

## Japanese-English Code Switching in Bilingual Children

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The results of an exploratory study of Japanese-English code switching in four bilingual children are presented here. Functional aspects of code switching are examined, and the results are consistent with findings reported in previous studies primarily involving Spanish-English switches. However, the two major linguistic constraints on code switching developed from consideration of switches between syntactically similar languages do not appear to hold in a number of Japanese-English switches. Furthermore, quantitative analysis of the switches reveals additional differences from earlier reports, these also linked to the issue of switching between syntactically dissimilar languages. The use of code switching as an enrichment device and an intensifying strategy to increase the dramatic effects of natural speech narratives is also considered.

### バイリンガル児童にみられる英語—日本語間のコード・スイッチングに関する研究

以下は、4人のバイリンガル児童の英語—日本語間のコード・スイッチングに関する研究をまとめたものである。この研究で得た結果は、これまで発表されてきたスペイン語—英語間のコード・スイッチング研究結果と共通部分が多い。しかしながら、ここでは、英語—日本語間では、類似の言語構造の場合に受けるといわれているコード・スイッチング上の制約は受けないのではないかとおもわれる事例について論じている。また、言語構造が異なる言語間のコード・スイッチングに関して過去に発表された結果と異なる結果についても論じている。さらに、子供が仲間同士で出来事や体験を語るとき、豊かな言語表現として、あるいは、ドラマティックな効果を上げるための強調の手段として用いるスイッチングについても論じている。

### 1. Introduction

Bilingual individuals often employ the grammar and lexicon of both their languages in a single utterance. This phenomenon,

known as code switching, has been examined since the 1950s, when general descriptive studies of multilingualism were published (see Heller, 1988, for a treatment of the early literature). By the 1960s a series of studies of code switching existed, but in many of these the alternation of languages was perceived as random or, worse, an indication of the lack of sufficient proficiency to converse fluently in either language (cf. the review in Martin-Jones & Romaine, 1986). However, a number of studies in the 1970s, particularly the work of Gumperz and his associates (1976), Pfaff (1979), and Valdes (1976), clearly demonstrated that language alternation was an important strategy for conveying social information such as the definition of role relationships between speakers and the establishment of feelings of solidarity and group membership. In addition, code switching was shown to function as a personal communication device, enabling bilinguals to organize and enrich discourse (Koike, 1987; McClure, 1981; Valdes, 1981).

At the same time as the sociolinguistic functions of code switching were being identified, studies of the linguistic processes involved revealed that far from being random, code switching was actually tightly governed by a number of linguistic factors, and a series of functional and syntactic constraints were demonstrated to exist in analyses of switches between Spanish and English (Pfaff, 1979; Poplack, 1980, 1981).

The current literature continues to reflect these two general directions of interest, as researchers investigate both the social and linguistic environments of switching in a number of languages, as well as in Spanish-English alternations (Azuma, 1987; Boeschoten & Verhoeven, 1987; Dabene & Billiez, 1986; Koike, 1987; Vihman, 1985). A brief review of some recent findings pertaining to this preliminary study of Japanese-English code switching in bilingual children is presented below.

### *1.1 Studies of The Social Functions and Linguistic Characteristics of Code Switching*

Language selection and alternation by bilinguals has been shown to be determined by situational factors such as the participants in the speech event and the type of discourse (Dabene & Billiez, 1986; McClure, 1981; McClure & McClure, 1988). This is called situational code switching. A second type is conversational

or stylistic code switching (Auer, 1988; Gumperz, 1976; Scotton, 1988; Valdes, 1976). Here code switching is functionally categorized as occurring for purposes of (a) quotation, where reported speech is code switched; (b) address specification, where specific individuals or groups are addressed or referred to by code switching; (c) emphasis, where statements made in one language are switched and repeated in the second language; (d) clarification, where a confusing statement is elaborated in the second language; (e) attention getting or retention, where discourse markers such as exclamations or interjections are code switched, (f) personalization versus objectivization, where one language is used to refer to factual events and the second language denotes the personal feelings of the narrator; and (g) topic shift, where certain topics tend to be discussed only in one language. Studies such as McClure's (1981) have examined the use of code switching for these functions in a variety of speech acts, and this report will examine instances of Japanese-English switches according to the above seven categories.

In addition, linguistic research, such as that conducted by Poplack (1980, 1981) on Spanish-English alternation, has suggested two general constraints determining where a code switch can take place: the free morpheme constraint and the equivalence constraint. The former says that code switching will not occur between a lexical form and a bound morpheme, such as *-ing*, unless the form has been integrated into the language of the morpheme. The latter says that the same type of word order before and after a switch must exist in both languages in order for a switch to maintain grammaticality. However, although these constraints were found in a number of studies to hold for Spanish-English switches, the limited research examining alternation between syntactically dissimilar languages, such as Japanese-English (Azuma, 1987; Loschky, 1989; Nishimura, 1985) and Turkish-Dutch (Boeschoten & Verhoeven, 1987) found switching behavior which could not be explained by these rules. Instances of Japanese-English code switching reported in this study will also be examined for operation of the two constraint rules.

Both linguistic and social function studies of code switching have found differences in the type of switching in relation to linguistic proficiency. In two studies, Poplack (1980, 1981) quanti-

tatively and qualitatively analyzed the speech of bilingual Puerto Ricans of different proficiency levels and divided switching into three main types according to structural features: intimate, emblematic, and noun switches. Intimate code switching was characterized as intra-sentential and was regarded as requiring considerable linguistic proficiency in both languages, since the code-switched item had to conform to shared underlying syntactic rules. Emblematic code switching referred to items which did not affect the grammaticality of an utterance, such as tags, frozen forms, and idiomatic expressions. This type of code switching is structurally less integrated into the discourse and was considered to require considerably less language proficiency. Noun switches, defined as the presence of an L2 noun in an otherwise L1 sentence, were found to be the most frequent in a number of studies (reviewed and continued in Poplack, 1981).

Several general results from these two studies have relevance for the data to be presented here: (a) switching tended to occur between major constituents such as sentences and clauses; (b) noun switches, however, were the most common; (c) there were no ungrammatical combinations of L1 & L2, regardless of proficiency level; (d) non-fluent bilinguals were able to code-switch frequently and maintain grammaticality by using emblematic code switching.

Similar results for Spanish-English intra-sentential switches were reported by Pfaff (1979), who suggested that such switches illustrate competence in the syntactic rules of both languages. Additional findings concerned structural triggers for switches. Pfaff reported that although most longer switches appear to be induced by functional considerations, some appear to be triggered by "code mixes." The need to define this term introduces the issue of nomenclature.

### *1.2 Variations in Terminology for Language Alternation*

There is a notable lack of agreement among researchers on a terminology for the different types of switching encountered in the literature. Traditionally, a distinction has been made between borrowing and switching. Researchers such as Poplack (1981) and Pfaff (1979) view a switch according to the degree of adaptation of the given item to the other language, one extreme being the complete phonological and morphological adaptation of the item to

the second language, this being called "borrowing," and the other extreme being the lack of any adaptation of forms to the second language, this being called "code switching." McClure (1981) used the term "code switching" to include both "code mixing" and "code changing," these terms being defined both socially and syntactically. "Code mixing" refers to the process whereby a single item (or items) from a second language is used in the first language because the item is either unknown in the language or is more appropriate for the social context of the utterance. "Code mixing" thus results in sentences composed primarily of the first language. This concept has also been referred to as "language mixing" (Boeschoten & Verhoeven, 1987; Pfaff, 1979). "Code changing," on the other hand, is considered to be a stylistic strategy used in social interaction, and takes place between constituent boundaries, often producing sentences that are sequentially L1 and L2.

Following Dabene & Billiez (1986), this study will use the general term "code switching" to refer to the communicative strategy of bilingual speakers which consists of alternating units of variable length belonging to two languages within a single turn. By this definition, code switching occurs every time the speaker switches from the language initially spoken to another. Thus, communicative units of all lengths are included in the analysis presented in this report.

### *1.3 Studies of Social and Linguistic Functions of Code Switching in Bilingual Children*

Up to this point, the problems discussed have derived from studies of bilingual adults. What of bilingual children? A pioneering study of the discourse function and linguistic constraints in the code switching of a number of Spanish-English bilingual children (McClure, 1981) found that code switching was largely a function of the participants rather than the setting or the discourse type. As with adults, conversational code switching took place for the seven functional categories discussed previously. Switches of single lexical items, considered by McClure to occur when the child either lacked the term in the L1, or found the L2 term easier to access, were common, and were often found to trigger longer code shift sequences. As was noted for adults, children who were fluent bilinguals, usually the older children, tended to code switch mainly

at the level of sentences or main clauses. Such shifts resulted in a sentence or independent clause in one language followed by a sentence or clause in the second language. Less fluent bilinguals avoided shifts at the intra-sentential level, preferring to shift at the word level instead, resulting in L1 sentences containing limited lexical items in the L2. As was found for adults, the degree of control of the two languages correlated with the type of code switching performed.

These general findings were confirmed in other studies of bilingual children reviewed in Grosjean (1982), who also noted that different types of code switching tend to occur depending on the age of the child. Children under eight years of age were found mainly to switch single lexical items, whereas in older children, inter- and intra-sentential code switching at both constituent and lexical levels was often used as a social marker of group membership and solidarity, as well as for functions such as emphasis, elaboration, and topicalization (Appel & Muysken, 1987; Grosjean, 1982), similar to its role in adult discourse.

Some confirmation of these results comes from two studies of very young children, two years of age or less, (Huerta-Macias, 1981; Vihman, 1985). Here code switching was observed to occur primarily with nouns and adjectives. An additional study of four-to-seven-year-old Turkish-Dutch bilingual children found that single lexical items were most commonly switched, these being nouns, adjectives, and, to a lesser extent, verbs. It was suggested that such switches expressed concepts acquired during secondary socialization which were not immediately accessible in the children's first language. Topic was found to be significant since, it was suggested, some topics are better discussed in one language than the other, due to social context or because of lexical shortcomings. The functional features of switches were consistent with those reported by McClure and resembled adult switches. Linguistically, the free morpheme constraint was not observed, and the operation of the equivalence constraint was questioned.

Additional studies of adolescents and younger children who were members of bilingual communities in France (Dabene & Billiez, 1986) and Italy (Auer, 1988) noted the use of code switching for different discourse functions, similar to patterns already observed in children and adults.

#### *1.4 Discourse Functions of Code Switching in Natural Speech Narratives*

A final aspect to consider in regard to the social and linguistic functions of code switching in the speech of bilinguals is the research findings on the use of code switching to structure and dramatize natural speech narratives. Three analytical methods have been used for examination of the structure of conversational narratives (Olsen-Fulero, 1986): Labov's "high point" analysis (1972), where the narrative is divided into components; episodic analysis, which focuses on the story grammar and the intentions and goals of the narrator; and dependency analysis, which deals with syntactic structure independent of the narrative content. Following the procedure used by Koike (1987) in her examination of code switching as a structuring and enrichment device in Spanish-English narratives, this study will also employ the structural categories used by Labov (1972) in his work on narratives in Black English Vernacular. Here, a narrative is divided into the following components: (a) an abstract, which is a short summary of the story; (b) an orientation, which specifies the time, place, situation, and characters; (c) complicating actions, which are the main events of the narrative; (d) an evaluation, which tells the point of the narrative; (e) a resolution, which tells the outcome of the narrative; and (f) a coda, which ends the narrative and brings the participants back to present time. Both Koike (1987) and Valdes (1981) have noted the presence of code switching at the component boundaries of narratives related by bilingual adults, and have suggested that such switching serves the functions of delineating critical parts, holding the listener's attention, and moving the action forward.

Code switching as a discourse device to enrich Spanish-English narratives has also been explored in studies by Genishi (1981) and Koike (1987). Using Labov's narrative enrichment devices (1972) as the units of analysis, switches have been shown to function as intensifiers, which select and intensify an event; comparators, which compare events that did occur to those that did not; correlatives, which bring together two events that occurred so that they are conjoined in a single clause; and explicatives, which describe events not familiar to the listener. Switches have been shown to be used (Koike, 1987) for dramatic effect, topicalization, and the

introduction of new information at different points in the narrative.

In addition to the structural and functional characteristics of Japanese-English code switching, the dramatization functions of code switching in a bilingual child's natural speech narrative will also be examined in the following report.

## 2. Subjects and Methods

Data with a running time of four hours were collected from four Japanese-English bilingual children attending an English-language international school in Tokyo, Japan. Two sister-brother sets were used. At the time of the study, the sisters were eleven years old, and in the fifth grade, and the brothers were seven years old, and in the first grade. One sibling set is from a culturally mixed family, with a Japanese mother and an American father. The parents of the second set are both American but the children attended Japanese National Day Care Centers for four years before transferring to the international school and have maintained their proficiency in Japanese through after-school lessons in reading and writing from a native speaker.

Data were collected on two separate occasions by leaving a tape recorder running in the rooms where the children were playing. The children were told only that the author wished to record their speech. One additional recording was made while all four children were eating snacks together after school. In this exploratory study, only 40 minutes of the data are presented for analysis: three narratives and one conversation for the sisters, and three narratives and one conversation for the brothers.

For the quantitative analysis of the code switching data, raw frequencies were tabulated and percents calculated for the number of switches, defined as each time there was a language change regardless of the length of the utterance, and the types of items switched. The Chi-square test was used as a statistical measure of the significance of different shifts, and the alpha level was set at .05. One-way Chi-square tests with 1 degree of freedom were corrected for continuity following Hatch & Farhady (1982). In addition, the linguistic environment of the switches was examined to see whether the constraint rules previously discussed applied in to code switching between two syntactically dissimilar languages.

For the functional analysis, the categories proposed in the literature (code switching to show quotation, to clarify meaning, to get and hold attention, to change the topic of discussion, to use special nouns culturally linked to one of the languages, and to personalize or objectivize events) were used to examine switching produced by the four children. For the narrative analysis, due to limitations of space and the desire to present the entire protocol, only the longest conversational narrative, related by one of the sisters, was examined in terms of the Labovian narrative components and enrichment devices previously defined. However, all narratives investigated were similar in structure and in code switching function. Following Koike (1987), the language used for each section was investigated and code switched items were inspected to determine their function in setting off parts of the narrative—building dramatic effect through the contrast of languages.

Transcription of the data is in standard English orthography, with glosses reported in the Results and Discussion section, following the procedures of Cziko & Koda (1986). Japanese is translated first morpheme by morpheme, then by sentence. Coding of the data is consistent with syntactic categories used in Poplack (1980). The author was able to consult both Japanese and English colleagues on the translation and categorization of questionable items, so inter-rater opinions were available in some cases. The children were also consulted during the coding and glossing procedures, and Kuno (1973) was used as the primary reference for Japanese grammar points.

### 3. Results and Discussion

The respective results and discussion of the quantitative analysis, the functional analysis, and the narrative analysis will be presented separately.

#### *3.1 Quantitative Analysis of Code Switching and the Constraint Rules*

Table 1 shows the breakdown of language use and code switching percentages for the older and younger children. The unit of analysis is the C-unit, or Communicative unit (Crookes, 1988), which is similar to a T-unit, and consists of a main clause plus

**Table 1**  
 Frequencies and Percentages of Code Switching in Both Languages and Between and Within Sentences for Older and Younger Children

|                                          | 11 year olds | 6-7 year olds |
|------------------------------------------|--------------|---------------|
| <u>Total number of C. S.</u> (n=153)     | 93           | 60            |
| Japanese to English                      | 46 (49%)     | 31 (52%)      |
| English to Japanese                      | 47 (51%)     | 29 (48%)      |
| <u>Total intra-sentential C. S.</u>      | 48 (52%)     | 39 (65%)      |
| <u>Total inter-sentential C. S.</u>      | 45 (48%)     | 21 (35%)      |
| <br><u>Intra-sentential C. S.</u> (n=87) |              |               |
| Japanese to English                      | 23 (49%)     | 19 (48%)      |
| English to Japanese                      | 25 (51%)     | 20 (52%)      |
| <br><u>Inter-sentential C. S.</u> (n=66) |              |               |
| Japanese to English                      | 22 (48%)     | 12 (57%)      |
| English to Japanese                      | 23 (52%)     | 9 (43%)       |

subordinate clauses or isolated phrases not accompanied by a verb but which have communicative value. Switches were considered to occur whenever there was a language change, and a total of 153 switches were counted in the data discussed here.

Table 2 reports the percentages of switches made in the different syntactic categories for total switches, switches from Japanese to English, and switches from English to Japanese. Since the percentages were very similar for both age groups, the data are combined.

No significant difference was observed between the number of switches from Japanese to English and the number of switches from English to Japanese ( $\chi^2 = .42$ ,  $df=1$ , n.s.). Of the total switches, 44% consisted of single lexical items such as nouns (16% of the total switches) conjunctions (14%) and fillers (14%); furthermore, 16% of the total were switches of entire sentences. These two types of switches, either of single items or of entire sentences, comprised a significant number of the total, 107 switches out of 153 ( $\chi^2 = 23.53$ ,  $df=1$ ;  $p < .05$ ). According to the literature on Spanish-English

**Table 2**  
Percentages of Switches in Different Syntactic Categories

|                               | Total   | Japanese-<br>English | English-<br>Japanese |
|-------------------------------|---------|----------------------|----------------------|
|                               | (n=153) | (n=81)               | (n=72)               |
| <u>Intra-Sentential C. S.</u> | (%)     | (%)                  | (%)                  |
| noun:                         | 16      | 13                   | 19                   |
| independent clause:           | 4       | 6                    | 5                    |
| adjective:                    | 0.6     | -                    | 1                    |
| dependent clause:             | 5       | 10                   | 1                    |
| adverb:                       | 7       | 6                    | 6                    |
| verb:                         | 6       | 4                    | 8                    |
| possessive:                   | 1       | -                    | 2                    |
| <i>wa /ga</i> topic marker:   | 2       | -                    | 5                    |
| conjunction:                  | 14      | 2                    | 7                    |
| subject+topic marker:         | 0.6     | -                    | 1                    |
| <u>Inter-Sentential C. S.</u> | (%)     | (%)                  | (%)                  |
| sentence:                     | 16      | 13                   | 12                   |
| interjection:                 | 2       | 1                    | 2                    |
| filler:                       | 14      | 9                    | -                    |
| tag:                          | 4       | 1                    | 8                    |
| quotation:                    | 3       | -                    | 8                    |
| exclamation                   | 6       | 4                    | 10                   |
| back channel agree:           | 4.4     | 6                    | 5                    |

\*for percentage figures, numbers below 1.0 are not rounded to the next number

switches, such a syntactic switching pattern is more indicative of lower proficiencies, although for all levels of proficiency, noun switches were found to be most common.

Inspection of 153 switches, 93 switches made by the older children and 60 by the younger children, suggests that there were few differences between the two age sets in switching pattern expressed in percentages, except that the younger children tended to switch more intra-sententially, 65% compared to 52%. This difference was not significant (frequencies weighted out of 50 ;  $\chi^2 =$

.55,  $df=1$ , n.s.). However, because of the small number of switches analyzed and the fact that the children were sibling sets, consideration of the lack of significant differences in observed switching behavior must be set aside, and the issue of age-related switching cannot be addressed in the present study.

Addressing the issue of the language proficiency of the children in this study, results on the English language achievement portion of the Iowa Test, a standardized achievement test used in the U. S., placed the older children in the 87th and 96th percentiles respectively, indicating high levels of English proficiency. In addition, on the basis of proficiency examinations and previous achievement tests, both girls were placed in the native speaker Japanese language ability group. Iowa test results for the two boys were not available, but their English reading and language skill test grades were above the class average, and they were also placed in the native speaker Japanese language ability group. Therefore, it would not be correct to interpret the code switching results presented here as characteristic of so-called "semilingual" children, who are said to lack skills in either language.

In conjunction with this latter point, it must be noted that research on code switching has often been carried out among immigrants whose L1 is perceived by the host community to be of lower economic and social status than the national language, the L2 of the research subjects. This has been true for a number of the Spanish-English code switching studies (reviewed and continued in Poplack, 1981) and has been reported for studies of Turkish immigrant children in the Netherlands (Boeschoten & Verhoeven, 1987) and for children of Spanish, Portuguese, and Algerian immigrant communities in France (Dabene & Billiez, 1986). However, the status of English in Japan is somewhat different. English holds a respected position, so much so that it is a significant component of the important high school and university entrance examinations. Furthermore, although the children in the present study attended an international school where English was the medium of education, Japanese language skills were also socially reinforced. Thus, in contrast to a number of other studies, it can be suggested that social factors appeared to support, rather than operate against, the development of proficiency in both languages in the subjects studied here.

Consequently, the reason for a switching pattern of single lexical items or entire sentences may well be due to syntactic dissimilarities between Japanese and English, rather than to issues of low proficiency levels and negative reinforcement for language maintenance. Although studies of Japanese-English code switching are few, one recent investigation (Azuma, 1987) suggests that the constraint rules noted for Spanish/English switches are not appropriate for syntactically unrelated languages such as English and Japanese. The English SVO constituent order is not shared by Japanese, which has a SOV constituent order (Kuno, 1973). Thus, constraints on the size of the constituent and the equivalence of the structure were rejected by Azuma in his study of code-switching among Japanese-Americans in the U. S. , and the free morpheme constraint was noted to exist only weakly. These results were similar to the findings reported by Azuma which were drawn from an earlier study of Japanese-English code switching (Nishimura, 1985), and the findings of a recent syntactic analysis of Japanese English intra-sentential switches (Loschky, 1989), and agree with the conclusions regarding the inapplicability of constraint rules for Turkish-Dutch switching (Boeschoten & Verhoeven, 1987), two other syntactically dissimilar languages.

Switching single items and switching between sentences require few grammatical adjustments, whereas the maintenance of grammaticality for intra-sentential switching of major constituents is very difficult because of the difference in verb position between Japanese and English. Most utterances examined here were grammatical, a finding widely reported for all studies of code switching regardless of the language studied or the age of the subject.

In this study, the free morpheme constraint did not hold in certain cases. Often Japanese subject-bound topic markers were found attached to English nouns or sometimes appeared in predominantly English sentences.

- |                                                                          |                   |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|
| (1) <b>snail <i>wa</i> good <i>dayo</i></b><br>topic marker copula + tag | the snail is good |
| (2) <b>it seems like Tokyo <i>ga</i></b><br>topic marker                 |                   |

it's *takai* than most places

expensive

This last utterance is one of the few ungrammatical forms recorded.

It should be noted that some linguists might argue that Japanese particles are not bound in the sense that bound morphemes exist in English or Spanish, and if this point is accepted as valid, the constraint rule is not violated in the data presented above. However, it is beyond the scope of this paper to enter into such a debate, and it is suggested that use of Japanese topic markers in English sentences attached to English topics represents a compromise of the constraint rule. Clearer violations of the constraint rule may be seen below.

English morphemes were frequently attached to Japanese nouns, making them plural or genitive: for example, *mimizu*-s ('worm' plus English plural s). Japanese verbs were often marked with English tense morphemes. In the next example the English past tense suffix '-ed' was attached to a Japanese verb base code switched into an English sentence.

(3) and then she got *yukai*-ed.

kidnap

Loschky (1989) also noted cases in her data that violated the free morpheme constraint (Poplack, 1980), a few even involving switching taking place within a single word.

The equivalence constraint, completely rejected by Azuma (1987), especially when Japanese coordinating conjunctions were used, was compromised by only a few utterances in this study, as most switches avoided intra-sentential constituents.

(4) *konnani chisakatta kara*

since it was this small

this much small+past since

so I got that

Example 4, one of the few instances of an intra-sentential switch involving dependent clauses, illustrates the difficulty of maintaining grammaticality. Here, the messy problem of the Japanese SOV word order is avoided since the verb is in English, and the equivalence constraint is upheld. A much more common strategy, as noted, is switching involving independent clauses:

- (5) **You put your hands like this**  
**me o tojite** close your eyes  
 eye object marker close + imperative  
**and sit there**

### 3.2 *Functional Analysis*

Since the setting and the participants were constant during the recording of the discourse examined here, these variables of situational code switching are not addressed. However, the topic appears to have been important in determining language changes since many nouns were culturally and linguistically linked to particular topics or activities. Although it would have been desirable to establish the links between particular noun phrases referring to encoded topics and the language preferred for them prior to and independent of post hoc analysis, such a procedure was not possible in this exploratory study. Consequently, it can only be suggested that the following are examples of topic-linked switches. Example (6) presents a switch from previous speech in Japanese to English when discussing school, which is an English-only environment, using a restatement in Japanese for dramatic effect, and maintaining key nouns in English.

- (6) **my day was awful**  
**boku no day wa awful** my day was awful  
 I (masculine) possessive topic marker  
**datta no ne**  
 copula + past tense particle tag

A very common shift involved reference to money, nearly always made in Japanese:

- (7) **I saw this bracelet that was for *san byaku en*** 300 yen

The younger children played video games during part of the recording and many noun switches referred to specialized terms linked to this activity:

- (8) **but my *kougeki* is** attack  
**pretty *umai* too** skillful

Code shifting for quotation, a phenomenon widely reported in a number of other studies (McClure, 1981), was also present in several instances, where reported speech was framed in English, then delivered as a direct quote in Japanese.

(9) **and then he said**

*oshi* exclamation  
**that was close !**  
*ougon no ryuu da* it's the gold dragon!  
 golden possessive dragon is (emphatic)

Switching for emphasis and clarification, both common occurrences reported for the speech of Spanish-English bilingual children, often involve the code switched repetition of an utterance. This can be seen in Example 6 or in the following, where the thought is repeated three times, with increasing degrees of emphasis.

(10) **they were really fake**

**but they were exactly like Reeboks**  
*honmono mitai* they look like the real thing  
 real thing look like  
*zettai ni honmono ni mite iru* they totally look like the  
 real thing  
 totally particle real thing particle  
 look like stative

Code switched repetitions to clarify ambiguity were also observed:

(11) **the hammer was in the hand like this**

*kou iu fuu ni* like this  
 this say manner particle

Use of a code switch to emphasize a particular part of the utterance is referred to as topicalization, as in the following example:

- [illegible]

In this case, the switch makes the fact of boredom prominent.

Use of switching to attract and hold attention was very common. Many of the conversations and narratives began with and contained code switched discourse markers:

- (13) *ne* well  
 did I tell you about Toni
- (14) *dakara* so  
*ne* well  
*dakara* so  
 I was going to use it all up

### 3.3 Narrative Analysis

Analysis of spontaneous oral narratives of Spanish-English bilinguals (Koiike, 1987) has provided insights into the ways that code switching is employed as a strategy to set off different narrative components, to increase the dramatic effects of the narrative, and to provide foregrounding and backgrounding information. Using the framework of Labov's (1972) classification of narrative components (abstract, orientation, complicating actions, evaluation, resolution, and coda), and his enrichment devices (intensifiers, comparators, correlatives, and explicatives), the longest narrative containing the most code switching is examined below. Although other interesting behavior was noted throughout the various narratives, such as hesitation phenomena preceding a code switch or trigger effects from both code mixes and back channeling, these points will not be addressed here.

## A Trip to Osaka

1. and guess what
2. *kondo Osaka ni iku toki ni ne* when I go to Osaka next  
next Osaka to go time particle tag
3. um
4. we might borrow
5. an
6. um
7. a little little little room in um
8. the *nikai date* Shinkansen  
a bullet train with two levels
9. and you know
10. I . . . I got this thousand yen
11. from a
12. my grandma's friend
13. for *toshidama* New Year's gift of money
14. and that was the day when  
I took it to
15. um
16. when I was going to Osaka
17. *dakara* so
18. *ne* well
19. *dakara* so
20. uh I was going to use it all up
21. and I got this chapstick with a little color
22. you know
23. two for three eighty
24. *konnani chisakatta kara* since they were so small  
in this way small+past tense since
25. so I got that
26. *soshite* and
27. *Doraemon no buku katta no ne* I bought a Doraemon book  
Doraemon possessive book buy  
+ past tense particle tag
28. *soshitara* and then
29. *sore nanahyaku en desho* that was seven hundred yen,  
that seven hundred yen is question wasn't it
30. I had to get a present for that person
31. *dakara* so

32. *nihyaku en ni naru n* it came to two hundred yen  
two hundred yen particle become particle
33. *ah* uh no
34. *sanbyaku en agete ni* it added up to three hundred yen  
three hundred yen rise particle
35. *sono toki okane nakatta kara* since I didn't have any money  
that time money not+ past tense since then
36. *dakara ano. . .* so uh
37. *nandattake* what should I say
38. *ah* uh
39. *kashite moratta no ne* I got a loan  
loan receive+past tense particle tag
40. *obaachan ni* from grandma
41. *soshitara* and then
42. um
43. when I got to the hotel *ne* tag
44. um
45. I I saw this bracelet that was for  
*san byaku en* three hundred yen
46. and I
47. I wanted it
48. so my grandma goes *oke* ok
49. *ne* tag
50. *soshite* and
51. *soshitara* and then
52. *kattara* she bought it
53. *ano* uh
54. *kondo mata* again next time
55. *Hankyuu depaato ni ittara* when we went to the Hankyu  
Hankyu department store to go dept. store  
+past tense +when
56. um
57. you see
58. um
59. there was a ring I wanted
60. this one
61. and
62. it was um *sen sanbyaku en* one thousand three hundred yen
63. so I got this too

64. so it was like I only had  
 65. um  
 66. *sen en* one thousand yen  
 67. but I got  
 68. a lot of stuff for *sen en* one thousand yen  
 69. I didn't really get it for *sen en* but one thousand yen  
 70. it was like two thou. . .  
 71. I don't know  
 72. everything's pretty cheap there  
 73. but in Tokyo  
 74. *nan de takai no* why is it expensive  
     why expensive particle

The narrative begins in English. An abstract is lacking, but the first part of the orientation, line 2, is delivered in Japanese. The rest, lines 3-8, are said in English except for a unique referent, a special type of fast train. Six complicating actions, or main events of the narrative, can be identified: lines 9-16; lines 17-25; lines 26-34; lines 35-40; lines 41-52 and lines 53-63, these dealing with various purchases made during the trip to Osaka. It is interesting that many of these complicating actions begin with a Japanese coordinating conjunction such as *dakara* (so, because), *soshite* (then), or *shoshitara* (and then), even though further speech may be switched to English. This type of code switching at the boundaries of narrative sections has been reported previously as a common intensifying strategy, moving the action forward and holding attention (Koike, 1987). Comparators, which compare events which did occur to those which did not, were not observed. However, the use of a correlative, which considers events which might happen in relation to the event being presented, is seen in lines 4-8, when the narrator tells of her possible future trip to Osaka on a special train. In this case, no shift was observed other than the lexical shift previously reported.

Switching for quotation or paraphrase has already been noted, but the example in line 48, where the grandmother says "ok," is especially notable, since the English expression was phonologically integrated into Japanese morphology as a borrowing.

The evaluation and result, lines 64-70, is delivered in English, as is the first part of the coda, lines 71-73. However, the last part

of the coda is switched to Japanese. The other girl commented on this final statement with her own code switched Japanese coda, partially given in Example 2. The use of Japanese as the language of choice for the coda and the occurrence of a comment upon the final statement by the listener, the comment also being expressed in Japanese, was seen in several of the other narratives examined in this study.

A similar pattern has been noted in Spanish-English narratives (Koike, 1987) where the evaluative and resultative elements were in one language, and the complicating actions in the other. It was suggested that this is due to personalization versus objectification issues, where factual events are presented in one language and the narrator's personal feelings are presented in the other language. Evidence for the same type of dynamics can be seen in the orientation and in lines 26-31, where a statement of what was bought, how much it cost, and how much money remained was given in Japanese, the language of objectification, and the personal action of having to buy a present was given in English. In general, this narrative uses Japanese as the backgrounding language to recount actions performed, while English expresses the speaker's feelings of wanting to buy things and being successful. Perhaps this choice is due to the tendency of the Japanese language to omit the first person pronoun (Kuno, 1973), so that bilingual individuals may prefer to express personal feelings in English, where a sentence can freely begin with I.

#### 4. Conclusions

The results of this exploratory study of code switching in four Japanese-English bilingual children are in agreement with findings from previous studies primarily involving Spanish-English switches. As with most studies of code switching, nouns and other single lexical items were most frequently switched, and grammaticality was observed in nearly all utterances, regardless of the combination of languages. Conversational code switching took place for the discourse functions of quotation, clarification, emphasis, attention getting and retention, and topic shifts. Narrative analysis indicated that code switching occurred along narrative section boundaries as an intensifying strategy and was used for

dramatization and issues of personalization versus objectification.

Certain differences from the Spanish-English data were also noted. Switching tended to occur between sentences or independent clauses, rather than intra-sententially, and it was suggested that this is caused by the lack of syntactical symmetry between Japanese and English. In addition, as was found in previous studies of Japanese-English switching, the free morpheme restraint was not upheld.

To reiterate remarks made at the beginning of this paper, code switching is neither random nor an indication of the lack of linguistic proficiency. Rather, it is rule governed and systematic, with well-described discourse functions. The data presented in this study is consistent with a positive view of Japanese-English bilingual children who are developing proficiency in both languages and who skillfully use code switching to enrich and vitalize their speech. As the number of bilingual individuals increases in Japan, a greater awareness and understanding of this phenomenon is necessary, not only for educators and parents, but for the general public as well. It is hoped that further and more extensive studies of Japanese-English code switching will be undertaken in the near future to add to our knowledge and appreciation of this interesting facet of bilingualism.

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