日本とブラジル児童における第二言語習得のための協同学習

ミックメーヒル・カイラン

Peer Mediation in the Portuguese Acquisition of Children in an International School in Japan

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Introduction

The ideology of "English as an International Language" is widely accepted in Japan (see Holborow 1999). However, in fact there are few opportunities for most Japanese to use English to interact with others. While Japanese parents may wish their children to learn English in order to enter a good university or get a good job in the future, the children themselves are more interested in interactions with their friends and teachers. A dual immersion approach to foreign language education in Japan, in which Japanese children and foreign children took turns learning in each other's languages, would appear to be much more motivating and practical for children.

Nevertheless, the majority of speakers of other languages in Japan are not English speakers. Instead, they are the children of South American migrant workers of Japanese descent in Japan, and they are mostly speakers of Portuguese or Spanish (see Noguchi 2001, Vaipae 2001, Yamamoto 2002).

In this paper, I study one attempt to introduce the ideology of "minority language as resource" to Japan. In the Japanese context this means getting Japanese parents to see child speakers of Portuguese, Spanish, Urdu, Tagalog and other non-English languages as valuable resources for peer linguistic and cultural learning for their children (see especially references to Crawford, Cummins, Genesee, & Freeman in bibliography for more on rationales for two-way bilingual education). Specifically, I look at the example of the International Community School in Gunma Prefecture to see how speakers of Brazilian Portuguese can function as resources in the classroom for non-Brazilian students.

My research site in 2003

The following chart gives an overview of International Community School (ICS), the subject of this study.

My research site	Overview of instruction	School characteristics
International Community School (ICS), 744-2 Kamifukushima, Tamamura-machi, Sawa-gun, Gunma-ken, Japan, ics@aioros.ocn.ne.jp	30 full-time students, 25 part-time; full-time = 1 day Japanese, 2 days Brazilian Portuguese, 2 days English medium instruction per week, part-time = mostly English	School open 8AM to 6PM daily and Saturdays 9 to 5. Full-time classes 9-2:30 daily, after-school classes 4-5:30, Saturday classes 9-2 and 3-5.
Legal incorporation: as Multilingual Education Research Institute NPO, since Dec. 2000	3 full-time classes: K1 (2-3 yrs), K-2 (4-5 yrs), Elementary (6-7 yrs)	Rents building in small city between Isesaki, Maebashi, and Takasaki, Gunma
Parents have been heavily involved as founders, teachers, assistants, and office staff	Wants to offer Urdu and Spanish medium instruction in future	Funded entirely by school fees, donations, fundraising, grants
Currently not accredited or recognized as school	Tri-annual assessment by portfolio, written comments, parent-student-teacher conferences	Financial aid offered to "language minority" children
Run by American, Brazilian, and Japanese board and staff	Prefers to hire teachers of various backgrounds regardless of L1 or variety of English spoken	Slogan: "Creating the global community here and now"

Research question

In this article, I ask how Portuguese immersion education can take advantage of Portuguese native-speaking peers in Japan. This question relates to ICS's aim; to set a precedent for seeing children who are speakers of minority languages other than English as resources for the Japanese society rather than problems (See Ruiz 1988 for orientations in language planning, and Hamers & Blanc 2000 for a description of the community bilingual education model).

To begin to answer this question, I conducted a case study of "Fernando," a six year-old Brazilian-Peruvian Portuguese L1 speaker and his participation in the ICS elementary class. I selected Fernando as the focus of this study because he was the most competent child speaker of Portuguese and the only child who routinely spoke all or mostly Portuguese in the home (see the appendix for a complete list of participants.)

Data collection and analysis

The data reported on here was collected from February to July, 2003. From February- March I observed, took notes on, and videotaped the after-school pre-elementary classes, and from April-July I observed, took notes on, and videotaped the full-time elementary class. I spent one hour per week in each of the three language medium classes. I reviewed my notes and videotapes to select

the interactions in which Fernando was most active in the classroom discourse, then transcribed, translated, and analyzed these excerpts with the assistance of two native speakers of Brazilian Portuguese.

As noted in the chart above, children spend two days a week learning in English, two days a week learning in Portuguese, and one day a week learning in Japanese. Here I focus on just my observations and discourse analysis of the Portuguese medium classes, participant observation in the research site, and interview with the Portuguese medium instructor, Vanessa. I decided to focus just on Fernando's participation in the Portuguese medium classes to see how he might be a resource for other non-native Portuguese speaking children when there was the most external motivation to acquire and use Portuguese as the day's target language for both oral and written activities.

Findings: Fernando as a linguistic and cultural resource for other children

The teacher of the Portuguese elementary class, Vanessa, did most of the talking during class and stressed the acquisition of literacy over social interaction or oral communication in her classes. Nevertheless, I was able to observe many instances where Fernando could be construed as a resource for the other children's classroom participation in Portuguese. I will summarize the first three ways in which his behavior appeared to be useful to others, and will go into a fourth way in more detail.

First of all, Fernando acts as a role model for participation, pronunciation, and recitation. He speaks/reads first and the other children echo his words slightly after him.

Second, he expands the teacher's discourse structure beyond drilling and elicitation into genuine conversation. He thus demonstrates a communicative use of Portuguese to other students that is often missing in this class.

Third, he tries to enforce the use of Portuguese on Portuguese medium days. He consistently uses Portuguese to participate and I observed him scolding a Japanese classmate when he used an English rather than a Portuguese word.

Finally, he "scaffolds" different ways of initiating turns in the conversation and altering the participation structure in Portuguese. I will illustrate this final point now with excerpts from a transcript of the classroom discourse.

Fernando is eager to be the first to answer any question in class, and his greater Portuguese competence enables him to flout Vanessa's turn-taking rules in order to do so. During the after-school pre-elementary class "word domino" game on May 17, 2003, for example, the teacher allocates turns and the participation pattern is one player at a time around the circle. The discourse fol-

lows a familiar pattern of initiation-response-evaluation (IRE) from the first turn, as below: [1]

Transcription key

First tier: transcription of the original utterance in Portuguese

Second tier in italics: free translation into English

All students: Ss

Vanessa: V

Akiko: A (a home speaker of Japanese)

Trisha: T (a home speaker of English and Japanese)

Fernando: F (a home speaker of Portuguese)

Extract 1

1 V: Voce tem da garota ri ou da rosa, Trisha?

Do you have "the girl laughs" or "the rose," Trisha?

2 Ss: Nao.

No.

3 V: Nao, ne.

No, you don't.

An exception to the IRE pattern is that Vanessa encourages the students to read the clue cards out in a chorus before calling on each student to say whether they have the matching card. Fernando's voice can be heard leading the choral readings:

Extract 2

29 V: A menina ri. Nos temos do elefante e...O que que e aqui?

The girl laughs. We have one about the elephant and...What what is it here?

30 Ss: O garoto toma banho.

The boy takes a bath (chorus led by Fernando).

Trisha and Akiko begin by answering Vanessa's question "Who has the ...card?" by just pointing or holding up their cards, or replying "nao" (no) or "sim" (yes). Vanessa accepts even non-verbal responses as being appropriate if they come during an allocated turn, and praises Trisha in this

1 Apologies that the diacritics are missing from the Portuguese.

example:

Extract 3

30 V: Muito bem! O garoto toma banho: shuuuu! Banho. Sabe o que e banho?

Very good! The boy takes a bath: shuuu! [sound of water]. Bath. Do you know what a bath is?

31 (Trisha pantomines washing herself).

32 V: Isso, Trisha, muito bem!

That's it, Trisha, very good!

Later, however, Fernando initiates a turn in order to point out the location of even other players' cards without waiting for the teacher to nominate him, saying "Vanessa tem,"or "Vanessa has it," which Trisha immediately echoes:

Extract 4

45 V: A menina escova os dentes.

The girl brushes her teeth.

46 F: Vanessa tem!

Vanessa has it!

47 T: Vanessa tem!

Vanessa has it!

While Vanessa acknowledges Fernando's self-nomination, however, she adds a correction implying he has spoken out of turn:

48 V: E, tenho mesmo! Mas agora e vez da Akiko.

Indeed I have! But now it is Akiko's turn.

Vanessa continues to correct Fernando for speaking out of turn:

Extract 5

123 V: Tem! Agora, alguem tem a borboleta colorida ou...

You've got it! Now, does anyone have the colorful butterfly or...

124 F: Eu!

Me!

125 T: Fernando!

Fernando!

126 V: Mas espera um pouco. Agora o Fernando ja foi, e a vez da Trisha, ta bom?

But wait a minute. Now Fernando just went, it's Trisha's turn, okay?

Although Vanessa tries to maintain control of the turn allocation, Fernando's example seems to have inspired Trisha. Later she tries to initiate a turn as Fernando did, but without his immediate example, she resorts back to Japanese:

Extract 6

141 V: O galo canta!

The rooster sings!

142 T: Ah! Vanessa motteru! (In Japanese)

Oh! Vanessa has it!

Toward the end of the game, Vanessa seems to have relaxed the turn-taking rules and to have accepted the innovation in the turn-taking pattern that Fernando started, as can be seen below:

Extract 7:

164 F: Ah! Akiko tem!

Oh! Akiko has it.

165 T: Akiko tem.

Akiko has it.

166 V: Isso Akiko, muito bem. E aqui?

That's it, Akiko, very good. And here?

167 T: O cacho...

The do...

168 G: O cachorro late.

The dog barks.

169 V: O cachorro late. Como foi a Akiko, agora e a minha vez, ta bom?

The dog barks. Since Akiko just went, it's my turn, right?

170 A: Koko ni aruyo. (It is here! In Japanese)

Here it is! (In Japanese)

171 V: Voce tem? Eu tenho...

You have it? I have...

Vanessa is now responding to the students' self-allocations in any order, without comment, even praising the students though earlier she corrected them for speaking out of turn. In l. 166, Vanessa even praises Akiko even though it was actually Fernando and Trisha who spoke on behalf of Akiko. Fernando's initiative and use of Portuguese as a learner seems to have enabled him to alter the turn-taking structure initially imposed by Vanessa. Even Akiko has now begun to initiate turns in her native language of Japanese (l. 170). Fernando's persistence thus appears to have succeeded in changing the rules of and also the pace of participation to his advantage, so that whoever sees and can read the card first can initiate their own turn, regardless of who has the card, and win or bring an end to the game.

Summary and conclusion

In summary, I was able to pinpoint four concrete ways in which Fernando's participation in the classroom discourse as a native speaker of Portuguese seemed to be of possible benefit to his non-native speaking peers. Fernando's example helps to clarify the meaning of "linguistic resource" in terms of actual participation patterns of those children who are native speakers of a language in mixed classes with non-native speakers. I wonder if the role of peer interaction in language acquisition will become better known in Japan. If so, will more Japanese parents come to see the immediate motivation for their children's learning languages that are actually spoken in their local communities, i.e. minority languages in Japanese such as Portuguese, rather than only English?

In terms of future directions for this research, I feel strongly that a theoretical approach is needed to adequately explain what happens in multilingual classrooms where the practices of children go beyond the existing patterns of language use in their own homes, the wider community, and even among their own teachers and administrators. In the case of ICS, for instance, the children, collectively, are more "trilingual"and "tri-cultural"than any one of the parents, teachers, or staff members. This could mean that despite their relative lack of power in regards to teachers and institution, they are able to create a child-centered classroom culture and discourse that bridges their diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds and yet adds up to something new and blended, rather than just using English, Portuguese, and Japanese as three separate and bounded languages. In my observation, for instance, the children shared a common goal of escaping the control and regimen of the teachers' academic discourses and transforming the classroom into a social occasion (peer-led play) through their non-verbal behavior and use of space, use of the most competent tar-

get language speaker to negotiate overtly with the teacher (in this case, Fernando), use of the teacher's weakest language to communicate covertly among themselves, and group collaboration in catching the teacher's "mistakes"or lack of knowledge of the three cultures.

Perhaps the ICS children's physical and linguistic behavior in the school environment is similar to what has been written about "third space"and "borderland"discourse. Wilson uses Soja's theory of a"third space"to describe the way prisoners and their jailors collaborate to create a new physical and discursive space that transcends the institutional parameters of the prison(2000). Gee uses the term "borderland discourse"to characterize children's creative use of language to bridge the discourses of home and school(1996). The ICS children may also be using languages to creatively create a new culture in the cracks between majority and minority cultures in Japan. And if a minority language is a resource, then three languages could be a triple resource for the children, especially when the teacher only understands one or two of them.

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Appendix: Research participants

* Nearly all of my classroom data comes from the first elementary class which started in April, 2003. It currently consists of eight students, as follows, whose ages are as of April, 2003: (all are pseudonyms)
* Fernando, six years old, born in Japan, Brazilian mother and Peruvian father of Japanese descent, started ICS at age 4, previously attended a Japanese daycare, mainly speaks Portuguese at home
* Trisha, six years old, born in Japan, American mother of European descent and Japanese father, started ICS at age 3, previously attended Japanese daycares part-time, speaks both English and Japanese at home
* Akiko, five years old, born in Japan, Japanese mother and father, started ICS at age 3, no previous schooling, speaks mainly Japanese at home, though mother can speak English and tries to expose her to as much English as possible
* Kei, six years old, born in Japan, Brazilian mother of Japanese descent, Japanese father, started ICS at age 4, no previous schooling, speaks mainly Japanese at home, father initially opposed the mother teaching him Portuguese, although since starting ICS she has begun to deliberately speak to him in Portuguese at times
* Yuki, six years old, born in Japan, Japanese mother and father, started at ICS at age 6, previously attended an English-medium preschool with an all-Japanese student body, speaks mainly Japanese at home
* Hiroshi, ten years old, Yuki's brother, born in Japan, Japanese mother and father, started ICS at age 10, previously attended the home daycare of an American army family as a preschooler and Saturday English classes at Yuki's preschool from age six to ten, speaks mainly Japanese at home
* Paolo, seven years old, born in Japan, Brazilian mother and father of Japanese descent, started ICS at age 7, previously attended a Japanese daycare and kindergarten, speaks mainly Japanese at home, though parents mainly speak Portuguese to each other
* Ken, six years old, born in Japan, Brazilian mother of Japanese and German descent, Japanese father, started ICS at age 6, previously attended a Japanese daycare, speaks only Japanese in the home, mother was until recently forbidden to expose him to Portuguese, and is in the process of beginning to resist this restriction

The teacher who cooperated with this case study of Fernando from April 2003 through July, 2003 was Vanessa, a Brazilian teacher of European descent. She was 22 years old, joined ICS in September, 2001, licensed to teach kindergarten and early elementary in Brazil, taught the class Mondays and Wednesdays, left ICS to return to Brazil to have a baby at mid-year