Language Socialisation of Young Children:
A Case of English Immersion Nursery School in Japan

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Abstract

The current study explored language socialisation experience of young children at an English immersion nursery school in Japan. The study aimed to provide detailed descriptions of language socialisation practices in an English immersion school by analysing, interpreting, and discussing naturally occurring ethnographic data. It also demonstrated and examined children's agentive participation in language socialisation to validate the working definition of child agency that the current study presented.

The research conducted the data collection at Mountain View English Nursery School, a private nursery school that offered an English immersion programme. Ethnographic methods collected observation data of naturally occurring interactions, interview data of parents and teachers, and other relevant data of the nursery school and the participants. The data analysis implemented the qualitative content analysis approach.

Language socialisation at an English immersion nursery school consisted of those of the English-speaking teachers, the Japanese-speaking teachers, and the children. The English-speaking teachers socialised children into one way of learning English, and the Japanese-speaking teachers socialised them into another way.   The conflicting ideologies and socialisation practices of the teachers created hybrid language socialisation practices that are unique to the nursery school. The children at the nursery school also socialised peers and teachers by implementing and applying their social competence and linguistic knowledge to various strategies.

The findings in the current study demonstrated the dynamic, multi-directional, and complex process of language socialisation at an English immersion nursery school, where the children are socialised to multiple ideas and practices while they also use their acquired knowledge to socialise others.

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Transcription Conventions

Adjusted from Jefferson's (2004) transcription convention.

(.)	untimed pause
[word(s)]	overlapping speech
(?)	inaudible or unintelligible utterance
?	uprising tone
(h)	laughter
((annotation))	annotation of non-verbal activity
ā, ē, ī, ō, ū	stretched vowel sounds for transcribing data in Japanese

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Author's Declaration

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, University. All sources are acknowledged as References.

Chapter One:
Introduction

> "Socialization refers to the process whereby
> the biological is transformed into a cultural being."
>
> (Bernstein, 1975, p. 332)

Bernstein's definition of socialisation captures the sociocultural aspect of socialisation. It is a process of acquiring cultural and linguistic knowledge that is necessary for individuals to become a competent and accepted member of different social groups (Lave & Wenger, 1991). Language-mediated interactions play an important role in facilitating the process of socialisation (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986a). Through language socialisation, children and other novices not only acquire a language, but they also learn how to use the language in culturally and socially appropriate ways.

The present study intends to explore language socialisation practices in an English immersion nursery school in Japan. An immersion nursery school provides a socially, educationally, and linguistically unique environment for examining how teachers and young children socialise each other into particular ideas, norms, roles, and language use through meaningful interactions. This chapter will identify the contextual and theoretical gap that the current research is set out to explore, present the research aims, and provide an organisational outline of the thesis.

1.1 Research Background

The recent development of English language education policies and curricula in Japan can be traced back to 2003 when the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (hereafter, MEXT) released its action plan for foreign language education reform in Japan (Hosoki, 2011; MEXT, 2003). Although the official title is foreign language education, it has been exclusively equalled to English language education in Japanese schools (Kobayashi, 2013; Morizumi *et al.*, 2016). The central goal of this reform is to develop Japanese students with effective communicative skills in English,

which has been one of the most criticised failures of the English language education in Japan (Hosoki, 2011; Sakui, 2004; Seargeant, 2008). One of the specific strategies in the action plan suggests that the age to start learning English should be lowered to elementary school. In 2011, foreign language activity became compulsory for fifth and sixth-grade students in Japanese elementary schools. There are further plans such as lowering the age of starting English language learning to third grade, applying an English only policy in junior and senior high school English classes, and transforming the university entrance examination system to improve the quality of English language education in Japan (see MEXT, 2013).

Juxtaposed to the ongoing debate and development of English language teaching and learning within the mainstream educational institutions, business around the English language developed to create an immense market worth of more than 800 billion Japanese yen (Yano Economic Research Centre, 2016). One particularly notable finding in this report is the growth of English preschool business by 102 percent in 2015. This growth is seen as over 500 English preschools are providing childcare services in English throughout Japan (Preschool Navi, 2018). The economic value of English business and the number of schools support a view that English preschools are playing a significant role in early English language learning in Japan.

Despite its distinct presence in the English language market in Japan, we have little knowledge of English preschools in Japan. There have been few reports based on analysis of empirical data. These studies have provided an insight into English immersion preschools in Japan, but a great need for in-depth study of this educational programme remains.

Based on the gap between the number of English preschools and the amount of knowledge of its structures, curricula, and effectiveness, it is assumed that English preschools in Japan have been more economically motivated than educationally oriented, placing their educational aspects secondary to making profits. This priority order has been unfortunate because studies on foreign language immersion programmes show their effectiveness particularly in producing competent speakers of the target language (Bostwick, 2004; Genesee, 1987, 2004; Lindholm-Leary &

Hernandez, 2011). In this light, it is suggested that more empirical studies can benefit English preschools in Japan by proving their effectiveness as an educational institution and suggesting improvements, which adds more economic values to the schools.

The current study attempts to fill the identified knowledge gap by exploring language socialisation practices in an English immersion nursery school in Japan. This research will contribute to the field by collecting and analysing ethnographic data, providing detailed descriptions of language socialisation practices, and posing in-depth interpretations and discussions.   The current study then could be a starting point to enhance English immersion experience in preschools, which may eventually contribute to the national goal of developing "Japanese with English ability" (MEXT, 2003).

1.2 Theoretical Background

The current research employs language socialisation as its theoretical approach to explore "*socialization through the use of language* and *socialization to use language*" (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986a, p. 163, emphasis original) at an English immersion nursery school in Japan. Language socialisation studies specifically investigate how certain knowledge, beliefs, and values are socialised through the use of language and how the socialised become culturally, socially, and linguistically competent in using the language. This theoretical paradigm has been applied to various cultural, social, and educational settings (Bayley & Schecter, 2003). Linguistically diverse schools and other educational institutions have been attracting language socialisation researchers. In these learning environments, multiple ideologies co-exist in complicated and often compromised manners (Duff, 1996; Falsgraf & Majors, 1995; Kanagy, 1999; Mori, 2014). These ideologies are reflected in different language-mediated practices that socialise not only students but also teachers and other stakeholders. In this view, English immersion nursery school in Japan provides a rich environment for researching unique language socialisation practices.

It is an important task for language socialisation studies to identify "who is socializing whom" (Schecter & Bayley, 2004, p. 615) in the language socialisation paradigm. The English immersion nursery school in the current study provides a different dynamic in a

way that none of the participants are full-experts of the social, educational, and linguistic aspects of the nursery school. A close examination suggests a more complicated picture that English-speaking American teachers are experts only in the linguistic aspect of teaching and facilitating daily routines in English, and similarly, the expertise of the Japanese-speaking teachers is limited to the management of a Japanese nursery school. Although children are typically the receiver of socialisation, they may play an expert role in certain conditions, for example, when interacting with some Japanese-speaking teachers whose English level is relatively lower than that of the children. The partial expertise of the teachers and the conditional expertise of the children in the English immersion nursery school influence the dynamic of language socialisation that take place in the English immersion nursery school.

The current research analyses language socialisation with two related concepts, namely language ideology and child agency. Language ideology is viewed in language socialisation studies as "belief systems shared by members of a group" (Wortham, 2001, p. 256) particularly on "meaning, function, and value" (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994, p. 70) of language (see also, Kroskrity, 2004; Riley, 2011). Language ideologies often influence particular ways of using language for socialising others (Mori, 2014). The current study aims to analyse and discuss how specific language ideologies of English-speaking and Japanese-speaking teachers inform their uses of language in socialising children in an English immersion nursery programme.

The second concept, agency, has appeared in many fields of social science with a range of definitions. The field of language socialisation commonly defines agency as "the socioculturally mediated capacity to act" (Ahearn, 2001, p. 118). This general definition needed to be justifiably modified to better fit in the current study that deals with very young children. By emphasising socioculturally mediated and transformative characteristics of agency, child agency concerning young children is defined in the current study as *the socioculturally mediated capacity to participate in the process of negotiating changes*. The theoretical construction of the working definition will be highlighted in Chapter 4. The current study uses this working definition of child agency to explore how nursery-age children achieve agency to participate in the process of socialising peers and teachers.

1.3 Research Aims and Questions

The current study is set out to achieve two main aims:

(1) To provide detailed descriptions of language socialisation practices in an English immersion nursery school by analysing, interpreting, and discussing naturally occurring ethnographic data.

(2) To validate the working definition of child agency in language socialisation by demonstrating and examining how child agency is achieved and how child agency socialises peers and teachers.

To achieve these goals, the following questions are proposed:

(1) How do language ideologies influence language socialisation practices?

(2) How does language socialisation occur in interactions?

(3) What outcomes does language socialisation achieve?

(4) How do young children achieve agentive participation in language socialisation?

1.4 Contributions of the Study

The current study contributes to a better understanding of English immersion preschool experience in Japan. First, the examination of naturally occurring interactive data provides in-depth analysis and descriptions of language socialisation practices in an educationally, socially, and linguistically unique setting of an English immersion nursery school. It is anticipated that the findings in this study will be a reference point for researchers, administrators, teachers, and other stakeholders of English immersion nursery schools in Japan to make informed decisions about school policies and curricula.

Secondly, the current study suggests, tests, and attempts to validate the working definition of child agency. The working definition provides a guiding theoretical framework for analysing, presenting, and discussing peer and teacher language socialisation by young children. At the same time, it is expected that the close examination and detailed descriptions of child participation in language socialisation add validity to the working definition. In the attempt to establish a specific definition of child agency, the current study may make a theoretical contribution for better understanding the agentive role of children in a more dynamic, bi- and multi-directional model of language socialisation (Bayley & Schecter, 2003).

1.5 Overview of the Constituent Chapters

Chapter 2: This chapter discusses the recent developments of English language education in Japan to establish the research context in which the current study is situated. The chapter includes a comprehensive overview of the English language education policies and curricula in the mainstream school system, English language services provided by companies and private institutions, and English immersion preschools in Japan. These discussions identify a gap of knowledge that the current study intends to fill.

Chapter 3: The literature review establishes the underlying theoretical perspectives for the current study. Language socialisation is viewed as dynamic, bi- and even multi-directional process in this study. The interdependent nature of language ideology and language socialisation practice is key to understand the phenomenon of socialisation especially in a linguistically diverse environment.

Chapter 4: This chapter is dedicated to define child agency and discuss its potential roles in peer and teacher language socialisation. The theoretical procedure to establish the definition of child agency includes the review of the literature, examinations of relevant concepts, and discussions of child agency in language socialisation.

Chapter 5: This chapter is the methodological chapter. The chapter provides a detailed description of the research site that contextualises the collection and analysis of data.

This chapter addresses the research paradigm, sampling procedure, participants, and the methods as well as the procedures taken during the data collection process. The discussion of the implemented analytical model covers its appropriateness in achieving the research aims. The chapter centres the methodological discussions around the unique characteristics and challenges of conducting rigorous research with young children.

Chapter 6: This chapter presents the language socialisation practices that are particular to the English-speaking teachers. The presentation of each language socialisation practice discusses underlying language ideologies, specific language use in interactions, socialising effects on children, and socialisation outcomes. Analysing and synthesising multiple data will triangulate the findings.

Chapter 7: In this chapter, language socialisation practices of the Japanese-speaking teachers as well as the hybrid language socialisation practices of the nursery school are discussed. The presentation follows the same order and procedure found in the previous chapter.

Chapter 8: This chapter shifts the perspective of socialisation and focuses on the child participation in peer and teacher socialisation through language. The working definition of child agency provides a framework for the presentation and discussion of the analysed data. Concurrently, the findings in this chapter attempt to add validity to the working definition of child agency.

Chapter 9: This concluding chapter provides a summary of significant findings of the current study. Implications, limitations, and directions for future research are addressed as a conclusion of this study.

1.6 Summary

This introductory chapter presented the research aims and justified them by identifying the knowledge gap in the research context as well as in the field of language socialisation. The following chapters are organised to accomplish the research aims,

and hopefully, to further the academic journey for a better understanding of language socialisation and English immersion preschools in Japan.

Chapter Two:
English Education in Japan

This chapter aims to situate the current study in the ongoing discussions of English language education in Japan. Although some historical studies of English language education in Japan date back over 150 years (Sasaki, 2008; Shimizu, 2010), the current study limits its scope to the more recent developments of English language education particularly influenced by the notion of "internationalisation" of Japan. This chapter provides a comprehensive overview of the English language education policies and practices since the English language education reform was announced in 2003. Key developments of the recent English language curricula in Japan are presented and discussed with the underlying social, political, economic, cultural, educational, and linguistic factors.

2.1 English Language Education in Japan

The major turning point in the recent developments of English language education in Japan was when the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) announced the action plan for its English language curriculum reform in 2003 (MEXT, 2003). The principal motivation of this educational transformation was the concept of "internationalisation" of Japan. Over fifteen years of implementing and testing new programmes for cultivating "Japanese with English abilities" (Hashimoto, 2009), the Japanese English language education model has slowly shifted from grammar-translation to a more communicative approach.

2.1.1 "Internationalisation" of Japan

The national strategy of "*kokusaika*" or "internationalisation" of Japan refers to its national vision, plans, and goals for equipping Japanese people with knowledge and skills necessary to compete in the globalised communities of politics, economy, business, education, and in other areas (Hashimoto, 2000). The main goal of this movement is to bring more foreign people, influence, ideas, culture, and language into Japan to benefit

the country. It is important here to make clear that "internationalisation" in the Japanese context is perceived fundamentally different from the idea of "globalisation" in a way that the main goal of the former is to benefit the nation while the latter seeks common benefits of nations in partnership (Kitagaki, 2015; Maringe, 2010). It is also a "form of resistance to the cultural homogenization brought about by globalization" (Hashimoto, 2009, p. 27). Hashimoto (2000) analyses that the purpose of bringing foreign-ness to Japan is to provide opportunities for Japanese people to compare "us" versus "them" and cultivate the idea of Japanese-ness in the worldwide phenomenon of globalisation. In this light, "internationalisation" of Japan is a strategy for nation-building.

The impact of "internationalisation" has influenced the Japanese educational policies and curricula. Particularly, English language education has undergone a major reform to become a key subject for successful "internationalization" of Japan (Kubota, 1998; Le Ha, 2013; Rose & McKinley, 2018; Yamada, 2015). Although the English language is positioned as one of the optional languages under foreign language education in Japan, the term foreign language (*gaikokugo*) is often used interchangeably with the English language (Butler, 2007; Horiguchi, Imoto & Poole, 2015; see also Noguchi & Fotos, 2001).

An example of the influence of "internationalisation" on the Japanese foreign language education is the inauguration of the government-funded Japan Exchange and Teaching (JET) programme (McConnell, 2010). This program has brought a substantial number of foreigners, mainly native speakers of English, to work as Assistant Language Teachers (ALT) in Japanese schools. The official website of the JET programme (The Japan Exchange and Teaching Programme, n.d.) states:

> The JET Programme was started in 1987 with the purpose of increasing mutual understanding between the people of Japan and the people of other nations. It aims to promote internationalisation in Japan's local communities by helping to improve foreign language education and developing international exchange at the community level.

The above statement explains that the main role of ALTs in Japanese schools is to promote "internationalisation" by providing intercultural experience and supporting English language education. The demand for ALTs in Japanese schools has risen in the recent years with the increased hours of learning English in elementary schools (Ng, 2016). This restructuring of the elementary school curriculum has been promoted with the MEXT's goal of cultivating "Japanese with English abilities" (MEXT, 2003). As the reformation to the Japanese foreign language education exemplifies, the concept of "internationalisation" has been playing significant roles in preparing Japanese with knowledge and skills necessary to benefit the nation and increase its power to compete in the globalised world.

2.1.2 Learning English for Entrance Examination

Sociohistorical studies of English education in Japan take a general view that the English language has been a symbol of educational, social, and economic privilege in Japanese society (Hosoki, 2011; Shimizu, 2010). The Japanese education system uses high school and university entrance examinations to select academic elites (Takeuchi, 1997). English has been one of the most prominent subjects, besides Japanese and Mathematics, in the entrance examination system (Aspinall, 2011. 2013). Upon completing the nine years of compulsory education (six years of elementary and three years of junior high school) in the Japanese education system, students must take national/prefectural examinations to pursue further education in high school and university.

English tests for entrance examinations have used the grammar-translation approach to test students' precise knowledge of the English language (Watanabe, 1996). For preparing students to pass these examinations successfully, English language teaching and learning at Japanese schools focus on memorising vocabulary, analysing grammar, and developing abilities to translate between English and Japanese accurately. The grammar-translation approach in the Japanese context has been criticised as "dehumanised" and "uncontextualised" (LoCastro, 1990). However, the notion of "internationalisation" may provide another view that the very purpose of teaching and learning English in Japan is to single out the elites with profound knowledge in the

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English language, who may have the potential to contribute to the development of the nation. In this paradigm, the grammar-translation approach in teaching, learning, and testing English is effective in achieving the goal. Hagerman (2009) further argues that the English language education in Japan has never been intended for the development of skills in English, but it has always been used for political and economic purposes.

The use of English testing for selecting elites has created a naïve but strongly held belief among Japanese that success in English language learning is prerequisite to success in a future career (Seargeant, 2008). A simple "social formula" can explain the ideology that the higher the level of the university they graduated from, the higher the chance to find employment at prominent companies that pay well. In recent years, some leading companies in Japan such as Rakuten and UNIQLO have made English an official language of communication, and this linguistic shift has made the belief of English necessity for career success more palpable. Although English skills and earnings do not show a strong statistical correlation in Terasawa's (2011) study, he makes an assumption that "an economic value of English language skills is generally accepted in Japan, or, at least, not regarded as utterly false, and this belief is probably reflected in the current English language learning boom in Japan" (p. 117-118). The potential economic value of Japanese students is tested through entrance examinations, and those "Japanese who can use English" (Hashimoto, 2009) are considered valuable in prestigious universities and later in career.

Studies conducted in the Japanese context as well as in other countries have examined the ideology of achieving career success through the acquisition of English. In the Japanese context, Kanno (2008) conducted studies in Japanese schools that offered different types of bilingual education, and she reported on how Japanese parents see the potential economic benefits of their children being bilingual in Japanese and English. Similar findings were reported in other studies (Dagenais, 2003; Norton, 2013; Norton-Pierce, 1995). The idea of achieving future success motivates Japanese students, and to a greater degree their parents, to obtain knowledge and skills of the English language necessary to secure positions in prestigious high schools, universities, and campanies. The notion of "internationalisation" of Japan has been influencing the English language education policies and curriculum, and it has justified the use of the entrance

examination system as an effective method to select elites who can add political and economic power to the nation.

2.1.3 English as a Communicative Tool

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, MEXT's action plan (2003) marked the official beginning of the transformation of the English language education in Japan. In the action plan, national strategic plans to cultivate "Japanese with English abilities" are explained. The English abilities here exclusively refer to communicative skills in English (MEXT, 2002, para. 1). This scheme can be considered a part of "internationalisation" of Japan, in a way that English as an international language for world economy and politics can enhance the Japanese competitiveness in the world (Hashimoto, 2000). One major change in the transition from grammar-translation to communicative was the lowering of age to start learning English at school. In 2011, English language learning under the title of foreign language activity became compulsory for fifth and six grade students in elementary school. Early introduction to the English language in elementary school aims to develop communicative skills (Hashimoto, 2011). Other new policies and programmes such as the English only policy in English classes (Hashimoto, 2013) and placement of ALTs (McConnell, 2010) have promoted the development of communicative skills in English among Japanese students.

The communicative approach to English language education has not, however, totally replaced the traditional approach of grammar-translation. Japanese schools have been facing a challenge of dealing with both preparing students for the entrance examination and developing communicative abilities.

2.1.4 Paradox: Ideal and Reality

Despite all the new policies and programmes for promoting communicative skills, the English language education in Japan has not enjoyed much success particularly in developing the skills necessary to communicate in English (Reesor, 2003). Researchers critique the discrepancy between the ideological goals and actual classroom teachings as a major factor to the Japanese students' poor levels of communicative skills in English

(Aspinall, 2006; Hagerman, 2009; Hosoki, 2011; Seargeant, 2009). The problem here is that the communicative emphasis in teaching English has not been sufficiently reflected in the entrance examination system, thus creating a contradicting situation that Japanese students are required to develop communicative skills in English while the entrance examinations mostly test on students' syntax and lexical knowledge. Hashimoto (2013) points out that "If the new teaching method is not reflected in the external tests . . . there seems to be an inconsistency between teaching method, classroom activities and assessment, which ultimately calls into question the validity of the new teaching method" (p. 26). The reform of the English language education in Japan is hindered by its entrance examination system (Hatori, 2005; Rivers 2010a, 2010b; Seargent, 2008; Tukahara, 2002).

There is a notable gap between the goals of MEXT and the actual teaching and learning in classrooms. Despite the ambitious English education reform since 2003, Japanese schools teach English to prepare students for passing the entrance examinations. Studying English for tests has left little place for teaching and learning communicative skills in the Japanese mainstream schools (Hosoki, 2011; Sakui, 2004; Watanabe, 1996).

2.1.5 English Language Learning in the Private Sector

Reacting to the failure of the Japanese schools in developing communicative skills in English, Japanese students and their parents look for other sources of learning English in the private sector. In 2016, an economic research company released a report that the English language market in Japan generated more than 830 billion Japanese yen during the fiscal year 2015 (Yano Economic Research Centre, 2016). Private companies and institutions offer a range of curriculums and services for learning English. The report specifically highlights the rapid increase of English language learning services for young children in the forms of foreign language clubs, English preschools, and English conversation schools.

The growing market of English language learning for young children may be accelerated by the ideology of "internationalisation" of Japan. For instance, private companies and institutions use the assumed educational and economic values of English for marketing

purposes. In Japanese society, the ideology "internationalisation" of Japan has idealised native-like English as a characteristic of successful English language acquisition (Houghton & Rivers, 2013). The Japanese market of English language education has been successful in promoting some beliefs about English language learning such as the naturalist's critical period hypothesis (Lenneberg, 1967), that suggests native-like English abilities including pronunciation can only be acquired in the first few years of life (Flege, Yeni-Komshian & Liu, 1999; Marinova-Todd, Marshall & Snow, 2000; Patkowski, 1990). Hashimoto (2011) analyses that "Japanese parents' enthusiastic support for their children having early contact with English is based on their belief that obtaining high marks in English subjects will provide their children with an academic advantage, and therefore an advantage in employment" (p. 172). A range of English language programmes outside school has evolved and expanded to satisfy the demands of Japanese parents and to alleviate the worries about their children's future success.

2.2 English Immersion Nursery Schools in Japan

One of the fastest growing early English language programmes in Japan is English immersion preschool. Hall, Smith, and Wicaksono (2011) describe immersion as "programmes designed to teach content in the target language, but in a way that does not (intentionally) harm the learner's L1 [first language]" (p. 184). Since its introduction to Japan in the early 1990s, some Japanese schools have implemented and tested English immersion programmes of various types. It has been found helpful for developing native-like English proficiency in students while maintaining their academic success in the Japanese educational curricula (Bostwick, 1998, 2001). In this view, English immersion programmes in Japan seem to satisfy the ideologies and demands of successful English language acquisition. Although the pioneering English immersion programmes started at the elementary and secondary levels, it has become far more popular at the preschool level in the recent years. The following sections will present the development of English immersion programmes in Japan, examine particular features of English immersion nursery schools, and discuss the need for empirical studies.

2.2.1 Foreign Language Immersion Education

Foreign language immersion education began in Canada in the 1960s, and there have been numerous studies to support its effectiveness in cultivating bilingualism in Canada (Genesee, 1988; Lambert & Tucker, 1972; Swain & Lapkin, 2005), the United States (Christian, 1996; Christian, Howard & Loeb, 2000; Genesee, 1985), and in many other countries (Kanno, 2008; Poole & Takahashi, 2015; Starr, 2017, see also Johnson & Swain, 1997). Immersion education is defined as a foreign language teaching method where fifty percent or more of the school curriculum is conducted in the target language (Bostwick, 2001; Johnson & Swain, 1997). The amount of natural exposure to the target language, determined by educational goals, ideologies, and social demands, categorise immersion programmes into partial immersion and total immersion. In immersion education, the target language is not the subject to be learned, but it is the very medium for learning. It is content-based foreign language learning (Bostwick, 1998), whose aim is to teach the local academic curriculum through the medium of a foreign language (Swain & Johnson, 1997). This approach to teaching a foreign language allows learners to have more opportunities to acquire or "pick up the language by the way" (Bostwick, 1998, p. 8) rather than learning the language in a "let's pretend" (p. 8) environment.

Concerning its effects on teaching communicative skills in foreign languages, Krashen (1989) writes about immersion education as "not simply another successful language teaching program – it may be the most successful language teaching program ever recorded in the professional literature" (p. 57). Although this statement may be over simplistic, immersion education programs in various countries have proven its effectiveness in developing communicative competence in the target language.

2.2.2 English Immersion Programmes in Japan

Immersion education, more particularly English immersion education, arrived in Japan in the early 1990s. The first school to implement this approach was Katoh Gakuen located in Numazu, Shizuoka. A report from R. Michael Bostwick, one of the committee members at the establishment of the programme and now the Bilingual & Immersion

Programs Executive Director of Katoh Gakuen, explains the motivation behind this innovative restructuring of their English education programme. He writes:

> Dr. Katoh Masahide, president of Katoh Gakuen, was frustrated with the foreign language proficiency of the Katoh high school graduates after six to twelve years of foreign language instruction and was eager to improve the level of English proficiency in his students. In the spring of 1991, he created a committee to explore alternative forms of English education and to consider the possibility of establishing a bilingual secondary programme for the school
>
> (Bostwick, 2001, p. 277)

Dr. Katoh's frustration was concerning the poor results of Japan's foreign language education particularly in developing communicative skills. Thus Japan's first immersion programme was started as a response to the failure in cultivating "Japanese with English abilities" (MEXT, 2003).

Since its first establishment at Katoh Gakuen, English immersion has established its presence in Japanese society slowly but steadily. At present, the majority of functioning immersion programmes are found in private schools with a few exceptions of public elementary schools providing foreign language immersion programmes (Imamura, 2008; Kanno, 2008). One explanation for this phenomenon is the non-government-funded status of private schools. The financial independence allows these private schools to enjoy more freedom in selecting and implementing unique pedagogical policies and curriculums. Independent management and implementations of policies and curriculums, however, do not exclude private schools from following the national curriculum provided by MEXT. In fact, they must follow the national curriculum to prepare their students for the standardised entrance examinations for high school and university admissions. What separates private schools from public schools regarding the curriculum is the financial means to implement distinct and highly recognised programmes for delivering the national curriculum. Some Japanese private schools have found English immersion an effective and attractive option for teaching the English language curriculum.

Some studies have identified social issues concerning English immersion in Japan. First, English immersion programmes are available only to a select few. Usually private schools set their tuition fees significantly higher than the general government subsidised tuition fees at public schools. This high tuition makes their programmes more accessible to those families of high socioeconomic status (see the case with Hal International School in Kanno, 2008). According to Romaine (1999), English immersion nursery programmes in Japan are "elite bilingualism" in children, that is, according to Hall, Smith, and Wicaksono (2011), "commonly sought out by families who recognise the prestige of knowing multiple languages and who are able and willing to devote considerable financial and personal resources to raising bilingual or multilingual children" (p. 189). Secondly, English immersion programmes may create social, economic, and educational disparities in Japan. There is a strong correlation between Japanese parents' educational and socioeconomic backgrounds and their children's academic performances (Ishida, 1993, Terasawa, 2015). In this light, it is not difficult to imagine those children from families of a high socioeconomic background have more chances to be enrolled in one of the English immersion programmes in Japan. This situation creates "unequal access to bilingualism" (Kanno, 2008) and enlarges "English divide" (Terasawa, 2012), an idea that English language learning constructs social and economic discrepancies in Japan.

2.2.3 English Immersion in Nursery Schools

English immersion has been particularly popular in preschools in the recent years. According to Suzuki (2013), the number of English immersion preschools increased from less than twenty in 2002 to more than 350 in 2012. A web-based search engine for English preschools lists 508 schools on its database (Preschool Navi, accessed on January 17, 2018). The actual number of English preschools in Japan is likely larger, deducted from the fact that the English immersion nursery school for the current study and its sister school are not on the list of this search engine.

Prior to discussing English immersion programmes at the preschool level in depth, it is necessary to define some of the key terms. The term preschool is used in Japan as an umbrella term for both *yochien* (kindergarten) and *hoikuen* (nursery school). The most

fundamental difference between the two types of Japanese preschools is their supervising authorities: kindergarten is a state undertaking of the Ministry of Education while nursery school is under the supervision of the Ministry of Health, Labour, and Welfare. The former is viewed as an educational institution, and the latter as a social welfare service to provide childcare to working parents. Despite the difference, however, the style and quality of learning experience in both kindergarten and nursery school are similar (Peak, 1992). There is a third type of preschool, *nintei kodomoen* (Centre for Early Childhood Education and Care), introduced in 2006 to better cater to the needs of working parents (Imoto, 2007). The research site for the current study falls under the category of nursery school, and thus it is helpful here to further discuss nursery schools in Japan.

Japanese nursery schools are divided into licensed and non-licensed. Licensed nursery schools are generally public nursery schools funded by the state, prefecture, or city/town. Non-licensed nursery schools are mostly privately owned nursery schools. However, private nursery schools can become licensed upon meeting the set requirements. Public nursery schools are required to observe the strict guidelines and regulations set by the governing authorities to qualify for the funding. On the contrary, private non-licensed nursery schools are funded, organised, and managed by individuals and companies (Imoto, 2007). At present, English immersion programmes are mainly found in private non-licensed nursery schools in Japan. There are a few significant aspects of private nursery school that make it an ideal environment to implement and offer English immersion programmes.

First, Japanese private nursery schools are not state-funded and therefore less bound by the rules and regulations of the governing organisations. This independent status allows private nursery schools to implement unique programmes for both childcare and education. Providing childcare services without state funds means that non-licensed nursery schools must be profit driven to a certain extent to run the schools. Many private nursery schools in Japan find English immersion a selling service. Thanks to their non-licensed status, private nursery schools have the choice and power to implement immersion programmes.

Second, English immersion at the nursery school level encounters fewer worries of the assumed negative effects, particularly the assumed inhibiting impact of English immersion on academic development and success. At Katoh Gakuen, Bostwick (2001) reports that some parents of Katoh Gakuen students made a conscious decision not to enrol their children in the immersion programme. They were concerned that learning a foreign language from an early age could interfere with their children's first language development. Furthermore, they worried that learning in a foreign language could put constraints on their children's academic performances in Japanese. Bostwick's (2001, 2004) studies at Katoh Gakuen and other studies (Genesee & Lambert, 1983; Stewart, 2005; Thomas, Collier, & Abbot, 1993) have shown that these negative effects are only assumed, and students in immersion programmes indeed outperformed their non-immersion peers on academic tasks. This kind of parental concerns on assumed negative effects of immersion programme is somewhat reduced in nursery schools due to their non-academic status (DeCoker, 1989). Moreover, English immersion programmes make nursery school more academic than other ordinary nursery schools. The academic aspect of English immersion nursery schools attracts parents who seek early academic experience for their children to have a head start.

Third, English immersion at the nursery school level provides an environment in which children learn English in a more natural and contextualised way. It is suggested that content-based instructions and activities are much more easily implemented in early education because the school curriculum does not heavily rely on abstract language and literacy skills (Met, 2004). Nursery school activities such as free play, crafts, and songs can provide opportunities for children to have enjoyable interactions with teachers and peers in English. These activities are meaningful to children in a way that they develop social skills and cultivate group identities and skills (Imoto, 2007). These conditions make English immersion nursery schools an ideal environment for natural and contextualised English language learning to occur.

Finally, early exposure to English through immersion in nursery schools supports the commonly held belief that native-like proficiency in English is only attainable by the Japanese at an early age (Terasawa, 2015). Children usually spend seven to eight hours a day for at least five days a week in nursery school. The long hours children spend in

nursery school make their immersion experience intensive in quality and extensive in quantity. There are a number of studies supporting the effectiveness of early second language acquisition (Clark, 2000; Johnson & Newport, 1989; Nikolov & Mihaljević Djigunović, 2006; see also Nikolov & Curtain, 2000; Paradis, Genesee, & Crago, 2011). Particularly, native-like pronunciation appears to be significantly correlated with early exposure to the target language (Mayo, Florentine, & Buus, 1997; Tseng, 2014). English immersion nursery schools are ideal for early and extensive exposure to English so that children may obtain more native-like pronunciation and command in using English.

English immersion programmes are best implemented in private non-licensed nursery schools for four major reasons; private nursery schools can enjoy more freedom in curriculum selection, reduce the level of academic pressure, provide a natural and contextualised learning environment, and offer opportunities for early and extensive exposure to English. These rationales have enhanced the fast-growing number of English immersion nursery schools throughout Japan.

2.2.4 Lack of Empirical Studies

In spite of the growing number and popularity of English immersion nursery schools in Japan, there is little knowledge provided through empirical studies on this topic. The literature review conducted for the current study identified three relevant studies on English immersions at the preschool level in the Japanese context (Igarashi & Amakasu, 2014; Imoto, 2011; Suzuki, 2013). This number is considerably small in the presence of over 500 English immersion preschools in Japan. There is a lack of empirical data to understand types of immersion programmes, teacher and child experiences in daily activities, and children's social and linguistic developments, to list a few. Further studies will provide more data to support the effectiveness of English immersion nursery schools and identify challenges empirically. These findings can inform policymaking, curriculum development, and critical evaluation of English immersion programmes in Japanese nursery schools. In this light, the current research contributes by providing empirical data, critical analysis, and detailed descriptions of language socialisation activities in one English immersion nursery school.

2.3 The Most Recent Developments in English Education in Japan

At the time of conducting a literature review and collecting data for the current study, the English reform led by MEXT was yet in its preparation phase. While writing and editing this thesis in early 2018, however, a new curriculum for English language education in Japan was about to start in the coming school year. This recent development is worth mentioning in a small space to update the discussion provided above.

One of the significant changes in this new curriculum is that English will become an official subject for fifth and sixth graders in elementary school. English language learning has been compulsory as a foreign language activity since 2011 for fifth and six graders. The "upgraded" English as an academic subject requires elementary schools to administer tests and grade fifth- and sixth-grade students' performances in English. In connection with this change to fifth- and sixth-grade curricula, the compulsory foreign language activity will be lowered to third- and fourth-grades. This new curriculum will start in some selected elementary schools in April 2018, and the transition will complete in 2020, with an outspoken rationale to increase the level of English among Japanese by the 2020 Olympics in Tokyo (Roux, 2016).

The new curriculum increased the emphasis on both oral and written communication in English. The government's course guideline for foreign language education in elementary school states its overall objective as:

> To form the foundation of pupils' communication abilities through foreign languages while developing the understanding of languages and cultures through various experiences, fostering a positive attitude toward communication, and familiarizing pupils with the sounds and basic expressions of foreign languages.

(MEXT, 2010, p. 1)

These goals are fully reflected in the new curriculum. The implementation of the new curriculum may suggest that the shift from grammar-translation to communicative approach initiated in 2003 has come to its final phase.

At the current point, it is not certain whether or not and how much influence this change will have on English immersion programmes particularly in nursery schools. The lowering of age to start learning English in elementary school may generate increased necessity and demand for early English immersion programmes. On the other hand, it is a possibility that these changes in English language education may not impact the current situation of English immersion nursery schools. It takes a few years to ascertain the impact of English language education reform; however, the general sense is that the former will be more likely to happen (Nihon Keizai Shinbun, 2017, December 4).

2.4 Summary

This chapter reviewed the relevant literature to establish the contextual background for the current research. The ideology of "internationalisation" has been playing a crucial role in forming policies, curricula, and assessments of English language education in Japan. English language education is perceived as a tool for achieving academic and career success in the national "internationalisation" scheme. The traditional grammar-translation approach to English language teaching, learning, and testing has been criticised for its inability to produce Japanese students with communicative skills in English. To improve the level of Japanese students' abilities to use English, and thus raising the national power and competitiveness in the globalised world, new policies and programmes have been implemented to cultivate "Japanese with English abilities" (MEXT, 2003).

English language education has become a large market in Japan. Private companies and institutions offer a range of English language related services to fill the gap between the national goal of promoting communicative skills in English and the actual teaching and learning in classrooms. English immersion has become an attractive alternative to the failing grammar-translation style of teaching and learning English. English immersion

has become particularly popular in Japanese preschools. Despite the increasing number and popularity of English immersion preschools in Japan, there are only a few academic studies conducted on this topic in the Japanese context. The current research aims to add empirical data to better understand the English immersion experience of teachers and children in an English immersion nursery school.

The contextual discussion in this chapter has provided a better understanding of the research context, which is crucial for conducting informed analysis and interpretation of data. The next chapter is set out to provide an in-depth discussion of language socialisation as a theoretical framework for the current study.

Chapter Three:
Language Socialisation

This chapter presents and discusses language socialisation as a theoretical orientation that underpins the current research. The chapter is divided into two main parts. In the first, a comprehensive overview of the notable and relevant developments in the field of language socialisation is provided. The second part examines language socialisation in relation with language ideologies. The discussions in this chapter establish a theoretical framework specifically useful and relevant for the current study in exploring language socialisation practices in an English immersion nursery school in Japan.

Throughout the discussions in this chapter, the term language ideology refers to commonly held beliefs about language, English in the current study, and its acquisition informed by the speakers' wider social and cultural systems (Schieffelin, Woolard, & Kroskrity, 1998). When other specific ideologies need to appear in the discussion, they will be specified as a political ideology, an economic ideology, and such.

3.1 Language Socialisation

Developed as a prominent and recognised subfield of linguistic anthropology, language socialisation concerns how children and other novices such as learners and apprentices of any kind acquire not only languages but also their appropriate uses in social communities (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986b). This paradigm of linguistic development interlinks linguistic and social developments (Moore, 2008; Ochs & Schieffelin, 2011). This means, as Garret and Baquedano-López (2002) explains, "language socialization research is concerned with all of the knowledge and practices that one needs in order to function as- and, crucially, to be regarded by others as- a competent member of (or participant in) a particular community or communities" (p. 345). Strongly rooted in the anthropology of communication, language socialisation studies look for particular ways by which children and novices are socialised to use language as well as socialised through the use of language (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986a).

Building on the sociocultural perspective (e.g., Vygotsky, 2012), language socialisation studies view development and socialisation of children and other novices as mediated through the use of language in interactions with more knowledgeable and competent members of particular "communities of practice" (Lave & Wenger, 1991). This view of language learning suggests that socialisation through language begins at birth when a child is held and talked to by their mother (Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984). The child is socialised in meaningful interactions with close family members such as parents and siblings, and they learn the language and its use necessary to become a prominent member of the family. As the child grows older, the fields of interactions expand. The child begins to interact with other significant social actors such as teachers and peers in school and neighbours, doctors, and other officers in the wider community. These interactions further socialise the child into multiple memberships in different social and cultural groups. In these "communities of practice" (Lave & Wenger, 1991), the child learns not only the language of the communities but also the contextually appropriate use of the language.

Language socialisation is viewed as a contextually situated and specific social phenomenon (Cho, 2016; García-Sánchez, 2010; Henderson, 1970; Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984). Stakeholders in each language socialisation situation utilise a different set of language for socialising purposes. Each form and effect of language socialisation is informed by worldviews and reality of individuals in particular social groups (Wenger, 2000, 2010). One of the first published studies of language socialisation by Ochs and Schieffelin (1984) makes comparisons of how mothers in three groups, namely Anglo-American white middle class, Kaluli of Papua New Guinea, and Samoan, interacted with their children to socialise them. The study highlights the significant difference between the child-centred approach of Anglo-American white middle class and the situation-centred approach of Kaluli and Samoan families in mother-child interactions. Based on this finding, the authors conclude that "Caregivers' speech behaviour expresses and reflects the values and beliefs held by members of a social group. In this sense, caregivers' speech is part of a larger set of behaviours that are culturally organized" (p. 503). Studies of language socialisation in the Japanese context provide detailed accounts of language socialisation for teaching the cultural values and practices at home (Clancy, 1986) and school (Cook, 1999, 2006; see also Rounds, Falsgraf, & Seya, 1997).

Each language socialisation study explores culturally and socially unique ways of socialising children. These language socialisation practices, meaning specific forms and use of language for socialising others, must be understood within and in relation to the contexts in which they are used.

The field of language socialisation has developed a useful paradigm for understanding linguistic and social developments of children. This conceptual framework, however, faces its challenges. It is helpful to discuss the two major critiques: its limited scope in time and space and its inability to generalise.

The first critique is the limitation of language socialisation studies in capturing only what is happening at or during the time of the study (Wortham, 2005). Ochs (2000) leaves a caution that presentations of language socialisation may imprint an idea that language socialisation practices are fixed in time and space. Many language socialisation researchers now support the idea that language socialisation is fluid and constantly changing over generations, within a lifespan, and even over simple social events (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986a). For instance, some studies on immigrant families' language policy and socialisation (Fogle, 2012; King, Fogle, & Logan-Terry, 2008; see also Spolsky, 2012) show that language ideology, attitude, and daily use change over generations (Luykx, 2003) and over child and adolescent developments (He, 2013). It is thus important to be aware that language socialisation is not an end product, and studies of language socialisation are limited to only capture groups and their specific language use in studied timed and space.

Another challenge of language socialisation is on the generalisability of its findings. Language socialisation studies that employ anthropological ethnography are no exception to the general critique on ethnography and its limited ability to generalise findings (Ochs, 2000). Moreover, as discussed above, language socialisation processes and practices are contextually specific. The current study takes this approach to explore specific linguistic use for socialising children in a unique setting of an English immersion nursery school in Japan. These limitations, however, should not limit the scope on its potential generalisability. Duff (2006), for example, from her language socialisation research in dual-language environments in Hungary and Canada,

advocates that findings from language socialisation case studies can be generalised not to the mass population but to theoretical models. This approach to generalisation suggests that the findings presented and discussed in the current study may be generalised to other studies conducted in English immersion nursery schools in Japan. The findings may contribute to the knowledge in early English immersion programmes in Japan and construct theoretical models of language socialisation applicable to the context. In this light, the discussions in this study connect the specific (research context, language socialisation practices, analysis, and interpretation) to the wider body of literature while its "situational scope" (Ochs, 2000) remains in understanding the unique process of language socialisation in the research context.

3.2 Dynamic Model of Language Socialisation

Language socialisation was traditionally viewed as a dyadic and unidirectional process. This view is characterised by the detailed accounts of how mothers interact and socialise their children into specific cultural beliefs, norms, values, and appropriate use of language (Clancy, 1986, 1999; Duranti, 1981; Ochs, 1988; Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984; Schieffelin, 1990). In these early studies, it is clear who socialises whom, that is mothers socialising their children (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986a). This paradigm positions the mothers on the socialising end of the process, and the children on the other end receive the socialisation effects. The same dyadic model of language socialisation is reported in educational contexts in the form of a teacher-student relationship (Cook, 1999; Falsgraf & Majors, 1995; Kanagy, 1999; Willett, 1995). These models of mother-child and teacher-student socialisation conceive the process as unidirectional, from the more culturally, socially, and linguistically competent to the less competent (Schecter & Baylery, 2004).

Some researchers of language socialisation point out that socialisation has never been viewed as a one-way approach (Garrett, 2004). Ochs (2000), in her short review of language socialisation, concludes that "Socialization is ultimately a two-way street, in that more or less experienced members learn from each other by creatively deploying linguistic resources to navigate and construct the human condition" (p. 232). Fujita's (1989) analysis of how young Japanese children socialise their mothers into becoming

"good mothers" in Japanese society supports the bidirectional nature of language socialisation. Schieffelin and Ochs (1986a) also argue from the theoretical point of view that the interactive character of language socialisation position children as "an active contributor to the meaning and outcome of interactions with others" (p. 165). They further explain that children selectively and actively participate in the process of negotiating social activities and worlds. Although these researchers were critically aware of the limited view of language socialisation as a unidirectional process, it was not until later when more dynamic and bi- and multi-directional models of language socialisation received the specific attention of researchers.

Bayley and Schecter (2003) in their edited book advocate the potential role of children and novices in language socialisation, particularly in bilingual and multilingual communities. They suggest,

> socialization by and through language is not simply a process in which experts in a particular community pass on ways of understanding and acting in the world to novices. Rather, even young novices . . . differ in what they draw from socialisation activities. Indeed, the role of the novice is particularly important in the kinds of bilingual and multilingual contexts. (p. 6).

He (2003) presents how students in Chinese heritage classrooms participate in the class activities and react differently to socialisation by the teachers. Also responding to the call for a more dynamic model of language socialisation (Bayley & Schecter, 2003), Talmy (2008) examines teacher-student interactions in high school ESL classes, and he demonstrates how the students negotiate their student identity and conduct that are opposing to the teacher's socialisation attempts to make them "good students" in the classes. These and other language socialisation studies (Emura, 2006; Fogle, 2012; Goodwin & Kyratzis, 2007; Kim & Duff, 2012; Luykx, 2005) support the more dynamic model of language socialisation.

3.3. Academic and L2 Socialisation through Language

The notion and paradigm of language socialisation developed in Linguistic Anthropology have been found useful in other fields such as second language acquisition, and bilingual and multilingual education. In these educational fields, Language socialisation renders a sociocultural view for understanding and explaining learners' experience in a range of language-related learning settings. Responding to these expansions of the field of language socialisation, other relevant terms such as academic socialisation through language (Duff, 2010; Gallagher, 2016), second language socialisation (Duff, 2007, 2012; Norton, 2013), bi- and multi-lingual language socialisation (Bayley & Schecter, 2003) and intercultural language socialisation (Shi, 2007, 2010) emerged. It is particularly beneficial to review the literature of academic language socialisation and second language (L2) socialisation.

3.3.1 Academic Socialisation

The language socialisation paradigm and theory have contributed significantly to the field of education (Figueroa & Baquedano-López, 2017). Academic language socialisation (Duff, 2010), socialisation through language in schools, explores how new students and other novices are socialised through contextually determined linguistic practices to specific linguistic register and use necessary to become accepted members of academic groups. In addition to the general academic socialisation studies examining classroom management and activities (e.g., Behar-Horenstein *et al.*, 2016; Casanave, 1998; Toohey, 1998, 2000), the paradigm of language socialisation renders more specific attention to linguistic activities and interactions through which learners are socialised (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986a). Two studies (Cook, 1999; Kanagy, 1999) among many others (Cho 2016; Duff, 2010; Gallagher, 2016; Garcia-Sanchez, 2010; Harklau, 2003; He, 2003; Kim & Duff, 2012; Mecham, 2004; Moore, 2008; Rounds, Falsgraf, & Seya, 1997; Talmy, 2008; Willett, 1995) are particularly relevant for the current study in terms of their research contexts and participant age groups.

Cook's (1999) study highlights how Japanese elementary school students acquire attentive listening as part of becoming a full and competent participant in classroom

interactions. Communication in Japanese tends to rely on the listener to understand unclear and unsaid statements (Clancy, 1986). This practice is also essential for successful learning in Japanese classrooms (Miyazaki, 2010). Cook's (1999) study explains that listening to not only teachers but also peers is crucial in Japanese classrooms since learning happens through actively listening and relating to peers' opinions. By implementing Anderson's (1995) I-P-Rx-E (Initiation-Presentation-Reaction-Evaluation) recitation sequence as a specific Japanese teacher-student interaction model, the interactive data in this study present how the teachers initiate interactions, encourage exchanges of comments and opinions among peers, and provide an evaluation to the students' collective work. To fully socialise students into this model of learning facilitated significantly through attentive listening, the teachers in the study use both direct and indirect strategies to encourage students to listen to each other. The teachers in Japanese classrooms function as a facilitator of multi-party interactions as compared to the more American way of interacting as a partner in teacher-student dyadic interactions (Clancy, 1986; Sinclair, 1975). This study is particularly relevant to the current study in terms of demonstrating the context specific nature of academic language socialisation in Japanese elementary school classrooms.

Kanagy's (1999) study is one of a few language socialisation studies carried out in a Japanese immersion programme in the States (see also Falsgraf & Majors, 1995; Rounds, Faslgraf, & Seya, 1997). The study analyse three specific linguistic routine activities in socialising American children to the Japanese language and its appropriate use in the classroom. The findings show that the America children in the study learn not only the Japanese language but also the educational and societal norms of Japan. One of the major contributions of this study, at least in relevance to the present study, is its framework for exploring academic language socialisation in and through L2. Furthermore, the Japanese immersion classroom in America provides a unique environment for language learning and socialisation, where the target L2, Japanese in this study, appears to have little to no relevance, value, and use outside the classroom (see Caldas & Caron-Caldas, 2000). The current study took place in another immersion programme with English as its target language in the Japanese context, where English is highly recognised, but its use is limited.

3.3.2 L2 Socialisation

Second language socialisation is defined by Duff (2011) as "socialization beyond one's first, or dominant, language . . . [that] encompasses second, foreign, and (concurrent) bilingual and multilingual learning contexts" (p. 565). L2 socialisation studies have taken place in a range of learning settings, namely, but not limited to, immigrants learning the language of the host country (Norton, 2013; Luykx, 2005; Poole, 1992; Willett, 1995), immigrant children and descendants learning their heritage language (Garcia-Sanchez, 2010; He, 2003), students in study abroad programmes (Morita, 2004, 2009), and in L2 immersion programmes (Duff, 1995, 1996; Falsgraf & Majors, 1995; Kanagy, 1999; Rounds, Falsgraf, & Seya, 1997).

One of the key aspects that differentiate L2 socialisation from L1 socialisation is the "manifold complexities of children or adults with already developed repertoires of linguistic, discursive, and cultural practices as they encounter new ones" (Duff & Talmy, 2011, p. 97). L2 socialisation typically occurs in social environments organised by another language, and the co-existing languages along with their competing political values (Garcia-Sanchez, 2010; Moore, 1999), academic ideologies (Cho, 2016; Mecham, 2004), and social relevance (Luykx, 2003) make the learning settings complex and unique. For example, in the case of Kanagy's (1999) language socialisation study mentioned above, the teachers in the Japanese immersion programme socialise American children into Japanese educational and social norms. At the same time, although it is not directly mentioned, it can be assumed that the American children outside the classroom are socialised into American cultural and societal norms, beliefs, and values through the medium of English that is their first and socially dominant language. Likewise, each L2 socialisation study takes place in uniquely complex learning environments; wherefore, both L1 and L2 influences on L2 socialisation must be taken into account (Duff, 2007).

In the view that L2 socialisation is contingent and complex (Duff & Talmy, 2011), most of the L2 socialisation studies take an approach that both process and effect of L2 socialisation are fluid and constantly changing (Duff, 2011). L2 socialisation does not occur in an isolated manner, but it typically happens simultaneously with L1

socialisation processes that are in and around the L2 learning environment. In many cases, L1 and L2 socialise learners differently, and the differences are often conflicting more than complementing (Mori, 2014). Duff (2011) provides an insightful observation of English immersion classrooms in Hungary; she notes "the L1 and L2 socialization [that] students may simultaneously experience can pull them in different philosophical and discursive directions and position them differently . . . providing them . . . new norms of cultural knowledge" (p. 571). In such complex settings, L2 learners may negotiate what to accept, neglect, and reject (He, 2003; Talmy, 2008). These negotiations often end in constructing alternative modes of interactions through which new values, norms, identities, and language use emerge. Guardado (2009) reports that parents who serve as leaders of Spanish-speaking children in a Scouts group insist on the use of Spanish in activities for Hispanic identity and community building purposes, but they proceed with the use of English for certain speech activities such as reciting the Scout's pledge. These ideologically informed language choices are end products of negotiations between L1 and L2 ideologies. These "hybrid practices" (Duff & Talmy, 2007) play a key role in analysing and interpreting L2 socialisation in studies such as the present study.

3.4 Language Ideology and Socialisation in Learning Contexts

The connection between language ideology and socialisation has been one of the primary interests of language socialisation researchers (Garrett & Baquedano-Lopez, 2002) particularly in schools (Howard, 2017). The term language ideology in language socialisation refers to political, economic, cultural, social, education, and linguistic belief about language use, value, status, and acquisition of language (Kroskrity, 2004; Riley, 2011). It is widely understood within the field of language socialisation that "language ideologies influence the sociocultural contexts that shape language socialisation, and language ideologies are also among the many cultural values socialised through language use (Riley, 2011, p. 493; see also Demaine, 2003). Language ideologies vary based on national, societal, communal, and even individual history, experience, and activities in different spheres of social life, class, gender, age, and other aspects of life. These ideologies inform how language can (cannot) and should (should not) be used in specific social contexts. Language ideology, in this sense, is one of the determiners of

contextually unique nature of language socialisation processes and practices. Therefore, understanding the connections between language ideologies and socialisation is crucial for language socialisation studies.

The following sections will discuss language ideologies of institutions, teachers, parents, and learners in a range of learning settings. The discussions will highlight the interconnections between language ideologies and language socialisation practices. The review of relevant studies will establish a theoretical framework for the current study to explore language ideologies and socialisation specific to the research context.

3.4.1 Language Ideologies of Educational Institutions and Teachers

Ideologies of educational institutions determine the characteristics of schools in terms of their missions, policies, curriculums, and activities (Mehan, 2004; Mori, 2014; Warriner, 2016). Regarding Japan's English language education, the ideology of "internationalisation" has informed MEXT in their policy and curriculum making as discussed in chapter two. At the local level, each board of education and school adapts the national guidelines in accordance with the local language ideologies (e.g., emphasis on English language education differs by each board of education). Additionally, individual teachers have their own sets of language ideologies that have been developed through past experiences of learning in schools, training as a prospective teacher, and teaching and developing as an in-service teacher. The hierarchy of ideologies in educational institutions forms ideologically dynamic environments in which socialisation of language ideologies occur.

At the theoretical level, it is legitimate to discuss the co-existence of institutional and individual teacher ideologies in a hierarchical order, but in practice, it is far more complicated to separate and distinguish the two strictly. Similarly, it is a difficult task for language socialisation studies to separate institutional ideologies from teacher ideologies and vice versa. In addition, language ideologies at the national, cultural, and societal levels are well embedded in both institutions and teachers language ideologies. Considering these dynamic interconnections of ideologies, the following sections as well as the presentation and discussion of findings in this thesis will mainly focus on

teachers' ideologies, based on a generalised assumption that they reflect both national and institutional ideologies.

Observing the cultural norm of politeness in Japan, Burdelski (2010, 2011) examined how teachers socialise politeness into children through language-mediated interactions in a Japanese preschool. Politeness is a crucial quality for Japanese people, and it is encoded in daily linguistic use such as honorific (Burdelski, 2011, Cook, 2006). Politeness is also incorporated in the Japanese educational system. In particular, Japanese preschools play a role in socialising children into politeness routines and cultivating positive relationships among and empathy within Japanese young children (Burdelski, 2010). To achieve these goals, Burdelski (2010) reveals that teachers at a Japanese preschool use explicit promptings to socialise children into politeness in the forms of other-oriented behaviours such as greeting, sharing, and apologising. He further reports that when Japanese children develop competence in the politeness routines, they begin to socialise classmates and younger schoolmates, thus playing an agentive role in peer socialisation. At this preschool, the culturally valued notion of politeness appears to inform the teachers' socialisation practices in interactions with children. Through the use of direct promptings for politeness, teachers socialise children to become competent participants in Japanese preschool life (Peak, 1991).

Also in the Japanese educational context, Mecham (2004) analyses how different language ideologies in two high schools construct distinctive pedagogical practices in English classrooms. The different language ideologies of English language teaching and learning are reinforced through the use of both Japanese and English in the classrooms. The first school is a technical high school for developing professionals in various industries, and the teachers and the students hold a general view of English as something contending and struggling. The study observes that one teacher of English oral communication in this high school uses an "empathetic participation framework" in which the teacher constantly makes empathetic comments that result in reinforcing the idea of English as something both the teacher and the students have to struggle together. Reflecting this ideology, the oral teacher code-mixes Japanese and English and alternate English words to be said in the Japanese phonemic system. This distorted language practice is intended to be empathetic to the struggling students; however, it socialises

the students and ultimately reproduces the ideology of English as something people struggle. The other school in the study is a liberal arts high school with a great academic emphasis on preparing students for prestigious universities. This school views English as a means to pass the university entrance examinations. Reflecting this language ideology, a grammar class teacher in this school uses micro-management to help students get every piece of information from the target reading materials. Precision is highly sought, and there is no room for mistakes in this classroom. The teacher heavily relies on using scaffolding not only to teach but also to socialise the students into the ideology of English as a test subject that they must drill unto mastery (Seareant, 2008). These two high schools with different academic orientations demonstrate how their ideologies of the English language inform language practices and socialisation differently in classrooms.

Some researchers of academic and L2 language socialisation have conducted comparative studies of formal and informal educational institutions in relation with language ideology (Cho, 2016: Garcia-Sanchez, 2010; Moore, 2006). Garcia-Sanchez (2010) explores language socialisation in two Arabic language classrooms, one in a formal public school and the other in an informal afterschool programme held in the community mosque, in a Moroccan immigrant community in Spain. The study analyses how the teacher at the formal school looks at the standard Arabic as key for the children to be connected to the Pan-Arabic community in Europe, and in contrast, the instructor at the mosque sees the value of the Moroccan dialect in establishing local community identity and membership. These different language ideologies of the variation of the Arabic language inform the use of the Moroccan dialect in the classrooms. The observation data show that the teacher at the formal school uses more explicit, forceful, and direct strategies to discourage the use of Moroccan dialect involved in the lessons. On the other hand, the instructor at the mosque employs more pre-emptive strategies to separate the standard Arabic and Moroccan dialect. These practices socialise the children into different group identities.

In Northern Cameroon, Moore (2006) studies children learning Arabic at a Qur'anic school and French at a public school to show how language ideologies shape socialisation processes. The study reports that in Northern Cameroon, schools, teachers,

and parents share an ideology that children best learn through imitation, repetition, and memorisation. This belief is manifested in the frequent use of guided repetition of reciting texts in both the Qur'anic and public schools. However, this language-centred practice is used for different purposes; to socialise appropriate attitudes and behaviours of the Muslim religion at the Qur'anic school and to socialise students into a more modern and free view that promotes economic and social developments at the public school. The study concludes that "These two ideologies . . . underlie the practice of guided repetition in both Qur'anic and public schools" (p. 122). This finding is significant for understanding that different ideologies alter the outcomes of the same linguistic practice used for socialising children.

In a similar case study in the United States, Cho (2016) reports on the language socialisation experience of a young Korean-American girl at her official schooling in English and learning Korean as a heritage language in community church Sunday school classes. The study shows that at her school, the more American ideology toward learning (Mehan, 1979) is reflected in a number of explicit and repetitive directives given by the teachers that encourage the child in focus to "start becoming independent" (p. 9) and "not to copy other students' ideas" (p. 9). On the contrary, the only expectation of the Sunday school teachers at the community church is the student's attitude toward church services. The Sunday school teachers constantly provide the girl with positive feedbacks that motivate her to continue working on her creative performances. In this study, three points are notable; first the ideologies of successful learning at the two institutions are reflected in the ways the teachers interacted with the child, and second, the ideological difference view the child in a quite the opposite way in terms of her performances in the classrooms, and finally, the interactions and the teachers' perception of the child in focus socialise her into different modes of participating in the classroom activities.

The reviewed studies demonstrate how language ideologies of institutions and teachers inform the use of language for socialising learners into certain behaviours and skills in classrooms. These findings are significant for the current study in its attempts to analyse how different ideologies of the teachers in the research context inform their language use in interactions with children.

3.4.2 Parents' Ideology

In taking a more holistic view of language ideology and socialisation in L2 learning contexts, it is necessary to consider indirect but significant ideological influences that surround language socialisation processes at schools and other language learning institutions. One of them is that of parents. Parental ideologies of language and language learning can determine their decisions on which school to send their children, what languages their children should acquire, and what they expect from schools and language learning institutions regarding their children's development and socialisation.

The notion of an imagined community (Norton, 2013; Norton & Toohey, 2011) has been particularly useful in explaining the role of parental ideologies in language socialisation. Building on Lave and Wenger's (1991) community of practice and Anderson's (1991) imagined community, Norton (2013) suggests that L2 learners not only seek actual participation in the classroom community of practice, but also they imagine potential communities of practice that they may obtain membership with the acquisition of the target language. In her study, Norton (2013) describes how immigrant learners of English in Canada imagine and seek possible participation into different communities of practice for economic, political, and even affective purposes. The L2 learners in this study believe that successful acquisition of the English language is key to achieve their memberships in their imagined communities. This social theory also explains that in the case of child L2 learners, it is their parents' imagined communities that determine the course of their language learning experiences (Dagenais, 2003).

Parental ideologies of language learning, particularly of English language learning in this discussion, is diverse, but one commonly held idea of English and English language learning is that the English language is something that parents can offer their children as an asset, or in the constructivist term, linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 1991). Particularly for L2 learners and their parents in EFL (English as a Foreign Language) contexts, their imagined communities and motivations to achieve membership in them are strongly connected to economic and social mobility (Norton, 2013; Pavlenko & Norton, 2007). Linking the status of English as an international language of the world (Sharifian, 2009) with political and economic benefits, attaining competence in English

is often considered highly prestigious (Kanno, 2003a, b). In countries like Japan where English language education is failing to develop communicative skills in students, abilities to competently understand, express, and exchange ideas in English are valued in society (Matsuura, Fujieda, Mahoney, 2004; MEXT, 2003). Parents who imagine the benefits of their children acquiring and mastering English in achieving imagined communities seek and provide opportunities for their children to learn English.

Kanno's (2003a, 2008) study of five different bilingual schools in Japan illustrates the language ideologies of parents and their imagined communities that they impose on their children.   One of the studied schools, Nichiei Immersion School, is a private English immersion school. The analysis of the interview data from the students' parents in this school provides a view that the parents' decision to enrol their children into this school is based on their strong belief that knowing English is a promised asset for the children to obtain and pursue high demand careers in Japan. The analysis of other bilingual schools in this study also reports a range of language ideologies of parents. Chinese parents of immigrant families in Japan, for example, preferred that their children study at a Chinese-Japanese bilingual school to learn in and about their heritage language. Regardless of the difference, the study concludes that the parental ideologies influence the L2 learning experience of the children at the five bilingual schools in Japan.

Dagenais (2003) reveals how the ideologies of immigrant parents in Canada on multilingualism motivate them to enrol their children in French immersion schools. The study reports that the parents of immigrant families strongly believe that being competent in English, French, and their mother tongue help their children become more competitive in the job market both nationally and internationally. Being immigrants in Francophone Quebec, "Parents reflect on their own position as immigrants, adopt a transnational perspective and project into the future" (p. 277). Although the study mentions the statistical finding that speaking additional languages besides the two official languages in Canada is not significant in the job market, it concludes that the immigrant parents view multilingualism as key for their children to enjoy more access to privileged imagined communities than monolingual immigrants. These studies in Japanese and Canadian contexts demonstrate that the ideologies of parents have a

determining impact on their children's second and additional language learning experiences, wherein the children are socialised into various modes of learning and being a student.

In addition to the direct impact on children's language learning, parental ideologies affect policies and activities at schools. The above study of various bilingual schools in Japan by Kanno (2003a, 2008) also presents an analysis of how parents' language ideologies demand schools to provide effective and suitable educational policies and curricula for their children's successful academic development and achievement. One of the observed schools in the study, Hal International School, is located in a rich neighbourhood in Tokyo. As an international school, the school offers a high quality international educational programme all in English largely for children of rich expatriates, Western diplomats, and executives of multinational businesses. The prestigious programme offered in English attracts a number of Japanese children from high socioeconomic backgrounds and those children of international marriages. Interview data from one of the teachers at the school reports that the parents of the students in this school have a strong desire for their children to become socially, educationally, and financially as successful as, if not more than, they have been. The study reports that the school policies and curriculums heavily reflect the high demand of the parents. It is to the extent that the school makes necessary changes to ascertain that the school is preparing students to achieve memberships in successful communities that the parents and the school to a great degree imagine for the children.

The review of the literature has shown that language ideologies of parents in L2 socialisation play significant roles in determining children's L2 learning experience and informing policies and curricula at schools and other language learning institutions. Parental language ideologies often reflect the embedded political, economic, and social values in the target language (Kroskrity, 2004) and inform their view of potential imagined communities that they hope for their children to achieve participation in and enjoy socioeconomic success in the future (Norton, 2013). However, it is not always the case that parental language ideologies are automatically and naturally socialised and realised in their children through their experience in L2 learning. Kanno (2008) offers an explanation that because the decision for L2 learning is primarily made by their

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parents, children's participation and motivation for learning and using L2 eventually wither as they get older and become more aware of linguistic and cultural practices around their social lives. The next section discusses the ideologies of learners and their role in determining the course of language acquisition and socialisation experience.

3.4.3 Learners' Ideology

L2 learners bring their unique ideologies of the target language and the language learning into classrooms. There are no students in a classroom that share the same aptitude, attitude, and social background (He, 2003). Some learners come to L2 learning classes with the idea that the target language will allow them to climb the social ladder (Norton, 2013). For others, they believe that learning additional languages help them obtain social recognition and self-worth (Block, 2007). Learners' ideologies of L2 and L2 learning have the potential to influence the learning and socialisation that take place in L2 learning settings.

Language ideologies of learners are reported in some language socialisation studies of adult L2 learners (Lantolf & Genung, 2003; McEwan-Fujita, 2010; Morita, 2004). These studies describe how L2 learners with language ideologies of the target language negotiate their participation in L2 learning and L2 socialisation. Their participation, however, is generally conditional upon to what degree the institution and teachers allow their autonomy, which is often disvalued, denied, and neglected.

P.G. in Lantolf and Genung's (2003) study is a highly educated and established Ph. D. student taking a Chinese course for fulfilling the foreign language requirement in the programme. From her experience of learning several European languages, she views the Chinese course as another chance for her to develop linguistic skills. However, her motivation and ideology toward Chinese language learning are challenged by the instructor's "authentic" teaching method that provides the teacher with absolute power to control the learning content, procedure, and speed. Students are required to pay respect to the instructor. The enforced participation model in the Chinese course conflicts with P.G.'s language ideology that she perceives the Chinese language learning class as "one of hostility" (p. 187). Eventually, P.G. yields to the authoritative structure

of the class, and "her motives shifted from . . . 'social learning,' including the desire to communicate with others, and 'self-related motives,' including a drive toward self-fulfillment, to 'cognitive motives,' in particular the learning of facts and achieving a high grade" (Block, 2007, p. 124). The language ideology of P.G. in her Chinese classroom influences her participation and motivation in the classroom at first. However, the authoritative pedagogy in the Chinese class reflecting the institutional and teacher ideology of Chinese language teaching denies P.G.'s autonomy in determining her course of participating in the class.

Morita's (2004) study of six Japanese first-year master's degree students at a Canadian university argues that learner ideologies of effective L2 learning inform the attitude and participation of the learners in the classroom. One of the focal students, Rie, reports that she has a particularly difficult time in a course entitled "Educational Issues", where she feels the teacher neglects her rights to learn. To communicate her ideology of effective learning, Rie sends an email to the instructor and purposefully quotes the term "voiceless," the term the instructor uses to emphasise the issue of marginalisation of learners in the class, to explain her situation and to criticise the instructor for not practicing what she teaches. The instructor responds to this by explaining that there is nothing more that she can do for the international students without slowing down the rest of the students who are native English speakers and more competent in the Western style of learning. Rie's language ideology of effective learning informs the way she approaches the instructor to negotiate her rights as an international student and to receive extra support in learning. The study, however, concludes that her negotiation ends unsuccessfully, and she becomes more passive and selective in her learning in the class, only paying attention to the information that is relevant in her research for the master's programme. Both P.G. and Rie's cases demonstrate how their ideologies have an initial impact on their attitude and participation in learning until they are challenged and disregarded by the teachers' ideologies of effective learning.

Some language socialisation studies mention learners' language ideology in shaping language learning and socialisation processes, but there is little known about language ideology of younger learners (Howard, 2017). This gap of knowledge could be explained with, but not limited to, the cognitive and linguistic limitations of children

that make it difficult to grasp their perspectives in research (Davis, 1998; Greig, Taylor, & MacKay, 2007; Thomas & O'Kane, 2000). In this academic gap, Norton and Kamal's (2003) study sheds light on young learners' language ideologies and their involvements in sociolinguistic activities. The study explores Pakistani upper-grade students attending an English-medium elementary school in their involvements in a youth project led by the United Nations. In the project, the youth work with children of Afghan refugees by helping them acquire English literacy. The questionnaire data reveal that the child participants' language ideology of English as "a language of possibility" (p. 309) plays a significant role in determining their action plans for the betterment and inclusion of the Afghan refugees in the community. The children's ideology of the English language could be more comprehensively understood by examining the potential influences of the English-mediated elementary school on its students (Cantoni et al., 2017). The study, nonetheless, is useful for expanding the understanding of the language learner's ideology in shaping their language teaching, learning, and socialisation experience.

3.5 Summary

This chapter has set the theoretical framework for the current research. Building upon the paradigm of language socialisation, the current study aims to analyse, interpret, describe, and discuss how children are socialised to use English as well as how children are socialised through the use of English at an English immersion nursery school in Japan. The more dynamic, bi- and multi-directional view of language socialisation (Bayley & Schecter, 2003) is implemented to obtain a more holistic understanding of the dynamics of language socialisation at the nursery school. The English immersion nursery school in this study provides an environment wherein both academic and L2 socialisation occur. The current study also examines how language ideologies of the nursery school, teachers, parents, and children construct and inform the unique use of English used in interactions for socialising purposes. Language socialisation is a context specific complex enterprise (Shieffelin & Ochs, 1986a), and thus the findings in this study should be understood in relation to the research context.

Chapter Four:
Language Socialisation and Child Agency

This chapter aims to define child agency in language socialisation and discuss its relevance in the current study. The concept of agency has been considered an important aspect of language socialisation particularly in terms of identifying who socialises whom in the process (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986). Traditionally, language socialisation studies looked at how children and other novices are socialised by experts in social groups. In critiquing the traditional approach to language socialisation, Duff and Doherty (2015) write:

> Yet theoretical discussions of LS [language socialisation] typically use the passive voice (in English) when focusing on language learners themselves: X *is socialzed by* Y into particular linguistic and nonlinguistic domains of knowledge and social practice, where Y, the agent, is typically a teacher, parent, peer or sibling. (p. 56, emphasis original)

Many language socialisation researchers question the unidirectional language socialisation paradigm, and they have begun to explore the potential roles of children and other novices in actively participating and constructing language socialisation practices in various social and linguistic contexts (Bayley & Schecter, 2003; He, 2003). The concept of agency is key to understand the social, educational, and linguistic dynamics of language socialisation (Duff & Doherty, 2015; Fogle, 2012). However, the term "agency" has been broadly defined in the field of language socialisation. It is thus necessary to establish a definition of agency, more particularly child agency, and discuss its theoretical relevance in guiding the current study.

4.1 Who Socialises Whom?

The early studies of language socialisation explored culturally and linguistically informed ways by which children were socialised into certain values and norms (Clancy, 1986; Ochs, 1988; Shieffelin & Ochs, 1986; Shieffelin, 1990). Detailed analysis and

description of the language socialisation processes in these studies revealed how parents socialised their younglings through meaningful language-mediated interactions. In these parent-child interactions, the main "agents" of socialisation were the parents who were more knowledgeable and competent in functioning adequately in society. In this view, parents played the role of experts (Lave & Wenger, 1991) in parent-child socialisation processes. The direction of socialisation was one way from the expert parents to the novice children. In this model of socialisation, it is relatively clear who socialises whom: parents socialise their children at home.

Similar unidirectional models of language socialisation have been reported in studies conducted in various educational institutions. (Cook, 1999; Harklau, 2003; Mecham, 2004; Rounds, Falsgraf, & Seya, 1997; Toohey, 2000). These studies typically presented teachers as experts and students as novices in classroom interactions, and such teacher-student relations created the view that it was the teachers who socialised the students into certain classroom and learning beliefs, ideologies and behaviours. Teachers implemented a range of strategies and classroom interaction models to facilitate language socialisation for shaping their students' attitudes and behaviours in the classrooms (Cook, 1999; Toohey, 1998, 2000; Toohey & Day, 1999). These studies of language socialisation in the school contexts also showed the strong pattern of unidirectional socialisation process extending from expert teachers to novice students.

These early studies of language socialisation have contributed to the knowledge and understanding of how cultural, social, linguistic, and pedagogical knowledge and skills are acquired by and reproduced among young children and learners through language-mediated interactions. In recent years, however, this unidirectional model of socialisation has been critiqued as limited particularly in the globalised world where people from different cultures and linguistic backgrounds come in contact through the means of politics, international business, immigration/migration, international marriage, study abroad, and the development of technology (Bayley & Schecter, 2003).

As a response to this worldwide phenomenon of globalisation, the field of language socialisation has expanded its scope and begun exploring diverse social and linguistic contexts. This means, the more recent language socialisation studies have looked at the

more ethnically, socially, and linguistically diverse communities (Bayley & Schecter, 2003; De León, 2011; Talmy 2008) instead of studying one particular cultural or social group where all the members share the synonymous norms, beliefs, ideologies, and language. This new attempt, however, has been met by a new challenge of identifying who socialises whom particularly in bilingual and multilingual settings where the roles of expert and novice are negotiable depending on the levels of competence and access to each language involved. For example, in Luykx's (2003, 2005) study of migrant families and their language socialisation at home in Bolivia, it is reported that the children who have more access to the socially dominant Spanish outside the homes become the more competent users and experts of the new language of the hosting community. With their "linguistic capital" (Bourdieu, 1997), they often play the role of expert and socialise their parents into different linguistic practices. Luykx (2005) argues that in transnational families, the traditional notion of unidirectional socialisation from parent to child is often reversed. In socially and linguistically diverse communities, children who have been traditionally viewed as the receiver of socialisation indeed play significant agentive roles in socialising parents and teachers.

4.2 Defining Child Agency

The concept of agency has been playing a key role in understanding and explaining the complex process of socialisation in bi- and multi-lingual contexts (Duff & Doherty, 2015). In the field of language socialisation that often establishes its theoretical foundation on sociocultural theory, agency is generally defined as "the sociocultural mediated capacity to act" (Ahearn, 2001, p. 118). Elaborating Ahearn's definition, Paugh (2005) adds the potential impact of agency that "affects other beings or objects in the world" (p. 81). These definitions, however, are too broad as Ahearn (2001) herself warns that we need to "define it carefully . . . [because it] leaves a great deal unspecified" (p. 130). Thus the concept of agency should be defined specifically according to the unique contextual characteristics of each language socialisation study.

The current study takes place in an English immersion nursery school in Japan, and it explores young children's participation in language socialisation at the nursery school. Child participation in this study includes both forms of participation as a subject to be

socialised and as an agent to socialise others. Therefore, the working definition of agency in this study must be that of child agency with special considerations to the unique characteristics of children and their positions in interactions with adult teachers.

There are at least three significant aspects of agency that should be included in the definition of child agency. First, the nature of agency is collective, interactive, and emergent (Al Zidjaly, 2009). Agency is thus socioculturally mediated. In other words, agency is constantly negotiated through interactions between all participants of language socialisation. This notion of agency recognises children and other novices as active participants in the process of negotiating how and to what degree they can participate in interactions (Duran, 2015). Second, negotiations of participation in language socialisation often result in social and linguistic reforms. This transformative and creative nature of agency (Newman & Holzman, 1997) suggests that agency can be perceived as "the mediated capacity of humans to create and make changes" (Yashima, 2012). Third, agency is both process and outcome (Al Zidjaly, 2009). The distinction between the two provides a framework for the current study to view child agency as constituted with two processes and partial and full outcomes. Considering these aspects of agency that are particularly relevant for child agency, the current study builds on Ahearn's (2001) definition and proposes that child agency is best conceived as *the socioculturally mediated capacity to participate in the process of negotiating changes*. Each aspect of agency will be discussed with more details.

4.2.1 Agency is Socioculturally Mediated

Building on sociocultural theory, agency in language socialisation is typically seen as being constructed through interactions (Duff & Doherty, 2015). In this view, agency is not limited to one's intention or desire to freely choose and act for themselves, but it is a product of constant negotiations (Al Zidjaly, 2009) between all the participants of language socialisation. Norris and Jones (2005) also argue that agency is "always something that is negotiated between individuals and their social world" (p. 170). In her study, Willett (1995) provides detailed descriptions of four ESL first graders in an international elementary school in the U.S, and she demonstrates how young learners come into a new language learning community through negotiating their participation

in classroom activities.   The study reports on how one of the children, Xavier, negotiates his capacity to refuse his classroom participation by crying and rejecting the support from the teacher and the special language instructor.   However, the teachers interpret his crying and resisting as signs of his needing more support for him to become more competent in the classroom.   Thus, the more Xavier resists their help, the more the teachers provide it.   This example and other studies (Ahearn, 2001; Al Zidjaly, 2009; Talmy, 2008) show that agency in language socialisation is constantly negotiated through ongoing interactions.

The socioculturally mediated nature of agency implies that the accepted meanings and forms of agency are contextually situated and that they are not static, but rather they are constantly changing over time and space.   Ahearn (2001) argues that conceptions of agency are different from one society to another and among different groups of people in age, gender, social status, race, etc.   It is therefore important for researchers of language socialisation to ask "not only what agency means for themselves as theorists, but what it means for the people with whom they work, and how those meanings may shift over time" (Ahearn, 2001, p. 113).   As in the example of Xavier above (Willett, 1995), crying and resisting his participation in classroom activities may be perceived and dealt with differently by other teachers in other schools, potentially even more so in other communities, cultures, and nations.   It is also notable that Xavier's negotiation of his classroom participation later change from resisting to being needy of constant support from the teacher and the language aide.   Willett (1995) analyses that this change of Xavier's approach is due to the lack of support from his English native-speaking peers, which leaves him with the only choice to seek constant help and confirmation of his learning success from the adult teachers.   In a one-year period of making observations, the study reveals how Xavier's desires, intentions, and strategies to achieve his goals change.   Agency is contextually negotiated and defined, and it constantly changes through negotiations over time and space.

The first segment of the working definition of child agency in the current study implies that agency is constantly negotiated through interactions, and all participants in language socialisation are involved in and contribute to the process.   This notion recognises young children as relevant, active, agentive, participants.   The existing

studies of language socialisation and agency have attended to how children and learners achieve their agency by focusing on learner characteristics (He, 2003), linguistic competence (Luykx, 2005), and linguistic strategies (Fogle, 2012; Talmy, 2008). However, much less has been reported on the process of how agency is negotiated in each setting. For instance, from the critical perspective, unequal power distribution among adults and children play a significant role in determining their positions in negotiating changes. In this light, child agency in language socialisation is possible only to the extent that it is allowed by adult participants (Punch, 2007). Therefore, when analysing child agency in language socialisation, it is important to examine not only the means with which children achieve their agentive participation but also the very process of how they successfully or unsuccessfully negotiate and achieve their agency.

4.2.2 Agency is Transformative

The last two words of the working definition of agency in the current study emphasise the transformative nature of agency and its outcomes. Agency constantly changes its form and contextually attributed and perceived meanings, and this fluid nature explains how cultural reproduction changes into "social transformation" (Aheran, 2001, p. 118). Cultural reproduction refers to knowledge and skills transmitted from parents to children, from teachers to students, and from other experts to novices. In this process, the cultural, social, and linguistic beliefs, norms, ideologies, and practices are passed down without changing their forms and meanings, and thus they are reproduced. On the other hand, social transformation indicates the constructive and creative process whereby new social and linguistic ideologies as well as practices are formed, implemented, appropriated, and normalised (Bush & Simmons, 1981; Corsaro, 1992; Corsaro & Eder, 1995). Key to this transformation is agency, which allows all participants, even young children, to participate in the process of negotiating changes. Similar findings are reported in various language socialisation studies of heritage language learning (Duff, 2011; He, 2011), languaging (Duff, 2015, Duran, 2015), and family language policy (Fogle, 2012, Fogle & King, 2012, Li, 2012; Luykx, 2005). In these studies, every individual involved in language socialisation participates in the process of negotiating changes, and when successful, new and creative ideologies, policies, and practices emerge as outcomes.

4.2.3 Agency is Both Process and Outcome

Agency is seen as both process and outcome (Al Zidjaly, 2009), and in the current study, child agency is viewed as constituted with two significant steps (process) and partial and full outcomes. The first step to achieving "the capacity to act" (Ahearn, 2001, p. 118) is when children must negotiate whether or not and to what extent they are allowed to interact with their adult interactive partners. Taking a critical perspective of adult-child relations (Punch, 2007), an adult with more social capital (Bourdieu, 1997) and linguistic and cultural expertise (Takei & Burdelski, 2018) often play the more authoritative role in determining child participation into negotiations with them. Children use a range of strategies (details below) to ensure their position in negotiating with adult parents and teachers, but their attempts may be totally denied by the adult interactive partners.

It is only when children successfully achieve their participation, the second negotiation process can proceed. In this phase, children may negotiate changes to linguistic ideologies and practices (Duff, 2015). If their negotiations are successful in terms of causing changes, agency as the outcome is fully achieved. In this model of agency, when children achieve participation in negotiation but fail to negotiate changes, agency as the outcome can be viewed as partially achieved. The current study takes this model of agency that reflects the unique position of children in interactions with adults. It explores the steps of how children in an English immersion nursery school successfully or unsuccessfully negotiate and achieve their agentive role in constructing new ideas, social positions, and linguistic practices.

Agency, more particularly child agency, is defined as *the socioculturally mediated capacity to participate in the process of negotiating changes* in the current study. This definition includes collective, interactive, emergent, transformative, and creative characteristics of agency to better correspond to the unique features and challenges of the current study that works with young children in an English immersion nursery school in Japan. The working definition provides a framework that child agency takes two stages of negotiations to be partially or fully achieved. The following sections will

review the literature and provide discussions on other important aspects of agency to solidify the definition of child agency and assess its propriety in the current study.

4.3 "Actor" or "Agent"

In order to further understand the sociocultural position of children in language socialisation, it is relevant, and particularly useful in the current study, to discuss and distinguish the terms "actor" and "agent." These two terms are often used interchangeably in social science; however, Karp (1986) argues that actor and agent are two different aspects of an individual. He explains:

> The actor refers to a person engaged in action that is framed, as is all social action. An actor's action is rule governed or oriented. The agent refers to persons engaged in the exercise of power in its primary sense of the "bringing about of effects," that is, engaged in action that is constitutive. Agency implies the idea of "causal power" through which we realize the potential or the world (p. 137).

The application of this framework in language socialisation may suggest that actors are individuals who are part of socialisation and social transformation, but they are subjective to the process in which they are situated. Individual differences in knowledge, experience, and other features certainly play significant roles in bringing changes to existing social and linguistic practices (He, 2003). However, their participation is rather passive in the view that their participation in language socialisation is governed, organised, perceived, and made meaningful by others. On the contrary, agents are active participants in the process of actualising their goals. Agents are often desire-driven (Duran, 2015), and they proactively utilise their knowledge and recourses to participate in negotiations with others. The passive or active ways of participating in negotiating terms and conditions for socialisation distinguish actors and agents.

The early language socialisation studies (Ochs, 1988; Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984; Schieffelin, 1990; Schiefflin & Ochs, 1986b) typically position children as actors in

socialisation processes. These studies view children as important and unique members in various social groups, but the reports of their interactions with the adult members are exclusively adult-led and controlled. Garrett (2004) in his review of the early language socialisation studies claims that the field of language socialisation has been talking about the bidirectional nature of socialisation since its early development. For example, Fujita's (1989) study explores how children socialise their mothers into culturally and socially defined parenthood. This study and others (Clancy, 1986; Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984) support Garrett's (2004) argument in a sense that children are indeed seen as a significant part of the socialisation processes. However, children in these studies are reported as passive participants who are included in the process of socialisation by their adult caregivers. They are predominantly recipients of socialisation effects. Although the early studies of language socialisation analyse children as part of socialisation, they are or at least are portrayed as, actors or passive participants.

The expansion of the field of language socialisation into socially, ethnically, and linguistically diverse settings has introduced a more dynamic model of language socialisation (Bayley & Schecter, 2003) that emphasises the bi- and multi-directional nature of socialisation through language-mediated interactions. The often-cited study by He (2003) in Chinese heritage language classroom in the United States advocates the need for expanding the scope from unidirectional to the bidirectional model of language socialisation. She analyses student participation in classroom activities and demonstrates how the students' different speaking and hearing models change the dynamic of interactions in the classroom. She concludes that "Different students may participate differently in classroom socialization activities, and the same students may participate to different degrees in different socialization activities" (p. 143). This finding highlights the important role of the students in negotiating classroom interactions and socialisation, but their participation is presented as passive reactions to the teacher's socialisation attempts. Furthermore, the determiners of their successful or unsuccessful participation in language socialisation are their psychological and cognitive properties, learner aptitudes, and how the teacher perceives and reacts to them. In this sense, the students' actions in this study seem to be "governed and oriented" (Karp, 1986, p. 137) by the teacher, and thus they are actors rather than

agents in the language socialisation processes in this study. Although the more dynamic bidirectional model of language socialisation includes children and learners as important participants, their participation needs to be further analysed as that of actors or agents.

Some language socialisation studies have conducted and analysed more child- and student-centred studies (Fogle, 2012; Luykx, 2003, 2005; Morita, 2004; Said & Zhu, 2017; Talmy, 2008). In these studies, the researchers carefully observe and analyse more proactive participation of children and other novices as agents of their language socialisation experiences. In Talmy's (2008) qualitative study of ESL high school students in Hawaii, he provides detailed descriptions of how the ESL students use the strategy of rejection to negotiate their classroom and socialisation experiences. The study reports that the students also refuse to accept the identity of a "good student" that the teachers are eager to impose on and develop within them. Rejection seems to be a passive act; nevertheless, the key observation in this study is that it is the students who exclusively control the use of rejection as a strategy to negotiate their classroom participation. Their agentive use of rejection results in the teachers making accommodations such as extending due dates, changing assignments, and finishing up late homework in class. In attempts to analyse agency in language socialisation, an important key to distinguishing agent from actor is children and learners' control over their actions and non-actions (e.g., silence in Morita, 2004) to participate in the process of negotiating changes.

The current study takes the notion of agent to analyse how children in an English immersion nursery school achieve agency and negotiate their social, educational, and linguistic experience at the nursery school. The working definition of child agency in this study suggests that child agency is achieved through constant negotiations that require the agentive participation of children. For the goal of providing a detailed description of language socialisation process and child agency, the current study carefully examines not only the linguistic strategies that children utilise but also the process of achieving child agency through the use of linguistic practices.

4.4 Strategies for Achieving Agency

A review of the literature has revealed some distinctive strategies that children and learners use to achieve their agentive participation in negotiating learning and socialisation experiences. The following sections will discuss three language-related strategies, namely resistance, language choice and use, and corrections. They are relevant to the current study in terms of analysing and interpreting child participation in language socialisation.

4.4.1 Resistance

The most reported strategy for achieving agency is child and learner resistance to conform to rules, standards, and expected behaviours that are set by adults and other sources of authority such as teachers and institutions (Fogle 2012; Fogle & King 2012; Markström & Halldén, 2008; Morita, 2004; Silverman, Baker & Keogh, 1998; Talmy, 2008). In other language-related fields such as second language acquisition, learner resistance is typically viewed as an inhibiting factor of successful language learning (Shaules, 2017). Language socialisation studies, on the contrary, consider resistance as a more goal-oriented and desire-driven (Duran, 2015) strategy. Moreover, resistance is competitive in a sense that children and other novice learners use it to negotiate their social and linguistic experience with others. Resistance in language socialisation can enforce the learners' preferred ways of learning (Morita, 2004) and not learning (Talmy, 2008).

Resistance for negotiating and achieving agency can take both overt and covert forms in language socialisation. One of the indirect and non-engaging forms of resistance is silence. Sileverman, Baker, and Keogh (1998), in their analysis of child silence in parent-teacher interviews, conclude that silence "can be treated as a display of interactional competence" (p. 220). Markström and Halldén (2008) also report on the use of silence by children in a preschool as a strategy for being "successful in doing/taking ownership" (p.5) of their own experiences in the preschool. At the superficial level, silence appears to be a passive reaction of children to requests and demands from their parents and teachers. The close analysis of this action, however,

suggests that silence is indeed an active strategy for staying "out of control of others" (Markström & Halldén, 2008, p. 5). Children and learners use resistance in the form of silence and others to better negotiate their agency and participation into negotiating their social, educational, and linguistic experiences.

4.4.2 Language Choice and Use

The literature review has also identified that children and learners use language choice as a strategy to achieve agency. This strategy is particularly effective in bilingual and multilingual settings such as linguistically diverse society (García-Sánchez, 2010; Namei, 2008), immigrant families (Duran, 2015; Luykx, 2003), and ESL and other bilingual classrooms (Cekaite & Björk-Willén, 2012; Emura, 2006). Paugh (2005) conducted an ethnographic study in Dominica to explore the use of English as an official language and Patwa, a local French-based creole. In the study, she provides accounts of how children as young as two to four years old showed their acute knowledge about the use of Patwa in imaginary role-plays. The parents in this study strongly discourage their children from using Patwa based on their language ideology of English as the language of opportunity and success. The children in focus are well aware of the preferred language choice of English in society, and thus they use Patwa in imaginary role-plays when there is no supervision of adults. This strategic language choice enables the children to act as "active agents in their socialization, not simply passive recipients of culture or merely doing what adults tell them to do" (p. 79). The children in this study achieve agency through accurately and creatively making language choices.

Children's knowledge and competence in languages have been reported as determining factors of child agency in other language socialisation studies of bilingual and multilingual families (Fogle, 2012; Luykx, 2003, 2005). Takei and Burdelski (2018) analyse their recorded data of dinnertime talk in a Japanese immigrant family in Australia to show how their English native-speaking daughter switches between English and Japanese to negotiate her expert position in socialisation. The family in this study have a strict family policy of speaking only Japanese at home. Thus it is usually the parents who play the expert role in dinnertime conversations in Japanese. This expert-novice relationship, however, is sometimes reversed by the daughter's use of English.

For instance, the study reports an occasion when the daughter does not know a certain word in Japanese, and she provides the equivalent word in English that leads to her socialisation of parents in English. A similar phenomenon of reversed expert-novice relationship with regard to language competence, choice, and use is reported in other immigrant family studies (Duran, 2015; Luykx, 2003, 2005). Particularly in bilingual and multilingual settings, children with linguistic competence in different languages use language choice as a strategy to achieve agency.

4.4.3 Corrections

Another way that children act as agents in socialising others is by making corrections. Children's corrective actions such as assessing and criticising others' language use are marking strategies in peer socialisation (Cekaite & Björk-Willén, 2012). Studies of peer socialisation or "children socializing children" (Goodwin & Kyratzis, 2007) view children as agents for negotiating and constructing moral and social norms in peer worlds (Cekaite & Björk-Willén, 2012; Evaldsson & Cekaite, 2010; Goodwin & Kyratzis, 2007; Kyratzis, Reynolds, & Evaldsson, 2010; Markström & Halldén, 2009). Through their agentive participation in peer socialisation, children not only establish social and linguistic ideologies and practices but also learn how to implement them. Hierarchy in peer groups is established depending on children's knowledge and experience of using language in certain peer groups (Cekaite & Björk-Willén, 2012). Those children with more knowledge and competence in a particular peer group may be able to find other "peripheral participants" (Lave & Wenger, 1991) making mistakes and correct them. Children are also reported to use correction strategies to socialise adults such as parents and teachers. Markström & Halldén (2008) provide descriptions of how the preschoolers in their study collaborate and support each other to explain and convince the teacher to admit her misunderstanding. Adult socialisation by children is a powerful social phenomenon. Children with their socialised knowledge make corrections to achieve their agentive participation in socialising others.

Three strategies, namely resistance, language choice and use, and correction were discussed with the existing literature, and they suggest that child agency can be

achieved through multiple and diverse forms and strategies. Duff (2012) provides a summary of agency in language socialisation, she says:

> Agency . . . has become an important theoretical construct . . . reflecting the view that learners are not simply passive or complicit participants in language learning and use, but can also make informed choices, exert influence, resist (e.g., remain silent, quit courses), or comply, although their social circumstances may constrain their choices. Such actions or displays of agency, which might be as simple as insisting on speaking one language (one's L2) versus another (other's L2) in a conversation with a language exchange partner. (p. 413)

The three strategies discussed in this section are relevant to the current study; however, the list should not be considered exhaustive. Indeed, these strategies are implemented specifically in different contexts (Moore, 2008), and there may be other significant ways that children negotiate their participation in language socialisation. Therefore, the current study aims to identify specific ways through which the participating children achieve their agency in an English immersion nursery school context and how they socialise both their peers and the teachers into negotiated and constructed social and linguistic ideologies and practices.

4.5 Degree of Participation

Agency as the capacity to participate in negotiations, it seems to provide equal opportunities for every participant in constructing the socialisation processes and outcomes. In reality, however, unequal distribution of power often exists in relationships between adult and child, teacher and learner, and in many other expert and novice relationships (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Punch, 2007). This uneven power relation heavily influences the process of achieving child agency. It is often the case that the more knowledgeable and socially powerful experts such as parents and teachers determine to what extent their children and students may negotiate their agentive participation in language socialisation. In other words, the chance of children and other novice learners participating in negotiations for changes is realised only when and to the degree the experts allow them. Fogle (2012) states, "the interpretation (or

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recognition) of agency by others is one key to the achievement of agency in interaction"
(p. 28). Various factors inform to what degree children and novices are recognised and
allowed to participate in negotiating social and linguistic transformations and
constructing their language socialisation experiences. The following discussions will
expand on three factors, namely cultural factor, linguistic competence, and content of
interactions, to demonstrate how children and child learners achieve agency in
interactions with parents and teachers.

4.5.1 Cultural Factor

Cultural views and definitions of childhood determine children's positions in
interactions with others. Schieffelin (1990) reports that in Kaluli culture, children must
reach three years of age before they can participate in family sharing that is
predominantly conducted through telling stories. The "ability to use 'hard words' (*to
halaido*); to have the fully developed capacity for language" (p. 6) is an important
indicator to measure the development and maturity of the children within Kaluli society.
Under this cultural system, children under the age of three are viewed as incompetent
and irrelevant participants in social and familial activities, and their participation in
such events are not allowed. The study reports that the learning process for Kaluli
children to become an accepted participant in linguistic events starts from being a
passive listener. The adults gradually socialise children into specific linguistic
knowledge and its appropriate use necessary for the children to become equal
interactive participants. A similar practice of excluding young children from meaningful
interactions has been reported in the Samoan culture (Duranti, 1981, Ochs, 1988).
These cultures take child development as a determiner of their position in interactions
with adults. Young children are excluded from social events until they are culturally
accepted as competent participants in social and linguistic activities. This cultural
practice leaves little room for young children to negotiate and achieve agency and
participation in constructing their linguistic experiences in family sharing.

Ochs and Shiefflin's (1984) study provide a detailed description of Anglo-American
middle-class children in interactions with their mothers, and they argue that the Anglo-
American middle-class society treat children as an equal interactive partner from the

moment of birth. In their terms, the infants and young children in this particular society are "social beings" and "addressees" in social interactions (Ochs & Shieffelin, 1984, p. 480). This perspective is manifested in the adults' accommodative strategies such as the use of motherese when addressing infants and young children. The simplified linguistic form and self-lowering practice aim to match more closely with what the adults assume the linguistic level of their young interlocutors to be (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986a). In a culture where children, even newly born babies, are considered to be more of an equal partner in interactions with adults, children may enjoy more opportunities to participate in negotiating the language socialisation experiences.

In the Japanese context, young children seem to be positioned somewhat in between the Kaluli culture and the Anglo-American middle-class society. More specifically, Japanese children are viewed as an important participant in interactions, but their inability to competently communicate is often supplemented by adults. Burdelski (2010, 2011; see also Cook & Burdelski, 2017) analyses and discusses two socialisation strategies that Japanese parents use, namely *daiben* (speaking for others) and *unagashi* (promptings). Japanese parents use these strategies to interpret the actions and often-incomprehensible utterances of their young children and speak for them. Clancy's (1999) study also reports that Japanese mothers use conversation sequences to question, evaluate, reject, and provide better alternatives to their children's use of language. The review of these observations suggest that Japanese children are considered as relevant participants in interactions, but instead of the parents lowering their linguistic levels as seen in the Anglo-American middle-class society (Ochs & Shiceffelin, 1984), Japanese parents speak for their children in the culturally, socially, and linguistically correct form.

These examples show how different cultures and societies view their young children in interactions with adults. These differences as a cultural factor determine child participation in interactions from close to none in the Kaluli culture to full-participation in Anglo-American middle-class society. Culturally influenced views of children regulate to what degree children are allowed to negotiate and achieve their agency in learning as well as language socialisation experiences.

4.5.2 Linguistic Competence

Children's linguistic competence in first, second, and additional languages can be seen as another determining factor of their participation in negotiations with adults. Duran's (2015) study on two multilingual children provides an example of the relationship between linguistic competence and child agency. One of the children in this study, See Meh is a 14-year-old multilingual speaker of Karenni, Thai, and English. Her linguistic background comes from her history of migration as a refugee. She is fluent in all three languages, and she is able to use them as "multilingual repertoires" (p. 75) to connect with other people. The study reports that she uses Karenni with her family, English at school, and she spoke Thai with the researcher. The study analyses her language choice and concludes that this informed selection of language is desire-driven and accommodative to engage in meaningful conversations with others. See Meh's high competence and confidence in three languages make it possible for her to negotiate which language to be used in interactions with others including the adult researcher of this study. Competence in language use not only empowers children in negotiating and securing their position in negotiating child agency but also affects reversing the expert-novice relationship in interactions with adults (Takei & Burdelski, 2018).

Linguistic competence and child agency have been some of the main concerns of the growing field of family language policy and socialisation (Duran, 2015; Fogle, 2012; Fogle & King, 2012; Luykx, 2003, 2005; Tuominen, 1999). Particularly in families where two or more languages co-exist, negotiations of which language to be used when and how are constantly in fluctuation between all the family members. In many immigrant families reported in these studies, parents promote the use and maintenance of the mother tongue inside the house while their children acquire the new language of the hosting country and community outside the house. These linguistic varieties within immigrant families have an impact on their family language policies. The children's newly acquired socially dominant language plays a significant role in shaping the family language policy and use. Luykx (2003, 2005) demonstrates the complex process of negotiating and constructing a family language policy in her study of a Spanish-Aymara bilingual family in Bolivia. In this family, the children's growing competence in their mother tongue and the language of the hosting country influence and shape the parents'

language choice and use at home. In socialising their parents' language use, the "children are as much agents as objects" (Luykc, 2003, p. 41) in this family language socialisation. The children achieve their agency to participate in the process of negotiating family language policy and use by utilising their knowledge and skills in the new language. The study concludes that the "fact that this differential distribution of linguistic capital runs counter to the typical age-based distribution of power and status within the family gives rise to potential reversals and interruptions of the traditional roles of parent and child with regard to language socialization" (p. 1408).

A similar finding regarding children's growing linguistic competence and their impact on family language policy is reported in Fogle's (2012) study of second language socialisation and child agency in transnational families. The data of one of the participating families in this study, the Sandermans, provides an illustrative example of linguistic competence serving as a determining factor of child agency. This family of a single American father and two adopted Ukrainian boys originally implement a language policy of speaking Russian at home.   The father is competent enough to carry conversations in Russian, and he holds a belief that speaking the boys' mother tongue will help them with their emotional transition to the new country, language, and family. Later in the course of data collection for this study, the family language policy of speaking Russian is replaced with all family members speaking English as the main medium of communication at home. The study observes that the father's accommodative decision to speak Russian is challenged and eventually changed as the boy's competence in English grew. The boys' competence in English helps them claim an agentive position in changing the family language policy.

The reviewed studies show how children in bi- and multi-lingual families achieve child agency through their linguistic competence in relevant languages. These findings are particularly informative to the current study in analysing and discussing how children in an English immersion nursery school achieve child agency in interactions with their adult teachers with their developing skills and competence in English as a second language.

4.5.3 Content of Interaction

Since the early development of language socialisation, it has been argued that socialisation is a life-long process (Ochs, 2000). This notion suggests that people move from an expert position (e.g., father in family, teacher in a classroom) to a novice (e.g., a father at a new job, a teacher in teacher training) and vice versa, depending on their knowledge and skills in each social group they belong. A similar social phenomenon of switching the roles of expert and novice may happen in adult-child interactions when the child is more knowledgeable in particular contents. For instance, Garrett and Baquedano-Lopez' (2002) show how children with their knowledge and competence in the modern technology socialise their elderly family members. In this socialisation process, child agency is achieved through possessing more knowledge in a certain domain of topic such as the modern technology in this case.

Child agency in connection with the content of interaction has not been given specific attention in the field of language socialisation. Thus the current research intends to explore how child learners in an English immersion nursery school play the role of an expert with their familiarity with some specific contents of interaction. This analysis will lead to a further discussion of children achieving child agency and participate in negotiations with their teachers to create new ideas, social positions, and linguistic practices in the nursery school.

4.6 Summary

This chapter defined child agency and reviewed the existing literature in the field of language socialisation to discuss its relevance to the current study. Building upon the sociocultural theory, the current study defines child agency as *the socioculturally mediated capacity to participate in the process of negotiating changes*. Agency is achieved and realised through constant negotiations (Al Zidjaly, 2009). For children to successfully act as "agents" and not as "actors" (Karp, 1986) in language socialisation, they must first negotiate and obtain participation in the processes. When they successfully achieve their agentive participation in the process, they further negotiate, construct, appropriate, and implement social and linguistic changes that socialise others.

The existing studies have identified various strategies, namely resistance, language choice and use, and correction, that children and novice learners use to better negotiate their agentive role in language socialisation. Child participation is determined by and negotiated through different factors such as cultural positioning of a child in language-mediated interactions, linguistic competence, and content and context of social interactions.

The working definition of child agency will be used mainly in chapter eight of this thesis. It provides a framework for its analysis and presentation of data. More specifically, the current study analyses and discusses how children negotiate their agentive participation in the process of language socialisation and how children negotiate changes to social and linguistic practices. The study reports on child agency in socialising peers and teachers at the nursery school, and at the same time, the analysis, presentation, and discussion of child agency in peer and teacher socialisation will add validity to the working definition.

Chapter Five:
Methodology

This chapter first provides detailed descriptions and critical discussions of the research aims and questions, methodological approach, research site, participants, data collection methods, transcription, and analytical procedure for the current study. Then it presents analytical reflections on the pilot study. The chapter concludes with a discussion on reflexivity.

5.1 Research Aims and Questions

The current study is a case study of language socialisation at an English immersion nursery school in Japan. This study is one of the first studies to explore young children's socialisation experiences in an English immersion programme at the preschool level in Japan.

There are two main aims of the current study. The first is to provide detailed descriptions of language socialisation practices in an English immersion nursery school by analysing, interpreting, and discussing naturally occurring ethnographic data. The second is to validate the working definition of child agency in language socialisation by demonstrating and examining how child agency is achieved and how child agency socialises peers and teachers.

To accomplish these two goals, the study asks questions to analyse the connections between language ideology and language socialisation, the forms of language socialisation practices in interactions, the outcomes of language socialisation, and the agentive participation of children in language socialisation. Analysed data that answer these questions provide a comprehensive understanding to the dynamic and complex processes of language socialisation particularly in an English immersion nursery school in Japan.

Table 1: Research Aims and Questions

Research Aims	Research Questions
• To provide detailed descriptions of language socialisation practices in an English immersion nursery school • To validate the working definition of child agency in language socialisation	• How do language ideologies influence language socialisation practices? • How does language socialisation occur in interactions? • What results does language socialisation accomplish? • How do young children achieve agentive participation in language socialisation?

5.2 Methodological Approach

As an established subfield of linguistic anthropology, the field of language socialisation draws on an ethnographic approach to explore how social and linguistic knowledge and conducts are taught and learned through language-mediated interactions (Kulick & Schieffelin, 2006; Garrett & Baquedano-Lopez, 2002). It is commonly understood that language socialisation practices are contextually specific (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986), and thus each language socialisation study can be viewed as a case study of a certain cultural, social, and educational group and their use of language in socialising children and other novices in the group. In these views, the current study is an ethnographic case study of language socialisation at an English immersion nursery school in Japan.

The early language socialisation researchers implemented the traditional form of ethnography to conduct their studies (Ochs, 1988; Schieffelin, 1990). These ethnographic studies included spending a substantial length of time among the target culture and people, immersing in every possible way, and participating in the daily routines of social and linguistic practices of the studied group. This participatory approach helped the researchers obtain deeper emic understanding and etic interpretation of certain cultural norms, ideologies, beliefs, practices, and how they

were reproduced through the use of language (Bayley & Langman, 2011; Kulick, 1992; Ochs, 1988; Schieffelin, 1990).

Based on this methodological tradition, Garrett (2002) lists three essential elements that characterise language socialisation studies: 1) ethnographic perspective attained through fieldwork, 2) longitudinal research design, and 3) collection and analysis of naturally occurring audio and video data. The current research meets these requirements by having conducted ethnographic fieldwork for over ten months of a school year and collecting and analysing audio recordings of naturally occurring interactions. The current study aims to provide a "maximally holistic and integrative perspective" (Garrett & Baquedano-Lopez, 2002, p. 341) of the language socialisation experience of Japanese children at an English immersion nursery school.

The ethnographic participatory approach was particularly suitable for the current study in terms of working closely with young children in a natural environment (Corsaro & Molinari, 2008; Emond, 2005). The participatory nature of the ethnographic study was necessary to understand and present the experiences of child participants better in the current study (Greig, Taylor, & MacKay, 2007). Children have been traditionally assumed to be linguistically deficit as compared to more fully developed adults, and their voices in social research tend to be unheard or neglected (Alderson & Morrow, 2011). On the contrary, children are viewed in this study as independent and agentive participants of language socialisation as reviewed in chapter four. Child involvements are crucial in the current study to achieve the goal of understanding child agency in language socialisation through analysing, interpreting, and discussing specific language socialisation practices at the nursery school.

5.3 Research Site

The current study took place at Mountain View English Nursery School (pseudonym), a Japanese nursery school that offers an English immersion programme. As repeatedly discussed in the literature review, language socialisation and its linguistic practices are context specific (Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984). This characteristic of language socialisation requires each study to be comprehensively situated, examined, and interpreted within

their research context. The following presentations of the nursery school, teachers and staff, and curriculum contextualise the current study in the research site. The contextualisation process is essential for the current study to analyse, interpret, present, and discuss data with accuracy and relevance to the research context. The detailed presentations of the research site will also help the readers critically evaluate the findings of the current study. Additionally, these presentations will add to the knowledge of English immersion preschool in Japan, which is argued to be scarce and limited.

5.3.1 Mountain View English Nursery School, Students, and Parents

The current study was conducted at Mountain View English Nursery School. The nursery school is a privately owned English immersion nursery school located in one of the prefectural capital cities on the island of Shikoku, Japan. Mountain View English Nursery School and its sister school, Sea View English Nursery School, provide daycare services in English with the vision of the founder and principal, Ms. Sogawa, to educate Japanese children and help them become proficient speakers of English.

Ms. Sogawa has been involved in English language teaching in Japan for more than three decades. Prior to starting Sea View English Nursery School in 2003, she owned an English cram school (afterschool learning institution) and taught Japanese students English mainly for tests. In her experience of teaching English to Japanese students, however, she became more and more frustrated with the inability to produce communicative skills in her students (e.g., Hosoki, 2011; Hashimoto, 2009; Seargeant, 2008). She began to look for alternative ways to help her students develop proficiency in English. This educational exploration led her to an English immersion programme particularly at the nursery school level. She believes that English immersion is most effective with nursery age children, and this idea is based on two premises; children learn a foreign language more naturally by having inputs and making outputs and nursery age children have more time to enjoy learning a foreign language than older students in elementary school and onward. Ms. Sogawa started Sea View English Nursery School in 2003 with two students. At the time of conducting the data collection for the current study in 2015, Sea View English Nursery School catered to more than

twenty students. The development of Sea View English Nursery School reflects the general view of early implementations of English immersion programmes such as that of Katoh Gakuen in Japan (Bostwick, 1998, 2001).

Mountain View English Nursery School was started as an expansion of business and educational service of Sea View English Nursery School. With the growing success at Sea View English Nursery School in recruiting students and developing communicative skills in English, Ms. Sogawa (hereafter she will be referred as the Principal to distinguish her from her son, Mr. Sogawa easily) decided to start another school in the nearby prefectural capital city. Her son, Mr. Sogawa, who had been working at Sea View English Nursery School for a few years at the time, was appointed to be in charge of finding a facility, taking care of all the legislative and administrative procedures necessary for opening a nursery school, and recruiting teachers and students for the new nursery school. In this manner, Mountain View English Nursery School started in April 2009 with three young children. At the time of data collection in 2015, Mountain View English Nursery School had grown to provide daycare services in English to about sixty children from ages two to six in five age groups. It seemed that the nursery school had established its presence in the nursery school market in the city. The popularly of the nursery school had increased to the point of having to reject some applicants due to the limitation on student number the school facility could take in. It appears that Mountain View English Nursery School and its recognition reflect the growing interest and demand for early English exposure and mastery as discussed in chapter two.

Mountain View English Nursery School is a privately owned non-licensed nursery school with a relatively higher tuition fee than those of other public and private nursery schools in the area. Although it is not the sole selecting factor, the high tuition fees attract a group of students from middle to upper-class families who are financially capable. In fact the participating children in the current study had parents who were highly trained and successful professionals such as university professors, medical doctors, biochemical researchers, business owners, public officers, and other officers in major companies. The class and economic status of the parents were also evident in their material possessions such as their imported European brand cars, that are considered a symbol of wealth in Japan, and the high-end brand clothes with which the

children were dressed up. However, it is crucial here not to generalise the whole student body at Mountain View English Nursery School as a group of children from high socioeconomic families. Some parents enrolled their children in Mountain View English Nursery School more for its educational benefits even though they had to struggle financially to cover the high tuition fee.

Parents have a range of educational and other motivations for enrolling their children in Mountain View English Nursery School. These motivations further diversify the student and parent bodies of Mountain View English Nursery School. There seem to be three main categories of parents in terms of their motivations for sending their children to an English immersion nursery school. The first group of parents is the so-called *kyoiku mama* (education mother, translation in Tobin, Wu, & Davidson, 1991). They enrol their children in the nursery school for academic reasons such as providing the best educational opportunities for their children to prepare for academic and career successes in the future. The second group consists of parents with positive ideas of the English language (e.g., they visit foreign countries, they want to study abroad in English speaking countries, they have relatives in foreign in English speaking countries), and they desire that their children would acquire communicative skills in English. This group is characterised with more social motivations (e.g., their children can communicate in English with foreign people, they can study abroad if they want to) than academic motivations of the first group. The third group of parents chooses the nursery school out of their immediate needs to enrol their children in a nursery school so that they can work. These parents have their economic and work factors as their primary reasons for choosing Mountain View English Nursery School, but many of them also see English as a profitable addition to their children's daycare experience. Mountain View English Nursery School caters to young children from families of a range of socioeconomic backgrounds.

5.3.2 Teachers and Staff

Both English native speaking and Japanese native speaking teachers and staff work at Mountain View English Nursery School. In the current study, the individuals who taught lessons at the nursery school are referred to as teachers, and those who provided

childcare are mentioned as staff. Additionally, the teachers who are native speakers of English are referred to as English-speaking teachers, and likewise, native speakers of Japanese are Japanese-speaking teachers. The teachers and staff have unique responsibilities in daily routines at the nursery school.

The main responsibility of the English-speaking teachers at Mountain View English Nursery School is to plan and teach English lessons. They teach various skills such as literacy, listening, speaking, reading, writing, discussion, and presentation in English. The English-speaking teachers are also responsible for conducting the morning activity that consists of physical exercise, attendance call, and daily questions (e.g., date, day of the week, weather). The English-speaking teachers are in charge of carrying out special events and seasonal activities such as Sports Day, Presentation Day, graduation ceremony, Halloween, Thanksgiving, and Christmas.

The Japanese-speaking teachers and staff at Mountain View English Nursery School cover much more diverse responsibilities than their English-speaking colleagues. Mr. Sogawa is responsible for the general management of the nursery school as the facility manager. Other Japanese-speaking teachers are mainly responsible for preparing and teaching *Eiken* (a major English proficiency test in Japan) lessons. In addition to the teaching responsibility, the Japanese-speaking teachers help the full-time Japanese-speaking staff in carrying out childcare responsibilities.

Table 2: Teacher Responsibilities

English-speaking Teachers	Japanese-speaking Teachers	Japanese-speaking Staff
- Prepare and teach English lessons - Conduct morning activities - Conduct school events and activities	- Prepare and teach *Eiken* lessons - Support childcare - Support school events and activities	- Take care of the children - Support school events and activities

5.3.3 Daily Routines

Young children of ages from one to six attend Mountain View English Nursery School, and they are placed in one of the five age groups, Tulip (ages one to two), Peach (ages two to three), Elephant (ages three to four), Cat (ages four to five), and Whale (ages five to six). Japanese school year starts in April and ends in March; therefore, the idea is that those children who are already age one on 1 April and turning two during the school year are placed in Tulip, and likewise those who are already five and turning six in the school year are placed in Whale.

The nursery school mainly has two different schedules: one for the two younger age groups (Tulip and Peach) and the other for the three older age groups (Elephant, Cat, and Whale). Hereafter, a typical day at Mountain View English Nursery School for the older age groups will be presented because the current study only included the children from the Elephant, Cat, and Whale groups.

The nursery school officially start at nine o'clock in the morning, but it is open from seven thirty for children whose parents have to bring them to the nursery school before going to work. Those early comers have some free time to watch English videos, play with toys, and read English books while waiting for others to arrive.

Fifteen minutes before the start of the daily schedule, Elephant, Cat and Whale children gather in the Elephant room and have free-reading time. They pick some English books and read them quietly. Both the English-speaking and Japanese-speaking teachers help them read.

At nine o'clock, the morning exercise starts with a physical exercise of dancing to music. At the completion of physical exercise and when children calm down, one of the English-speaking teachers in charge of the day takes attendance. In the role taking, the English-speaking teachers call the name of each child, and they respond by raising a hand and saying "I'm here" or its variations. The morning exercise is concluded with the English-speaking teachers asking questions such as the date, day of the week, and weather and

children providing answers. At the closing of the morning exercise, children are dismissed to either their rooms for English lessons or outside for playing.

The morning schedule is divided into four thirty-minutes periods with ten minutes recesses between each period. Typically, two periods are assigned to be English lessons taught by the English-speaking teachers. Children work on various types of activities individually, in small groups, and as a whole class in English lessons. These activities include forming and presenting ideas and opinions, reading from books, acting stories, having discussions, doing worksheets, practicing writing, and many other forms of learning English and learning in English. English lesson time is also used to practice songs and plays before school events such as Presentation Day and graduation.

One period is designated for an *Eiken* class taught by the Japanese-speaking teachers. In this class, children mainly study English vocabulary and grammar that are necessary for passing *Eiken* tests. The Japanese-speaking teachers also teach children how to take tests by equipping children with effective strategies (e.g., how to answer different types of questions, not to leave answer sheet blank, work individually and quietly) for passing *Eiken* tests. Children in an *Eiken* lesson usually work on *Eiken* mock tests individually first, and then check answers and make corrections as a class. For practicing the listening part of *Eiken* tests, the Japanese-speaking teachers play CDs that are provided together with the mock tests. The higher levels of *Eiken* tests (grade three and higher) also test the speaking abilities in the form of oral interview. The Japanese-speaking teachers conduct mock interviews for those children who are studying for *Eiken* grade three or higher to practice the speaking component of *Eiken* tests.

The remaining one period is playtime. Children are encouraged to go outside and play on the school playground on sunny days. When it is rainy, they stay inside and play with toys, read books, make crafts, and enjoy different indoor activities.

At the end of the fourth period, Elephant, Cat, and Whale children gather in the Elephant room to have lunch together. After eating lunch, cleaning up the dishes, and brushing their teeth, children have some free time to play with toys and read books. Some of the parents come around two in the afternoon to pick up their children. Those children

who stay at the nursery school until later have options of taking a nap (mainly for younger children) or having some free time of watching English videos, playing musical instruments, drawing, reading English books, and playing with toys. Many of the parents come to pick up their children around four in the afternoon. The nursery school is open until six twenty in the evening for those parents who work full-time.

5.3.4 English at Mountain View English Nursery School

Mountain View English Nursery School has implemented and practiced a strict English only policy that prohibited children's use of Japanese at the nursery school since its foundation in 2009. This policy is justified by the strong belief of the Principal that for young children to acquire native-like English, they need to receive as much English input as possible (see also Auerbach, 1993; Padilla, 1991). The English only policy is strictly applied to children; however, it becomes somewhat loose with both English-speaking and Japanese-speaking teachers. For example, the teachers during the time of data collection often used Japanese to communicate with each other. This compromise of the policy was necessary for pragmatic and operational reasons. Some of the Japanese-speaking teachers and staff had very limited proficiency in English, and thus it was necessary for them to speak Japanese to communicate on important matters thoroughly.

The English only policy of Mountain View English Nursery School ensures that children attending the school receive plentiful inputs and have opportunities to make outputs in English. They are exposed to the English language from Monday to Friday for at least five hours a day for those who leave after lunch and more than ten hours a day for those who stay at the school longer. This intense and extensive exposure to English helps children develop the knowledge and skills necessary for communicating effectively in English. Concerning their listening and speaking skills, most of the Elephant, Cat, and Whale children during data collection had developed enough proficiency in English to have natural and meaningful conversations with their teachers and peers. Perhaps the more remarkable observation was their reading and literacy skills. According to the English-speaking teachers' observations, the Cat and Whale children at the time of data collection could recognise the alphabets and read English at a higher level than the same

age native English-speaking children. Writing was occasionally taught in English lesson with a great amount of scaffolding provided by the English-speaking teachers.

5.3.5 Doing Japanese Nursery School in English

Mountain View English Nursery School uses English as the medium of teaching, learning, conducting and participating in activities, and carrying conversations. However, it is important to emphasise that the nursery school is a Japanese school that observes the curricula, guidelines, and other rules and regulations of the Japanese government. Therefore, Mountain View English Nursery School has to be carefully and strictly distinguished from international schools in Japan, where English is used, but they deliver foreign curricula and receive accreditations from authorities outside Japan (Bostwick, 1995, 1998).

Mountain View English Nursery School as a Japanese nursery school covers many of the cultural and traditional events of Japan. The nursery school also organises other popular nursery school activities such as field trips and sleepovers at the school facility. Other notable events at Mountain View English Nursery School during data collection included Sports Day in September 2015, Presentation Day in February 2016, and graduation ceremony at the end of the school year in March 2016.

The nursery school organises these social, cultural, and educational events to prepare children to move onto Japanese elementary school. Generally, most of the graduates from Mountain View English Nursery School choose to merge with the mainstream Japanese education system and go to a Japanese elementary school. Therefore, it is important for the school, and the parents with greater concerns, that their children are exposed to and are familiarised with certain ways of doing and being a student in Japan.

The above presentations and discussions of the research site have shown that Mountain View English Nursery School provides a socially, educationally, and linguistically unique environment for conducting a language socialisation study. The language-mediated practices found in the nursery school are specific and fully meaningful to the context. In this light, the findings in the current study should be interpreted and understood within

the research context. Although more focused investigations are necessary to discuss each aspect of Mountain View English Nursery School, the detailed presentations of the nursery school have added to the knowledge of English immersion preschool in Japan.

5.4 Participants

A top-down approach was implemented to recruit participants. First, the principal of Mountain View English Nursery School was contacted and provided with information of the research project. The Principal gave permission and ensured her support for the current study. The second contact was Mr. Sogawa, the facility manager of Mountain View English Nursery School. In the initial meeting with Mr. Sogawa, he had some questions such as how the current study would benefit the nursery school and how the research would secure the confidentiality of the nursery school and every individual who attended or worked there. Meaningful and constructive conversations continued until his concerns were satisfactorily resolved. After receiving permission from the facility manager to conduct the research at Mountain View English Nursery School, information sheets and consent forms were distributed to invite children, their parents, and teachers to participate in the current study.

5.4.1 Child and Parent Participants

The children attending Mountain View English Nursery School from April 2015 to March 2016 constituted one of the focus groups in the current study. For their participation to the current study as minors, parental consent was essential for ethical reasons (Alderson & Morrow. 2011; Einarsdóttir, 2007; Greene & Hogan, 2005; Greig, Taylor, & MacKay, 2007; Tisdall, Davis, & Gallagher, 2009). The parents were also invited to participate in the research.

An invitation package that contained a detailed information sheet and consent forms (Appendix 1) were prepared and distributed to all the parents of the Elephant, Cat, and Whale children. The current study excluded Tulip and Peach children for their very young ages and limited linguistic developments both in Japanese and English. The information sheet provided important information such as the purpose of the research

project, participation, research procedure, and ethical matters. The consent form contained two parts: one for child participation and the other for parent participation.

After reading the information sheet and understanding the research project, the parents could choose from the four options, that were (1) both child/children and parents participate together, (2) allow child/children to participate but opt themselves out, (3) parents participate but opt child/children out, and (4) neither child/children nor parents participate. The detailed explanations in the information sheet and the options for different forms of participation ensured that participation in the current study was voluntary and there would not be any consequences for either participating or not participating.

Ms. Takahashi, the head caregiver distributed the invitation package to the parents of all the children in the Elephant, Cat, and Whale groups. A total of thirty-four children in thirty families (some of them had siblings in different groups) were invited to participate, and seventeen children in fifteen families (four Elephants, six Cats, and seven Whales) were given permission from their parents to participate. Out of the fifteen parents who signed for their child participation, thirteen sets of parent/parents agreed to participate with their children.

Table 3 provides general information about the child and parent participants. The names of the children were replaced with pseudonyms randomly assigned from the list of the twenty most popular boy and girl's names of children born in 2011 (Benesse, 2012), which was the year the mean age (4.5) of the child participants at the time of seeking consent was supposedly born. The parents are referred to as the mother and the father of the participating children with their assigned names.

Table 3: Participating Children and Parents

Name	Gender	Group	Parent Participation	Notes
Ren	Boy	Elephant	Yes	He is active in class. His family moved from a big city in 2013, and since then, he has been in the nursery school.
Yuma	Boy	Elephant	Yes	He is a friendly boy, and he loves to talk. His older sister attended the school. He has been in the nursery school since he was one year old.
Sota	Boy	Elephant	Yes	He is quiet but smart. He lived in the States until he was two years old. He has been in the school since he moved back to Japan.
Hina	Girl	Elephant	No	Younger sister of Wakana. She is responsible and does not hesitate to speak up. She plays a leader role in the Elephant class.
Yamato	Boy	Cat	Yes	He is one of the quiet ones in class, but he is smart. He loves to play with his boy friends at the school.
Sakura	Girl	Cat	Yes	She is friendly and loves to talk. She goes abroad with her mother quite often. She has been at the school since she was two.

Mei	Girl	Cat	No	She is quiet in class, but she is also friendly. She enjoys having personal interactions with the teachers.
Rio	Girl	Cat	Yes	She is smart and outspoken. Her older sister attends the after-school programme at the school. She is picked up before lunch.
Daiki	Boy	Cat	Yes	Twin brother of Itsuki. He is active in class. He often makes funny comments to make his friends laugh.
Itsuki	Boy	Cat	Yes	Twin brother of Daiki. He is more serious as compared to Daiki, but he also loves to have fun. Their younger brother attends the nursery school with them.
Minato	Boy	Whale	Yes	He is active and funny in class. His family moved to a different city, so he left the nursery school in September 2015.
Nanami	Girl	Whale	Yes	She is quiet in class, but she loves to talk outside the classroom. She went to a Japanese preschool before and came to the nursery school when she was three.
Airi	Girl	Whale	Yes	She is shy. She enjoys many extracurricular programmes outside the nursery school.

Kaito	Boy	Whale	Yes	He is quiet in class. He had to miss the school for a while due to his physical condition. He has been in the school since he was one year old.
Riko	Girl	Whale	Yes	She is active and talkative in class. She was in the nursery school, then left for one year, and came back.
Wakana	Girl	Whale	No	Older sister of Hina. She enjoys interacting with the teachers and friends.
Ayano	Girl	Whale	Yes	She is responsible and active in class. She has a younger brother who goes to a Japanese nursery school.

There were some adjustments made as the situation changed and more knowledge about the participating children obtained.

After two months into the data collection in September 2015, Minato had to leave the nursery school because his father was transferred to another part of Japan for his work. Therefore, his data in class and playtime was very limited in quantity, and even though the parents consented to their participation in the current research, the interview with them did not take place. However, Minato had a strong presence and influence in the two months of participating in the research, and it was decided to include his data in the current study.

Another child who required a careful consideration was Sota. The interview with his parents revealed that Sota spent the first two years of his life in the United States while his parents worked at an American university. The main reason for the parents to bring Sota to Mountain View English Nursery School was to help him make a smooth transition from being in an American daycare to Japanese nursery school when they

moved back to Japan. Although Sota had been back in Japan over a year at the time of the interview, his parents told in the interview that Sota preferred to speak English at home. Sota's linguistic background was significantly different from other child participants in the current study, and his participation would not represent the experience of a typical Japanese child at Mountain View English Nursery School. With the evaluation of Sota's linguistic background, it was decided that his data would not be included in the current study. His data, however, are interesting on their own, and it may be useful in the future to study the experience of a Japanese returnee in an English immersion nursery school.

5.4.2 Teacher Participants

Another group of participants in the current study consisted of both English-speaking and Japanese-speaking teachers and staff at Mountain View English Nursery School. The information sheet and consent form for the teachers and staff contained specific and necessary information for teacher participation. Because of the linguistic diversity and preferences of the teachers and staff, the information sheet and consent form for teacher participation were prepared in English and Japanese. This translation process was necessary to meet the linguistic needs of the teachers and staff and to ensure their understanding of their participation in the current study (Aguila *et al.*, 2016). The information sheet clearly explained that their participation was voluntary, and there would be no consequence to their non-participation. This clarification was essential in terms of the top-down approach taken in the recruitment of participants. The Principal and the facility manager were consulted on this issue, and they both agreed not to intervene with the teachers and staff in their decision-making.

Out of thirteen teachers and staff working at the nursery school at the time of recruiting participants, four English-speaking teachers, two Japanese-speaking teachers, two Japanese-speaking staff, the facility manager, and the Principal consented to participate. Table 4 provides general information about the participating teachers and staff. Their names were replaced with randomly assigned pseudonyms.

Table 4. Participating Teachers and Staffs

Name	Gender	Nationality	Notes
Mr. Peter Stewart	Male	American	He is the head English teacher coordinating the daily English lessons. He has been working at the nursery school for over five years. Married to a Japanese lady and speaks Japanese well.
Mr. John Anderson	Male	American	He works as an English teacher. He came to Japan in the same year the data collection took place. He had lived in Japan for two years before coming to the nursery school to work.
Ms. Lucy Anderson	Female	American	She is the wife of Mr. Anderson, and she works as an English Teacher and a child caregiver. She took a maternity leave from September 2015.
Mr. Rob Bird	Male	American	He works as a part-time English teacher. He comes every Wednesday to teach lessons. He has been living in Japan for three years.
Ms. Hitomi Takahashi	Female	Japanese	She is a certified child caregiver and works as the head child caregiver. She also teachers some *Eiken* classes. She has enough competence in English to carry easy conversations and teach *Eiken* materials.
Mr. Kensuke Suzuki	Male	Japanese	He works as an *Eiken* teacher. He has lived in America as a foreign exchange student. He studies for taking the nursery teacher certification tests in the near future.

Ms. Junko Saito	Female	Japanese	She works as a certified child caregiver. She knows enough English to give instructions and orders to the children.
Ms. Hanako Katagiri	Female	Japanese	She is a certified child caregiver. Her English competence is limited to give simple instructions and orders.
Mr. Toshiaki Sogawa	Male	Japanese	He is the facility manager of Mountain View English Nursery School. He also covers some *Eiken* lessons.
Ms. Akiko Sogawa	Female	Japanese	She is the Principal of both Sea View and Mountain View English Nursery Schools. She visits the nursery school on Thursdays to help teach some *Eiken* lessons.

Out of all the children, parents, and teachers invited to participate in the current study, about half of the children and their parents and three quarters of the teachers and staff agreed to participate. Therefore, it can be said that the participants in this study provide a good representation of the population at the nursery school, particularly for a qualitative case study (Mason, 2010).

It is important to keep in mind that because of the opt-in and the voluntary nature of how the participants were recruited, there could be a volunteer bias (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2011) that may have influenced the data. For instance, it could be assumed that those parents who voluntarily consented to child and parent participation may have had more interest in the current study than those who did not participate. Indeed, some of the parent participants explicitly expressed their interests in this study and desired to know more about their children's experiences at the nursery school. Therefore, the findings of this study cannot claim to be a full representation of Mountain View English Nursery School and the experience of children attending the nursery school.

5.5 Data Collection Methods

Multiple ethnographic techniques were implemented to collect qualitative data. Over the course of data collection from July 2015 to March 2016, weekly observations were conducted at Mountain View English Nursery School. The observations included audio recordings of naturally occurring interactions of the participating children and teachers. Interviews with the participating teachers and parents were conducted to obtain a more comprehensive view of the children's experience at the nursery school. Other types of data were collected to triangulate the findings of the current study. The following sections will present and discuss the methods employed in the current study for data collection.

5.5.1 Participatory Observations

Making observations of naturally occurring interactions is an important element of data collection in language socialisation studies (Garrett & Baquedano-Lopez, 2002). The current research implemented ethnographic participatory observations (MacNaughton, Rolfe, & Siraj-Blatchford, 2001) to collect data at the nursery school. Observations were conducted on a weekly basis while participating in daily activities and spending quality time with the participating children and teachers. Conducting participatory observations can be considered a limitation, but in this particular study, it can also be a strength as it allows researchers to collect more direct, spontaneous, and natural reactions from the participants (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2011; Warming, 2005). Being a "participant" in activities with the children also established a status of an "atypical, less powerful adult in research with young children" (Corsaro & Molinari, 2008, p.240). The participatory approach to observation in lessons and playtime cultivated a certain level of trust so that the children were able to be themselves and act naturally in the presence of an adult researcher (Kawulich, 2005).

The participatory observations produced qualitative data with an audio recorder and observation sheets (Appendix 2). The audio recorder used a pin microphone to collect sounds, and this strategic choice and use of a smaller device made the recording less obvious and intrusive to children. The participatory observations also included notes

taking on the observation sheet that was prepared specifically for this research project. The observation sheets contained each child participant's name, age group, and space for taking memos and writing down comments. The observation sheet was particularly helpful for retrieving accurate information for writing down field notes and transcribing audio data. The memos of instant thoughts and ideas were also useful for generating and testing meaningful connections between ideas and the recorded events.

The participatory observations took place in two distinctive settings, namely lesson time and playtime. The first type of observation was made during English and *Eiken* lessons. The role of the observer in this type of observation was to sit at the back of the classroom and quietly take notes while the audio recorder made recordings of classroom interactions. In some occasions, however, the teachers directly talked to the observer, asked questions, and even requested him to help some children with particular tasks. In addition to the teacher-observer interactions, children often wanted to talk to the observer. In these situations, the observer tried to minimise the interactions to reduce his potential influence on the participants and the ways they acted (Alderson & Morrow, 2011; Greig, Talyor, & MacKay, 2007).

The second type of participatory of observation was made during playtime. The playtime observations required more participation of the participatory observer in having direct interactions with the children rather than observing them in lessons. The observations of playtime included a range of activities on the playground and in the playroom. Children freely selected activities and with whom they played.
The procedure of making observations and audio recordings during playtime required some adjustments. The physical position of the observer changed according to the activities and situations in which he was engaged. The spontaneous nature of playtime limited the audio recording to interactions around the observer who carried the audio recorder. Due to the high level of engagement in activities with children, the observation sheet was not carried around during playtime observations, but it was updated immediately after the observed playtime.

In freely interacting with children, it was considered ethical conduct to react in a natural way when children approached the observer. With some exceptions of helping injured

children or intervening fights, children always took the initiation of interactions between children and the observer. This approach was to maintain the authenticity of data by minimising the influence of the adult observer on shaping the interactions and making it desirable for the current research (Punch, 2002).

In addition to English lesson, *Eiken* lesson, and playtime observations, the current study included a few other observations of cultural and school activities to produce relevant data. For example, on one visit, the nursery school had a Halloween event. Children came to the nursery school with costumes, and the school prepared fun activities for children to experience Halloween. Other observations recorded children practicing songs, speeches, and plays for school events such as Presentation Day and graduation ceremony. More dynamic and different interactions from the regular lessons and playtime were observed and recorded on these special occasions. Appendix 3 provides a list of all the observations and audio recordings made during data collection.

A total of 110 observations were conducted with close to fifty-four hours of audio recordings. The selection of which lesson or playtime to observe did not follow any set schedule. Instead, the decisions were made on the day of observation depending on the schedule and teacher assignments. This rather impromptu decision-making was mainly because not every teacher participated in the current study. Among all the available classes and playtime for observations, a balance in the number of each type of observation was sought as much as possible.

5.5.2 Questionnaire and Interview with Parents

The current research conducted a questionnaire study and interviews with parents to obtain a more holistic understanding of children's experience at Mountain View English Nursery School. Morrow and Richards (1996) suggest triangulation as an effective practice to overcome the challenges of doing research with young children and conceptualising their experience in the social world. The questionnaire and interview data in the current study provided other perspectives and a "mutual confirmation of data" (Krefting, 1991, p. 219) on children's language socialisation experiences at the nursery school.

At the time of recruiting participants to the current study, all the parents of Elephant, Cat, and Whale group children received a questionnaire that came in an invitation packet along with the information sheet and consent forms. The parents were asked to fill out the questionnaire if they agreed to allow their children to participate in the current study. The questionnaire contained questions about children's linguistic and family backgrounds. Since all the parents who received the questionnaire were native speakers of Japanese, the questionnaire was prepared in Japanese. The original questionnaire in English and Japanese can be found in Appendix 4.

In addition to obtaining important background knowledge of the participating children, the questionnaire was used as a tool in interviews with the participating parents. The interviews with parents were semi-structured in a way that the completed questionnaire provided a guideline (Richards, 2009), but the interviews did not follow any set questions or structured orders. The interviewees were asked to reflect on the information they had provided on the questionnaire, add relevant information, provide examples, and make necessary corrections. The interviews with parents were conducted in Japanese since all the participants were native Japanese speakers. All the interviews with parents were audio recorded.

A total of twelve interviews with parents were conducted in the current study. Most of them took place in November 2015 with one exception in January 2016 due to a family situation. The interviews were from twenty minutes to over seventy-five minutes. Both parents were present in three interviews, and the remaining nine interviews were only with the mothers. Appendix 5 provides information on the interviews with parents conducted in the current study.

Earlier in this chapter, it was explained that Sota's data would not be included in the current study due to his distinctive linguistic background. This decision was based on the knowledge obtained from the interview with his parents. Thus the interview with Sota's parents is listed, but the data is not used in the current study.

5.5.3 Interview with Teachers

The interviews with teachers provided another perspective on children's socialisation experience from the view of an "expert" (Lave & Wenger, 1991) in the nursery school. The teachers spent the most time with children at the nursery school, and thus their insights were particularly informative in terms of understanding the daily experience of the child participants.

The interviews were semi-structured, in a similar form as the interviews with parents with one significant difference of not using a questionnaire as a tool. Instead, the direction of the interviews was determined by the developing ideas and preliminary findings during data collection. It is a common practice in ethnography to develop themes and categories and continuously test them through in fieldwork (Fetterman, 2009). Relevant examples from the observations were shared without revealing any names and information that might lead to specific children. Then the teacher interviewees were asked to explain and interpret the shared observations and provide their perspectives on them. This reflective practice helped the teachers reassess their daily involvements in teaching and child caring and re-examine how and why they interacted with children in certain ways. Throughout the interviews with teachers, the interpretation of researcher (Ochs, 1988) was examined and corrected with the perspectives of the "expert" at Mountain View English Nursery School.

All the interviews with teachers took place in February and March 2016. They were conducted in a relatively quiet room at the nursery school during their afternoon break. The lengths of the interviews varied from less than twenty minutes to over one hour. All the interviews with the English-speaking teachers were conducted in English, and all the interviews with the Japanese-speaking teachers and staff took place in Japanese. Appendix 6 provides information on all the interviews with teachers conducted in the current study.

In addition to the formal interviews with teachers and staff, the current study had many prompt informal conversations with the teachers and staff. These occasions were particularly helpful for collecting more information to disclose the underlying factors

such as motivation, theoretical and ideological rationales, and pedagogical justifications of their actions toward and interactions with children in lessons and playtime. They were also valuable for validating or correcting the emerging interpretations of observed events, which were not fully accurate in many cases. This process of co-constructing data and interpretations of them (Charmaz, 2006) was key to provide more comprehensive and accurate accounts of language socialisation practices and experiences at Mountain View English Nursery School.

5.5.4 Other Data

Other types of relevant data were collected to triangulate and increase the level of trustworthiness of the study as a qualitative case study (Rallis & Rossman, 2009; Shenton, 2004). Brief descriptions of other data and the methods by which they were collected are provided.

Field Notes

Writing field notes is a crucial part of doing ethnography (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2011). Detailed field notes were kept after every visit to the nursery school and interview with parents and teachers. The observation sheet was particularly useful for retaining information of observed social and linguistic interactions. The field notes included summaries of visits and interviews, emerging ideas and themes, interpretations of observed interactions, and connections between them.

Documents

Relevant documents of and about Mountain View English Nursery School were collected as relevant data. They provided information for learning not only the structure of the school but also its founding and operational ideologies. Some of these documents included the school's mission statement, flyers and pamphlets, curriculum, websites, and daily schedules.

Artefacts

Analysis of cultural artefacts in ethnography can show a great deal about the ideologies of studied social, cultural, and institutional groups (Murchison, 2010). Some arts and crafts of the participating children displayed on the walls of the nursery school were photographed as data. They were mainly paintings and crafts of cultural and seasonal events and written works in English. It is a common practice in Japanese nursery schools to display children's works on the walls so that the children can see each other's products, and more importantly, for their parents to see their children's developments. The school walls also had some aide materials for learning such as world map, Roman alphabet letters, and a list of classroom rules.

5.6 Transcription

Another important methodological decision for the current study was to determine how to make accurate transcripts of naturally occurring data derived from young children in classroom and playground settings. Transcription is never a straightforward process (Bailey, 2008; Duranti, 2006; Ochs, 1979). There is no one-fits-all model for transcribing audio data. Thus a more focused literature review on transcription models for representing naturally occurring data was conducted, and it led to a construction of a strategic filtering system that produced transcripts that were required for conducting analysis and achieving the research goals. The system contained ethical, practicality, and methodological filters, and these considerations determined what could and could not be included, what level of conversational detail was required, what contextual information was needed, and how data should be represented in the transcripts (Bailey, 2008). The informed selections and decisions for transcription produced "a transcript that enables research questions to be addressed through the application of an approach to transcription that is suited to the needs of the specific study" (Davidson, 2009, p. 42). This section provides brief descriptions of each filter.

5.6.1 Ethical Filter

The ethical filter ensured that the transcripts in this study did not include data from non-participating children and teachers. This process particularly concerned the observation data that were collected in settings where both participating and non-participating children and teachers were present. Because participants were recruited on a voluntary basis, it was a natural consequence that the original audio data contained utterances and interactions of non-participants. Carefully considering the likely situation of non-participants being audio recorded in lessons and playtime, the information sheet clearly explained that any utterances and interactions of non-participants would be excluded. The current study had about fifty percent participation ration for child and parent and seventy-five percent participation ratio for teacher, and in uncontrolled settings, it was natural that the audio recordings of lessons and playtime contained utterances and interactions of both participating and non-participating children and teachers. The interactive data that included non-participants had to be removed in the process of transcribing these recordings.

In the actual processes of identifying and excluding utterances and interactions of non-participants, it was relatively easy to recognise non-participating teachers with their distinctive voices and eliminate their parts. Besides carefully listening to the audio recordings and trying to identify child speakers, the observation sheet and field notes provided necessary information to connect utterances and the speakers in the audio data. Another strategy that increased the level of accuracy in identifying speakers was the strategy of purposefully and repeatedly mentioning the names of participating children and not saying the names of non-participating children (more detailed discussion in 5.7). These supplementary information; however, had limitations, and there were parts where it was difficult to identify the speakers with certainty. These utterances and interactions had to be excluded from the transcripts to conduct an ethical practice in the current study.

After going through the ethical filter, the transcripts contained the following: participating teachers generally addressing children, utterances of and interactions between participating teachers, utterances of and interactions between participating

children, interactions between participating children and participating teachers, interactions between participating teachers and the participatory observer, and interactions between participating children and the participatory observer.

5.6.2 Practicality Filter

The practicality filter concerned what was achievable, reasonable, and justifiable with the collected data. For instance, the nature of audio recordings made it impossible to identify some paralinguistic cues such as facial expressions and body movements (Jenks, 2011). The lack of paralinguistic features can be a limitation; however, paralinguistic cues were considered helpful but not essential for conducting analysis and ultimately achieving the goals of the current study (Oliver, Serovich, & Mason, 2005). This limitation has been considered from the time of designing the transcription procedure. The inclusion of paralinguistic cues through video recording may be useful in future studies.

Another challenge related to practicality was transcribing the audio data entirely. The audio data that were collected in naturally occurring settings often had occasions where multiple interactions were taking place simultaneously. The analysis of the current study required transcripts that represented the content of utterances. Thus it was unnecessary to transcribe "background noises" (Bailey, 2008; McLellan, MacQueen, & Neidig, 2003) that included incomprehensible conversations in the background and meaningless sounds that children made. Jenks (2011) suggests that what is practical in transcription should be determined with research aims and interests. To accomplish the research aims of the current study, which is to provide detailed accounts of language socialisation experiences of children at Mountain View English Nursery School, the transcripts required representations of meaningful interactions from the audio recordings and not the entire sounds in the recordings.

After going through the practicality filter, the transcripts in the current study did not include some paralinguistic cues that were considered not essential for achieving the research aims. Many irrelevant utterances and interactions were excluded from the

transcripts. This "cleaning up" of data (Burnard, 1994) prepared the transcripts required for conducting content-based analysis in the current study.

5.6.3 Methodological Filter

In close relation to the practicality filter, the methodological filter informed what type of transcript was required for the planned analysis and ultimately to accomplish the research aims.

The analytical method employed in the current study was qualitative content analysis (Mayring, 2000, 2014). Qualitative content analysis aims to analyse not only what is seen on the surface but also what is embedded in observable social activities (Mayring, 2000). Thus for qualitatively analysing, organising, and categorising the data in this study, the transcripts in the current study included some selective features of speech such as pauses, laughter, lengthening, and overlapping represented with a modified use of Jefferson's transcription convention (Jefferson, 2004; see also Duranti, 1997; Ochs, 1979).

The transcription convention implemented in the current study made two appropriations to better suit the research design and objectives. The first was a use of the symbol of a pause (represented with opening and closing brackets with a period in the middle) in the places of comma and period. This modification was justified with the view that naturally occurring interactions never have a full stop and therefore pauses instead of commas and periods more accurately represent naturally occurring interactions. The second appropriation was the use of double brackets to insert background information. The information included simple summaries of linguistic (e.g., a child responded) and physical (e.g., a child left the room) events of participating and more importantly non-participating children and teachers. The transcripts used the double brackets to add summaries of involvements of non-participating children and teachers whenever it was necessary to make sense of the flow of interactions. In this manner, the transcripts maintained the ethical level while they contained the necessary information for conducting qualitative content analysis.

The transcription used the modified convention only to transcribe the observation data of naturally occurring interactions. The transcripts of the interview data used the conventional style with periods and commas. The interviews took place in a more controlled setting, and thus the dialogues between the interviewer and interviewee had clear turn taking marked with a full stop. Therefore, the current study presents two types of transcripts according to the uncontrolled and controlled nature of data. Despite the use of two different conventions for transcribing data in the current study, both types of transcripts were suitable for conducting a content-based analysis.

5.7 Data Analysis

With the research goal of providing detailed descriptions of children's language socialisation experiences at an English immersion nursery school in Japan, the current study implemented qualitative content analysis as its analytical approach to organise, categorise, and analyse data systematically.

5.7.1 Qualitative Content Analysis

Qualitative content analysis is defined as "an approach of empirical methodological controlled analysis of texts within their context of communication, following content analytical rules and step by step models, without rash quantification" (Mayring, 2000, p. 2). It is particularly suitable for dealing with a large amount of data, and it provides systematic processes through which mass data are organised into themes and categories (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005) while focusing on "the meaning of qualitative material" (Schreier, 2012, p. 1). Qualitative content analysis aims to "identify important themes or categories within a body of content and to provide a rich description of the social reality created by those themes and categories as they are lived out in a particular setting" (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2005, p. 11). This analytical approach has been utilised and proven useful in qualitative case studies (Kohlbacher, 2006). The current study implemented qualitative content analysis for these characteristics and strengths best suited for exploring language socialisation experiences. The analysis will focus on identifying connections between language ideologies and socialisation practices in

interactions, agency in socialisation processes, and language socialisation outcomes. These analyses are essential for achieving the research aims.

Qualitative content analysis suggests two approaches to analysing data. They are inductive and deductive approaches (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005; Mayring, 2000, 2014), and these two techniques can be used flexibly in combination if it better serves to accomplish research goals (Cho & Lee, 2014; Kondracki, 2002; Mayring 2014). The current study employed both inductive and deductive approaches to analyse data. The analysis was conducted on NVivo, a computer programme for assisting qualitative studies.

5.7.2 Analytical Procedure

The first stage of analysis worked with the observation data. The initial analysis used a deductive technique to reduce the large amount of data to workable size. Since the current study concerned language socialisation, the deductive analysis used a single code of "language socialisation" to identify all the language socialisation practices and processes in the observation data. The code of "language socialisation" in the analysis was carefully defined as a meaningful interaction between two or more participating children and teachers with intentions to cause social, cultural, educational, and linguistic changes. The initial analysis resulted in identifying 215 interactions of language socialisation.

Secondly, the identified 215 language socialisation practices in interactions were further interpreted, organised, and categorised deductively by the theme of agent, meaning who plays the predominant role in socialising others. The main codes for this analysis were teacher and child. This process organised all the language socialisation practices into two categories: teachers' socialisation and children's socialisation. To determine the agent of each language socialisation practice with accuracy, the analysis revisited them in the original data to obtain a qualitative understanding of the contents (Mayrying, 2014). The second analysis deductively categorised the 215 interactions of language socialisation into two categories of language socialisation by teachers and language socialisation by children.

The next stage was an inductive analysis within each category of language socialisation by teachers and by children, and this process generated specific themes and categories that characterised the identified interactions of language socialisation. The inductive analysis began with open coding. The codes were carefully constructed to summarise the characteristics of each language socialisation practice. Each code had its detailed description to be precise and distinctive. At about ten percent completion of the inductive analysis, the emerging codes were examined and evaluated, and necessary adjustments were implemented as Mayring (2014) suggests.

When open codes were assigned to each language socialisation practice, the final stage of analysis of the observation data reviewed and compared all the codes, merged similar codes, and constructed significant themes and categories. The combination of deductive and inductive analysis on the observation data identified specific themes and categories of language socialisation practice at Mountain View English Nursery School.

The interview and other data were analysed inductively to generate free codes and construct significant themes and categories. These themes and categories were then reviewed jointly with the language socialisation practices identified in the observation data. This critical comparison of all the themes and categories generated meaningful links between them. They were further examined until the analysed data was able to show comprehensive views of each observed language socialisation practice and present them with rich empirical supports. The use of multiple data sources (observation, interview and other relevant data) achieved data triangulation, and this made it possible to attain a higher level of trustworthiness in conducting a qualitative analysis (Shenton, 2004).

Concerning the interview data, it is necessary to explain the process of translating some data from Japanese to English. As mentioned above, the interviews with parents and Japanese-speaking teachers were conducted in Japanese. These data in Japanese were analysed in Japanese alongside the rest of the data in English. Translating all the data in Japanese into English was considered an option; however, it was time-consuming, and more importantly, there was a high risk of losing meanings in the process of translation (van Nes, *et al.*, 2010). Maintaining the qualitative aspect of the data was considered

essential in doing qualitative content analysis (Mayring, 2000). Therefore, the interview data in Japanese were analysed in their original Japanese texts.

Translations of the data in Japanese into English were necessary for presenting them in this thesis. First, segments of analysed data in Japanese that illustrated and supported the findings were selected. These segments were translated from Japanese to English. An English native speaker with knowledge and skills in Japanese also translated the same segments of data in Japanese to English. The translators compared the two sets of translations, discussed the similarities and differences, and made necessary adjustments to construct the final translations. In the finding and discussion chapters (chapters 6-8), readers will find the English translations following the original Japanese texts represented in Roman alphabets (called *rōmaji* in Japanese).

5.8 Pilot Study

A pilot study was conducted in June 2015 to test the feasibility of the data collection and analysis methods. The pilot study took place at Sea View English Nursery School, the sister school of Mountain View English Nursery School. Both the schools offered the same childcare services and English immersion programme, and the similarities between the two schools made Sea View English Nursery School an ideal site for conducing the pilot study. Five children and two of their parents consented to participate in the pilot study. For the teacher participation, two English-speaking teachers and the Principal consented to participate. The pilot study revealed some methodological challenges that were adjusted before and during the actual data collection at Mountain View English Nursery School.

5.8.1 Reflections on Recruiting Participants

One of the most important reflections in the pilot study was on the low participation rate. They were thirty-six percent, fourteen percent, and sixty-six percent for child, parent, and teacher participation respectively. This low participation rate questioned the effectiveness of the opt-in approach tested in the pilot study. Recruiting child participation can be challenging in terms of their young age and assumed limitations

(Alderson & Morrow, 2011; Rice, *et al.*, 2007). Another challenge was ethical regulations of conducting research with very young child participants. Some parents who decided not to participate in the pilot study related that their children were too young to be involved in an academic work. Changing the method for recruitment could have increased the participation ratio (e.g. opt-out approach). However, the current study valued more the ethical considerations and conducts than having a large number of participants and thus made an informed decision to keep the opt-in approach in the actual data collection to ensure voluntary participation and no consequences for non-participation.

Instead of changing the method for recruiting participants, relevant changes were made to the content and wordings of the information sheets and consent forms. This attempt was to increase the participation ratio by communicating the research project more concisely and clearly and helping parents and teachers understand the safety in both participating and not participating. The revised information sheets and consent forms were used in the process of recruiting participants to the actual research project, and it resulted in a higher participation ratio in the data collection at Mountain View English Nursery School.

5.8.2 Reflections on Participatory Observation

The feasibility test of the participatory observation in the pilot study included positioning of the researcher in classrooms and testing of the recording equipment. The pilot study conducted classroom and playtime observations at Sea View English Nursery School. An audio recorder was used to make recordings of the observed lessons in two classrooms in different sizes. The check of the recordings confirmed its sufficient clarity for later transcription.

On the first day of conducting the pilot study, a simple notebook was used to take notes while making observations. The written information on the notebook, however, was confusing when later reviewed. Based on this limitation, an observation sheet was created to write effective notes and retrieve information accurately for writing field notes and making transcripts. The observation sheet was tested on the second visit of

the pilot project, and it was found more effective for both recording and retrieving information. The observation sheet was utilised in the actual research project.

The pilot study also identified a specific challenge in making reliable observation recordings. When checking the recordings after the first visit to Sea View English Nursery School, it was particularly difficult to identify the speakers in the playtime recordings. The challenge of identifying speakers was partly due to the unfamiliarity with the children in the nursery school, but the more challenging aspect was that there were multiple streams of conversations and interactions taking place simultaneously. The observations made in natural settings recorded both participating and non-participating children interacting freely. The task of identifying speakers in these recordings was crucial to conduct an ethical study by not including non-participants as promised in the information sheets. To identify speakers in observation recordings better, the pilot study implemented and tested a technique to discern participants from non-participants by intentionally and repeatedly mentioning and recording the names of participating children and not saying the names of non-participating children in the recordings. The recordings that were made with this technique made it easier to identify speakers with accuracy and confidence. This simple practice of mentioning or not mentioning the names of children played an essential role in conducting a rigorous study while maintaining the ethical level of the study.

5.8.3 Reflections on Interviews

The pilot study conducted interviews to test the interview procedure and recording. One interview with a mother of a participating child took place in a family-friendly restaurant on the second visit day after school. The use of the questionnaire that the interviewee mother previously submitted was found effective in the interview for developing meaningful conversations and collecting data about the child participant and his surrounding social and linguistic influence on his experience at Sea View English Nursery School. Although the interview was conducted in a public space with other customers in close proximity, the interview recording was manageable in quality for making an accurate transcript.

A similar interview was conducted and tested with one English-speaking teacher at Sea View English Nursery School. The interview used the researcher's observations as prompts. The amount and quality of observations were limited from a few observations conducted prior to the interview with the teacher. However, the interview developed ideas and constructed understandings of key aspects of language socialisation experiences at Sea View English Nursery School. The interview took place on the second day of visit during lunch break. The quality of the recording was satisfactory.

5.8.4 Other Reflections

Additionally, there were two other significant changes made to the current study as a result of conducting the pilot study. The first was a decision to abandon a plan to conduct "research with children" (Pinter, 2014; Pinter & Zandian, 2014, 2015), a research approach that views children as independent, relevant, and trustworthy participants in academic studies. The current study originally planned to implement a child age-appropriate method (Einarsdóttir, 2007; Measelle, *et al.*, 1998; Punch, 2002) to have children directly explain their social and linguistic experiences at Mountain View English Nursery School. The method used LEGO blocks and human figures to create imaginary social and linguistic settings. For example, the method puts two human figures in front of a LEGO nursery school, representing one of the English-speaking teachers and one child at Sea View English Nursery School talking to each other. This method would then ask child participants what language the participating children would use in this imaginary situation. Depending on their answers, the child participants would be asked to explain their language choice in their capacities. The pilot study used this creative method with the participating children, and most of the children appeared to enjoy playing with the LEGO figures and talking about their linguistic experiences in different settings.

This LEGO prompt activity generated some meaningful data from the participating children in the pilot study. The analysis of this data revealed some insights from the participating children's point of view (e.g., the children were well aware of the English only policy and the consequence of violating it). However, this method worked effectively only with the Whale children, and the younger participants seemed to have

difficulty in understanding and participating in it. One of the children, who was relatively new to the nursery school, did not understand the activity, and he was providing very random answers to questions. These limitations and other ethical considerations led to the decision to abandon this method. The child age-appropriate method developed and tested in the pilot study, however, has a potential to work effectively with children of certain age, and it can be further worked on in future projects.

The second major change concerned the analytical method. At the time of conducing the pilot study, the research plan was to conduct a grounded theory study in the field of language socialisation. Indeed, the first analysis of the data collected in the pilot study implemented the constructivist grounded theory model (Charmaz, 2006) to generate social theories. This effort, however, ended unsuccessfully for a variety of reasons (e.g., lack of training, limited data). This failure led to a re-examination of the research objectives, which were to provide detailed accounts of language socialisation at an English immersion nursery school in Japan. Revisiting the research aims clarified that the main goal of conducting the current study was not to generate theories, but to critically, systematically, and comprehensively analyse, discuss, and present language socialisation experiences of children in the research context. Further reviews of the literature and consultations with other experienced researchers identified qualitative content analysis. The second attempt of data analysis in the pilot study implemented qualitative content analysis, and it was found better suited for achieving the research goals of the current study.

5.9 Reflexivity

Reflexivity has been an important aspect of ethnographic studies (Davies, 2007) and in the field of language socialisation (Ochs, 1988; Schieffelin, 1990). Reflexivity in the current study implies the researcher's social positions and their potential influence in research (Geertz, 1973; Lichterman, 2017). This definition of reflexivity in interpretive ethnography suggests that social positions are constantly constructed and reconstructed by ongoing interactions and negotiations between the researcher and participants in the field (Lichterman, 2017; Watson, 1987). In this view, Talmy (2010,

2011; see also Mann, 2011; Miller, 2011; Pavlenko, 2007) argues that data collection methods such as interviews particularly in qualitative studies can and should be considered "social practice" rather than research instruments.

At the early stage of the data collection, there was an experience that had a great impact on reflexive practices in the current study. While visiting the nursery school, I, the researcher and the author of this thesis, only used English with the children to observe the English only policy. However, in some occasions, I spoke Japanese with some of the teachers even in front of the children. Seeing these interactions in Japanese, children "figured out" that I was able to speak both Japanese and English. Based on this knowledge, some children tried to speak Japanese to me in a very secretive way. When they spoke Japanese, they often came close to me, covered their mouth with hands, and whispered in Japanese. To this exceptional linguistic practice, I did not react as other teachers would by telling them to "go to the corner" for breaching the rule. Rather, I tried not to interfere with the naturally occurring interactions initiated by some "mischievous" children. Instead of telling them not to speak Japanese, I often asked them why they spoke Japanese, and in general, they answered that I was not a teacher, and thus it was okay for them to speak Japanese to me. This incident illustrated how children evaluated my status as a non-teacher with fluency in both Japanese and English, and it informed their linguistic choice and practice with me at the nursery school. My status as an adult, male, Japanese, bilingual of Japanese and English researcher and presence in the classrooms and playground played significant roles in co-constructing data through interactions with children.

Reflexive practice was also relevant in working with teacher and parent participants. Taking Mann's (2011) view that "*all* interviews are already sites of social interaction, where ideas, facts, views, details, and stories are collaboratively produced between interviewee and interviewer" (p. 8, emphasis original) into critical consideration, the interviews with the teacher and parent participants as well as the data generated were interactively co-constructed by the participants and the researcher. For instance, the teacher and parent participants were more clearly aware of the status of the researcher than the child participants. This knowledge about the researcher in interviews as "social practice" (Talmy, 2010) informed the co-construction of interview talk in them

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(Mann, 2011). Additionally, the interview procedures and the use of preliminary findings as a conversation starter determined the course of the interviews, and thus the interviewers actively participated in these interviews.

As Ochs (1988) notes in her ethnographic reports of language socialization in a Samoan village, data collection, transcription, analysis, and presentation are ultimately of the researcher who conducts and presents the study. Therefore, practicing reflexive evaluations at every level and step of the current study was crucial for conducting rigorous, trustworthy, ethical, and safe research (D'Cruz, Gillingham, & Melendez, 2007; Graham, Powell, & Taylor, 2015).

5.10 Selection of Data for Presentation

Selecting what data examplars to be included in "re-presenting" the study is another important aspect of qualitative studies (Chenail, 1995), and it deserves a small section to be explained in this thesis.

The qualitative content analysis conducted through both deductive and inductive categorizations generated themes concerning the topic of language socialization (for the more detailed explanation of the analytical procedure, see 5.7.1 above). Table 5 below provides the list of themes identified in the current study. For the limitation of space, the table lists only the themes that were supported by a considerable number of language socialization practices (for observation data) and ideas/opinions (for interview data) identified, coded, and analysed.

Table 5: List of Identified Codes

Observation Data	Interview Data
Deductive Analysis (first)	
• Language Socialisation	
Deductive Analysis (second)	
• Teachers	
• Children	
Inductive Analysis	Inductive Analysis
• Shaming	• Eiken

• Threatening	• English use outside school
• Upgrading	• Expectations
• Downgrading	• Extra learning
• Asking for answers	• Language choice
• Asking for reasons	• English speaking environment
• Closing class	• Reasons for acquiring English
• Encouraging to express opinion	• Reasons for choosing the school
• Feeling parent pressure	• American teachers' roles
• Scaffolding	• Changing the school
• Teaching how to ask for things	• Children's Japanese use
• Teaching for eiken	• Concerns on studying English
• Making mistakes	• Correct English
• Making full sentences	• Creating linguistic practices
• Using Japanese	• Different from American school
• Being aware of English only policy	• Different from Japanese school
• Asking questions	• Independent learning
• Correcting peers	• Parents' expectations
• Correcting teachers	• Preparing for elementary school
• Reporting peer's misbahavior	• Values on learning
• Taking teacher role	• Recreating learning environment
• Helping peers	
• Involving peers	
• Making suggestions	
• Rejecting	
• Using knowledge	
Data Comparison, Categorisation, Revision	

The generated codes and themes were then organized into categories following the practical measures provided by Harding (2013). His suggestions include; identifying codes that change their belonging categories, creating and attaching sub categories, adding new categories that bring more codes together, and reviewing, making connections, and placing codes that belong to no categories. For example, the shaming, threatening, upgrading, downgrading, English speaking environment, and children's Japanese use codes were grouped together into the category of "real language learning experience". In the same manner, the codes of asking for reasons, encouraging to express opinion, American teacher's roles, and independent learning were placed under the "promoting individualistic and independent learning" category. All the codes and

categories were reviewed and revised until they achieved trustworthy representation of the data (Safonov, 2010) collected in the current study.

The final task of selecting data for presentation in the current thesis was guided by three main criteria; are the themes supported by the existing literature, are they validly and reliably supported by the data, and are they answering the research questions? Gibson and Brown (2009) argues that presentation of analysis is a very personal act and thus it is safe to note that the selection of data for presentation in the current thesis was also a social practice (Talmy, 2010) influenced by every step of the current study including the literature review, data collection, data analysis, and writing up the thesis.

5.11 Summary

This chapter presented methodological discussions of the current study. This research took place at Mountain View English Nursery School, a linguistically and educationally unique setting for conducting a language socialisation study. The research implemented ethnographic design and methods to conduct a longitudinal and participatory research. Through visiting the nursery school over ten months and observing classes and playtime, the study collected data of naturally occurring interactions through which language socialisation occurred. The research design also included interviews with parents and teachers, who were both informants and influencers of children's social, linguistic, and educational experiences at the nursery school and home. The data were strategically transcribed and analysed using qualitative content analysis (Mayring, 2000, 2014). Discussion in this chapter also included reports and reflections on the pilot study. The concept of reflexivity played an essential role in conducting research with young children. This chapter should help the readers better understand and make evaluations of findings and discussions presented in the following chapters.

Chapter Six:
Language Socialisation by the English-speaking Teachers

This chapter and the following two chapters will present and discuss specific language socialisation practices at Mountain View English Nursery School. The types of language socialisation are organised according to the main socialising actor, namely the English-speaking teachers, the Japanese-speaking teachers, and children.

This chapter will focus on the language socialisation practices of the English-speaking teachers in three main themes: providing "real" language learning experience, promoting individualistic and independent learning, and teaching English communication style. The presentations will demonstrate how the English-speaking teachers' language ideologies inform their use of language in socialising children. This chapter will provide illustrative excerpts and other data to provide comprehensive discussions of how the English-speaking teachers socialise children into certain social, linguistic, and educational ideologies and practices at Mountain View English Nursery School. The chapter concludes with a discussion to connect the findings to the existing body of knowledge.

6.1 Providing "Real" Language Learning Experience

One of the recurrent themes in the interviews with the English-speaking teachers was their belief that English acquisition best occurs in a natural environment where children can have sufficient opportunities to receive inputs and make outputs in English. A key to understanding this language ideology lies in the theories of first and second language acquisition (Lightbown & Spada, 2013). As native speakers of English, their English language learning experience occurred naturally from birth, and this experience shaped certain beliefs about how English could and should be acquired. According to this language ideology about English language acquisition, the English-speaking teachers at Mountain View English Nursery School aimed to recreate the same environment wherein they had learned English as their first language. The following excerpt from the interview with Ms. Anderson illustrates the English-speaking teachers' ideology

about how English language learning at Mountain View English Nursery School is ought to be.

Excerpt 1 (Ms. A = Ms. Anderson; R = Researcher)

Ms. A: I kind of wish they don't put so much focus on *Eiken*.

R: Okay, okay, so what do you wish that they focus on?

Ms. A: Well, I think playing with the children's strengths? Like having them have like, I love how they do the free play. I think the children get a lot out of that, like especially the older kids they always tell you about the things that they do, and I think when they have their hands busy with something, their minds are able to be more creative with the structure of the words and how they put their English together. I think that helps a lot more than, maybe they realise.

R: Okay, so you feel, you feel the kids are studying too much?

Ms. A: I think it's really hard for them because they are so young.

(24.02.2016 Interview with Ms. Anderson)

In the interview, Ms. Anderson expresses her concern that her students are required to spend an excessive amount of time studying English for passing *Eiken* tests. She further emphasises that children should have more time using English freely than learning English as a test subject. Additionally, Ms. Anderson argues that using English in creative ways can help children understand the English grammar more effectively. Most of the English-speaking teachers at Mountain View English Nursery School expressed similar unsatisfied feelings towards learning for tests in their interviews.

The English-speaking teachers' ideology that English should be acquired in natural settings can be strongly influenced by their English language acquisition experience.

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They learned English as a first language by interacting with their parents, family members at home, teachers and peers at school, and other individuals in different social settings. Their experiences of acquiring English as a first language support the idea that children at Mountain View English Nursery School should also learn English through freely using English in natural interactions. This belief constructs a critical view on English language learning as a second language for tests. Other foreign teachers in Amaki's (2008) study express similar views of English language education in Japan with their observation that "English seems often taught like 'science' rather than as a 'living language' for communication" (p. 60).

This specific ideology toward English language acquisition informs and shapes the ways the English-speaking teachers use English in interactions with children. They use a variety of strategies to encourage children to speak English in natural interactions. Two strategies, namely shaming and threatening, are most frequently used to socialise children into the mode of learning English that resembles a typical approach to acquiring English as a first language.

6.1.1 Shaming Strategy

The English-speaking teachers at Mountain View English Nursery School use shaming as a strategy to make children speak English. Although shaming implies specific negative connotations in some cultures (Wong & Tsai, 2007), it has been reported to play significant roles in language socialisation (Fung, 1999; Lo & Fung, 2011; Moore, 2006). The shaming strategy identified in the current study does not necessarily mean belittling children. Rather, the English-speaking teachers at Mountain View English Nursery School use the shaming strategy to point out and help children become conscious that they are choosing to go the easy way and not meeting their age-appropriate expectations on using the English language.

The identified shaming strategy in the current study often takes the form of the English-speaking teachers directly telling children that they are acting like one of the younger age group children. For example, in one observed lesson where some of the Cat boys were lying on the floor and not paying attention, Mr. Anderson told the boys to go play

with the Tulip and Peach children (2015.10.01 Cat Class). Mr. Anderson's suggestion infers that the four or five-year-old Cat boys were acting like one or two-year-olds in the classroom. By shaming them in this particular way, Mr. Anderson attempted to correct the immature behaviour of the Cat boys.

In addition to socialising children to proper behaviours in the classroom, the English-speaking teachers use the shaming strategy to encourage children to speak English at age-appropriately expected levels. The English-speaking teachers highly expect children to use English for acquiring the language. The following excerpt provides an indirect but illustrative example of how children are socialised into the practice of speaking English at age-appropriate levels. This particular interaction involves Mr. Stewart, two Whale children, and the researcher as a participatory observer in one English lesson. In this class, Mr. Stewart is teaching about Thanksgiving, and in this particular segment of the class, he is explaining that vegetables and crops grow well in some parts of the world and not so well in others.

Excerpt 2 (Mr. St = Mr. Stewart; Riko; Ayano)

Mr. St: you eat rice a lot right? (.) do you think? (.) we could if we took the
                Japanese rice and went to America and planted and had lots of rice? (.) not
                everywhere right? (.) for example (.) my hometown (.) is very different
                from here (.) very very different (.) for example (.) where is my (.)

((Mr. Anderson looks for a picture of his hometown on his iPad.))

                this one (.) does this look like anywhere in Japan? (.) what do you think (.)
                do you think there is (sic) places like this in Japan? (.)

Riko: no (.)

Mr. St: you don't think so? (.) what do you think (.) places like this in Japan? (.)

((The researcher shakes his head.))

Ayano: he doesn't speak like a baby (.)

Mr. St: (h) that's right (.) because shaking your head is not saying anything (.)
                 baby talk (.)

Ayano: I hear the baby did it here (.)

<div align="right">(05.11.2015 Whale Class)</div>

These series of interactions begin with Mr. Stewart showing Whale children a picture of his hometown in the desert part of the United States. He then asks the children if they think there are places like his hometown in Japan. Riko responds with a negative confirmation. Then Mr. Stewart turns to the researcher in the back of the classroom and asks the same question. The researcher reacts to the question by simply shaking his head to signify his answer. In this particular moment, Ayano tells Mr. Stewart that the researcher is acting like a baby. This comment makes Mr. Stewart laugh, and then he confirms that simply shaking head is how a baby communicates.

Although this is not an interaction where the English-speaking teacher is using the shaming strategy directly to children, it is significant in at least two ways to understand the use of shaming for socialising purposes. First, it is evident that Ayano is well socialised in the shaming practice. She refers to the researcher's non-verbal response to Mr. Stewart's question as baby talk. Ayano's reference to baby talk suggests that she has been socialised to the idea that merely shaking head is not enough, but it is expected to use words in answering questions. Second, it is notable that Ayano uses her socialised knowledge to judge others, in this case, the researcher. It shows that this particular practice of shaming through calling a certain non-verbal reaction baby talk is well acquired by Ayano to the extent that she can apply her knowledge for making a critical judgment.

Immediately after the class, Mr. Stewart explained in a conversation that he used this strategy to make sure that his students used words in responding to questions.

Excerpt 3 (R = Researcher; Mr. St = Mr. Stewart)

R: You asked me a question and I just nodded.

Mr. St: Oh that. I'm trying to get them to speak, a lot of them, most of the kids go
            to the easiest thing like not saying anything. Just for yes and no, they just
            shake their heads or not. So for them, trying to get them to speak. No no
            you can't, that's babies can do that. You guys can use your words.

R: That's just one of your strategies that you use?
Mr. St: One of the strategies.

R: Okay.

Mr. St: Not necessarily that's only babies do that. Even a baby can do it. You can
            do it better.

                                                    (05.11.2015 Whale Class)

In his explanation, he confirms that he uses this particular strategy to make children use
words and have verbal interactions at the level they are expected to perform. He
clarifies that the underlining message is that even babies can do it, so the children,
especially in the Whale group, can use words to answer and express their opinions. The
strategy of shaming by making references to a baby or the younger age groups appears
to be successful in making children use English. In this light, the shaming strategy
socialises children into the expected linguistic practice of responding with words, and to
a greater extent, to learn English through using it in interactions with the English-
speaking teachers.

To further explore the use of shaming as a language socialisation practice, it is
worthwhile to examine a reverse use of the shaming strategy. The shaming strategy can
be seen as a "downgrading" process that helps children understand the gap between
where they are performing, or in Mr. Stewart's words, "go to the easiest thing"

(2015.11.05 Whale Class) and the level they are expected to perform. A reverse use of the shaming strategy, on the other hand, is to "upgrade" children by recognising, praising, and encouraging their linguistic performances beyond the expected level.

The following excerpt illustrates the reverse use of the shaming strategy. This interaction is taken from the recording of an Elephant class taught by Mr. Stewart. In this segment, Mr. Stewart is greeting the Elephant children at the beginning of the class. Responding to this initiation, the children respond by saying "good morning" in a loud voice. To this performance, Mr. Stewart asks the children if they are the Whale children because they are performing at their level.

Excerpt 4 (Mr. St = Mr. Stewart; Hina)

Mr. St: everyone good morning? (.)

((The Elephant children say good morning loudly))

Mr. St: wow (.) are you guys Whales? (.)

Hina: no:? (.)

Mr. St: are you sure you're Elephants? we're in the Whale room (.) I think you
              must be all Whales right? (.) are you guys Whales? (.) just Elephants? (.)

(17.09.2015 Elephant Class)

This excerpt shows how the reverse use of the shaming strategy is in effect. Mr. Stewart initiates the interaction by greeting the Elephant children. In response, the Elephant children perform their greeting back to Mr. Stewart in a loud voice, exceeding the expected and satisfactory level of performance. Mr. Stewart appears to be pleased with the children's performance, and he asks if they are Whale children. Hina responds negatively to the questions, but Mr. Stewart asks the same question repeatedly.

It is necessary to mention that this particular class with the Elephant children took place in the Whale classroom for a scheduling reason on that day. Thus, being in the Whale classroom has potentially informed Mr. Stewart and his reference to Whale children in the interactions. Regardless of the physical environment, Mr. Stewart's questions "upgrade" the Elephant children to an older age group, the Whale group. The reverse use of the shaming strategy praises children for exceeding the expected and satisfactory level of linguistic performance. This practice further socialises children into using English for acquiring it in classrooms.

The English-speaking teachers use shaming as a strategy to recreate natural English language acquisition process and environment that they believe necessary for children to best acquire the language. In this attempt, children are encouraged to speak English actively. The shaming strategy is used for both "downgrading" and "upgrading" effects. Both uses are to socialise children into the idea and practice of acquiring English by using it in interactions.

6.1.2 Threatening Strategy

The English-speaking teachers at Mountain View English Nursery School also use threatening to reinforce the English only policy. Threatening is also reported as a pedagogical strategy for socialising children in Moore's (2006) study of Qu'ranic and public schools. The English only policy of Mountain View English Nursery School prohibits children from speaking Japanese while they are at the nursery school. The English-speaking teachers are in favour of the English only policy because it supports their ideology that English can be best acquired in an environment where English is used naturally. In the research context of the current study, the most observed teacher threatening is a disciplinary line of "go to the corner" when children violate the English only policy and speak Japanese at the nursery school. Sending children to the corner is not a typical disciplinary practice in Japan (Lewis, 2017), but it is of the English-speaking teachers that they introduced to the nursery school.

The following excerpt shows how the threatening strategy is used in an interaction between Mr. Stewart and some of the Whale children during a classroom activity.

Excerpt 5 (Riko; Mr. St = Mr. Stewart; Minato)

Riko: Minato has girl's socks (.)

Mr. St: what do you mean girl's socks (.) come here come here (.)

((Minato comes to the front.))

Mr. St: why are they girls' socks (.) why are they girl's socks (.) is that because
               it's pink? (.) because the sock is pink? is that why? (.)

Minato: it has *kanji* (Chinese characters) too (.)

Mr St: It has kanji uh-oh (.) he's gotta go to the corner (.)

Minato: no (h) (.)

(04.08.2015 Whale Class)

Mr. Stewart is teaching some vocabulary related to clothing in this class. At the
beginning of this particular interaction, Riko points out that Minato is wearing girl's
socks because the colour of his socks is pink. Mr. Stewart invites Minato to come to the
front, and then he asks the children in the class why Minato's socks are for girls. Then
Minato interrupts and tells Mr. Stewart that his socks have some *kanji* (Chinese
characters). Mr. Stewart reacts to this by telling Minato that he has to go to the corner
because his socks have some *kanji*.

Mr. Stewart uses the threatening line of "go to the corner" to remind Minato the English
only policy of Mountain View English Nursery School. The saying of "go to the corner"
in this particular interaction, however, is carried in a slightly joking way. Mr. Stewart
tells Minato that he has to "go to the corner" casually, and Minato seems to understand
the intention of this saying and reacts to Mr. Stewart's threat with laughter.

Both teachers and children show a clear awareness of the use of the threatening strategy in informal chats and conversations during data collection. Overall, the threatening line of "go to the corner" for using Japanese is a well-shared knowledge and practice at the nursery school. However, the actual use of the threatening strategy was observed and recorded only once (Excerpt 5) in over ten months of data collection and more than a hundred hours of recordings. The gap between the awareness level and the actual use of the "go to the corner" threatening strategy for socialising children into the English only policy require some critical evaluations of the research design and research context.

This lack of empirical data may be by chance due to the unsystematic and inconsistent selections of visit days and classroom observations. The current study may have missed opportunities to observe and record actual uses of the threatening strategy by the English-speaking teachers in interactions with children.

The more critical analysis of the research context and participants suggests another explanation that the English-speaking teachers did not have to use the "go to the corner" threatening with the participating children in the current study. The participants were children who had had some experience of attending the school before the current study, and they may have had sufficient time and experience of acquiring certain level of knowledge and skills in English. Being competent in speaking English enabled children to spend time at the nursery school without needing to speak Japanese. Moreover, the participating children may have had experiences of being threatened to or sent to the corner previously, and these experiences fully socialised the children into the English only policy as well as the consequence of violating it. If there was no use of Japanese, there was no need for the English-speaking teachers to use the "go to the corner" threatening strategy to enforce the English only policy. This examination of the research context and participants may explain the light tone of the interaction between Mr. Stewart and Minato (Excerpt 5) where they use the "go to the corner" threatening in a joking manner. The purpose of threatening children has changed from socialising children into the English only policy to enjoying making jokes with it in teacher-child interactions with the developments of the participating children in speaking English.

Although the observation data in the current study did not capture actual uses of the "go to the corner" threatening in interactions, other data such as interviews with parents showed that they were aware of the "go to the corner" threatening at Mountain View English Nursery School (2015.11.05 Riko's Mother Interview, 2015.11.06 Sakura's Mother Interview).

The excerpt from the observation data, the interview data from parents, and critical examinations of the research design, context, and participants suggest that the use of the "go to the corner" threatening strategy by the English-speaking teachers had already socialised the participating children into the English only policy fully. Their competence in English language communication also helped the participating children observe the English only policy. There need to be further studies to add more empirical data and validate this finding. These studies need to focus on younger and new students at the nursery school to avoid the age and proficiency factors that may have influenced the linguistic practices of the English-speaking teachers and children in the current study.

Teachers use a range of strategies such as insulting, shaming, threatening, and punishing to socialise children into certain rules of language learning schools (Moore, 2006). The current study observed and identified shaming and threatening as language socialisation practices of the English-speaking teachers. They use these specific language-mediated practices to socialise children into speaking only English in the nursery school. The strategies of shaming and threatening help the English-speaking teachers achieve the goal of socialising children into this particular mode of learning and acquiring English in a more natural way.

6.2 Promoting Individualistic and Independent Learning

Both Japanese and Western ideologies of learning co-exist in socially, educationally, and linguistically unique curriculum of Mountain View English Nursery School. Comparative studies of learning in Japan and the United States have explored and discussed significant differences between the two learning styles (Holloway, 1988; Takano & Osaka, 1999). For example, Cook (1999) examines the difference between communal constructions of knowledge in Japanese classrooms and individualistic attainment of

knowledge in Western classrooms. It is, however, premature to conclude that the Japanese ideology and practice of learning is one way and the more Western ideology and practice of learning is another without considering other sociocultural factors (Littlewood, 1994). The research context of the current study hosts both Japanese and Western ideologies of learning and more particularly English language learning, and this linguistically unique environment influences both the English-speaking and Japanese-speaking teachers at the ideological and pragmatic levels in their daily teaching and other responsibilities. Although the current study presents and discusses analysed data and findings of language ideologies and socialisation of the English-speaking and Japanese-speaking teachers in separate chapters (English-speaking teachers in chapter 6 and Japanese-speaking teachers in chapter 7), the chapters include discussions on relevant connections between the two sets of ideologies and language socialisation practices.

The English-speaking teachers at Mountain View English Nursery School bring so-called Western ideologies of language learning to the nursery school. The English-speaking teachers developed their language ideologies through their own experiences of going to schools in the United States. One characterising feature is their value on individualistic attainment of knowledge (Cook, 1999). Mr. Anderson reflects on his values as a teacher in the interview and explains that he values his role in helping children form and express individual opinions.

Excerpt 6 (R = Researcher; Mr. A = Mr. Anderson)

R: Oh, okay so, as a teacher what do you want your students to develop? What are, what are your expectations of the students? What do you value in your classes?

Mr. A: I, I think I value more of the conversation part of it.

R: Okay.

Mr. A: Like having giving the kids opportunities to talk about things that they

           like to talk about, and something that excite them and interest them. I

           guess like, rather than like, okay read this book we want you to read, you

           know, write this sentence we want you to write. I only like when we get

           to talk about things in class and see the kids express their own ideas

           about their things, and I think you know it takes a lot of practice to, you

           know, really come out really be able to say like what you wanna say about

           something rather than just like letting someone else talk about or

           agreeing with somebody else's ideas even though you might have your

           ideas.

                                                        (24.02.2016 Mr. Anderson Interview)

Mr. Anderson explains in the interview that his value in teaching at Mountain View English Nursery School lies in providing opportunities for children to have meaningful and interesting conversations. He admits that it takes practice to become competent in forming and expressing opinions in English, but it is important and enjoyable for Mr. Anderson to see that children have their own opinions and express them freely rather than following others thoughtlessly or passively. In Cook's (1999) distinction, Mr. Anderson's ideology toward learning matches better with the way learning is facilitated in Western classrooms. It is natural that Mr. Anderson holds this ideology because he had schooling experiences in the U.S., where he was socialised to the value, idea, and practice of individualistic learning.

The English-speaking teachers' language ideology of individualistic learning often conflicts with the Japanese style of learning, particularly that of English language learning. The English language education in Japan views the English language as a test subject for high school and university entrance examinations, and its teaching method heavily relies on memorisation of English syntax and lexicon (Hashimoto, 2009). Mr. Stewart argues in the following excerpt that the Japanese educational system is taking away the opportunity for children to think and learn by and for themselves.

Excerpt 7 (R = Researcher; Mr. St = Mr. Stewart)

R: So sometimes in order to explain a concept, you use Japanese?

Mr. St: Sometimes with my older learners.

R: Okay.

Mr. St: But that is only after they've passed a certain point where explaining
            things to them, they had more experience in Japanese situations than they
            have in English situations.

R: So you would do that with the kids in the nursery school?

Mr. St: I wouldn't because it would just destroy a lot of things that they have built
            up. I find it with when I was learning Japanese, you know the opposite
            end, I was learning Japanese. If someone explained to me you know they
            said a word in Japanese and then they just told me what that means in
            English, that's what I also expected, I don't, there is no work in it for me to
            try to think about it. I don't have to think about it anymore. I, okay, I
            understand that. So these kids especially the younger kids, if I take away
            that opportunity for them to think about it, they stop wanting to think
            about it. Just you know it gets into that. Like what I consider to be normal
            or natural Japanese education, just give me the answer. I can tell you the
            answer if you give me the answer, whereas I'm a fan of you need to think
            about this, and you know, you have a brain, let's use it.

                                            (01.03.2016 Mr. Stewart Interview)

In the interview, Mr. Stewart calls the Japanese English language education as a "just
give me the answer" type of learning. Situating his ideology toward effective learning in
his experience of learning Japanese, he emphasises the importance of thinking in the
process of learning. In his view, the Japanese educational system takes away the

opportunities to think about the content of learning by exclusively focusing on memorising and providing correct answers on tests. Mr. Stewart favours the idea of independent learning with a strong connection to critical thinking (Kreber, 1998) and questions the Japanese style of teaching and learning that "are teacher-centered, and students are expected to be passive" (Hyland, 1994, p. 59).

The interview data of Mr. Anderson, Mr. Stewart, and other English-speaking teachers reveal their ideology of individualistic and independent learning that facilitate effective language learning. The individualistic and independent learning style in the current study mainly concerns children's critical thinking and active participation in learning. This ideology reinforced with the criticism on the Japanese educational system plays a significant role in informing and shaping their use of language in interactions with children at Mountain View English Nursery School. They use specific linguistic practices to socialise children into the individualistic and independent learning style. The current study discusses two specific language-mediated practices, namely asking why questions and using analogies.

6.2.1 Asking "Why" Questions

The observation data of the current study identified a frequent use of "why" questions by the English-speaking teachers in classroom interactions with children. Asking questions has been studied as a useful technique in teaching (Gal, 1970; Tofade, Elsner, & Haines, 2013), and it has also been given special attention in language socialisation studies (Clancy, 1989; Fogle, 2012). These language socialisation studies examine both socialisation to use questions and socialisation through questions. The current study observed both the socialisation processes in relation to the use of questions, but the discussions will focus mainly on the latter process, socialisation of children into individualistic and independent learning through the use of questions, more particularly "why" questions. "Why" questions are open-ended, and they are considered to be a higher-order question that promotes critical thinking (Tofade, Elsner, & Haines, 2013). The English-speaking teachers at Mountain View English Nursery School use this strategy to encourage children to provide rationales to, elaborate on, and critically examine their utterances. The use of "why" questions is frequently observed in

interactions where the English-speaking teachers ask questions and children provide insufficient answers. For example, the observation data show that children often provided their answers with one-word responses. Reacting to this minimum effort, or in Mr. Stewart's words "go to the easiest thing" (2015.11.05 Whale Class), the English-speaking teachers often ask "why" questions to have the children expand on their answers.

The following excerpt is an exemplary interaction that shows the use of "why" question to socialise children into individualistic and independent learning. This interaction comes from a lesson with the Whale children taught by Mr. Stewart. In the lesson, he teaches about Thanksgiving and asks children what they are thankful for. To help the children understand the aim of this activity, Mr. Stewart first provides some examples of things for which he is thankful. Then the children begin to share some ideas, and it escalates into an uncontrollable situation where the children are listing all the objects that they see in the classroom.

Excerpt 8 (Mr. St = Mr. Stewart; Wakana)

Mr. St: shoes (.) that's a good one (.) shoes (.) some people can't get shoes (.) question (.) why are you thankful for doors (.) why (.)

Wakana: because you can go outside (.)

Mr. St: you can go outside? (.) okay (.) and why are you thankful for windows (.)
Wakana: because we can see outside (.)

Mr. St: you can see outside (.) at least she has her reasons (.) make sure you're not throwing words just for (.) throwing words (.) you have to have a reason to be thankful (.) okay? (.)

<div align="right">(05.11.2015 Whale Class)</div>

In this interaction, Mr. Stewart first demonstrates how to participate in the activity by providing a reason why he and the children can be thankful for shoes. After this scaffolding, Mr. Stewart revisits the children's previous answer and asks why they are thankful for doors. To this initiation, Wakana responds and provides her reason why she is thankful for doors. Mr. Stewart then asks Wakana another "why" question, to which she successfully provides her rationale again. Mr. Stewart seems to be satisfied with Wakana's two successful attempts to provide reasons although his comment "at least she has her reasons" infers that Mr. Stewart may think Wakana's reasons are superficial. Then Mr. Stewart turns to the whole class and explicitly instructs the children to always provide reasons why they are thankful rather than simply listing objects. The use of two "why" questions in this interaction successfully advances Wakana's answers from "throwing words" to the level Mr. Stewart expects. The expected performance in this activity reflects Mr. Stewart's ideology of effective learning through critical thinking (2016.03.01 Mr. Stewart Interview). Mr. Stewart's "why" questions socialise Wakana and her peers in the classroom into the idea and practice of critical thinking, which is essential to become a successful individualistic and independent learner.

The English-speaking teachers at Mountain View English Nursery School utilise appropriate opportunities in a variety of academic activities to socialise children through the use of "why" questions. Group discussion is one such occasion where the use of the "why" question is observed. During the data collection, children in the oldest age group had opportunities to practice and participate in group discussions. In the three observed discussions, the English-speaking teachers facilitated the discussions and helped children share their opinions on topics such as "what's your favourite movie?" "who makes a good class leader?" and "what do you think about bullying?" In these group discussions, the English-speaking teachers asked a significant number of "why" questions to encourage children to not only express their opinions but also to support them with reasons.

The following excerpt is taken from the group discussion on "who makes a good class leader?" Mr. Stewart starts the discussion by talking about what qualities make a good class leader. He then writes all the names of the Whale children on the whiteboard and

pointing one by one he asks who thinks that particular child makes a good class leader. The children express their opinions by raising their hands, and then Mr. Stewart asks why the child in question would be a good class leader.

Excerpt 9 (Mr. St = Mr. Stewart; Wakana; Nanami; Riko)

Mr. St.   who thinks Ayano would be a good leader (.) one two three four five six (.) also six (.) alright (.) Wakana why do you think Ayano would be a good leader (.)

Wakana: because sometime Ayano play with me every day (.)

Mr. St: so sometimes she plays with you every day (.) or she plays with me every day (.) because sometimes and every day is like (.) you know (.) contradicting (.) so she plays with you every day? (.)

Wakana: yea (.)

Mr. St: okay that makes her a good leader (.) why do you think so Nanami (.)

Nanami: because (.) sometime I was fighting with someone and I was crying (.) Ayano sometime tickle me (.)

Mr. St: oh (.) that's good (.) she like (.) tickling that makes you feel better right? (.)

Nanami: yeah (.)
Mr. St: so she is comforting (.) she comforts you she made you feel good right? (.) good (.) Riko (.) why do you think she would be a good leader (.)

Riko: because if I (?) (.) she will cry so (.)

Mr. St: if you sit in (?) (.) she would cry? (.) if you what (.)

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Riko: if I said you're not a good leader (.) she will cry so (.)

Mr. St: oh if you said to her you're not a good leader? (.) how does that make her
               a good leader if she cries (.) well that's probably not a good answer (.) but
               okay (.) everyone has their opinions okay (.)

                                                              (29.01.2016 Whale Class)

In this particular segment, Mr. Stewart asks a series of "why" questions and urges some of the Whale children to provide rationales for sustaining Ayano as a good class leader. Wakana, Nanami, and Riko are all able to provide their supporting reasons with some help from Mr. Stewart. Mr. Stewart's last comment on Riko's response is particularly notable for understanding the socialisation process through the use of "why" questions. Riko's explanation as to why she thinks Ayano is a good leader is if she said Ayano were not a good leader, she would cry. Mr. Stewart evaluates Riko's explanation as "not a good answer," suggesting that Riko's rationale does not describe a good class leader and is not friendly to Ayano. These evaluations could lead to corrective measures by Mr. Stewart. However, a notable observation at this moment is that Mr. Stewart discontinues his negative feedback and complements Riko for having an opinion. Mr. Stewart's acknowledgement of Riko's explanation suggests that for Mr. Stewart, it is more important that children have their opinions and are willing to express them than they provide "right" answers.   This analysis reflects the English-speaking teacher's ideology of an independent learner who can think, form, and express ideas and opinions. The two examples from the Thanksgiving lesson and the group discussion on good class leader show how the English-speaking teachers use "why" questions to socialise children into more individualistic and independent learning that they attempt to develop and reproduce among the children at Mountain View English Nursery School.

The views of the Japanese-speaking teachers and the parents of the participating children provide multiple perspectives to further examine and holistically understand the English-speaking teachers' use of "why" questions for socialising children. In the interview with Mr. Suzuki, he shares his observation of how his English-speaking colleagues use "why" questions in a simple interaction with children.

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Excerpt 10 (Mr. Suzuki; R = Researcher)

(Original in Japanese)

R: Nanka kokowa chotto nanka, eigono hoikushodanatte omoukoto
            arimasuka.

Mr. Suzuki: Nanka, asa aisatsuga ohayō dakejya naitte iunoga, chotto tokushu kana.
            Nanka genkī? toka, kyōwa dō? toka kīte, soreni taishite kotaete, soreni
            taishite nandette kikuno toka tokushu kanato. Ohayōde daitai hokanowa
            owaruto omoun desu kedo, kyōwa dōtte hitori hitorini kikutokorowa
            sugoku īkanato omoutokoro desune.

(Translation by the researcher)

R: Do you have moments that remind you that this is an English immersion
            nursery school?

Mr. Suzuki: I think it is very unique that in the morning, their (the English-speaking
            teachers') greeting is more than just saying "good morning." They first
            ask "Are you good?" or "How are you?" Children respond to the question.
            Then they ask "Why?" I think it is very special. Usually, the morning
            greeting only takes an exchange of saying "Good morning" in other places.
            I think it is great that they ask "How are you today?" to each child.

                                        (10.03.2016 Mr. Suzuki Interview)

Mr. Suzuki considers it unique that the English-speaking teachers ask "why" questions
to children even in a simple exchange of morning greetings. He mentions that in Japan,
morning greetings are a routine work of saying the greeting words to each other. Mr.
Suzuki admires the English-speaking teachers for taking time to interact with each child
in the morning. The English-speaking teachers at Mountain View English Nursery

School make seemingly unimportant interactions such as saying "good morning" an opportunity to socialise children by asking "why" questions.

The analysis of the interviews with parents revealed that some of the parents expected Mountain View English Nursery School to teach their children not only communicative skills but also the imagined attitudes and characteristics of native speakers of English. Some parents of the participating children held a certain image of native speakers of English as open, critical, bold, and friendly, and they hoped that their children attain these characteristics through attending an English immersion nursery school and acquiring English. Studies of Japanese communication show that Japanese people develop a keen sense of what is appropriate, and more importantly what is not appropriate, in different contexts to maintain the courtesy of being empathetic and polite (Clancy, 1986; Cook, 1999; Burdelski, 2012). Japanese communication also avoids directness to control the risk of losing face of others (Cook & Burdelski, 2017). These characteristics of Japanese communication are necessary to become competent and accepted members of Japanese society. However, some parents of the participating children see that this introvert communication style may hinder their children's future success in internationalised Japan and the globalised world. These parents see the benefit of sending their children to an English immersion nursery school so that the children can develop skills and extrovert characteristics that they associate with the English language.

In the interview, Yamato's mother articulates her desire for her son to learn how to communicate his opinions and ideas well. She explains the need for Yamato to learn the Japanese style of communication to be competent in Japanese schools, workplaces, and society in general. She also believes that Yamato needs to learn how to critically think, form, and communicate his opinions and ideas with others to be successful in the wider globalised world. The imagined community of future success in the globalised world (Dagenais, 2003; Norton, 2013) motivated Yamato's mother to search for an English immersion nursery school and enrol Yamato at Mountain View English Nursery School. She provides the following examples as supporting evidence to her observation of Yamato's successful development of critical thinking.

Excerpt 11 (Mother = Yamato's Mother)

(Original in Japanese)

Mother: A demo ima omoeba, nandemo chanto jibunga nanika shitai tokini riyūo kanarazu iundesuyo. Bokuwa kōdakara kōshitai. Sono nanka kureyon'no iromo chairo'o patto sakini eranda rashīn desukedo, betsuni chairotte sukina irojya nain, nakute sukai burūga nakatta kara, sukai burūga sukirashīn desu kedo, sukai burūga nakatta kara, bokuwa buraun'o eranda. Nande buraun'o erandantte kikuto, bokuwa chokorētoga daisuki. Chokorētono irodakara buraunga suki. Chanto riyūo iunowa, mā kokoni irukara nanoka konokono seikakuka chotto wakanain desukedo, sorewa nanka itsumo kanshin. Chicchai tokikara riyūo kanarazu iun desuyo. Naniga hoshītte ittemo, kojitsuke demo nandemo riyūo iunode.

(Translation by the researcher)

Mother: I just remember now. When he wants to do something, he always provides his reasons why he wants to do it. I want to do this because of this reason. About choosing the colour of crayon for the play (the Cat children did a play about different colours), I heard he quickly chose brown, but brown is not his favourite colour. He actually likes sky blue, but sky blue was not an option. So he chose brown instead of sky blue. I asked him why he chose brown, and his answer was because he likes chocolate and brown is the colour of chocolate. Although I am not certain if it's because he comes here (nursery school) or because it's his personality, I am always amazed to see his ability to tell his reasons. He has been doing this since he was young. Whenever he wants something, he always adds whatever reasons why he wants them.

                                                     (29.01.2016 Yamato's Mother Interview)

Yamato's mother recalls an occasion of having a conversation with Yamato about his role in a play at the nursery school. Mountain View English Nursery School held a presentation day for children and their family members in February 2016. For this special event, the Cat class that Yamato belonged to at the time did a play of different coloured crayons. Yamato quickly chose to be the brown crayon. To his mother's question why he chose brown, Yamato explained that he chose brown because he liked chocolate and brown was the colour of chocolate. Yamato's mother is cautious about making a premature conclusion of how he developed the skill to rationalise, but she seems to be satisfied with her son's ability to think critically about his opinions and decisions.

The interview data from parents suggest that Mountain View English Nursery School and the English-speaking teachers at the nursery school to some extent are viewed as a source of learning not only the English language but also the attitudes and skills necessary to become successful in the globalised world. The parents may not be aware of the English-speaking teachers' use of "why" questions for socialising children to become individualistic and independent learners. However, they seem to be satisfied with the end product of this particular socialisation, which is to observe their children's ability to critically think and provide reasons for their opinions, decisions, and desires.

The English-speaking teachers use a series of "why" questions to socialise children into the idea and practice of critically thinking and expressing opinions and ideas. This socialisation practice reflects the English-speaking teachers' ideology of effective learning. The data from the Japanese-speaking teachers and parents provide evidence to the effectiveness of the use of "why" questions in developing critical thinking, which is a significant characteristic of an individualistic and independent learner (Kopzhassarova *et al.,* 2016; Kreber, 1998). Through the use of "why" questions, children are socialised by the English-speaking teachers into an individualistic and independent style of learning.

6.2.2 Using Analogy

Another distinctive language socialisation practice of the English-speaking teachers is their use of analogy to promote the idea of being an active learner. In successful active learning, "students must do more than just listen: They must read, write, discuss, or be engaged in solving problems" (Bonwell & Eison, 1991, p. iii). Active learning as opposed to the Japanese "passive" participation in learning (Hyland, 1994) is in line with the ideologies of the English-speaking teachers at Mountain View English Nursery School. The most recurrent analogy that the English-speaking teachers implement in lessons is the analogy of the robot. The robot represents typical passive Japanese learners who only perform what the teachers "programme" them to accomplish.

The following excerpt shows how the analogy of robot is used in an interaction with children and how it socialises them into higher-order performances in learning (Tofade, Elsner, & Haines, 2013).

Excerpt 12 (Mr. St = Mr. Stewart; Itsuki)

Mr. St: let's let them think about it a little bit more okay? (.) I want them (.) I want everyone to try and use their own (.) thinking (.) for a little bit okay? (.) because if I go and help them right away (.) then they don't think so much (.) keep looking (.) you keep looking at me it's not gonna help you (.)

((Mr. Stewart walks around and helps children.))

Mr. St: hey hey (.) don't show him the answer (.) okay? (.) guys (.) if I say right here (.) circle right here (.) does that help him learn? (.)

Itsuki: no (.)

Mr. St: does that help you guys learn? (.) if I say okay circle right here (.) do this (.) do that (.) doesn't help you okay? (.) you can become a very good robot (.) I can control you (.)

(17.03.2016 Cat Class)

The excerpt shows interactions during a lesson with the Cat children taught by Mr. Stewart. The objective of this particular lesson is to work on and complete a sheet of word search. Mr. Stewart encourages the children to "use their own thinking" in finding all the hidden words instead of copying others' works. While Mr. Stewart is helping a child, he finds that Itsuki is showing his word search worksheet to help his peer. Mr. Stewart then intervenes and asks Itsuki whether showing his answers is helpful to his friend or not. Itsuki responds to Mr. Stewart's question and conforms to Mr. Stewart's demand not to show his worksheet to his friends. Mr. Stewart restates the problem of showing answers and taking away learning opportunities from peers, and then he recaps his point with an analogy of the robot.

Mr. Stewart uses the analogy of the robot to stress the importance of being engaged in learning by and for themselves. It supports his teaching that giving answers does not necessarily help anybody learn but takes away the learning opportunity from peers. The English-speaking teachers commonly use the analogy of the robot to socialise children into active and engaged learning that are characteristics of individualistic and independent learning style.

The English-speaking teachers at Mountain View English Nursery School ask "why" questions and use the analogy of the robot to socialise children into individualistic and independent learning style. This particular mode of participating in lessons reflect the language ideology of the English-speaking teachers on effective learning in general and English language learning in particular. The analyses of data provide evidence to the successful socialisation and development of critical thinking and active participation among children.

6.3 Teaching English Communication Style

The language ideologies and socialisation presented and discussed above relate to the educational aspects of Mountain View English Nursery School. The English-speaking teachers also bring with them their language ideology that is pertinent to the pragmatics of communicative styles in English and Japanese. Takanashi (2004) highlights the difference between the Japanese and English communication styles and argues that the culturally informed and preferred mode of communication in Japanese has a significant effect on Japanese students in learning and communicating in English. One characteristic of Japanese communication is summarised in a saying "hear one, understand ten" (Kopp, 2012). This phrase concisely and accurately captures the Japanese style of communication that relies on mutual understanding to accurately interpret the unsaid (Yamashita, 2008). The high degree of homogeneity in the Japanese population makes Japan a high-context society (Hall, 1976; Richardson & Smith, 2007), and it enables and supports the practice of reading between the lines (Duronto, Nishida, & Nakayama, 2005). In this mode of communication, it is common to observe, for example, a child's simple statement of the problem is sufficient for their caregivers to understand and provide the needs (Clancy, 1986).

The Japanese style of communication is different from that of other cultures such as the United States (Pizziconi, 2009; Richardson & Smith, 2007; Takanashi, 2004). The English-speaking teachers at Mountain View English Nursery School all come from the United States where people use English in a culture that prefers direct, explicit, and precise way of expressing and understanding (Gudykunst *et al.*, 1996; Kim, Pan, & Park, 1998). The past experiences of the English-speaking teachers inform their belief about English communication, and this ideology creates a space for them to socialise children into the "appropriate" communication style in English.

The following excerpt is an example of how Mr. Stewart socialises Daiki and to some extent the whole Cat class into the direct, explicit, and precise communication style of English.

Excerpt 13 (Mr. St = Mr. Stewart; Daiki; Rio)

Daiki: Peter I made a mistake (.)

Mr. St: okay and? (.) you made a mistake okay (.) you need to fix it right? (.)

Daiki: yes (.)

Mr. St: fix it (.)

Daiki: what? (.)

Mr. St: what? (.)

Daiki: *keshigomu* (eraser) (.)

Mr. St: that's Japanese (.) what do you need to do to fix it? (.)

Daiki: I need to erase (.)

Mr. St: okay (.) so that's not a question (.) what is your question? (.)
Daiki: can I have an eraser? (.)

Mr. St: oh you can't have one but you can borrow one (.)

Rio: borrow it (.)

Mr. St: you can borrow an eraser but I didn't hear a please either (.) one more
            time (.)

Daiki: can I have eraser please? (.)

Mr. St: okay can I borrow an eraser (.) but you can (.) catch (.) okay (.) you made a mistake? (.) you need to fix it? (.) guys (.) everyone listen carefully (.) I made a mistake is not a question (.) it's not asking for anything it's just you telling me you made a mistake (.) okay you made a mistake (.) thanks for admitting it (.) doesn't say anything (.) it doesn't say it doesn't get you anything (.) you have to ask a question to get something (.)

(19.11.2015 Cat Class)

At the beginning of this interaction, Daiki states an issue that he made a mistake. Mr. Stewart reacts to this by saying "and" with an uprising tone at the end, suggesting that he expects something more from Daiki. To this prompt, Daiki appears to be confused or not certain of Mr. Stewart's intention. Daiki's surprise may be explained by Takanashi's (2004) finding of L1 Japanese interference in L2 English communication. With some scaffolding provided by Mr. Stewart, Daiki makes another statement that he needs to erase. Mr. Stewart then instructs Daiki that he needs to make a question if he wants to have something from his teacher. With some additional help from Mr. Stewart and Rio, Daiki finally comes to the expected outcome, which is to ask for an eraser explicitly. Mr. Stewart eventually accepts Daiki's request and passes an eraser to him. Then he turns to the whole class and teaches the importance of asking instead of stating a problem when they need to have something from the teacher.

From the language socialisation perspective, a key to successful socialisation in this interaction is Mr. Stewart's use of guiding questions in forms of wh-questions (Clancy, 1989). Instead of telling Daiki the exact expectation from the beginning, Mr. Stewart asks questions that require Daiki to think. Through patiently asking a series of guiding questions, Mr. Stewart socialises Daiki into the idea and practice of explicit, direct, and precise communication in English.

The current study observed a contrasting interaction in an *Eiken* class with Yamato, Itsuki, and Mr. Sogawa. In the short excerpt below, Itsuki also makes an error and asks Mr. Sogawa for an eraser.

Excerpt 14 (Itsuki; Mr. Sogawa)

Itsuki: Toshiaki ((first name of Mr. Sogawa)) (.) eraser (.)

Mr. Sogawa: *hai* (here) (.)

<div align="right">(17.12.2015 Yamato & Itsuki Eiken)</div>

Itsuki makes the same request of asking for an eraser with two words, and without any complications, Mr. Sogawa passes an eraser to Itsuki. This simple interaction provides a completely different view of how a request is made and granted in contrast to the way Mr. Stewart interacts with Daiki in a similar situation. The empathetic Japanese style of communication (Clancy, 1986; Yamashita, 2008) may explain that the interaction between Itsuki and Mr. Sogawa is carried out in English, but the style of communication is that of Japanese. Ituski simply says "eraser," and Mr. Sogawa fully understands that Itsuki made a mistake and he needs an eraser to fix his mistake. Simply asking for an eraser can take two distinctive patterns depending on what communicative style influence the process. At Mountain View English Nursery School, the English-speaking teachers take time and ask guiding questions to socialise Japanese children into the practice of "appropriate" English communication.

The current study collected data that supports the effect of Mr. Stewart's socialisation of children into the English communication style. The first observation of the interaction between Mr. Stewart and Daiki in Excerpt 15 took place in November 2015. The following excerpt comes from another class with the Cat children in December 2015.

Excerpt 15 (Daiki; Mr. St = Mr. Stewart)

Daiki: may I borrow eraser? (.)

Mr. St: borrow an eraser? (.) yes you may borrow an eraser ready? (.) you catch (.) nice catch (.)

Daiki: nice catch (.)

It shows that Daiki has learned the "appropriate" way to ask for an eraser in English. Instead of mentioning that he made a mistake, he asks for an eraser in a question form, and by satisfactorily performing the task, he gets an eraser from Mr. Stewart. Though more data is necessary to validate the socialisation outcome of this particular practice, the data suggest that Mr. Stewart's use of guiding questions socialised Daiki into the more direct, specific, and precise way of communication in English.

6.4 Chapter Discussion

The English-speaking teachers' ideologies toward the English language and English language learning influence their use of language in socialising the children at Mountain View English Nursery School. The analysis identified three recurring themes, namely providing "real" language learning experience, promoting individualistic and independent learning, and teaching English communication style. The chapter presented specific language mediated practices encompassed in the themes.

The English-speaking teachers use shaming and threatening to socialise children into a more natural process of acquiring English, the way they learnt English as first language. These strategies are also found by Moore (2006), who reports that "teachers used a variety of strategies to motivate children to learn, including . . . shaming, threats, and corporal punishment" (p. 117). Lo and Fung (2011) study shaming as "a necessary and integral part of moral education" (p. 186) in Korean and Taiwanese contexts. Their study explores shaming and threatening as a form of shaming in socialising children into "appropriate, prosocial behavior in the future" (p. 173). In the current study, the use of shaming and threatening by the English-speaking teachers achieves another goal of helping children speak English for learning the language. The difference in socialisation goals and outcomes can be explained with Lo and Fung's (2011) statement that "shaming is a complex verbal practice whose meaning and import can only be discussed in relation to a specific cultural and historical context and local ideologies

about what shaming means" (p. 186). Thus the observed shaming and threatening practices for socialisation in the current study are contextually valid, meaningful, and effective in achieving the specific goal of reproducing the natural environment and process of English language acquisition as first language.

Asking questions is a notable language socialisation practice (Clancy, 1989; Fogle, 2012). The English-speaking teachers use a number of "why" questions to socialise children into the more Western idea and practice of an individualistic and independent learner (Cook, 1999; Hyland, 1994; Kingston & Forland, 2007). Fogle (2012) analyses that "Questions directed to children . . . in English-speaking cultures play a role in establishing young children as conversational partners" (p. 107). The English-speaking teachers particularly ask "why" questions to develop critical thinking among children, a key ability of an effective, individualistic, and independent interactive partner in learning English (Kreber, 1998). For the English-speaking teachers who value and promote the more Western learning style in English language learning, the socialisation process by asking "why" questions encourages children to critically form and express opinions with evidence and rationale. They value the children's willingness to express opinions and rationales more than providing correct answers. The analysis demonstrated the children's socialised practice of providing rationales to their ideas and opinions both in and out of the nursery school.

Additionally, the English-speaking teachers socialised children by using the analogy of the robot. Paugh (2005) explains how a metaphor shapes language ideologies and argues that the metaphor of "moving forward" (p. 1811) with English constructs the shared practice of codeswitching between English in formal and the local language in more emotionally engaged situations among the studied villagers in Dominica. Reynolds (2010) also reports on how two young girls draw on analogies to understand their unequal social positions in family relationships. These metaphors and analogies, however, are not used in interactions, and thus they are limited for being considered a language socialisation practice. The analysis of the use of analogy in this chapter provides data to demonstrate its use in interaction, in which children are socialised to become a more independent and active learner. More close examinations of the use of

analogy in language socialisation are needed to expand the understanding of socialisation and reproduction of social and linguistic knowledge.

According to Schieffelin and Ochs (1986b), the socialisation process of teaching English communication style concerns the "*socialization to use language*" (p. 163, emphasis original). Clancy (1986) defines communicative style as "the way language is used and understood in a particular culture" (p. 213) and provides detailed accounts of young children's acquisition of communication style in Japanese. She reveals a variety of approaches that Japanese mothers utilise for socialising their children, that are describing what other people think and feel, warning inappropriate behaviours, indirectly making and refusing requests, and explicitly instructing how to communicate appropriately. The finding in the current study adds another practice of asking leading questions for socialising children into the target communicative style. Much further research of language "socialisation to use language" is necessary, along with the other emphasis of language "socialisation through language," to understand particular features of different communicative styles and by what means they are socialised.

6.5 Summary

This chapter presented and discussed some distinctive language socialisation ideologies and socialisation practices of the English-speaking teachers at Mountain View English Nursery School. The analysis of the interview data revealed the English-speaking teachers' ideologies of effective English language learning and appropriate English communication. The literature provided a wider platform to generalise them as Western, foreign, and unique language ideologies in the context of English immersion nursery school in Japan. The chapter focused on three major themes, namely providing "real" language learning experience, promoting individualistic and independent learning, and teaching English communication style. Each theme presented and discussed specific language-mediated practices for socialising children.

The analysis of the observation data identified the English-speaking teachers' shaming and threatening strategies for socialising children into a more "authentic" and natural process of learning the English language. The English-speaking teachers also asked a

number of "why" questions and analogy of the robot to socialise children into active engagement and critical thinking, which are necessary for children to become individualistic and independent learners. On the pragmatic side, the English-speaking teachers used guiding questions to socialise children into an appropriate communication style of English that is significantly different from that of Japanese.

Overall, the current study identified various linguistic practices that the English-speaking teachers used to socialise children into a set of ideas, values, behaviours, and practices that are closely related to more Western ideologies of effective and ideal English language learning and communication. These ideologies and socialisation practices of the English-speaking teachers are considered unique and foreign in the research context, particularly in contrast with the ideologies and socialisation practices of the Japanese-speaking teachers. The next chapter will present and discuss how and how differently the Japanese-speaking teachers interact and socialise children at the nursery school.

Chapter Seven:
Language Socialisation by the Japanese-speaking Teachers
and
Hybrid Language Socialisation Practices

The English-speaking teachers' language socialisation practices that are presented and discussed in the previous chapter provide only half the picture of language socialisation at Mountain View English Nursery School. Their Japanese-speaking colleagues also hold specific language ideologies of the English language as well as English language teaching and learning, and they influence the ways the Japanese-speaking teachers and staff interact with children and socialise them into certain values, modes, and practices of learning English at the nursery school.

This chapter is divided into two main parts. The first part presents and discusses language ideologies and language-mediated practices that the Japanese-speaking teachers use to socialise children. The presentation and discussion will take a similar format as chapter six. The discussions make relevant comparisons between language socialisation practices of the English-speaking and Japanese-speaking teachers. These comparisons will reveal conflicting ideologies (Mori, 2014) and socialisation outcomes at Mountain View English Nursery School.

The second part focuses on some ideological and socialisation challenges that are unique to the research context as an English immersion nursery school. The English-speaking and Japanese-speaking teachers perform separate responsibilities in the most of the nursery school activities, and thus they interact with children and socialise them in their domains of teaching and providing childcare. However, the teachers must work together on some special occasions and co-construct linguistic practices that serve the unique goals of the school as an English immersion nursery school in Japan. The teachers with distinctive language ideologies need to make accommodations and search for "third place" (Bhabha, 2004; Li & Girvan, 2004; Turner, 2016) where hybrid language socialisation practices of Mountain View English Nursery School emerge. These language socialisation practices are context specific (Shieffelin & Ochs, 1986a),

and they socialise children into unique social and linguistic practices. This chapter concludes with chapter discussion and summary of the findings.

7.1 Beating the Tests

As discussed in chapter two, the English language teaching and learning in Japan is geared towards preparing students for the highly competitive university entrance examination (LoCastro, 1990). The long-established examination system has developed and justified the tradition of studying English for tests (Kobayashi, 2001; O'Donnell, 2005). This influence has reached even to the preschool level, promoting early English language learning in the recent years (Otomo & Danping, 2016).

These social and educational factors form and justify the Japanese-teachers' ideology of English as a subject for tests. This ideology informs the ways the Japanese-speaking teachers interact and socialise children into studying English to "beat the test" (2016.03.01 Mr. Bird Interview), as Mr. Bird critically describes it.

The ideology of English as a study subject is most apparent in *Eiken* classes at Mountain View English Nursery School. The nursery school has used *Eiken* in their curriculum since it's early stage of establishing the school curriculum. In the formal interview with Mr. Sogawa, he explains how the nursery school views and uses *Eiken* in the curriculum.

Excerpt 16 (R = Researcher; Mr. Sogawa)

(Original in Japanese)

R: Sono Eiken'o hajimeta kikkaketo iunowa?

Mr. Sogawa: Anō okāsamatachi kara desunē, sōiu yōbōga detandesu.

R: Okāsan kara yōbōga deta?

Mr. Sogawa: Yosono gakkōga desune, yosono eigo gakkōga Eiken'o sakan'ni yatteru tokoroga arimashite. Anō sōiunomo yattehoshi'i toiu ikenmo tori'irete yattemita tokoro desune, anō kodomotachiwa Eiken'nō tameni benkyōshita wakedewa nain dakedo, yomutokoro madewa benkyō shitetan desuga, hajimete miruto desune, jidōEikenwa kantan'ni torete shimatte, de gokyūmo benkyō saseruto suguni torete. De yon, santo iukotode.

R: Sorewa sonō, gakkōno sērusu pointoni nattemasuka?

Mr. Sogawa: Sōdesune. Anō, mā, Eikenwa desune, mokuteki dewa nakute desune, eigo'o benkyōsaseru tameno shudanto shite, anō okonatte orimasu. Yappari anō, soreo surukoto, mokuhyō'o motte yarukotoni yotte, anō goiryokuo yappari kakutoku dekimasushi, anō īmawashi toka desune anō, jyōshiki tekina īmawashitte iuno'o minitsuke saseru kotoga dekiru, aruiwa tangono chikaramo hueruto. De tōzen yomuchikara desune, ga yashinawareruto iukotode, anō eigo'o benkyōsuru shudan'no hitotsu. De anō Eikenga torerunowa hukusanbutsu. Eigo'o benkyōshite, ē eikaiwao saseru uedeno hukusanbutsuto shite okonatte orimasu.

(English translation by the researcher)

R: What made you start *Eiken* at the school?

Mr. Sogawa: Well, we received requests from mothers.

R: Requests from mothers?

Mr. Sogawa: Yes. About *Eiken*, there is actually another English nursery school that puts a lot of emphasis and efforts on *Eiken*. So, some of the mothers requested us to start teaching classes for *Eiken*, and we started teaching *Eiken* classes. Children are not primarily studying English for *Eiken* in the nursery school. We teach them reading (but not for *Eiken*). But, when we

started *Eiken* classes, children passed the *jidō Eiken* (specially designed for young children) with ease. Then we had them study for the grade 5 test, and they passed it quickly. Then to the grade 4, and the grade 3.

R: Has that become one of the sales points of the school?

Mr. Sogawa: Well, *Eiken* is not the end, but it is the means to have children study English. Evidently, by doing it, by doing it with goals, they can obtain vocabulary and expressions (of English). We can help them learn how to say things, and also we can help them increase the number of vocabulary. Of course we cultivate reading skills in them (through teaching *Eiken*). It is one of the ways to learn English here. Passing the *Eiken* tests is a byproduct. We are doing *Eiken* as a byproduct of the English conversation lessons here.

(17.03.2016 Mr. Sogawa Interview)

Mr. Sogawa explains that the nursery school started the *Eiken* programme as a response to requests from some parents. The programme first offered *Jido Eiken* (*Eiken* tests especially for younger learners), and Mr. Sogawa reports that the teachers were surprised to see how quickly children passed the *Jido Eiken* as well as the lower grade *Eiken* tests. It is important to note here that the lowest grade (grade five) *Eiken* test covers the English grammar and vocabulary at the first grade in junior high school (equivalent to seventh grade in typical American and British schools) level. The teachers were surprised to see young children under age six passing these tests.

According to Mr. Sogawa, studying for and passing *Eiken* tests is not the primary focus of the programme. Rather, the nursery school views *Eiken* as a means to study English, and passing *Eiken* tests is a byproduct of learning English. Mr. Sogawa told on other occasions that some of the children in the Whale group during the time of data collection passed the Pre-Second grade test, which covered materials taught at the high school level. It is clear from the interview with Mr. Sogawa and other Japanese-

speaking teachers that the *Eiken* programme at Mountain View English Nursery School plays an important role in teaching English to young children.

Another role of the *Eiken* programme at the nursery school is to serve as tangible evidence of children's English language acquisition. It is common to hear from parents that they do not have much opportunity to see their children speaking English neither inside nor outside the nursery school. The lack of evidence makes some parents worry about their children's development of skills in English. Riko's mother in the interview expresses her concern about not having anything to prove her daughter's English acquisition.

Excerpt 17 (Mother = Riko's Mother; R = Researcher)

(Original in Japanese)

Mother: Watashi hajime haitta tokini, betsuni Eiken hantai demo nakattashī, son'na hitsuyō nainato omou. Hantaidewa naikedo, son'nani hitsuyōjya nainato omottetan desukedo, kō, okkikunatte kruni tsurete, konoko an'nani eigo deskirunoni, nihonjin'ni shaberanaijya naidesukā? Nan'nimo shōmei dekiru monoga naito omotte.

R: Naruhodo.

Mother: Jyā Eiken ganbattarātte omotte.

(English Translation by the researcher)

Mother: When Riko started going to the nursery school, I did not really oppose the *Eiken* programme, but I did not think that was necessary, either. I did not oppose it, but I thought it was not needed. Now she has grown up, and she can speak English very well. But, she does not speak English to any Japanese people, right? So it just hit me that there is nothing to prove her English skills and level.

R: I see.

Mother: So then I thought she should do *Eiken*.

<div align="right">(05.11.2015 Riko Mother Interview)</div>

Riko's mother mentions in the interview that she is aware of how well her daughter speaks English at the nursery school. However, she has no physical proof of Riko's English acquisition to her family members and friends because Riko refuses to speak English outside the nursery school. Riko's mother now considers studying for and passing *Eiken* tests as important evidence of Riko's progress in English language learning. *Eiken* certificates issued upon passing *Eiken* tests also serve as proof of children's English language acquisition. In Daiki and Itsuki's house, their parents framed and hanged their *Eiken* certificates on the wall. The father explained in the interview that when Daiki and Itsuki's grandparents visited their house, they saw the certificates and they praised their grandsons for learning English and passing *Eiken* tests (2015.11.06 Daiki and Itsuki Parents Interview). *Eiken* provides milestones for parents to measure children's progress and development in English language acquisition. It brings certain assurance and satisfaction to parents with their children's successful acquisition of English at the nursery school.

These views of the teachers and parents shape the *Eiken* programme at the nursery school, and they also shape the ways the Japanese-speaking teachers teach children in *Eiken* classes. Furthermore, the national ideology of English language learning for high school and university entrance examinations in Japan informs the Japanese-speaking teachers to teach English for tests (Nishino & Watanabe, 2011). To achieve the goals of learning English and passing *Eiken* tests, the Japanese-speaking teachers socialise children into a different style of learning. The Japanese way of learning contrasts with the more Western learning style to which the English-speaking teachers socialise children.

7.1.1 Asking "What" Questions

The main focus of *Eiken* classes is on obtaining knowledge of English and mastering how to use them accurately on tests. Ultimately, what matters most in the traditional Japanese style of learning is whether children know correct answers or not (Rohlen, 1986). To help children become competent test takers with sufficient knowledge and skills necessary to pass *Eiken* tests, the Japanese-speaking teachers ask a series of "what" questions to elicit correct answers from children. The use of "what" questions aims to achieve two objectives: to check children's knowledge and to teach new knowledge by determining the gap of knowledge. The following excerpt shows how Mr. Suzuki uses "what" questions to accomplish the first objective. The excerpt is taken from a Pre-Second level *Eiken* class with Riko, Airi, and some other Whale children.

Excerpt 18 (Mr. Suzuki; Riko)

Mr. Suzuki: right (.) number one (.) Riko (.) can you read it? (.)

Riko: John was caught in heavy traffic (.) so he came blah-blah to work (.)

Mr. Suzuki: John was caught in heavy traffic (.) so he came what (.) we have late (.) early (.) recently (.) soon (.)

Riko: late (.)

Mr. Suzuki: late (.) why (.) what happened (.)

Riko: because John was stuck in heavy traffic (.)

Mr. Suzuki: okay what's stuck (.) what is stuck (.)

Riko: stuck means (.) you are stuck in the mud (.)

Mr. Suzuki: like you can't move (.) you can't go (.) what's heavy traffic (.) in the

                morning we usually have heavy traffic (.) rush hours (.) lots of cars

                motorcycles busses (.) so you can't go right? (.) you stop (.) that's why he's

                late (.) good job (.)

                                                             (12.11.2015 Riko & Airi Eiken)

In this part of the observed class, Mr. Suzuki and the children are checking answers and making necessary corrections on an *Eiken* mock test. Mr. Suzuki asks Riko to read a question. The question is a multiple-choice question, and it asks to fill in a blank by choosing the most correct answer from the provided four options. The excerpt shows that Riko successfully provides the correct answer. Then Mr. Suzuki asks a "what" question to check Riko's understanding of the content of the question. Riko provides another satisfactory answer to the first "what" questions. Then Mr. Suzuki asks another "what" question to further check whether or not Riko knows and understands the meaning of "stuck" in English. Riko provides an example sentence to demonstrate her knowledge of the English word. Mr. Suzuki explains the word "stuck" in a real-life situation to solidify and conclude the teaching in this interaction.

Mr. Suzuki asks a total of five "what" questions in this excerpt to check Riko's vocabulary knowledge and comprehensive skills. Mr. Suzuki asks the first "what" question "so he came what" to elicit the right answer form Riko. She successfully provides the correct answer. Then Mr. Suzuki asks the second "what" question "what happened" for checking if Riko understands the content of the question or not. The third and the fourth are a repetition of "what is stuck" to check whether Riko knows the English vocabulary or not. The last question "what is heavy traffic" tests Riko's knowledge of the phrase. All these "what" questions are intended to make certain that Riko knows and understands the question and correct answer.

The second objective of the use of "what" question is to lead children to new knowledge. This particular use is observed when children fail to provide correct answers or when they simply do not understand certain words, phrases, and ideas in English. The next

excerpt from the same *Eiken* class demonstrates how Mr. Suzuki helps children obtain new knowledge by asking "what" questions.

Excerpt 19 (Mr. Suzuki; Airi; Riko)

Mr. Suzuki: with something (.) so he is ten years old (.) and he solved the math problem (.) what does solve mean (.) what is solve (.) math problem (.)

Airi: I don't know (.)

((Mr. Suzuki writes a math problem on the whiteboard for the children to solve.))

Riko: two (.)

Mr. Suzuki: so you guys solved (.) you found the answer (.) that's solve okay? (.)

(12.11.2015 Riko & Airi Eiken)

In this excerpt, Mr. Suzuki asks "what" questions in the same manner for checking children's vocabulary knowledge. This time, however, Airi tells that she does not know the word. The "what" questions in this situation indicate the gap of knowledge in the child. Airi's lack of knowledge implies a need for Mr. Suzuki to teach children the word "solve" so that they have the necessary knowledge to answer the question correctly. In this case, Mr. Suzuki uses an easy math problem to contextualise the word "solve" in a familiar math problem. The children are better prepared with this newly acquired knowledge to answer the question correctly.

The use of what questions by the Japanese-speaking teacher not only teach children English vocabulary and comprehension skills but also socialise them into learning English for tests. It focuses on obtaining knowledge and mastering how to use them precisely on tests (Hashimoto, 2009; Watanabe, 1996). These teaching and socialisation reflect the ideology of English language learning to "beat the test" (2016.03.01 Mr. Bird Interview) in the Japanese educational system (Hagerman, 2009). The more Japanese

learning style does not necessarily require children to have opinions, but it only demands them to provide correct answers. This style of learning contrasts and even conflicts with the way the English-speaking teachers expect children to participate in their English lessons at the nursery school.

The Japanese-speaking teachers use many "what" questions to elicit right answers from children. Asking "what" questions also help the teachers identify the gap of knowledge and fill it to better prepare students for providing correct answers.   The Japanese-speaking teachers' use of "what" questions and the English-speaking teachers' "why" questions demonstrate how their differing ideologies of English language learning inform and shape the ways they teach and interact with children. Thus children on the receiving end of the teachings by both the Japanese-speaking and English-speaking teachers are socialised into two different styles of learning English. A more detailed discussion on this will be provided in the concluding chapter as one of the final discussions.

7.2 English Belongs to the English-speaking Teachers

Another notable language ideology of the Japanese-speaking teachers at Mountain View English Nursery School assumes that the expertise of "authentic" English is the sole property of the English-speaking teachers at the nursery school. Houghton and Rivers (2013) uses the term "native-speakerism" to describe and explain the commonly-shared idea of Japanese people that "real" English only belongs to its native speakers. In the research context, the Japanese-speaking teachers' lack of competence and confidence in using English seems to support the belief about the English language. The following excerpt from the interview with Ms. Takahashi illustrates her frustration with her inability to communicate well with the English-speaking teachers in English.

Excerpt 20 (Ms. Taka = Ms. Takahashi; R = Researcher)

(Original in Japanese)

Ms. Taka: Yappari kihon kokodewa nihongo'o tsukattewa ikenain desukedo, sensei
              dōshiwa okkētte iwareterun desu. Demo yappari kodomono mimini
              nihongoga yappari ōkiku hairutte kotowa, nihon, ā gomen eigo dakeno
              enseikatsuni nattenai node, hontōwa damenan desuyo. Dakara hontōwa
              motto boryūmumo otosana ikanshi, jibun senseidoushi demo, dekirudake
              eigode toraisuru toka hitsuyōwa arun desukedo.

R: Demo yappari genkaiga?

Ms. Taka: Genkaiga aru. De watashiga hen'na nihongo tsukau yorikawa, ā ā eigo

              tsukau yorikawa, nihongode ittahōga kareramo sugu rikaishite kurerushi,

              toka omouto dōshitemo amaeruto iukā. Dakara hontōwa sensei dōshimo,

              Sea View wa sensei dōshimo shabeccha damenan desutte (.)

(English translation by the researcher)

Ms. Taka: The basic rule is that we cannot use Japanese here, but between the

              teachers we are allowed to use Japanese. However, having children hear

              Japanese is not providing them with nursery school experiences fully in

              Japanese, sorry, in English, so it is actually not okay (to speak Japanese).

              So we need to lower our volume (when speaking Japanese) and speak

              English among the teachers as much as possible.

R: But are there limitations?

Ms. Taka: Yes, there are. Also, they (the English-speaking teachers) understand me

              better when I talk to them in Japanese than in my broken English. So I

              kind of take advantage of that.

                                                      (10.03.2016 Ms. Takahashi Interview)

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In the interview, Ms. Takahashi explains that there is an exception to the English only policy at Mountain View English Nursery School, which is that the teachers are excused to use Japanese for practical purposes such as coordinating and managing daily and special activities. Although Ms. Takahashi understands the rationale behind the exemption to use Japanese, she is also conscious that her use of Japanese can be an obstacle to providing children an English only experience. She suggests that the Japanese-speaking teachers should speak quietly when they need to speak Japanese, and if possible, they should only speak English among themselves. At the practical level, however, she thinks it is more practical and realistic to use Japanese to communicate with the English-speaking teachers because of her limited command of English. She admits that the English-speaking teachers' comprehension level in Japanese is higher than her communicative competence in English. It further highlights her inability to communicate in English and emphasises the practical justification to the exceptional use of Japanese among the teachers at Mountain View English Nursery School.

In an echoing manner, Ms. Sato shares her regret about not being able to communicate well with children.

Excerpt 21 (Ms. Sato)

(Original in Japanese)

Ms. Sato: Sō ne. Motto motto kodomoni yūte agetara ēto omounyo. Kodomoga chigaukoto iyottemo yūte ageretara ēn yakedo. Hora, ēto senseiga "wash your hands" tte iudesho. Sontokini kodomomo "wash your hand" tte iunoga teoarautte iukotoyato omotteru kara. Anō "did you wash your hand?" tte, ā "where are you going?" tte itta tokini "wash your hand" tte iun'ne. De, sōiuno'o chigaudesho? De, ēto, chigaukoto'o naoshite agento ikan'no yone. Demo anma naoshitemo chigottottara ikanto omotte yōiwan'none ūn. Son'nande mouchottone, itte agetarato omou. Soshitara mouchotto odayakāna koni narerukana (h).

(English translation by the researcher)

Ms. Sato: Well, I want to talk to children more. When they are saying something wrong, I want to correct them. Like, well, the teachers tell them to, "wash your hands." Children think that "wash your hands" means washing their hands. I ask them "did you wash your hand?" oh no, "where are you going?" then they say "wash your hands." That's wrong isn't it? Then I must correct the mistake. But I think my correction may be wrong, and I cannot do that. I wish I could talk to them a little more. Maybe it will help them become calm.

(17.03.2016 Ms. Sato Interview)

Ms. Sato shares her concern in the interview that she is limited in helping children learn English because of her lack of competence in speaking English. This critique of her inability even extends to potential hindering effects on children's emotional and behavioural developments. She struggles with the dilemma between her desire to help children and her fear of teaching them wrong English. Ms. Sato analyses that her limited interaction with children lacks important aspects of communication such as connecting at the emotional level, and this may cause children to be more aggressive.

Ms. Sato's case is one of the most extreme ones, but all the Japanese-speaking teachers share similar concerns about their limited competence and confidence in communicating in English. These indifferent feelings and evaluations of themselves as teachers at an English immersion nursery school support the idea that they do not "own" English, but it belongs to the English-speaking teachers. This language ideology informs how the Japanese-speaking teachers view and use English in interactions with the English-speaking teachers and children at the nursery school.

7.2.1 Using a Translator

During data collection, the observations recorded many occasions where the Japanese-speaking teachers used Japanese in the presence of children. From the language

socialisation perspective, it can be said that their use of Japanese may socialise children into a contradicting idea that the teachers can speak Japanese at the nursery school while the English only policy prohibits them from speaking Japanese strictly. Fader (2006) suggests that uses of unaccepted language or ways of speaking play an impactful role in socialising others. In this light, every use of Japanese by the Japanese-speaking teachers serves as a language socialisation practice. This section, however, presents and discusses the Japanese-speaking teachers' strategic use of Japanese and its socialising effects.

One distinctive practice of the Japanese-teachers uses the English-speaking teachers as a translator. Many of the Japanese-speaking teachers at Mountain View English Nursery School feel inadequate about speaking English to and with children. The fear of making mistakes and teaching incorrect English becomes greater if and when they have to perform tasks that require skills such as teaching and conducting activities. The Japanese-speaking teachers genuinely wish that they could speak English more fluently so that they could help children better. However, they are realistically aware of their limited competence in English, and they choose the less harmful option, which is to talk to the English-speaking teachers in Japanese and have them translate and deliver the message to children in "correct" English.

This particular practice was often observed when children were preparing for special events such as Sports Day, Presentation Day, and graduation. It is usually the responsibility of the Japanese-speaking teachers who are the experts in managing a Japanese nursery school to oversee practices for these special occasions. Fulfilling this responsibility require the Japanese-speaking teachers to have a certain level ofEnglish abilities to give instructions, provide explanations, answer questions, make corrections, and motivate children to practice in English. When Japanese-speaking teachers with limited English competence are in charge of leading practices, they often use the English-speaking teachers as their translator. They speak in Japanese to the English-speaking colleagues, and the English-speaking teachers translate the contents into English and deliver them to the children. The following excerpt provides an example of this unique practice. The excerpt is taken from a recording of practice for the graduation ceremony.

Excerpt 22 (Ms. Taka = Ms. Takahashi; Mr. St = Mr. Stewart)

Ms. Taka: *tatettara chotto mae itte* (.)

((When you stand up, move forward a little))

Mr. St: okay (.) when you stand up (.) don't just (.) are you okay? (.) sorry (.) you stand up (.) go forward (.) just straight forward (.) and turn around okay? (.) yea let's do it one more time (.)

((Children practice a song.))

Ms. Taka: *Erefanto mouikkai* (.) ((Elephants, one more time))

Mr. St: Elephants (.) one more time (.) one two (.)

(24.03.2016 Graduation Practice)

This excerpt shows two instances where Ms. Takahashi uses Japanese to give instructions and Mr. Stewart translates and tells the instructions to children in English. First, Ms. Takahashi tells Mr. Stewart that when children stand up from their chairs, they have to move forward. Mr. Stewart then gives the same instruction in English and helps some children. The second instruction tells the Elephant children to sing the song one more time. The same translation procedure takes place from Ms. Takahashi through Mr. Stewart to the Elephant children. Mr. Anderson provides his explanation of the translation in the practice session.

Excerpt 23 (Mr. A = Mr. Anderson)

Mr. A: Like, it's kind of like, I think that's with her (Ms. Takahashi), she likes to be more like, she does speak pretty good English. But I think to her it's the idea like I don't wanna say like, imperfect English to the kids so the kids pick up the bad and imperfect English habits. If she could explain it to me in Japanese, like that way the kids only hear the good, the good way,

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the right way to say it. Say it in English. So I can understand what she is talking about which I do most of the time (h). There are some things I don't know what she is trying to say but most of the time I know what she is saying and I can repeat it in English, so the kids are only hear the correct way to say it. And they are not like, they don't think oh you can say you know, these two ways, they are only just hearing it in English. The one way. I don't think we talked or planned that way. I just think that like you're saying kind of like, that's the best way to do it so.

(24.03.2016 Graduation Practice)

Mr. Anderson explains his awareness of the Japanese-speaking teacher's challenge of using English, and he accurately articulates the underlying ideology of their preference to use Japanese. It is notable that he views his English as "the good way, the right way" to give instructions to children in English. This evaluation of his English explains the role of the English-speaking teachers in the translation practice, which is to make sure that "the kids only hear the correct way to say it" in English. Mr. Anderson adds information that the teachers did not openly talk about the translation practice. Rather this particular way of providing instructions emerged naturally as the best solution to resolve the gap between the idea and the actual abilities of the Japanese-speaking teachers in using English.

An interesting observation of the translation practice is that the children who are speakers of Japanese as a first language can understand the instructions given by Ms. Takahashi in Japanese before Mr. Stewart translates and delivers them in English. While the children's linguistic developments in both Japanese and English differ individually, it can be generally assumed that the children in the Elephant, Cat, and Whale groups who are between four and six and speak Japanese as a first language can understand instructions in Japanese sufficiently. The following interaction between Mr. Sogawa and Riko provides evidence of Riko's Japanese comprehension ability.

Excerpt 24 (Mr. Sogawa; Riko; Mr. St = Mr. Stewart)

Mr. Sogawa: *mouikkai onegai shimasu* (.) ((Please do it again))

Riko: why (.)

Mr. Sogawa: action (.)

Mr. St: alright (.) sorry we gotta start it again okay? (.)

(04.02.2016 Whale Discussion)

The Whale group children had some opportunities to have discussions, and this particular discussion practice was videotaped to show it to parents later. In the excerpt, Mr. Sogawa asks the class to start the discussion from the beginning because the video camera was not functioning properly. He makes the request in Japanese. Riko reacts quickly to this request and asks "why" they have to go back to the beginning. Mr. Sogawa then switches to English and urges the discussion to restart. Mr. Stewart then intervenes and translates the request from Japanese to English. This excerpt evidently shows that Riko understands Mr. Sogawa's request made in Japanese.

Besides confirming Riko's ability to understand instructions in Japanese, the interactions in the excerpt provide additional examples of the translation practice on which some insights of language socialisation practice and its effects are based. First, Mr. Sogawa makes his request in Japanese, and it provides data on the use of Japanese in the children's presence. The use of Japanese by Mr. Sogawa can socialise children to or further reinforce the understanding that the teachers can use Japanese as an exception to the English only policy. Second, though Mr. Sogawa delivers his request in Japanese, Riko's responds in English. This language choice provides evidence to children's socialised idea and practice of the English only policy. Riko's ability to understand Japanese and her choice of responding in English jointly suggest that Riko understands that her teachers are allowed to speak in Japanese, but this exception to the English only policy does not apply to her. Third, when Riko asks a question, Mr. Sogawa quickly

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switches his language to English. Riko's language choice in her response may have an impact on this language choice. Lastly, Mr. Stewart translates Mr. Sogawa's request into English and asks children to start the discussion again from the beginning. It seems that Mr. Stewart is accustomed to this unique language practice to the degree that he voluntarily plays the role of a translator to deliver a message in English. The Japanese-speaking teachers' strategic use of a translator socialises children and the English-speaking teachers into certain ideas and practices of language choice and use at the nursery school.

The Japanese-speaking teachers hold a strong belief that "correct" English belongs to the English-speaking teachers at Mountain View English Nursery School. They position themselves as inferior to the English-speaking teachers in terms of the use of English in daily activities (Houghton & Rivers, 2013; Yamada, 2015). The Japanese-speaking teachers also regret that they cannot provide enough verbal interactions necessary for children's linguistic, psychological, and social developments at the nursery school. To bridge the gap between their responsibilities at the nursery school and the ability to use English, the Japanese-speaking teachers use a unique linguistic practice of communicating through the English-speaking teachers as a translator. This particular linguistic activity socialises children into accepting the teachers' use of Japanese. It also socialises children to an idea that "good" and "authentic" English only belongs to its native speakers. Thus, the language ideology of English "native-speakerism" (Holliday, 2006; Houghton & Rivers, 2013) is reproduced among the children at the nursery school.

The first part of this chapter presented and discussed the language ideologies and socialisation practices of the Japanese-speaking teachers. Their specific language ideologies that are fundamentally different from those of the English-speaking teachers inform and shape their daily interactions with children. At Mountain View English Nursery School, children are socialised into a particular style of learning English that focuses on attaining knowledge and skills for tests. The children also learn to observe the English only policy with its exceptional application to the teachers through participating in interactions where the Japanese-speaking teachers use the English-speaking teachers as a translator.

The discussions on language ideologies and socialisation practices of the English-speaking teachers and Japanese-speaking teachers show that they are often conflicting and not complementing. In the presence of two distinctive ideologies of English language and English language learning sometimes have to find ways to co-exist at Mountain View English Nursery School. The rest of the chapter focuses on how the conflicting ideologies find common places and socialise children into context specific ideas, values, and practices.

7.3 Hybrid Language Socialisation Practices

Mountain View English Nursery School is a Japanese nursery school that follows the basic guidelines and policies for managing a nursery school in Japan. One of the fundamental goals of the nursery school is to prepare children for Japanese elementary school. Almost all the graduates from Mountain View English Nursery School eventually join the mainstream Japanese elementary school. Some Japanese-speaking teachers are concerned that the English immersion programme of the nursery school may hinder children's cultural experience and preparation for Japanese elementary school. For example, Mountain View English Nursery School has a more study-focused curriculum than other ordinary nursery schools in Japan. This academic emphasis may take away the opportunities from children to develop cultural and social skills that are necessary to become a competent student in the Japanese educational system. Ms. Takahashi explains this concern in the following excerpt from the interview.

Excerpt 25 (Ms. Taka = Ms. Takahashi)

(Original in Japanese)

Ms. Taka: Nanka kō ichinenseini agatta tokinī aruteido kokode kEiken shita kōto
              nihon'no gakkōde keiken shita kōga on'naji gakkōni itta tokini, kEiken'ni
              yappa saga arisugitara, aremo shitenai koremo shitenaitte nattara yappa
              chotto mazuikanatte iunomo attē. Ūn, tatoeba hasami norino tsukaikata
              tokā, nandarō yappa gyōjito shite ensokuni min'na dakede kodomo

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dakede ikutoka:. Hontowanē, denshani norutoka sōiu kEiken tokamo hokawa yatteru nodē.

(English Translation by the Researcher)

Ms. Taka: When they become first graders, if there is a gap in experience, we did not do this and we did not do that, between the children here and other children who went to Japanese nursery schools, it will be problematic. For example, how to use scissors and glue sticks. What else? Going on a field trip. Actually I want to let the children experience getting on a train like other schools do.

(10.03.2016 Ms. Takahashi Interview)

Ms. Takahashi worked at other Japanese preschools before coming to Mountain View English Nursery School. Based on her previous experiences, she worries that the nursery school is not sufficiently providing basic learning opportunities for children such as learning how to use scissors and glue sticks, going on field trips, and riding trains, that other children in ordinary Japanese nursery schools have before starting elementary school. The Japanese-speaking teachers try to implement as many typical Japanese nursery school events and experiences as possible to prepare children for elementary school.

One significant challenge of doing Japanese events and cultural practices at Mountain View English Nursery School is that they have to be conducted in English. It can be challenging for both the Japanese-speaking and English-speaking teachers. The Japanese-speaking teachers understand what culturally relevant experiences they should provide for children, but they do not have the ability to deliver them in English. The English-speaking teachers, on the other hand, have the ability to prepare and facilitate activities in English, but they lack the cultural experience and understanding. Mr. Stewart shares in the interview his opinions on the attempts to conduct Japanese cultural activities and practices in English.

Excerpt 26 (Mr. St = Mr. Stewart; R = Researcher)

Mr. St: If I wanna try to have as more, as natural to native, like culture as I can, I
              wouldn't have anything. However, like they wanna keep as close to
              Japanese culture as because obviously the kids after they graduate here,
              they will go to a Japanese elementary school, and if they don't have those
              skills, then in that aspect of life they would be far behind. So we have to
              try and create something. So here, we've created the whole thing of like
              the teachers ask "are you ready to eat?" and the kids reply "yes let's eat."
R: Yea.

Mr. St: And that's as close to the culture and close to the natural speaking. I kind
              of put them together, there is a lot of things in English that they don't have
              but they have in Japanese.

                                                          (01.03.2016 Mr. Stewart Interview)

Although Mr. Stewart wishes to abandon all the Japanese cultural aspects to make the
English immersion programme at the nursery school "as natural to native" like learning
environment, he understands that the nursery school has a responsibility to prepare
children for Japanese elementary school. To better prepare students for Japanese
elementary school and at the same time maintain its English immersion status, Mr.
Stewart explains that the Japanese-speaking and English-speaking teachers work
together to translate and transform Japanese culture to be delivered in English (Melinte,
2012; Zhou, 2008). He provides an example of having an exchange of short phrases
before eating lunch. When lunch is ready, one or two children in charge of leading this
practice ask if everybody is ready to eat. Then they say "*oagari nasai*," which translates
to please partake of the food, and the rest of the students reply "*itadakimasu*," which can
be translated as I humbly partake of it. This Japanese cultural practice is to show
gratitude to food, and it is widely practiced at schools. Mr. Stewart reports that he had
to create something that replicates the cultural practice of thanking for food in as
natural English as possible.

This creative linguistic practice is a result of finding an accommodative position of managing a Japanese nursery school in English. In social and learning theory, it is a "third place" (Bhabha, 2004) where hybrid linguistic practices (Lam, 2004) emerge and "linguistic and cultural hybridity" (Haney, 2003, p. 163) are enjoyed. These hybrid practices socialise children "by and through language into new domains of knowledge and cultural practices" (Bayley & Schecter, 2003, p. 2). These hybrid practices are context specific to Mountain View English Nursery School, and the children attending the nursery school are socialised into unique ways of implementing a Japanese nursery school in English. The following section will present another hybrid linguistic practice to discuss further the nursery school's hybrid language socialisation practice and its effects on children.

7.3.1 Closing Exercise

It is a common practice in Japanese classes that students greet their teachers at the beginning and the end of each class by standing up, saying thank you for teaching, and bowing in unison (Lewis, 1988, 1989). This cultural practice is tied to an idea of cultivating politeness toward teachers (Burdelski, 2010). The teachers at Mountain View English Nursery School adopted this practice in English to end lessons. The following excerpt provides a typical procedure of how this Japanese cultural practice is conducted in English.

Excerpt 27 (Mr. A = Mr. Anderson; Elephant = Elephant class)

Mr. A: alright (.) hey stop (.) okay (.) what do we say at the end of our lesson (.)

Elephant: thank you very much see you next time (.)

(24.03.2016 Elephant Class)

The closing practice always follows the pattern of a teacher asking "what do we say at the end of our lesson?" and children saying "thank you very much see you next time" in response. The literal translations of these lines do not correspond with how the closing

greeting is conducted in Japanese. However, from a pragmatic point of view, it achieves the same goals of marking the end of a class and thanking the teacher for their teaching. The closing practice is another hybrid linguistic practice (Lam, 2004) of managing classes the Japanese way through the medium of the English language.

Over the ten months of conducting data collection, the closing practice was observed more in the classes with the Elephant children than the other two older age groups, namely the Cat and Whale groups. This observed tendency was explored and confirmed in the interviews with the teachers. The following excerpt from the interview with Mr. Anderson explains the use of the closing practice and its socialising effects.

Excerpt 28 (R = Researcher; Mr. A = Mr. Anderson)

R: So like with Elephants, at the end of the class, you always ask them to say, you ask them "what do you say at the end of a class?"

Mr. A: Uh-huh.

R: But sometimes I see that with Cats, but Whales you hardly ever do that (h).

Mr. A: Yea.

R: Why? Why is that?

Mr. A: Yea (h).

R: Have you ever thought about why?

Mr. A: Yea. I, umm, sometimes, as they get older, for me anyways, cause that's something I do like, for the young kids we always say it and then as they get older, I'm kind of less strict about it because I don't know, sometimes, when you repeat something so much loses its meaning.

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R: Um.

Mr. A: Type of thing? So I would rather like, if a class is ending on a really good note like I usually like, won't have them say that because they go from having a lot of fun to having to repeat the robot line, you know? It's just like, or they, they just scream it you know like, they are not really saying what they mean (h).

R: (h).

Mr. A: Like, like, I guess it's just like, like when you say something too much, kind of loses its value, I guess its meaning you know, of something, I guess like, with the younger kids they are learning to say something polite like thanking the teachers or you know, for the lesson. "See you next time" you know? They're learning how to say it but also like I guess showing respect to the teacher and stuff but, for, for the older kids myself like, like especially the Whales like, it's more of like, you know, because they do like for the older kids the Whales like, for class work for them like, it's they do most of the work.

<div align="right">(24.02.2016 Mr. Anderson Interview)</div>

According to Mr. Anderson, the closing exercise is not mandatory for every class. The teachers can decide whether or not they conclude a class with the greeting, and the decision depends on how best the class can be finished. If children are engaged and having effective learning moments, Mr. Anderson would not have the children say the closing greeting because he considers the closing practice as meaningless, something like a "robot line" that children say to end a class. It is apparent that Mr. Anderson is aware of the cultural background of this particular practice. He agrees that younger children need to learn to be polite and say thank you to the teachers. However, with older children, he explains that it is not the teachers being credited for the children's learning, but it is the children who are doing the work for learning.

From a language socialisation perspective, the closing practice functions as a language socialisation practice that socialises children into politeness to teachers. By repeatedly participating in this practice, children become familiar with it to a point where it becomes an automatic reaction (Kanagy, 1999; Moore, 2011). The analysis of data in the current study shows that the children at Mountain View English Nursery School are thoroughly socialised to the practice of saying the closing greeting. However, the socialisation of politeness and respect remains questionable as Mr. Anderson explains that children may "just scream it . . . [and] they are not really saying what they mean" (2016.02.24 Mr. Anderson Interview). This observation suggests that the socialising effects of greeting a teacher may be lost in the translation and transformation of the Japanese practice into English. Although there needs to be further studies and data to examine this phenomenon, the data and analysis of the closing practice shed light on the dynamic and complicated nature of hybrid language socialisation practices in the current study.

Hybrid language practices at Mountain View English Nursery School socialise children to become a competent student in the Japanese cultural and educational systems (Kanagy, 1999), and they are provided through the medium of the English language. The current research is limited to determining whether or not the children are socialised into the idea of politeness and respect as other studies looked into (e.g., Cook, 1999; Burdelski, 2010); however, it provides evidence that children at Mountain View English Nursery School are socialised to the unique practices of doing Japanese cultural and educational routines in English. Saying thanks to food before lunch, reciting the closing greeting, and other unique Japanese practices conducted in English are specific to Mountain View English Nursery School. The children who attend the nursery school are socialised through and to the use of these hybrid language socialisation practices.

7.4 Chapter Discussion

Language socialisation studies in Japanese classrooms have reported specific ways through which Japanese teachers socialise students in verbal interactions. Cook (1999) examines both explicit and implicit approaches that Japanese teachers implemented to socialise students into active and attentive listening. In a Japanese immersion

elementary school in the United States, Kanagy (1999) studies routines as native Japanese-speaking teachers' strategy for socialising American children into cultural and pedagogical practices that are specific to Japanese education. One commonly observed interactive pattern in these studies is that teachers use a variety of questions. The current study also identified that the Japanese-speaking teachers ask "what" questions to socialise children academically. The use of "what" questions socialise children into learning English for tests, and this finding is another evidence that "the same feature [in language socialisation] might serve different functions in different cultures" (Clancy, 1986, p. 246). Falsgraf and Majors (1995) suggest that "If teachers, parents, administrators, and students can come to see that . . . teachers are acting consistently and fairly within the context of their culture, it may . . . help all involved understand the experiences children are having in their immersion classrooms" (p. 18). Although the Japanese-speaking teachers at Mountain View English Nursery School teach in an English immersion environment, their teaching in *Eiken* classes reflects the academic culture of learning English for tests in Japan.

The analysis of this study revealed another unique practice of the Japanese-speaking teachers, which is to use the English-speaking teachers as a translator in giving instructions. This practice involved third persons (English-speaking teachers) in interactions between Japanese-speaking teachers and children, and it created multiparty interaction and socialisation (Emura, 2006; Lo & Fung, 2011). de León (2011) proposes multiparty participation frameworks that position children as not only a direct addressee in dyadic interactions but also as a peripheral third party participant (overhearer, bystander, eavesdropper). Other studies analyse peers (Cook, 1999; Markström & Halldén, 2009) and siblings (Lo & Fung, 2011) participating in teacher-student and parent-child dyadic interactions and thus creating triadic interaction and socialisation. The finding in the current study suggests another model of multiparty socialisation. The process begins with a Japanese-speaking teacher, through an English-speaking teacher as a translator, and it reaches to children. This more linear model of multiparty socialisation needs further studies to explore its linguistic complexity and influences in socialisation.

The "third place" (Bhabha, 2004) at Mountain View English Nursery School is where the ideologies of English immersion programme and Japanese nursery school meet in a conflicting manner (Mori, 2014). To provide Japanese nursery school experiences in English, the English-speaking teachers and Japanese-speaking teachers co-construct hybrid linguistic practices (Lam, 2004). The data analysis identified two specific hybrid practices: showing appreciation for food and saying a closing remark. These Japanese cultural and educational practices conducted in English are context specific to the nursery school, and they socialise children into specific ways of participating in them. This finding is consistent with Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López, and Tejeda's (1999) observation that "the [hybrid language] practices . . . facilitated movement across languages and registers toward particular learning goals" (p. 301). It is suggested that a more comprehensive view of hybrid language practices in socialisation can be achieved with further studies that focus on the potential loss of cultural meanings in translating and conducting cultural practices in another language.

7.5 Summary

This chapter presented data to discuss some recurrent language ideologies and language socialisation practices of the Japanese-speaking teachers and staff. They bring their ideologies of the English language as well as English language learning to the nursery school. These ideologies differ significantly from those of the English-speaking teachers discussed in the previous chapter.

The Japanese-speaking teachers hold a view that English language learning is primarily for tests. They use "what" questions to teach and socialise children into a style of learning that values precision in both learning for and taking *Eiken* tests.

The Japanese-speaking teachers also hold a belief that "good" English belongs only to the English-speaking teachers. This ideology is reflected in their decisions not to speak English to children because they fear the potential negative effects of teaching "wrong" English. The Japanese-speaking teachers prefer to use Japanese with the English-speaking teachers especially when they need to communicate thoroughly and their English is not sufficient for achieving the task. The English-speaking teachers translate

the content into English and then deliver it to children. The use of a translator socialises children into the English only policy and the notion of "native-speakerism" in Japan (Houghton & Rivers, 2013).

The chapter also examined data to discuss the hybrid language socialisation practices of Mountain View English Nursery School. Through participating in Japanese cultural and educational practices in English, the children at the nursery school are socialised to the unique practices of conducting Japanese cultural and educational routines in English. These hybrid practices are exclusively specific to Mountain View English Nursery School, and thus they socialise children to become competent and accepted members of Mountain View English Nursery School.

Chapter Eight:
Child Agency and Language Socialisation

The previous two chapters presented and discussed specific language ideologies and socialisation practices of the English-speaking and Japanese-speaking teachers. The teachers as experts (Lave & Wenger, 1991) at Mountain View English Nursery School socialise children into distinct values and behaviours in an English immersion nursery school. These socialisation processes, however, present merely one aspect of the more dynamic, bi-directional, and even multi-directional model of language socialisation model suggested in the recent language socialisation studies (e.g., Bayley & Schecter, 2003). Children and other novices in this paradigm are given agentive roles in socialising significant others such as peers, teachers, and parents (Fogle & King, 2012; Talmy, 2008; Willet, 1995).

Child agency is defined in the current study as *the socioculturally mediated capacity to participate in the process of negotiating changes* (see Chapter Four). This definition suggests two important steps to achieve child agency. First, children must negotiate their participation in negotiating changes, and second, children negotiate what changes to be implemented in social and linguistic practices. This chapter uses these two steps to organise the presentation and discussion. Thus this chapter explores how children achieve child agency, presents language socialisation practices of the child participants, discusses what changes are negotiated and implemented, and analyses the socialisation effects of both peer and teacher language socialisation. The data will present specific language socialisation practices of the child participants, and they will be supported and criticised with relevant literature.

8.1. Peer Language Socialisation

Peer language socialisation concerns how children socialise peers into contextually relevant language use and behaviour in various social, educational, and linguistic settings (Cekaite & Björk-Willén, 2013; Goodwin & Kyratzis, 2007, 2011). Child agency in peer language socialisation at Mountain View English Nursery School is determined

by their social and linguistic competences at the nursery school. As children develop linguistic knowledge of English and social competence to function in the nursery school adequately, they begin to play the role of an "expert" to socialise less competent peers (Kyratzis, Marx, & Wade, 2001).

In the current research, child agency in peer socialisation is determined according to the age and the length of time attending the nursery school. Children who are older and have spent a longer time at the nursery school tend to possess more social and linguistic knowledge and competence necessary to be successful at the nursery school. These cultural capitals (Bourdieu, 1977) equip children to achieve and play an agentive role in socialising peers.

The current study observed and identified four main forms of peer language socialisation practices: making corrections, playing the role of a teacher, reporting misbehaviours, and being a tutor. They are related in many ways, but at the same time they are different in the socialising children's roles and the expected outcomes.

8.1.1. Making Corrections

Making corrections on peer's mistakes is one of the most observed language-mediated practices for peer socialisation in the current research and other language socialisation studies (Cekaite & Björk-Willén, 2012; Cekaite et al., 2014; Goodwin, 1983; Goodwin & Kyratzis, 2011; Jinkerson, 2012). The current study most frequently observed the participating children's corrections on their peers' unaccepted use of Japanese. Mountain View English Nursery School applies a strict English only policy, and it is further enforced by the teachers' punishment strategy as discussed in chapter six. Some children use their socialised knowledge of the English only policy to make corrections when their peers use Japanese while they are at the nursery school. The following excerpt presents an example of this type of correction in peer socialisation. This particular interaction is from a drawing activity. The Whale children are drawing faces of their grandparents for the upcoming Respect the Elderly Day in September.

Excerpt 29 (Riko; Wakana)

Riko: I draw my grandma (.)

Wakana: bāba chan? (grandmother) (.)

Riko: don't speak Japanese (.)

(01.09.2015 Whale Crafts)

The interaction in the excerpt begins with Riko telling Wakana that she is drawing a face of her grandmother. Wakana responds to this initiation of conversation by saying a Japanese phrase for grandmother in a very informal style with a suffix usually used for a small child. The form, light and high-pitched tone, and the uprising ending suggest that Wakana may be trying to be funny. However, Riko reacts to Wakana's use of Japanese in a strict manner. She immediately tells Wakana not to speak Japanese. Children in the current study use the line of "don't speak Japanese" frequently to make corrections on peers' use of Japanese.

Riko plays the role of an agent in socialising her friend in this interaction. She reiterates and reinforces the English only policy and thus socialises Wakana not to use Japanese at the nursery school. It appears that Riko achieves her child agency and plays the socialising role without a challenge from Wakana. This observation does not assume that Wakana is not aware of the English only policy. Indeed the field notes show her making a correction on her friend's use of Japanese in another occasion. In this light, it is not the knowledge of English only policy that positioned Riko as the socialising agent. Rather, it is Wakana's violation of the English only policy that created an unequal relationship between Riko and Wakana in terms of who is more appropriate in conducts. Riko achieves child agency through being in line with the English only policy, and it allows her to negotiate a change to Wakana's linguistic choice and use.

In addition to the explicit directive, some children with advanced English vocabulary make corrections by providing English equivalents. This corrective strategy not only

reminds the English only policy but also helps peers learn English words and phrases so that they can better adhere to the policy. The following interaction between Yamato and Itsuki in their *Eiken* class shows how Itsuki plays an agentive role in correcting Yamato's use of Japanese by providing an English equivalent.

Excerpt 30 (Yamato; Itsuki)

((A boy writes a *kanji* (Chinese character) on his paper.))

Yamato: *yama* (mountain) (.)

Itsuki: mountain (.) don't speak Japanese (.) it's mountain (.)

(17.12.2015 Yamato & Itsuki Eiken)

Yamato's use of Japanese in this interaction is a reaction to a challenge by a boy who writes a *kanji* (Chinese character) on a piece of paper and asks Itsuki and Yamato if they know it or not. The kanji represents *yama* or mountain in English. Yamato sees the *kanji* and reads it correctly in Japanese. Itsuki reacts to Yamato's use of Japanese. He not only tells Yamato not to speak Japanese but also provides the English word "mountain" which is the accurate translation of *yama* in Japanese. Itsuki repeats the English word "mountain" to emphasise his correction to Yamato's unaccepted use of Japanese.

Making corrections by providing English equivalents requires children to have more knowledge of English than simply telling peers not to speak Japanese. For instance, if Itsuki had not learned the English word for *yama* in Japanese, he would not have been able to make the correction in the above excerpt. This observation suggests that children's agentive participation in peer language socialisation is enhanced with their linguistic knowledge and skills. A similar observation is found in Mökkönen's (2013) ethnographic accounts of how Finnish children at an English immersion primary school negotiate their language socialisation experience with their abilities in different languages. The children with advanced linguistic knowledge and skills participate and

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negotiate in peer socialisation more effectively. They socialise their peers by providing models of how and in what language they should speak.

Other data in the current study suggests that children learn how to correct peers by providing English translation from observing the English-speaking teachers. The observation data show some occasions when the English-speaking teachers allow children to use Japanese words and phrases that are specific to the Japanese culture and language. The English-speaking teachers use these occasions to teach new English vocabulary and phrases, and it helps children obtain the necessary knowledge to explain Japanese culture in English.   The following excerpt shows how Mr. Stewart facilitates the translation process in a class with the Whale children. The teacher and children talk about their experiences during the winter break. Children use many Japanese words in the interactions to describe the cultural food and events during New Year's Days.

Excerpt 31 (Mr. St = Mr. Stewart; Nanami)

Mr. St: Nanami (.) what did you do over the break (.)

Nanami: I went to my grandma's house (.)

Mr. St: what did you do at your grandma's house (.)

Nanami: I (.) eat (.) *soba* (.)

Mr. St: you ate *soba* (.) so noodles? (.)
Nanami: [yes] (.)

Mr. St: [you] had some noodles? (.) did you eat some rice cakes? (.)

Nanami: no (.)

Mr. St: you didn't eat rice cakes? (.)

Nanami: I ate some *kani* (crab) (.)

Mr. St: *kani* is crab (.)

Nanami: crab (.)

Mr. St: you ate (.) wow (.) giving crab to a six year old (.) did you like it? (.)

Nanami: yes (.)

Mr. St: very much? (.) you ate like oh I like this crab (.) like that? (.)

Nanami: no (.)

Mr. St: that's good (.) like that okay (.)

(05.01.2016 Whale Class)

Mr. Stewart asks a number of questions to help Nanami talk about her experience during the winter holidays. Nanami uses Japanese words in the conversation to explain what she ate at her grandmother's house. The first word *soba* is dark noodles traditionally eaten on New Year's Eve. The second word *kani* translates to crab in English. It is important to mention that Mr. Stewart does not denounce Nanami's use of Japanese and show any intentions to send her to the corner. Instead, he provides English words for the Japanese words and further helps Nanami form her sentences without using the Japanese terms. Mr. Stewart's correction through providing translation is made possible with his experience and knowledge of the Japanese culture and language. Mr. Stewart not only teaches English vocabulary but also socialises Nanami to better observe the English only policy through the correction by providing English translations. These interactions may become a model that children observe and learn how to make corrections through providing English equivalents to replace and eliminate Japanese words.

Although this study is limited for making a direct connection between the teacher's practice of providing English translation and children's use of the same strategy in peer language socialisation, it makes an informed suggestion that the teacher-child socialisation is reproduced in child-child socialisation. Its socialisation effect of reminding and reinforcing the English only policy is also extended from one language socialising interaction to another. In this light, children not only acquire social and linguistic knowledge through interacting with teachers in the classroom, but also they apply their knowledge to achieve agency and socialise their peers.

8.1.2 Playing a Spokesperson Role

The children at Mountain View English Nursery School play the role of a spokesperson for the teachers to achieve child agency in socialising peers. Being a spokesperson for the teachers in this study does not mean that children are put in charge of teaching lessons. Rather the observations show that children sometimes voluntarily become a spokesperson for the teachers to reinforce classroom rules. In order for them to play this role, children must be adequately socialised into the rules and other pedagogical strategies that the teachers use for classroom management (Moore, 2006). Children learn these classroom practices through daily interactions with their teachers, and they use their socialised knowledge of classroom management to socialise peers to be a "good" student in the class. Prerequisite to playing an agentive role in this peer language socialisation practice is the knowledge of the classroom rules such as raising hands for volunteering and not running in class. The following excerpts show how some of the children use their socialised knowledge to socialise their peers into observing the classroom rules.

Excerpt 32 (Mr. A = Mr. Anderson; Daiki)

Mr. A: I didn't even write the word yet (.)

Daiki: your hands down (.) hands down (.)

Mr. A: hands down (.) okay what's the word (.)

Daiki: duck (.)

Mr. A: okay (.) you wanna come draw a duck? (.)

<div align="right">(01.10.2015 Cat Class)</div>

Excerpt 33 (Mr. A.=Mr. Anderson; Yuma)

Mr. A: okay (.) Ren ((and two other children)) (.) go get your toolbox (.)

Yuma: no running (.)

Mr. A: no running (.)

<div align="right">(03.12.2015 Elephant Class)</div>

Excerpt 32 is taken from a class observation where Mr. Anderson helps the Cat children read a book and learn vocabulary. Mr. Anderson writes some words from the reading on the whiteboard for a quick test. Some of the Cat children in the class get excited about demonstrating their knowledge of English vocabulary, and they raise their hands and shout "me, me" for Mr. Anderson's attention. Mr. Anderson instructs the children that he has not finished writing the question word on the whiteboard. Mr. Anderson's instruction infers that he expects the children in the class to raise their hands when the question is ready. It is notable that upon hearing and understanding the message of Mr. Anderson, Daiki immediately intervenes and starts telling his classmates to lower their hands because the teacher is not ready to have any volunteers yet. Mr. Anderson echoes Daiki and tells the Cat children to lower their hands. Eventually, Daiki gets the opportunity to read the word on the whiteboard and draw a picture.

Excerpt 33 concerns another classroom rule of not running. This interaction is from a classroom observation of the Elephant children doing a small activity for learning the English alphabet. This activity requires some cutting and gluing papers. Mr. Anderson instructs some of the children to go and get their toolboxes placed in the storing shelf.

Some children jump out of their chairs and rush to the shelf. Then Yuma shouts and tells his friends not to run. Mr. Anderson then repeats the same directive.

These excerpts show how children reinforce the classroom rules such as raising hands and not running to socialise peers to be "good" students. It is evident that both Daiki and Yuma are knowledgeable of the classroom rules, and they apply them to their peers who are not following the rules. Their knowledge is key to receiving permission from Mr. Anderson to become a spokesperson for him and play an agentive role in socialising peers. Furthermore, the excerpts demonstrate that Mr. Anderson repeats the socialising children to validate their instructions. Moore's (2006) study in a Qur'anic school in Northern Cameroon also reports that some of the older children in the class take partial responsibilities of the teacher and act as an agent in socialising other and younger students. Similarly, the children at Mountain View English Nursery School take a spokesperson role for the teachers and play an agentive role in socialising peers into observing the classroom rules.

8.1.3 Reporting Misbehaviours

The analysis of data in the current study also identified a more indirect approach that children implemented in peer language socialisation. This indirect strategy for peer socialisation takes a form of reporting peers' misbehaviours. The socialising children in this form of peer socialisation use their teachers to socialise peers instead of directly interacting with them. This particular strategy for peer socialisation suggests a more complicated multi-directional language socialisation process (Emura, 2006; see also Lønsmann, 2017). The process of socialisation in this model starts with a child, goes through a teacher, and ends with socialising another child.

The next excerpt is an example of peer language socialisation through reporting misbehaviours to the teacher. The excerpt is taken from a class where Mr. Anderson is teaching the Whale children the rules of capitalisation in English writing.

Excerpt 34 (Mr. A = Mr. Anderson; Riko)

Mr. A: you make it a big letter okay? (.) big t (.) small h small e okay? (.) the new

           sentence big i (.) small t okay? (.) in this sentence (.) we have (.) the is the

           first word (.) right? (.) don't play with the crayons come on (.) turn around

           (.) turn around sit nice (.) yea the name still gets capitalised (.) okay good

           (.)

Riko: John (.)

Mr. A: what (.)

Riko: Minato is looking at Wakana (.)

Mr. A: turn around and face me okay? (.) listen to me (.) okay? (.) so (.) the first

           word is (.)

                                                                        (07.07.2015 Whale Class)

In this interaction, Riko interrupts Mr. Anderson and reports that Minato is looking at

Wakana and not paying attention to Mr. Anderson's teaching. Riko's report serves as a

catalyst that successfully involves Mr. Anderson in the process of correcting Minato's

misbehaviour.

In another interaction from a class with the Cat children, Itsuki reports to Mr. Anderson

that Kaito is not working on his word search worksheet. It is important to clarify that

Kaito was a Whale group age child, but he was having a class with the Cat children

because he did not study for *Eiken* while all the other Whale children were in their *Eiken*

lessons.

Excerpt 35 (Mr. A = Mr. Anderson; Itsuki)

Itsuki: Kaito is not doing (.)

Mr. A: are you done?

Itsuki: Kaito don't do it (.)

Mr. A: that's okay (.) Kaito (.) Kaito is not part of this class (.) so (.) that's okay (.)
                he doesn't (.) he doesn't need to finish (.) Kaito already had his two
                lessons (.) alright (.) so you're done okay if you're done (.) put your papers
                in your blue folders (.)

                                                                    (17.12.2015 Cat Class)

This interaction begins with Itsuki making a report to Mr. Anderson that Kaito is not working on his word search worksheet. Mr. Anderson does not answer Itsuki's question, but instead he asks Itsuki if he has finished his work. Itsuki insists on pointing out Kaito's lack of engagement in the activity. Mr. Anderson provides an explanation that Kaito is excused because he already had two lessons with the Whale children earlier on that day. Itsuki does not make any further objections regarding Kaito.

The above two excerpts both show how children report misbehaviours of their peers and expect teachers to make necessary corrections. However, there is a significant difference in the outcomes of these peer socialisation attempts. In Excerpt 34, Riko is successful at involving Mr. Anderson in making corrections. On the other hand, Itsuki in Excerpt 35 fails to achieve child agency, and his attempt to change Kaito's attitude and behaviour in the classroom did not realise. Both children use the same strategy for peer language socialisation, but the socialisation processes produce different results. This observation suggests a view that achievement of child agency in peer language socialisation through the strategy of reporting misbehaviour is heavily dependent on the teachers. In this practice, children can initiate the socialisation process by reporting misconducts, but the actual socialisation effects and outcomes are determined by how teachers react to the prompting reports.

This finding supports the working definition of child agency in the current study. The sociocultural nature of child agency recognises that child participation in language socialisation is conditional and constantly negotiated (Al Zidjaly, 2009). Itsuki negotiates his participation into playing an agentive role in peer language socialisation by reporting Kaito's misbehaviour, but Mr. Anderson rejects his attempt to initiate and participate in language socialisation, and thus he does not achieve child agency. Involving teachers in peer language socialisation can be a powerful socialisation enterprise; however, the risk of failing to achieve agency increases because child agency depends on the decisions of the teachers in this language socialisation practice.

8.1.4 Being a Tutor

Studies of language socialisation at nursery schools have examined peer-to-peer interactions that provide powerful and meaningful interaction routines and socialisation effects (Markström & Halldén, 2009; Mökkönen, 2013). Willett (1995) demonstrates that children who work closely together on classroom tasks learn linguistic and social routines of the classroom much quicker than those who depend on the help provided by teachers and aides. This peer-to-peer type of interaction often takes tutor-tutee relationship in Mountain View English Nursery School. Some children complete their classroom work quicker than others, and they ask the teachers for permission to help their peers who are struggling to finish the tasks. This voluntary request to help peers is granted or rejected by the teachers, and their decisions are based on their evaluations of the situations. Thus, child participation in peer language socialisation by being a tutor needs to be negotiated with their teachers. In addition to the teacher evaluations of classroom situations, the data in this study show that the teachers evaluate each child and their eligibility to function as a tutor. Therefore, the more social and linguistic knowledge the children are perceived to have, the higher chance they have to achieve child agency and participation in this peer language socialisation model.

The following excerpt provides an example of how this interaction typically takes place in classes. This interaction between Mr. Anderson and Ayano takes place in a class in

which the Whale children have a spelling test of frequently used vocabulary. Mr. Anderson reads the words, and the children write them on the answer sheet.

Excerpt 36 (Mr. A = Mr. Anderson; Ayano)

Mr. A: yeah if you mess up just cross it out (.) there is a room enough to cross it out okay? (.) do (.) make sure you write the right letters (.) do (.) how do you spell do Kaito? (.) do (.)

Ayano: should I help Kaito? (.)

Mr. A: ah (.) Riko do you wanna switch Kaito's spot? (.) oh no (.) hey (.) don't do his work for him okay? (.) Riko can you trade places with Kaito? (.) okay Kaito you're gonna sit next to Ayano (.) Ayano's gonna help you okay? (.) so switch spots okay? (.) you move here (.) Kaito moves there okay? (.) alright (.) do (.) next word (.) to (.) I went (.) I went to my house (.) I went to my house (.)

(27.11.2015 Whale Class)

The excerpt shows how Ayano asks Mr. Anderson for permission to help Kaito with the spelling test. Kaito struggles with the test because he has issues with, or he does not have any interests in, the literacy skills in neither English nor Japanese (2015.11.06 Kaito's Mother Interview). Mr. Anderson also reports that Kaito's reading ability is measured lower than those of the Cat children, and it is partly because he was hospitalised for some time (2016.03.17 Whale Graduation Practice). Mr. Anderson encourages Kaito to work on the spelling test by asking him a question. Ayano then interrupts and asks Mr. Anderson if she should help Kaito. Mr. Anderson allows Ayano to take the role of a tutor for Kaito. He asks Riko to switch places with Kaito so that Ayano and Kaito are seated next to each other.

Ayano successfully achieves child agency in the interaction with Mr. Anderson and plays the role of a tutor to help Kaito. Mr. Anderson allows Ayano to play this agentive role;

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however, he also gives a condition to which Ayano's participation is limited. Mr. Anderson tells Ayano that she cannot do Kaito's work for him, which means Ayano cannot just give or show Kaito the answers. The negotiation of condition illustrates the complexity of child agency. Ayano successfully achieves child agency and causes a change to the way Kaito participates in the spelling test. However, Mr. Anderson determines and limits Ayano's potential socialising effects on Kaito. Child agency in peer language socialisation is constantly negotiated between children and teachers.

The children at Mountain View English Nursery School implement a variety of strategies, namely making corrections, playing a spokesperson role, reporting misbehaviours, and being a tutor, to directly and indirectly socialise their peers. In direct peer socialisation practices, children achieve child agency with their socialised knowledge and competence in the nursery school. In more indirect peer socialisation that involves teachers, children must negotiate their participation in socialising peers with teachers. Successful negotiations of participation lead to social and linguistic changes that have socialising effect on peers.

8.2 Teacher Language Socialisation

Studies of agency in language socialisation have explored and revealed how children socialise adults such as parents and teachers (Duran, 2015; Fogle, 2012; He, 2013; Willet, 1995). The analysis of data in the current study also found that children at Mountain View English Nursery School play agentive roles to participate in negotiations about changes that socialise teachers. The process of children socialising their teachers is referred to as teacher language socialisation in the current study. The term is used in Ungreanu and Stan's (2013) study to explore the potential influences of students in the process of teacher socialisation that promotes "the acquisition of knowledge, skills, values and norms of both the teaching profession and the local school community" (Alhija & Fresko, 2010, p. 1592). The term teacher language socialisation should not be confused with the language socialisation practices of the English-speaking and Japanese-speaking teachers presented and discussed in chapters six and seven respectively.

In teacher language socialisation, children use their socialised knowledge and various strategies to achieve their participation in negotiating changes to the social and linguistic practices at the nursery school. These changes result in constructions of alternative classroom practices that have direct impact and socialising effects on teachers. Creativity is key to understand child agency (Duranti & Black, 2011). The findings in the current study show how creativity empowers children in achieving child agency, negotiating changes, and eventually socialising teachers.

8.2.1 Applying Acquired Knowledge

The sociocultural theory of learning explores how children acquire the knowledge and skills necessary to become an accepted member of different social groups (Lave & Wenger, 1991). This paradigm typically positions children on the receiving end of learning with their parents and teachers on the other end as providers of knowledge and skills. The existing studies in school contexts (Kanagy, 1999; Toohey, 1998, 2000; Willett, 1995) explore how children acquire new knowledge and develop social and linguistic competences through interacting with their teachers. However, much less is known about what children can and will do with the acquired knowledge and skills. There is a gap of knowledge in understanding the transition from "novices" to "experts" (Lave & Wenger, 1991) or "being socialized" to "socializing agents" (Luykx, 2005).

The analysis in the current study revealed a recurrent theme and multiple occasions of children applying their acquired knowledge for alternative purposes. The children in the research context use the strategy of applying acquired knowledge to transform classroom routines, construct social positions, and shape language-mediated interactions. This enterprise requires children to be creative in constructing new interpretations and uses of their acquired knowledge. These new ways of using and interpreting language in the nursery school socialise the teachers to cooperate if not comply with the new classroom practices. Three examples will be presented to show how children apply their acquired knowledge to achieve child agency in teacher language socialisation.

Modified Use of the Closing Exercise

The first example is children's applied use of the closing exercise that is presented and discussed as one of the hybrid language socialisation practices of Mountain View English Nursery School in the previous chapter (see 7.3.1). The teachers at the nursery school use this practice to mark the end of a class and at the same time to socialise children into politeness. In one class with the Whale children, however, Riko uses the closing exercise for a different purpose.

Excerpt 37 (Mr. St = Mr. Stewart; Riko; Whale = Whale class)

Mr. St: the things is (.) I want you to think about (.) what you wanna do (.)
            because by the end of this week (.) we need to write our new year's
            resolutions (.) okay? (.) our goals for this year (.) okay? we need to okay?
            (.) understand? (.) alright (.) are you guys ready for (.) going [outside?] (.)

Riko: [thank] you very much see you next time (.)

((Some children follow Riko's initiation and recite.))

Mr. St: (h) (.)

((Some children start leaving the room.))

Mr. St: wait (.) guys wait (.)

Whale: thank you very much see you next time (.)

Mr. St: very good okay (.) nicely go downstairs (.) nicely (.) use a second to go use
            the bathroom (.)

This interaction takes place toward the end of the observed class. Mr. Stewart is about to conclude the class with a reminder of an upcoming assignment. He asks the children in the class if they are ready to go outside and play. Before he completes his sentence, Riko interrupts and starts reciting the line from the closing exercise. This practice typically follows a pattern of teacher-initiation ("what do we say at the end of a class?") and student-response ("thank you very much, see you next time") pattern as shown in chapter seven. However, Riko alters the order and starts the student-response part of the exercise without having the teacher-initiation. An interesting observation is that other children immediately join Riko in reciting the closing remark. When they finish saying the line, they begin to leave the classroom. Mr. Stewart's reaction of laughter and his demand to have the children stay in the room both suggest that this is not his plan to end the class. The children, however, interpret the order to remain in the room as a request for saying the closing recitation once again. They recite the student-response line in the closing exercise for the second time more nicely and formally. Mr. Stewart accepts and approves the second attempt of saying the closing remark, and he allows the children to go with some additional instructions.

Riko achieves her child agency in this interaction by alternating the order of the closing exercise. She understands that the closing exercise marks the end of a class. Based on this knowledge, she creatively uses the closing exercise to achieve her goal, which is to end the class and go outside for playtime quickly. Riko succeeds to obtain her participation in the process of negotiating changes to the use of the closing exercise by creatively changing the set order for the closing exercise. Her alternative use of the closing exercise is further supported by the participation of her peers in the practice session. Eventually, Mr. Stewart makes an accommodation and allows the children to end the class.

Concerning teacher language socialisation in this interaction, Riko successfully socialises Mr. Stewart into the acceptance and use of the alternated closing exercise. Riko achieves her child agency in this process by applying her acquired knowledge of the closing exercise and creating a new practice that serves her purpose. It is also notable to examine that Riko's creative use of the closing exercise may have a socialising influence on her peers. Her initiation of the closing exercise invites the classmates to

join her attempt to end the class. The joint effort results in ending the class. The process and outcome of the applied use of the closing exercise may socialise other children to use it in other occasions.

A more in-depth analysis of this particular interaction suggests that the original socialising effects of the closing exercise are lost in the process of modification. The closing exercise at Mountain View English Nursery School is a Japanese cultural and pedagogical practice conducted uniquely in English. The original closing exercise achieves mainly two goals: to mark the end of a class and to socialise children into respect and politeness (Cook, 1999; Burdelski, 2010). The applied use of the closing exercise by Riko, however, seems to have lost its effects on socialising respect and politeness. She appears to use the modified closing exercise for a single purpose of ending the class. She appears to show no evidence of paying respect and being polite to Mr. Stewart. In fact, interruption of a speaker is considered rude in Japan and many other countries (Applegate, 1975). In this light, it can be said that Riko changes not only the order but also the underlying socialisation effects of the closing exercise. Further studies are necessary to examine this finding.

It is evident that Riko achieves her child agency by applying her knowledge of the closing exercise for a different purpose. She successfully negotiates a change to the closing exercise and socialises Mr. Stewart into a new and more child-centred way of using the closing exercise.

Constructing Social Positions

The second example presents how children apply their acquired knowledge to create social positions and place the teachers in them. Social positions such as expert and novice (Lave & Wenger, 1991), different language speakers (Dura, 2015; Kim & Duff, 2012), parent and child (Fogle, 2012; Luykx, 2003, 2005), and teacher and student (He, 2003; Talmy, 2008; Willet, 1995) are negotiated and socialised through the use of language (Ochs, 1993). Children play an active role in negotiating and constructing their social positions through which they also assign social positions to their parents and teachers (Talmy, 2008).

The children at Mountain View English Nursery School participate in teacher language socialisation by creatively applying their acquired knowledge to create social positions for the teachers. This strategy enables the children to achieve child agency and participate in the process of negotiating changes to the adult-child and teacher-student relationships. The two excerpts below demonstrate how the Whale children apply their acquired knowledge to negotiate and construct social positions for the teachers.

Excerpt 38 (Mr. A = Mr. Anderson; Wakana; Riko)

Mr. A: okay uncle (.) what's uncle (.)

Wakana: uncle (.)

Mr. A: not *anko:* (sweet beans paste) (.) uncle okay? (.) ((Mr. Anderson's niece))'s mom is my sister okay? (.) so I am her *ojīsan* (grandfather) (.)

Riko: *ojisan* (uncle) (.)

Mr. A: not grandpa (.) uncle okay? (.) so (.) she says (.) I love my uncle John (.)

(28.07.2015 Whale Class)

Excerpt 39 (Mr. St = Mr. Stewart; Ayano)

Mr. St: oh that's why I'm not gonna rip her skirt (.) but wait wait wait (.) is it a skirt? (.) one-piece right? (.)

Ayano: uncle Peter (.)

Mr. St: uncle Peter? (.)

((Some Whale children start chanting "uncle Peter"))

Mr. St: shh (.) how do I become your uncle?

(04.08.2015 Whale Class)

Excerpt 38 shows interactions between Mr. Anderson and two of the Whale children in a class. Mr. Anderson shares with the children two letters from his nieces living in America. The two letters refer Mr. Anderson as uncle John. Mr. Anderson makes it an opportunity for the Whale children to learn the word "uncle" with reference to the Japanese translation. However, he mistranslates the English word "uncle" to *ojīsan* (grandfather) in Japanese. Riko immediately reacts to Mr. Anderson's wrong translation and provides the correct Japanese word *ojisan* (uncle). Interestingly, Mr. Anderson corrects Riko's accurate translation, and he proceeds with his lesson.

This newly acquired knowledge of the word "uncle" is creatively used in another observed class with the Whale children. Excerpt 39 is from a class a week after the class of Excerpt 38. Mr. Stewart teaches a lesson on vocabulary related to clothing. Then suddenly, Ayano starts calling Mr. Stewart uncle Peter. The children at Mountain View English Nursery School usually call their teachers by their first name. Ayano, however, in this instance adds "uncle" before Mr. Stewart's first name Peter. Mr. Stewart appears to be surprised at this reference. In contrast to Mr. Stewart's reaction, the Whale children seem to understand Ayano's purpose in calling Mr. Stewart uncle Peter, and they follow Ayano in saying uncle Peter in a chanting manner. The children's use of the term "uncle" in this interaction does not represent an actual familial relationship between Mr. Stewart and them. Rather, it is a mischievous action of the children enhanced by their application of previously acquired knowledge. Through creatively applying the knowledge from one context to another, the children create a new social identity and position of uncle Peter for Mr. Stewart in the classroom.

The analyses of these two related interactions suggest that the original intention of Mr. Anderson's teaching the word "uncle" is altered by the children to serve their purpose of making a funny reference of the teacher. Ayano's creative application of her acquired knowledge enables her to participate in the process of negotiating and constructing a new social position for Mr. Stewart. From the language socialisation perspective, Ayano's applied use of the term "uncle" invites Mr. Stewart in negotiating the reference of uncle Peter. It also changes the dynamic of the class because discussing uncle Peter is not Mr. Stewart's original plan for this class. These analyses find similarities in Talmy's (2008) discussions on ESL teacher identity construction as a reaction to student

participation in ESL classes. The children in the current study achieve agency through creatively applying their acquired knowledge to negotiate and construct social positions into which they socialise the teachers.

Creating Playful Interactions

Another example of teacher language socialisation at Mountain View English Nursery examines how children actively use their acquired knowledge to direct the course of interaction with their teachers. Students who try to alter classroom activities are typically seen as disruptive troublemakers. However, in the language socialisation paradigm, those troublesome children may play a significant role in forming classroom activities and interactions with the teachers (Talmy, 2008). The current study observed some occasions where the children negotiated the course of classroom interactions through creatively applying their acquired knowledge.

The following excerpt shows how Yuma obtains knowledge of the classroom activity and immediately applies it to negotiate and shape a playful interaction with Mr. Anderson.

Excerpt 40 (Mr. A = Mr. Anderson; Yuma; Ren)

Mr. A: Will (.) good Hina (.) can you write the name? (.) Will (.) Will (.) Will (.) is that x? (.) is that X? (.) why did you write x? (.)

Yuma: ((giggling)) (.)

Mr. A: why (.) no x (.) x is tomorrow right? (.) right? (.) today is w (.) alright the next name (.) is (.) Wyoming (.) is that a funny name? (.) Wyoming (.) okay (.) how do we spell it (.) w y o m i n g (.)

Yuma: and x (.)

((Some Elephant children start saying "x" in a chanting manner))

Mr. A: (h) (.) do you wanna x on your nose? (.)

Yuma: yeah (.)

Mr. A: no x (.) no x (.)

Ren: tomorrow x (.)

Mr. A: no x (.)

Ren: tomorrow x (.)

Mr. A: okay let's write it (.)

<div align="right">(01.10.2015 Elephant Class)</div>

This interaction takes place in a class wherein Mr. Anderson is helping the Elephant children learn and practice the Roman alphabet letter w. The children work on a worksheet with some tracing practices for both the upper and lower cases and some vocabulary starting with the letter w (e.g., Will and Wyoming). At the beginning of this excerpt, Mr. Anderson finds that Yuma writes the letter x instead of practicing the letter w. He explicitly instructs Yuma that the letter x is for the next class and attempts to correct Yuma's mischievous practice on the worksheet. Mr. Anderson then reads another word for tracing. He spells out the word Wyoming letter by letter to help the children better recognise, read, and learn it. When he finishes saying each letter for Wyoming, Yuma shouts and adds the letter x to Mr. Anderson's spelling of Wyoming. Mr. Anderson reacts to Yuma's playful use of the letter x, and he tries to conclude this rather nonsensical interaction by re-emphasising his instruction of not doing anything with the letter x in this particular class. Ren joins the interaction and reiterates Mr. Anderson's instruction.

This example shows both the acquisition of knowledge and application of it in the process of teacher language socialisation. The data is limited to determining to what

extent Yuma understood the designated task prior to Mr. Anderson's instruction. Therefore, Yuma either learns or is reminded that he should not be writing the letter x on the worksheet. Yuma then uses this acquired knowledge in an immediately following interaction to initiate and direct a new course of interaction with Mr. Anderson. His playful improvisation of knowledge (Cekaite & Aronsson, 2014; Duranti, 2004: Duranti & Black, 2011; Sawyer, 2001) is notable for understanding his achievement of child agency in this interaction. Yuma not only changes the course of interaction but also renegotiates the use of the letter x, which Mr. Anderson instructed him not to use in this class in the previous interaction. Yuma successfully plays an agentive role in creating a playful interaction through which he socialises Mr. Anderson. Mr. Anderson and Yuma enjoy some playful exchanges of lines with the letter x, until Mr. Anderson redirects the interaction back to working on the worksheet. The effect of this teacher language socialisation may be temporary, but it is evident Yuma achieves child agency through improvisation, participates in the negotiation of the use of the letter x, and constructs a playful interaction that socialises Mr. Anderson to play a role in the new course of interaction.

Yuma's agentive participation in the teacher language socialisation also shows an extended effect on his peers to either support or criticise him. The former is seen when some of Yuma's classmates follow him and support his improvisation by chanting x with him. The latter is observed when Ren reiterates Mr. Anderson's instruction. Ren's participation in this interaction is that of peer socialisation by being a spokesperson for Mr. Anderson. These involvements of other children suggest the multi-directional nature of language socialisation (Bayley & Schecter, 2003; Lønsmann, 2017; Schecter & Bayley, 2004). It is beyond the aim of the current study to explore the dynamic and complex process of multiple language socialisation processes occurring simultaneously. However, it is evident that Yuma's agentive participation in the process of negotiating changes to the course of interaction has an extended effect to socialising peers, and the socialised classmates play potentially significant roles in enhancing or inhibiting Yuma's teacher language socialisation.

8.3 Chapter Discussion

This chapter presented children's language socialisation of both peers and teachers. The analysis also aimed to test and validate the working definition of child agency.

Peer language socialisation research "addresses agency much more directly and fully" (Duff, 2015, p. 56) than other studies of parent-child and teacher-student socialisation. The current research identified four characteristic forms of language practice for socialising peers, namely, making corrections, playing a spokesperson role, reporting misbehaviours, and being a tutor. Other studies of language socialisation and agency report the practices of making correction (Cekaite & Björk-Willén, 2013; Evaldsson & Cekaite, 2010; Gyogi, 2015), speaking for the teacher (Mökkönen, 2013), reporting misbehaviours (Mökkönen, 2013), and taking a role of a tutor (Moore, 2006).

The first two practices (making corrections and playing a spokesperson role) are enacted with the children's social and linguistic competence (Bernstein, 1975; Duran, 2015; Fogle, 2012; Garrett and Baquedano-Lopez, 2002; Goodwin & Kyratzis, 2007, 2011). The latter two practices involve teachers in the attempts to socialise peers, and thus the teachers have more power to determine the use and effects of these peer language socialisation practices. Mökkönen (2013) reports on a classroom incident where a child reports her peers' unaccepted use of Finnish in the English medium classroom. The teacher fully takes the report by the child and uses the information to "pinpoint . . . the transgressors" (p. 136). On the other hand, Lo and Fung (2011) analyses that a child's participation in co-shaming was controlled by the authoritative adult in the shaming process. The analysed peer language socialisation practices of the current study in connection with the existing literature support the sociocultural nature of child agency. Children's social and linguistic competence in the nursery school helps them achieve agentive participation in socialising peers; however, they must also negotiate with teachers the conditions of their participation.

The current study reports on children's teacher language socialisation by creatively applying knowledge in saying the closing exercise, constructing social positions, and creating playful interactions. A key to successful teacher language socialisation in the

current study is children's ability to "select from and creatively use cultural resources" (Gaskins *et al.*, 1992, p. 7). Markström & Halldén (2009) note that "children adopt strategies and make pragmatic use of resources to resist the institutional discourse and gain control, and in doing so, influence and shape their everyday lives" (p. 10). By modifying existing language practices, imposing social positions, and changing the course of interaction, children not only achieve agentive participation in language socialisation but also socialise teachers into new ideas, meanings, and practices.

Agency is a complex concept with a wide variety of definitions inspired by different disciplines and perspectives (Vitanova *et al.*, 2015). The current study adopted Ahearn's (2001) definition of agency to define child agency as *the socioculturally mediated capacity to participate in the process of negotiating changes*. The analysis of the current study provides empirical evidence to test and validate the working definition of child agency. Although the working definition of child agency leaves space for improvements by further theoretical and empirical inquiries, it suggests a more child-centred and child-appropriate approach in researching child agency and language socialisation.

8.4 Summary

This chapter presented and discussed children's language socialisation practices at Mountain View English Nursery School. They are theoretically framed with the concept of child agency defined specifically in this study as *the socioculturally mediated ability to participate in the process of negotiating changes*. The data showed how children achieve their agency through various strategies.

In peer language socialisation, child agency is achieved with their competence in the English language as well as the school and classroom routines. Children in the nursery school shift their role from being a novice to expert (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Takei & Burdelski, 2018) and the socialised to socialising, depending on the situation, contents, and with whom they interact. Peer language socialisation practices teach and remind classmates to observe the school and classroom rules and routines better.

The chapter also presented data and discussed teacher language socialisation by children. The analysis in the current study identified that the children use a strategy of creatively applying acquired knowledge for negotiating and constructing new goals, ideas, and interactions. Children are not merely subjects to be taught and socialised, but they are active agents with the ability to improvise and create something new. They socialise teachers to take part in different ways of managing classes and interacting with them.

This chapter achieved two specific objectives. The first was to test the working definition of child agency empirically. The current study aims to add theoretical and empirical work to the knowledge of child agency. The second was to add data to the study of child agency in language socialisation. It touched on "the clearly asserted, but less often demonstrated commitments of early LS [language socialisation] scholarship to foreground the contested, unpredictable, and reciprocal character of LS" (Talmy, 2008, p. 640). The current study provides data and analysis to provide a comprehensive view of the multidirectional dynamic of language socialisation at an English immersion nursery school in Japan.

Chapter Nine:
Final Discussion and Concluding Comments

This chapter aims to provide a comprehensive summary of the study, final discussions of the key findings, and concluding thoughts of the study. The ethnographic data and critical analysis in this research present detailed descriptions of language socialisation processes at an English immersion nursery school in Japan. This chapter provides comprehensive summaries of the study, findings, and its original findings. The contributions of the current study to the research context as well as the academic fields of language socialisation and immersion education will be presented. The chapter concludes by addressing the limitations of the study and suggesting possible future research.

9.1 Summary of the Study

This thesis aimed to provide detailed descriptions of language socialisation practices at an English immersion nursery school in Japan. The review of the literature established contextual and theoretical backgrounds that positioned the current study in the ongoing discussions on language socialisation and English immersion education in Japan. The current study also conducted and presented the theoretical work of defining child agency in language socialisation. The working definition provided a framework for investigating children's agentive participation in language socialisation.

The research participants consisted of English-speaking teachers, Japanese-speaking teachers and staff, children of ages between three and six, and their parents at Mountain View English Nursery School. The nursery school is located in a prefectural capital city on the island of Shikoku, Japan.

The current research was designed to explore how and to what ends language socialisation took place in an English immersion nursery school. Taking a more dynamic and bi- and multi-directional view of language socialisation (Bayley & Schecter, 2003), the current study investigated specific language-mediated socialising practices of

the teachers and the children. In the effort of achieving this aim, the research implemented the ethnographic methodology suggested by Garrett & Baquedano-Lopez (2002). This methodological approach made it possible to collect naturally occurring data of interactions. Other data such as interviews and artefacts were collected to obtain a more holistic perspective of the observed language socialisation practices. These data were analysed systematically with the qualitative content analysis approach (Mayring, 2000, 2014).

The presentation and discussion chapters organised the observed and analysed language socialisation practices according to by whom they were facilitated, namely the English-speaking teachers (chapter six), the Japanese-speaking teachers and staff (chapter seven), and the children (chapter eight). The first two finding chapters explored how the teachers' ideologies about the English language and English language teaching shaped their use of language in interacting with and socialising children. Upon identifying the underlying rationales for socialising children, relevant excerpts from the observation data presented and discussed specific language socialisation practices of both English-speaking and Japanese-speaking teachers. The presentation of the children's language socialisation, on the other hand, focused on examining how and through what means children achieved child agency and participated in negotiating changes to language use and classroom conducts. The working definition of child agency guided the discussions, and at the same time, the working definition was tested and validated with empirical data.

9.2 Summary of the Findings

The analysis of language socialisation practices in this study revealed specific and ideologically informed uses of language in interactions. The English-speaking teachers were observed to use shaming and threatening strategies (Lo & Fung, 2011; Moore, 2006) to encourage children to use English. Their ideology of English language learning was best facilitated by using it in a natural environment influenced these strategies. The observation data also showed that the English-speaking teachers asked a number of why questions and used an analogy to promote and socialise children into individualistic and independent learning (Cook, 1999; Kreber, 1998). Asking open

questions was identified as a strategy to teach and socialise children into the proper communicative style in English (Gudykunst *et al.*, 1996; Kim, Pan, & Park, 1998). Through these language-mediated practices in interactions, the English-speaking teachers attempted to socialise children into particular ways of participating in classroom activities and acquiring the English language.

The Japanese-speaking teachers were observed to implement another set of language socialisation practices in the nursery school. They held two distinctive ideologies of English language learning and the English language itself. It is commonly said that English language learning in Japan is for passing entrance examinations (Kobayashi, 2001; LoCastro, 1990; O'Donnell, 2005). The Japanese-speaking teachers shared this ideology of English language learning, and they used a strategy of asking what questions to prepare children for *Eiken* tests. In teaching English as a study subject, the Japanese-speaking teachers socialised children into a mode of learning English for tests (Hagerman, 2009). Another distinctive language ideology of the Japanese-speaking teachers was their belief in English "native-speakerism" (Houghton & Rivers, 2013). Due to their incompetence and lack of confidence in using English, the Japanese-speaking teachers communicated with the English-speaking teachers in Japanese, and the English-speaking teachers delivered the messages and instructions in English to children. In this communication procedure through translation, the ideology of the "ownership of English" (Norton, 1997; Widdowson, 1994) was socialised and reproduced among children.

The children's language socialisation practices addressed both peer and teacher language socialisation. In the processes of achieving child agency in peer socialisation, children used various language-mediated strategies such as making corrections, playing a spokesperson role, reporting misbehaviours, and being a tutor. Children negotiated and achieved their agency with their acquired knowledge and competence in both the English language and the classroom routines (see, Moore, 2006; Talmy, 2008). Child agency in teacher language socialisation, on the other hand, was achieved by improvisation (Duranti & Black, 2011). Children creatively applied their acquired knowledge to construct new ideas, social positions, and directions for interactions.

Children socialised their teachers to accept and adopt the improvised uses of language and language-mediated practices at the nursery school.

Some of the identified language socialisation practices (e.g. shaming, asking questions, making corrections) are consistent with other language socialisation studies, and they can be generalised to the wider social, linguistic, and educational settings as theoretical models (Duff, 2006; Ochs, 2000). Other socialisation practices (e.g. using a translator, conducting Japanese cultural activities in English) are context-specific to Mountain View English Nursery School. The data and analysis of these language practices contribute to the field by adding a few specific ways whereby language socialisation takes place.

9.3 Original Findings of the Study

The current study made two significant contributions to understanding language socialisation in the socially and linguistically unique environment of an English immersion nursery school in Japan. Most language socialisation studies relevant to the current study compared socialisation practices and processes in separate settings (see, Cho, 2016; García-Sánchez, 2010; Moore, 2006; Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984). As the current research was set to investigate an institution where two sets of language ideologies co-existed, it was able to identify two significantly unique ways the nursery school socialised children.

The first was the complexity of children being socialised into two distinctive learning styles. Both Western and Japanese ideologies of effective English language learning were found in the English immersion nursery school. The former valued individualistic attainment of knowledge and communicative skills while the latter emphasised precision in retaining and presenting knowledge on tests (Holloway, 1988; Takano & Osaka, 1999). According to this ideological difference, the English-speaking teachers socialised children into a more individualistic and independent style of learning English, and the Japanese-speaking teachers socialised children into a mode of learning English for tests. Thus, the children in this study were socialised simultaneously to two distinctive and conflicting ideas, values, and practices of learning English (Mori, 2014, see also Block, 2003; Norton, 2013). This observation suggested that the additive

approach to immersion programme (Hall, Smith, & Wicaksono, 2011; Johnson & Swain, 1997) could be seen not only in the linguistic but also in the ideological aspects of the programme. The current study is one of the first studies to examine two streams of language socialisation on children in a single language learning setting. Although the data in this study shows no evidence of children experiencing difficulty with the two learning styles, the finding may suggest a need for further discussions on its potential benefits and challenges in regard with children's developments.

The second was the identified hybrid language socialisation practices. Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López, and Tejeda (1999) note that "points of tension and conflict in various learning activities can lead to a transformation in the activity and the participation and discourse practices" (p. 286). Their findings of hybrid language practices in an English-Spanish dual immersion classroom illustrate "how hybridity and diversity can be used to promote learning" (p. 301). The findings in the current study also showed how the English-speaking teachers and Japanese-speaking teachers cooperated in constructing hybrid language practices (Haney, 2003; Lam, 2004) to fulfil the school missions. These hybrid practices aimed to maintain the Japanese curriculum for nursery school while they were translated into and carried out in English. The hybrid language socialisation practices socialised children into particular ways of participating in school and classroom activities. Children may become competent in conducting Japanese cultural and educational activities in English, but they have limited or no relevance outside the nursery school facility. This limitation of hybrid language practice in language socialisation needs to be further explored as more language socialisation studies are conducted in bilingual and multilingual settings (Bayley & Schecter, 2003) where more socially and linguistically dynamic and complex interactions socialise all the participants therein.

9.4 Contributions of the Study

The current study has made contributions to the research context and the academic body of knowledge regarding understanding language socialisation in an English immersion nursery school programme.

9.4.1 Contributions to the Research Context

As discussed in chapter two, English immersion programmes, particularly English immersion, are becoming a popular option at the preschool level in Japan. However, there seems to be a great gap between the number of English immersion preschools in Japan and the amount of knowledge drawn from empirical studies. The current study provides ethnographic data of children's experiences at an English immersion nursery school, and this adds empirical data that may help researchers and practitioners of English immersion programmes in Japan.

The current study is one of the first ethnographic studies to explore the socialisation experiences of children and teachers in an English immersion programme. Other relevant studies have explored structures and curriculum (Imoto, 20011) and effectiveness and challenges (Bostwick, 2001, 2004), but they have neglected people and their experiences in English immersion environments. By implementing the ethnographic methodology, the current study examined naturally occurring interactions in daily routines and presented an in-depth analysis of how teachers and children socialised each other. The findings in this study cannot be generalised to every English immersion preschool in Japan because each immersion programme employs different curricula and serves different groups of students. However, it is expected that the accounts of socialisation practices in this study may contribute to the understanding of English immersion nursery school experiences that are becoming more available and common to Japanese children.

9.4.2 Academic Contributions

The findings of this study have also contributes to the body of literature in understanding the practices and processes of language socialisation. Besides adding empirical evidence to the broader field of language socialisation, the current study has particular relevance to the ongoing discussions of child agency in language socialisation (Fogle, 2012; He, 2003; Said & Zhu; Talmy, 2008). Building upon the previous works, the theoretical work in this study defined child agency as *the socioculturally mediated capacity to participate in the process of negotiating changes*. This working definition

suggests that child agency is constantly negotiated (Al Zidjaly, 2009). The data of naturally occurring interactions in this study showed that child agency is rejected, partially achieved, or fully achieved. The analyses identified children's social and linguistic competence as key to successful achievement of child agency. Children with a high level of competence in school, classroom routines, and conducts were able to play an "expert" role (Lave & Wenger, 1991) in peer language socialisation. Based on their acquired knowledge and competence, children's improvisations (Duranti & Black, 2011) negotiated and constructed new ideas and practices for teacher language socialisation. The notion of child agency plays a significant role in understanding language socialisation as a dynamic, bi-, and even multi-directional process. The working definition, all the empirical data of child agency in peer and teacher language socialisation, and the validation of the working definition in this study may contribute significantly in understanding the nature of child agency and its effects in language socialisation.

In terms of academic contribution to the field of immersion education, the present research adds rich ethnographic data to the body of literature. There have been an extensive number of studies done on various types of language immersion programmes (Christian, 1996; Christian, Howard & Loeb, 2000; Genesee, 1985, 1988; Johnson & Swain, 1997; Kanno, 2008; Lambert & Tucker, 1972; Poole & Takahashi, 2015; Starr, 2017; Swain & Lapkin, 2005). These studies have examined the structures, curriculums, effectiveness, and challenges of immersion programmes from multiple perspectives, yet the field of study may benefit from having additional empirical data of naturally occurring interactions between teachers and children in an English immersion programme in Japan. The ethnographic accounts in this study not only illustrated the unique characteristics and challenges of an immersion programme but also provided detailed descriptions of teacher and child participation in daily routines. By doing so, the findings in the current study have contributed to the understanding of the processes whereby teachers and children become fully functional and competent members of the English immersion nursery school.

9.5 Implications for Mountain View English Nursery School

At the time of seeking permission to conduct the current research at Mountain View English Nursery School, it was indeed one of the concerns of the Principal and the facility manager to know how this study would benefit the school. The findings in this study are helpful in two major ways: raising awareness of ideological and socialisation dynamics at the school and making informed decisions for the policies, curriculums, and school and classroom conduct.

The first implication is for the teachers at Mountain View English Nursery School to realise their potential influences beyond teaching English at the nursery school. The current study showed that there were two distinct sets of ideologies informing the teachers regarding how they interacted and socialised children. The interview data revealed that both the English-speaking and Japanese-speaking teachers were aware of the ideological differences in how they and their colleagues perceived and facilitated English language teaching. However, this understanding should be extended to a realisation of the ideological influence on shaping their interactions with children, which socialise children into certain worldviews and conducts. It is also helpful to suggest that the teachers should be aware of the use of the hybrid language socialisation. They are necessary to achieve the unique goals of the English immersion nursery school, but their social and linguistic relevance is limited to the nursery school. As Wortham (2005) suggests, it is practical for the teachers to consider their socialising influences on children across events and over time.

Secondly, this research calls for a need to include sociocultural factors in the process of making decisions for the policies, curricula, and daily routines. As discussed in chapter two, English immersion preschools in Japan are marketed mainly for their services to produce native-like English proficiency in children. Although this aspect of English immersion schools is proven effective (Krashen, 1989), the current study demonstrated how language ideologies and socialisation had effects on teacher and child experiences in an English immersion programme. These factors should be included and reflected in their policies, curricula, and school and classroom activities. These considerations will enhance the ability of the school to provide socially relevant education that prepares

children to better integrate their experiences in English at the nursery school into their "ordinary" life outside the nursery school. Although more studies are needed to understand the potential challenges that come from being socialised in an English immersion programme in Japan, any attempts of ideological and socialisation considerations will make the programme more student-centred.

9.6 Limitations and Future Research

The limitations of this study include the implemented qualitative approach, participation recruitment, and some of the data collection methods. Suggestions for future studies and follow-up research of the current study will be presented.

The highly contextualised nature of ethnographic studies can be considered both a limitation for its reduced generalisability and an advantage for "providing thick descriptions" (Geertz, 1973), which is the research objective of the study. The current research took place in one English immersion nursery school on the island of Shikoku, Japan. Therefore, the socialisation accounts in this study only represent the experiences of the participating teachers and children in the research context, and it should not be viewed representative of other English immersion programmes at the preschool level in Japan. Although the findings in this study cannot be generalised, they may be useful as a basis for future studies. A similar language socialisation study conducted in different English immersion preschools in Japan may generate a more holistic picture of language socialisation experiences at English immersion programmes in Japan. Although the number of English immersion programmes in public preschools is much smaller than those at private preschools, comparative studies of public and private English immersion preschools in Japan may provide a broader view of the phenomenon.

The second limitation of the study concerns its method for recruiting participants. The current study implemented an opt-in approach based on ethical considerations necessary for working with young children (Alderson & Morrow, 2011; Thomas & O'Kane, 1998). This approach resulted in about fifty percent and seventy-five percent of participation ratio for children and teacher participation respectively, which was satisfactory for representing the research context in this study (Mason, 2010). However,

the situation of having both participating and non-participating teachers and children caused some methodological and ethical challenges and limitations. The most damaging perhaps was the ethical practice of discarding recorded data of the non-participants. The ethical "cleaning" practice (Hayes, 2004) made it difficult, or impossible in some cases, to read, interpret, and analyse the data of naturally occurring interactions. Some measures were taken to supplement information in the transcripts (see 5.5), but they were not able to fully recover the lost information and meaning. Future studies of language socialisation in preschool contexts should consider this challenge and explore way to have a high participation ratio. It will allow the studies to avoid losing important data and represent the research context more fully.

Another limitation was with the data collection methods used for the present study. In collecting naturally occurring data of interactions in classes and on the playground, a voice recorder was used to collect audio data. The audio recordings provided sufficient information for transcription and data analysis. However, more information and accuracy could be added to the observation data with other means of recording, namely video recording. Being able to observe and analyse nonverbal communication in video data would add crucial information for analysing interactions. Making video data could have resolved the challenge of identifying the speakers and eliminating the speech of the non-participants (see 5.5.1). The current study considered this option; nevertheless, it was difficult to implement because the researcher lacked knowledge, skills, and experience for making video data (Flewitt, 2006), and the video recording devices were considered disturbing in preschool classrooms and playground (Schuck & Kearney, 2006). Thus, future studies should require careful planning if video recording should take place, particularly in preschool settings.

The lack of systematic scheduling for data collection has also posed a limitation in this study. The decisions of which classes to observe were made on the day of visiting the research site. Although the school had a set schedule for each group, they fluctuated with school events and preparations for the events. Furthermore, teachers had different assignments every week. The mixture of changing classroom schedule and teacher assignments made it difficult to have a systematic observation schedule. Rather the decisions had to be made in an impromptu manner. The uncontrolled scheduling

resulted in conducting more observations in English lessons than *Eiken* classes or playtime. The English-speaking teachers were present in the observations more than the Japanese-speaking colleagues. These imbalances in data collection may have limited the interpretation and representation of the data in this study (Tsai *et. al.,* 2016). Qualitative data is fundamentally different from quantitative data (Neuman, 2006), and it cannot be easily managed for fair and generalisable data representation. However, future studies of language socialisation such as the present study may benefit from having a systematic approach to selecting and conducting observations, thus avoiding unintended selective representations of data.

Finally, it is worthwhile to mention that follow-up research of two graduates of Mountain View English Nursery School has been ongoing since April 2016. At the time of completing the data collection, the parents of the participating Whale children in the current study were asked whether or not they would be willing to participate in follow-up research. Two of the mothers agreed to participate in the follow-up research along with their daughters. In the follow-up research, the two children and their parents are interviewed every six months to record their social, ideological, and linguistic changes in the mainstream Japanese elementary schools. According to Wortham (2005), language socialisation is a process that occurs over events and time, and this suggests that socialising effects can be further solidified in one setting and completely lost in another. The follow-up research will continue as long as the participants are willing to participate and share their experiences. It will be interesting to hear their stories when the two children grow up to be an age that they can critically evaluate and articulate their experiences of attending Mountain View English Nursery School.

Appendix 1: Information Sheets and Consent Forms

The proper nouns included in the original documents are replaced with pseudonyms. Please note that the information sheet contains information that does not mirror the actual data collection method used in the study. The decision to abandon the interview with children (see 5.8.4) was made after the recruitment.

Information Sheet and Consent Forms – Parent (English)

THE UNIVERSITY *of* York

Learning and Socialization at English Immersion Nursery School in Japan

Research Project

June 2015 – March 2016

To: The Parents

Please will you help me with this research?

This leaflet gives you information about the research project.
Please read them carefully before you decide
if you and your child would like to take part.

If you want to have more details and/or ask questions,
please contact me, Keita, or Dr. Emma Marsden, Chair of the Education Ethics Committee at the University of York.

Japan
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Dr. Emma Marsden
Tel: +44 (0)1904 323335   Email: emma.marsden@york.ac.uk
Address: Department of Education, University of York, York, YO10 5DD, United Kingdom

Why is the research being done?

I will carry this research as my PhD project at the University of York in United Kingdom. I will write a thesis based on the data I will collect in this project.

This research aims to provide rich descriptions of young bilingual children's language learning and socialization experiences at an English immersion school.

This research was inspired by a conversation that I had with one mother of a student in the past. She told me that whenever she asked her child to speak in English, wishing to see the progress of her child in learning English, the child refused to speak in English. Why did the child refuse to speak in English at home with the mother? How did the child make that decision? How do bilingual children in general make language choices in different social situations? This research will ask these questions to be answered.

Who will take part in the research?

All the boys and girls ages 3-6 at Sea View English Nursery School and their parents will be invited to take part in this project. Principal Sogawa has given permission to do this research at the school and has suggested that I invite you and your child to participate.

Do you have to take part?

It is totally up to you to decide whether you and your child want to participate in this research or not. Please keep in mind that even if you agree to participate, you and your child can decide to leave the project at any time without giving a reason.

If you decide not to take part, it will not affect you and your child in any ways.

What will participation in this research involve?

For your child:

First, I will come to the school once a week from June 2015 to March 2016 to observe the children in the English classes and at playtimes. I will be looking at their interactions with the teachers and friends. I will be using a voice recorder to record children's interactions and taking notes of interesting events.

Second, I plan to interview your child. In the interviews, I will create different social situations with LEGO blocks and figures and present them to your child. Then I will ask your child which of the two languages, Japanese or English they use in those situations. For example, I will put a school model and a figure representing an English native teacher together and ask which language, Japanese or English your child uses in that situation. Once your child provides their answer, I will ask them why they chose that language. I will also ask why they did not choose the other language in the same situation.

I hope this will be a fun activity to take part in. I plan to have interviews with your child at the school in July 2015 and March 2016 and at your home (or somewhere outside the school if you wish) in November 2015. The interviews at the school will be group interviews of 2 or 3 children interviewed together, and the interview at home (outside the school) will be an individual interview. Each interview (both group and individual) should not be longer than 20 minutes. Every interview will be video recorded. Before participating in an interview, I will explain that participation is voluntary. If they do not want to participate that day, they can tell me "no" without giving a reason, and I will plan another day to conduct the interview if they still want to participate.

If you do not agree to let your child participate, I will respect your and your child's rights not to participate. However, please understand that while conducting observations, I will still see your child with other participating children. Those interactions will be ignored and will not be written down in the observation notes. Also, because I will use a voice recorder to record while I am doing the observations, your child's voice may be recorded. If your child is not participating in the research, I will not transcribe your child's accounts to make sure that I will not use what your child says in my reports. When the other relevant parts of the recordings are transcribed, the recordings will be destroyed. If your child is not participating in the research, I will not interview them. But, if they want to do the activity with LEGO blocks, I will allow them to do the activity without video recording.

Please keep in mind that your child will have the same English lessons and the quality of care at the school even if they are not taking part in the research.

For parents:

If you agree to take part in the research after reading this leaflet, please fill out the consent form and the questionnaire.

As I mentioned above, in November 2015, I would like to meet you and your child outside the school, preferably at your home, where English is not the dominant language. I will have an interview with your child, and I will ask one parent to be present in the interview for the safety purpose. If you do not want to have me at your home, we can arrange another place, possibly at the school, or you can just tell me that you do not want to meet with me outside the school.

I also would like to interview and ask you about your opinions on your child's experience at school and at home in Japanese and English. This will help me have a broader understanding of your child's experience and the research context. The interview will be video recorded, and when the interview is transcribed, you can request to read and comment on your interview transcript.

Will there be any problems for your child if they take part?

I hope your child will enjoy being part of the research. However, please keep in mind that, for any reasons, if you and your child feel uncomfortable or unhappy about taking

part in this project, you can let me, or the teachers know, and you and your child can stop participating at any point of the project without giving a reason.

Who will know about the research?

The teachers at MIA will know if you and your child are in the project, but they will not know what you and your child will tell me. The only exception to this is when I interview your child at the school; the principal will be there for a safety purpose and hear what your child says in the interview. Both the principal and I will keep everything we hear confidential, but please note that if we hear something that raises concerns about your and your child's safety or the safety of others, or if we see other concerns, the principal may have to act accordingly. When I interview your child at your home (or at another venue if you wish), I will ask one parent to stay in the interview for the same child safety purpose. You will hear what your child says in this interview.

As I mentioned above, you will have access to your own interview transcript to comment and correct, but I cannot give you access to any data I collect from your child because I need to keep them as natural as I can to answer the questions in this research. For the same reason, though you may hear what your child says when I conduct the interview at your home and if you stay in the room for the child safety purpose, I cannot allow you to make comments and changes to what your child says in the interview.

I will keep all the data and documents collected in the research, observation notes, audio recordings, interview videos, transcripts of the audio and video records, surveys, and consent forms, in a safe lockable box. I will make electronic copies of all the documents and store them in a hard disc drive with password security.

To make sure that I will protect your and your child's identity, I will replace your and your child's names with pseudonyms. If you decide at some point of taking part in the research that you do not want your and your child's information to be used in the reports anymore, please let me know as soon as possible, and I will stop transcribing your and your child's accounts in the recordings and all the written records of you and your child will be destroyed. You can withdraw your and your child's data at any time of data collection and by 30 April 2016. The name of the school will be replaced by a different name, and when the school is mentioned in reports, I will make sure that any descriptions of the school and the location will not lead to this particular school.

I have plans to use the data for publications and presentations to share important findings with other people who are interested to know more about this research. The data will be stored securely for 5 years after which they will be destroyed. The data may be used for further analysis and publications in the future.

Thank you for reading this leaflet

After reading this leaflet and if you agree to participate in the research, please fill out the consent form and the questionnaire. Please keep this leaflet with the copy of your consent form.

Learning and Socialization at English Immersion Nursery School in Japan

Consent Form Child Participation

Please tick each statement if you are happy to take part in this research.

I confirm that I have read and understood the information given to me about the above named research project and I understand that this will involve my child taking part as described above.	
I understand that data will be stored securely in a locked safe box and on a password protected hard disk drive, and only Keita Takashima (the researcher) will have access to any identifiable data. I understand that my child's identity will be protected by use of a pseudonym.	
I understand that my child's data will not be identifiable. The data may be used in publications and presentations for both academics and public.	
I understand that data will be kept for 5 years after which they will be destroyed.	
I understand that the data could be used for future analysis.	
I understand that I can withdraw my child's data at any point of data collection and by 30 April, 2016.	
I understand that I will NOT be given the opportunity to comment on a written record of my child's responses.	

I give consent to my child taking part in this research project.

Signature: _____   Date: _____

Learning and Socialization at English Immersion Nursery School in

Japan

Consent Form for Parent Participation

Please tick each statement if you are happy to take part in this research.

I confirm that I have read and understood the information given to me about the above named research project and I understand that this will involve my taking part as described above.	
I understand that data will be stored securely in a locked safe box and on a password protected hard disk drive, and only Keita Takashima (the researcher) will have access to any identifiable data. I understand that my identity will be protected by use of a pseudonym.	
I understand that my data will not be identifiable. I understand that data could be used for future analysis. The data may be used in publications and presentations for both academics and public.	
I understand that data will be kept for 5 years after which it will be destroyed.	
I understand that I can withdraw my data at any point of data collection and by 30 April, 2016.	
I understand that I will be given the opportunity to comment on a written record of my responses. I also understand that I will not be able to comment on any of the data collected from my child.	
I understand that I will be asked to have the researcher in my home to conduct interviews, and I have the right to say no to this request and/or to meet at another place.	

I give consent to take part in this research project.

Signature: _____   Date: _____

Learning and Socialization at English Immersion Nursery School in Japan

研究プロジェクト

２０１５年６月 – ２０１６年３月

両親へ

この研究プロジェクトを行うのを助けていただけますか?

このリーフレットにはこの研究プロジェクトに関する情報が載っています。
あなたとあなたのお子さんがこの研究プロジェクトに参加するかを
決める前に、このリーフレットをよく読んでください。

質問等がありましたら,
高嶋, もしくは、ヨーク大学教育学部倫理委員会委員長のマーズデン博士に
連絡ください。

日本
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エマ　マーズデン博士
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どうしてこの研究プロジェクトを行いますか?

私は現在イギリスのヨーク大学で博士課程を行っており、その課題研究としてこのプロジェクトを行っています。この研究で得たデータを使って博士論文を書きます。

この研究では日本における英語イマージョン学校における、バイリンガルの子供達の学習と社会化の経験を詳しく調べます。

この研究を行おうと思ったきっかけは、以前 MIA に通っていたある子供の母親と話をした時に聞いた興味深い話です。その母親は、子供の英語の上達を知るために子供に英語で話すように言いますが、子供はそれを拒否します。英語は堪能なはずなのに、どうしてこの子供は母親に英語で話すのを拒否したのでしょうか?どのようにしてこの選択をしたのでしょうか?バイリンガルの子供達はいろいろな環境においてどのように言語選択を行うのでしょうか?この研究はこれらの質問に答えるために行われます。

誰が参加しますか?

シービュー英語保育所に通う3-6歳の子供達とその両親は、この研究プロジェクトに参加するように招待されます。十川園長先生は、保育所でこの研究プロジェクトを行う許可をしてくださっており、あなたとあなたの子供が参加するように招待する提案をしてくださいました。

参加しなければなりませんか?

この研究プロジェクトに参加するかどうかはあなたが決めることです。もし参加することになっていても、あなたとあなたの子供はこのプロジェクトの間に、理由を説明する必要なしに参加をやめることができます。

もし参加しなくても、あなたとあなたの子供に対して何の影響もありません。

この研究プロジェクトでは何をしますか?

子供たち

まず、私は２０１５年６月から２０１６年３月まで毎週１回保育所を訪問し、子供達の英語のクラスと自由時間の間観察を行います。子供達が英語でどのように先生や友達と関わっているのかを観察します。音声録音をする機械使って録音をし、またノートをとることによってデータを集めます。

２つ目に、私は子供にインタビューをします。このインタビューでは様々な社会的状況がレゴブロックとレゴの人間を使ってつくられ、子供達に見せられます。そして私はその状況において英語と日本語どちらの言語を使うのかを子供達に聞きます。例えば、保育所で英語を母国語とする先生と一緒にいる状況がレゴを使って擬似的に作られ、子供達はその状況で日本か英語、どちらの言語を選択するかを質問され

ます。子供達が言語選択をした後、私はどうしてその言語を選択したのか、どうしてもう一つの言語を選択しなかったのかについていろいろな質問を通して聞いていきます。

この活動が子供達にとって参加するのに楽しいものであればと思っています。私は子供達とこのインタビューを２０１５年７月と２０１６年３月に保育所で、そして２０１５年１１月にご家庭（もしくは保育所外のどこか）で行う計画をしています。このインタビューは保育所で行われる時には２−３人でのグループインタビュー、そしてご家庭（もしくは別の場所）でのインタビューでは個人インタビューとなります。すべてのインタビューは２０分ほどです。すべてのインタビューは映像記録されます。このインタビューに参加する前に、私は子供達に参加は自由であることを説明します。もしその日に参加したくなければ、子供達は理由を説明する必要なしに参加したくない意思を伝えることができ、もしまだ参加したければ別の日にできるように調整します。

もし参加しない場合、私はあなたとあなたの子供の参加しない権利を尊重します。しかしながら、私が保育所を訪問して観察を行っている間には、あなたの参加しない子供もその場にいて、他の参加している子供達と一緒に見られている状態が生じます。あなたとあなたの子供の参加しない権利を尊重するために、参加していない子供達の交流には注意は払われず、観察中に取るノートには何も書かれないということをあらかじめ理解しておいていただきたいと思います。また、音声記録を行っている際に、あなたの参加していない子供の声も記録されることがあるかもしれませんが、あなたの参加していない子供の記録は筆記されずに、他の必要な記録が筆記された後、音声記録は破棄されるということも理解しておいてください。この研究プロジェクトに参加していなければ、インタビューに参加するように言われることはありません。しかし、もしあなたの子供がレゴを使った活動をやってみたいのであれば、それを画像記録していない状態で行えるようにします。

この研究プロジェクトに参加しているかどうかに関わらず、これまでと同じ保育と英語のレッスンを受けることを覚えておいてください。

ご両親

もしこの研究プロジェクトに参加していただけるのであれば、同意書にサインをして簡単なアンケートにお答えください。

すでに上記で説明したように、２０１５年の１１月に私はあなたとあなたのお子さんと保育所外の場所、できればご家庭でお会いしたいと思っています。これは、英語がメインでない場所で子供達は違った言動をするのかを見るために行われます。保育所で行うのと同じインタビューがお家で行われ、その時には一人の親に子供の安全目的（倫理的理由）のために一緒に参加していただきたいと思います。もしお家で会うのに不都合がある場合は、別の場所で会うこと、もしくはお家でのインタビューを行うのを拒否することができます。

また、私はあなたとお会いできる時に、子供達の学校やご家庭での２つの言語に関する簡単なインタビューをさせていただきたいと思っています。両親からの意見を聞くことによってさらに子供達のことと、この研究が行われている環境について理解を広めることができます。インタビューはまず映像記録され、それから筆記されます。両親にはそれを読んでコメントしていただくこともできます。

参加すると何か問題が起こりますか?

あなたとあなたの子供がこの研究プロジェクトに参加することを楽しめるようにと望んでいます。しかしながら、どのような理由でもこの研究プロジェクトに参加することについて不快に感じたりすることがあれば、私自身もしくは先生たちに教えてください。そして理由を述べる必要なしに参加を止めることができます。

この研究プロジェクトの事を誰が知りますか?

MIA の先生たちはあなたとあなたの子供がこの研究プロジェクトに参加していることを知っていますが、あなたとあなたの子供が私に話してくれる内容について知ることはありません。唯一の例外は、保育所でインタビューを行うときに MIA の園長先生が子供の安全目的（倫理的理由）のために一緒に参加する時です。MIA の園長先生はインタビューで子供が話したことを聞きますが、私も、MIA の園長先生もその情報を他の人に話したりすることはありません。万が一にこの研究プロジェクトの間に、あなたやあなたの子供、また他の人たちの安全に関して問題を生じるようなことを耳にすることがあれば、MIA の園長先生はそのことに対して適切な対応する必要があるかもしれないということをご理解ください。私がお家を訪問して（もしくはその他の場所で）インタビューを行うときには一人の親に子供の安全の目的のために一緒に参加していただきますが、そこでこどもが話していることを聞くことがあります。

説明してあるように、あなた自身のインタビューについては筆記されたのちにそれを読んでコメントすることができます。しかし、あなたの子供のデータに関しては、この研究の質問に答えるためにはそのデータをできるだけ子供自身の自然なものとする必要があるために、両親であっても読んだりコメントしたりすることはできません。同じ理由で、お家でのインタビューの間、子供が話していることを聞くことがあるかもしれませんが、それに対してコメントしたり、変更を加えたりということはできません。

この研究プロジェクトで集めるデータ、観察ノート、音声記録、インタビューの映像記録、音声と映像記録の筆記、アンケート、そして同意書は鍵のかかるボックスにおいて管理されます。すべてのデータは電子コピーされ、パスワードが必要なハードディスクにおいて保管されます。

あなたとあなたの子供の個人情報を守るために、あなたとあなたの子供の名前はデータ上では他の名前に変えられます。この研究プロジェクトの間に、あなたとあなたの子供のデータを使ってほしくないと思われた時には、すぐに私に教えてくださ

い。それ以降のあなたとあなたの子供の記録は筆記されずに、それまでに集められた記録も破棄されます。あなたとあなたの子供のデータの使用を拒否する意思は２０１６年の４月３０日まで受け付けます。保育所の名前も別の名前に置き換えられ、論文などで言及される場合は、保育所の説明において場所や名前が特定できないようにします。この研究プロジェクトで集めるデータは将来的にこの研究に興味のある人たちと重要な発見を分かち合うために、出版物やプレゼンテーションで使われます。すべてのデータは５年間保管され、そのあと破棄されます。データはこの研究プロジェクト以外の分析や出版物に使用されることがあります。

このリーフレットを読んでいただきありがとうございます。

これを読んだ後、この研究プロジェクトに参加していただけるのであれば、同意書にサインをして、アンケートにお答えください。このリーフレットは同意書のコピーと一緒に大事に保管しておいてください

Learning and Socialization at English Immersion Nursery School in Japan

子供の参加に関する同意書

下に書かれていることを読み、ボックスをチェックしてください。

私は、このリーフレットに書かれている内容を読んで理解し、私の子供が参加する上での必要な情報を理解したことを確認します。	
私は、すべてのデータが鍵のかかるボックスとパスワード機能のついたハードディスクで安全に保管され、高嶋啓太（研究者）のみがデータにアクセスできるということを理解しています。	
私は、いかなるデータからも個人情報が特定されることはないと理解しています。 私は、私の子供の個人情報は偽名を使うことによって守られると理解しています。 私は、この研究プロジェクトのデータが学者や一般の人たちに向けての出版物やプレゼンテーションで使用されることを理解しています。	
私は、この研究プロジェクトのデータが５年間保管されその後破棄されることを理解しています。	
私は,この研究プロジェクトのデータが他の分析などに使用されることがあるということを理解しています。	
私は、この研究プロジェクトの間、また２０１６年４月３０日まで、データの使用を拒否することができると理解しています。	
私は、子供のデータに関してはコメントすることはできないことを理解しています。	

私の子供がこの研究プロジェクトに参加することに同意します。

サイン: _____ 　　　日付: _____

Learning and Socialization at English Immersion Nursery School in Japan

両親の参加に関する同意書

下に書かれていることを読み、ボックスをチェックしてください。

私は、このリーフレットに書かれている内容を読んで理解し、私が参加する上での必要な情報を理解したことを確認します。	
私は、すべてのデータが鍵のかかるボックスとパスワード機能のついたハードディスクで安全に保管され、高嶋啓太（研究者）のみがデータにアクセスできるということを理解しています。	
私は、いかなるデータからも個人情報が特定されることはないと理解しています。 私は、私の個人情報は偽名を使うことによって守られると理解しています。 私は、この研究プロジェクトのデータが学者や一般の人たちに向けての出版物やプレゼンテーションで使用されることを理解しています。	
私は、この研究プロジェクトのデータが５年間保管されその後破棄されることを理科しています。	
私は,この研究プロジェクトのデータが他の分析などに使用されることがあるということを理解しています。	
私は、この研究プロジェクトの間、また２０１６年４月３０日まで、データの使用を拒否することができると理解しています。	
私は、私自身のデータの筆記に関してはコメントすることができますが、子供のデータに関してはそのようにできないと理解しています。	
私は、研究者から家を訪問してインタビューできるようにお願いされることがあると理解しています。そのリクエストに対して拒否したり、別の場所で会うように調整するよう求めることができるということも理解しています。	

私はこの研究プロジェクトに参加することに同意します。

サイン: _____   日付: _____

Information Sheet and Consent Form – Teacher (English)

THE UNIVERSITY *of York*

Learning and Socialization at English Immersion Nursery School in Japan

Research Project

June 2015 – March 2016

To: The Teachers

Please will you help me with this research?

This leaflet gives you information about the research project.
Please read them carefully before you decide
to take part.

If you want to have more details and/or ask questions,
please contact me, Keita, or Dr. Emma Marsden, Chair of the Education Ethics
Committee at the University of York.

Japan
Keita Takashima
Tel: 080-4031-3465　　Email: kt814@york.ac.uk
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UK
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Address: Department of Education, University of York, York, YO10 5DD, United Kingdom

Dr. Emma Marsden
Tel: +44 (0)1904 323335　　Email: emma.marsden@york.ac.uk
Address: Department of Education, University of York, York, YO10 5DD, United Kingdom

Why is the research being done?

I will carry this research as my PhD project at the University of York in England. I will write a thesis based on the data I will collect in this project.

This research aims to provide rich descriptions of young bilingual children's language learning and socialization experiences at an English immersion school.

This study will help us have a better understanding of young bilingual children's social and linguistic experiences at the nursery school, and hopefully this can help you learn more about the children you teach. The research will also inform the policy makers and educators involved in bilingual education.

Who will take part in the research?

All the boys and girls ages 3-6 in the Sea View English Nursery School are invited to take part in this project.

All the teachers at the school will be also invited to take part in informal interviews.

Do you have to take part?

Although the research mainly focuses on the children, it will be greatly helpful if you take part in this project and provide your opinions that are possibly very different from the children's views. However, it is totally up to you to decide whether you want to take part or not. Please keep in mind that even if you decide to take part, you can opt out at any time of the research project without giving a reason.

What will participating in this research involve?

First, I would like to observe the children's interactions with you during English lessons and playtime. I will be taking notes and audio recording while observing.

I will also ask you to take part in an interview with me. In the interview, I will be asking you about your perspectives on English immersion education, language choice, and the child participants. This will help me better understand the child participants as well as the context. All the interviews will be video recorded. Once your interview is transcribed, you can request to read and comment on your interview transcript.

If you do not agree to participate in the research, you will not be affected in any ways by your decision. It is your right to choose not to participate in the research. When I am observing and audio recording, your voice may be recorded, but your accounts will not be transcribed. When the relevant parts of the recordings are transcribed, the recordings will be deleted so that I can make sure that I will not use your accounts in my reports.

How does this research help you and your students?

When I finish analyzing the data and write my thesis, I will make the thesis available for you to read. If requested, I can also provide a summary of findings as well as informed suggestions.

I hope this research project and my reports will provide you with an opportunity to learn what your young students have to say about their experience at your school so that you may be able to see the strength and success of your school. You may also be able to identify some new or different ideas you want to try to provide even more effective education for the children.

Who will know about the research?

The principal and other teachers may know if you participate in this research or not, but what you say in the interview will not be disclosed to anybody. Please note that if I gather information that raises concerns about your safety or the safety of others, or about other concerns as perceived by the researcher, the researcher may have to pass on this information to another person.

I will keep all the data and documents collected in the research, observation notes, audio recordings, interview videos, transcripts of the audio and video records, surveys and consent forms, in a safe lockable box. I will make electronic copies of all the documents and store them in a hard disc drive with password security.

In order to make sure that I will protect your identity, I will replace your name with a pseudonym when I transcribe the audio and video recordings. If you decide at some point of taking part in this research that you do not want your information to be used in the reports anymore, please let me know as soon as possible, and I will stop transcribing your accounts in the recordings and all the written records of you will be destroyed. You can withdraw your data at any time of data collection and by 30 April, 2016. The name of the school will be replaced by a different name, and when the school is mentioned in reports, I will make sure that any descriptions of the school and the location will not lead to this particular school.

I will write a report as my PhD thesis, so my supervisor and both internal and external examiners will read that report. After passing the examination, the thesis will be publically available. I have plans to use the data for publications and presentations with both academics and public to share important findings with other people who are interested to know more about it. The data will be stored securely for 5 years after which it will be destroyed. The data may be used for further analysis and publications in the future.

Thank you for reading this leaflet

After reading this leaflet and if you agree to participate in the research, please fill out the consent form. Please keep this leaflet with the copy of your consent form.

Learning and Socialization at English Immersion Nursery School in Japan

Consent Form

Please check each box if you are happy to take part in this research.

I confirm that I have read and understood the information given to me about the above named research project and I understand that this will involve me taking part as described above.	
I understand that data will be stored securely in a locked safe box and on a password protected hard disk drive, and only Keita Takashima (the researcher) will have access to any identifiable data. I understand that my identity will be protected by use of a pseudonym.	
I understand that my data will not be identifiable. The data may be used in publications and presentations for both academics and public.	
I understand that data will be kept for 5 years after which it will be destroyed.	
I understand that data could be used for future analysis.	
I understand that I can withdraw my data at any point during data collection and by 30 April, 2016.	
I understand that I will be given the opportunity to comment on a written record of my responses.	

I give consent to take part and my child taking part in this research project.

Signature: _____   Date: _____

THE UNIVERSITY *of York*

Learning and Socialization at English Immersion Nursery School in Japan

研究プロジェクト

2015 年 6 月 – 2016 年 3 月

先生たちへ

この研究プロジェクトを行うのを助けていただけますか?

このリーフレットにはこの研究プロジェクトに関する情報が載っています。
あなたがこの研究プロジェクトに参加するかを
決める前に、このリーフレットをよく読んでください。

質問等がありましたら,
高嶋, もしくは、ヨーク大学教育学部倫理委員会委員長のマーズデン博士に
連絡ください。

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どうしてこの研究プロジェクトを行いますか?

私は現在イギリスのヨーク大学で博士課程をやっており、その課題研究としてこのプロジェクトを行っています。この研究で得たデータを使って博士論文を書きます。

この研究では日本における英語イマージョン学校における、バイリンガルの子供達の学習と社会化の経験を詳しく調べます。

この研究はバイリンガルの子供たちが英語保育所でどのような社会的、言語的経験をしているのかを明らかにします。この研究を通してバイリンガルの子供たちの社会的経験についてもっと深く知り、あなたが教育している子供たちのことについて理解し、バイリンガル教育に関わる人々に情報を提供できるようにと望んでいます。

誰が参加しますか?

シービュー英語保育所に通う3–6歳の子供達が参加するようにと招待されます。

またすべての先生も参加するように招待されます。

参加しなければなりませんか?

この研究プロジェクトの主な焦点は子供達とかれらの2つの言語に対する意見や考え方ですが、もしあなたがこの研究プロジェクトに参加し、あなた自身の意見（子供達とは違ったものとなると思いますが）を分かち合っていただければ大きな助けとなります。しかしながら、参加するかどうかはあなた自身が決めることです。もし参加することになっていても、あなたはこのプロジェクトの間に、理由を説明する必要なしに参加を止めることができます。

研究プロジェクトでは何をしますか?

まず、あなたと子供たちとの英語での交流をレッスンと自由遊びの時間の間に観察します。観察中にノートを取り、音声記録をおこないます。

そして先生達には都合が良い時に、私のインタビューを受けていただくようにお願いします。インタビューでは、あなた自身の英語保育、言語選択、また保育所に来る子供たちのことについてお聞きします。これらは私が子供達のこととこの研究が行われる環境について理解を深めるために大いに役に立ちます。すべてのインタビューは映像記録されます。記録が筆記されたのちに、あなた自身の筆記を読んでコメントすることができます。

もしあなたがこの研究プロジェクトに参加しなくても、何の影響もありません。研究プロジェクトに参加しないという決断をすることはあなたの権利です。もし参加していなくても、私が観察と音声記録を行っている間、あなたの声が記録されるかもしれませんが、あなたの発言は筆記されません。その他の必要な部分が筆記されたのちに、すべての音声記録は破棄されます。

私と私の生徒にとってどのような助けとなりますか?

データ分析が終わり論文を書いた後に、あなたもその論文が読めるようにします。もし要望があれば、研究で見つけたことの要約や提案を準備することもできます。

この研究と論文を通して、あなたが教育している子供たちが、彼らの経験についてどのような発言をしているかを知ることによって、あなたが関わっている英語保育の成功を測る機会を提供できればと望んでいます。また、同時に子供達にもっと良い教育を提供するためのヒントを得る機会となるかもしれません。

この研究プロジェクトの事を誰が知りますか?

MIA の園長先生と他の先生達はあなたがこの研究プロジェクトに参加していることを知るかもしれませんが、あなたが私に話してくれる内容について知ることはありません。万が一にこの研究プロジェクトの間に、あなたやあなたの生徒たち、また他の人たちの安全に関して問題を生じるようなことを耳にすることがあれば、適切な職につく人にその情報を渡す必要があることを理解しておいてください。

この研究プロジェクトで集めるデータ、観察ノート、音声記録、インタビューの映像記録、音声と映像記録の筆記、アンケート、そして同意書は鍵のかかるボックスにおいて管理されます。すべてのデータは電子コピーされ、パスワードが必要なハードディスクにおいて保管されます。

あなたの個人情報を守るために、あなたの名前はデータ上では他の名前に変えられます。この研究プロジェクトの間に、あなたのデータを使ってほしくないと思われた時には、すぐに私に教えてください。それ以降のあなたの記録は筆記されずに、それまでに集められた記録も破棄されます。あなたのデータの使用を拒否する意思は２０１６年の４月３０日まで受け付けます。保育所の名前も別の名前に置き換えられ、論文などで言及される場合は、保育所の説明において場所や名前が特定できないようにします。この研究プロジェクトで集めるデータは将来的にこの研究に興味のある人たちと重要な発見を分かち合うために、出版物やプレゼンテーションで使われます。すべてのデータは５年間保管され、そのあと破棄されます。データはこの研究プロジェクト以外の分析や出版物に使用されることがあります。

このリーフレットを読んでいただきありがとうございます。

これを読んだ後、この研究プロジェクトに参加していただけるのであれば、同意書にサインをしてください。このリーフレットは同意書のコピーと一緒に大事に保管しておいてください。

Learning and Socialization at English Immersion Nursery School in Japan

同意書

下に書かれていることを読み、ボックスをチェックしてください。

私は、このリーフレットに書かれている内容を読んで理解し、私が参加する上での必要な情報を理解したことを確認します。	
私は、すべてのデータが鍵のかかるボックスとパスワード機能のついたハードディスクで安全に保管され、高嶋啓太（研究者）のみがデータにアクセスできるということを理解しています。	
私は、いかなるデータからも個人情報が特定されることはないと理解しています。 私は、私の個人情報は偽名を使うことによって守られると理解しています。 私は、この研究プロジェクトのデータが学者や一般の人たちに向けての出版物やプレゼンテーションで使用されることを理解しています。	
私は、この研究プロジェクトのデータが５年間保管されその後破棄されることを理科しています。	
私は,この研究プロジェクトのデータが他の分析などに使用されることがあるということを理解しています。	
私は、この研究プロジェクトの間、また２０１６年４月３０日まで、データの使用を拒否することができると理解しています。	
私は、私自身のデータの筆記に関してコメントすることができることを理解しています。	

私はこの研究プロジェクトに参加することに同意します。

サイン: _____　　　　　　日付: _____

Appendix 2: Observation Sheet

Observation Sheet

Date:

Elephant	1st observation 2nd observation
Ren	
Yuma	
Sota	
Hina	

Cat	1st observation 2nd observation
Yamato	
Sakura	
Mei	
Rio	
Daiki	
Itsuki	

Whale	1st observation
	2nd observation
Nanami	
Airi	
Kaito	
Riko	
Wakana	
Ayano	

Updated 30/09/2015

Appendix 3: Observation Recordings

Date (Year, Month, Date)	Type of Observation	Participants	Duration (min:sec)
07.07.2015	Tanabata (Star Festival) Celebration	Elephant, Cat, Whale, all the teachers	15:57
	English Lesson	Whale, Mr. Anderson	23:28
	Eiken	Sakura, Mei, Mr. Sogawa	23:49
	English Lesson	Cat, Mr. Stewart	23:45
09.07.2015	Eiken	Elephant, Mr. Suzuki	27:44
	Playtime	Elephant	17:07
14.07.2015	Playtime	Cat, Whale	11:35
	English Lesson	Cat, Mr. Stewart	10:14
	English Lesson	Whale, Mr. Anderson	29:33
	Playtime	Elephant	33:31
21.07.2015	Playtime	Cat, Whale	18:18
	English Lesson	Whale, Mr. Bird	36:19
	Eiken	Sakura, Rio, Mr. Sogawa	26:18
	Playtime	Elephant	31:43
28.07.2015	Playtime	Cat, Whale	12:21
	English Lesson	Whale, Mr. Anderson	33:33
	English Lesson	Elephant, Mr. Bird	26:12
	English Lesson	Cat, Mr. Bird	31:45
04.08.2015	Playtime	Cat, Whale	26:20
	English Lesson	Whale, Mr. Stewart	30:01
	English Lesson	Cat, Mr. Anderson	32:22
25.08.2015	Playtime	Cat	31:35
	English Lesson	Whale, Mr. Stewart	27:29
	English Lesson	Whale, Mr. Stewart	26:27
	Playtime	Elephant	36:05
01.09.2015	Playtime	Whale	17:39

	Eiken	Elephant, Mr. Suzuki	26:05
	English Lesson	Whale, Mr. Anderson	28:30
	English Lesson	Cat, Mr. Stewart	29:02
08.09.2015	Playtime	Cat, Whale	27:37
	Playtime	Elephant	26:49
	English Lesson	Whale, Mr. Stewart	26:52
	Eiken	Sakura, Rio, Mr. Sogawa	35:51
17.09.2015	English Lesson	Elephant, Mr. Stewart	25:48
	Birthday Celebration	Elephant, Cat, Whale, all the teachers	18:05
	English Lesson	Cat, Mr. Stewart	38:17
24.09.2015	English Lesson	Elephant, Mr. Stewart	28:45
	English Lesson	Whale, Mr. Anderson	30:08
	English Lesson	Cat, Mr. Anderson	26:20
01.10.2015	English Lesson	Elephant, Mr. Anderson	25:59
	English Lesson	Cat, Mr. Anderson	28:29
	English Lesson	Whale, Mr. Stewart	24:30
	Eiken	Yamato, Daiki, Itsuki, Wakana, Ms. Takahashi	32:29
06.10.2015	Playtime	Whale	31:30
	Playtime	Cat	39:52
13.10.2015	English Lesson	Elephant, Mr. Stewart	23:01
30.10.2015	Halloween Party	Elephant, Cat, Whale, all the teachers	91:37
05.11.2015	English Lesson	Whale, Mr. Stewart	29:34
	English Lesson	Cat, Mr. Anderson	29:45
	Playtime	Whale	30:15
12.11.2015	English Lesson	Whale, Mr. Anderson	24:52
	English Lesson	Cat, Mr. Stewart	28:11
	Eiken	Elehpant, Mr. Suzuki, Ms. Takahashi	24:11
	Eiken	Riko, Airi, Mr. Suzuki	24:31

19.11.2015	English Lesson	Whale, Mr. Anderson	28:30
	English Lesson	Elephant, Mr. Anderson	31:06
	English Lesson	Cat, Mr. Stewart	30:02
27.11.2015	English Lesson	Whale, Mr. Anderson	30:21
	English Lesson	Cat, Mr. Stewart	38:23
	English Lesson	Elephant, Mr. Stewart	30:47
	Playtime	Elephant	25:27
03.12.2015	English Lesson	Elephant, Mr. Anderson	30:28
	English Lesson	Cat, Whale, Mr. Anderson, Mr. Stewart	27:26
	Playtime	Whale	26:44
10.12.2015	Eiken	Sakura, Mei, Ms. Takahashi	31:57
	English Lesson	Cat, Mr. Stewart	30:24
	English Lesson	Elephant, Mr. Stewart	29:21
	Eiken	Nanami, Airi, Riko, Wakana, Ayano, Mr. Suzuki	27:03
17.12.2015	Eiken	Yamato, Itsuki, Mr. Sogawa	27:46
	Eiken	Elephant, Ms. Takahashi	28:01
	Playtime	Cat, Whale	36:24
	English Lesson	Cat, Mr. Anderson	27:36
05.01.2016	English Lesson	Whale, Mr. Stewart	35:05
	English Lesson	Whale, Mr. Stewart	31:53
	English Lesson	Cat, Mr. Anderson	30:55
22.01.2016	English Lesson	Whale, Mr. Stewart	35:29
	Presentation Practice	Cat, Mr. Anderson	31:33
	Presentation Practice	Elephant, Mr. Anderson	22:11
	Presentation Practice	Cat, Mr. Anderson, Ms. Takahashi	24:34
29.01.2016	English Lesson	Whale, Mr. Stewart	32:22
	Eiken	Elephant, Ms. Takahashi	24:51
	Presentation Practice	Elephant, Cat, Whale, Mr. Anderson, Ms. Takahashi	56:00

04.02.2016	English Lesson	Whale, Mr. Stewart, Mr. Sogawa	23:15
	Presentation Practice	Cat, Mr. Anderson	31:05
	Playtime	Cat, Whale	44:37
	Playtime	Panda	11:47
12.02.2016	English Lesson	Whale, Mr. Stewart	31:42
	English Lesson	Cat, Mr. Anderson	32:44
	Craft	Elephant, Mr. Anderson	25:28
	Eiken	Riko, Mr. Suzuki	27:04
16.02.2016	Eiken	Yamato, Itsuki, Mr. Sogawa	34:28
	Eiken	Elephant, Ms. Takahashi	24:33
	Playtime	Cat, Whale	38:34
	English Lesson	Cat, Mr. Stewart	27:59
24.02.2016	English Lesson	Whale, Mr. Bird	34:15
	English Lesson	Cat, Mr. Anderson	30:22
	English Lesson	Elephant, Mr. Anderson	32:29
	Eiken	Nanami, Airi, Wakana, Ayano, Mr. Suzuki	21:30
02.03.2016	Graduation Picture Taking	Elephant, Cat, Whale, all the teachers	35:32
	English Lesson	Cat, Mr. Bird	28:51
	English Lesson	Elephant, Mr. Bird	29:54
	English Lesson	Cat, Mr. Bird	27:46
17.03.2016	English lesson	Elephant, Mr. Stewart	32:03
	Graduation Practice	Whale, Mr. Anderson	31:50
	Playtime	Cat, Whale	38:38
	English Lesson	Cat, Mr. Stewart	25:55
24.03.2016	Eiken	Sakura, Mei, Daiki	34:45
	Graduation Practice	Elephant, Cat, Whale, Mr. Anderson, Mr. Stewart, Mr. Sogawa, Mr. Suzuki, Ms. Takahashi	42:40

| | English Lesson | Elephant, Mr. Anderson | 32:50 |
| | Eiken | Nanami, Airi, Wakana, Ayano, Mr. Suzuki | 25:28 |

Appendix 4: Questionnaire

Questionnaire (English)

Questionnaire

Please tell me about your child and their Japanese and English languages at home and at school. Please provide information as detailed as you can.

Name of the child: _____ Age: _____

Why did you decide to enrol your child in an English nursery school?

Do you encourage your child to learn English at home? If yes, how do you do that?

When did your child have the first contact with English? What was the first contact like?

How much English exposure does your child have at home? In what medium (TV programs, English books, computer programs, etc.)?

How much English do the rest of the family (parents, grandparents, siblings) speak?

How often does your child talk about their experience at the school? What do they talk about?

How often do you encourage your child to talk about their experience at school? What kind of stories/experience do you encourage your child to talk about?

When your child talks about their experience at the school, do they speak Japanese, English, or mix the two languages?

If you have other things you want to mention about your child and their Japanese and English languages, please use the space here.

Thank You!

When you finish filling this questionnaire, please bring this to the school with the signed consent form.

Questionnaire (Japanese)

アンケート

あなたのお子様の家庭と保育所での日本語と英語のことについて教えて下さい。できるだけ詳しくお願いします。

子供の名前: _____   年齢: _____

どうして子供を英語保育所に行かそうと思われましたか？

```
[                                                                      ]
```

家庭内で、子供が英語を学ぶように励ましていますか？もしそうであれば、どのように励ましていますか？

```
[                                                                      ]
```

あなたの子供が初めて英語に触れた経験はいつでしたか？どのようなものでしたか？

```
[                                                                      ]
```

家庭内であなたの子供はどれくらい英語に触れる機会がありますか？どのような媒体を通してですか？（テレビ番組、英語の本、コンピューター等）

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他の家族の人たちはどれくらい英語を話しますか？（両親、祖父母、兄弟姉妹等）

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```

あなたの子供はどれくらいの頻度で保育所での経験を話してくれますか？どのようなことについて話してくれますか？

```


```

あなたは子供にどれくらいの頻度で保育所での経験を話すように促していますか？どのようなことについて尋ねていますか？

```


```

あなたの子供が保育所での経験を話す時には日本語ですか？英語ですか？それとも両方を混ぜて話しますか？

他に気になることや、両親としての意見などがあればお書きください。

ありがとうございます！

アンケートを書き終わったら、サインした同意書と共に保育までお持ち下さい。

Appendix 5: Interview with Parents

Date (Year, Month, Date)	Location	Participants	Duration (min:sec)
04.11.2015	Home	Rio's Mother	49:04
05.11.2015	Home	Riko's Mother	34:46
06.11.2015	Home	Sakura's Mother	57:51
06.11.2015	Home	Daiki and Itsuki's Father and Mother	55:41
06.11.2015	Home	Sota's Father and Mother	77:37
06.11.2015	Home	Kaito's Mother	44:45
21.11.2015	Home	Yuma's Mother	23:03
27.11.2015	Home	Nanami's Mother	50:58
28.11.2015	Home	Ren's Father and Mother	53:24
28.11.2015	Home	Ayano's Mother	45:00
28.11.2015	Cafe	Airi's Mother	46:29
29.01.2016	School	Yamato's Mother	36:11

Appendix 6: Interview with Teachers

Date (Year. Month. Date)	Language	Participants	Duration (min:sec)
24.02.2016	English	Ms. Anderson	24:04
24.02.2016	English	Mr. Anderson	45:44
01.03.2016	English	Mr. Stewart	47:10
01.03.2016	English	Mr. Bird	68:24
10.03.2016	Japanese	Mr. Suzuki	25:41
10.03.2016	Japanese	Ms. Takahashi	39:48
17.03.2016	Japanese	Mr. Sogawa	25:26
17.03.2016	Japanese	Ms. Saito	17:06
24.03.2016	Japanese	Ms. Katagiri	13:29
30.03.2016	Japanese	Ms. Sogawa (Principal)	38:56

Appendix 7: Sample Field Notes

28 July 2015

Observation at LIA

When I came into the playroom where the children who came early play before the classes started, Koichi started talking to me in Japanese right in front of the children. We talked for a while, but the children did not seem to care that we were talking in Japanese. I asked about this in the interview with the Dolphin boys, and they said it is okay for the adult teachers to talk Japanese at the school. The English only policy applies only to the children. I really need to explore this further.

The first observation was conducted during the playtime with Whale and Cat children. Today, I was able to talk to some of the boys in the Dolphin class. I talked to Daiki, Itsuki, and one another boy, and we were talking about Japanese power rangers. I asked them if they knew about the power rangers in America. I explained that they could rent those DVDs from a rental shop, but Daiki said he liked power rangers in Japanese. Later, I was able to talk with Rio a little bit when she was playing at the sand box. I tried to ask her general questions to start a conversation, but her responses were "I don't know" and "I don't tell you". I was surprised to hear this because in general she is not a shy girl and talks to me quite often. Unfortunately, the latter event was not recorded. I think I accidentally stopped the recorder in the pocket.

During the second period, I went into a class with Whale children taught by John. They first practiced the song for performing in front of the parents. John reinforced the idea that their parents will be coming to listen to them sing the song. He was explaining that if they were not doing it well, their parents would compare them with the other children and wonder why they are not doing it well. Again, they practiced the song not for the sake of the children, but to show the parents the evidence of what they are paying for. Rob further supported this idea when I was having a chat with him later. He said trying to teach a 3 year old how to hold a pencil to start with and to write the alphabet letters were too advanced for some of the children. But at such young ages, they are taking Eiken tests and some of them pass the tests. That's what the parents want to see as the result of sending them to an English immersion school. Rob said that some of the children could not even talk about their dads, but they have to learn how to read and take the Eiken tests.

In the lesson, John was explaining what "uncle" was by using the Japanese terms. But he used a very similar but wrong term for "uncle". He said for his niece, John was her "ojii-san (grandpa)". This made the children laugh but among the laughter, Riko corrected John with the correct term "oji-san (uncle)", but John told her that he was not "oji-san" but he was "ojii-san", and Riko did not say anything after this.

Before the third period began, I was talking with some of the boys, and there was one new student in the Elephant class. Because he is new and he has not learnt the English only policy, he started talking to me in Japanese. The other boys who have been in the

school longer looked very confused or worried about this violation of the rule, but they did not say anything but looked at me with that worrisome expression in their faces.

The third period was a class with Elephant children taught by Rob. This was the most difficult class to observe because of the size of the room and the number of participants. The venue for the Elephant lesson is much bigger than the ones for the Whale and the Cat children. So, physically it is more difficult to hear what the children say, especially when they are talking to each other. Moreover, the number of the participants in this group is 4 among 12 children. They sit randomly, so it is almost impossible to hear what those participants are saying. It might be better if I walk around the room near the children, but that can be destructing to the children and disturbing the teacher.

I was with the Cat children during the last period in their lesson taught by Rob. They were talking about what they ate for breakfast and their family members. There were quite a few new faces in the class. They come to the school only during the summer break.

Appendix 8: Sample Coding

Deductive Coding – Language Socialisation, Children and Teachers
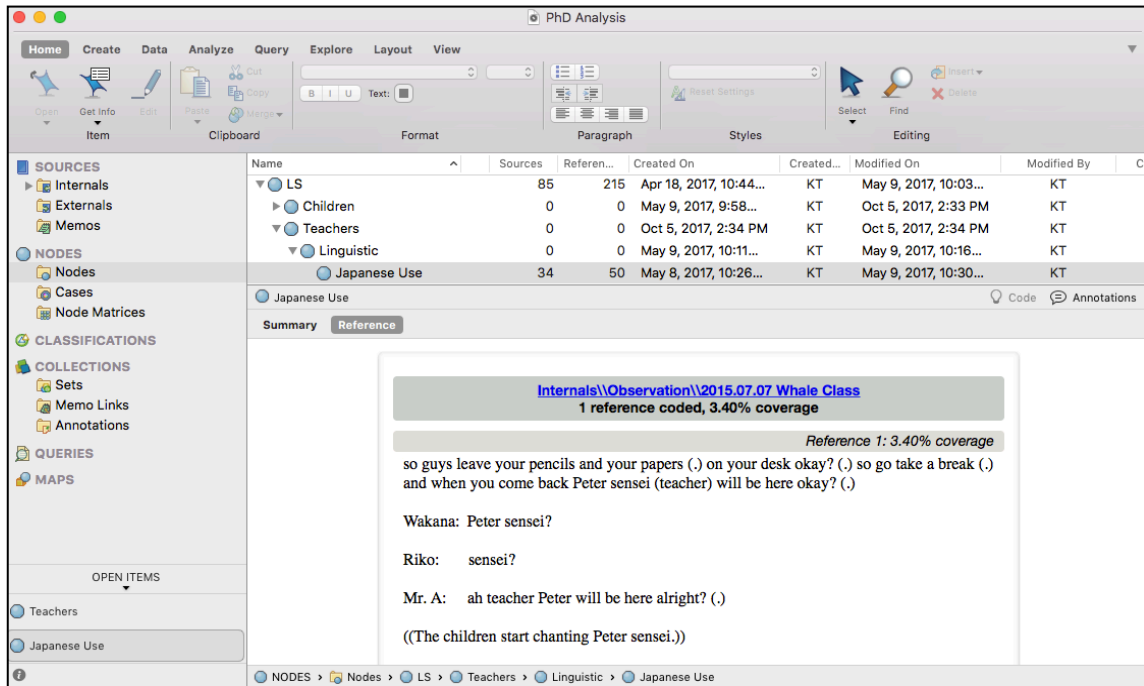
Inductive Coding – Assigning Codes
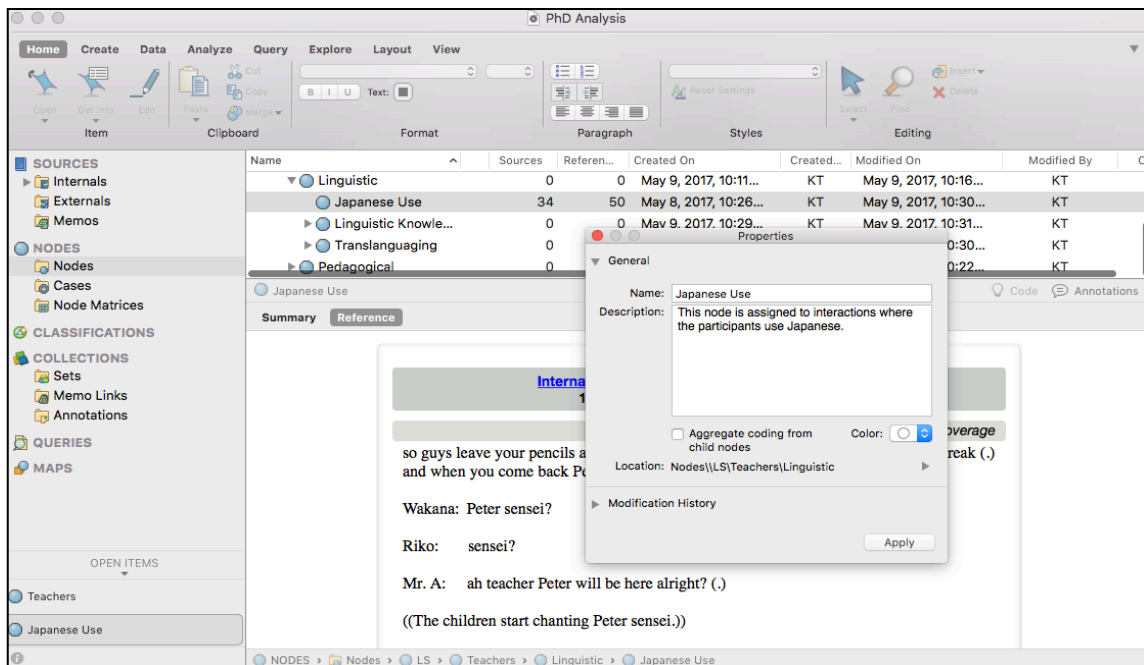
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