

# Developing Codeswitching Patterns of a Japanese/English Bilingual Child

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## 1. Introduction

Bilingual children are not typically taught when and how to blend languages, but they often begin mixing languages in their utterances at an early stage. According to Fantini (1978), the first language mixing occurs just a few days after the child has uttered the first word of a second language. From this observation, we may assume that bilingual children begin language mixing at a very early stage to communicate with people around them. This leads to the following question: Are there any development patterns in children's codeswitching related to age or proficiency in the two languages?

The purpose of this study is to investigate children's developing codeswitching patterns using two sets of data of a Japanese/English bilingual child collected when the subject was exactly eight years old (8;0) and other one is when the subject was eight years and eleven months old (8;11). Although there are only eleven months apart, the data show some interesting developing tendencies. In particular, the effect of the back-channeling type discourse markers in the early data and bound morpheme switches for rhetorical purpose in the later data will be discussed as examples of developing patterns. This study is part of a longitudinal case study.

## 2. The linguistic aspects of children's codeswitching

Codeswitching has been studied since the 1950s. Most early studies reported upon it rather negatively. The term *semilingualism* was once used, and codeswitching was believed to occur because of a lack of sufficient proficiency in either language (Martin-Jones & Romaine, 1986). Boeschoten & Verhoeven (1987) studied children's codeswitching, illustrating that immigrant children's switches could be explained by a lack of appropriate terminology in the first language. Although not an early study, Verhallen & Shoonen (1993) mentioned that bilingual children tend to not have knowledge of individual words in depth even if they display a wide-ranging vocabulary.

However, other studies have led most researchers to agree that codeswitching plays an important role in bilingualism rather than being just a random, stigmatized phenomenon. For instance, MacSwan (2000) mentioned that codeswitching may be regarded as a prestigious display of linguistic talent in many cultures.

From a sociolinguistic point of view, codeswitching has been studied as an important strategy for establishing social relationships. It has been shown to be a personal communication device for enriching discourse (Koike, 1987; Scotton & Ury, 1977). Functions performed by children's codeswitching such as quotations, emphasis, and getting attention have also been observed and analyzed (Fantini, 1978; McClure, 1981; Fotos, 1990; Halmari & Smith, 1994). Gumperz (1982) listed several codeswitching functions of adult bilingual speakers. According to these studies, bilingual children use codeswitching in similar ways to adults with symbolic, instrumental, or register changing functions (See also Auer 1988).

Codeswitching has been also studied from a formal syntactic point of view. Researchers have attempted to establish universal syntactic constraints of codeswitching such as the *free morpheme constraint* (Poplack, 1980), the *government constraint* (Di Sciullo, Muysken and Singh 1986), and the *Minimalist approach* (MacSwan, 2000). Azuma (2000) discussed syntactic constraints of Japanese/English codeswitching. He mentioned that the lexical category is interchangeable between two languages in codeswitching, yet the functional category in one language cannot be replaced by another language. Therefore, for example, '*hanashi-ed*' (talk-past) should not be attested. On the

other hand, Fotos (1990), who studied Japanese/English bilingual children, referred to several bound morpheme switches such as 'mimizu-s' (earthworm-s) and 'yuukai-ed' (kidnap-ed).

According to McClure (1977), bilingual children's codeswitching has several stages related to age. For example, younger children tend to produce single item switches, mainly nouns. Children over the age of nine tend to produce more complex switches such as clause or phrase switches as often as they mix single items. McClure also examined the factors that lead to the switching of languages and found that these develop over time. In her data, switches aimed at clarifying were used by younger children from the age of three. Switches related to mode shifts (e.g., shifting from narration to commentary) were used by children at about age six, and switches for emphasis and elaboration were used by relatively older children, around the age of eight or nine.

Poplack (1980) discussed language proficiency. Her data demonstrated no ungrammatical combinations of two languages. This is perhaps because of the differences in codeswitching preferences between fluent bilinguals and non-fluent bilinguals. Fluent bilinguals tend to switch at various syntactic boundaries. On the other hand, non-fluent bilinguals tend to choose switches between sentences, 'tag' switches, and single noun switches to avoid fears of violating a grammatical rule of both languages.

### 3. Methodology

#### 3.1 Description of the subject

The subject in this study was born in Japan and came to the US when he was 2;7 years old. Upon arrival in the US, he did not speak any English. He started preschool when he was 2;9. For six years, from preschool to the third grade, the subject's education has been exclusively in English. According to his classroom teacher, he is quite verbal in class, and his score on the English reading diagnostic test is higher than the average for his age (8).

At home, he speaks both Japanese and English with his parents, but he does not have many opportunities to speak Japanese outside of the house. The quantity of contact with Japanese is much less than with English, and consequently, his second language (English) became his primary language around age four. His mother taught him both sets of the Japanese alphabet (Hiragana and Katakana), and has tried to maintain a Japanese speaking environment at home. Also, she has sent the subject to a public school in Japan during summers. This has been conducted twice so far: when the subject was 7;8 and 8;8. Although it was only few weeks each time, his confidence in speaking Japanese seemed to increase. His Japanese speaking level is now almost appropriate for his age, though reading/writing are at about the first grade level (at the age of 8;11).

When he was a kindergartener, he did not like to speak Japanese, nor did he allow his mother to speak Japanese with him in front of his classmates. He wanted to claim that he was born somewhere in the US. However, this attitude changed after his first visit to Japan. Now he seems comfortable speaking Japanese, even outside the home. In addition, he does not seem to have a strong negative attitude toward switching between Japanese and English.

#### 3.2 Data collection

This study is based on recorded data from spontaneous naturalistic conversations. The recording was started when the subject was 7;10 and the latest data were collected when he was 9;3. A palm-sized cassette tape recorder was used for the data collection. The approximate total duration of the recordings is about 12 hours.

One unsolved issue about collecting naturally occurring data is *observer's paradox*, which refers to how subjects tend to be more aware of their language use because of recording (Labov 1972). In fact, the subject in this study did not speak the first few times when the tape was running. In order to collect a conversation which is as informal and natural as possible, the recordings were held in various environments: in the car, during a board game, on the telephone, in the kitchen, and so on. In addition, listening to the recorded tapes with the subject 'just for fun' was carried out even on non-recording days. As Nunan (1996) claims, repetition reduces *observer's paradox*. Gradually, the degree of the subject's artificial behavior decreased and was not apparent in the data.

Data collections were conducted with several different interlocutors -- for example, with the subject's mother, father, an American teenager who speaks intermediate level Japanese, as well as other Japanese/English bilingual adults. The result was similar to Pan's (1995) observation: bilingual children frequently codeswitch with familiar adults, especially if these adults have some knowledge of both languages. The subject in this study consistently spoke English and did not switch languages with the American teenager, even though the teenager continually spoke Japanese to the subject. To Japanese guests, the subject spoke only a few utterances, all of which were Japanese. On the other hand, he switched languages often with his mother and father. Thus, two conversations with his mother -- one from the early recordings and the other from 11 months later -- were selected for analyses in the present study.

These conversations are two 30-minute segments of the subject and his mother. They spoke constantly for 30 minutes, with nothing else going on. These segments do not contain any portions where the subject is just running around or playing a game without talking. *Un* and *Nn* have been used to indicate Japanese back-channeling type of discourse markers; these are essentially equivalent to 'uh' or 'hm' in English.

#### 4. Data analysis

##### 4.1 Settings of the data

Settings of Data set 1 and 2 were as follows:

Table 1. Settings of data

	DATA set 1 (The subject: 8;0)	DATA set 2 (The subject: 8;11)
Length	30 minutes	30 minutes
Place	In the subject's room	In the kitchen
Speakers	-The subject -The subject's mother	-The subject -The subject's mother
Topics	Toys, TV characters, school life, and friends	Food, pets, school life, and friends
Type of conversation	Casual	Casual

##### 4.2 Measurements of codeswitching

Researchers disagree on how to count codeswitching, which is not always clear-cut. There are various definitions among researchers. In this study, the first turns of the speaker in the beginning of recording were not counted as codeswitching. Turns were not counted as codeswitching. For example, if speaker A utters the turn in English and speaker B in Japanese, then speaker A in English again, this is not counted as a switch because speaker A does not change languages. When speaker A changes languages, it is counted as a codeswitching. In the following example, speaker A switched language in line six, and seven again. Thus, codeswitching occurred twice in the example below.

- |                       |                     |
|-----------------------|---------------------|
|                       | [Translation]       |
| 1- A: Mommy, look!    | 'Mommy, look!'      |
| 2- B: <i>Naani?</i>   | 'What?'             |
| 3- A: Can you guess   | 'Can you guess      |
| 4- what I found?      | What I found?'      |
| 5- B: <i>Uun.</i>     | 'No.'               |
| 6- A: <i>Okane.</i>   | 'Money.             |
| 7- A ten dollar bill! | A ten dollar bill.' |

All turn-internal switches were counted: both intrasentential switches (switching at the word, phrase, and clause level) and intersentential switches (switching at the sentence level). Even single morpheme switches were counted. Names such as Mary Ann or other proper nouns were not counted as switches. *Loan words (borrowings)* which are normally used by monolingual speakers in the monolingual

society were not counted. For example, *aisukuriimu* is originally from the English word ‘ice cream’ but Japanese monolinguals use this in the monolingual society. Thus, it was not counted as a switch.

### 4.3 Quantity of English and Japanese

Table 2. Quantity of English and Japanese in the Data sets 1 & 2

	Data set 1: (8;0)		Data set 2: (8;11)	
The number of the subject's <u>turns</u>	<u>169</u>		<u>184</u>	
Start in Japanese	118	69.8 %	140	76.1 %
Start in English	51	30.2 %	44	23.9 %
Mixed turns	<u>59</u>		<u>24</u>	
*Japanese discourse marker → to English	(16)		(6)	
The number of the subject's <u>words</u>	<u>1502</u>		<u>1435</u>	
- English words	942	62.7 %	611	42.6 %
- Japanese words	560	37.3 %	824	57.4 %
The number of the interlocutor's <u>words</u>	<u>1645</u>		<u>1327</u>	
- English words	22	1.3 %	79	6.0 %
- Japanese words	1623	98.7 %	1248	94.0 %

Table 2 shows the subject's speaking tendencies at age 8;0 and 8;11. Since it is difficult to determine the number of sentences from the audio data, the number of turns and the number of words are used for the quantitative analysis.

First, let us look at Data set 1. The subject started more utterances in Japanese (69.8%) than in English (30.2%). However, mixed turns (both English and Japanese in a single turn) occurred 59 times. This means that the subject started his utterances in Japanese and changed to English somewhere in a single turn. According to the transcript, the subject often changed (16 times) to English immediately after a Japanese back-channeling type of discourse marker or a short response such as ‘Un’ (Yes) or ‘Sooda nee’ (Yes, it is/ you are right. = showing agreement). We can see how the subject starts to speak in Japanese and changes to English in the middle of a single turn from following examples.

#### Typical switches from Data set 1 (8;0) : [S= the subject, M= his mother]

- 1- S: *Dakara kore* ‘Change’ *tte kaitearu.* (So it said change here.)
- 2- M: *Hee, omoshiroi ne.* (Oh, that’s interesting.)
- 3- S: *Un. Etto* (Yeah, well), it only works for certain things.
- 4- M: *Hontoo(Really)? Aa, mata ude ga toreta.* (Oh, the arm came off again.)
- 5- S: *Daijoobu, daijoobu.* (That’s ok, that’s ok.)
- 6- *Sore wa* (Speaking of that), that’s not his arm.
- 7- M: *Huun, doredemo ii wakeja nainda.* (Oh, not everything will fit.)
- 8- S: *Un, maa ne. Maa...Ah!* (Well, yeah...oh!) This one! Mommy, look at this one.

In Data set 1, about 70% of the subject's turns started in Japanese. However, the quantity of each language (the number of the subject's words spoken in each language) is English 62.7 % and Japanese 37.3 %. Although the interlocutor did not use much English (only 1.3 %), the subject spoke English to the interlocutor 62.7 % of the time. Therefore, the subject might be seen as speaking more Japanese based on the number of starts in Japanese (69.8 %), but English is his actual dominant language in this conversation.

Why did the subject try to speak Japanese to the interlocutor in spite of the fact that he seems to have some difficulty? In Nishimura's study (1997), one of her subjects often used English responses and discourse markers such as ‘Yes’, ‘Well’, and ‘I think so’ while speaking Japanese with the interlocutor. She concluded that the subject used these short English items while addressing himself

rather than the interlocutor, since these items do not convey any information to the interlocutor but express the subject's feeling. However, this is not the case in the present study for the use of Japanese discourse markers such as *Un* (Yes) or *Sooda nee* (Yes, it is/you are right). These short Japanese items convey a message to the interlocutor, rather than expressing the subject's feelings. The subject was probably attempting to accommodate the interlocutor, whose dominant language was Japanese. I assume that this interpretation is more appropriate in this case, and I will discuss this point later in section 5.

In Data set 2, we observe the subject's recent speaking tendency. He has started to speak in Japanese more (76.1%) than in Data set 1 (69.8%). Mixed turns (=both English and Japanese in a single turn) decreased to 24 (59 in Data set 1) and particularly, 'the only discourse marker in Japanese and change to English immediately after that' decreased to 6 (16 in Data set 1). From these numbers, we can assume that the quantity of the subject's Japanese increased. In fact, the quantity of Japanese increased to 57.4 % (37.3 % in Data set 1) and English decreased 42.6 % (62.7 % in Data set 1). The amount of the interlocutor's English increased a little (6.0 % compared to 1.3 % in Data set 1), but the subject's English decreased about 20%. Although the quantity of Japanese and English has now been reversed, it is difficult to determine that Japanese has replaced English as his dominant language because quantity is not always equal to quality. However, we may be able to conclude that his Japanese language proficiency has improved during the 11 months because now the subject can at least continue talking in Japanese after a short response or discourse marker. We may observe this in the following examples:

#### Typical switches from Data set 2 (8;11) : [S= the subject, M= his mother]

- 1- S: Well, it's better here.
- 2- M: *Hontoo? Anmari asobenaino, afterschool tte.*  
(Really? Can't you play a lot in afterschool?)
- 3- S: *Un, anmari..* (Yeah, not really.)
- 4- M: *Oshiete, nani yatteru ka.* (Tell me what you do there.)
- 5- S: Free time *wa sa, etto, ichinichi sanjuppun nanda.*  
(As far as free time, well, it's thirty minutes a day.)
- 6- M: *Huun.* (uh uh.)
- 7- S: *Sorede, etto, shukudai, etto, owatte, mata kaettekite, art and craft activity toka*
- 8- *yatte, sugoku tsumannai yatsu ne, soide, mata soto ni dete, sorede moo kaeru jikan.*  
(And, well, I finish my, uh, homework, then, come back and do something like arts and crafts, these are very boring, and then I go outside again, and then it's already time to go.)

If it had been in Data set 1, after *Sorede, etto* (And, well) in line seven there might have been a change to English. However, the utterance remained in Japanese until the end of the turn. Reasons why the subject's Japanese improved during the 11 months is discussed in section 5.

#### 4.4 Switches in syntactic categories

The following table depicts the syntactic categories of codeswitching in Data set 1 and 2. Intersentential codeswitching is divided into two sections: 'discourse marker/short response' and 'sentence'. 'Discourse marker/short response' includes instances such as *un* (yeah), *etto...* (well...), *soo* (yes/ is that so), and *soo datta nee* (oh, yeah/ you're right'). Since these are too short to recognize as sentences or in order to observe switches, 'discourse marker/short response' was separated from ordinary sentences in this study.



Two ‘topic-comments in Japanese’ are observed. In this construction, a speaker places the topic (what the speaker wants to talk about) sentence-initially using the topic-maker *wa*, and then makes a statement about the topic. See examples (5) and (6) below.

- (5) *Sorekara ashita wa*, my class homework for tomorrow is Sunshine math.  
 And then tomorrow TOP (TOP= topic marking particle)  
 ‘And then talking about tomorrow, my class homework for tomorrow is Sunshine math.’
- (6) *Sore wa*, that’s not his arm.  
 That TOP,  
 ‘Speaking of that, that’s not his arm.’

One conjunction switch is *toka* (and/or).

- (7) He likes to listen to the work *toka*...

Next, let’s examine in detail the switches in the Data set 2, which is collected 11 months later.

In Data set 2, the total number of switches decreased to 74 (105 in Data set 1). Of these switches, however, most were intersentential switches (decreased from 84 to 46). On the other hand, intrasentential switches increased to 28 (21 in Data set 1).

Similar to Data set 1, the majority of the intrasentential switches were N/NP switches (e.g. filling, sheet, afterschool, dot, analogue, gerbil, rabbit, cocoon, ice, art and craft activity, homework time, harmful animal) in Japanese sentences. McClure (1977) mentioned that younger children (the age of three to nine) tend to produce single item switches, mainly nouns. However, in this study, the number of noun switches increased in Data set 2 when the subject was older. A possible reason is that the subject spoke more Japanese sentences in Data set 2, and inserted English words when it was necessary. Thus, the result was: the more Japanese sentences, the more opportunities to insert English words. As in Data set 1, these English nouns lacked English determiners and plural morphemes.

- (8) *Boku ne, petto hoshii na. Rabbit toka, gerbil toka ne.*  
 I PP, pet want PP rabbits or gerbils or PP  
 ‘I want to have a pet. (For example), rabbits or gerbils.’

There are two types of verb switches. Four are English verbs plus Japanese light verb ‘-*suru*’-- ‘duck-*suru*’ (to duck), ‘bend down-*suru*’ (to bend down), ‘trust-*suru*’ (to trust), and ‘depress-*suru*’ (to depress). These are similar to the verb switches in Data set 1. The other four are a new type of switch: mixing the English negative prefix ‘un-’ with a Japanese noun/verb stem plus light verb ‘-*suru*’ such as ‘un-*taicho suru*’ (to un-arrest), ‘un-*hasami suru*’ (to un- be caught), and ‘un-*nokoshi suru*’ (to un-leave). These new type switches consist of English bound morphemes and Japanese content morphemes, and serve as counter-examples to Poplack’s *free morpheme constraint* (1980). However, the data in this study did not demonstrate other types of bound morpheme switches such as nouns plus English plural morpheme ‘-s’ or verbs with past /past participle ‘-ed’ (Fotos 1990).

One complex mixed idiom ‘once upon a time *mae*’ (long time ago) was also observed (adverbial switch). These new phenomena are discussed below in section 5.

## 5. Discussion

### 5.1 Back-channeling type of discourse markers

Two sets of data at the ages of 8;0 and 8;11 were examined. Similar to Genishi (1981), the subject in this study chose the interlocutor’s dominant language irrespective of their own dominant language. However, he had some difficulty continuing in Japanese because of his language proficiency. Thus, he started his utterances in Japanese, for example, *Un, sooda nee...* (Yes, that’s right ...), and often changed to English immediately after back-channeling type of discourse markers when he was 8;0.

The term *back-channeling* needs clarification because the importance and frequency of back-channeling in Japanese and English seem to be slightly different. Back-channeling is a response such as ‘yes’ and ‘uh-huh’ which is made by the listener to the speaker, often while the speaker is speaking. Normally, back-channeling is short or in the form of non-verbal behavior such as a head movement or laughter. It is, therefore, often overlooked. However, Maynard (1986) asserts that listener’s back-channeling plays a significant role in face-to-face conversation. In fact, utterances with Japanese back-channeling make the overall conversation sound more Japanese, even if the majority of utterances consist of English elements. Maynard also reports that there is a significant difference in frequencies of back-channeling between Japanese speakers and English speakers. Japanese speakers use three times as many back-channels as English speakers do. Therefore, for Japanese speakers, back-channeling is an important element for carrying out conversations smoothly. In this study, back-channeling, short responses, and discourse markers are included in the same category ‘discourse marker/short response’ because the function of these short elements is the same; to show agreement and to accommodate to the interlocutor. Two examples follow.

(10) M: *Okaasan ja nai. Meri An deshoo.*  
 Mother isn’t Mary Ann, isn’t it?  
 ‘That is not her mother. That is Mary Ann herself, isn’t it?’

→ S: *Aa, soo datta nee.* On the honeymoon, they bought this.  
 Oh, so was PP  
 ‘Oh, yeah, you’re right. On the honeymoon, they bought this.’

(11) M: *Tsukutta deshoo?*  
 Made up, did you?  
 ‘You made up (the name of the character), didn’t you?’

→ S: *Un, I made it up.*  
 Yeah  
 ‘Yeah, I made it up.’

This *un* in example (11) is short, but often used as an affirmative in Japanese. At age 8;0, the subject was not fluent in Japanese but succeeded in accommodating and creating a Japanese-speaking atmosphere by using these short elements effectively. In other words, the subject often began utterances in Japanese and then switched to English soon after, giving the impression that his quantity of Japanese was more than it actually was.

Genishi (1981) mentioned that acquiring codeswitching is a part of children’s language socialization, and codeswitching represents communicative competence. The subject’s use of short Japanese elements to accommodate the interlocutor holds true in this case. We could posit that this may be an effective sociolinguistic strategy at the early bilingual stage or non-fluent stage. Consequently, when the subject was 8;11, this type of codeswitching decreased because he was able to continue his utterances in Japanese after these short elements. These types of switches might be called compensational switches, which may have negative connotations. However, the ‘reply in Japanese even if with only the first word’ strategy is rather effective and successful, suggesting that the subject uses this more than just a compensational strategy in this study.

## 5.2 The factors of language development

During 11 months, the subject’s quantity of Japanese in the data increased from 37.3 % to 57.4 %. Several factors may be responsible for this change in the quantity of the languages.

First, the subject went to Japan when he was 7;8 and 8;8. Although, these were three week trips, he attended a Japanese public school for two weeks and enjoyed Japanese summer vacation with his relatives for one week each time. Since the subject came to the US when he was 2;7, he did not know much about his relatives in Japan or about Japanese schools. Therefore, these must have been impressive experiences for the subject. His mother looked back on the two trips and mentioned that the first time the subject seemed to spend most of the time adapting himself to the new culture. The

second time, he seemed to acquire more language without fear or conflict. We can assume that these events had some influence on the subject's language acquisition.

Also, after the second visit to Japan, his mother and three other Japanese families organized a Japanese study group; four children have been studying Japanese reading/writing together on Saturdays since that time. In the subject's hometown, there is neither a Japanese supplement school nor a heritage program nearby. No Japanese children live in the subject's neighborhood, and he is the only Japanese student in his elementary school. Thus, the contact with other Japanese/English bilingual children may be seen as stimulation of the subject's language. This can also be counted as a factor of his language development.

According to Grosjean (1982), "bilingualism in childhood usually occurs because of the need to communicate with those who play an important role in the child's life – parents, siblings, other family members, peers, and teachers. As long as these factors are important to the child, he or she will remain bilingual; when they lose their importance or are removed altogether, the child will just as naturally revert to monolingualism" (179).

For the subject, Japanese has now become the more important language to communicate with people who play an essential role in his life. However, English is also necessary as the instructional language in school and communication language in the local area. Thus, both languages have developed and continue to do so, based on those psychosocial factors.

### 5.3 Rhetorical use of codeswitching

In Data set 2, the negative English prefix 'un-' was used with Japanese nouns/verb stems plus light verb *-suru* (e.g. *un-taiho suru* 'to un-arrest' and *un-nokoshi suru* 'to un-leave'). This is an interesting codeswitching pattern which serves as counter-examples to Poplack's (1980) *free morpheme constraint* since these switches consist of English bound morphemes and Japanese content morphemes.

(12) M: *Koodo ga hasamatteru kara, moo ichido akete.*  
 cord NOM be caught in because more once open (NOM= nominative particle)  
 'The electric cord is caught (in the door), so open (the door) again.'

→ S: *Un-hasami shimashita yo.*  
 Neg. prefix UN- + be caught in did PP (PP= pragmatic particle)  
 'I did un-be caught (it).' (= I took it out.)

(13) M: *Zenbu tabeta?*  
 all ate  
 'Have you eaten all (of your meal)?'

→ S: *Nn, un-nokoshi shimashita yo.*  
 Yes.Neg.prefix UN- + leave did PP  
 'Yes. I did un-leave my meal.' (= I've eaten up my meal.)

Also, one complex mixed idiom was observed. This represents use of an English temporal expression as an intensifier, modifying an adverb in Japanese (adverbial switch).

(14) M: *Zutto mae?*  
 far ago  
 'Long time ago?'

→ S: *Un, zutto mae da yo. Once upon a time mae da yo.*  
 Yes, far ago copula PP ago copula PP  
 'Yes, (it's) long time ago. It is once upon a time ago.'

These complex switches may be either just interference or a new pattern based on the child's codeswitching development. To corroborate evidence for the motivations of switching, an interview to the subject was conducted. In reference to the example (12), I stopped the tape and asked the subject why he said 'Un-hasami shimashita yo.' He told me that it was because he wanted to make the

interlocutor laugh. On the one hand, this answer from an eight-year-old boy in an interview may not be reliable, while on the other hand, perhaps he is old enough to judge motivations of his own language behavior. When investigating linguistic behavior of codeswitching, the main source of information is often from the subjects themselves. Since careful interviews may provide a more comprehensive view of developing bilingualism, we should give them some element of regard. According to the subject, the function was obviously rhetorical--having fun or making a joke.

Let us consider why the subject chose the specific structure. Japanese also has a bound negative morpheme which occurs in the same *prefix+ noun* slot. It is variously realized *mu-*, *fu-*, and *hi-*. Unlike *mu-*, *fu-*, and *hi-*, which are no longer productive in Japanese, 'un-' in English remains highly productive. He may have an awareness of this function of the morphemes and apply this to making mixed words. Thus, he might choose the English morpheme 'un-'.

At any rate, the subject needs morphological and syntactic knowledge of both languages in order to mix words and idioms. McClure (1977) mentioned that complex switches are difficult for younger children. Nevertheless, the kind of jokes which the subject made requires language knowledge and an ability to manipulate languages creatively. Based on the evidence above, I claim that these examples are developing changes in codeswitching patterns.

Grosjean (1982) reported that just as monolingual children play with words, bilingual children play with their languages. Bilingual children like to play with languages by making words rhyme, inventing new words, or using certain words in inappropriate contexts. The subject in this study also seems to be playful and may have reached the appropriate development stage using both of his language resources.

## 6. Summary and Conclusion

This paper evaluated developing codeswitching patterns of an eight-year-old Japanese/English bilingual child. Although there is less than one year between the Data sets, several interesting differences were observed. For instance, the balance in quantity of the two languages changed; Japanese increased while English decreased. Consequently, the amount of codeswitching also decreased. Most of the decreases in switches involved 'changing to English immediately after Japanese back-channeling type of discourse markers/responses'. The subject used these short elements effectively and created the impression that the quantity of his Japanese in Data set 1 is more than it actually is. This may suggest that the subject used these switches more than just as a compensational strategy.

In Data set 2, he became more creative using the two languages. For example, he created new derivational words and idioms by mixing the two languages. These were not interference, but rather a rhetorical use of codeswitching which occurred as a result of his language development.

This study looked at only one Japanese/English bilingual child. Therefore, the findings of this study may not be applicable to others. Whether or not the similar developmental patterns may be observed in others awaits further research. Future longitudinal studies will help establish children's codeswitching developing patterns more firmly.

Nowadays, more children than ever grow up abroad and are in contact with many languages and cultures other than their native ones; yet a majority of people hope to maintain their first language. Under these circumstances, this study may shed light on a few characteristics of children's codeswitching.

## Appendix A:

### *List of Abbreviations:*

ACC	accusative particle	'o'
DAT	dative particle	'ni'
INS	instrumental particle	'de'
NOM	nominative particle	'ga'
PP	pragmatic particle	'no, yo, and ne'
TOP	topic marking particle	'wa'

From: Iwasaki, Shoichi (2002) Japanese, John Benjamins B.V.

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# **ISB4: Proceedings of the 4th International Symposium on Bilingualism**

edited by James Cohen, Kara T. McAlister,  
Kellie Rolstad, and Jeff MacSwan

**Cascadilla Press   Somerville, MA   2005**

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ISBN 978-1-57473-210-8 CD-ROM  
ISBN 978-1-57473-107-1 library binding (5-volume set)

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