
THE FORUM

The *TESOL Quarterly* invites commentary on current trends or practices in the TESOL profession. It also welcomes responses or rebuttals to any articles or remarks published here in The Forum or elsewhere in the *Quarterly*.

A Mother's Tongue

SANDRA G. KOURITZIN

University of Manitoba

Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada

■ This commentary significantly departs from the standard written form for contributions to The Forum over the years (i.e., 1992–1999). While commenting on one aspect of TESOL that is of particular professional and personal interest to me—the development and maintenance of minority L1s during childhood second language acquisition (e.g., Kouritzin, 1999, in press)—I present an argument for the importance of continued use of the familial heritage language by referring to documented accounts of my own experiences as the (White) mother of (biracial) Japanese-speaking children. I hope to augment the academic arguments in favour of bilingual education and heritage language maintenance with a more intense, lived, personal one.

My husband and I wish to ensure that our children grow up bilingual—speaking, reading, and writing not only English but also their other heritage language, Japanese. The reasons for this imperative are threefold:

1. Heritage language loss was a reality for both my husband and me; we have lived experiences of what it means to be unable to communicate with family members or participate in cultural experiences.
2. We are aware that, despite the frustrations that our children may (temporarily) experience while developing bilingually (see, e.g., Grosjean, 1982, pp. 268–288; Harding & Riley, 1986, pp. 83–113; Swain, 1982), there appear to be social, emotional, and cognitive advantages to bilingualism (Baker, 1996; Collier, 1989).¹

¹ Skutnabb-Kangas and Cummins' (1988) book includes experiential narratives in prose and poetry of the social and emotional impacts of being bilingual and of losing a minority L1. These

3. Although we are not so naive as to believe that bilingual development in Japanese and English will enable our children to unproblematically “walk in two worlds” (Henze & Vanett, 1993; see also Zentella, 1997) and although we know that our children may choose (or be assigned to) an ethnic identity that is neither Japanese nor Canadian (see, e.g., Haug, 1998), we nonetheless feel that our children need to be able to draw from both of their linguistic heritages in order to best negotiate their individual cultural and linguistic identities.

Therefore, influenced by research on language maintenance/language loss and bilingual education (e.g., Collier, 1989; García & Baker, 1995; Gregory, 1997; Harding & Riley, 1986; Schecter & Bayley, 1997; Wong Fillmore, 1991), my husband and I decided to delay our children’s exposure to English as long as possible by using Japanese at home (e.g., Dolson, 1985). We were also influenced by the experiences of many Japanese families, friends who, because they lack a large, vibrant Japanese-language speaking community, reported struggling to maintain the heritage language at home after their children began playing with English-speaking children (see also Saunders, 1988). Even though Japanese was the only language both parents spoke well, these families found that their children became dominant in English and never learned to read and write Japanese. Deeply committed to maintaining the Japanese language in our family, we have therefore chosen to adopt “hothouse”² conditions for early bilingualism in order to maximize the Japanese language input, even though it imposes difficulties on me. We plan to speak Japanese exclusively until our children begin school, that is, to act as one of the five types of bilingual family described by Harding and Riley³ (1986, pp. 47–48; see also Baker, 1996, pp. 77–78).

When our children begin school, I will speak English with them while their father continues to speak Japanese (i.e., identifying one language with each parent, as Merino’s 1983 research supports) because (a) we want to ensure that our children hear each language modeled well in our home by the parent who knows each language best (see, e.g., Minami & McCabe, 1995) and (b) we wish to ensure that our children learn the “values, beliefs, understandings, [and] wisdom about how to cope with their experiences the meaning of work, . . . personal responsibility,

narratives, and the stories I collected for my doctoral dissertation (published as Kouritzin, 1999), powerfully motivated my husband and me to do everything in our power to develop both Japanese and English in our children.

² I am most grateful to an anonymous *TESOL Quarterly* reviewer for this description of our home language environment.

³ Although this language development strategy is the one adopted by Harding in her own family, I believe that it is a relatively rare one; I have found few published accounts of or even references to it.

[and] what it means to be a moral or ethical person” (Wong Fillmore, 1991, p. 343). Moreover, because I am a nonnative speaker of Japanese, we want to ensure that our children do not reproduce my nonstandard linguistic choices in that language. By the time they begin school, my children will likely speak Japanese with enough complexity to exceed my ability to produce standard speech. We later hope to enroll our children in a French or Mandarin immersion program so that they do not learn to favour the culturally dominant language (see, e.g., McGroarty, 1992), and I will accompany them to weekend Japanese classes in order to (a) ensure Japanese literacy (e.g., Taft & Cahill, 1989) and (b) demonstrate the social and cultural importance of learning Japanese (e.g., Dorian, 1982), both of which appear to facilitate L1 maintenance.

These decisions were not made lightly but were based on years of study and research on the consequences of L1 loss and on how best to raise bilingual children. Wanting to test these theories, I have tracked my daughter’s language development, noting, for example, her failure to produce much English despite overhearing that language as much as 50% of the time.⁴ Along the way, I have found myself not only documenting her linguistic growth but also writing journal-type entries about my own reactions to her language development. My reactions were highlighted when we traveled to Japan for a month-long visit, and I watched my daughter slip easily into the culture of Tokunoshima, the southern Japanese island my husband is from. I watched with mixed feelings as she absorbed the cultural niceties and not-so-niceties implied by the words she knew. I wrote extensively both in Japan and upon returning to Canada, and I have turned to those journal entries in order to write this commentary.

BACKGROUND

Familial language shift to the majority language is a major, if not the major, contributor to children’s later loss of their heritage language with its attendant social, emotional, educational, and political consequences. When children begin to exhibit a preference for the culturally dominant language after beginning to speak it at school, parents sometimes respond by shifting to English themselves. At other times, teachers may recommend to parents that they speak English in the home to facilitate their children’s language development (see, e.g., Dolson, 1985; Johnson, 1987; Kouritzin, 1999; McGroarty, 1992; Pan & Berko-Gleason, 1986).

⁴ The English words she does produce are those commonly used in Japan (e.g., *thank you*, *let’s go*, *come in*) with Japanese pronunciation. She has never been addressed in English at home, but when her English-speaking grandparents and cousins speak to her, she appears to understand much of what they say.

My husband and I exercised choices in how to educate our children; those choices have placed me in an unusual position. Like many immigrant parents whose children begin speaking English dominantly (and sometimes lose their heritage languages), I speak a different mother tongue than my children do. For reasons of public policy or perceived educational need (Kouritzin, 1999, in press), these immigrant parents find themselves speaking nonnative English to their children, and little thought is given to how this situation affects the parents' lives. My situation is similar to theirs in the issues that I experience but different because, for educational reasons, I have chosen to live in my L2 for a short period of time. Although I live in this position of extraordinary privilege, the implementation of our family's language planning often discourages me. The issues that I confront daily confirm that we as a profession need to concern ourselves not only with the teaching of ESL but also with ensuring the existence of a healthy climate for fostering minority L1 development.

LANGUAGE OF THE HEART

German is the mother tongue of all my children. If I spoke English with my husband and children, they would be strangers (Harres, 1989, p. 395)

More than anything, I have learned the meaning of *mother tongue*. English is the language of my heart, the one in which I can easily express love for my children; in which I know instinctively how to coo to a baby; in which I can sing lullabies, tell stories, recite nursery rhymes, talk baby talk. In Japanese, there is an artificiality about my love; I cannot express it naturally or easily. The emotions I feel do not translate well into the Japanese language, and those which I have seen expressed by Japanese mothers do not seem sufficiently intimate when I mouth them. I have no models to teach me how a loving mother speaks when she strokes a child's hair, wipes away tears, cradles a newborn, introduces a puppy, points out the moon and the stars, splashes in the bathtub, or spreads her arms and says "I love you this much." When my daughter, learning from Japanese cartoons and playmates, calls me *Mama* or *ka-chan* instead of *Mommy*, I feel very far removed from her, as if my identity has been erased.

When I feel most sorry for myself, I wonder about immigrant parents who have not chosen this situation and who cannot comfort themselves by thinking that eventually their children will learn to speak the heritage language at school or on the playground. What is it like to be a Farsi-speaking mother who has felt pressure to speak English to her child at home? Whom can she ask for mothering-language guidance in the way that I turn to my husband or my mother-in-law? How does she resolve the

conflict between speaking English at home, often recommended by a well-meaning teacher, and wanting to share with her children the most intimate possession of all—a language?

THE LANGUAGE OF DISCIPLINE

Talk is a crucial link between parents and children: It is how parents impart their cultures to their children and enable them to become the kind of men and women they want them to be. (Wong Fillmore, 1991, p. 343)

I am most perplexed by discipline. Returning from Japan, we spent 9 hours on a ferry with a Japanese mother and her two children. When her 1-year-old son pinched her and bruised her arm, I watched and listened while she patiently demonstrated why it hurt and brought her son to the point at which he apologized. I understood every word she said, yet there is no way I could manage to put the words together as cleverly as she did. Nor could I manage to fuse discipline with love merely by using intonations, gestures, or expressions that, though natural for her, are counterfeit for me. An incompetent Japanese mother, I either ignore discipline problems altogether or attempt disciplinary explanations that perplex my children and frustrate me. I cannot find the perfect word or phrase that will enable me to sound authoritative without sounding shrewish. I watch my husband discipline the children, or I watch our baby-sitter, my mother-in-law, my sister-in-law, strangers, explain things to my children, and I feel both thankful for their proficiency and angry that they have usurped my role. All my life I have wanted to replicate with my children the close relationship I have with my mother, but now it is easier for my children to have that closeness with Japanese-speaking strangers than with me. A thousand times I have threatened my husband that I am going to start speaking English to the children tomorrow, but I focus on their bilingual futures and never do.

LANGUAGE LEARNING

“O-negaimasu” (pretty please), my daughter says to her father and to me. I know the expression is *o-negai shimasu*, but I have heard my husband say it her way. I do not know if this is (a) an informal abbreviation, (b) part of our family’s linguistic subculture, (c) a common children’s expression, or (d) a cute mistake. I know that if I do not use the formal form, Japanese-speaking people will correct me, assuming that I do not know the proper expression, but I do not know if my daughter needs correction or not. And what do I do about English expressions that are well known in Japan? When my daughter says “sank you” or “puri puri prease,” should I correct her pronunciation or leave it

alone because Japanese people will not understand the correct pronunciation (in the way that English speakers cannot understand *hara kiri* (“harry karry”) or *karaoke* (“karry okey”))?

At other times, my daughter has said things and I have misunderstood the context. I sometimes think that she has made a mistake when, in fact, she has made a joke; at other times I lose the thread of a conversation trying to unravel a grammatical error. This happens not because she exceeds the limits of my linguistic repertoire but because I cannot judge her language skills against the sort of language blueprint that native speakers have. On the other hand, I am sometimes at an advantage. When she makes false starts and strings together meaningless utterances, I can recognize difficulties that I also encounter in trying to express complex thoughts. Although I therefore understand what she is trying to say, I cannot with confidence offer her a corrected sentence to model. Instead, I explain what she is trying to say and let my husband or another native Japanese speaker negotiate the grammar with her. When no one is around to help us, we focus on meaning and disregard form.

Related to this, I am learning, too. Sometimes my daughter questions my language. At other times, she watches my husband correct me. What is she learning about her mother? Is she learning that Mommy is not a good role model for Japanese language or behaviour, that Mommy’s instructions on how to be polite and kind are untrustworthy? Or is she learning a more general lesson: that Daddy rebukes Mommy and corrects her when she makes mistakes, and Mommy strives to do exactly as he says? I have to trust that my husband explains my errors in a sympathetic light and that my daughter will judge me charitably. I have to depend on my family members to ensure that my own children understand me favorably, which, though difficult for me, must be doubly difficult for immigrant parents who must depend on complete outsiders, perhaps teachers or immigration case workers.

When I go to my Japanese lessons, sometimes I make jokes in Japanese that I and the other students in my class think are funny but that our teacher thinks are crude, nasty, or boring. I can speak the language, but I cannot replicate the sensibilities that go with it. I am reminded of my research on L1 loss (Kouritzin, 1997, 1999), in which children complained that their parents failed to teach them cultural sensibilities; those children still feel somewhat disconnected from the culture of English. As one of the participants in the research project commented during an interview,

That reminds me that one of the areas that I have a lot of difficulties is with idioms and my wife is—some of her ancestry is English and Irish—and they have all these sayings for everything, and, she always kids me because I get them all confused. . . . Those types of things we never heard in the house; they

weren't on the records I guess, and so I find that I don't have much facility for those types of things. Like, it's things like "a bird in the hand is better than two in the bush," . . . a lot of phrases, none come to mind. . . . If it wasn't said around there, I guess I didn't learn it. (Michael, November 17, 1995, p. 6)

I remember my surprise in learning that the familiar phrase "a rolling stone gathers no moss" doesn't mean "keep learning and innovating so that you don't become old and stale" to Japanese people but rather means "you will never put down healthy roots if you keep moving." Even though I understood the words, my understanding of the phrase was the opposite of its real meaning.

LANGUAGE-CULTURE CONNECTION

I do not like some of the culture the Japanese language teaches. There are no cultural equivalents for *I love you* or for pet names like *honey bear*, *sweet pea*, or *stud muffin*, and direct translations are strange. I am not particularly comfortable with scatological references, racially oriented jokes, slapstick, or physical humour, all of which seem to appear more frequently on Japanese children's programs than on those in English—or, more likely, I just know how to avoid them on English television programs.

In Japanese, the pronoun *I* can be expressed in a number of ways depending on the formality of the situation and the gender of the speaker. Socialized by Japanese cartoons with male protagonists, my daughter shows a marked preference for the male marker *boku* and, more recently, the even more taboo *ore*, despite having numerous live female models who use *watashi*. Every time she says *boku*, she is corrected and made to repeat herself using *watashi*. Yet when we pretend that her baby brother is speaking, we use *boku*. Hanika is *Hanika-chan*; Tyrone is *Tyrone-kun*. My daughter is learning that men and women are not equal—that men, even younger men, may use all vocabulary items but that women must use only ones that demonstrate respect for the addressee.

And I am sure that these objections must cut both ways. English has explicit language for sexual acts and for genitalia that are not considered obscene; we call these *clinical references*. We recognize different levels of lying, from white lies—which are considered good—to evading the truth, to black lies, to perjury. In theory at least, English speakers like first names, lay terms, precise words, and direct speech, and we have tried to purge our language of terms that express class, race, or gender inequality. I do not like the lessons the Japanese language teaches, but the culture my daughter sees daily in her home and in the community contradicts some of those lessons. I believe the situation must be even

more complicated for immigrant parents who want to teach their children one way of thinking while the English language teaches them another, especially parents whose children no longer speak the heritage language. I remember one parent explaining such a situation to me in a life history interview about the difficulties of mothering in an L2 (Kouritzin, 1994):

I always tell him what we'd hope he do. What we like he do. Because some people say to me, "If you don't teacher your son or your daughter when they grow up, they will choice the life, . . . a different kind life. Maybe this life you don't like; they will be a punk." Sometimes I meet a Chinese, his daughter not born here but come here early, 4 years old, now she leave home, and she go to downtown, she live with English man, she like a punk. Her mother cried . . . (Ling, April 1994, p. 8)

On the flip side of the coin, when I interviewed Nellie (November 3, 1995) about her L1 loss, she explained to me that her parents did not consider her a good daughter even though she was a mature, responsible, A-average university graduate who did not smoke, drink, party, or do drugs because she was not a typical young woman of her social class in her native Hong Kong (pp. 7–9).

I also feel inadequate as a parent because I am uncertain what the natural sequence is for learning to speak Japanese and therefore do not model it well. One of the first things my son learned to say was *Doushiou* (what shall I do?), and my daughter, *Sekkaku tsukuta no ni* (I spent all of my time and effort to make this). Using my English frame of reference, I find these difficult concepts and worry that my children are developing unusual ways of speaking. Although I understand that all children use language in individual ways, I worry that because I don't know how children normally develop Japanese as an L1, I will miss the markers of nonstandard usage or language delay. Yet I know that I am lucky. When I compare my situation with that of non-English-speaking parents, I realize that, even though I have internalized the monitoring of my children's language development as part of my role (why else would such terms as *motherese* or *mother tongue* exist?), I can rely on my husband. Whom can these immigrant parents rely on not just to notice but to find assistance for their children?

INADVERTENTLY CAUSING SHAME

My struggles to be a proper parent have marked my daughter as different just as surely as if I had not tried at all. While we were in Japan, Hanika had the opportunity to go to kindergarten and make friends. On the Sunday night before she began kindergarten, my husband and I

puzzled over the forms that we had to fill in with answers to questions about her birth, her vaccinations, and her character. I wrote in my journal,

At the end, we needed to write what kind of child Hanika is. I said “like a puppy.” We ended up writing that she was enthusiastic and made friends easily, that she enjoyed things very much, that she was like an overfriendly puppy who got too excited and then got injured—which wasn’t exactly what I meant by that. I meant that she was eager to please and lovable. I discovered that I talk in metaphor more than Japanese people do. All her teachers laughed at my description of her. I made my child a laughing stock. (March 8, 1999)

Later that night, I struggled to compare the list of necessary items with those we had prepared and then set about labeling them. Although I am often complimented on the neatness and legibility of my *hiragana* (one form of Japanese script), I do not know the cultural equivalents of dotting *is* with hearts or flowers, adding curlicues to *fs* or *gs*, or ending a signature with a flourish, so my penmanship was not cute enough to label my daughter’s clothes. My success in reading the list from school and managing to get all of the items together paled in comparison with the realization that, if I had unknowingly labeled my child’s belongings, she would have become an object of pity or ridicule.

WHO CAN CARE FOR MY CHILDREN?

From the time she was 5 months old, my daughter has had a Japanese nanny because we made Japanese-language child care a priority. Finding good child care is an expensive, worrisome proposition for all parents, but specifying that the caregiver speak fluent Japanese adds a level of complexity. Moreover, I lie awake at night sometimes and worry about whether we are doing the right thing to continue to isolate our children from their English-speaking peers. When I consider the alternative, allowing our children exposure to English when research suggests that they would then prefer to use English instead of Japanese, I rationalize that the isolation is an investment in their bilingual futures.

Yet I am thankful. My husband and I are educated and not underemployed. I worry about non-English-speaking parents who lack our resources, who must make use of English-language child care because it is less costly, and who therefore cannot insist that their children use only their heritage languages. What do parents do when for lack of resources they do not have access to children’s books or videos in the heritage language? When I read stories to my children in Japanese, worrying so much about reading correctly that until the 10th read-through I sound

terrible even to myself, I compare my situation with that of immigrant parents who have been encouraged to read to their children in English, and I realize what a monumental task they have been set.

Sometimes I am struck by fear. What if there were an emergency and I needed to give orders—basics like “stop, drop, and roll” or “keep the wet towel over your nose and hold my hand”—for my children to survive? Would I remember my Japanese in such a moment of crisis? Would they understand enough English? I try to be the best parent that I can, but what if someone were to judge me? When my husband and I fight, do our children side with my husband because he can elegantly explain himself to them? If there were a custody battle between my husband and me, would I lose my children because we do not have the same mother tongue? Could I ever find myself in the position of the mother in Amarillo, Texas, who was chastised in a court battle because “speaking only Spanish [at home] amounted to child abuse” and “if she starts first grade with the other children and cannot even speak the language that the teachers and the other children speak . . . you’re abusing that child and you’re relegating her to the position of a housemaid” (Pellerin, 1995, p. A20). Should both my husband and I die before our children are fluently bilingual, who can raise them, and where? For years we have avoided committing ourselves to a guardian because there are no solutions, but our inability to find a workable plan has ensured that in the unlikely event of our deaths, our children will have to negotiate custody issues in a language they do not speak. If I am paralysed by these fears, what must it be like for parents dealing with social services and courts about their children in a language and culture they do not fully understand?

GUILT

Guilt sits like my guardian angel on my right shoulder. My lonely daughter is starved for child companions. From her Japanese language videos, she has given us all animated character identities that we assume when she wants us to play with her—or rather, my husband is the handsome prince, my son is *Anpanman*, and I am Hanika’s character’s mommy. When we go to the playground, Hanika tries to play with the neighbourhood children. When she talks to them, they look at her as if she had two heads. She is confused because they do not respond to her suggestions, and she does not understand what they are telling her.

I also find myself facing the pressure that immigrant parents must feel when they decide to maintain minority languages at home. Strangers ask me when my children are going to start learning English because they will need it for school. They express amazement that I can speak an Asian language. I feel their disapproval when, unsolicited, they tell me what

they think of parents who speak minority languages at home and then let their children take ESL at public expense (see, e.g., Kouritzin, 1999, pp. 207–208, for examples of public opinion); I know that they are giving me a warning. The researcher/teacher in me wants to argue that all children in Canada have the right to study a second (foreign) language at school, and my children are no exception. Yet, because I feel intimidated, I lie and tell them that we have a plan, and if necessary I throw in some appropriate quotations from research. But I do not really know if we are doing what will best help our children become bilingual or if we are just making life difficult for all of us. I tell myself I refuse to feel guilty, but guilt can recur.

My husband has told me that he feels guilty, too. Watching me try to mother our children in Japanese, he feels sorry for me, particularly when I have expressed something poorly, and he feels guilty because he worries that I am doing this for him. He feels that by trying to do right by his parents, we have cut our children off from mine. Taking our children to the neighbourhood playground or the beach, he feels guilty when they are excluded from games and make-believe because they do not speak the same language as their peers. Because he is able to speak English, my husband is welcomed into the children's group play and persuades the other children to accept Hanika and Tyrone as playmates, and not, as is the usual case, the other way around. The ultimate linguistic authority in our home, he embraces guilt when he is unable to explain the etymology of a word or a point of grammar.

CONCLUSION

It is not my intention here to trivialize or to co-opt the experiences of others. I am not a linguistic minority woman in the culture of Canada, so I speak from a position of privilege. I am educated and White, and I consider myself solidly middle class by virtue of my upbringing and my education.

But who will tell this story if not I? Despite considerable professional reading in the fields of L1 maintenance, heritage language loss, and the settlement of immigrant families, I have not encountered many firsthand accounts of the emotional issues I raise written in English.⁵ Although I am aware that these discourses do exist, they have been confined largely to heritage language newspapers; church, temple, or other religious archives; and various ethnic cultural center publications, where they are

⁵ Grosjean (1982), however, does cite some of the inconveniences from a bilingual's point of view. Skutnabb-Kangas and Cummins (1988) include firsthand accounts in addition to academic reports, and academic life stories such as Guerra's (1998), Zentella's (1997), and Anzaldúa's (1990) illustrate some of these issues. My own research (Kouritzin, in press) also aims to speak to these struggles in immigrant families.

available but not necessarily accessible. There is also some discussion in such publications as *The Bilingual Family Newsletter* (Multilingual Matters) or case study validation in books such as Harding and Riley's (1986), but these discussions are not necessarily written for an audience of L2 teachers and administrators; rather, they are generally articles written for parents, by parents.

My fears that these issues will not find a wider audience are threefold. First, mothers who do not speak English comfortably may not have the vocabulary or syntax to explain to an interviewer/researcher their fears about growing distant from their children. Second, even if they do have sufficient language skill to voice their concerns, they may not have the luxury of pondering the implications of their struggles while they are still struggling to find personal peace and place in Canada. Third, should they have language and luxury both, they may not wish to share such intimacies with someone who represents the authorities (linguistic and educational) they react against.

And yet I think the linguistic separation of mothers from children is a story that needs to be told from the inside. The difficulties I have written about here are not intellectual; they are personal and emotional, and they reflect the fact that I am talking about my own children. These issues represent just one important aspect of the larger immigrant experience—the struggle against familial language shift. I realize with respect that many have struggled, and continue to struggle, with this phenomenon much harder than I am struggling.

THE AUTHOR

Sandra G. Kouritzin is an assistant professor in the Faculty of Education at the University of Manitoba. Her research interests include minority L1 development and the fostering of bilingualism.

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Comments on Vivian Cook’s “Going Beyond the Native Speaker in Language Teaching”

How Nonnative Speakers as Teachers Fit Into the Equation

JOYCE MILAMBILING

*University of Northern Iowa
Cedar Falls, Iowa, United States*

■ Vivian Cook’s article, “Going Beyond the Native Speaker in Language Teaching” (Vol. 33, No. 2, Summer 1999), draws attention to an issue that has finally gained the notice of the TESOL field in the past few years: the emphasis on the native speaker (NS) model in language teaching and whether it is time to admit the validity and even the necessity of nonnative models for language learning and teaching. Cook states that “language teaching would benefit by paying attention to the L2 user rather than concentrating primarily on the native speaker” (p. 185) and gives suggestions for how this can be done. He emphasizes the useful notion of the multicompetent language user and distinguishes between the language learner and the language user. This perspective is refreshing and absolutely necessary given the increased use of English among nonnative speakers (NNSs) both in English-speaking countries and in places where English is used as a lingua franca among speakers of various languages and cultural backgrounds.

One perspective that is underemphasized in Cook’s article, however, is that of nonnative-English-speaking teachers, both as working teachers and as prospective teachers. The NNS as teacher can be a valuable example of skilled L2 use, not just because such a teacher is “fallible” or “presents a more achievable model” (p. 200) but because of the knowledge and experience that teacher can share with learners. Reconsidering the NS in L2 teaching requires examining how nonnative teachers are viewed during their training and afterward in classrooms and among their peers.

Recent articles and books on the subject of the NNS as English