My utmost concern for my children were their health,” she said. Health was the theme throughout our conversation. Life is too short to be wasted feeling depressed and blue; too short to be doing something which one does not want to do; new experiences were welcomed instead of feared. She was always feeling thankful for the situation she was placed in, as reflected in her frequent usage of the word “lucky”. “We were lucky,” she said a number of times.

Tama has been a homemaker the entire time she’s been married. “I was raised by strict parents. I was expected to get married soon after my graduation and be taken care of by my husband. That was normal back then.” She believes that today women have more choices and although they lead hectic lives, “It is a good era for women” she said.

Therefore, Tama is not an ambitious individual who wanted *everything* for her children. Rather she just “plodded along” at her own pace. At the same time her longing for independence came from her own strict upbringing, and educated her children accordingly. For Tama, knowing as many languages as one can meant keeping opportunities open for independence. Besides teaching Japanese to her children, she also taught other subjects such as science and social studies using Japanese textbooks. She also taught her children how to play the piano. In other words, she never taught Japanese for the sake of learning the language per se. That is, language learning was never perceived as the desired end-product in itself, but was taught simply to provide a *necessary* tool (Wertsch, 1985a, 1985b) to assure family’s well-being and open up new possibilities for the children. For this reason, once the tool is deemed not necessary, the motivation to learn and maintain it will be greatly reduced if not eliminated. Tama believes that sheer necessity to lead a quality living is the driving force behind language maintenance, and if our lives are fulfilled, such a need would diminish. She said:

in leading our lives, if there is no inconveniences, aren’t most of the parents content with what they have?

生活していった何の不自由も無ければプラスアルファ？求める親っていう方が少ないのと違います？

In case of Tama, because they were somewhat isolated from the rest of the society, family bonding

was very important for Tama. “Through my children I learned about the dominant society... We did talk a lot.” This was her survival tactic, linking herself to the rest of the society via her children.

This may explain why so many first and second generations manage to learn and maintain L1 but the rest of the generations largely fail to do so. And this should not be happening due to sheer “luck”. What exactly needs to be done to ensure continuity in language learning and maintenance? This is the theme which will be addressed in Chapter 12, but before our discussion begins, we now turn to my own “story”, sharing the insights I’ve gained from conducting a life history research as well as the stories that unfolded as I engaged in dialogues with Japanese immigrant parents.

* * *

My Story

As I interviewed each participant, I found that their stories and mine intertwined, acting as an impetus for further discussions. Through the process of resonance (Conle, 1996) as well as “non-resonance”, it brought back many memories which had been stored away in my mind for so long. Connelly and Clandinin (1990) note that storytelling consists of a two-part inquiry: first, researchers need to listen closely to the stories of the participants, and second, researchers need to tell their own stories as they live the mutually constructed account of inquiry between the researcher and the researched (p. 12). Therefore, I believe it appropriate to share my own story.

The following is my account of the discoveries I made, the surprises I encountered, and the concerns that emerged in the course of conducting this study. They are based on the journal I kept throughout my data collection process as well as the feedback notes I wrote and gave to each participant. Writing the feedback notes, especially, served as my way of analysing (i.e., making sense of) the data as I collected them (Wolcott, 1994; Glesne & Peshkin, 1992; Woods, 1986).

Discoveries and Affirmations: Where My Stories Intersected with Theirs

L2 learning means L1 loss?

There were several themes which overlapped with my own experiences, while others seemed to be incongruent. For example, adopting English and abandoning Japanese was something I always feared. This stems from the time when I made my flight connection in Vancouver when I first came over to Canada with my mother and my sister. An airport personnel, who was a Japanese residing in Vancouver, provided assistance for my mother whose English was very limited. She apparently had children of her own, and she said, smilingly to me and my sister, "Oh, you'll learn English very quickly and forget Japanese in no time." What she had said remained in the back of my mind to this day. Even as a child, I feared that learning L2 meant losing L1 (Wong Fillmore, 1991c).

On the other hand, not all of the parents I interviewed shared this misconception. That is, the parents view language learning as largely additive (Lambert, 1975). They seem to regard L1 and L2 learning as somewhat separate entities, having the school take care of English teaching and the home, or supplementary Japanese school, looking after Japanese.

My parents largely shared this view, and paid very little attention to my Canadian schooling and exerted their efforts solely on Japanese education. It was expected that we would use Japanese at home, watch Japanese tv programmes and eat Japanese food. My mother was very willing to sit with us and help with our Japanese homework, but that never happened with homework or assignments I brought home from Canadian school. For example, my mother often made us read a Japanese passage out loud from our Japanese text books; she made me practice writing *kanji* (Chinese characters) numerous times, making sure she was satisfied with my stroke-order; she would make up mock-tests for me so that I would be fully prepared for my *kanji* test on Saturday; she even sat with me to go over my math homework which I brought back from *hoshuko*. Although I detested doing homework for *hoshuko*, I do attribute my knowledge in *kanji* largely to the weekly *kanji* test I had to write, and the effort my mother placed in L1 maintenance. The following is an excerpt from my journal which I kept in English:

I remarked how the children's Japanese is so good, and Yumiko said that it all depends on parents' efforts. She said that any slacking off on her part is immediately reflected on her children's performance. (July 14, 1998)

For this reason I am grateful to my mother for her effort and concern for the maintenance of my Japanese.

Japanese vs. Canadian schooling experience

Although I did not enjoy studying for *hoshuko*, I did enjoy attending it, largely due to the friends I made and the atmosphere of *Japanese* school. *Hoshuko* was where I had a chance to establish and reacquaint with my Japanese identity (See also Okada, 1993, p. 140). Naoko's son Joh also seems to share the same sentiment. Being in a foreign land, Saturday was the only day when we could relieve our stress of not being fully proficient in English (Okada, 1993, p. 115). At the same time, when I was a student attending *hoshuko*, I did perceive Japanese schooling as demanding and as something "extra" that I had to do.

For this reason, I felt pain as I listened to Hiroshi's story about Yuki. She was initially frustrated with not being able to communicate with her teacher and her classmates when she first began schooling and turned somewhat violent. On the other hand, Naoko said that her son Joh also went through a period of distress at one time in tackling English school and Japanese school at the same time. Although adults suppose children to be quick and good language learners, our experiences indicate that children go through traumatic experiences, but they have no choice but to learn the language quickly in order to just survive. The differences in Canadian and Japanese cultures are almost more than a child can handle. My journal entry says:

The other day, when I interviewed Naoko, she said that Joh went through a period of distress for a short little while. I could truly relate to his experience, for I went through it myself...I was often angry against my parents; the fact that I had to sacrifice my Saturdays to be at school, to cope with huge amount of homework, to not receive any support or encouragement in terms of regular school things, etc. In this sense, what Eiko decided to do, specifically to let Karin choose to discontinue *hoshuko*, may have been a good thing. When immersed in such a distinctly Japanese setting, the difference between the Canadian and Japanese cultures becomes succinct. (April 21, 1998)

My appreciation for attending *hoshuko* did not emerge until I was well into my adulthood.

When I learned that all of the parents actively sought involvement at Canadian schools, I felt somewhat relieved. I always felt bitter about my parents' non-involvement with my Canadian schooling, and felt that because of this I was tremendously disadvantaged compared to other children. As a child, I felt a great burden and a feeling of isolation, having no one to consult with whenever I encountered problems at school. Everything had to be dealt with alone, especially in high school, including selection of courses and applying to universities. When I was having problems in English, my parents could only shrug; my English teacher showed frustration,

puzzlement, and even anger as to why my written English skill was so poor.

I also saw English learning as something undesirable, believing that L2 learning will bring about L1 loss. Having parents who only resorted to L1 use, I knew that L1 loss would have brought disastrous consequences. I could not afford to lose L1. As we learned in the earlier chapter, Eiko also perceived L2 learning to be a threat to L1 learning.

My experience as well as the story about Yuki told by Hiroshi clearly show that we need to abandon the notion that children learn L2 quickly, efficiently, effortlessly, and painlessly. My heart ached when I heard Yuki's story, how she showed frustration for not being able to speak L2 and therefore could not communicate with her teacher and her peers. She was found to be disruptive in class and was made to sit at the back of the room for a month.

When the teacher perceives the child as a student only in a L2-based (i.e., English) context, there is a great risk of misunderstanding the behaviour and performance of the minority child (Trueba, 1989a). All parents except for Naoko claimed that at one time or other they were advised by their children's teachers to use more English at home. Cummins (1984) warns how "minority parents are often encouraged by teachers and psychologists to expose the child to as much English as possible in the home and to minimize exposure to L1" (p. 45). This is especially dangerous for immigrant families whose C1 places great importance to the advice given by authoritative figures. Without proper information and guidance, immigrant parents can easily come to espouse the view of the teacher's and attempt to eradicate L1 at home (See Cummins, 1984, p. 44).

Creating a new vision about bilingualism and bilingual education

Although I do hold a positive stance towards bilingualism and bilingual education, this does not imply that I believe in nothing but bilingualism. That is, I fear to adopt a positivistic and rigid perspective which ignores other dimensions of the child and his/her family based on linguistic and cognitive advantages alone.

Bilingualism imposes a certain life trajectory which a bilingual child follows. I have followed a path which often resorted to my bilingual abilities: my studies in bilingualism and my career choice as a language teacher are largely the result of my bilingual upbringing. I am grateful for the language choice my parents made on my behalf, but I do not believe that life as a bilingual is superior to that of monolingual. The nature of my experience would have been totally different, but not necessarily inferior, if I had been raised in an entirely L2 environment.

What I do wish for is the availability of choice. For example, choosing to maintain L1 as well as simultaneously learning L2 may mean the creation of doubly bilingual individual described by Skutnabb-Kangas (1981). This choice may not be fully appreciated in the school system, but as a bilingual I certainly enjoy the privilege of communicating and understanding people from both C1 and C2. Kouritzin (1999) concurs:

[N]either the home, nor the school, nor the community could have single-handedly ensured first language maintenance....Each of these has a role to play in fostering the first language development of potentially bilingual children, either by actively teaching the L1, or by supporting it. And each of the home, school, and community should perhaps be assessed and evaluated to ensure that maximum support is being made available for fostering first language development, if first language maintenance is a goal for individual minority language families. On the other hand, it is possible to imagine a situation in which...families may choose to abandon the first language in order to gain psychological distance from the past, or in order to embrace the future. Therefore, far from wanting to question the wisdom of such parental choices, I feel that first language support should not be thrust on families, but rather, that it should be made available. (p. 210)

In other words, we want immigrant parents to become autonomous (See Cummins, 1996) and in control of their own destiny by becoming well-informed of the process and possible consequences of the choices available to them (See also Ono, 1994, p. 185).

CHAPTER 5

Bilingualism as a Social Phenomenon: Analyzing Data Using the Activity Model

In this research language learning is seen as an activity which is the end-product of social interaction. The relationship among social agents is illustrated by using Activity Theory (AT) (Wertsch, 1979; Engeström, 1999) to explain dynamically the extent of language learning and retention among the six participants involved in this study. AT is chosen as the method of analysis because it shows the dynamic connectedness of each social element (i.e., artifacts, subject, object, rules, community, and division of labour).

Bilingualism as a Social Phenomenon

Some researchers have attempted to understand why some families abandon L1 usage and focus on the cognitive aspects of the L2 learning (See Snow, 1992, p. 17), and these attempts are indeed essential to better understand the mechanism of language learning. Yet a cognitive perspective alone is not sufficient to unveil the complexities of language acquisition process. Many scholars such as Snow (1992, p. 18), and Hakuta and Garcia (1989, p. 374), suggest that linguists should also consider the social factors affecting language learning.

Furthermore, the focus here is on the parents, not the language learner as is the focus of the majority of research in SLA. This is because it is the parents who are mostly in control of the decision-making pertaining to their children's language learning (Berryman, 1983, p. 26; Sancho 1979, p. 468). When children are young, the parents are in the position of making decisions on their behalf. In exercising this decision-making power, they use their intelligence based on their experience (Dewey, 1916, p. 394; Wertsch, 1985a, p. 26) by enacting their own beliefs, and 'theories' on language learning (Eisner, 1991, p. 17; Olson & Bruner, 1996).

The objectives of this chapter are first, to place the activity (i.e., language learning) in a larger social framework and second, to analyse social factors affecting language choice and learning by identifying them and showing relations between them. It will help us to see the dynamic nature among social factors. This will further assist us in possibly deducing key factors

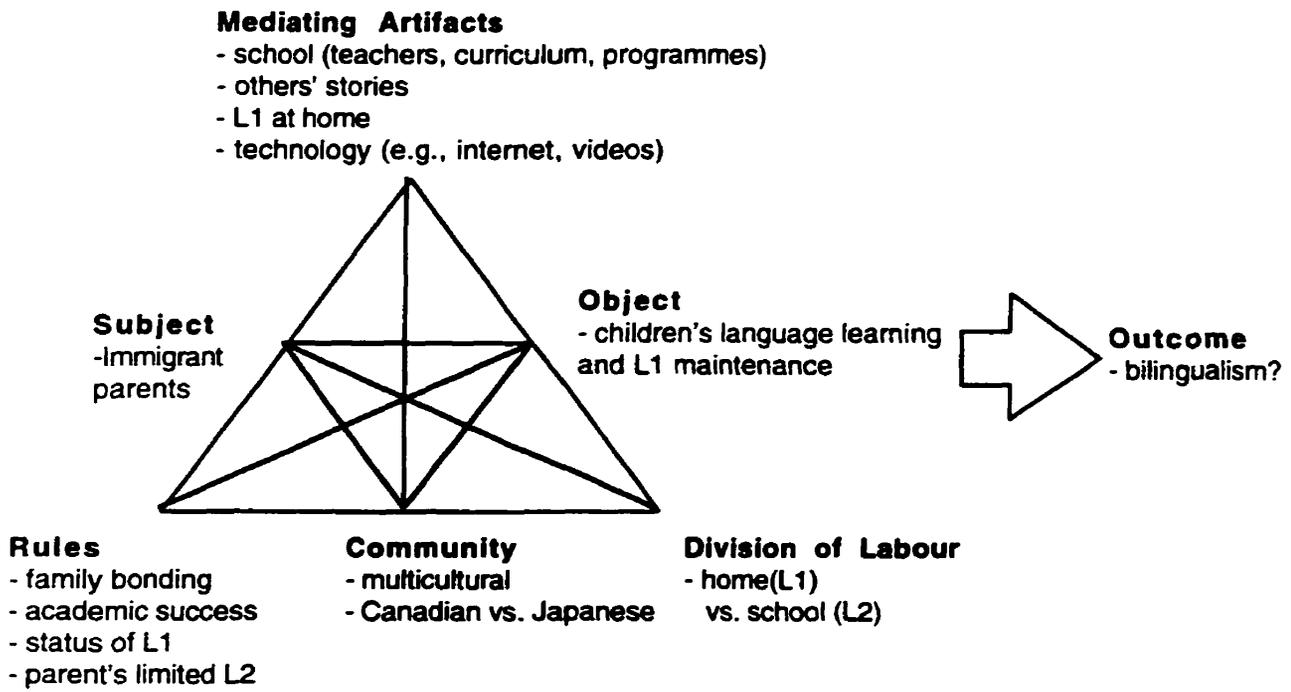
which are conducive to language learning and maintenance. By identifying the key elements, we can actively seek to change our social conditions to include those key elements, thereby nurturing and enhancing language learning (See also Wells, 1996, p. 76, p. 77, p. 97; Moll, 1992, p. 15; Fishman, 1991, p. 8).

Activity Theory: An Overview

Engeström provides a generic model which illustrates dynamic relationships amongst social factors which produce a certain activity (Engeström, 1999). The model, in the shape of a triangle, consists of the following social factors: subject (the individual or the object initiating an action); object (an individual or a thing which the subject is acting on); mediating artifact used by the subject; rules which place constraints on the entire activity; the communities involved; and the division of labour.

I have come to view bilingualism as the by-product not of isolated, individual efforts by the learner but of the dynamic relationships amongst social factors, and I have attempted to analyse my data using the triangle AT model proposed by Engeström. The following is my proposed generic AT model, pertaining to bilingualism. I give examples of elements involved under each heading:

Figure 5.1 Example of Activity model for bilingual child-rearing

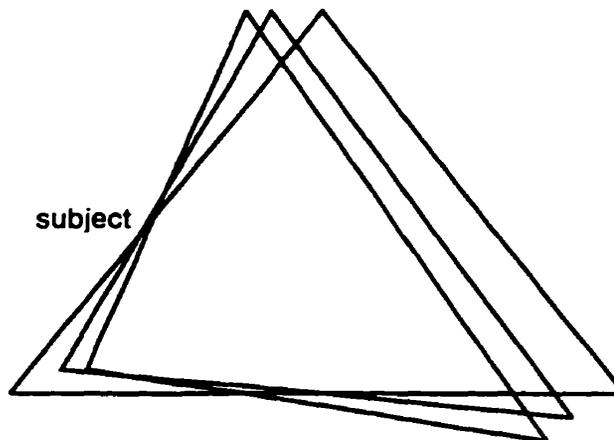


(Adapted from Engeström, 1999)

The Japanese immigrant parents are the subjects, their children the objects, and bilingualism the desired outcome.

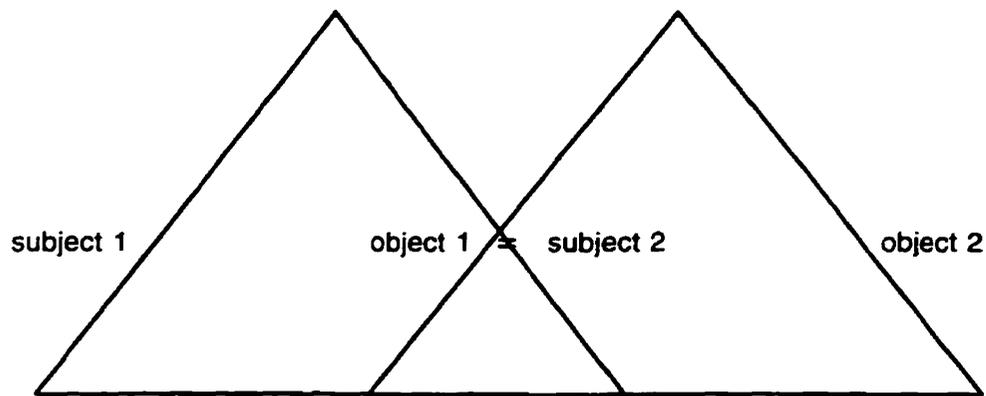
I envision human life to consist of numerous activity systems (Engeström, 1999), intricately connected and dynamically intertwined as in Figure 5.2:

Figure 5.2: Life as a collection of activities



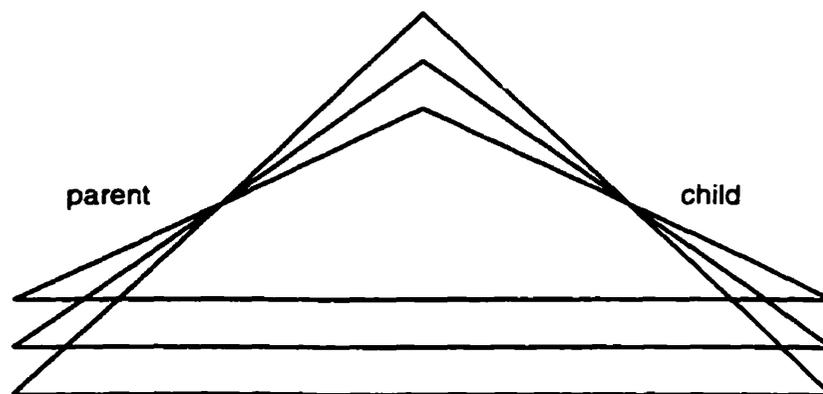
An individual's life can consist of myriads of triangles, each representing an activity evolving around that individual. When we extrapolate our understanding of human life along the lines of activity theory, we can also come to see how one subject can be part of a different activity system of someone else as in Figure 5.3.

Figure 5.3: Overlapping activity systems



Even within the domain of immigrant parents as subjects and their children as objects, their activities consist of plethora of different aspects of life, or rather, of many different activities. That is, the phenomenon of language acquisition and maintenance compose only one dimension of immigrant families' lives. Their lives are made up of many activity systems, and bilingualism as an activity is just one triangle of many activity triangles (See Figure 5.4).

Figure 5.4: Activities between a parent and a child



In this study the particular triangle selected was that of the activity of bilingual child-rearing (Figure 5.1).

Activity Theory (Engeström, 1999) acknowledges the individual-society affinity, where the course of action on the micro level is influenced by the macro and vice versa. A simplistic, monocausal perspective is avoided (Engeström, 1999) by understanding the activity system as a “collective, multivoiced construction of its past, present, and future zone of proximal development” (Engeström & Miettinen, 1999, p. 10; Engeström, 1999, p. 20, p. 35) and society as a multilayered network of interconnected activity systems (Engeström, 1999, p. 36).

What is particularly intriguing about the theory is that the individual is not seen as a passive executor of actions. In activity theory an individual (i.e., the subject) is perceived as a creative being who adapts to situations in order to reach its goal. In other words, the society and the individual are co-evolutionary.

This implies that activity theory can guide us to identify the key social elements in our current situation, then propose a new activity which would disrupt the triangle equilibrium and ultimately challenge the status quo (See also Wells, 1996, p. 77; Engeström & Miettinen, 1999, p. 12).

I believe this notion of control is largely missing in the lives of immigrant families. With limited resources they struggle to make the best choice for their children. However, all too often I have encountered Japanese immigrant parents who express doubts and fears about their approach to bilingual child-rearing.

The following figures (Figures 5.5 to 5.9) are activity models for each of my participant, which I composed based on the emerging themes from the collected data. Now my attempt is to see how the models can highlight and explain the uniqueness as well as the commonalities of my participants, and synthesize the information to represent an activity system which is conducive to bilingualism and bilingual education (Figure 5.10).

Figure 5.5 Eiko's Model

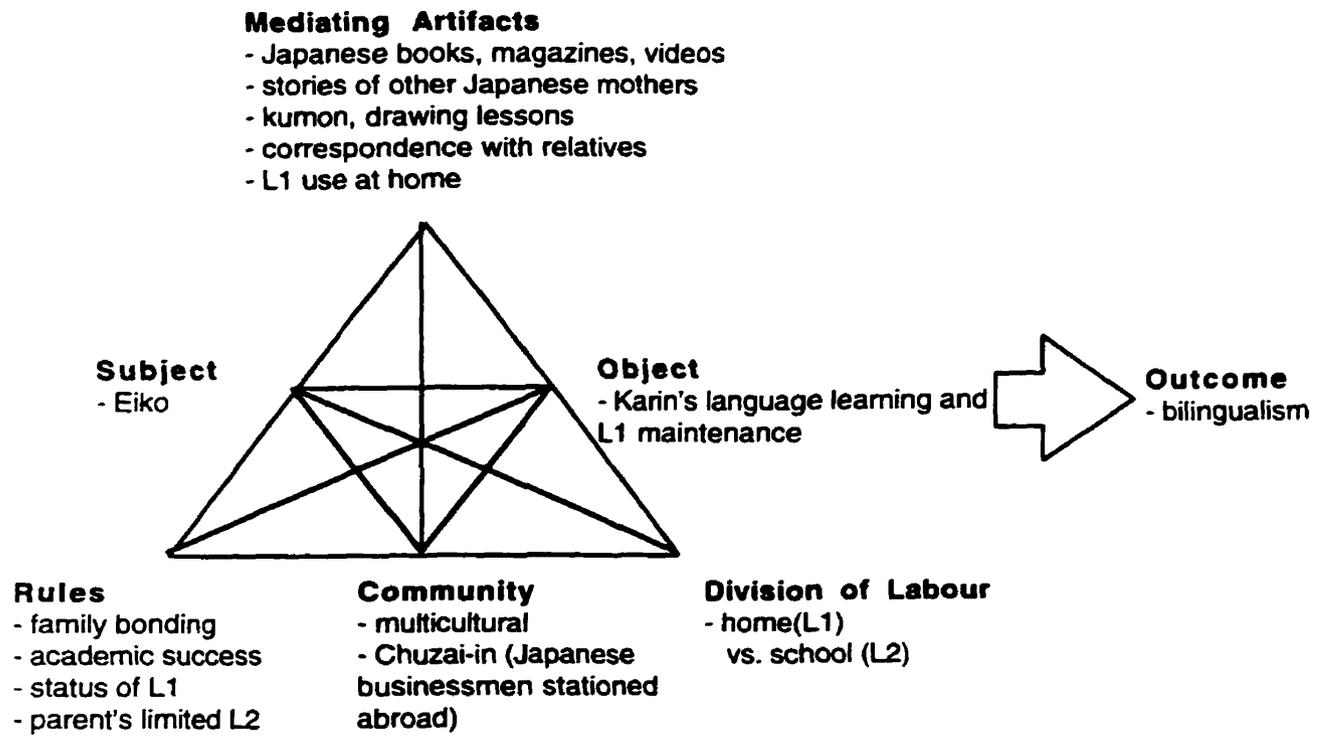


Figure 5.6 Hiroshi & Yumiko's Model

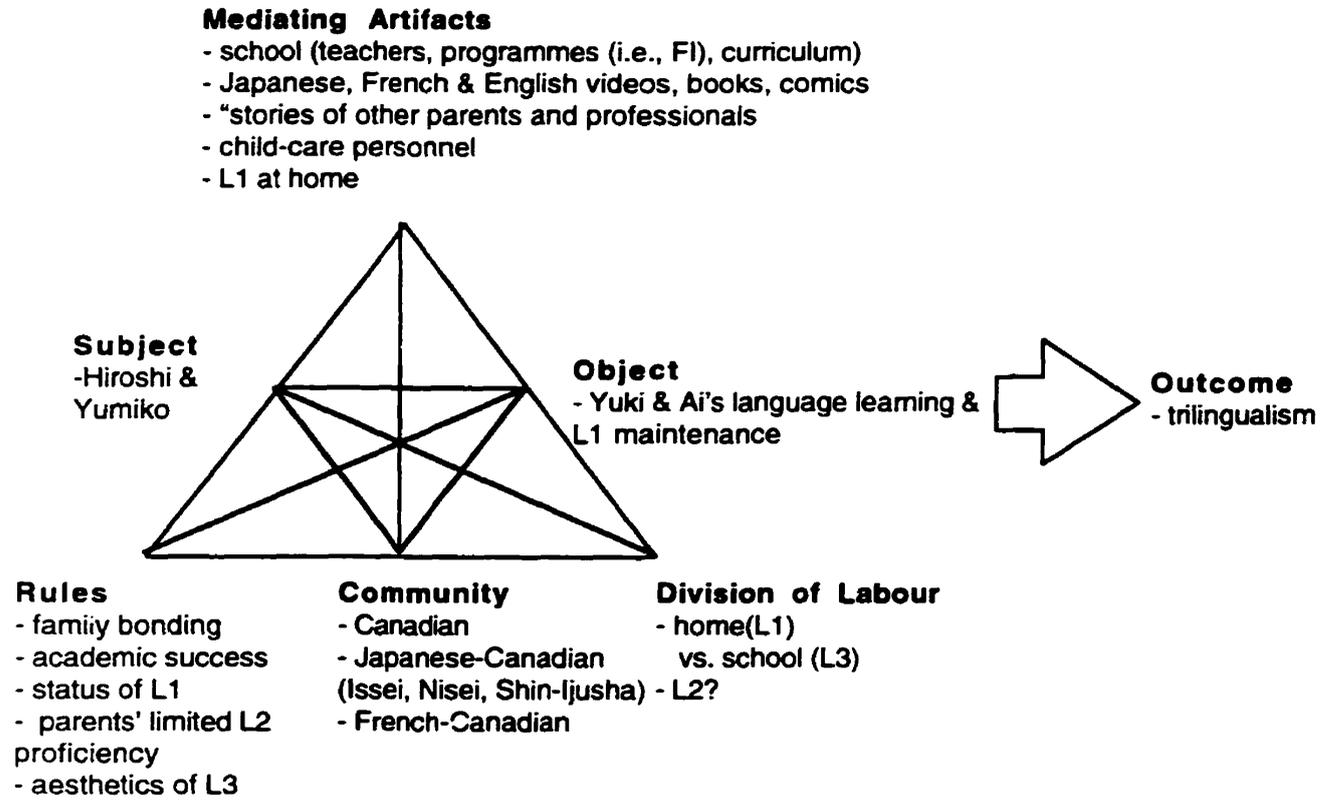


Figure 5.7 Naoko's Model

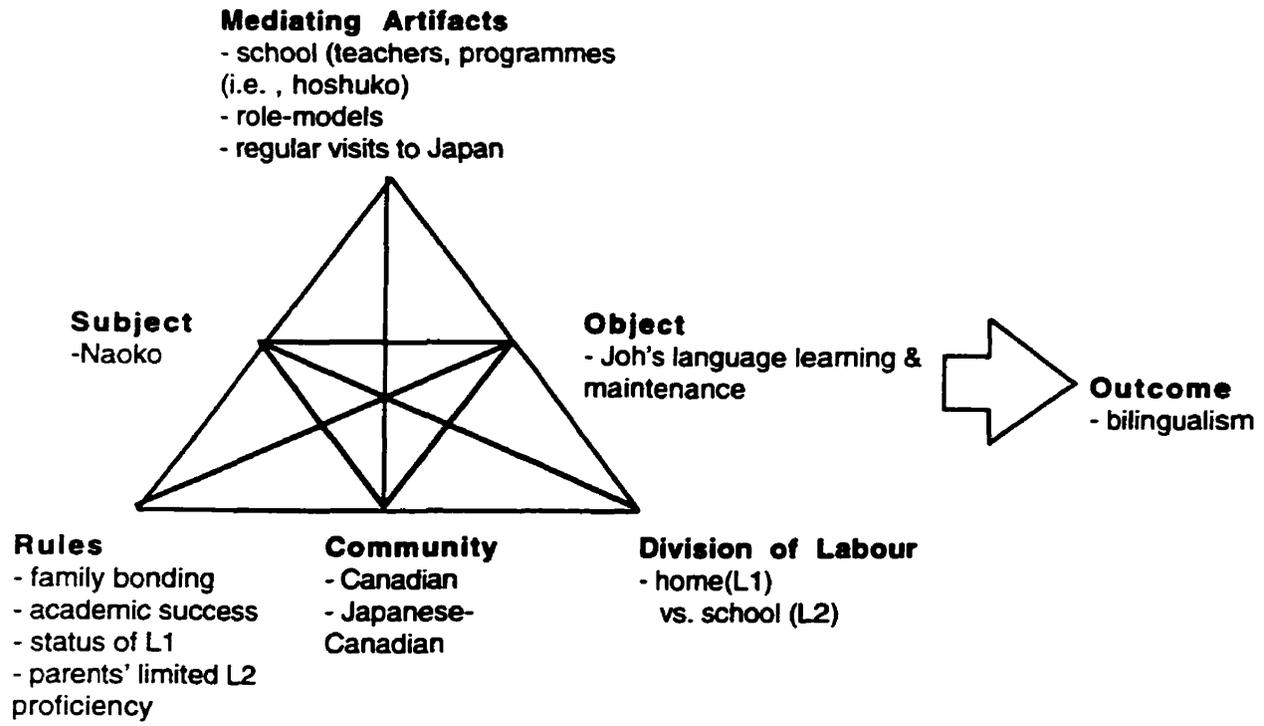


Figure 5.8 Michiko's Model

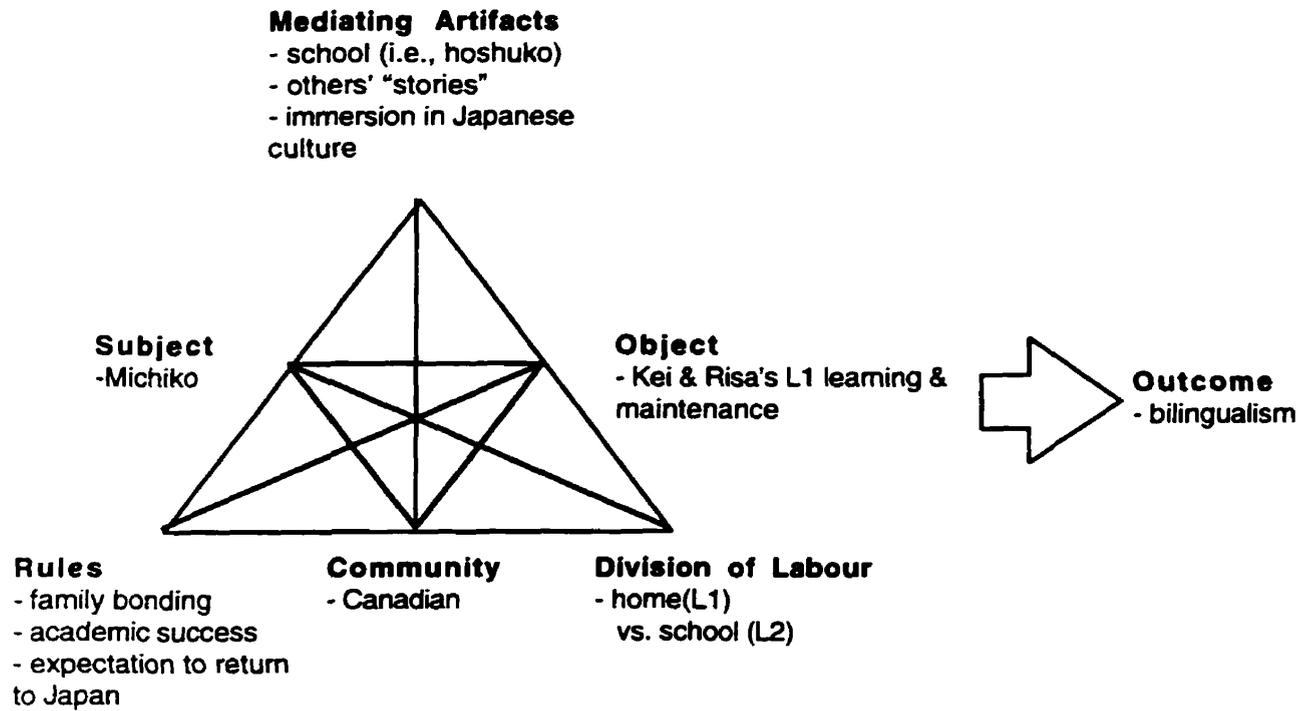
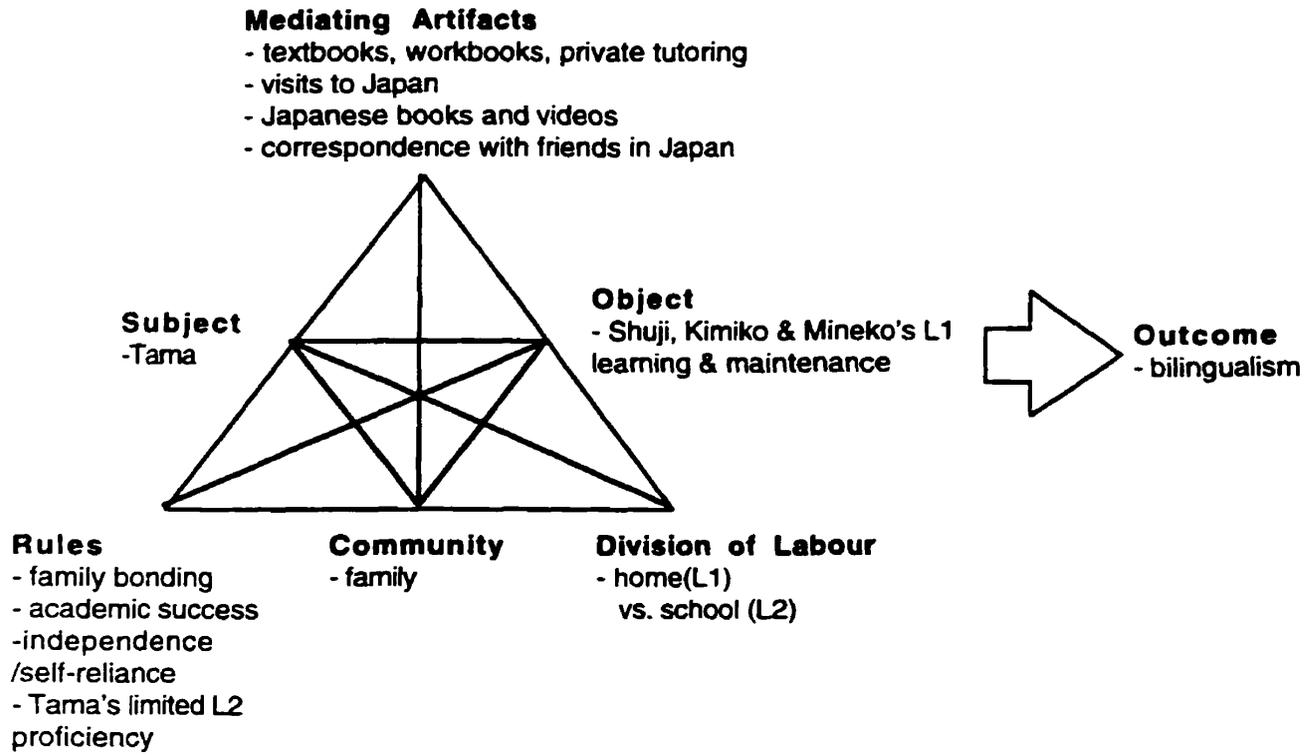


Figure 5.9 Tama's Model



Findings

The following are brief explanations for each element in the activity models of my participants (See Figures 5.5-5.9).

Subjects

My participants varied greatly in beliefs and attitudes towards L1 maintenance and L2 learning.

Of all parents, I found Hiroshi and Yumiko to be the most determined to raise their children trilingually, largely due to the belief that language learning is additive (Lambert, 1975).

Although Eiko expressed her desire to raise Karin bilingually, she is not as confident as Hiroshi and Yumiko, fearing that L1 maintenance can impede L2 learning. Eiko believed that bilingualism meant twice the workload of monolinguals.

Naoko seemed to have lesser doubts compared to Eiko in terms of bilingual child-rearing due to the successful bilingual role-models and the positive impact Japanese schooling and immersion in Japanese culture had on her son Joh's Japanese learning experience.

Michiko seemed to be the most relaxed of all participants in terms of language maintenance, prioritizing L2 learning and C2 acquisition more than L1 and C1 maintenance. She believed that her children readily have access to L1 and C1, and an immersion back into C1 will assure L1 acquisition.

Tama resorted to L1 use at home largely due to her limited L2 skills and she claimed that she had no other choice. For Tama, L1 use was a vital component in keeping her family together.

Objects

The objects in this study are the children of my participants. Their degree of bilingualism seems to depend on the attitude adopted by the parents. Overall, children seem to fair well in the education system when they are younger, but language learning and development become more difficult when they are older.

Outcome

Although all children are bilingual in one way or another, their degree of bilinguality varied. As in Hiroshi and Yumiko's case, their strong positive belief in language acquisition led them to resort to particular mediating artifacts to help enhance their children's L1 maintenance as well as L2 and L3 learning. On the other hand, those parents who deemed L1 only as a communicative tool for family cohesion placed emphasis on oral communicative aspects of L1.

Mediating Artifacts

My participants listed several different mediating artifacts which they believed to be conducive to L1 maintenance and/or L2 learning. Some overlap and others do not. The artifact common across all participant was the narratives of other people. Other people's stories were vital information source for these immigrant parents. Other artifacts believed to be conducive to L1 maintenance and L2 and L3 learning include supplementary L1 schools, French immersion programmes, successful role-models, immersion in C1, child-care personnel who speaks the target language, books, magazines, videos and other mediums, and extra-curricular activities in L1.

Rules

For all of my participants, maintaining a cohesive family unit was an integral part of bilingual child-rearing. This in turn was defined by the parents' limited proficiency in English (See also Kouritzin, 1999, p. 182). That is, they would not have exclusively resorted to the L1 usage if they had felt comfortable with their L2 proficiency. The limited L2 proficiency also contributed to the sharp schism in the division of labour. Parents deemed home to be an exclusively L1 environment, and school was where the children learned L2. This schism is a double-edged sword. For example, when children come to identify their parents as speakers of L1, the children adhere to L1 use, as in Joh's case. This adherence contributes to L1 *maintenance*. However, as we have learned from Eiko's and Michiko's stories, parents are reluctant to use vocabulary which is beyond the comprehensible level of the child's, i.e., not providing *i+1* input prescribed by Krashen (1982), and this deters the expansion of L1 vocabulary and therefore the L1 *learning*. In other words, the demand the family places on children for communicative purposes is not sufficient to establish a strong L1 system in all four language skills.

When there is a clear division of labour between home and school, we can fall into the trap of seeing children in an uni-dimensional way. Corson (1995) writes:

Success in education is highly dependent on people's ability to 'display' knowledge, usually through the spoken or written use of words. Young children's use of the signs of a language is often the first contact teachers have with them. In later stages of education, verbal contact through formal or informal assessment is sometimes the only link between students and the assessors who declare their educational fate. (p. 14)

In an L2-centred curriculum, immigrant children are assessed using the L2 norm, and their L1 knowledge can be totally ignored. If Pearson, Fernández, and Oller's (1993) findings hold, immigrant children can be penalized for their smaller L2 vocabulary capacity, despite the fact that

their combined L1 and L2 system is comparable to, if not exceeds that of monolingual peers. As reported by Michiko and Naoko, children whose home language is not L2 can experience difficulties in high school English classes. In this case, Kei, Risa, and Joh are academically gifted students and their English grades are only slightly affected. However, not all children are so fortunate, and the problem may be grave.

Community and Division of Labour

The schism between home and school can have further serious consequences. When parents feel that their L2 is limited, they are reluctant to associate with the general L2-speaking society. This feeling of discomfort was shared by Tama, and other parents also noted how they associate very little, if at all, with other Canadians. This in turn implies that immigrant parents are highly unlikely to come forward and voice their concerns to the school. This can further silence the voices of these immigrant parents and perpetuate the status quo, and it is the children who ultimately suffer and must cope alone with any difficulties at school (Baker, 1996, p. 321; Ada, 1995, p. 165). Corson (1995), by referring to Durkheim's philosophy about labour, contends how division of labour can silence and exclude participation from non-dominant group:

Durkheim emphasizes the integrative value of the division of labour for a society, but also its divisive effects in producing isolation among workers who are cut off from the meaning systems of activities associated with the wider social and cultural relevance, importance, and rewards of their work (1893, pp. 357-371). (Corson, 1995, p. 91)

All parents want the best for their children, and academic success is important for all parents. Knowing and accepting the L2-privileged school system we have, it is understandable that the immigrant parents often opt for minimum L1 maintenance. Their utmost concern is family cohesion, but as long as they are able to communicate with each other, parents expect very little from their children in terms of learning L1 for the fear that L1 learning inhibits L2 growth. Fishman (1991) writes that minorities are:

faced by cruel dilemma: either to remain loyal to their traditions and to remain socially disadvantaged (consigning their own children to such disadvantage as well), on the one hand; or, on the other hand, to abandon their distinctive practices and traditions, at least in large part, and thereby, to improve their own and their children's lots in life via cultural suicide. (p. 60)

Furthermore, Fishman (1991) notes how "the mainstream establishment is simply unaware of minority ethnocultural and ethnolinguistic aspirations" (p. 65) due to the clear division of labour

between immigrant families and schools.

Implications

As we have seen, immigrant parents' limited L2 is, ironically, instrumental in the decision for immigrant families' L1 maintenance. However, when the focus is placed on family cohesion and language is viewed merely as a communicative tool, only certain skills are developed (i.e., listening and speaking), and the vocabulary growth is limited due to the lack of enough i+1 input (Krashen, 1982). Immigrant parents are reluctant to actively pursue bilingual child-rearing largely due to the systemic L2-centred education which fails to support and reward immigrant families (Trueba, 1989a, p. 19).

It is clear that in order to establish a society conducive to bilingual child-rearing, immigrant families and society at large must engage in dialogues to bring about the desired changes in our activity model. That is, the clear division of labour between home and school needs to be re-examined (Cummins, 1991a).

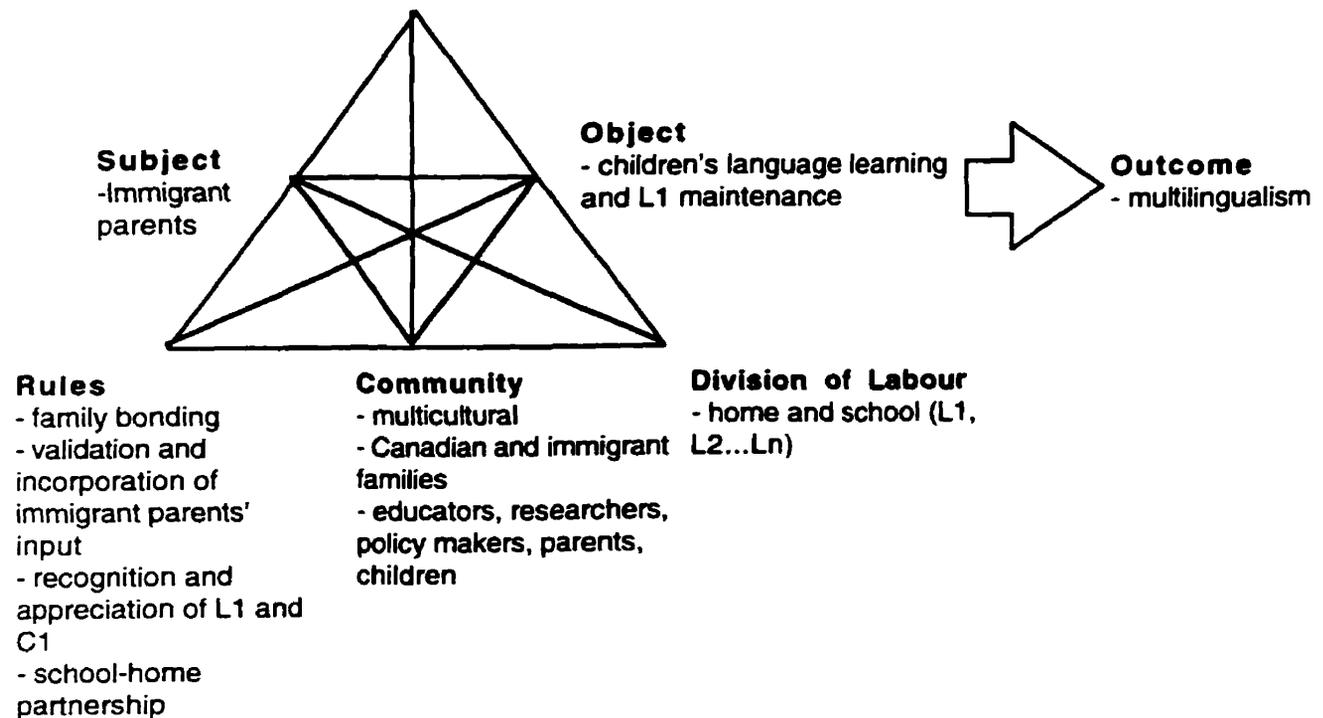
There are several changes that can be brought forth via better mutual understanding between home and school: better recognition and appreciation for L1 skills which can be made manifest through a supportive educational system such as credited heritage language programmes; communities can become part of the schooling experience for children as well as becoming a provider of information and community support regarding bilingual child-rearing; immigrant parents can be invited and encouraged to play more active roles in children's education (See Moll, Amanti, Neff, & Gonzalez, 1992; Ada, 1988 for successful examples of immigrant home-school partnership).

It is enlightening to visualize how such a meltdown of the division of labour can lead to numerous social changes which can facilitate bilingualism in our society. Eradicating the division of labour between home and school inevitably leads to changes in other factors in our activity model. The following is a proposed model (See Figure 5.10).

Figure 5.10 Activity Model conducive to bilingual child-rearing

Mediating Artifacts

- school for L1, L2, ...Ln(culturally and linguistically sensitive teachers, curriculum that reflects and appreciates different languages and cultures, diverse programmes in forms of HL, FI, Japanese-Immersion?)
- teacher education producing culturally and linguistically sensitive teachers
- forum to exchange stories about child-rearing among immigrant families, educators, researchers, policy makers
- immigrant parents as a vital resource for programme & curriculum design & implementation
- bilingual personnel as a liaison between parents and school
- access and incorporation of various technology (e.g., internet, videos)
- immersion programmes such as study/work abroad, student exchanges



Mediating artifacts

The nature of the mediating artifacts will be different when we establish a partnership between home and school. Teachers will no longer hold an L2-centred view where a child's accomplishment is measured and appreciated using the L2 norm only. Having a solid understanding of the language learning mechanism and the experiences of immigrant children, teachers will be able to give a sound advice to immigrant parents who are in the difficult situation of raising their children in a foreign setting. In turn, by interacting with immigrant parents and ethnic communities, teachers will also be able to gain a profound understanding and appreciation of immigrant families' experiences (Ada, 1988; Moll, Amanti, Neff, & Gonzalez, 1992). This understanding and appreciation could then be reflected in the curriculum and programme design which perceives multilingualism and multiculturalism as an asset in our education (Cummins & Danesi, 1990).

By acknowledging the important role that the exchange of stories plays in people's lives, forums could be established where immigrant parents could share their ideas and experiences with each other and with teachers, administrators, policy makers, and researchers. This is particularly important if we want to re-examine and challenge our current L2-privileged education system from a very different standpoint. Corson (1995) explains by using Bourdieu's notion of "habitus":

[Bourdieu's] special term 'habitus' names a system of durable dispositions at the core of a person's behaviour. He argues that the habitus shared by members of dominant groups permeates every aspect of formal education. This limits the educational opportunities of people from non-dominant groups, because the school demands competence in the dominant language and culture which can only be acquired through family upbringing. While education might not openly stress this culture, it implicitly demands it through its definitions of success. So groups who are capable of transmitting through the family the habitus necessary for the reception of the school's messages, come to monopolize the system of schooling. Those with alternative dispositions, or habitus, have little purchase on the culture of education, or on the social rewards that that culture makes available. (p. 18)

Technology was also found to be an important part of bilingual child-rearing. Access to L1 videos, books, CDs, magazines and so on provides and increases opportunities for the children to engage in meaningful activities in which L1 acquisition acts as a tool to retrieve information and add to the cultural literacy in C1.

As in Joh's case, immersion in C1 is perceived to be a powerful motivating force for learning L1. Exchange programmes promoting L1 and C1 learning for immigrant children would

be ideal for children to increase their eagerness to learn L1.

Rules

As we have seen, family bonding is the most significant factor contributing to the decision to rear children bilingually. Fishman (1991) notes how family bonding is an essential component in language maintenance, providing natural boundary against external “noxious influences” (p. 94). It would be disastrous and irresponsible on the part of educators to advise immigrant families to concentrate on L2 use at home without acknowledging the importance L1 plays in maintaining family cohesion in immigrant families.

Knowing that school rewards children very little for their L1 knowledge, many parents still continue to silently and discreetly use L1 at home (Cummins & Danesi, 1990, p. 35). We found their eagerness stemmed mainly from the desire to maintain strong family bonds. However, there is another factor that plays a role in the motivation to maintain L1: that of the social status of L1.

For example, Eiko questioned whether she would have insisted on L1 use at home if the Japanese language lacked the social status, largely due to economic prosperity, it enjoys today (See Baker, 1996, p. 57). In other words, there seems to be a discrepancy between what school and society appreciates and recognizes: our education system privileges L2 learning, but our increasingly global society recognizes the importance of multilingualism (Cummins & Danesi, 1990). Many parents such as Hiroshi see beyond the immediate necessity and deem language learning to be a fruitful endeavour.

Factors Influencing L1 Maintenance

It was found that certain factors were conducive to L1 learning and maintenance whereas some other factors discouraged it. Table 5.1 is a summary of findings.

Table 5.1 Factors influencing L1 maintenance

Factors fostering Japanese learning & maintenance	Factors deterring Japanese learning & maintenance
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - desire for family cohesion - high social status of L1 - increasing globalization - access to various mediums (e.g., videos, CDs, tapes, books, magazines) - frequent trips to Japan (i.e., immersion in C1) - L1 school (i.e., hoshuko) - successful role-models & stories of other parents - parents' limited L2 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - L2 focus at school - myths about multiple language learning - demand on children & parents - lack of supportive network for parents (e.g., lack of partnership between home and school)

All parents noted how maintaining family unity was important to assure their family's well-being. The limited L2 skills on the part of parents forced them to resort to L1 use at home, which led them to rigidly follow the "one-parent one-language" model, which seems to contribute to the children's L1 learning. In order to increase the opportunities to L1 learning, some parents had their children attend supplementary L1 schools and eagerly sought information from other Japanese immigrant parents who were also struggling to raise their children in a foreign country, as well as from other authoritative figures such as teachers. Access to artifacts such as videos, CDs, tapes, books, and magazines were also seen as a vital cultural and linguistic resource in facilitating L1 and C1 learning and maintenance (Cf. Table 2.1, Conklin & Lourie, 1983).

However, as Eiko pointed out, the high social status Japanese language enjoys together with the increasing globalization of our society motivate parents to actively pursue bi- and trilingual child-rearing, despite the lack of appreciation, recognition, and support from schools which only reward L2 competence. Without a supportive built-in system in our society that eradicates myths about multiple language learning, the onus of bilingual child-rearing will largely rely on the immigrant parents themselves, who struggle in isolation and in doubt in raising their children as successful bilingual adults.

Our education system is failing to acknowledge the assets immigrant children bring to our

school system (Trueba, 1989b). Yet ironically, Canadian society is in need of multilingual, multiliterate citizens to advance our position in the global market (Cummins & Danesi, 1990). As it is, parents are caught in a bind, trying to decide whether to adopt a short-term goal imposed by our education system and concentrate on L2 development, or to envision their children's potential beyond school and continue to maintain L1 (Fishman, 1991, p. 60).

Once immigrant parents can conceptualize and identify the factors influencing their language policy at home, they can become more autonomous and in control of the outcome of their children's language learning (Ono, 1994, p. 121). Their heightened awareness can become an impetus to bring about desired changes in other aspects of the activity model. Only when these parents can negotiate their needs and goals with teachers and researchers can meaningful and practical artifacts emerge (See Figure 5.10).

CHAPTER 6

Discussion

For the participants in this research, knowledge of the Japanese language was deemed to be a tool for communication, and not an effort was made to bring *upbilinguals* per se. It was an important tool which assured meaningful communication between the parents and the children, allowing parents' values and beliefs to be passed on to their children.

What is remarkable is the role a supplementary school such as *hoshuko* played in supporting language maintenance. As we saw, continuity in attending a supplementary school is not easy to achieve, yet in terms of language and cultural learning, it seems to exert strengths in supporting parents' wishes for their children's L1 learning. However, counter-forces against attending supplementary schools are numerous and complicated. As children get older, they become busier with school and extra-curricular activities and start to feel burdened by the seemingly "extra" work they must do to keep up their L1, as noted by Naoko. Sacrificing all day Saturday, and spending the rest of the week doing homework for the supplementary school while attending the "regular" school may be a lot to ask from children. Because of their concerns for the well-being of their children, many parents like Eiko and Michiko choose to discontinue their children's Japanese schooling. Their decision to do so is understandable, knowing that their primary reason for choosing to teach L1 to their children was to assure strong family bonding. That is, as long as they were able to communicate with their children, they were content. This, I believe, is where a major problem lies.

Nature of Language Used at Home

Vygotsky (1962) and Wertsch (1985), among others, talk of how speech acts influence our thoughts. In other words, as long as meaningful *oral* communication is guaranteed, the thoughts are influenced as well. This is what the parents want to achieve with their children - to assure meaningful communication between the parents and the children and maintain close family unity.

The trap is, both the children and parents feel comfortable as long as they can communicate

with each other. This is, according to Cummins' interdependence model (1979), not enough to build on L1 to achieve mutual academic growth between L1 and L2.

Furthermore, children's vocabulary growth can be affected by the nature of caretaker speech. If the focus is on meaningful communication between parents and children, it is understandable why parents avoid using elevated vocabulary, or to use Krashen's (1980, 1982) term 'i+1' input, to foster language growth. Pearson, Fernández, and Oller (1993) reported that bilingual children's vocabulary was comparable in size with the monolingual counterpart overall, but in each language the vocabulary size was found to be smaller than that of monolinguals. "Vocabulary discontinuities" (Corson, 1995, p. 8) affect immigrant children on two different levels: first, the genre between home and school language use is different, and second, entirely different languages are used at home and at school.

This is where an out-of-home context becomes crucial in fostering L1 growth. Schools such as *hoshuko* and heritage language programmes can compensate for the lack of L1 written input at home. Similarly, immersion in Japanese culture demands that immigrant children cultivate their L1 skills which are not part of their learning, as evident in Kei's acquisition of *keigo* or the Japanese honorific form.

As shown by Hiroshi and Yumiko, a long-term vision which looks beyond the children's immediate schooling experiences is important in maintaining the motivation to continue child-rearing using L1. The school system may not reward immigrant children for their L1 skills, but our society is in need of multilingual, multicultural individuals in the midst of increasing globalization (Cummins & Danesi, 1990).

I believe sharing some of the SLA research findings with immigrant parents is a step in the right direction. However, knowledge about SLA theories alone will not be enough to motivate these parents to continue L1 maintenance for the generations to come. As pointed out by Eiko, powerful and positive examples of bilingual child-rearing are largely missing in these parents' lives. Role-models which can support and validate what they are doing now and show what they can do in the future are needed.

Challenges

Finding good role-models is a challenging task, largely for two reasons: first, parents' passivity in confronting the exclusionary nature of research and policy-making, and second, the

lack of forums to exchange information and opinions with others.

Passivity on the part of immigrant parents

The passivity of immigrant parents was felt on numerous levels before and throughout the data collection process. As I approached several possible candidates, a common response was that they had nothing special to share with me. This reflects the lack of social recognition given to what these parents are doing, as well as the lack of reflective practices these parents go through. Their tacit knowledge (Polanyi, 1958) and their manner of exercising their intelligence (Dewey 1974b) by making meaning out of their experiences (Bruner, 1990; Olson & Bruner 1996; Connelly & Clandinin, 1988, 1990) are not given the credit they deserve.

By conducting this study I was hoping to document the rich insights these immigrant parents possessed in terms of raising bilinguals and trilinguals. However, it was a more difficult task than I had first anticipated, not so much because these parents were not exercising intelligence in child-rearing but rather because of their lack of self-confidence. I had to begin with validating the wisdom of their decisions and experiences. What was striking to me was how immigrant parents worked in isolation and feelings of self-doubt as they raised their children. My initial naïve assumption was that these parents were quite proud of what they were doing and were very willing to share with me their expertise in raising bilingual children. However, this was not the case. Certainly all of the parents I spoke with were quite pleased with their children's linguistic and academic performances. However, they felt somewhat resentful of their reasons behind bilingual child-rearing: that it was out of necessity, or for the good of themselves, as shared by Eiko and Tama. Moreover, I was unable to solicit participation of those parents who are raising their children monolingually, again perhaps they perceive themselves as failures. This is an ironic outcome: if you raise your children as monolinguals, you may perceive yourself and your children as failures; even if you do succeed in raising bilingual children, you are resentful of the selfish motivations, even though you admire the outcome. Such negative perceptions need to be corrected if we want to ensure language maintenance for the generations to come.

Lack of forum to exchange experiences

This lack of self-celebration, I believe, stems from the isolated nature of the child-rearing process for these immigrant families. Because of the schism between school and home life, largely due to the language barrier, cultural mismatch, and the independent institutional system of schools, school personnel are hardly in the position to recognize, appreciate, and support home language

use (See Fishman, 1991, p. 65). Also, within the Japanese community, there is a lack of forum where the experiences of other parents and information about language learning can be exchanged, in order to heighten awareness, share and accumulate knowledge, and receive recognition and gain confidence they duly deserve.

So, what can schools and communities do? I believe it is not enough to invite these parents into the forum of discussion. They are, as they are, too disempowered to make any kind of contribution, and their passivity will only persist. As shared by Tama, the inviting nature of Canadians in discussion will, although appreciated, only create pain and discomfort for immigrant parents who cannot fully articulate and share their thoughts in L2. Instead of making token gestures to incorporate immigrant parents, one suggestion is to view these parents as the possessors of what Moll, Amanti, Neff, & Gonzalez (1992) call “funds of knowledge” and have curriculum and pedagogy, at least in part, evolve around the knowledge of the immigrant parents (Also see Ada, 1988; Cummins, 1991a, p. 380). As we have seen, Hiroshi was involved in a similar endeavour, being invited to teach Japanese painting at Yuki’s school. Similarly, other immigrant parents are also invited to share their wealth of knowledge. For example, Chinese is being taught as an extra-curricular activity, again taught by an immigrant Chinese parent. These parents are not seen as peripheral figures but play active roles in school. This not only promotes self-confidence and self-worth in these parents, but affords them access to school, allowing them to have closer contact with the teachers, which, in turn, acts as a forum for the active exchange of knowledge as well as a chance for teachers to recognize and validate the contributions made by these immigrant parents.

Implications

This study offers important implications in the domain of teacher education and ethnic communities.

Implications for Teacher Education Programmes

On the level of pedagogical practices, we see the importance of educating prospective teachers from the very beginning of their training in gaining “a correct” understanding of the language learning mechanism and in being open-minded about the resources they have at hand in educating children from diverse backgrounds. The teachers should be encouraged to exercise their creativity in teaching and collaborating with parents and the community (Cummins, 1996; Nieto,

1996). At the same time, it is a huge task, if not an impossible one, to meet *all* the needs of immigrant families. It is unrealistic to expect the schools to respond to each immigrant's need in a multicultural metropolis such as Toronto. The schools would simply cease to function. However, correspondence with the ethnic community, as we have seen, is important, even essential, in improving our school system. Corson (1995) notes how "educators need to moderate the discontinuities that exist between home and school as much as possible, and make schools more organic to their sociocultural communities" (p. 2). In order to circumvent the difficulties of communication between the ethnic communities and the schools, one solution may be to have one large ethnic representative organization formed, made up of representatives from each ethnic community. This way the immigrant families' needs can be summarized and represented in general. A more meaningful and effective means of enhancing communication between immigrant communities and society at large may be to bring in a bilingual and bicultural individual, perhaps a researcher or administrator, who can act as a mediator between the two.

Implications for the Ethnic Communities

As for the ethnic community, in this case the Japanese community, it is important for the immigrant families to be well-informed of the consequences of language loss and the benefits of language maintenance so that they do not remain helpless and discouraged (Cummins, 1991a, p.379; Ono, 1994, p. 121). There are a few key figures in the Japanese community who play a crucial role in disseminating information on language learning mechanisms by giving workshops and lectures. This is definitely an important element in assisting language maintenance but I believe it is not enough to share the "how-to's" of language learning. That is, these workshops have concentrated their attention on the children alone. Although in recent years small organizations have been formed, initiated by Japanese immigrant mothers, it is the duty of experts in language teaching and learning to validate and appreciate these immigrant parents' efforts.

Limitations

Having only a very small sample of immigrants, it was not this study's intention to represent the experiences of immigrant parents in a comprehensive way. Rather, I wished to preserve the contextuality in terms of setting and time, and give a rich description of what some parents actually go through in raising their children. How people interpret these stories and what they eclectically choose out of the text is up to them, much like looking at a painting and

interpreting it in one's own meaningful way.

The stories of my participants are inherently connected to other people's stories surrounding them: their children, teachers, friends, community, and so on. Given the limited scope of the study, only immigrant parents were interviewed here. However, the picture could be made more vivid and powerful by expanding the discussion to other realms in these people's lives, especially the lives of children. Similarly, if voices could be documented over time, our understanding of the phenomenon of bilingualism and language policy could be enhanced and would better reflect the societal changes which are always in flux.

This study focuses only on families with both the mother and the father as first generation Japanese. However, the demography faces constant changes with the changing of time, and documentation of other ethnic couples as well as inter-ethnic couples may be called for to reflect the increasing diversity in our society (See Okamura-Bichard, 1985; Yamamoto, 1995).

It is worthy of note here that all children of my participants are academically successful at school. This fact obviously plays a key role in the decision pertaining to language usage at home. Would the families have abandoned L1 maintenance and resorted to exclusive L2 usage if the children were not performing well at their Canadian schools? As documented by Rodriguez (1982), L2 knowledge and academic success are seen by many as indispensable tools for climbing the social ladder (See also Wong Fillmore, 1991b, p. 52).

The general belief that L1 maintenance is a hindrance to L2 learning and therefore a hindrance to academic success, as reflected by remarks made in the autobiography of Rodriguez (1982), is still held by some, including the educators advocating for exclusive English usage at home as mentioned by Eiko, Hiroshi, and Tama. In Eiko, Hiroshi, and Tama's cases, the parents were equipped with information or belief which overturned such a misconception. However, as revealed by the sad cases shared by Naoko and Michiko, some parents fall victim to seemingly good gestures on the part of educators. It is my hope to correct such misinformation and counteract the perpetuation of myths about language learning.

Disseminating Information

I applaud all my participants for their will and effort to raise bilingual and trilingual children. As we will see in the following chapter, despite some ill-advice coming from educators, these parents were able to exercise their own choice for language maintenance. Although these

parents made their choices for bilingual child-rearing based on the stories they had heard from others and on positive examples of bilinguals they have seen over the years, I am concerned with the haphazardness, or the sheer “luck” many immigrants have in making their decisions. There largely lacks a systematic and efficient forum to disseminate research findings and where educators, researchers, and policy makers can come to exchange their views freely with immigrant parents. In my journal I wrote about the impact a book on bilingualism had on one of my participants Eiko:

She (i.e., Eiko) repeatedly said that it was a “shocking” experience for her to read the book (i.e., Ono’s (1994) book on bilingualism). She said she’s never even thought of problematizing the issues in SLA. That is, she said she’s never given serious, profound thought to this issue...She said, “the book answered many of he things which we (immigrant mothers) have noticed but never knew why that was the case. (May 27, 1998)

I hope my research will heighten awareness of the pressing need that exists for disseminating correct and relevant information to immigrant parents.

Concept of Research

I experienced struggle as I conducted this research, largely due to the misconceptions my participants as well as my colleagues had as to what constitutes “research”. My participants showed surprise as I explained to them that all I wanted them to do in essence was to share their experience, or their “stories”, with me in a casual manner. For them, conducting experiments and answering interview questions constitute “research”.

On an academic level, I struggled to work in four domains which seemed to be rather disconnected from each other: socio-cultural theory, narrative inquiry, critical pedagogy and second language theories. It was a challenging task for me to synthesize the four into a cohesive and meaningful whole. However, this was indeed a very important task for me because I believe there is a lack of the interdisciplinary approach (Wertsch, 1985, p. 2) where “a single set of explanatory principles cannot provide an adequate interpretation of change” (Wertsch, 1985, p. 20).

Creating New Visions, New Possibilities

On a final note, I still see the dominance of quantitative research presiding over the field of second language education. I do not wish to negate the contributions quantitative research offers,

but to sound a warning that:

...our own perceptual and cognitive understanding of the world is in large part shaped and changed by the representational artifacts we ourselves create. We are, in effect, the products of our own activity, in this way; we transform our own perceptual and cognitive modes, our ways of seeing and of understanding, by means of the representations we make. (Wartofsky, 1979, pp. xx-xxiii)

If we perceive research paradigms to be examples of artifacts we create and use, it is apparent that adherence to one approach will not emancipate us enough to explore the notion of language learning in different ways. Cummins (1999) contends:

Experimental and quasi-experimental research is an appropriate approach to inquiry but by itself is limited in its ability to answer the major policy-related questions in the education of linguistic minority students. (p. 32)

I believe that qualitative research can add powerful, rich insights into the quantitative research prevalent in our field. Conle (1997b), including a quote from Keith (1996, p. 7) notes how:

we need “a new discourse that joins the themes of collaboration, care, commitment and community to those of difference, equity, rights, dialogue, and a wider sense of community.” The new discourse should enable the marginalized and silenced to speak and facilitate “recognition” and the development of relationships. (p. 150)

Exchanging narratives can initiate such collaborative endeavour.

CHAPTER 7

Conclusion

This research is an attempt to unveil how social factors play a powerful role in promoting language learning in some immigrant households. Through this research I now envision bilingualism largely as a by-product of social forces, where immigrant parents are more or less led to make a particular choice from the available options and resources. Although they have long been neglected and are often excluded from academic dialogues (Soto, 1997), these parents were found to be exercising active and intelligent decision-making on behalf of their children. Furthermore, these parents can play a crucial role in expanding our insight into the process of language learning and maintenance. Appreciation of their contribution is important, as it is becoming “increasingly difficult, if not impossible, to control complex, modern education systems from a single centre” (Organization for Economic Cooperation & Development (OECD), 1986, p. 23, in Conle 1997, p. 138).

Language Maintenance as a Result of Cultural Forces

Wertsch (1985, p. 20, p. 22) notes how “biological forces can no longer be viewed as the sole, or even the primary, force of change.” That is, we are the products of three complex lines of development: evolutionary, historical, and ontogenetic (Vygotsky & Luria, 1930, p. 3, in Wertsch, 1985, p. 27, p. 41), and “mental processes may have emerged partially in response to cultural pressures” (Wertsch, 1985, p. 30), that natural line of development is the “raw materials” that are transformed not by biological but cultural forces (Wertsch, 1985, pp. 43-45). As Leont’ev (1981) notes, our consciousness is a product of the society we live in:

...consciousness is not given from the beginning and is not produced by nature: consciousness is a product of society: it is *produced*. (pp. 56-57, in Wertsch, 1985, pp. 63-64. Emphasis in the original)

I feel that the inclusion of immigrant parents in educating their children is a necessity in order to establish a consciousness that meets everyone’s needs in a democratic way.

Importance of Language Learning and Maintenance

The immigrant parents in this study expressed their primary reason for L1 usage at home as being to establish and maintain family unity. Language not only fulfils practical, instrumental purposes but it also plays an important role in shaping our beliefs and in turn our actions.

Vygostky (1934) notes:

the speech of adults surrounding children, with its constant, determinant meanings, determines the paths of the development of children's generalizations, the circle of formations of complexes.
(p. 133, in Wertsch, 1985, p. 107)

Therefore it becomes crucial for the adults to impart their speech system to their children if the parents want to maintain a healthy, close relationship. However, having listened to the voices of the six parents in this study, we come to learn how parents feel isolated and unappreciated in their endeavours to raise their children bilingually or trilingually in our society. It seems that bilingual and trilingual child-rearing is a lonely, solitary endeavour, not noticed or appreciated by the public at large.

Given the importance of family bonding these parents ascribe to the L1 usage at home, it is understandable how some parents regard L1 writing and reading skills as less important than L1 speaking and listening skills. When we think of family context, family members rarely use written means to communicate with each other. Their interaction is largely done through speech, and the cultivation of reading and writing skills as well as learning and using of elevated vocabulary are not necessary in sustaining family bonding (Ono, 1994, p. 42, p. 84). Because the focus of these parents is to carry on a meaningful communication with their children, efforts specific to language growth such as to expand their children's vocabulary by using i+1 input (Krashen, 1980, 1982) are not actively pursued. This offers a possible explanation for the failure of language maintenance over generations.

Furthermore, with the lack of information about SLA, supportive networks, or forums to voice opinions and concerns as well as to recognize and praise the efforts of the immigrant parents, immigrant parents can fall into the trap of giving up or not following through with their decision to raise their children using L1. As long as the discourse with school and public at large is kept to a minimum, or worse, no discourse at all, immigrant parents must endure the loneliness and hardships of raising their children bilingually.

Narrative as a Powerful Mediating Artifact

Wertsch (1985, p. 19, p. 79) notes how fundamental “revolutionary” shifts in our knowledge occur somewhat abruptly instead of in steady quantitative increments. Narratives people engage in recognize this, as the stories are told with a plot and a climax (Connelly & Clandinin, 1988, 1990). Instead of recalling their past experiences in a factual, chronological way, people emphasize certain events that they feel are accountable factors which influenced their values and the choices they make. This making sense of their experience is an intelligent process (Dewey, 1916b) enacted by conscious realization (See also Wertsch, 1985, p. 26).

When these narratives are shared or exchanged with others, they act as a stimuli or catalyst to evoke further dialogue, contributing to the discovery of knowledge embedded in narratives which transform us, subsequently causing changes to take place within us and affecting the nature of our contributions in our future exchange of narratives (See Wertsch, 1985, p. 63, p. 65, p. 66). When the roles of narratives are seen as a powerful mediating artifact which we use and in turn contribute to our society, we come to see narratives as a valuable tool - a mechanism for sociocultural change (Wertsch, 1985, p. 56).

Although we recognize the importance of and encourage such things as parental participation (Coehlo, 1994), very few changes have been taking place in our school system. Conle (1989) warns that “theoretical abstractions stay in the form of slogans unless they become ‘narrativized’ and become part of our personal and professional ‘stories’” (p. 30). A similar claim is made by Hamilton (1996) who found that teachers’ beliefs in multicultural education are not necessarily reflected in their actual teaching practice.

Because of the lack of communication between the immigrant parents and the dominant society, such exchanges of personal and professional stories are largely missing. Such a schism between home and school hinders the intellectual growth we can gain from active narrative exchanges. Dewey (1916b) notes:

Intellectual growth means constant expansion of horizons and constant formation of new purposes and new responses. These are impossible without an active disposition to welcome points of view hitherto alien. (p. 399)

Different and, at times conflicting, views held by parents and schools can be seen as assets rather than obstacles because:

heterogeneity may, in fact, help us recognize who we are, when we think together with people whose values and histories are different from our own. Difference does not necessarily preclude a shared sense of being engaged in an enterprise together, and this is where we can take heart in today's multiethnic contexts. (Conle, 1997b, p. 150)

Narrative discourse has the power to bond quality across differences (Conle, 1997b, p. 151).

Instead of making decisions and designing and implementing a support system on behalf of immigrant families, it is logical and essential to invite people who are affected by decisions have a stronger hand in making them (Conle, 1997b, p. 137). We need to recognize, appreciate, and explore the story each parent, administrator, policy maker, and teacher brings to the common task of creating an education system conducive to a multiple language learning and L1 maintenance (Conle, 1997b, p. 149).

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APPENDIX A

September 20, 1998

バイリンガルについて、多方面から一人の母親として、その度思うままにお話ししてきました。私にとって、改めて私自身の子育てと向き合う事となり、楽しい時間でした。

お話ししたように、私はバイリンガルに育てるということは、私自身が生活用語も自由に出来ない英語力しか持ってませんから、娘とのコミュニケーションは、日本語しかなく、当然のことでした。

でも、いろいろ情報が入るにつれ、親が日本人というだけで、カナダという生活圏で日本語を習得し、維持するのはなかなか大変な事だとしりました。日本人であっても、日本語を読み書き出来るようになる為に、学校で学習が必要なのと同じように、カナダでも英語の学習があります。

花梨がバイリンガルになる為には、親が日本人であるというプラス面はもちろんありますが、それだけではバイリンガルには遠いということです。

日本語の学習の為、補習校や公文を取り入れました。

幸い花梨は読書が好きだったので、大きな助けとなりました。今、花梨は12才ですけど、日本語が年相応に読み書きしゃべれるのはそれらの学習に加えて、やはり1人っ子ということが、とても大きな要因だったと思えます。現地校の友達とビデオ映画をみて楽しんでるのと同じか、もしかしたらそれ以上に日本のビデオテープ、漫画、本は彼女の大きな楽しみのひとつで生活に欠くことの出来ない部分です。

ウォルフの仮説で人間の考え方とは使う言語によって形成されるということを以前教えてもらいました。言語というのはその場所の習慣など生活様式の下にあるものです。

カナダ人の親を持つてる子供達と英語のハンディを持つ私達を親とする花梨は単に英語がわかるわからないという領域のハンディだけでなく、生活全般にわたる（ある意味での）ハンディをもたざるをえません。

私達、日本の考え方をする親に教育されれば、好むと好まざるにかかわらず、花梨も日本の考え方を知ることになります。

こちらの学校生活で、カナダと日本の考え方のギャップに対する葛藤もあるでしょう。その摩擦なるものは、私の家庭でも少々出てきて、親も考える機会を持たされています。ますます世界は狭くなり、人種がまざって生活していく時代になるでしょ

う。

花梨は、本人の意志にかかわらず、子供の時から、それを考える場所にいることになります。それを自分の財産にする為には、バイリンガルというのが条件になるというのは言い過ぎでしょうか

私自身のことを書けば、私がここトロントに子供を持ち、子育てをするということは、実に教育や躾のことだけでもいろいろなことを考えさせられます。

日本にもしいれば一億総中流意識の中のその波の中での試行錯誤はもちろんあったでしょう。しかし、ここではカナダ人や他の人種とのあまりの考え方（価値感）の違いに接します。何が大切なのか — 果たして、この考え方は正しいのか — 、今必要なことは何なのか — 、もっと人間や親子や家庭の基本的な部分に戻ることが必要な気がしたりします。

普通の — 、とか、一般的な — という価値感をどこにも見い出すことが出来ないくらい人種が多いですし

これからの生活の中で、現在進行形の様々な経験が親である私にとっても、もちろん花梨にとっても、将来プラスになるように願います。

私の子育てについての本当にささやかなつづやきが、光代さんの論文に少しでもお役に立てたことは嬉しいです。

以前にも言ったように、私こそ光代さん自身の貴重な経験や考えを聞きたいのです。どうぞ、今後も暇を見つけて来てくださいね。光代さんの論文の参加者あのアフターケアの為にも....

映子

(English Translation)

I've talked about bilingualism as it came to my mind as one immigrant mother. It provided an enjoyable time for me, having to re-examine my own child-rearing experience.

As I've mentioned to you, raising a bilingual child was something essential for communicating with my daughter since my own English skills are limited.

However, as I learned from various sources, I came to the realization that it is not enough to have Japanese-speaking parents in order to acquire and maintain Japanese within an English-speaking country. Much the same as the Japanese children who need to attend school in order to acquire reading and written skills, the same is true for learning English in Canada.

That is, in order for Karin to become bilingual, it is certainly an asset to have Japanese parents but that alone does not guarantee bilingual development.

In order to assist in Japanese learning, we resorted to such things as *hoshuko* and Kumon.

Fortunately Karin enjoys reading, and this has proved to be a big asset. Karin is 12 now, but the fact that she can read, write, and speak at her age-level is, aside from the studies mentioned above, largely because she is the only child. Things like watching Japanese videos, reading Japanese comics and books are large and enjoyable part of her life, as much as or even more than watching (English) movies with her Canadian friends.

You mentioned to me once about Whorfian hypothesis, how it is believed that human cognition may be shaped by language. Language is the creation of culture, an artifact shaped by customs.

Comparing with children with Canadian set of parents, Karin inevitably has disadvantage not only in terms of language but also in terms of culture.

As she is raised by Japanese parents, she, whether she likes it or not, will adopt Japanese way of life.

As she attends school, I'm sure she will come to realize the gap between the Canadian and Japanese ways of thinking. Such friction is beginning to show at home and is providing us with food for thought. I'm sure the world will become even smaller and a time will come when our society will be even more diversified.

This means that Karin has been placed in a situation from a very young age to think about these things. Would it be an exaggeration if I say that bilingualism is a pre-requisite if she were to grow up to treasure these differences.

If I may add about my own feelings, the fact that I am raising a child here in Toronto makes me think about many things pertaining to education and discipline.

If we lived in Japan, I'm sure I had struggles much like other ordinary Japanese. However, I encounter such a great difference in thinking (values) with Canadians and people of other ethnicity. What is important - whether my belief is correct - what is necessary now - I feel that I need to go back and re-examine the basic components of what comprise us as humans and as parents.

There are simply just too many ethnicity to be able to label something as "ordinary" or "standard".

I hope that the various experiences I'm going through now would prove to be beneficial not only

for me but also for Karin.

I am happy to know that my humble opinion about child-rearing was useful for your thesis.

Like I mentioned to you earlier, I too am eager to learn about your own valuable experiences (growing up as bilingual). Please do continue to keep in touch as your former participant in your research...

Eiko

APPENDIX B

子どもへの言語教育について

坂本さんが言語教育について研究されていて、ぜひ研究の対象になって欲しいとのことでしたが、逆に私達にとっては坂本さん自身が日英両国語を美しく話されていることから、どのようにしたらあなたのようになれるかということをご直接お聞きしたいと思っていました。研究の対象になることによって専門的な研究をされているあなたと素直に意見交換をしながらバイリンガル、トリリンガルの語学教育についてももう一度考えてみたいと思いました。また他の人々の参考になれば喜ばしいことです。

私たちは、2人の娘に英、仏、日本語の3つの言葉を理解する人になって欲しいと願っているのですがこのように考えるのはいくつかの要因があると思いますが、移住者である私自身の体験として日常生活では何とか事足りる英語は話せるのですが、何時も、もっと英語が上手に話せたら... という思いをしています。英語力が充分でないために疎外感や屈辱感を味わうこともしばしばあります。積極的に行動するために自分自身を励ますことに多大なエネルギーを使っているかを考えると、子どもたちにはもう少し自然に社会に入っていく、持っている能力を最大限発揮できるように教育してやりたいと願っています。しかし、だったらここは英語社会だから英語をのみ徹底して教育した方が良いという考え方の人もおられるのですが、私たちは親の不十分な英語力では子どものしつけが充分出来ないのではないかと考えています。そして親の持っている全能力を最大限子どもに伝えるには子どもに日本語を勉強してもらわねばなりません。また日本人が持つ文化遺産や知恵も学んでくれたらと思います。しつけや精神文化を伝えるのは親が家庭ですべき勤めだと思います。ある時アムネスティ（*人種問題を扱う組織）の仕事をしている人と話す機会があり印象に残った話があります。それは子供に母国語を教えなかったために子供がティーンエイジに成長してから親の貧しい英語力では子供を説得できなくなり、子供が親を尊敬しなくなり非行に走ったり、家を出て行くといったケースが多いのでしっかりと子供に母国語を教えてしつけの教育をなささいという話で私たちの父母としての考え方と一致していたので確信を得ました。

また、ある日本からの移住者の方から、子どもの日本語教育と途中で中止したため子どもが日本語が話せなくなり、家族で日本を訪問した時、祖父母とのコミュニケーションが出来ず、その移住者の方は「父から子供に教育を与えていない、と叱られました。私は子どもの日本語教育には失敗しましたが、出来るならばあなたは子どもに日本語を教えておいた方がいいですよ。」と語ってくれたこともあります。

またフランス語も習得させたいと考えているのは少し欲張った考え方のようにも思われますが、親の性格や職業からか、子供たちも文化系の方向を向いている様子なので、アートや文学において多くの名作を生んでいる文化を学ぶのには語学が必要なのでぜひ子どもが小さい頃から学ばせたいと思っていました。

しかし、何人かの方から指摘されたのですが、失敗をするとどの母語も持たないセミリンガルになる危険が隣り合わせにあるわけで、常に学んでいる言語を使う機会を与えることが必要になってきます。その結果日系社会、カナダ人社会またその中でも仏語を話す人たちの中を交互に往復することになってしまうのです。このことが大人になってどういう反応を示すことになるのか測り知れませんが、しかし逆に考えるとそれが国際人になることではないかと考えています。

どの言語をもが中途半端になってしまわないように気を使っているのですが親としては未体験な状況なので今後、研究者による、より良い言語教育の在り方の研究が進めば、と思っています。

日本とカナダの教育を比較することは、私たちが数十年前に小学校で受けた教育と現在子どもたちが通っているカナダの小学校で行っている教育とを比較することになりがちで、必ずしも正しい比較にはならないのですが、カナダの教育で良いと思われる点は、子供たちに発表の機会を多く与えていること（例えば SHOW AND TELL など）や子どもどうしでの共同プロジェクトなど友人達と話し合いながら勉強していること、カナダでは修学旅行はないようですが、消防署や郵便局の見学、美術館の見学、りんご園やファームの見学や父母が先生となって教える ENRICHMENT PROGRAM など社会と密着した学習内容が多いことです。また日本の学校制度で良いと思うことはクラブ活動がさかんに学校で行われていて、課外活動として子どもの興味や関心があることや音楽、文化、スポーツが専門的に学べることです。

自分の体験から思いつくまま、まとまりなく述べてしまいましたが、参考になれば幸いです。

(English Translation)**About Language Education for Our Children**

You invited us to participate in your research since you are studying about language education, but we too were curious to learn how you yourself became proficient in English and Japanese. I wished to freely exchange opinions with an expert like you and re-think about the whole notion of bilingual and trilingual education. I also hope that this would be useful for others.

We hope our two daughters to come to understand the three languages, English, French and Japanese, and we have several reasons for this. As an immigrant, although I know English enough to get by, I always wish I had better English skills. There are many times when I feel isolated or humiliated due to my insufficient English proficiency. As I think how much energy I require to encourage myself in order to lead an active life, I wish my daughters would be able to participate and contribute to the society much more smoothly. If that's the case, some people might note how it may be better perhaps to concentrate on English education since this is an English society. However, we feel that our limited English skills are not sufficient to raise our children in English. I also feel that, in order for the (Japanese) parents to pass on the valuable skills to the children, it is essential that the children acquire Japanese. I also hope that they acquire (not only the language but) Japanese culture and wisdom. I feel that it is our duty as parents to discipline and nurture our children. There was an instant that left a vivid impression on me when I was talking with a person working for Amnesty International (*organization involved in racial issues). She advised me to teach the mother tongue to my children because without the common language, children will come to resent the non-English speaking parents, leading to such things as delinquency and running away from home. Her story struck a chord with what we have believed in ourselves and this confirmed that we were on the right track.

I also heard from other Japanese immigrant parents how their children lost the ability to speak Japanese when they discontinued Japanese study. The children failed to communicate with their grandparents when they visited Japan, and the parents were accused by the grandparents as "Not providing quality education". He explained how he failed in his endeavour to raise a bilingual child but he encouraged me to raise my children bilingually.

It might seem that we are too ambitious, wanting our children to also acquire French, but perhaps because of our personalities and our occupations, I wanted the children to come to appreciate the culture which produced so many masterpieces in the field of arts and literature. In order to do this language knowledge is essential so I wished them to study (French) from a very early age.

However, a few people have pointed out the danger of becoming a semilingual, and (in order to avoid this) it becomes necessary to provide opportunities where the children can actually use the language they are studying. As a result, it becomes necessary to participate in the society of Japanese-Canadian, Canadian, and Francophone. I don't know what will become of this, but I think this is the process of becoming an "internationalist".

Although we are being careful to avoid semilingualism, we feel we are immersed in an unpredictable situation and I hope that researchers would advance the studies in the field of language education.

When we compare the Japanese and Canadian education systems, we tend to compare the current Canadian situation from that of Japanese education we received years ago and this does not necessarily lead to a fair comparison, but I like the fact that the Canadian system provides many opportunities where the children can express themselves (such as "show and tell") and where the children can work collaboratively in groups. It seems that they don't go on long school trips but I

like the fact that the children gets to visit places like fire hall and post office and learn about things that are community-based. On the other hand, I think schools in Japan provide extra-curricular activities that encourage children to pursue interests and study such things like music, culture, and sports in a very specialized way.

I simply wrote things that came up to my mind, but I hope you find this useful.

APPENDIX C

子供をモノリンガル、バイリンガル、トライリンガルに：
日本人新移住者の家庭内語学教育方針

トロント大学
オンタリオ教育研究所
坂本 光代

e-mail: msakamoto@oise.utoronto.ca

子育てというものはただでさえ大変なものですが、異国で子供を育てるとなると様々な困難があると思われまます。その中でも親として責任重大なのは、子供をどの言語で育てるかです。英語で育てるのか、日本語で育てるのか、それとも二か国語で育てるのか。皆様はどのような経緯を辿って選択なさったのでしょうか。

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具体的に次のようなことをやりたいと思っています：

1) 週に一回位の割合でお会いし、一、二時間程お話を伺う。
内容は、お子さんを育てていく上で驚いたこと、悲しかったこと、嬉しかったこと、悩んでいること等、何でも結構です。秘密は厳守いたしますが、インタビューは録音させて頂き、後日それをテープから起こし、私自身の感想など（共感したこと、不思議に思ったこと、もっと説明していただきたいこと等）も交えてディスカッションしていきたいと思っています。期間は最長約半年と考えておりますが、ご都合が悪くなった場合はいつでも辞退していただいて構いません。尚、テープ並びに録音されたものの起こしは私とオンタリオ教育研究所に所属する私の担当教官、そして研究に参加される貴方以外の者の目に触れることはありません。

2) 日記（メモ程度のもので結構です）をつけていただく。
週に一度しかお話を聞けませんので、日頃思ったこと、出来事等を書き留めていただき、お話を伺う上で参考にしたいと思っています。尚、日記の他に写真やホームビデオなども見せて頂けたらより相互理解が深まると思います。同時に私自身も日記をつけたいと思っていますので、交換日記のようにできたら、と考えております。この日記は（1）のテープ同様、他の者の目に触れることはありません。

(1) および(2)で集めたデータは後日分析され、論文としてまとめられ、発表される予定ですが、ご希望であれば仮名を使います。また、発表内容も私独自の判断ではなく、参加者の方々と相談の末、決めていきたいと思っています。

もしこの研究に興味を持って頂け、ご協力していただけるのでしたら幸いです。その場合、お手数ですが下記にご記入をお願いいたします。

私、_____ は、この研究（日本人新移住者の家庭内語学教育方針）に参加いたします。尚、都合が悪くなった場合は辞退出来ることも承知しています。

(日付)

(署名)

お名前： _____

ご住所： _____

電話番号： _____

もし何かお気づきになったこと、疑問に思ったことなどありましたら、どうぞご遠慮なく(416) 425-9288もしくはE-メールmsakamoto@oise.utoronto.caまでご連絡ください。

(English Translation)

**Raising Children as Monolinguals, Bilinguals, and Trilinguals:
Japanese Immigrant Parents' Language Policy at Home**

The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education
University of Toronto
Mitsuyo Sakamoto
e-mail: msakamoto@oise.utoronto.ca

Raising a child in a foreign land must be a task full of challenges, given the fact that child-rearing alone is a phenomenal task. Deciding what language to use at home is a choice parents must make responsibly. Whether to raise your children using English, Japanese, or both; how did you come to make the language choice?

Up to now, language education has been studied by academics and educators alone. However, I strongly feel that those who are actually raising their children in a foreign country have rich experiences and profound insights in this field. Therefore I wished to learn about your experiences and analyse them by comparing them to what I have been studying in the field of applied- and socio-linguistics.

Specifically, I intend to do the following:

1) To meet once a week for one to two hours

The content of the interview can be about anything such as your surprises, disappointments, worries. The information will be kept confidential but I wish to tape record our conversations and transcribe them, as well as to share my own opinion (such as the points that resonated, felt puzzled, need further clarification) to further our discussion. I hope to collect the data for maximum six month duration, but you may withdraw at anytime. Furthermore, only my thesis committee members and yourself will have the access to the recorded cassette tapes and transcripts.

2) To keep a journal (does not need to be long)

Because we will only be meeting once a week, I hope you would note down things that occurred to you or about special events. I hope to incorporate this information when conducting interviews. Furthermore, I believe I will be able to better understand your current situation if you could share with me other materials such as family photos and home videos. I also plan to keep a journal myself for the duration of the data collection, so I hope to share this with you too. Again, your journal will not be exposed to others as mentioned in (1).

The data collected from (1) and (2) will be analysed at a later date, written and presented as a thesis, and if you choose to do so, I will be using a pseudonym instead of your actual name. I also hope to consult with you for the truthfulness and the appropriateness of the content.

I would be grateful if you are interested and would be willing to participate in this research. Please take a moment to give the information for the following:

I, _____, will participate in this research (Japanese Immigrant Parents' Child-Rearing Experiences). I realize that I may withdraw from this research at anytime if I choose to do so.

(date)

(signature)

Name: _____

Address: _____

Telephone No.: _____

If you have any questions, please feel free to contact me at (416)425-9288 or by E-mail msakamoto@oise.utoronto.ca.

APPENDIX D

**子供をモノリンガル、バイリンガル、トライリンガルに：
日本人新移住者の家庭内語学教育方針**

トロント大学

オンタリオ教育研究所

坂本 光代

e-mail: msakamoto@oise.utoronto.ca

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データ収集を始めた当初は、現在子育てをされている方のみを対象としていました。十年、二十年前と比べたら、社会環境等変わってしまい、本当のところ、既に子育てを終られている方のお話は、これから子育てされる方にはあまり参考にならないかと思ったのです。しかしこの研究に参加されている方の「子育てを終られている方のお話を聞きたい」という要望、そして私自身ももっと今集めているデータを掘り下げて分析するには、既に成人したお子さんがいらっしゃる、いわゆる「ベテラン」のお母様方のお話を伺うのが大切だと思うようになりました。

異国で子育てするうえで困ったこと、逆に良かったこと、残念だったこと、なんでも結構です。特に印象の強かったエピソードなどを伺えたら幸いです。インタビューはテープレコーダに収められ、後日テープから起こし、分析します。このテープ自体は一般に公開されるものではありませんが、テープの起こしは集めたデーターとして部分的に抜粋され、論文の一部としてまとめてられ、学会などでも発表される予定です。この際、ご希望であれば仮名を使います。また、発表内容も私独自の判断ではなく、参加者の方々とご相談とご了承の末、決めていきたいと思っています。

もしこの研究に興味を持って頂け、ご協力していただけるのでしたら幸いです。その場合、お手数ですが下記にご記入をお願いいたします。

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(日付)

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Up to now, language education has been studied by academics and educators alone. However, I strongly feel that those who are actually raising their children in a foreign country have rich experiences and profound insights in this field. Therefore I wished to learn about your experiences and analyse them by comparing them to what I have been studying in the field of applied- and socio-linguistics.

In the initial stage of data collection, I was only interviewing those who are currently raising their children. I believed that many things such as social climate has changed in the last ten, twenty years, and that stories of those who have already raised children will not be relevant. However, along with many requests I received from my participants for the stories of those who have already finished child-rearing, I came to think that in order to analyse my data in a profound way, it was important for me to listen to the "veteran mothers".

The challenges you faced in raising a child in a foreign land, or on the other hand things that pleased you, or things that disappointed you...anything is fine. I would be grateful if you could share with me certain episodes that still left an impression in you. Interviews will be recorded and will be transcribed at a later date, which I will be analysing. The tapes will be kept in a confidential place, but the transcript will be treated as data and parts of it will be used for thesis and conference presentations. Pseudonym can be used if you wish. I also hope to consult with you for the appropriateness of the content.

I would be grateful if you are interested and would be willing to participate in this research. Please take a moment to give the information for the following:

I, _____, will participate in this research (Japanese Immigrant Parents' Child-Rearing Experiences). I realize that I may withdraw from this research at anytime if I choose to do so.

(date)

(signature)

Name: _____

Address: _____

Telephone No.: _____

APPENDIX E

1998/4/7

先日はありがとうございました。私にとって初めてのインタビューでしたが、映子さんがリラックスしてお話しして下さったので、本当にそれまで自分が頭で描いていた理想に近いインタビューができ、感謝の気持で一杯です。ただ自分自身がまだまだ未熟で、まだ自然に質問等が出来ず、反省することがいくらかありました。この研究方法はインタビュアーが一方的に質問し、研究対象者がそれに答えるという主旨のものではなく、自然に会話していくうちに何か浮かび上がってくるという概念に基づいたもので、いわば研究する人と研究される人の共同作業だと考えています。ですから会話の流れを大切に、あまり「話の腰」を折らぬ様に気を付けたいと思っています。先日は少々緊張していたせいもあって私が一方的に急に話題を変えてしまったりしたので。

この研究方法はライフヒストリー法というのですが、研究者と参加者との共同作業というところに魅力を感じて選びました。普通は研究者はできるだけ「自分」というものを隠して研究を進めますが、ライフヒストリー法ですとそのような不自然なことはせず、研究者自身のインプットも認めることが出来ます。また、堅苦しいレポートではなく、研究に携わっている人以外でも理解でき、為になる論文にすることが可能です。やはり私は学者ばかりでなく、自分の専門分野に一番関係のある人々（私の場合は新移住者の方々）にとって理解しやすいものを書きたかったのです。

先日のお話しをお聞きしていくつか印象に残ったことがあります。まずかりんさんが幼稚園に通っていたときのお話です。幼稚園の先生に家でもうすこし英語をつかったらどうかと軽い注意をおうけになったとのことですが、この先生のお話しをそのまま鵜呑みにせず、ご自分なりにお考えになって、ご自分で結論をだされた映子さんの「強さ」です。教師があまり移住者のニーズを考えず、あまりにも簡単に自宅で英語を使うようにいうことが実際問題になっているのです。

もう一つは、子供にとって、日本語及び日本の文化に触れる場所は別に家庭と学校以外にも幾つかあるのだな、と思ったことです。私自身は補習校しか知らなかったもので、他に絵画教室などの交流の場があるとは思いつきませんでした。

あとは映子さんのお子さんに対するやさしさも印象的でした。補習校をやめ、日本語をどのような形で続かせるかというとき、国語さえ続けてくれればいい、それ以上させるのは可哀相かな、とおっしゃったときです。映子さんが何が大切か、ということをはっきり認識されていて、それ以上の事はお子さんの意志にまかせていらっしゃるところが印象に残っています。

XXXの資料を添付しました。何かご参考になれば幸いです。これからも私で何かお役に立てる事があれば、と思っています。

(English translation)

1998/4/7

Thank you for the other day. It was a very first interview session for me but thanks to you who engaged in our conversation in such a relaxed manner, I managed to conduct a good interview. However, because I am still a novice interviewer, I felt that on numerous occasions I was unable to ask questions in a non-obtrusive way. This research method does not call for a one-way interviewing on the part of the researcher. Rather, it rests on the notion that themes emerge from ordinary conversations. In this sense, I feel that it is a collaborative endeavour. Therefore I hope to maintain a natural conversation flow by not being disruptive. The other day I felt that I abruptly changed the subject of our conversation from time to time.

The research method employed in this study is called life history research. I like the collaborative component, between the researcher and participants, of this research method. Traditionally the researcher suppresses the voice of him/herself as he/she conducts the research, but in life history research the researcher is emancipated from such unnaturalness by including his/her own input. It also allows me to produce a thesis which can be understood by non-academics. It was important for me to write something which would benefit those who have the most stake in my research (in my case the immigrant parents).

There are several things that left an impression on me from the conversation we had the other day. First, about the incident that occurred when Karin was attending Kindergarten. Apparently the Kindergarten teacher advised you to use more English at home but instead of complying without questioning you re-examined the proposition and you came up with your own solution. This, to me, is a great "strength". It has been problematic for educators to advise immigrant parents to use more English at home without reflecting on the needs of immigrant families.

Secondly, I realized that there are other contexts besides family and schools in which children can have exposure to Japanese language and culture. I personally only knew *hoshuko*, so it never occurred to me that such things as drawing classes provided opportunities for language and cultural exchange.

Finally, your compassion for your daughter was also felt throughout the interview. For example, you said that it was okay (for Karin) to discontinue *hoshuko*, that as long as she continued Japanese language studies (in whatever form) you were content; that you felt sorry for Karin to demand more than this. You seem to know exactly what is important for you, and that you leave the rest up to the will of your daughter.

I've attached the information for XXX(name of the high school Karin will be attending). I hope you find them useful, and I hope to continue to be of your assistance.