Dual-Lingual Interactions Between an English-Speaking Father and his Japanese-Speaking Child

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In Japan, roughly one third of children exposed to English and Japanese are passive bilinguals. When parents continue to use English with their Japanese-speaking children, their interactions can become dual-lingual. This study examines dual-lingual interactions between an English-speaking father and his Japanese-speaking child (age four) to determine the extent to which parental discourse strategies (Lanza, 1992, 1997) contribute towards the child's passive bilingualism. The findings showed that the father predominantly used the *move-on* discourse strategy in response to the child's Japanese utterances. By continuing with the conversation, the father was not encouraging the child to speak English. Occasional use of the *expressed guess* and *adult repetition* discourse strategies were equally unsuccessful in eliciting English production from the child. While the father gave relevant input for the child to produce a subsequent English utterance, he generally did not expect the child to rephrase her Japanese utterances into English. The father's discursive style, which focused on keeping the conversation going rather than eliciting English production from the child, therefore perpetuated parent-child dual-lingual interactions.

日本在住の日英バイリンガル児のおよそ３人に 1 人は受容バイリンガルである。外国人の親が日本語しか話さない子どもに英語で話し続けると両者の会話は二言語会話となる。本研究は、英語話者の父親と日本語話者の子ども（４歳）との間の二言語会話を分析し、親のディスコースストラテジー(Lanza, 1992, 1997)が子どもの受容バイリンガルリズムにどの程度影響を与えるのかを明らかにする。親子間の会話を分析した結果、父親が子どもの日本語使用を受け入れ，英語で会話を続ける move-on というディスコースストラテジーを頻繁に使用していたことが分かった。会話の継続において、父親は子どもからの英語産出を促すことはしなかった。また父親は、時折 expressed guess と adult repetition というディスコースストラテジーも使用したが、同様に子供からの英語産出に効果は見られなかった。父親は、英語の産出に必要なインプットを子どもに提供しながらも、子どもが日本語の発話を英語に言い換えることは期待していなかったようである。子供による英語の産出促進より親子間の会話継続を重視した父親の談話スタイルによって、二言語会話が長続きしたことが示唆される。

Introduction
Passive bilingualism in children
Children who receive bilingual exposure do not necessarily speak both of their languages. Bilingual children's refusal to speak one of their languages has been documented since the earliest studies on bilingual children (De Houwer, 2016), and is regarded as a common occurrence in bilingual development. In an extensive survey based in the Netherlands, De Houwer (2007) found a quarter of children who were exposed to another language in the home only spoke Dutch. In Japan, the rate of passive bilingualism is higher than in Netherlands. Survey studies have suggested that roughly one in three English-Japanese bilingual children spoke only Japanese (Billings, 1990; Noguchi, 2001; Yamamoto, 2001). Moreover, as Billings (1990) cautioned, the number of passive bilingual children may be even higher because only parents who were keen on bilingualism were likely to have participated in those surveys. The high rates of passive bilingualism indicate the difficulty in intergenerational language transmission and a shift towards Japanese monolingualism for some exogamous families in Japan.

Passive bilingualism can be attributed to inadequate exposure or use of the minority

language (Caldas, 2012). Research has shown that monolingual children are more likely to acquire word and grammatical forms that they hear more frequently (Lieven, 2010), and such input factors are also likely to affect children exposed to two languages. When language forms in the societal language are more frequent, bilingual children are more likely to produce them. Conversely, when language forms in the minority language are less frequent, it may be more difficult for bilingual children to acquire them.

In a One-Parent-One-Language (OPOL) exogamous family setting in Japan, young English-Japanese bilingual children presumably receive more Japanese input when their primary caregiver is Japanese, or if they attend Japanese daycare. Exposure to English is limited to the weekends and evenings when the English-speaking parent works full-time. It is further reduced when that parent codeswitches to Japanese in conversation. When English language forms are low in frequency, the child is less likely to acquire them. When children start school, the gap between the two languages is likely to widen because they spend more time at school than at home. The input they receive in the classroom is also arguably richer and more varied than in home conversations with their English-speaking parents. Children's growing dominance in Japanese arguably leads to greater use of Japanese and less English production, putting them at risk of becoming passive bilinguals.

Passive bilingualism is also likely to vary according to birth order. Noguchi's (2001) survey of English-Japanese bilingual families in Japan indicated that the percentages of active bilingualism for firstborns and only children were 76.9% and 80% respectively. However, the percentages for second and third children were much lower at 53.3% and 40% respectively. Noguchi also noted that the increase in passive bilingualism was acuter when the English-speaking parent was the father. Younger siblings are likely to receive less input in the minority language because older siblings tend to speak the societal language to them and socialize their parents into using more of the societal language (Nakamura, 2016; Tuominen, 1999). One way for English-speaking parents to address the inadequacy of English exposure is to sustain 'maximal engagement' (Yamamoto, 2001) by giving their children rich linguistic input in the limited time that they spend together. Jackson (2006) illustrates how an English-speaking father in Japan achieved this by getting the children ready for school/kindergarten, playing sports and games, watching English movies together, speaking English consistently (particularly at meal times), and taking the children on extended holidays to the home country.

Nevertheless, despite the most concerted parental efforts, some bilingual children do not become active users of their two languages. They may only reciprocate in Japanese even when their parents speak English consistently to them. While it is not possible to discuss at length the various possible reasons why receptive bilingualism arises, the condition may depend on the discourse strategies that parents employ to influence their children's language use. Lanza (1992, 1997) identified five discourse strategies that parents use in response to language mixing by the child. While termed as discourse strategies, not all of them are strategies per se. Some strategies are high-constraint and explicit, i.e., they clearly request the child to speak the target language whereas other strategies are implicit and used without much conscious effort and reflection.

Minimal grasp is an explicit discourse strategy where the parent feigns non-comprehension to compel the child to rephrase an utterance in the target language. For example, if a child makes a request for juice in Japanese, the English-speaking parent pretends not to understand, e.g., by saying *what?*. *Expressed guess* is another explicit discourse strategy where the parent asks for clarification in his or her own language, e.g., by saying *do you want juice?* The parent can also adopt the *adult repetition* discourse strategy by modeling the correct language form for the child, e.g., by saying *I want juice* and having the child say it after them. *Move-on* is an implicit discourse strategy where the parent continues with the conversation without requesting the child to rephrase or switch languages, such as by simply responding to the child's Japanese request with an English phrase like *no more juice*. *Codeswitching* is an implicit discourse strategy where the parent switches to the language used by the child, e.g., *jyusu wa nai* (no juice). In addition to Lanza's (1992, 1997) five discourse strategies, another strategy introduced by Döpke (1992), and adapted by Chevalier (2013), is *instruction to translate*. This is arguably the most constraining and unambiguous response to mixing because the child is requested to translate his or her previous utterance into the parent's language, e.g., *how do you say it in English?*. Figure 1 depicts these six parental discourse strategies in terms of their explicitness in requesting for the child to speak the target language.
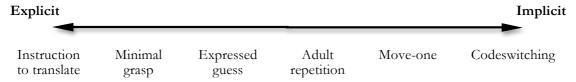
Explicit **Implicit**

| Instruction to translate | Minimal grasp | Expressed guess | Adult repetition | Move-one | Codeswitching |

Figure 1. Parental discourse strategies in response to child language mixing

Explicit discourse strategies such as *minimal grasp* and *expressed guess* are generally considered more effective than implicit ones in promoting the use of the weaker language (Kasuya, 1998). The relative effectiveness of these discourse strategies was exemplified in Juan-Garau and Pérez-Vidal's (2001) study of Andreau, a Catalan-English bilingual child. Andreau's English-speaking father often used the *move-on* discourse strategy, which contributed to Andreau's high level of mixing in English. However, he began using the *minimal grasp* discourse strategy more frequently after Andreau's third birthday, which remarkably led to the child's greater production of English and lower mixing rates. Likewise, Chevalier (2013) also discovered that the greater production of English by a Swiss German-French-English child was a result of her English-speaking aunt's frequent use of the *adult repetition* and *instruction to translate* discourse strategies. In contrast, the father's frequent use of the *move-on* discourse strategy did not promote the child's production of French. These studies suggest that the extent to which parents can elicit the target language using discourse strategies contributes to their children's active bilingualism.

Despite the body of research that has documented the effectiveness of these discourse strategies, the extent to which they are effective in eliciting the weaker language in older children is still unknown. Children tend to be more compliant at younger ages. However, at older ages, they may not feel obliged to respond to the *instruction to translate*, *minimal grasp* and *expressed guess* discourse strategies, particularly if they have seen their parents converse fluently in the target language with other speakers. Moreover, whereas a change from implicit to explicit discourse strategies was successful for the father of a three-year-old studied by Juan-Garau and Pérez-Vidal (2001), it is uncertain whether such a change would benefit older children, particularly if they have been passive in their weaker language for a long time and lack the vocabulary to respond. Furthermore, when dual-lingual interactions have become habitual and deeply entrenched in daily routines, it may be difficult to change them. For instance, children may attempt to speak the minority language with monolingual family members from the home country, but may only speak the societal language to their parents because they are accustomed to this linguistic arrangement. In addition, parents may not always be aware of how they interact with their children, and may not reflect on the discourse strategies that they use (Curdt-Christiansen, 2013). Frequent use of explicit discourse strategies is also potentially exhausting and time-consuming for both parent and child because communication is halted until the child's utterance is rephrased. It may be difficult to use these discourse strategies during busy times of the day or week (e.g., getting ready for school), and for talking about school because children's experiences are in the societal language. Use of explicit discourse strategies may also be considered as an extension of a strict parenting style, which may not be agreeable to parents who take a more liberal parenting stance and do not feel comfortable 'controlling' their children's linguistic behavior.

Dual-lingual parent-child interactions

Saville-Troike (1987) described the use of different languages by speakers who have passive ability in each other's spoken languages as 'dual-lingual' interaction. This is unlike 'bilingual' communication where both speakers are equally adept at two languages and alternate between them in conversation. It is also distinguished from 'dilingual' communication, which is the use of different languages by speakers who do not understand each other. Therefore, when bilingual children comprehend but do not speak one of their languages, they may engage in dual-lingual interaction with the parent who speaks their dormant language. In the family, it has also been described as a 'non-reciprocal' (Zentella, 1997) or 'parallel' (Garafanga, 2010) mode of communication. Dual-lingual interactions may arise because parents are not interested in bilingual childrearing, i.e., they do not care which language the child speaks because they speak both languages (De Houwer, 2006). However, they also occur even when parents put their best efforts in bringing their children up bilingually. In such cases, dual-lingual interactions reflect the parents' 'maintenance-oriented' (Garafanga, 2010) or 'stand-your-ground' (Smith-Christmas, 2016) approach to the child's receptive bilingualism. Smith-Christmas' (2016) study of language maintenance in a Gaelic-speaking family showed how a grandmother continued speaking Gaelic

to her grandson, David, who only reciprocated in English. The grandmother resisted the urge to codeswitch to English even when the child requested her to speak English or did not understand what she said in Gaelic because she believed that her input was necessary to develop his Gaelic. Despite her persistence, David did not produce much Gaelic. Passive bilingual children may be quite content speaking only one of their languages when they have become accustomed to communicating in a dual-lingual context without any communication difficulties (De Houwer, 2006).

De Houwer (2015) argued that dual-lingual conversations are potentially problematic. The refusal of both parent and child to use a common language reflects 'frustrated' or 'conflictive' bilingual development, as opposed to 'harmonious' bilingual development where the acquisition and use of two languages are positive experiences for the family. Parents who invest a lot of time and effort in providing their children with bilingual exposure inevitably expect their children to speak both of their languages. However, when their bilingual parenting goal is not fully realized, parents probably experience a range of negative emotions, including guilt, failure, and embarrassment towards their children's passive bilingualism that can threaten their socioemotional well-being (De Houwer, 2016). Therefore, dual-lingual interactions can be interactionally and emotionally frustrating for caregivers. Smith-Christmas (2016) observed that dual-lingual interactions required more agency and effort on the part of the Gaelic-speaking grandmother in her study who, after a certain point in time, found it 'demoralizing' that her grandchildren did not speak the language.

Dual-lingual interactions have serious long-term implications when parent and child have limited comprehension of their passive languages, and communication becomes more complex and non-contextual with age (e.g., discussing school matters). When there is a lack of understanding between parent and child, dual-lingual conversations may lead to minimal, or no communication. Wong-Fillmore (2000) described how relations deteriorated in a Chinese migrant family in San Francisco because the parents and grandmother understood little English, and their adolescent children understood little Chinese. Likewise, Tseng and Fuligni (2000) found a higher level of parent-child conflict in East Asian, Filipino and Latin American adolescents in the US who spoke English to their parents than those who spoke their parents' native languages.

Dual-lingual interactions may lead to a shift to the societal language over time. There is a risk that parents would not keep speaking the minority language to the child but switch to the societal language, particularly if they have some degree of proficiency in it. This eliminates any prospects for the child to develop bilingually. Garafanga (2010) depicts how passive bilingual children play a vital role in language negotiation with adults by using 'medium requests'. His study showed how French-speaking children of Kinyarwanda-French bilingual parents in Belgium prompt their parents to switch from Kinyarwanda to French by persisting with the use of French (embedded medium repair), asking the unspecified question *quoi?* ("what?") for clarification in French (generalized medium repair), asking specific questions for clarification of a preceding Kinyarwanda word or phrase (targeted content repair), and repeating a parent's Kinyarwanda utterances in French (understanding check). While parents can choose to hold on to their choice of language, parents who comply with the children's medium requests switch to French, contributing to language shift in the Belgian-Rwandan community.

Nevertheless, passive bilingualism may not necessarily imply complete non-production of the dormant language. Even when parent-child interactions have become predominantly dual-lingual, there are instances where the weaker language is produced. Smith-Christmas (2016) noted that, while David spoke English most of the time, he used Gaelic when he wanted something or someone's attention. He also used it to mitigate an argument or an admonishment. The child seemed aware that his family wanted him to speak Gaelic, and that speaking Gaelic would please them. David's selective use of Gaelic exemplifies the active role that children play in their language development.

The present study

Despite the commonality of the phenomenon, the subject of passive bilingualism children has not been given much attention in bilingual research. Studies have generally focused on active bilingual children, and those that examined parental discourse strategies have largely investigated children who experience unbalanced bilingual development but nevertheless produced both of their languages (e.g., Juan-Garau & Pérez-Vidal, 2001). As far as the author is aware, no study has been conducted on passive or limited bilingual children and the dual-lingual interactions that they share with their parents. Given the lack of language production by passive bilingual children, we cannot assume that discourse strategies that were found effective with active bilingual children

will work equally well on children who have only receptive abilities. Dual-lingual conversations are also a relatively untapped area of research. While Greer (2013) examined dual-lingual conversation between adults in Japan, there has yet to be any investigation of dual-lingual parent-child interactions in bilingual families in the country.

Passive bilingual children can become active users of their languages later in life. De Houwer (2006) proposed that changes in input factors can greatly influence language use. For example, a bilingual child can go from speaking very little of the language to speaking it fluently in a short period when visiting the home country, or interacting with monolingual visitors such as grandparents from the home country. Quay (2001) also argued that passive bilingualism is valuable because the child has the potential to activate and use his weaker language(s) later. Given the potential for active bilingualism, we need to conduct research on passive bilingual children. Specifically, it is important to know how parental discourse strategies contribute towards the dual-lingual mode.

To address the lacuna in this aspect of child bilingual research, this paper will analyze dual-lingual interactions between an American father and his English-Japanese passive bilingual daughter. This study will determine the extent to which the father's discourse strategies may have contributed to the child's lack of English production. The specific questions that will be addressed in this paper are:
1. What kind of discourse strategies did the father employ when interacting with the child?
2. How did the father's discursive style contribute to the child's passive bilingualism and their dual-lingual interactions?

Method

A case study was chosen as the method for investigating dual-lingual parent-child interaction. For a relatively unexplored area of bilingual research, an in-depth case study of a parent-child dyad provides rich, descriptive data that can help us understand the dynamics of dual-lingual interactions. This case study forms part of a larger project on passive bilingual children in Japan. The participants of the study are a Japanese-American exogamous family living in Tokyo, Japan who are acquaintances of the researcher. Trevor,[1] the American father, speaks English to his older daughter, Maya (age 10) and his younger daughter, Nina (age 4). The children's Japanese mother, Naomi, speaks Japanese to them. The siblings mostly speak Japanese to each other whereas English is the language used between parents.

Trevor has lived in Japan for 25 years, and his Japanese proficiency is at level N2 of the Japanese-Language Proficiency Test (JLPT), the second highest level for learners of Japanese as a Foreign Language. Therefore, he had no difficulty understanding the Japanese utterances produced by Nina. He and his Japanese wife, Naomi, initially practiced the Minority-Language-at-Home (MLAT) policy with their first child by speaking English at home. However, Naomi later switched to speaking Japanese with Maya to help her improve her Japanese when she started public elementary school. With their younger child, the couple created an OPOL setting with each parent speaking their respective language. Both parents work full-time, and Nina had been attending Japanese daycare since infancy. While both parents reported that Maya was an active bilingual who spoke English comfortably with her father, they noted that Nina was a passive bilingual who spoke mostly Japanese. Her Japanese speech was purportedly advanced, and her Japanese development was faster than that of her older sister. The siblings' bilingual development reflects Noguchi's (2001) finding that passive bilingualism tends to occur in later-borns. Based on the parents' report on Nina's passive bilingualism, the researcher decided to study the dual-lingual interactions between her and her father.

Before data collection started, an interview was held with the father to obtain background information on the family's language practices in the home, and notes were taken in a notebook. The researcher explained the nature of the research and obtained Trevor's written consent before the interview. He was handed a Panasonic RR-US310 compact audio recorder and was asked to make audio recordings at home when he was interacting with Nina. Trevor played a lot of games with the child and made a total of eight recordings totaling more than 3 hours while they were playing together (see Table 1). After the data collection, transcription, coding, and analysis were completed, the researcher had another interview with the father to share the preliminary results of the study and to obtain his feedback. Trevor's comments were handwritten in a notebook.

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[1] Pseudonyms have been used for each of the participants.

Table 1. *List of audio recordings*

File name	Age	Date	Time (minutes:seconds)
Nin-1	4;6.5	Jan 25, 2016	31:36
Nin-2	4;6.6	Jan 26, 2016	20:29
Nin-3	4;6.8	Jan 28, 2016	18:52
Nin-4	4;6.8	Jan 28, 2016	18:26
Nin-5	4;6.25	Feb 14, 2016	39:55
Nin-6	4;6.26	Feb 15, 2016	16:43
Nin-7	4;7.0	Feb 20, 2016	14:32
Nin-8	4;7.6	Feb 26, 2016	18:18

These audio recordings were transcribed and coded according to the Codes for the Human Analysis of Transcripts (CHAT) (MacWhinney, 2000) by a trained research assistant who was fluent in English and Japanese. Completed transcripts were then validated by the researcher, also a fluent speaker of English and Japanese. Transcription and coding differences were discussed and reconciled between the researcher and the research assistant. The transcripts were analyzed using the Computerized Language Analysis (CLAN) program from the Child Language Data Exchange System (CHILDES) (MacWhinney, 2000). Father and child utterances were coded into Japanese, English and mixed utterances. All of the father's utterances that immediately followed the child's utterances in Japanese were also coded according to the various discourse strategies shown in Figure 1, i.e., *instruction to translate, minimal grasp, expressed guess, adult repetition, move-on,* and *codeswitching.*

Results
Language use

Utterances produced by father and child in the eight audio recordings were coded as English, Japanese, and mixed (see Table 2). Trevor's utterances were mostly English (98.7% of total utterances, $N=2964$), and only 1.4% of his speech was Japanese and mixed. This result shows that he provided English input consistently to Nina. However, Nina's language use was more varied. While many of her utterances were Japanese (61.6% of total utterances, $N=781$), she also produced some English and mixed utterances, indicating that she was not entirely passive in English.

Table 2. *Language use by father and child*

	Father				Child			
	ENG	JPN	MIX	Total	ENG	JPN	MIX	Total
No. of utterances	2964	31	10	3005	447	781	39	1267
Percentage of utterances	98.7%	1.0%	0.3%	100.0%	35.3%	61.6%	3.1%	100.0%

An examination of the child's word types and tokens in English, Japanese, and others (e.g., proper nouns, interjections) shows her productive vocabulary in both languages. Word types refer to the number of distinct word forms, whereas word tokens are the total number of words produced in each language. As shown in Table 3, there is a larger difference in the number of word types produced in English and Japanese than in the number of word tokens for each language. Nina's type-token ratio (TTR) was 20.8% for Japanese, but her English TTR was slightly less than half of that (10.2%). This finding indicates a considerable gap in lexical variation with a wider range of vocabulary used in Japanese. Although a third of Nina's utterances were in English, her English vocabulary was comparatively limited. English word types ($N=128$) were considerably lower than Japanese ones ($N=397$).

Table 3. *Word types and tokens produced by the child*

	ENG	JPN	Others
Word types	128	397	57
Word tokens	1261	1909	250
Type-token ratio	10.2%	20.8%	22.8%

The child's most frequently used word tokens were English words such as *no* (*N*=140), *you* (*N*=122), *a* (*N*=116) *have* (*N*=114) and *do* (*N*=110). Their frequencies of occurrence were higher than the most frequent Japanese word tokens, which consisted of particles such as *no* (*N*=91), *yo* (*N*=81), *ne* (*N*=75), *da* (*N*=60) and *ga* (*N*=48). The high frequency of English word tokens and the fewer word types suggest that the same English words were used repetitively. In contrast, Nina's frequent use of Japanese particles indicates her tendency to produce multi-word Japanese utterances.

Let us examine the instances where English was most frequently produced by the child. The English word *no*, which appeared most often in Nina's utterances, was used as a single-word response to Trevor's *yes-no* questions. She often used it for showing disagreement and emphasis. Extract 1 illustrates how Nina used *no* for emphasis. In this extract, utterances produced by Trevor (FAT) and Nina (NIN) are displayed in the main tier marked by an asterisk (*). Japanese utterances are italicized. Below the main tier is the dependent tier that indicates the English translation (coded as %com).

Extract 1

1.	*FAT:	are you tired?
2.	*FAT:	you want to go to bed?
3.	*NIN:	no!
4.	*FAT:	you want to go out for a run outside?
5.	*NIN:	*samui.*
	%com:	cold
6.	*NIN:	*samusugi yo.*
	%com:	too cold

In line 3 of Extract 1, Nina said *no* to indicate that she did not want to go to bed. However, when her father teased her by asking if she wanted to go for a run outside (Line 4), she countered in Japanese that it was too cold to go for a run outside (Lines 5 and 6). While Nina was using both of her languages, her Japanese utterances demonstrated logical reasoning whereas her English response was simply a refusal of her father's request.

In contrast to Extract 1, Nina demonstrated advanced use of English when playing a card game called Go Fish with her father in Extract 2. In this instance, she made her most complex and longest constructions in English. For this game, Nina and her father had to ask each other questions to obtain matching animal cards.

Extract 2

1.	*NIN:	do you have a monkey?
2.	*NIN:	monkey.
3.	*FAT:	no monkeys.
4.	*NIN:	*chigau yo.*
	%com:	no
5.	*FAT:	oh that's called a what then?
6.	*NIN:	<oka> [/] okana.
7.	*FAT:	okana?
8.	*FAT:	this is called an orangutan.
9.	*NIN:	orangutan.
10.	*FAT:	that's a tough one to pronounce huh?
11.	*NIN:	*mite!*
	%com:	look
12.	*NIN:	*nina chan no hou ga arun da yo.*
	%com:	nina has more cards
13.	*NIN:	*hora!*

	%com:	there
14.	*NIN:	do you have a cow?
15.	*FAT:	what?
16.	*NIN:	cow.
17.	*FAT:	no cows here.

In this extract, Nina asked two relatively long questions in English to request for cards, i.e., '*do you have a monkey*?' and '*do you have a cow*?' (Lines 1 and 14). Following the most frequently occurring English word *no*, the words used to make these multi-word constructions most often appeared in the data, i.e. *you*, *a*, *have*, and *do*. This shows that she used English mainly for emphasis and for participating in games routines. Compared to this rote-learned question type in English, Nina's Japanese utterances were spontaneous and more sophisticated in terms of the message being conveyed. Nina intercepted the game routine in Japanese by proudly saying *Nina chan no hou ga aru no da yo* (Nina has more) in Line 12 to imply that she was winning the game.

Table 4 summarizes the different activities in each recording, and the percentage of English and mixed utterances that were produced. Activities in the audio data include card games (e.g., Go Fish and Uno), board games (e.g., Chutes & Ladders) and craft (e.g., button art). Nina spoke English most often in the card game *Go Fish*, with more than half of her utterances being English and mixed utterances. The verbal routine that was required to play Go Fish seemed to have encouraged Nina's English production. Contrastively, games such as *Jenga* or *UNO* had lower percentages of English and mixed utterances because there was little verbal interaction involved.

Table 4. *Percentage of English and mixed utterances produced by Nina per recording*

File name	Age	Activities	% of English and mixed utterances
Nin-1	4;6.5	Jenga	17.2%
Nin-2	4;6.6	Chutes & Ladders	33.0%
Nin-3	4;6.8	Go Fish	57.2%
Nin-4	4;6.8	Button art	19.5%
Nin-5	4;6.25	Chutes & Ladders	46.6%
Nin-6	4;6.26	Go Fish	58.0%
Nin-7	4;7.0	UNO	17.5%
Nin-8	4;7.6	Cards	42.1%

Parental discourse strategies

Out of 3,005 utterances produced by the father in the data, 418 utterances (13.9%) were discourse strategies used subsequent to the child's Japanese utterances. Table 5 shows the types of discourse strategies that Trevor employed. The results indicate that the *move-on* discourse strategy was used most of the time (93.3% of all instances where discourse strategies were used, N=390). *Codeswitching, adult repetition* and *expressed guess* discourse strategies were also occasionally employed. However, there was no use of *instruction to translate* and *minimal grasp* discourse strategies.

Table 5. *Father's use of discourse strategies in response to the child's Japanese utterances*

Discourse strategy	Explicit				Implicit		
	IT	MG	EG	AR	MV	CS	Total
Frequency of use	0	0	6	4	390	18	418
Percentage (%)	-	-	(1.4%)	(1.0%)	(93.3%)	(4.3%)	(100.0%)

Notes on abbreviations: *instruction to translate* (IT), *minimal grasp* (MG), *expressed guess* (EG), *adult repetition* (AR), *move-on* (MO), and *codeswitching* (CS).

In using the *move-on* strategy in response to the child's Japanese utterances, the father simply continued with the conversation in English. Extract 3 illustrates his predominant use of the *move-on* strategy (coded as $mv) with the child in their dual-lingual interactions. In this situation, both father and child were playing Jenga, a game where players take turns to remove blocks from a wooden tower.

Extract 3.

1.	*NIN:	*sugoi muzukashii.*
	%com:	very difficult
2.	*FAT:	really?
	%cod:	$mv
3.	*FAT:	why is it so hard?
4.	*NIN:	*ue nokoru you ni suru.*
	%com:	I'll leave the ones on top
5.	*FAT:	okay.
	%cod:	$mv

In Line 1, Nina expressed her difficulty in removing a block from the Jenga tower in Japanese. Trevor 'moved-on' by asking her in English why she found it hard in Line 3, but this question was unanswered. Instead, Nina explained in Japanese her strategy of not taking the blocks on top in Line 4. In response to her utterance, Trevor 'moved-on' again by saying *okay* in Line 5. This extract demonstrates how father and child tended to continue the conversation in their respective languages. While Trevor kept speaking English to Nina, she was not prompted to use English, or shown how English could be used instead of Japanese.

The *codeswitching* discourse strategy made up 4.3% of all instances where discourse strategies were used ($N=18$) by the father. This result indicates that Trevor sometimes responded to Nina's Japanese utterances in Japanese or a mixed of English and Japanese. Extract 4 illustrates how the *codeswitching* strategy (coded as $cs) was used in their interactions.

Extract 4.

1.	*NIN:	mummy kara Tai kara moratta no wa princesss buresu.
	%com:	I got a princess bracelet from mummy from Thailand
2.	*NIN:	*sore dake.*
	%com:	that is all
3.	*FAT:	*sore dake?*
	%com:	that is all
	%cod:	$cs
4.	*FAT:	that was a lot of stuff you got.
5.	*FAT:	*sore dake?*
	%com:	that is all
6.	*FAT:	that was plenty.

When Nina gave a detailed account of the Christmas presents she received (Line 1) and added *sore dake* (that is all) in Line 2, Trevor expressed his surprise and repeated her preceding Japanese utterance in Line 3. His utterance was a *codeswitching* discourse strategy because he switched to Japanese in response to the child's utterance. It was not an *expressed guess* discourse strategy because this strategy would typically involve repeating the child's utterances in English. While there is a possibility that Trevor may have reproduced Nina's Japanese utterance as a request for her to rephrase her utterance in English, it is more likely that he uttered *sore dake* twice in Lines 3 and 5 to express his surprise and amusement at her choice of words.

The *codeswitching* discourse strategy does little to promote active bilingualism because the parent accommodates to the child's language preference. It also reduces the amount of input that the child receives in the parent's language. Nevertheless, as Lines 3 and 5 of Extract 4 illustrate, many instances of Trevor's use of the *codeswitching* discourse strategy were one-off repetitions of Nina's preceding Japanese utterances. He usually reverted to English after producing a Japanese utterance, as exemplified in Lines 4 and 6 of Extract 4, and maintained his policy of using English to his child.

Trevor also occasionally produced the *expressed guess* (1.4% of all instances where discourse strategies were used, $N=6$) and the *adult repetition* (1.0% of all instances where discourse strategies were used, $N=4$) discourse strategies. Both discourse strategies are more explicit than the *move-on* and *codeswitching* discourse strategies (see Figure 1). The *adult repetition* discourse strategy involves a repetition of the child's Japanese utterance in English, whereas in the *expressed guess* discourse strategy, the father rephrased the child's utterance in English as a question. While previous research has shown that these two discourse strategies were more effective than the *move-on* discourse strategy, the findings of this study show that they also failed to elicit any English

utterance from Nina, except for in one instance where the *adult repetition* discourse strategy was used. Extracts 5 and 6 demonstrate how the *expressed guess* discourse strategy (coded as $ex) was used unsuccessfully.

Extract 5.

1.	*FAT:	why do you like America?
2.	*FAT:	what's going on?
3.	*NIN:	*eto ne beddo ga tanoshii.*
	%com:	um the beds were fun
4.	*FAT:	the beds in America are nice?
	%cod:	$eg
5.	*FAT:	really?
6.	*FAT:	wow!

In Extract 5, Trevor asked Nina about their recent trip to America (Lines 1 and 2). Nina replied to Trevor's question by saying *beddo ga tanoshii* (Line 3). This was rephrased by Trevor in English as an *expressed guess*, i.e. *the beds in America are nice?* (Line 4). However, Trevor did not pause for Nina to give a verbal response but continued with the conversation by making subsequent utterances (Lines 5 and 6). Extract 6 is another example where the *expressed guess* discourse strategy failed to elicit English production from the child. In this extract, Nina requested Trevor to play another game of cards (Line 1).

Extract 6.

1.	*NIN:	*moh ikkai.*
	%com:	one more time
2.	*FAT:	you wanna play again?
	%cod:	$ex
3.	*NIN:	*un.*
	%com:	yes
4.	*FAT:	so I've won two games.
	%cod:	$mv
5.	*FAT:	you've won zero games.

Trevor rephrased Nina's request in English as an *expressed guess* (Line 2) discourse strategy, i.e., *you wanna play again?*. However, her response to Trevor's question was a simple *un* (yes) in Line 3. She did not interpret his question as a prompt to rephrase her request in English. Therefore, Trevor's use of the *expressed guess* discourse strategy was not followed by the reproduction of the word in English by the child. Moreover, when the child responded in Japanese in Line 3, Trevor 'moved-on' with the conversation by talking about the number of games they have both won (Lines 4 and 5).

Likewise, Trevor's use of the *adult repetition* discourse strategy did not prompt the child to speak English because he usually continued with the conversation. Out of the four instances where this strategy was employed, Extract 7 is the only instance where Nina produced English when the *adult repetition* discourse strategy (coded as $ar) was used.

Extract 7.

1.	*FAT:	what is that?
2.	*NIN:	*wakanai.*
	%com:	I don't know
3.	*FAT:	what's that in Japanese?
4.	*FAT:	you know what that is don't you?
5.	*NIN:	*tentomushi.*
	%com:	lady bug
6.	*FAT:	in English we say a lady bug.
	%cod:	$ar
7.	*NIN:	lady bug.
8.	*FAT:	yep.

In this extract, Trevor was doing button art with Nina and asked her about the animal that she was making. Nina did not know the term *ladybug* in English, but she could produce the Japanese equivalent, *tentomushi* in Line 5. When Trevor taught her the appropriate English term in Line 6,

she could repeat *ladybug* in Line 7. The input that he provided filled the child's vocabulary gap and allowed her to produce the correct term in English. Unlike Extracts 5 and 6, Trevor did not continue with the conversation but waited for Nina to reproduce the word.

Discussion

The audio data in this study revealed that interactions between this father and child were largely dual-lingual. Trevor spoke English almost exclusively to his child with 98.7% of his utterances being in that language (see Table 2). While Trevor reported that Nina spoke only Japanese at the beginning of this study, the results showed that she used some English. Analysis of the audio data revealed that 35.3% of Nina's utterances were in English and 3.1% were mixed (see Table 2). However, her use of English was quite limited compared to her use of Japanese. She had a much smaller vocabulary in English (see Table 3). Her English production was restricted to single-word responses to *yes-no* questions (e.g., Extract 1), and semi-formulaic phrases that were part of a game routine (e.g., Extract 2). Other than these contexts, Nina mostly spoke Japanese to her father.

Analysis of Trevor's discourse strategies gave some indication of why his interactions with Nina were mainly dual-lingual. The results revealed that he employed the *move-on* discourse strategy in 93.3% of all instances where Nina addressed him in Japanese (see Table 5). Trevor frequently continued with the conversation in English while she did so in Japanese, creating a dual-lingual mode as exemplified in Extract 3. While Trevor's use of English was consistent, his predominant use of the *move-on* discourse strategy did not encourage the child's English production.

However, at times Trevor also made occasional use of more explicit strategies, such as the *expressed guess* and *adult repetition* discourse strategies. Compared to the *move-on* discourse strategy, these strategies are generally considered to be more effective in eliciting a child's response in the parent's language because they contain relevant input that children can use immediately to produce an English utterance. However, the *expressed guess* and *adult repetition* discourse strategies that the father used were mostly unsuccessful in making the child rephrase her Japanese utterances in English. Extract 7 was the only instance in which Trevor's *adult repetition* discourse strategy prompted Nina to rephrase her Japanese utterance in English.

The lack of effectiveness of these two discourse strategies may be attributable to the fact that they were seldom used. The *expressed guess* and *adult repetition* discourse strategies made up only 1.4% and 1.0% of the total discourse strategies used by the father (see Table 5). Their low frequencies suggest that Nina may not be aware, or feel compelled to produce an English utterance when her father rephrased her Japanese utterance as a question or repeated it in English using the *expressed guess* and *adult repetition* discourse strategies respectively.

However, the lack of English elicitation was more likely to have been because Trevor did not wait for Nina to respond to his use of these two discourse strategies but instead continued with the conversation. Extract 5 demonstrated how, despite making the *expressed guess*, *the beds in America are nice?* in response to Nina's Japanese utterance, *beddo ga tanoshii*, Trevor did not hesitate for the child to take her turn but carried on the conversation with the subsequent remarks *really?* and *wow*. He did not seem to expect Nina to provide an English response even though the linguistic input he provided in his *expressed guess* could be used by the child to rephrase her Japanese utterance in English. The father's tendency to carry on with the conversation was also evident in the other instances where the *expressed guess* and *adult repetition* discourse strategies were used.

The *expressed guess* discourse strategy was also ineffective probably because it was posed as a *yes-no* question to the child. Extract 6 shows how Nina could respond very easily to the expressed guess, *you wanna play again?* with a short answer, *un* (yes) without reproducing the English input her father provided in his preceding utterance. Nevertheless, the main contributing factor to the lack of English production following the *expressed guess* and *adult repetition* discourse strategies was the fact that the father continued with the conversation without waiting for the child to take her turn. These strategies were probably used without any expectation that the child would produce subsequent English utterances based on the input provided. Likewise, Trevor's predominant use of the *move-on* strategy shows that he was concerned with keeping their dual-lingual conversation going. Trevor's use of discourse strategies reflects an interactional intent aimed at building rapport with Nina instead of shaping her linguistic behavior. A temporary stop in conversation for Nina to reproduce her Japanese utterances in English was probably perceived to be disruptive when a game of Go Fish or Chutes and Ladders was in progress. In addition, dual-lingual interactions may have been so entrenched in the dyad's daily routine that the father

probably expected that the child would not respond in English. Given that Trevor perceived Nina to be a passive bilingual, his discursive style may have focused on making dual-lingual conversations flowed smoothly rather than encouraging her to speak English.

Nevertheless, Nina's English production can be potentially increased if Trevor uses more explicit strategies in his interaction with the child instead of the *move-on* discourse strategy. Specifically, the *adult repetition* discourse strategy is potentially useful for modeling the language for the child. Nina may give more responses in English if Trevor uses this strategy more often and pauses to let her speak. As shown in Extract 7, Nina reproduced the English term *ladybug* in response to Trevor's *adult repetition* discourse strategy, i.e. *in English, we say a lady bug*. Likewise, a teaching sequence such as *this is called an orangutan* (Extract 2) can help the child to acquire new English vocabulary. However, the use of highly explicit discourse strategies, i.e. *instruction to translate* and *minimal grasp* (see Figure 1), may not be effective on a highly passive bilingual child such as Nina given the fact that her productive vocabulary was highly limited. This was probably why these discourse strategies were not used at all. Another suggestion is to include more verbal game routines in father-child playtime. Nina produced her longest English utterances as part of the routine in the game Go Fish (Extract 2), indicating that she may benefit from more exposure to frequently-occurring words and grammatical forms that are a part of a verbal game routine.

The father's apparent intention of building rapport with the child in their interactions seemed to work well because the audio data contained a healthy dose of laughter and playful teasing. Nina seemed to enjoy her playtime sessions with her father. While Smith-Christmas (2016) observed that the children who were passive in Gaelic in her study had a negative attitude towards the language, Nina did not appear to have such an attitude towards English. Affect-oriented factors play a crucial role in bilingual acquisition, and children who display positive attitudes have a better chance of acquiring it (e.g., De Capua & Wintergerst, 2009; Kennedy & Romo, 2013). There is a possibility that Nina may speak more English in the future, given her apparent fondness for her father, and their shared activity of playing games and doing crafts.

While De Houwer (2016) warns that parental socio-emotional wellbeing may be negatively affected by children's refusal to use the language they were addressed in, Trevor did not seem overly anxious or distressed about Nina's passive bilingualism in the audio data and the interview. This was possibly because the audio recordings were conducted in a relaxed playtime context, and the interview may be susceptible to social desirability bias, i.e., Trevor may have made comments in a manner that fitted the social image he wanted to project to the researcher. However, the more likely explanation was that the father already had the experience of raising an active bilingual child. He shared in the interview that he was optimistic that Nina would eventually speak English like her older sister. Therefore, his approach towards Nina's passive bilingualism was to provide constant English input on an everyday basis. Nevertheless, the findings of this study show that these efforts alone are insufficient to promote active bilingualism.

Conclusion

The refusal or inability of children who receive bilingual exposure to speak one of their languages is a phenomenon that often baffles parents. This study investigated the discourse strategies adopted by an English-speaking father to his Japanese-speaking daughter and how they play a role in perpetuating dual-lingual interactions. The results indicate that the father predominantly used the *move-on* discourse strategy by continuing with the conversation whenever the child spoke Japanese to him. Explicit discourse strategies that prompt the child to speak English were hardly used. In the few instances where explicit discourse strategies were adopted, the father did not expect the child to respond in English and continued with the conversation. Consequently, the child only had limited use of English, and the interactions between the parent and child were mainly dual-lingual.

This case study corroborates with previous research on how discourse strategies affect child bilingualism (e.g. Chevalier, 2013; Juan-Garau & Pérez-Vidal, 2001) and contributes new knowledge by finding that dual-lingual interactions with a passive bilingual child were perpetuated by the parent's discursive style which focused on keeping the conversation going rather than eliciting more English production from the child. This result reiterates Chevalier's (2013) suggestion that it is not the amount of English that the parents use with the child that determines active bilingualism but the extent to which they can elicit production from the child that is the decisive factor. In other words, speaking a language to a bilingual child does not guarantee that he or she will speak it. The passive bilingual child hears the language as it is spoken by the parent, but not as how she should speak it. To encourage active use of dormant language, it is important

for parents to provide relevant input that can be used immediately in interaction, and prompt them to produce it.

The analyses performed in this study were limited to parental discourse strategies and did not consider the role of the child. Undeniably, children also play a part in keeping a dual-lingual form of communication with their parents (e.g., Garafanga, 2010). Their role in dual-lingual interactions is equally important for us to understand this linguistic phenomenon and for identifying ways in which active bilingualism can be encouraged. This aspect of parent-child dual-lingual interaction will be addressed in the next stage of this research.

Acknowledgements

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