Bilingual Children's Codeswitching in Storytelling Activities in Japanese and English

Mai Takemoto
University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

1. Introduction[1]

The Japanese in Hawai'i have a long history in the islands, going back to 1868 when the first laborers arrived to work on the plantations. Except for the period around World War II (Chinen & Higa, 1997; Ogawa & Grant, 2008), there has been a steady flow of Japanese immigration, contributing to Hawai'i's rich cultural and linguistic diversity. More recently, Japanese people who move to Hawai'i from Japan do so for international business—for example, to work in service industries such as tourism—and raise their children in Hawai'i. As a result, these young children, either born in Hawai'i or arriving at an early age, acquire two different languages: English and Japanese. A feature of this environment is the use of bilingual codeswitching.

To investigate the nature of this bilingual codeswitching in the unique context of Hawai'i. this study describes the use of two languages by 21 Japanese-English bilingual children in their tellings of a Japanese culture-specific story in both Japanese and English. In this study, bilingual children's codeswitching is defined as the patterned switching between languages (or codes) that occurs both inside and outside sentence boundaries. Based on the previous studies on Takagi (2000) and Taura (2005), who studied on Japanese-English bilingual children's codeswitching, this study examines how children's codeswitching is used for their storytelling activities, focusing on children's code selection for culture-specific lexical items and other communicative functions. This study explores bilingual verbal and non-verbal actions that can trigger codeswitching in the environment where English has been influenced by Japanese. As few studies on bilingual children's codeswitching in this language pair have been conducted, this study seeks to add to our understanding of the dynamics of Japanese-English child bilingualism.

This paper is organized as follows: Section 2 reviews previous studies on child bilingualism and codeswitching, including the relevant terminology and research. Section 3 presents demographic information on the participants, as well as the set of data used to analyze their storytellings in Japanese and English. Sections 4 and 5 discuss the results mainly from a qualitative perspective. Section 4 examines the children's lexical choices for the Japanese culture-specific lexical items in the *Momotaro* story, which I expected to trigger codeswitching behavior in the children's English versions of the story. Section 5 then explores codeswitching for different functions in children's storytellings. Finally, Section 6 provides the concluding discussion.

2. Bilingualism in Childhood
2.1. Bilingual children's codeswitching behaviors

Past research has shown three basic types of codeswitches; those occurring across sentence boundaries (intersentential); those occurring within sentence boundaries (intrasentential); and tag,

interjection, sentence filler, and sentence-final particle switching (extrasentential) (Hoffmann, 1991; Nishimura, 1985; Romaine, 1995; Taura, 2005). Prosodic and phonological cues, including emphasis and pause, morphological integration, fluency, and social interaction with the audience all combine to determine one's code. According to Swann (2000), "individual speakers draw on features from languages or language varieties, each associated with different social groups and sets of values" (p. 181). Codeswitching is a "frequently and naturally occurring phenomenon in bilingual speech" (Hoffman, 1991, p. 85). It occurs early in children, but "at first is used mainly to express a word or an expression that is not immediately accessible in the speaker's other language(s)" (Grosjean, 1982, p. 206).

Codeswitching and code-mixing are often distinguished from each other, with "code-mixing occurring intrasententially and codeswitching occurring intersententially" (Hoffmann, 1991, p. 104). However, under the umbrella term "codeswitching," intrasentential switching is often referred to as "code-mixing" (Appel & Muysken, 1987, p. 118). The word "mixing" has a "somewhat negative association" (Taura, 2005, p. 24) with imperfect bilingual learning of two languages in a society. This study, therefore, uses the term codeswitching to cover both codeswitching and code mixing in order to avoid any confusion from the negative connotation of language mixing.

Although Japanese remains a minority language in relation to English in Hawai'i, Japanese enjoys widespread use due to a large proportion of Japanese residents and tourists in Hawai'i.[2] Despite this fact, not all children of Japanese immigrants have been raised and educated bilingually because of the limited availability of bilingual education. Children who are able to express themselves equally well in both Japanese and English in this English dominant setting are rare. This study focused only on those children who have been immersed both in Japanese and English at school and after-school lessons (see Section 3 for the children's background information).

2.2. Cultural factors in codeswitching

Earlier researchers have suggested that culture-specific terms play a role as codeswitching triggers due to the difficulty of translation and the uniqueness of expressions in one language (Clyne, 1967; Haugen, 1953). Linguistic factors are not the only factors involved in bilingualism. Letts (1998) mentioned that "we need knowledge about how a child's linguistic behavior may be influenced by cultural factors" (p. 39). As they learn to speak, children are not just developing a sound system, a vocabulary system, and a grammar system; they are also acquiring cultural values through the use of language. Thus, we have to understand "the whole cultural context in which they have been born and raised" (Richards, 1998, p. 44) when we attempt to elicit bilingual language use from young children. Because of this influence, "an increase in interference including codeswitching is associated with specific topic areas, particularly those whose discussion required 'culturally bound' words" (Fantini 1978, p. 286). Fantini hypothesized that "as the children's experiences increase (and education fosters specialized areas of knowledge), topic will probably become increasingly important as a determinant" (p. 286). Moreover, certain subjects may be more appropriately discussed in one language, and the introduction of such a subject can lead to a codeswitch. Because of this, "[a]ll topic-related switching may be thought of as serving the referential function of language" (Appel & Muysken, 1987, p. 120).

Based on these early studies, Takagi (2000) investigated aspects of codeswitching in Japanese-English bilingual children's storytelling. She claimed that culture-specific topics triggered instances of codeswitching when the bilingual children were retelling the Japanese culture-specific story in English. Although she used a picture book with words, the retelling task should be elicited from a wordless picture book to avoid any interference from text in a book. In addition, cultural distance between the U.K. and Hawai'i is quite great due to the number of Japanese-speaking recent immigrants, so the results may differ from where Japanese has not been so influential. In Australia, on the other hand, Taura (2005) observed his two children's codeswitching, which occurred due to Japanese culture-specificness. While his study is interesting, more elaboration on codeswitching behaviors is needed. In order to examine Japanese-English bilingual children's codeswitching behaviors, this study sought to improve upon previous studies such as Takagi (2000) and Taura (2005) by using a relatively large number of bilinguals (double that of Takagi's study), creating a wordless picture book for data

---

[2] "Japanese residents" here refers to recent immigrants who hold both U.S. permanent residency and Japanese citizenship. Japanese-Americans are not included in this group.

elicitation, examining interactions and non-verbal actions as well as the particular languages used during the storytelling activities, setting up categories of codeswitched utterances, and exploring Japanese lexical items in Hawai'i. In the next sections, the methodology and the results of the children's codeswitching are presented.

3. Method
3.1. Participants

Twenty-one Japanese-English bilingual children aged 5;0 to 8;11,[3] residing in Honolulu, Hawai'i were selected for this study. The participants were solicited through the researcher's personal acquaintances in the Japanese-English bilingual community in Honolulu. Children in this study were those who (a) had access to both Japanese and English since birth or an early age at home and school as well as after-school lessons (i.e., elite bilinguals) and (b) demonstrated fluency in both Japanese and English, measured by the oral telling of a frog story.[4] The gender and ages of the children are given in Tables 1 and 2. The mean age was 7.15 and the standard deviation was 1.29.

Table 1. *Gender of the Participants*

Gender	Number of Children
Female	13
Male	8
Total	21

Table 2. *Age of the Participants*

Age	Number of Children
5	6 (4)
6	4 (3)
7	3 (3)
8	8 (3)
Total	21 (13)

Note. ( ) indicates the number of girls.

The participants in the study attended private kindergartens and elementary schools in Honolulu. English was their language at school and, often, in public. All the children were educated bilingually, because they were immersed in both English and Japanese bilingual contexts: Japanese at home and after-school activities and English for formal instruction at school and some public interaction in the community. All of the children had Japanese as their first language and spoke Japanese with their Japanese-speaking parent(s) and were involved in community events in Hawai'i. In the multilingual environment of Hawai'i, Japanese is not only the family's immigrant language spoken at home, but it is also the language of the Japanese community outside school and in after-school activities. In addition, every summer when these children had a long summer break from school, they returned to Japan to go to school. According to the interviews and questionnaires, the parents reported they wanted their children to receive education in Japanese as well as American schools, because they may return to Japan in the future. The demographic information for each child is presented in Table 3. All names are pseudonyms.

---

[3] (;) in numbers indicates a child's age in years and months.

[4] Before the culture-specific storytelling activity, the researcher asked each child to narrate a wordless picture book, *Frog, where are you?* (Mayer 1967), to measure the child's fluency in both Japanese and English. This book is independent of culture-specificness and thus often used to measure proficiency in many language pairs.

Table 3. *Demographic Information on the Bilingual Children*

Name	Age	Gen	Edu	M's L1	F's L1	Arrival Age	Residence in USA	Siblings
Naomi	5;0	F	Pre-K	J	J	since birth	5;0	OS (7;11)
May	5;5	F	K	J	J	Japanese -born 2;4	2;10	OB (14;10) OS (12;9) OS (8;1)
Ken	5;9	M	K	J	J	since birth	5;9	n/a
Yuna	5;9	F	K	J	J	since birth	5;9	OB (11;0) OB (8;11)
Shen	5;11	M	K	J	J	since birth	5;11	OB (8;5)
Lisa	5;11	F	K	J	E	since birth	5;11	OS (11;3)
Nancy	6;2	F	K	J	J	since birth	6;2	n/a
Saki	6;2	F	K	J	J	Japanese -born 0;10	5;4	YS (2;5)
Dan	6;2	M	G1	J	J-E	since birth	6;2	OS (8;5) YS (4;9)
Maggie	6;9	F	G1	J	J	since birth	6;9	n/a
Nellie	7;7	F	G2	J	E	since birth	7;7	n/a
Rika	7;11	F	G2	J	J	since birth	7;11	YS (5;0)
Amy	7;11	F	G2	J	J	since birth	7;11	OS (10;0)
Moe	8;0	F	G3	J	J	since birth	8;0	n/a
Jen	8;2	F	G3	J	E	since birth	8;2	n/a
Sho	8;5	M	G3	J	J	Japanese -born 0;10	7;7	YS (3;0)
Sora	8;5	M	G3	J	J	Japanese -born 0;3	8;2	YB (5;11)
Sarina	8;5	F	G3	J	J-E	since birth	8;5	YB (6;2) YS(4;9)
Tai	8;6	M	G3	J	E	since birth	8;6	n/a
Sun	8;10	M	G3	J	E	since birth	8;10	OB (22;0)
Taz	8;11	M	G3	J	J	British -born 1;0	7;11	OB (11;0) YS (5;9)

Note. Gen = Gender; Edu = Education; M's L1 = Mother's First Language; F's L1 = Father's First Language; J = Japanese; E = English; YS = Younger Sister; YB = Younger Brother; OS = Older Sister; OB = Older Brother.

As with most of the United States, there is no daily full-time Japanese school in Hawaiʻi, so the Japanese children in this sample attended private schools. There are in fact only two Japanese schools in the United States: one in Chicago and the other in New York (Yamada-Yamamoto, 1998, p. 4).[5] However, many children in this study participated in after-school and weekend activities in Japanese.

---

[5] According to information supplied by the Japanese Ministry of Education, in 1997, in North America, 4% of Japanese students attended a Japanese school only. 67% attended a weekend school in Japanese and a host country school in English. 29% attended a host country school only (Yamada-Yamamoto, 1998).

Saturday School,[6] Sunday Church School, several *jyuku* ('cram school') and/or other types of after-school lessons can be the source of Japanese formal input outside the home.

Because of the limited sources of Japanese input in Hawai'i, Japanese formal learning is accessible mainly to the children whose families support them in the pursuit of bilingualism. The children take after-school lessons and other activities in Japanese, as illustrated in Tables 4 and 5; the data are based on the answers to the questionnaires by their parents. Every child took after-school activities and 76 % of the children took at least one Japanese lesson or activity taught in Japanese, as shown in these tables.

Table 4. *Number of Children Taking After-School Lessons and Lessons in Japanese*

Activities after school			Activities taught in Japanese	
	No. of children			No. of children
Yes	21	→	Yes	16
No	0		No	5
Total	21		Total	21

Table 5. *Types and Number of After-School Lessons Taught in Japanese*

Types of Activities		No. of Children	Name
Study	Jyuku	7	Naomi, Shen, Saki, Nellie, Rika, Jen, Sora
	Saturday School	5	Shen, Saki, Amy, Sho, Sora
	Church School	3	May, Lisa, Moe
	Japanese tutoring	1	Tai
	piano	2	Moe, Sarina
Others	ballet	1	Nellie
	soccer	1	Dan
	karate	1	Sun
Total (items)		21	

Note. multiple answers: 21 items out of 16 children.

3.2. Data

This study made use of four types of data: (a) audio recordings of the children's storytellings in both Japanese and English, (b) interviews with the children after the storytelling, (c) the researcher's field notes, and (d) children's language background questionnaires filled out by their mothers. The researcher is a fluent bilingual speaker of Japanese and English. She is a member of the bilingual community and meets the children and their families regularly at community events (e.g., Japanese dinner parties, Japanese cultural festivals, Japanese church services). She is also familiar to the children as a "big sister." In the recording session, she instructed each child to tell the story in Japanese or English at the beginning of the recording.

Because the details of the setting and activities of participants are often essential to interpreting participants' utterances, field notes for the study were taken to capture contextual details at each recording, following Demuth (1998). The audio recordings of the data were transcribed and coded, following conversation analytic conventions based on Atkinson and Heritage (1984).

A wordless picture book of *Momotaro* (*The Peach Boy*) was created for data elicitation by the researcher and used throughout the storytelling data collection. *Momotaro* is a Japanese traditional story and contains Japanese culture-specific lexical items such as *kibi-dango* ('millet dumpling') and

---

[6] This Saturday School in Honolulu is a private school, and it aims to help students from kindergarten to middle school to keep up with the curriculum in Japan to facilitate educational reintegration when they return to Japan.

oni ('ogre'). These culture-specific terms were expected to elicit examples of codeswitching from the participants in their English retellings. Among many versions of the *Momotaro* story, this study used the children's picture book *Momotaro* (Mizuhata & Miyao, 2007 [1997]) by Nagaokashoten,[7] because this book is age-appropriate for all the children, and each full color page has a storyline which can be broken down into a sequence of actions and events.

The *Momotaro* story is a well-known folktale in Japan. The story juxtaposes the good protagonist Momotaro ('Peach Boy') with the evil antagonist *oni*. Throughout the story, the boy Momotaro garners the help of different animals in battling the *oni* by offering the animals *kibi-dango*. In return for the *kibi-dango* gift, the animals feel indebted and grateful, following the Japanese notion of *on* ('feeling of moral indebtedness') and *giri* ('debt of gratitude') to help Momotaro fight the *oni*. By using this Japanese culture-specific story containing Japanese-specific lexical items and cultural values, this study attempts to induce children's codeswitched utterances in their retellings of this Japanese fairy tale in English.

4. Results I: Children's code selection for culture-specific lexical items

For bilingual speakers, certain words, expressions, and concepts may be more appropriately expressed in one language, and the introduction of such culture-specific lexical items into storytelling can lead to a switch (Appel & Muysken, 1987). Culture-specific topics include culture-specific lexical items specific to one language. This section examines bilingual children's code selection in their retelling of the *Momotaro* story in English. This story contains Japanese culture-specific lexical items, so codeswitching may occasion due to its culture-specificness available only one language.

4.1. Kibi-dango 'millet dumpling'

Throughout the children's storytelling activities, some of them used *mochi* ('rice cake') or *dango* ('dumpling') for *kibi-dango* ('millet dumpling') in their English retellings. Figure 1 illustrates the storytelling context for the Japanese culture specific term *kibi-dango*. Table 6 below summarizes the participants' lexical choices in those contexts. As evident from Table 6, about half of the participants used *mochi*, *dango*, or *kibi-dango* in their storytelling.

Figure 1. Momotaro gives a piece of *kibi-dango* ('millet dumpling') to his animal companions.[8]

---

[7] I obtained permission from the publisher to use the illustrations in publication for research purposes.
[8] From "*Momotaro [The Peach Boy] Japanese traditional stories #5*," by Mizuhata and Miyao, 2007 [1997], p. 22. Reprinted with permission of the publisher.

Table 6. *Children's Terms for Kibi-dango in Their English Retellings of the Momotaro Story*

	No. of Children	%	Age
mochi	6	28.6%	(6;9), (7;7), (7;11), (8;0), (8;6), (8;10)
dango	3	14.3%	(7;11), (8;5)
something	2	9.5%	(5;0), (5;5)
Ø	2	9.5%	(5;9), (6;2)
yummy ball	1	4.8%	(6;2)
rice ball	1	4.8%	(8;5)
stuff	1	4.8%	(5;9)
food	2	9.5%	(5;11), (8;11)
this	1	4.8%	(5;11)
cookies	1	4.8%	(8;5)
kibi-dango	1	4.8%	(8;2)
Total	21	100.0%	

Note. **Bold** = codeswitch into Japanese.

The use of Japanese words for millet dumplings acts as a codeswitching trigger in some children's English retellings. For example, Jen (8;2) used *kibi-dango* in Japanese in her English retelling as shown in (1). Japanese elements are indicated in *italics*.

(1) Jen (8;2) told the *Momotaro* story in English to the investigator:

```
1    J:    so (.) the (.) grandma made him kibi-dango      tte
                                           millet-dumpling QUO
            'So, the, grandma made him millet dumplings'
2           nante iu ↑kanaa kibi-dango
            what  say FP     millet-dumpling
            'How would I say it?'
3           then so he went and along the way and he met a dog
4           and then(.)he wanted some of the(.)those kibi-dango
                                                     millet-dumpling
            'And then, he wanted some of those millet dumplings,
5           da  ne
            COP FP
            yeah.'
```

In (1), Jen gives her metalinguistic comments, when she faces *kibi-dango* in the picture book. She is consistent in the use of *kibi-dango* as a proper noun with Japanese phonology without interpreting it into English in her English retelling.

4.2. Momo 'peach'

Another food item, *momo* ('peach'), also appeared as a Japanese lexical item as well as an English lexical item in the children's English retelling. For some narrators, *momo* elicited a codeswitch to Japanese while for others it did not. Throughout the story, *momo* plays an important role. At the beginning of the story, a boy emerges from a large *momo* and thus receives the name *Momotaro*, translated as 'Peach Boy,' from Grandma and Grandpa. In the story, the peach's appearance differs greatly from that of an American peach in terms of its shape, size, and color as illustrated in Figure 2. The *momo* is fat and rounded and much larger than American peaches. These semantic differences

between the *momo* and American peaches may lead to codeswitching to Japanese for culture-specific use.[9]
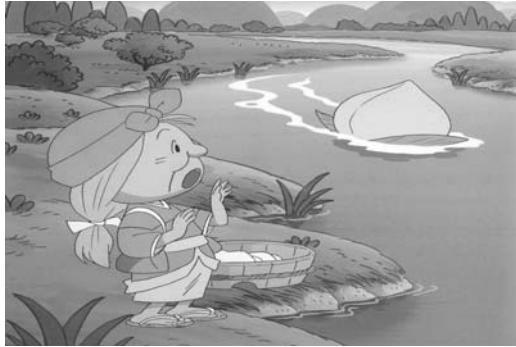
Figure 2. Grandma finds a giant *momo* [peach] floating in the river.[10]

Four out of twenty-one children chose the lexical item *momo* in their storytellings. The participants who chose this Japanese lexical item are the younger children aged from (5;0) to (6;2). Table 7 summarizes the different lexical choices for *momo*. The older group preferred to say "peach" or other English terms similar to peach.

Table 7. *Children's Terms for 'Momo' in Their English Retellings of the Momotaro Story*

	No. of Children	%	Age
momo	4	19.0%	(5;0), (5;5), (6;2), (6;2)
peach	15	71.4%	(5;9), (5;9), (5;11), (6;2), (6;9), (7;7), (7;11), (8;0), (8;2), (8;5), (8;5), (8;5), (8;6), (8;10), (8;11)
Momotaro	1	4.8%	(5;11)
pear	1	4.8%	(7;11)
Total	21	100.0%	

Note. **Bold** = codeswitch into Japanese.

For example, Rika (7;11) describes *momo* in her English retelling of the story to the investigator as presented in (2).

(2) Rika (7;11) told the *Momotaro* story in English to the investigator:

```
1      R:     then while the <2:0> uh(.) grandma was washing the clothes
2             a big (.)a big(.) ↑pear >wait(.)not a pear< <5:0>
3      I:     what's pear?
4      R:     huh?
5      I:     what's pear?
6      R:     pear is a bit different than momo
7      I:     oh <2:0> okay.
8             oh↑ yeah pear is a bit different than    [momo
9      R:                                              [yeah
10            it's like a bit harder (.) kind of
11     I:     yeah yeah kind of (.) and shape is different right?
```

---

[9] For example, Takemoto (2006, p. 61) reported that six-year-old bilingual children at an international school in Japan used *momo* as a metaphor for the buttocks due to their large and rounded appearance.

[10] From "*Momotaro [The Peach Boy] Japanese traditional stories #5*," by Mizuhata and Miyao, 2007 [1997], p. 6. Reprinted with permission of the publisher.

```
12    R:     yeah↑ it's like rounded like an apple.
13    I:     uh. OK. yeah, never mind. <1:0> yeah
14    R:     so (.) a big mmm <3:0>
15    I:     whatever (.) just say it. that's just fine
16    R:     mmm <2:0>
17           can I just say it again in Japanese or something on that?
18    I:     uh-huh. > yeah, yeah. sure, sure, sure.< go ahead
19    R:     m…momo(.)came like <2:0>   °nante iu  n°
                                         what  say EMP
             'M…Momo came like… what (should I) say?'
20           <1:0> but (.) like (.) came.
                   'but (it's) like (he) came.'
21    R:     and then(.)the grandma wanted to eat it for the dessert
22           with ↑grandpa (.) so she *tooked it home
23           and then, when she (.) like (.) cut it in ↑half(.)
24           like(.)a light showed to the like(.) um(.) the <2:0> momo
25           <2:0> and then when it was(.) um(.) when they found a ↑baby
26           the grandpa said to name it <1:0> um <2:0>
27           momo   [((laugh)) taro?
28    I:            [ yeah ((laugh))
29    R:     cause he came out of a momo.
```

In her retelling, Rika negotiates her vocabulary use for *momo*. Rika is the only child to use "pear" for *momo* out of twenty-one children. In line 6, she labels pear and *momo* as two different things by marking the linguistic difference, and she notes that *momo* is not used in English. She asks for permission to use the Japanese word *momo* in her English storytelling. Asking permission to use lexical items from other languages in the storytelling activities is common among the bilingual children. From line 6, Rika uses *momo* as the only choice for her English resource, and she lexicalizes the term as a resource in her English storytelling by adding an article (see lines 24 and 29). Because she temporarily lacks the English resource for *momo*, she is forced to lexicalize the only available choice, *momo*, even though her pauses and permission show that she is aware that it is a non-English resource.

4.3. Oni 'ogre'

The Japanese word *oni* ('ogre') is used in a third of the bilingual children's retellings (*n* = 7) as a Japanese lexical item. All of the other children substituted other English words. This difference may result from the availability of the equivalent lexical items in American works, not only in Japanese works. The appearance of *oni* is unique in Japanese works as illustrated in Figure 3. However, other English words can be substituted for *oni*, as shown in Table 8, because the role of *oni* can be found in English fairy tales (e.g., monsters, bad guys, devils, or trolls). However, the actual appearance of the *oni* is Japanese culture-specific.

Figure 3. Momotaro decides to fight the *oni.*[11]

---

[11] From "*Momotaro [The Peach Boy] Japanese traditional stories #5*," by Mizuhata and Miyao, 2007 [1997], p. 13. Reprinted with permission of the publisher.

Table 8. *Children's Terms for Oni in Their English Storytellings of the Momotaro Story*

	No. of children	%	Age
monster	5	23.8%	(5;5), (7;7), (8;5), (8;5), (8;5)
bad guy	4	19.0%	(5;9), (5;11), (6;9), (8;6)
oni	7	33.3%	(5;0), (5;11), (6;2), (6;2), (7;11), (7;11), (8;10)
one	1	4.8%	(6;2)
Ø	1	4.8%	(5;9)
bad thing	1	4.8%	(8;0)
ogre	1	4.8%	(8;2)
someone	1	4.8%	(8;11)
Total	21	100.0%	

Note. **Bold** = codeswitch into Japanese.

Even given the availability of different alternative lexical items in English, seven children drew on their Japanese code, using *oni* for ogre in the English retelling. For example, Amy (7;11) uses a codeswitched noun *oni* for 'ogre' and a noun phrase "*oni* cave" for *Onigashima* ('Ogre Island') as shown in (3).

(3) Amy (7;11) told the *Momotaro* story in English to her friend N (5;0) and the investigator:

```
1      A:     it was an ONI cave
2             he went in (.) and said stop
3             and he *fighted it
4             he *fighted a ↑blue ONI
5      N&I:   ((laugh))
6      A:     eeto <1:0> the dog bit the ONI
              well                    ogre
              'Well, the dog bit the ogre.'
7             the saru scratched the ONI
                  monkey
              'The monkey scratched the ogre.'
8      N&I:   ((laugh))
9      A:     the momotaroo hit the ONI
10            they got treasures from the ONI
11            everybody was happy except the ONI ↑yeah
```

Amy consistently uses *oni* rather than other lexical items. In lines 1, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, and 11, she codeswitches at the lexical level to fill the lexical gap. Her storytelling is very rhythmical and enthusiastic by stressing an item before [NP the *oni*] respectively, and also by putting *oni* in Japanese at most ends, which leads to laughter from the audience. In line 11, she brings a punch line by using *oni* (and here with loud volume) at the end of the sentence to follow the rhyme.

5. Results II: Codeswitching for different functions

In the previous section, children's codeswitching triggered by Japanese culture-specific terms in the *Momotaro* story was examined. However, culture-specific lexical items were not the only source of findings in the children's codeswitching. This section explores other types of codeswitching, used by the children to fulfill bilingual communicative functions during their storytelling activities.

Codeswitches have purposes and functions. I set up a list of functions of codeswitching which combines the functions described by Appel and Muysken (1987) and by Taura (2005). The codeswitching functions are identified as follows: (a) quotation, (b) reference (topic-related), (c) poetry, and (d) change of topic.

5.1. Quotation

Speakers can directly quote a whole sentence or phrase from the original language by codeswitching. According to McClure (1981), "almost everyone working with codeswitching has noted that a code change often occurs to mark a direct quotation" (p. 81). These instances of codeswitching seem to "indicate the effectiveness of codeswitching as a communicative strategy when used in the right context" (Taura, 2005, p. 40). It is "the switch itself which must be significant, rather than the accuracy of the reported speech" (Romaine, 1995, p. 162). In my data, Ken (5;9) represents Momotaro's voice, in Japanese, in his English retelling of the story as in (4).

(4) Ken (5;9) told the *Momotaro story* in English to his female friends S and N (both 6;2) and the investigator:

```
1     K:    and now (.) now he was strong <2:0> bye bye I'm ↑going
2           there's a dog.
3           there's a bird.
4           there's(.) there's (a) monkey.
5           and he went to the place.
6           taiji shite   yaroo.   taiji shite   yaroo.
            rid   do.CONT give.VOL rid   do.CONT give.VOL
            '(I'm going to) get rid of (them)!'
7           ((inhaling)) taiji shite   yaroo.
                         rid   do.CONT give.VOL
            '(I'm going to) get rid of (them)!'
8           a(.)  mata   shinjyatta(.)      gomennasai   ne
            oh    again  die.PERF.PST       sorry.POL    FP
            'Oh, (they) died again. Sorry.'
9     N:    ((laugh))
10    S:    ((laugh))
```

Ken uses two codes for two different functions. His storytelling is different between English and Japanese portions. When he is narrating in English, he simply relates the story. In contrast, when he switches to Japanese in lines 6, 7, and 8, changes his voice quality to assume the character of Momotaro. He acts as Momotaro from line 6. In line 8, he makes a punch line by saying that all the ogres died again, which causes laughter from N in line 9 and S in line 10. His direct quote from Momotaro brings the scene to life in his storytelling activity.

5.2. Reference

Codeswitching occurs because of lack of knowledge of one language or lack of facility in that language about a certain subject. This is a function of codeswitching called referential codeswitching. All topic-related switching may be thought of as serving the referential function of language. As presented in Section 4, codeswitching was observed when Japanese culture-specific lexical items occurred in the bilingual children's storytellings. No excerpts are presented here, because the phenomena of this section are the same as Section 4.

5.3. Poetry

Codeswitching is sometimes used to create a comic effect. Bilingual language usage involving switched puns, jokes, etc. can be said to serve the poetic function of language (Appel & Muysken, 1987). This type of switching is used by children to introduce comic effects into their storytelling activities. Personality might be related to the use of this type of codeswitching. Some children more than others seem to have a personality that enjoys making audience laugh. They do so by using codeswitching to make jokes and puns, thus serving the poetic function, as shown in (5) and (6).

(5) Amy (7;11) told the *Momotaro* story in English to her friend N (5;0) and the investigator:

```
1      A:    on the way(.) he's hungry
2            his (h)is uh his grandmother made him little<2:0>dangos
                                                    dumpling.PL
3      N:    ((laugh))
4      A:    momotaro went home with £ henna    kakkou £
                                        strange  costume
             'Momotaro went home with (a) strange costume.'
5      N:    ((laugh))
6      A:    ((chuckle))
```

In line 2, she pauses and uses a Japanese lexical item *dango* from Japanese in her English storytelling, which makes her friend N laugh because of Amy's inappropriate use of Japanese in her English storytelling. This codeswitched utterance itself is triggered by a culturally specific word. However, Amy's use of *dango* is not only because of the culture-specificness but also for the purpose of producing comic effects. The word *dango* here is produced with greater than normal stress and with a punch line, which triggers laughter in line 3. Then in line 4, Amy uses an intrasentential codeswitching from English to Japanese. The Japanese element, the NP £ *henna kakkou* £ ('strange costume') is a punch line, accompanied with a smiley voice. It is a joke shared by Amy and N. Amy disregards the language instruction and produces a punch line in the other language in order to bring comic effects which cause N to laugh after every intrasentential switch to Japanese made by Amy. In this excerpt, codeswitching is triggered by a culturally-specific term and serves the poetic function.

Example (6) also demonstrates the use of word-internal codeswitching for comic effect. The frequency of this type of word-internal switching is very low in my data. It was observed only once with one child, Ken (5;9), out of twenty-one children. However, this example illustrates creative word formation specific to bilinguals who have the resources of two languages.

(6) Ken (5;9) told the *Momotaro* story to his female friends S and N (both 6;2) and the investigator:

```
1      K     obasan   to   ojichan…
             aunt     and  uncle
             'Aunt and uncle…'
2      N:    ((laugh))
3      S:    dakara ENGLISH
             so
             'So, English!'
4      K     dakedo ossan(.) obasan ga
             but     uncle    aunt   NOM
             'But the uncle and the aunt (said…)'
5            moo  ↑chotto   de <2:0> ikeba   yokatta
             more  a little COP      go.COND good.PST
             '"(I) should have gone a little more further."'
6            demo ojichan wa   okotteta.
             but  uncle   TOP  angry.PST
             'but the uncle was angry.'
7      N:    °oko…°
8      I:    english
9      S:    english
10     I:    okay?
11     K:    <2:0>UNGLISH
             crap/unko/-lish
             'craplish'
12     N:    ((laugh)) unglish.
13     I:    okay. <2:0> okay.
14     K:    he, he gree his (.) en bebe. en za sa pa dele.
15           and he was a bit dele take ttele
16     N:    [((laugh))
17     K:    [dere ka tele. un gake tetta un do ko teka debe.
18     I:    in English.  [english
```

```
19    S:                              [english
20    K:     okay, CHINEMESE.    [ta tebe.
21    N:                          [((laugh))
22    S:     ENGLISH
23    K:     <1:0> ope?
24    N:     ((laugh))
25    I:     okay?  yeah. okay?
26    N:     ((laugh))
27    K:     mkay?
28    I:     mkay?
29    K:     mkay? just a baby, yatta   ze,  jeebee!
                                 do.PST FP   FP+babe
              'Mkay? Just a baby, (you) did it, baby!'
30    N:     ((laugh))
31    K:     babe
32    N:     ((laugh))
```

Ken's reluctance to narrate the story in English results in his use of different codes in his storytelling. He uses Japanese for his storytelling. Then he uses the comic effect of speaking two made-up foreign languages "Gree" in lines 14, 15, and 17 and "Chinemese" in line 20 to avoid using English, which makes his audience laugh. These are the representation of Ken's made-up foreign code that is neither Japanese nor English. His use of Gree and Chinemese brings N's laughter in lines 16 and 21 while S and the researcher's frustration in lines 18, 19, 22, and 25. The disjunction between [Ken and his friend N] and [his friend S and the researcher] brings humor in this storytelling activity. Ken's codeswitching to non-English languages such as Gree, Chinemese, and Unglish shows how the disjunction is done, which produces humor to his bilingual audience in his language play.

Although this storytelling activity is supposed to be performed in English, in line 1, Ken does not obey the language instruction and starts out in Japanese in his English retelling session, as shown in the excerpt (6). In the same line, he says a false statement *obasan to ojichan* ('aunt and uncle') instead of the correct one *obaasan to ojiisan* ('grandma and grandpa') which leads to his friend N's laughter in line 2. N laughs almost every after Ken's storytelling, and only in line 7 N tries to cut in. In lines 8 and 10, the researcher tells Ken to use English. His friend S also tells him to use English in lines 3, 9, and 19. However, in line 11, after two-second pause, Ken creates a Japanese-English blended word, "unglish": /unko/ 'crap' + /lish/ ('craplish') to express his aversion to the use of English in this storytelling activity. Ken's ability to make up a bilingual compound with word-internal switching, such as Unglish, highlights his command of two languages morphologically. In line 23, after a short pause, he produces another way to say OK, realized as "Ope." This word triggers N's laughter. Throughout the excerpt (6), Ken creates bilingual humor by involving different varieties of English as well as Japanese-English bilingual compounds, which serves the poetic function among the bilingual children.

5.4. Change of topic

Topic is "a situational factor that affects code selection, and it may be used stylistically to mark a desired change" (McClure, 1981, p. 85). Change of topic may mark change of code. For example, Maggie (6;9) switched her language for different communicative functions as in (7) when she requests for edit in recording her storytelling and in (8) when she requests a drink. In both cases, codeswitching occurred due to a change of topic. A bilingual child uses codeswitching for a variety of topic change in communication.

(7) Maggie (6;9) told the *Momotaro* story in English to the investigator:

```
1     M:     and (.) what (.) um (.) koko wa  chotto (.)  ano (.)
                                     here TOP a little    well
              'And, what, um, well, a little, here…'
2            saigo wa  keshi-tai ↑na
             last  TOP erase-want FP
             'I want to erase the last.'
```

```
3      I:     un (.)  ii   yo.  koko wa   yaranakute   (ii  yo)
              yeah    fine FP   here TOP  do.NEG.CONT  fine FP
              'Yeah, it's fine. You don't have to do it here.'
4      M:     so, monkey on the tree (.) kara  ne?
                                         from  FP
              'So, from the part, monkey on the tree, right?'
5      I:     okay
6      M:     and he saw a momotaro um (.) > skip  shite    ii?
                                                   do.CONT fine
              'And he saw a momotaro. Can I skip?'
7             momotaroo ga (.) ano (.) hune o    sagasu  tokoro.<
              Momotaro  NOM     well    boat ACC  search  place
              'The place Momotaro is, well, looking for a boat.'
8      I:     yeah (.) oh (.) you can do it as you like.
9      M:     momotaro um (.) said (.) we can try on the boat
```

Notice here in (7) that a codeswitch to Japanese provides a side sequence from the main body of the storytelling. Her storytelling activity takes place in English, while side comments that organize the storyline are told in Japanese as shown in lines 1, 2, 4, 6, and 7, where Maggie is asking for permission to edit the story. Like this excerpt, "various kinds of embedded, non-linear sequences such as question/answer and request/concession (or refusal) involve codeswitching" (Shin, 2005, pp. 102-103). Lines 4 and 6 involve codeswitches within a sentence boundary. In these lines, Maggie specifies the part where she wants to speak in English, but her negotiation is in Japanese. She uses different languages for different functions, i.e., English for storytelling and Japanese for editing and requesting.

The next excerpt (8) presents her codeswitching for requesting a drink.

(8) Maggie (6;9) told the *Momotaro* story in English to the investigator:

```
1      M:     and one and a bird got a little ↑scared
2             but when we went closer and closer
3             it got ↓darker and darker.
4             °chotto   nodo   kawaite   kichatta°
                a little throat dry.CONT  come.PERF.PST
              'I'm getting a little thirsty.'
5      I:     n?
              huh
              'Huh?'
6      M:     °chotto   nodo   kawaite   kichatta°
                a little throat dry.CONT  come.PERF.PST
              'I'm getting a little thirsty.'
7      I:     yep ((passing a drink))
8      M:     ((drinking))
9      I:     ↑okay
10     M:     koohii?
              coffee.BRW
              '(Is this) Coffee?'
11     I:     uun(.) nanka(.)  rate      mitai na? kafe rate?
              no     something latte.BRW like  FP  café latte.BRW
              'No, it's like, latte? It's like café latte?'
12            koohii miruku   ppoi?
              coffee milk.BRW like
              'It's like coffee (with) milk?'
13     M:     <1:0> <and it was, it turned darker and darker.>
```

In (8), Maggie clearly uses different codes for different functions in this discourse. In line 4, Maggie switches her code and changes her voice quality to whispering to convey her request for a drink as a side sequence. The codeswitched utterances in lines 4, 6, and 10 function to request a drink and ask a question about it as a side sequence. As she gears back to her storytelling, she switches back to English as shown in line 13. She uses English when she is on-task, and uses Japanese when she is off-task.

In sum, this section presents a qualitative look at types of codeswitching which are not likely caused due to culture-specific lexical items. Codeswitching has purposes and functions, which are not only due to inaccessibility of a particular word or phrase. Codeswitching is also observed when children express different functions during their storytelling activities. This section has attempted to identify and categorize these functions of codeswitching used by the children for their various purposes of quotation, reference (topic-related), poetry, and change of topic.

6. Conclusion and Discussion

In this study, bilingual children's codeswitching in a retelling of a Japanese culture-specific story in English was examined in order to determine whether their codeswitching is triggered by culture-specific lexical items. Two issues pertaining to bilingual children's codeswitching in storytelling activities were addressed: (1) Japanese culture-specific lexical items used in their English retelling of the story and (2) bilingual communicative strategies use in codeswitching for different functions. Each issue was dealt with in light of data from the retellings by Japanese-English bilingual children in Hawai'i.

Compared to the previous studies on Japanese-English child bilingualism as in Takagi (2000) and Taura (2005), first, children codeswitched mainly at the NP level with lexical insertion of Japanese (*mochi, dango, momo, oni,* etc.) in their English retelling. There are not so many intrasentential switches found in this type of codeswitching, in contrast to Takagi (2000). This is possibly because these Japanese lexical items are more acceptable in Hawai'i English than British English. Japanese culture-specific lexical items induce codeswitching, and it seems that they do trigger codeswitching more intrasententially when they are not integrated into English at all. In retelling the *Momotaro* story in English, children exhibited their codeswitching behavior when they appeared to be searching for appropriate vocabulary. Codeswitching took place occasionally when a word was more easily accessed in the child's other language.

However, the examples in Section 4 can be categorized differently, labeled as a "bivalent" word (Woolard, 1998) rather than a codeswitch. Phonological cues are one of the important clues, especially for the word for the food item, *mochi* or *dango*, because Japanese food items enjoy widespread use in Hawai'i. From the data, for example, *mochi* may be potentially "bivalent" in the English variety of Hawai'i, meaning that the word *mochi* belongs equally to both codes, Japanese and English, which are labeled as bivalent. This can be explained by differences in the varieties of English. Since all the children in my study have been brought up mainly in Hawai'i, they speak Hawai'i English, a variety of English in Hawai'i, which has an extensive Japanese vocabulary, including many borrowings such as names for Japanese food items and traditional events. Because of this, *mochi* could be also considered as Hawai'i Creole English and Hawai'i English as well as a Japanese word. It is thus very difficult to distinguish between codeswitching and borrowing in regards to *mochi*. The debate over the status of *mochi* would not have been observed in Takagi (2000) and Taura (2005) because of less Japanese influence over English in their studied areas than in Hawai'i.

Second, these children used codeswitching not only when they encountered culture-specific lexical items but also when they conveyed different functions. Children's codeswitching was used for different functions when they were on- and off-task of telling the story, providing them with a flexible bilingual communicative strategy. Children's storytelling activities resulted in different types of codeswitching. This study identified and categorized the functions of codeswitching for the children's various purposes of quotation, reference, poetry, and change of topic. In these cases, codeswitching occurred in order to mark the storytelling activity as "different" from a neutral description of the story.

The findings in this study suggest that bilingual children's codeswitching is neither random nor the result of a linguistic deficit. In fact, children's codeswitching is a set of flexible communication tools that allows them to convey linguistic and extralinguistic information.

Appendix

Transcription Conventions

.	falling intonation
,	continuing intonation
?	rising intonation
=	latched turn with no gap or overlap, or continuation by same speaker
:	sound stretch
[	overlap
°*etto*°	whispered
<u>born</u>	greater than normal stress
↑	rise in pitch
↓	lower in pitch
:	sound stretch
£	smiley voice
*	ungrammatical
<5:0>	pause in seconds
(.)	micropause
(the)	unsure hearing
TALK	loud volume
> <	faster than surrounding talk
< >	slower than surrounding talk
((laugh))	description of non-verbal actions

Abbreviations

ACC	accusative
BRW	borrowing
CONT	continuative
COP	copula
EMP	emphatic
FP	final particle
NEG	negative marker
NOM	nominative marker
PERF	perfective
PST	past
TOP	topic marker

References

Appel, René & Muysken, Pieter (1987). *Language contact and bilingualism*. London: Edward Arnold.

Atkinson, John Maxwell, & Heritage, John (1984). Jefferson's transcript notation. In J. Maxwell Atkinson, & John C. Heritage (Eds.), *Structures in social action: Studies in conversation analysis* (pp. ix–xvi). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Chinen, Karleen, & Higa, Arnold T. (1997). *From bento to mixed plate: Americans of Japanese ancestry in multicultural Hawaii*. Los Angeles, CA: Japanese American National Museum.

Clyne, Michael (1967). *Transference and triggering*. The Hague: Mouton de Gruyter.

Demuth, Katherine (1998). Collecting spontaneous production data. In Dana McDaniel, Cecile McKee, & Helen Smith Cairns (Eds.), *Methods for assessing children's syntax* (pp. 3–22). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Fantini, Alvino E. (1978). Bilingual behavior and social cues: Case studies of two bilingual children. In Michel Paradis (Ed.), *Aspects of bilingualism* (pp. 285–301). Columbia, SC: Hornbeam Press.

Grosjean, François (1982). *Life with two languages: An introduction to bilingualism*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Haugen, Einar (1953). *The Norwegian language in America: A study in bilingual behavior*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Hoffmann, Charlotte (1991). *An introduction to bilingualism*. London: Longman.

Letts, Carolyn (1998). A speech and language therapist's view. In Asako Yamada-Yamamoto & Brian Richards (Eds.), *Japanese children abroad: Cultural, educational, and language issues* (pp. 36–39). Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Mayer, Mercer (1967). *Frog, where are you?* New York: Dial Press.

McClure, Erica (1981). Formal and functional aspects of the code-switched discourse of bilingual children. In Richard Durán (Ed.), *Latino discourse and communicative behavior* (pp. 69–94). Norwood, NJ: Ablex Publishing Group.

Mizuhata, Seri & Miyao, Gaku (2007 [1997]). *Momotaro* [The Peach Boy] Japanese traditional stories #5. Tokyo: Nagaoka Shoten.

Nishimura, Miwa (1985). *Intrasentential code-switching in Japanese and English* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Pennsylvania.

Ogawa, Dennis & Grant, Glenn (2008). *Japanese Americans in Hawaiʻi.* Honolulu, HI: Japanese Cultural Center of Hawaiʻi.

Richards, Brian (1998). Input, interaction and bilingual language development. In Asako Yamada-Yamamoto & Brian Richards (Eds.), *Japanese children abroad: Cultural, educational, and language issues* (pp. 40–44). Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Romaine, Suzanne (1995). *Bilingualism* (2nd ed.). Oxford: Blackwell.

Shin, Sarah (2005). *Developing in two languages: Korean children in America*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Swann, Joan (2000). Language choice and code-switching. In Rajend Mesthrie, Joan Swann, Andrea Deumert, & William Leap (Eds.), *Introducing sociolinguistics* (pp. 148–183). Edinburgh, UK: Edinburgh University Press.

Takagi, Miyako (2000). *Variability and regularity in code-switching patterns of Japanese/English bilingual children* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Newcastle Upon Tyne, Newcastle Upon Tyne, UK.

Takemoto, Mai (2006). *Bilingual discourse and intrasentential codeswitching* (Unpublished B.A. thesis). Kyushu University, Fukuoka, Japan.

Taura, Hideyuki (2005). *Bilinguality and bilingualism in Japanese school-aged children*. Tokyo: Akashi Shoten.

Woolard, Kathryn (1998). Simultaneity and bivalency as strategies in bilingualism. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*, *8*(1), 3–29.

Yamada-Yamamoto, Asako (1998). Introduction and overview: For a better understanding of Japanese children overseas. In Asako Yamada-Yamamoto & Brian Richards (Eds.), *Japanese children abroad: Cultural, educational, and language issues* (pp. 1–16). Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Selected Proceedings of the 2008 Second Language Research Forum: Exploring SLA Perspectives, Positions, and Practices

edited by Matthew T. Prior, Yukiko Watanabe, and Sang-Ki Lee

Cascadilla Proceedings Project   Somerville, MA   2010