

二言語による社会化 Bilingual Socialization

一親一言語方策と二言語使用

One Parent-one Language Policy and Two Language Codes

岩田 祐子 IWATA, Yuko

● 東海大学 Tokai University

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ABSTRACT

本論文の目的は二言語（英語と日本語）の使用がバイリンガル家族の子供に対する社会化にどのような影響を与えるかを研究するものである。すなわち二言語による社会化における言語の役割を考察することである。東京に住むバイリンガル家族（日本語が話せないイギリス人の父親・日本語と英語が話せるバイリンガルの日本人の母親・同じくバイリンガルの5才の娘と3才の息子）の日曜日の夕食時の会話6回分をビデオとカセットに録画（録音）し、分析したところ、二種類の社会化が見られた。一つははっきりとした目的を持って親が教えている場合の社会化（non-embedded socialization）で、もう一つは、両親があまり自覚することなく子供に伝わっている社会化（embedded socialization）である。

データ分析が示すことは、第一にいわゆる「一人の親が一言語を子供に使用する方策（‘one parent-one language’ policy）」をほとんどの場合にこの家族は実行していることである。ただし、会話の流れを重視し、この方策を実行しない場合もある。第二に、バイリンガリズムはバイリンガルである母親だけでなく、バイリンガリズムの重要性を認識したモノリンガルな父親によっても推進されている。バイリンガリズムはこの家族にとって第一言語と言ってもよいのである。「一人の親が一言語を子供に使用する方策（‘one parent-one language’ policy）」を厳しく守ると二つの危険性が生じる。モノリンガルで日本語を話さない父親を疎外してしまう危険性と会話のスムーズな流れを阻害してしまうことである。この危険性は、モノリンガルではあっても家族の二言語使用をこころよく許しているモノリンガルの父親によって一部回避されている。残りの一部は、「一人の親が一言語を使用する」という原則よりも実際の会話の流れを重視して、子供たちとも必要に応じて英語を話す母親の努力によって回避されている。第三に、夕食時に二言語を使

いながら家族みんなで食事をし、共に会話を構築していく作業の中で、バイリンガル家族としてのアイデンティティを形成している。第四に夕食の主目的は、家族としてのまとまりを持つことであり、家族全体としてのコミュニケーションの方が子供たちに二言語を習得させることよりも重要視されている。この意味では、バイリンガル家族の社会化もモノリンガル家族の社会化と変わることはないと言える。違うのは、二言語を使用しているということだけである。

この研究はケーススタディであるので、二言語による社会化を詳しく分析するためには継続研究が必要である。別の家族における二言語の社会化を見ていく必要があるだろう。

Introduction

One of the long-held beliefs about bilingual families is that they are full of stress and that family members are required to make much greater effort to maintain their family unit than monolingual families. Romaine (1989) has claimed that negative and erroneous ideas about children's language development became 'received wisdom' in educational circles and were passed on uncritically. However, there still exists a strong claim that bilingualism is most likely to cause intellectual confusion in bilingual children and that raising well-balanced bilingual children is rarely successful. It requires enormous effort by the parents and the children themselves. Therefore, when I decided to visit a bilingual family to gather data and heard from the parents that their children had acquired balanced language skills in English and Japanese, I assumed that their success as bilinguals was strongly supported by their parents' strenuous effort to help them acquire two languages. This belief was further strengthened by the fact that the father was a monolingual speaker of English, which I thought created an extra burden for the bilingual mother and children in communicating with him.

The purpose of this study is to investigate how two languages (English and Japanese) mutually influence the socialization process of children in a bilingual family, i.e. it investigates the role of the language in bilingual socialization.

Method

To investigate the role of language in bilingual socialization, a bilingual family living in Tokyo was chosen as participants. This family consisted of a monolingual British father, a bilingual Japanese mother, a bilingual 5-year-old daughter and a bilingual 3-year-old son. Research hypotheses formulated are (1) given the apparent challenge presented by a family in which conversation is conducted in two languages, the parents would be more concerned about the children's language fluency while at home and socialization would take a back seat in conversations; (2) the parents stated that they employed a 'one parent-one language' policy at home and given the reported prevalence, the mother would use only Japanese with the children and the father would use only English with the children; and (3) in a family in which one self-professed monolingual member did not

appear to speak the dominant language in the community, a greater burden of communication would be placed on the other bilingual members. Six video-taped and audio-taped Sunday dinner conversations were collected and analyzed.

Data Analysis

The dynamics of dinner talk are examined focusing on adherence to a 'one parent-one language' principle and code-switching between English and Japanese. The total numbers of English and Japanese words spoken by each family member were calculated in order to investigate the dynamics of dinner talk. The x^2 test showed that there were significant differences between the total number of English words spoken by the father and those by the mother at 0.01 level in each of all the conversations. There were also significant differences between the total number of Japanese words spoken by the father and those by the mother at 0.01 level. Overall total words (both English and Japanese words) uttered by the father and those by the mother were almost the same. The mother dominated Japanese conversations but she spoke in Japanese predominantly with the children, but not with the father. To the contrary, the father dominated English conversations which all the family members participated in. The x^2 test also showed that there was significant difference between the frequency with which the mother spoke to the father in English and that with which the mother spoke to the children in Japanese. The mother employed a significantly different strategy to the father and to the children; she

spoke English with the father and Japanese with the children. The x^2 test showed that the father did not differentiate the strategy to the mother and to the children. He spoke exclusively English both with the mother and the children. The x^2 test also showed that there was significant difference between the frequency with which the daughter spoke English with the father and the frequency with which she spoke Japanese with the mother. The daughter used a significantly different strategy to the father and to the mother. She spoke predominantly English with the father and Japanese with the mother. The test showed that there was no significant difference between the frequency with which the daughter spoke English with the son and the frequency with which she spoke Japanese with him and no significant difference between the frequency with which the son used English with his sister and the frequency with which he used Japanese with his sister. There seemed to be no fixed pattern in language choice between the daughter and the son. As for the dynamics of dinner talk, I can conclude that the family members follow a 'one parent-one language' principle for the most part of the conversation.

Next, I investigated when and to whom the bilingual members (the mother and the children) code-switched from Japanese to English or vice versa in the conversation. The data analysis indicated that the mother predominantly code-switched to Japanese when talking with the children and responding to them throughout the entire conversations except a few occasions. The children also code-switched to Japanese when talking with the mother and responding to her. The children code-switched to English when they spoke to

and responded to the father. Data analysis of code-switching also indicated that the family members followed a one parent-one language principle. However, closer analysis revealed that there are some occasions the mother or the children do not follow the one parent-one language principle. In the mother's case, she sometimes spoke English with the children and responded to them when she was involved in conversation with family members. The mother code-switched to Japanese when she wanted to express strong emotions such as anger to the children, especially to the son.

Thirdly, conversational data were analyzed in terms of socialization taking place during the meal. There were two types of socialization taking place at the table. The first is parent-determined socialization, such as telling the children to eat properly, and when and what to say properly. I term this kind of socialization as 'non-embedded socialization' because the parents' socialization goals are explicit. For example, instructing the children how to eat properly or how to converse appropriately are routines conducted by the parents with clear socialization goals intended to raise their children as competent members of a society (societies) and is defined as non-embedded socialization. The second type of socialization involves the parents displaying to the children or co-constructing values with the children without conscious awareness. I label the type of socialization as embedded socialization. For example, languages can be chosen by the parents to raise their children bilingually (non-embedded socialization), but at the same time, there is a bilingual style which is peculiar to a family and which is realized through the quotidian rituals of the

family (embedded socialization). This peculiar bilingual style becomes one of the important resources in claiming membership in the family. Through such bilingual practices, family members negotiate their social identities within the family unit. In other words, non-embedded socialization is defined as socialization of norms. Embedded socialization is defined as socialization of values. The parents may not be consciously aware that they are supporting the latter socialization. However, the parents' regard for their culture and their language is being transmitted to the children.

Discussion

My findings are as follows. Firstly, the canonical 'one parent-one language' policy is indeed as an approach or even a 'policy,' but it is not rigorously adhered to in this family interaction. The data analysis indicated that family members adhere to a 'one parent-one language' policy for the most part but prioritize good conversation (i.e., fluent, unrestrained) as a family unit over the policy. Also, there is implicit recognition that a rigorous policy would in fact inhibit the father's participation. Secondly, bilingualism is indeed pursued not only by the bilingual mother but also by the monolingual father who accepts the importance of bilingualism in the family. It may be said that bilingualism is somehow perceived as a 'first language' by the children in this family-echoing the classic description put forward by Swain in 1972. Thirdly, family members having dinner together co-construct bilingual conversations using two languages and, through these

conversations and jointly co-constructed actions, form their bilingual identity. Fourthly, the primary focus of the dinner conversation appears to be socialization, not teaching a language per se. This seems to embody the ecology of the family; that is, the good balance of the whole family is prioritized with communication as a family unit being more important than bilingual acquisition.

The data analysis indicated that the parents predominantly employed a one parent-one language policy but by no means exclusively. In this respect, the initial hypothesis (2) was not supported. As long as the flow of the conversation runs smoothly and everyone seems to understand the conversation, no one in the family seems to care which language is used. Everyone's participation in the conversation is prioritized over language choice.

Since the father speaks little Japanese, the rest of the family members who are bilingual need to adapt themselves to the father's language ability. Therefore, the mother and the children sometimes use English with one another. When a family includes a monolingual member, smooth conversation as a family unit is more valued than a one parent-one language policy. In this respect, the initial hypothesis (3) was supported.

For the bilingual children, English is an icon of the father's culture and, likewise, Japanese is an icon of the mother's culture. Therefore, both embody the same value. Moreover, through a jointly constructed bilingual conversation, the children learn the importance and fun of code-switching. We can also say that for those children who are using two languages, bilingualism is their 'first language' (Swain 1972).

The findings indicate that the most important goal of this bilingual family is to socialize the children into the family unit, not to foster bilingual ability. In this respect, the initial hypothesis (1) was not supported. In other words, family socialization (socialization as a unit) is more highly valued than linguistic socialization. The ecology of the whole family is more important. In that sense, I conclude that the bilingual family is drawn on similar lines to a monolingual family. The parents in this bilingual family are socializing their children in a similar way as the parents of a monolingual family. The difference is that the parents in this family have dual language availability, not just one.

Final Remarks

Given the case study on which this investigation is based, further research is clearly necessary to provide in-depth and detailed analysis of bilingual socialization. In addition, further research on bilingual socialization in other bilingual families is necessary to clarify which findings are specific to this family's bilingual socialization.

References

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