

JSL児童生徒の言語発達 —韓日バイリンガル, ヨンジェの言語のエスノグラフィー分析— The Language Development of a JSL Schoolchild: Analyzing the Linguistic Ethnography of Young Jae, a Korean/Japanese Bilingual

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Japanese as a Second Language (JSL), bilingualism in education, linguistic ethnography, language development, Korean/Japanese school age sojourner

ABSTRACT

本稿は一人の韓国語・日本語の学齢期バイリンガル, ヨンジェの言語発達の分析である。言語学習のドメイン(場)は日本の公立小学校であり, 日本語教室での初めの2年間を調査した。ヨンジェは7歳で日本に来日し, 2年間の第二言語としての日本語の教育を受けた。本稿の焦点は, 初期段階(来日後4-8カ月)と後期段階(18-20カ月)の言語のエスノグラフィーのデータを比較することで彼のミクロな言語発達を考察することである。結果として, 初期段階では, 外来語のメタ知識と文脈に対する意識がヨンジェの第二言語の言語発達を第一言語の言語発達とは質的に異ならせている。後期段階では彼の日本語に埋め込まれた文化的知識の示唆が主流文化への統合の度合いを見せていると考えられる。

This article analyzes the language development of a Korean/Japanese school age bilingual, Young Jae. The domain of investigation is a Japanese state school and the study focuses on the child's first two years in the Japanese supplementary class. Young Jae arrived in Japan at the age of seven and experienced two years of Japanese as a Second Language (JSL) instruction. His micro language development was investigated by comparing the linguistic and ethnographic data from the early stage (4th-8th month in Japan) and a later stage

(18th -29th month). In the early stage, the meta-knowledge of loan words and awareness of context make Young Jae's JSL language development qualitatively different from general first language development. In the later stage, the implications of his embedded cultural knowledge in Japanese show the degree of his integration into mainstream culture.

1. Introduction: Why Young Jae?

The phenomenon of migration has brought a change in language boundaries. They are bound to encounter the dynamism of language experience. Particularly, this dynamism is felt in language learning, and the complex of factors varies individually. Migration in the 20th and early 21st century to Japan brought with it the issue of the 'identity of language speakers'. Toward the end of the 20th century, the Japanese Ministry of Education was alerted to the rapid increase of children in Japanese state schools whose first language was not Japanese.

The majority of 'newcomers' in the 1990s were children of Brazilian *Nikkei* (Japanese descendants) and *Nikkei* from other South American countries, namely Peru, Argentina, Bolivia and Paraguay¹. According to Tsuda (2003: xii), "almost all of the Japanese Brazilians initially go to Japan with intentions to work only for a couple of years and then quickly return home with their savings they have been called *dekasegi*, the Japanese word for temporary migrant worker". However, in 2011 those with Brazilian nationality are the third dominant ethnic group in Japan after Chinese and Korean².

There were also 'oldcomers', *Zainichi* (literally 'living in Japan') Korean and Chinese speaking children³ who are the descendants of Koreans and Chinese who came and lived in Japan during the Japanese occupation and shortly after the Second World War. They are historically connected as long-term residents. *Zainichi* is also used as the short version of *Zainichi Kankokujin* [Japan's resident Koreans, or Korean Japanese] who made up the

biggest foreign registered group in Japan until 2006⁴.

Young Jae (henceforth, YJ) was a Korean speaking school age child and a newcomer to Japan when he arrived in Japan in 2002. He was neither *Nikkei* nor *Zainichi*. He was outside the social labels of *Nikkei* and *Zainichi*, Japanese minorities designated by Japanese society. Yet, he was a newcomer with the same roots as the oldcomer Koreans, and he was a sojourner, a temporary new comer migrant accompanying his middle-class family who intended to live in Japan for five years. This social hybrid identity of a Korean/Japanese bilingual is an issue of the 21st century.

YJ lived in Shinjuku ward in Tokyo which includes a well-known 'Korea town'. This 'Korea town'⁵ has been transformed into a 'cool'⁶, attractive spot visited by Japanese people. It has become a mecca of Korean pop culture, K-pop and Korean T.V. dramas (Fujita-Round, 2010). The emergence of such interest in South Korea occurred during the time when YJ became a Korean and Japanese bilingual child in the first decade of the 21st century, and in the same Shinjuku ward where YJ lived.

Keeping in mind the social environment described above, this ethnographic case study reports on the process of the individual JSL learning experience and how YJ, a Korean school age sojourner in Shinjuku became a Korean/Japanese bilingual.

2. Research Methodology

In this study, to investigate YJ's bilingualism, the process of his language learning and development

will be described holistically. I conducted extensive fieldwork in three settings: school, home and community, between 2003 and 2010. For the present paper, I will focus on the school setting of my fieldwork between 2003 and 2005 when YJ first encountered his first foreign language and acquired Japanese as a second language over two years in the Japanese pullout⁷ supplementary class in the local state school.

2.1 Research method

As Creswell (2003:13-15) broadly indicated, in the studies of social science there exist alternative research methods:

- (1) qualitative approach (narratives, ethnographies, phenomenologies, grounded theory and case studies)
- (2) quantitative approach (experimental design, e.g. surveys and analysis by computerized programme)
- (3) mixed methods (combination of the above two according to the design).

My study is based on the qualitative approach.

The term ‘qualitative research’ is often positioned as an umbrella term to refer to a complex research method. Croker (2009: 5) articulated two important questions asked in qualitative research: ‘What is reality? (ontology)’ and ‘What is knowledge? (epistemology)’. These are the fundamental questions. These ‘paradigms’, or conceptual frameworks, have profoundly affected the development of research in general and qualitative research in particular (Heller, 2008).

In Table 1, Minoura (2010) explained the positioning

Table 1. *Positioning within epistemology and ontology*

	Epistemology	
	Objectivism	Subjectivism
Ontology	Positivism	Constructivism

Source: Minoura (2010, p. 4), translated and simplified by the author

of these two perspectives.

In the meta-approach within the researcher’s positioning toward the informant/subject and the study, positivism and constructivism both stand within pursuing ontology; both approaches believe that there is ‘reality’ which the researchers can study.

However, within epistemology, which is concerned with how to validate the study and how the relationship between research and informant/s is questioned, positivism treats the reality objectively whereas constructivism treats the reality subjectively (Minoura, 2010, p. 4). In addition, in Croker’s description of positivist and constructivist, “positivists believe that there is only one, fixed, agreed-upon reality, so research must strive to find a singular, universal ‘truth’, whereas, constructivists believe that there is no universally agreed upon reality or universal ‘truth’”(Croker, 2009, p. 6).

For the research design, the method of longitudinal study was the first frame I planned for this present research. It was based on the language development model of a case study on childhood bilingualism, i.e. on one particular child in depth, taking after Leopold (1970) in the 1930s, or Fantini (1974, 1985) in the 1970s. They both looked at their own child’s speech development and used the diary method for their research. So, I observed one particular bilingual child in depth⁸.

However, in the reality of busy elementary school life, it was not possible to make a detailed and structured study in the Japanese supplementary class. For example, for school events, the JSL children participated in the main stream schedule with their homeroom class. I had to negotiate with this given field in the Japanese supplementary classroom and take a more ethnographical approach for what I saw in the JSL learning domain. This study, therefore, had to contextualise the bilingual language development in a discursive social dimension. In the study of social reality, then, I have combined approaches the qualitative research approaches, of case study and ethnography.

2.2 Data collection

My data consists of fieldnotes⁹, transcripts from audio/video recordings and interviews. The data were collected between the school years 2002 and 2005, when I made 51 school visits and observed YJ 34 times¹⁰. The main visits in the school years of 2003 and 2004, were once a week.

In the early stage, the data are transcripts which were reconstructed from my fieldnotes of 0;02;21 (February 6th, 2003) and 0;03;25 (March 13th, 2003). In the later stage, the data are transcripts from audio and video recordings of 1;05;04 (April 20th, 2004) and 2;02;09 (January 25th, 2005). They are bilingual transcripts¹¹.

2.3 My informant, Young Jae

Young Jae's nationality is South Korean. His father is a businessman. The reason for the family's move from Seoul to Tokyo for the period of five years was because the father was posted to the Tokyo branch of his company. This five year stay in Japan was decided by YJ's father's work and accepted by the family before they arrived in Japan. The family had a clear reason and time duration to stay in Japan. YJ and the family, therefore, can be categorized as sojourners, temporary migrants for the planned five years¹².

YJ arrived in Japan in November 2002 and lived in Shinjuku until December 2007, precisely 5 years and 24 days. As an individual, YJ arrived at the age of nearly 7 years old, and he started at the Japanese local state elementary school one week after he arrived and was placed in the first grade. During his five years in Japan, YJ experienced three different types of schooling: 47 months at a Japanese state elementary school, 6 months at a South Korean ethnic school, and 9 months at a private international school. This study looks at the development of YJ's Japanese as a second language at Japanese state elementary school.

2.4 YJ's Japanese state school in Shinjuku

At this Japanese school, the balance of Japanese

national pupils and foreign national pupils became 93%:7% in 2002. There were 30 foreign national pupils in 2002, 25 in 2003, and 25 in 2004. The number of foreign national pupils was dominantly Korean; for example, among the 30 pupils in 2002, Koreans numbered 22, Chinese 4, U.S. 3, Uzbek 1. Language support at the school had developed to have an independent JSL classroom with one full time teacher by 2001¹³.

YJ also received Preliminary Japanese Instruction (PJI¹⁴) from a Korean male teacher from November 2002 to February 2003. With him YJ was supposed to learn basic Japanese, speaking, writing and orientation to Japanese school life, in his native language before he started JSL instruction in the Japanese supplementary class.

3. Major Findings

3.1 Timeline of YJ's JSL development

YJ's process of language development is compared between the early and later stage: the early stage is between the 4th and 8th months after arrival in Japan, and the later stage is YJ's 18th to 29th months as indicated in the Timeline in Figure 1 below.

To see the developmental process, I will focus on (1) the contents of linguistic syntactical items in the early stage, to see how YJ developed his Japanese, and (2) use of two languages during the JSL class in the later stage, to see how YJ was able to use two languages separately and in what situation he used each language. Thus, the focus in each stage will be: syntactical development and use of two languages.

3.2 Early stage

In this early stage of YJ's Japanese, during the Japanese supplementary class with his JSL teacher, YJ's main feature of language use was using one-word Japanese more frequently than plural-word utterances. His Japanese use by length of syntactic utterances in the early stage is described in Table 2.

		Year 1												Year 2												Year 3																							
Year		2002												2003												2004												2005											
Stage		Early stage												Later stage																																			
Japan**	No of months in	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36												
Age	Month	7:0	7:1	7:2	7:3	7:4	7:5	7:6	7:7	7:8	7:9	7:10	7:11	8:0	8:1	8:2	8:3	8:4	8:5	8:6	8:7	8:8	8:9	8:10	8:11	9:0	9:1	9:2	9:3	9:4	9:5	9:6	9:7	9:8	9:9	9:10	9:11												
Month	grade/Sc	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct											
Year	Year	1st grade				2nd grade												3rd grade												4th grade																			

* YJ's arrival in Japan is counted from the 16th Nov. 2002.

Figure 1. Early and later stage in Timeline

Table 2. Syntactical comparison in the 2nd and 3rd month

	one-word	two-word	three-word	four-word	Total of utterance
0;02;21 (30 minutes)	14	6	1	1	22
0;03;25 (37 minutes)	20	5	1	0	26

* 0;02;21 indicates 0 year; 2 months; 21 days.

Excerpt 1. "Chess"

Utterance No.	Transcription	Description
8 →	YJ: チェス [Chess] T: チェスじゃないの。・・・どっちがいい？しろ？（自分を指差して）クロです。 [It is not chess. Which do you like? White? (pointing herself) Black.]	Suddenly YJ called the 'Othello' game 'chess' T corrected that Othello was not chess. Instead, she tried to start the actual game. Trying to teach him the start of the game.

In the study of first language acquisition, one-word utterances are reported to emerge from around 1 year to 1 year and a half of age, first word combinations from around 1 and a half to 2 years, and simple and complex sentences from 3 years of age (Koyanagi, 2004; Oketani, 2006). In comparison to first language acquisition, YJ's one-word utterances on 0;02;21 in his second language at the age of seven years and three months show qualitative differences.

3.2.1 "Chess" (0;02;21)

The example here is the one word utterance, "chess". "Chess" is one of 14 one-word utterances by YJ on 0;02;21 to the JSL teacher when he spontaneously wanted to check the name of the board game in front of him which was called "Othello". See Excerpt 1 above.

Before the sudden word of chess, the teacher had taught YJ the name of the game, and YJ repeated after her as follows in Utterance 5:

T: これは何ですか。これはオセロです。

[What is this? This is Othello.]

5 → YJ: オセロです。

[This is Othello.]

After this utterance, he tried the word for the similar type of game, “chess”. YJ’s utterance showed that he applied his knowledge of the first language, i.e. the foreign loan word in Korean, in the Japanese context. YJ had already acquired his first language, so he had a language resource to be able to use like this. This utterance may indicate that he was already aware that both Korean and Japanese languages shared foreign loan words from English and that he had by this time learned to modify phonetics in each language, through the experience of being exposed to Japanese in the mainstream classroom all the time.

3.2.2 “Two-two” (0;02;21)

In his first language, YJ could count numbers; however, on 0;02;21 in his second language, he could only count up to 3 comfortably as below in the Excerpt 2.

In Utterance 16, when the teacher urged him to count his game counters and said “One, two, three...”, he immediately followed her. YJ started to count the counters “one, two, three...”, and then there was a pause. Then, he switched to Korean from four to ten. In Utterance 17, for the total of his game counters he tried to say ‘twenty-two’, but, uttered “two-two” in Japanese.

In this sequence,

- (1) YJ was able to listen to the teacher’s utterance and repeat it exactly (Utterance 18),
- (2) YJ understood what the teacher wanted him to do, counting in Japanese and adding up the game counters he won during the game.

Utterance 16 is also marked as an example of the early code-switching between two languages within a sentence. Importantly, he tried to switch back to Japanese to say the total of the counters in Utterance 17. This sequence of utterances shows YJ’s understanding of the context constructed by the teacher in Japanese. He knew he had to learn Japanese in the JSL class, but at the same time his Japanese was not functioning well enough to express his intention and instead he had to slip back to his first language. Utterance 18 also shows how YJ was learning Japanese with the JSL teacher.

At the one-word level, he was able to listen and

Excerpt 2. “Two-two”

Utterance No.	Transcription	Description
	T: ヨンジエ, いくつ? [How many did you get?]	T urged YJ to count the counters to.
	T: いち, にい, さん・・・ [One, two, three...]	When T started to count, YJ followed. However, he only followed T’s utterance and continued to count in Korean after four to ten.
16 →	YJ: いち, にい, さん, ... (韓国語になる) [one, two, three, ... (switch to Korean)]	
17 →	YJ: にいに (22) [two-two]	He said 22, as ‘two-two’, instead of ‘two-ten, two’ in Japanese. T quickly corrected it and he repeated the right answer spontaneously.
18 →	T: にじゅうに [twenty two]	
	YJ: にじゅうに [twenty two]	

repeat Japanese after the teacher without difficulty on 0;02;21. He was learning these sequences through interaction with the teacher.

3.2.3 Adjective and functional phrase/chunk

Table 2 shows that, between his 2nd and 3rd month, the number of YJ's utterances has increased from 22 to 26. From the angle of syntactic utterances, in the early stage of YJ's JSL development it appears the one-word utterances are still dominant. However, in this table, the actual difference is not clearly seen. It was his grammatical ability which indicated YJ's Japanese development over this one month. The comparison of grammatical categories is shown in Table 3.

In the comparison of grammatical categories, the added grammatical items on 0;03;25 are adjective and functional phrase/chunk.

3.2.4 "Strawberry delicious"(0;03;25)

This word 'strawberry' was uttered by YJ when YJ and the teacher were looking at a picture in the worksheet.

The teacher was intending to use the worksheet and urging him to look at the picture in it. It was a picture of the sun. When she said, "What is this?", the teacher was also stating "sun" in Japanese and urging him to say, "It is the sun" in Japanese. Yet YJ did not respond to the teacher. He looked at the picture and instead uttered "Strawberry" (Utterance 2).

Immediately, the teacher responded to his utterance and asked "Young Jae likes strawberries?" YJ happily responded to the teacher this time, saying his two-word Japanese utterance, "Strawberry delicious" (Utterance 3). Note that in Utterance 3, instead of replying to her by repeating the verb from the teacher's question and using the phrase "I like

Table 3. Grammatical comparison in the 2nd and 3rd month

	Noun and pronoun	Adjective	Verb/Copula verb	Particle	Functional phrase/chunk	Total of words
0;02;21 (30 minutes)	15	1	4	4	9	33
0;03;25 (37 minutes)	9	8	0	0	14	31

Excerpt 3. "Strawberry delicious"

Utterance No.	Transcription	Description
2 →	T: これ何ですか。・・・お日さまだ。 [What is this? ... It is sun.] YJ: いちご [Strawberry]	Since YJ was not responding to the instruction, T decided to attract YJ's attention. She intended to start the Japanese lesson from what he was interested in.
3 →	T: ヨンジェはいちご好きですか? [Young Jae likes strawberries?] YJ: いちごおいしい。 [Strawberry delicious.] T: いちご ここにさ、ふつつつつつつ [Strawberry, here, dot dot dot dot]	When YJ said 'strawberry', she started to draw a picture of a strawberry with colour pencil. She carried on talking about strawberries which was YJ's favourite fruit. She added achenes as dots.

strawberries”, YJ was giving the reason why he liked strawberries, using the adjective “delicious”.

3.2.5 “Stand to attention. Now we finish the second period.” (0;03;25)

In First Language Acquisition (FLA), set phrases are among the earliest words acquired. In this case, YJ had acquired those necessary functional phrase/chunk utterances by hearing them repeatedly in the domain of school where he spent most of his time every day.

Utterance 26 sounded most naturally pronounced, as well practised phrases. By 0;03;25, not only from the angle of the linguistic ability of YJ, after less than one month in the JSL classroom, we can also see YJ’s acculturation into the Japanese school in this early stage of YJ’s Japanese. This phrasal utterance is also indicating the fact that, unlike a Japanese as a Foreign Language programme, the JSL classroom was more school culture-oriented.

3.3 Later stage

In the later stage, there were three differences in comparison to the early stage:

- (1) Reduced JSL schedule; when he entered 3rd grade in April 2004, he was pulled out for JSL class just twice a week (two sessions of 30 minute class)
- (2) Cooperation with homeroom class teacher; the homeroom teachers of YJ’s new grade were

willing to collaborate with the JSL teacher and they agreed to pull him out during Math and Social Studies

- (3) A Korean peer pupil; YJ was paired with U, another 3rd grade Korean pupil. It was the JSL teacher’s strategy to encourage peer learning and also provide a ‘safe’ space for the children psychologically.

Thus, despite her strategy, having a Korean peer caused YJ to alter his language use if he wanted.

3.3.1 “Dog. ... What? What are you doing?”(1;05;04)

U understood the teacher’s irritation with YJ so he translated on behalf of the teacher, i.e. U urged YJ in Korean to stop the silly behaviour (Utterance 274) in Excerpt 5.

With this sudden code-switching, YJ took over the language cue and started to provoke U in Korean to join in the card game with him. Utterances 277 and 279 show that the teacher tried to stop YJ and bring him back to the study of Chinese characters. YJ did not stop provoking U, but the teacher decided to go back to the study task and informed them in Utterance 279 she would start again, so U answered the question in Japanese (Utterance 281).

YJ realized he was being ignored by both the teacher and U. So, he suddenly repeated the word of U in Utterance 281. At the same time, after repeating U’s answer, he asked the teacher in

Excerpt 4. “Stand to attention. Now we finish the second period.”

Utterance No.	Transcription	Description
10:15	T: 気をつけ。これで2時間目を終わります。 [Stand to attention. Now we finish the second period.]	He was able to repeat this Japanese school phrase smoothly.
26 →	YJ: 気をつけ。これで2時間目を終わります。 [Stand to attention. Now we finish the second period.]	

Excerpt 5. “Dog. ...What? What are you doing?”

273	T	そっちも。そっちも置いてちょうだい。時間もったいないんだけどなあ。もう12時になっちゃった。 [That as well. Put that down as well. It is a shame we are losing our time. Already it was twelve o'clock.]
274	U	=おい, < Korean >야! 빨리! [=おい, おい!早く!] [=Hey, Hey,! Hurry up!]
275	T	12時5分になったよ。[Now it turned five past twelve.]
276	YJ	< Korean >야! 너 보면 어떡해! [おい!お前, 見たらどうするんだよ!] [Hey! You, you shouldn't look at the card !]
277	T	はい。[All right.]
278	YJ	< Korean >나도 너거 봐볼꺼야. [オレもお前の見てやるぞ!] [I will look at your card !]
279	T	じゃ、聞きますこの読み方ね。[Right, I will ask you how to read (this character).]
280	YJ	< Korean >너가 보지말라고해도.(볼꺼야.) [お前が見るなど言っても(みるぞ。)] [(I will look) even if you say no.]
281	U	いぬ。[Inu (dog)]
282	YJ	いぬ。・・・何?何してんの? [Inu. ...What? What are you doing?]

Japanese what they are supposed to be doing, “*Inu*. What? What are you doing?”. It looked as if he came back to the reality of the classroom.

In Excerpt 5, both YJ and U could code-switch, but not at the language mixing level. They could separate the two languages according to the speaker and context.

3.3.2 “So that, I will go. . . . Do it.” (2;02;09)

Spending nearly two years in the JSL class, YJ acquired not only the second language, but the strategy to learn. In Utterance 20, YJ actually corrects his mistakes by himself.

When the teacher suggested both YJ and U join in the opening ceremony of Korean Week, their reaction was negative. However, because YJ read the teacher’s mind or perhaps remembered that his mother would be one of the main Korean helpers, he changed his mind. In Utterance 20, he declared

he would participate in the event as a presenter as suggested by the teacher: he uttered, “So that, I will go. . . . Do it.” This misuse of the verb ‘go’ was corrected by him sequentially within the utterance.

As seen in this self-correction, by this time he could monitor his own Japanese speech and correct his spoken Japanese if necessary.

3.3.3 Cultural genre (1)

“Ore(I)”& “Washi(I)”, (2;02;09)

In Utterance 255, YJ addressed himself as ‘*Ore*’ meaning ‘I’. *Ore* is a typical boy’s word. It is an informal way of saying ‘I’. Generally at their age, *Ore* is a peer genre. There is another boy’s word for ‘I’, ‘*Boku*’, which is more polite. His Korean peer U sometimes addressed himself as *Boku* when he was conscious of being polite to the teacher. In this Utterance, however, YJ rephrased ‘*Ore*’ to ‘*Washi*’. *Washi* is normally used by older men/elderly

Excerpt 6. “So that, I will go. . . . I will do it.”

16	T	前に並ぶのもやらないね？こっちにね？ 3年生の [You are not willing even to stand up in front? On this side? Third grade's?]
17	U	= うん [=Yeah]
18	YJ	=でも楽しいじゃない、なんか楽しそうじゃない？ [=But it sounds fun, don't you think it's fun?]
19	T	楽しそうだよ [It should be fun.]
20	YJ	=だから俺行く。やる。 [= So that, I will go. . . . Do it.]
21	T	やる？本当？ [You do? Really?]
22	YJ	=やろうやろう [= Let's do it, let's do it.]
23	T	あのね、 [Well, then,]
24	U	でもヨンジェが出たらやばそうだよ、なんか。 [But it would be chaos if YJ joins in, I wonder.]

Excerpt 7. “Ore(I)”& “Washi(I)”

255	YJ	俺なにやるの？<ウヒョンが自分の紙芝居の整理をしているのを見て> [What should I do? <Looking at U sorting his own Kamishibai>
256	T	=何やりたい？ [What do you want to do?]
257	YJ	俺、じゃあ、わしはね、 [I <Ore>, so, I <Washi>]
258	T	=うん [Uhuh]
259	YJそうだねー [Oh, yes---]
260	T	=うん [Uhuh]
261	YJ	クイズ！ [Word games<Kuizu>!]

Excerpt 8. “Oni(ogre 鬼)”& “Onii(brother)”

432	YJ	ね、これ、これは何だ。おばけ？ [Hey, this, what is this? A ghost?]
433	U	鬼。 [Ogre]
434	T	鬼。 [Ogre]
435	YJ	おにーでございます。<テレビ番組の真似、ニューハーフのオネエの真似> [This is Ogre/brother. <Mimicking a TV programme, a good imitation of a popular transsexual TV comedian>]
436	U	=おにいさん、描けない。 [I cannot draw the older brother]

persons. In this choice of gendered address, YJ intended to show his gender at the same time as have the possible effect of humour on the interlocutor. This clearly shows the influence of Japanese comedies on TV and of *Manga* (comic books).

3.3.4 Cultural genre (2)

“Oni(ogre 鬼)”& “Onii(brother)” (2;02;09)

This was the scene when YJ made a joke, or his favourite word play. ‘Ogre’ can make a pun with ‘brother’ in Japanese. Hearing the word ‘Oni’, he immediately made a joke, associating the word, ‘oni (ogre)’ with the other ‘onii (brother in the informal way)’. Even more, this association was attached to a

phonological impersonation of a popular transsexual TV comedian.

4. Implication for JSL development in education

The analysis is summarized: in the early stage:

- (1) more syntactical and grammatical development (i.e., one-word and noun and pronoun dominant)
- (2) shift from JFL and JSL
- (3) upcoming code-switching
- (4) meta-knowledge of loan words
- (5) understanding of context attached with language

in the later stage:

- (1) sociolinguistic competence (i.e., variety of genres for a child of his age)
- (2) bilingual competence (i.e., sophisticated code-switching)
- (3) language learner competence (i.e., self-monitoring and self-correction)
- (4) influence of pop culture/sub-culture

In the case of YJ, he had already acquired his first language, so he had a language resource to be able to use. This makes YJ's language development qualitatively different from his first language acquisition. With my linguistic data, this may indicate the possibility of socio-cultural knowledge transfer.

In the later stage, together with the various aspects of linguistic competence, he shows the influence of Japanese sub-cultural genres and gendered genres in his speech. This embedded cultural knowledge in his Japanese clearly indicates the degree of his integration in the mainstream culture.

5. Conclusion

My main findings are the micro analysis of the language use of YJ through his experience of JSL class in the school. However, looking at the

interaction of YJ in the JSL classroom situated in the state school of Shinjuku, it was clear that there was "the fact that the main dimensions of day-to-day life in bilingual and multilingual classrooms—curriculum organization, pedagogy and social relations—are crucially shaped by social and political conditions beyond the classroom" (Martin-Jones, 1995, p. 108). This study hinges upon the nature of becoming bilingual (a learning issue) and also the nature of language contact (a sociolinguistic issue).

However, the limitation of this study is that it is a case study. The process of YJ's language learning cannot present the general language learning patterns of bilingual children.

Yet, as this rich ethnographic case study shows, YJ as a bilingual individual developed 'language' through personal and social interaction. His experience of learning language touches so many linguistic axes and social reality. Such is the hybridity of language contact, of becoming bilingual.

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- ¹ See Fujita-Round & Maher (2008: 400-401) for comprehensive description and Tsuda (2003), for detailed analysis of the Japanese Brazilians as immigrants based on his two years of ethnographic fieldwork.
- ² According to Ministry of Justice statistics (2012/06/13), the top five groups of registered foreign nationals for 2011 are as below in the table:
- ³ See Fujita-Round & Maher (2008: 398-399) for further details.
- ⁴ The statistics from the Ministry of Justice (2010, July 6) show the change in the population of registered Korean and Chinese as in the table below:
Source: Fujita-Round (2011) Selected statistics of foreign population by the Ministry of Justice (2010/07/07).

	Total foreign registered population of 2011	
1	China 中国	2,078,508
2	Korea 韓国・朝鮮	674,879
3	Brazil ブラジル	545,401
4	Philippine フィリピン	210,032
5	Peru ペルー	209,376
		52,843

Selected years	1990	2000	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Total foreign registered population	1,075,317	1,686,444	2,011,555	2,084,919	2,152,973	2,217,426	2,186,121
Korea	687,940	635,269	598,687	598,219	593,489	589,239	578,495
China	150,339	335,575	519,561	560,741	606,889	655,377	680,518

	Name/sex	sex	Nationality	2002	2003	2004	2005	sub total
1	Young Jae	m	Korean	2	15	16	1	34
2	U	m	Korean	0	12	16	0	28
3	MK	f	Korean	0	13	0	0	13
4	YG	m	Korean	4	8	0	0	12
5	HY	f	Korean	0	6	0	0	6
6	SH	m	Korean	0	5	0	0	5
7	JM	f	Korean	0	4	0	0	4
8	GO	m	Japanese	1	3	0	0	4
9	SH	m	Japanese	0	3	0	0	3
10	SR	f	Bangladesh	0	1	0	0	1
11	HJ	m	Korean	0	1	0	0	1
total				7	71	32	1	111

⁵ Inaba (2008) pointed out that after WW2 the Okubo area in Shinjuku was noted as a multicultural/multi-ethnic Korean dominated town, when 'multicultural living (kyosei)' became a keyword of Japanese society in the 1990s. Then, after the Football World Cup organized and hosted by both South Korea and Japan in 2002, and the boom of Korean popular culture which started in 2003, the Okubo area became more visibly a Korean town with Korean ethnic restaurants and Korean fancy goods shops, as appeared in the mass media (p. 67, summarised and translated in English by the author).

⁶ Maher (2005: 100) argues how the subculture is valued in the mainstream. He adapted Japan's case to illustrate it as 'subcultural capital' and defined it as principle of Cool.

⁷ Noyama (2005) outlined three styles of JSL support at Japanese school: pullout class (*toridashi*), in which children are taken out of mainstream classroom for JSL class; joining-in class (*hairikomi*), in which a JSL teacher joins in the mainstream class for supporting JSL children; and special center class, in which children have to visit

another institute/centre for JSL class.

⁸ Pupils who I observed in the JSL classroom from school year 2002 to 2005 are shown in the table above.

⁹ The fieldnotes were taken in the position of participant observation.

¹⁰ See footnote 8 for more details.

¹¹ These transcripts were transcribed by Korean and Japanese assistants. Then they were proofread by the author and one post graduate Korean assistant for the final stage.

¹² YJ stayed in Japan for a total of 62 months, from Nov, 2002 to Dec 2007.

¹³ This information was provided by teachers and the official school brochure of 2006.

¹⁴ This instruction is provided by Shinjuku ward Education Authority. PJI offered for the newly registered children in the state school of Shinjuku as an orientation to the school: 40 hours to kindergarten children, 50 hours to elementary school pupils and 60 hours to lower secondary students as a maximum. For further details, see Fujita-Round (2010).