

# Language Choice in a Changing Environment

## : Sociolinguistic perspective of bilingual acquisition

### 変化する環境の中での言語選択：社会言語学的観点からみた二言語習得

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「アゲー」、「ダ、ダ、ダ、ダ」など、何語とも判断のつかないような音を発していた赤ん坊が、だんだんと、言葉を話し始める過程を、親として見るのは、言語学者でなくても、喜びと、同時に驚きに満ちた体験である。特に二つのかけ離れた言語を同時に習得していく子供を見ていくのは、興味深い。自分の目の前で起こっている、驚くべきことを、記録に残しておきたいという純粋な想いから、我が子のことばの習得を日記、MDに残してきた。昨年、イギリスで応用言語学を学ぶ機会を得、そこで得た知識、研究法を通して、そのデータを眺めてみると、様々なことが見えてくる。修士論文では、子供の二言語習得を、1)言語(発音・文法について)、2)社会的な側面から(環境や話し相手の影響)、3)インプットの役割(親の話し言葉の影響など)の3つの別々の視点から分析したが、この論文では、その中の特に2)社会的な側面のみを、抜粋して紹介することにした。

一般的にも「バイリンガルに子供を育てる」ということに、興味を持つ人が増えてきているし、千里国際学園に関わる人の中にも、どのようにすれば、子供たちがバランスのとれたバイリンガルになっていくのか、またその状態を保っていけるのか、ということに興味のある人が多いと考えられる。この研究は、あくまでひとつの事例に過ぎず、もちろん一般化することはできないが、国際結婚の家庭に生まれた子どもが、変化する環境のなかで、どのように二つの言葉を発達させていったのかを見ることで、バランスのとれたバイリンガルになるために必要な要素が、見えてくるかもしれない。

#### [要約]

このケーススタディでは、変化する環境の中での、子供の二言語習得について、考察をした。対象の子供-Tは、英語と日本語を3つの段階を通して獲得してきた。彼は日本生まれ、父親は日本人、母親は英国人である。両親は、「一親・一言語」の方針で彼を育てた(段階I)。4歳の誕生日前後に日本の幼稚園に入学した(段階II)。5ヵ月後、家族は英国ウェールズに移り、彼はイギリスの小学校に入学した(段階III)。明らかに大きな違いがある3つの段階の言語環境を軸に、彼の言語を観察することにより、社会的な背景と、言語のインプットが、彼の言語習得に与える影響がはっきりとした形で、現れてくると考えられる。データは、子供の自然な発話を日記、5本のミニDVテープ、25枚のMDに記録したもので、これを質的に分析した。

発見されたことは、1)環境の変化が果たしている役割は顕著である2)彼のコードスイッチングとメタ言語認識のデータから、Tが「親言語の同一観」を確立しており、二つの言語の区別ができていくことが明らかである3)彼の父親の言語使用ストラテジーが、二言語使用を助長するものであり、Tの父親に対する使用言語が日本語から英語に変わったことに、このストラテジーが重要な役割を果たしていた可能性がある。

#### Abstract

This case study explored a child's bilingual acquisition in a changing environment. The subject, T has been acquiring English and Japanese through 3 phases. He was born in Japan to a Japanese father and a British mother. The parents employed the "one-parent one language" policy.(phase I) He entered Japanese kindergarten just around his fourth birthday (phase II). Five months later he moved to Wales and entered a British primary school (phase III). The significant differences of his language situation might enable us to detect evidence of the influence of social context and language input on T's language development. The data consists of the subject's spontaneous speech as recorded in diary entries, 5 mini digital video tapes and 25 mini-discs. Several qualitative analyses have been carried out.

The findings are: 1)The change of situation had a salient role; 2) his code-switching and meta-linguistic awareness showed evidence that T had established parent-language identification and could differentiate between the two languages;3) His father's discourse strategy encouraged language use in a bilingual context and might have played a crucial role in T's shift from Japanese to English.

## 1 Introduction

Children's language development has been fascinating not only to parents but also to researchers in the field of linguistics. (e.g. Brown, 1973; Halliday, 1975; Fletcher, 1985; Crystal, 1986, 1997: part VII) Bilingual children's language acquisition is even more fascinating but also more complex. It is influenced by a number of factors, for example, the developmental stage, the interaction between two languages, the social context and the language input.

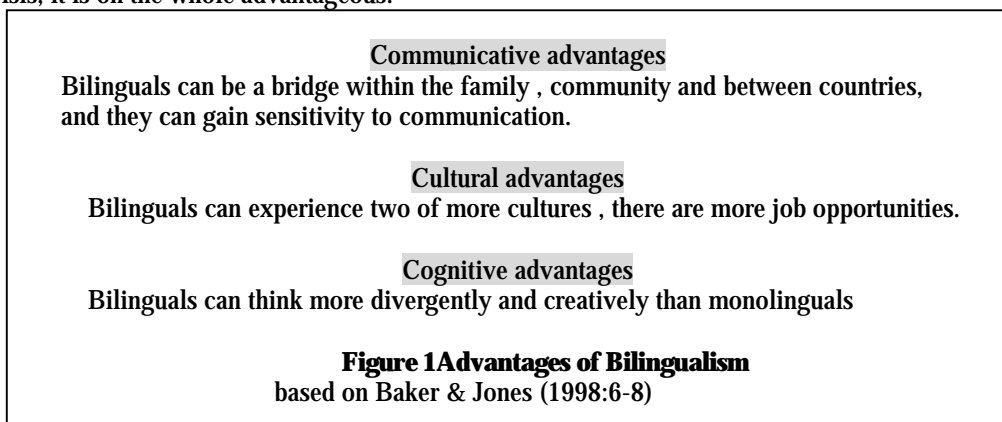
The present study is part of a case study of an English-Japanese bilingual child, Toshiya, who experienced a major change of situation. He was born in Japan to a Japanese father and an English mother, entered a Japanese kindergarten just around his fourth birthday and five months later moved to Wales and entered a British primary school.

T's bilingual acquisition is analysed from sociolinguistic perspective. T's language choice is observed according to domain and specifically his mixed utterances are analysed to identify his communicative strategy. His attitude towards language and bilingualism is also explored. Lastly his parental input will be examined to see if there is any factor that influences T's language choice.

### 1.1 Literature Review

Bilingual children's language acquisition is intriguing and a developing field of study.

Baker & Jones (1998:6-8) and Baker (2001:144-154) argue that although there are some disadvantages in bilingualism, for example it can be challenging for parents or can cause an identity crisis, it is on the whole advantageous.



Romaine (1995:181) points out that "most of the research on children's language acquisition has been concerned with monolinguals rather than bilinguals, despite the predominance of bilingualism in the world's population". Bhatia & Ritchie (1999:569) indicated two note-worthy reasons for the neglect of bilingual acquisition: 1) there is a view that the phenomena of bilingualism is highly complex therefore the development of a theory of monolingual language acquisition is awaited as a first step; 2) there is a fundamental problem to define the concept of bilingualism.

De Houwer (1995) indicates that recently bilingual acquisition is gaining more interest because of:

first, a growing awareness of the importance of bi- and multilingualism in our increasingly internationally oriented world today, and second, the increased interest in crosslinguistic studies of language acquisition in general (1995:219)

Lanza (1997:1) also points out that people's greater mobility and consequent cross-cultural relationships has resulted in children's exposure to more than one language becoming the norm for centuries in many countries.

The timing of when the second language acquisition starts is important. McLaughlin (1984:10) distinguishes between the child who is introduced to a second language before the age of three, thus acquiring two languages 'simultaneously', and the child acquiring a language after the age of three, when s/he is acquiring 'sequentially'. De Houwer (1990) challenges McLaughlin's terms arguing

that 'the third birthday' criterion is arbitrary and that different authors use the term 'simultaneous acquisition' in different ways. She proposes the term 'Bilingual First Language Acquisition (BFLA)' introduced by Meisel (1989), and which can be applied to the following situations:

- (a) a child is first exposed to language B no later than a week after he or she was first exposed to language A and
- (b) a child's exposure to languages A and B is fairly regular, i.e. the child is addressed in both languages almost every day. (De Houwer, 1990:3)

De Houwer (1995) also proposes the term 'Bilingual Second Language Acquisition (BSLA)' which refers to "those cases of bilingual language acquisition which are not BFLA" (1995:223). Following De Houwer's distinction this study is called BFLA because Toshiya has been exposed to two languages from birth and regularly.

In children's bilingual language acquisition studies as well as monolingual children's studies the case study approach is common. Lyon (1996:69) points out the advantages and disadvantages: "single, special children may not be representative, but they can provide fine-grained information about the process of bilingual language acquisition". Despite the problem of being specific and subjective, the study of researcher's own children is common.

In infant bilingualism studies, when and how bilingual infants can differentiate between two languages is a central issue. The studies supporting the single system hypothesis (Volterra and Taeshener, 1978; Redlinger and Park, 1980; Vihman, 1985) regard the language mixing as a deficiency in the competence of differentiation, whereas the studies which support the separate systems hypothesis (Genesee, 1989; Meisel, 1989; Lanza, 1992, 1997; Köppe, 1996) identify code-switching (CS hereafter)<sup>1</sup> in the infant's language mixing and see it as evidence of differentiation. T had already acquired the language systems in Japanese and English by the start of the period of this study, so we will not discuss the 'one or two systems from birth' question. On the premise that he has two language systems we observe how he uses the two languages to interact with people.

Regarding language choice, the framework of domains is crucial. Fishman's (1965/2000) paper 'Who speaks what language to whom and when' defines the notion of 'domains' as "the major clusters of interactions that occur in particular multilingual settings" (p.93) which is paraphrased as "the configuration of interlocutors, topic and setting that structures language choice" by Kite (2001:315).

CS is one major area in studies of the bilingual's language choice. Recent studies of CS have focused on the grammatical/syntactic aspect or the discourse/pragmatic aspect. (Romaine, 1995:121). Poplack (1980/2000:255) categorises CS according to three syntactic types: 1) tag switching: insertion of a tag or filler in one language into an utterance of the other 2) inter-sentential switching: a switch between clauses or sentences and 3) intra-sentential switching: a switch inside a clause or sentence. On the other hand, from the point of view of pragmatics, Blom & Gumperz (1972/2000:126) introduced the idea of situational and metaphorical functions of CS. The former is CS according to the change of situation<sup>2</sup> and the latter is CS as a topical emphasis<sup>3</sup>. Myers-Scotton (1993:53) points out that this distinction is not clear and presents the 'Marked-ness model'<sup>4</sup> from the point of view of social motivations. (p.113-149)

Kwan-Terry's (1992) subject aged 3;6-5;0 learned English and Cantonese-Chinese simultaneously. Her qualitative study shows that the child operated a system of person-language

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<sup>1</sup> Köppe (1996:930) defines CS as "a bilingual speaker's ability to change languages within one utterance or conversation observing specific sociolinguistic and grammatical constraints"

<sup>2</sup> Blom & Gumperz (1972/2000:126) indicates that situational switching refers to "clear changes in the participants' definition of each other's rights and obligations".

<sup>3</sup> Blom & Gumperz (1972/2000:127) points out that metaphorical switching relates to "particular kinds of topics or subject matter rather than to change in social situation".

<sup>4</sup> Myers-Scotton (1988/2000) defines that all speakers know that "for a particular conventionalized exchange, a certain code choice will be the unmarked realization of an expected rights and obligations set between participants. They also know that other possible choices are more or less marked because they are indexical of other than the expected rights and obligations set".

identification, for instance English was assigned to his sister and maid, Cantonese was assigned to his parents and grandparents. In the same utterance, he spoke English to his sister and turned to his mother and spoke Cantonese. He clearly exhibited the pattern of situational CS and was only flexible in his code-choice with his mother. This is because his mother showed flexibility in her own code-choice and he responded to her, the bilingual interlocutor, in the same manner. Kwan-terry also observed that when deeply and emotionally engaged in activities or when particularly excited, his flexibility was restricted. In addition, the child exploited the bilingual situation as a part of his communication strategy. Several functions of CS, for instance reinforcement or clarifying, are identified in his inter- and intra-sentential CS. She argues that CS and code-mixing<sup>5</sup> are very important communicative strategies for the child with significant psychological and affective implications.

In Japanese/English bilingual acquisition studies, CS is considered in a wide range of subjects. Infant studies focus on finding evidence of differentiation by identifying code-switching (Wanner,1996; Shikano, 1998), whereas studies of second generation Japanese residents in Canada (Nishimura, 1995) and university EFL learners (Fotos, 2001) focus on the functions of CS.

Taura (1998) conducted a qualitative analysis on CS observed in three domains : bilingual radio programmes; the conversations of two bilingual siblings; and an adult bilingual dinner party. The younger sibling is aged 4;8-5;1 and her situation is identical to T's. Her father speaks Japanese, her mother speaks English, and the data was collected while they lived in Australia for one year. The elder sibling aged 8;5-8;10 who had a high proficiency in English and Japanese was expected to use CS effectively and the younger sibling was expected to exhibit little code-switching because she lost her Japanese spoken ability in exchange for improvement in her English proficiency. Nevertheless the data and analysis reveals that the younger sibling turned out to be 'an effective code-switcher' and the elder sibling didn't employ CS as predicted. Taura implies that the occurrence of CS is not decided by linguistic proficiency but by the interaction of situation and the code-switcher's intention.

Bilinguals' language choice can also be attributed to their metalinguistic awareness. Baker (2001, Baker & Jones, 1998) argues that bilinguals have cognitive advantages over monolinguals.

The possibility is that bilinguals, because they own and process two languages, may be better at analyzing their languages. They seem more able to look inwardly on each language accumulate knowledge about the language itself. Because two languages are continuously processed inside the bilingual , they seem better able to regulate, manage and control their language processing. (Baker and Jones, 1998:73).

Specifically, bilinguals acquire more communicative sensitivity because they have to choose the language according to domains, and pick up cues relevant to deciding to switch languages.

The importance of language input is evident in the literature of bilingual acquisition. (Genessee, 1989: 169; De Houwer, 1995: 223; Romaine, 1995: 213; Deuchar & Quay, 2000:115) Genessee (1989) indicate the influence of the parental input in language choice.

[O]ne would expect children exposed to frequent and general mixing to mix frequently, since there is no reason for them to know that the languages should be separated. (Genessee, 1989: 169)

Goodz (1989: 25) found that "even those firmly committed to maintaining a strict separation of language by parent, model linguistically mixed utterances for their children".

Döpke defines a parental discourse strategy for promoting active bilingual acquisition as 'parental teaching technique' (1992: 143) and presented detailed categorizations. Parental utterances were identified as either vocabulary teaching techniques, grammar teaching techniques, techniques with

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<sup>5</sup> Kwan-Terry(1992) uses the term 'code-mixing' for intra-sentential CS, whereas Köppe (1996) defines it as fusion due to deficiency in grammatical and pragmatic competence. In this study CS is used for any size of language switching.

unspecified goals, or no teaching oriented utterances. Vocabulary and grammar teaching techniques were divided into subcategories: modelling, patterning, rehearsing and eliciting techniques. (p. 148) Despite the popular opinion that mothers are more successful transmitters of minority languages than fathers, her study indicates that “most fathers interacted with their children in a more child centred way and provided linguistic input which was more conducive to language acquisition than did mothers.” (p.192) This finding leads to the conclusion that ‘the quality of input is more important in the acquisition of a minority language than is the quantity of input when children are raised according to the principle of “one parent – one language”.’ (p 193)

Lanza (1992, 1997) proposed a framework called the Parental Discourse Hypothesis (PDH hereafter) to analyse conversational contexts. She set five parental discourse strategies for parents to deal with children’s language mixing. (see Figure 4.1)

- 1) Minimal Grasp Strategy: the parent requests clarification relying on the child to re-say the repairable utterance, e.g. ‘I don’t understand’, ‘Say that again’ and Wh-interrogatives.
- 2) Expressed Guess Strategy: the parent attempts to reformulate the child’s utterance. Yes-no question are employed.
- 3) Repetition Strategy: the parent repeats the child’s utterance in the appropriate language. A non-question form is employed.
- 4) Move-on Strategy: the parent recognizes the meaning of the children’s mixed language and continues the conversation
- 5) Code-switching: the parent incorporates the children’s language mixing. Both intra-/inter-sentential code-switchings are employed.

**Figure 2 Parental discourse strategies** (based on Lanza 1997:260-267)

These five strategies can be put in the continuum of negotiation of a monolingual or a bilingual context. (see Figure 1.3)

Monolingual						Bilingual
Context	Minimal Grasp	Expressed Guess	Adult Rep.	Move-on Strategy	Code Switching	Context

**Figure 3 Parental strategies towards child language mixes** (Lanza, 1997: 268)

For instance, when the parent employs the Minimal Grasp or the Expressed Guess Strategy, s/he provides a monolingual context and promotes language separation. When parental code-switching is triggered by the child’s mixing, a bilingual context is created and language mixing is promoted.

Kasuya (1998) slightly modified Lanza’s PDH model for her own study, using 1) instruction, 2) correction, 3) translation, 4) repetition 5) move-on 6) code-switching. She categorized those strategies into explicit (1,2), implicit (3,4,5) and code-switching (6) strategies.

[T]he explicit strategy had the highest success in relation to the child’s subsequent choice of Japanese. The strategy most families chose most frequently across time was, however, the implicit strategy.(1998: 342)

Although Nicoladis & Genesee (1998) didn’t find any evidence to support PDH, Lanza’s study is highly influential and several studies have been conducted to examine it. (Haskell,1998; Kasuya, 1998; Nicoladis & Genesee, 1998; Takeuchi, 2000; Juan-Garou et al, 2001)

## 1.2 Research Questions

In the present study T's language choice is first examined in relation to domains, then his mixed utterances are analysed from a functional perspective following the categories of the previous studies mentioned above. His metalinguistic awareness is also described to support the discussion of his language choice. The studies reviewed in the last section that consider domain as a function of language choice do not encompass the question of major changes in domain. However, in the present study, the dynamic of change will be a central consideration.

The general research question is:

How did the change of situation influence Toshiya's bilingual acquisition and linguistic behaviour?

The significant differences of his language situation might enable us to detect evidence of the influence of social context and language input on T's language development. Taking these points into consideration, the more specific research questions are presented as follows.

### 1) Did the change of situation influence T's language choice?

T's parents have adopted the 'One parent one language' strategy. The change of situation might have affected this strategy.

### 2) Did T differentiate between or mix two languages?

Code-switching is a major area of studies in bilingual acquisition. By examining T's code-switching pattern, this issue of differentiation or mix is explored.

Regarding the role of language input in T's language choice two sub-questions are set.

### 3) Did parental input play a salient role in T's language choice?

### 4) What discourse strategies did the parent employ and how did it work?

## 1.3 The subject and his family

Toshiya (T) was born on 6 April 1996 in Osaka, Japan. He is the first child of a Japanese father (F) and a British mother (M). His father is a native Japanese speaker and had been teaching English in the Japanese secondary education system for 10 years when T was born. He started learning English as a foreign language at the age of thirteen. Toshiya's mother is a native English speaker and she had been living in Japan for 5 years at the time of his birth. She acquired English and Welsh simultaneously from birth in Wales, UK. She started learning Japanese primarily in a colloquial way after she came to Japan. Toshiya's parents decided to raise their child bilingually and adopted the "one parent-one language" strategy in which each parent always talks to the child in his or her native language<sup>6</sup>. His younger brother Ellis (E) was born when Toshiya was 2 years and 6 months old.

## 1.4 The Situation

The family's permanent home is in Japan, so a little background information about the language situation in Japan is helpful here. Yamamoto indicates that "Japan has been perceived and presented as a monolingual and ethnically homogeneous country by many mainstream Japanese" (2001:24) despite a long history of ethnic minority group presence. English is taught from the age of thirteen to eighteen in secondary school and many adults go to language school to learn conversational English. English has a high status in Japan. However it is a foreign not a second language and is not used in the daily life of most Japanese. Yamamoto's survey (2001:40) points out that "the term *bilingual*<sup>7</sup> refers to a speaker of Japanese and English" and bilinguals are expected to have a good command of the four skills in both languages. She also indicates that Japanese/ English bilingualism has a positive image. (2001:39)

The family moved to Wales and lived there for one year. Therefore the language environment of Wales also needs an explanation. In Wales, English is spoken by most of the people and the indigenous Celtic language, Welsh is spoken by 18.7% of the whole population in Wales. (National census, 1991 quoted by Baker & Jones:421) In South Wales, where the family lived, the percentage of Welsh speakers is lower than the average. Welsh medium education is available from pre-school

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<sup>6</sup> However his mother didn't speak Welsh to T.

<sup>7</sup> Bilingual as "*bairingar*" is a loan word in Japanese

to higher education and media in Welsh, i.e. TV, radio and newspapers are also available. There are some Japanese companies and Japanese people living there but the Japanese language is a minority language and incomparable to the status of English in Japan.

In this study Toshiya's language situation is divided into three phases. (see table 1.1)

Phase	Age	Date	Situation
I	birth to 3; 11	April 1996 to March 2000	home in Japan
II	4;0 to 4;4	April 2000 to August 2000	home and kindergarten in Japan
III	4;5 to 5;4	September 2000 to August 2001	home and primary school in Britain

**Table 1 The three phases**

Phase I starts when he was born in Osaka, Japan. Besides his main interlocutor in Japanese, his father, his paternal grand-parents visited him about twice a month, he went to a play group twice a month and played with neighbours' children. Japanese children's TV programmes were also a good source of Japanese. His mother was his main interlocutor for English, though native English speaking guests visited his home from time to time and talked to him in English. His grandmother came from Wales once a year and stayed about two months. She is a balanced bilingual speaker of Welsh and English but she spoke to T mostly in English. The family visited Wales for 6 weeks every year.

In Phase II, just after his fourth birthday, T entered a Japanese kindergarten. This was a major change of situation with regard to his language acquisition. He went to kindergarten five days a week, five hours a day. During the summer holidays, his father stayed at home and there was a period of two weeks when his mother went out to work. Therefore the amount of Japanese input increased in this phase.

In phase III the family moved to South Wales, in the U.K. T entered the reception class of a primary school where he spent five days a week, six hours a day and began to learn literacy skills. He watched children's television programmes in English every day and played with his Welsh cousin three days a week. She is 2 years and 5 months younger than him. His father was the only source of Japanese in this phase. Compared to phase I and II, the amount of English input significantly increased and the amount of Japanese input drastically decreased.

## **1.5 Methodology of the present study**

### **1.5.1 Data collection**

The aim of this study is to investigate Toshiya's spontaneous speech in a naturalistic setting. The elicitation technique was hardly employed. The recording was conducted irregularly.

His spontaneous speech was recorded in two ways. Digital audio recordings were made from the age of 1;7 until the age of 5;4. Although several video recordings were also employed, audio recording was the main source of data because in order to collect naturalistic spontaneous speech the Mini Disc (MD) recorder is more expedient than a video camera. A Sony MD recorder with external microphone was employed and data was recorded on 24 MDs. There are approximately 56 hours of audio data. His father always kept the MD recorder ready and as soon as a suitable situation arose, the recording was started. Recordings were usually made when T was involved in some activity such as playing with toys or discussing what was happening on TV.

The other data collection method was a diary. T's mother and father kept written records of T's vocal output in a notebook from the time of his birth. When new features or deviant forms appeared, they were noted. Since his speech couldn't be audio-recorded 24 hours a day, the diary has served as an important resource for pinpointing the crucial moments of his language development.

The data is tabulated into a data index. First the diary was scrutinized and when significant changes or marked features were found, the audio data around the same period was selected,

recorded from MD to computer and transcribed. The sound data and transcription were tabulated into another index with hyperlinks, so that, by clicking on a transcription entry, the audio-version could be immediately heard.



### 1.5.2 Data Analysis

The analyses reported here are qualitative. A quantitative analysis, for example an Mean Length Utterance count (e.g. Brown, 1973) was not employed because this study focussed mainly on the age of three to five and at this age, the length of the sentence is not necessary the most suitable scale to measure language development. Also, the duration of each recording was not long enough to get the 100 utterances that Brown (1973:54) considers necessary for an accurate measurement.

Furthermore comparing the number of English and Japanese morphemes doesn't seem appropriate to this study. Clancy (1985:375) argues that in ordinary Japanese conversation ellipsis of nouns or verbs occurs frequently which "makes it difficult to evaluate a child's language utterances in terms of concepts typically applied in analysing the early stages of grammatical development." She also points out that "Japanese child language at the one- and two-word stages is more frequently grammatically complete and correct than would be the corresponding utterances of an English speaking child".

Samples that seemed to be representative of each phase were selected and a number of qualitative analyses were conducted. Since the researcher is the father of the subject and he was always present at the data collection scene, the context could be easily recalled. Since the changes in T's situation are the key factor in this study, the consistent focus was the identification of characteristics for each phase.

### 2.1 Overview of T's language choice: according to the transition of settings

This study basically looks at T's language acquisition in the family domain. The constituents of the family domain, especially the settings, changed drastically. The transition of the settings are identified by "phase" and we are going to observe T's language choice based on phases. (see Table 1). The setting usually means the place of interaction, but it can also include a variety of influences, e.g. school or media.

The interlocutor is another constituent of domain definition. Although the parents adopted the "one parent-one language" strategy and consistently use their native languages, T's language use seems to have shifted. In this section, interactions with his interlocutors at home: mother, father and brother are focussed on and any major changes are examined.

The third factor in Fishman's (1965/2000) notion of 'domains' is topics. Although T's language use is observed through the framework of settings and interlocutors, the influence of topics on language will also be noted.

The mixed utterances presented in this section will be analysed systematically in 2.3 within the framework of code-switching therefore no detailed explanations are given to them in 2.2.

#### 2.2.1 Phase I (~3;11)

In this phase, his parents are the main source of interaction, although his annual visits to Britain and weekly participation in a Japanese playgroup give him additional chances to acquire each language intensively.

##### 2.2.1.1 Interactions with Mother

T's interactions with his mother were consistently conducted in English. It is safe to say that English was dominant in his language choice with his mother in phase I.

Before the age of three only a few examples of language mixing are observed. The topic of the example below is trains.

<I: 2;7.23 ><sup>8</sup> T: Dada *mita*<sup>9</sup> this one.  
saw<sup>10</sup>

He seems to use Japanese to fill in his lexical gap in English. This is not a systematic phenomenon.

<sup>8</sup> The numbers inside the bracket indicates, <phase: year; month. day >

<sup>9</sup> Italicised letters indicate Japanese.

<sup>10</sup> Gloss

He happened to acquire the Japanese “*mita*” before the English “saw”. In fact “saw” was observed about two months later.

<I: 2;9.17> T: Toshi saw *shinkansen* yesterday.  
bullet train

He often translates Japanese words into English for his mother. The example below is the first translation observed in our data.

<I: 3;1.28> T: Crocodile called ‘*wani*’.  
crocodile

This pattern, i.e. explaining the Japanese word by English translation to his mother is frequently observed in phase I. He seems to assume that his mother doesn’t speak Japanese, though in fact she is reasonably fluent, and he has often heard her speak in Japanese to his father. This implies he has person-language identification. The observation of his interactions with other interlocutors will clarify this phenomenon.

### 2.2.1.2 Interactions with Father

In phase I, he basically speaks Japanese to his father but seems to mix the two languages more so than with his mother.

#### 2.2.1.2.1 Examples of English utterances to his father

There are several examples when T speaks English to his father. He often heard his father speak English to his mother.

<I: 3;5.3> (Asking father to put the light on)<sup>11</sup>  
T: Look, it’s too dark. Put light on.

He doesn’t yet have the ability to express this phrase in Japanese. The expressions seem to be stored as formulae from his mother’s input. The first sentence is used as it is, but the second sentence is reanalysed, “the” is removed and becomes his own ‘fused formula. In this example, T started the conversation, but in the next, he is responding to a question asked in Japanese.

(T is making something with blocks)  
<I: 3;11.22> F: *Sore wa pawaashoberu ka-na?*  
it TOP<sup>12</sup> digger QP<sup>13</sup> TAGP<sup>14</sup>  
{Is it a digger? Isn’t it?}<sup>15</sup>  
T: **Yeah**

The use of “yes” is prevalent and the Japanese equivalent “*un*” is hardly ever used by T.

#### 2.2.1.2.2 Example of mixed utterances

He mixes two languages inside or outside sentences.

<I: 3;4.7> (Father left the bedroom)  
T: Come back *kocchi i-te.*  
here stay DP<sup>16</sup>  
{Come back stay here}

<sup>11</sup> ( ) indicates context information

<sup>12</sup> TOP =topic marker

<sup>13</sup> QP=question particle

<sup>14</sup> TAGP=tag particle

<sup>15</sup> { } indicates translation

<sup>16</sup> DP=direction particle

T says the English and the Japanese in the same utterance to his father. He doesn't do this kind of inter-sentential CS with his mother.

(Sees a cat in the street)  
 <I: 2;8.23> T :        *Neko*    *at-*        *-ta.*        Go away cat!  
                  cat        exist        PAST<sup>17</sup>

This example might be attributed to his lexical gap in Japanese<sup>18</sup>. In phase I, his Japanese is far behind his English but he is aware that his father speaks Japanese. Therefore the use of English or mixed utterances can be a strategy to catch up with the social need to use Japanese.

The way of mixing is further discussed in 3.3 from the point of view of CS.

### 2.2.1.3 Interactions with brother and other people

<I: 3;1.23>        ( T is asking his grandfather what his brother has in his hand.)  
 T :        *Ellis*    *nani*        *mot-*        *-ten-*        *-no?*  
                  what        have        PROG<sup>19</sup>    QP  
 {What has Ellis got?}

T seems to know who speaks which language. He speaks Japanese to his Japanese grandparents and never uses English. Gestures or silence were used when Toshiya's Japanese was at an early stage. When he was playing with his Japanese cousin, he said "Pooh-san" <I: 2;8.29 >, the Japanese way of saying "Winnie the Pooh". He usually calls it "Pooh Bear". When he visited Wales in the summer at the age of 3;3, 3;4, he spoke English to his British grandmother and his British cousin aged 1;8-1;9.

<I: 3;3.27>        ( His cousin is crawling on the floor. She stops before a ramp.)  
 T : Come on, come on, you can do it.

He speaks English to his little brother Ellis in phase I, although he can't get an appropriate response from him.

<I: 3;0.12>        (Ellis is trying to touch T's book)  
 T :        No, no, no Ellis. Stop it. stop it.

<I: 3;5.5>        T :        You mustn't eat computer.

<I: 3;5.5>        T :        Can you walk?

<I:3;11.27>        (Ellis tries to touch T's blocks)  
 T :No, don't break it. It's time for you to go to bed.

One can argue that T copies what his mother said to him or E. For instance, "It's time for you to go to bed" is too complex for him to make up grammatically. To summarize, in phase I, he basically differentiates between the two languages according to the interlocutors. i.e. English to mother, brother, British cousin, Japanese to father, Japanese grandparents, Japanese cousin. He seems to have person-language identification.

He mixes two languages most in interacting with his father. The reason for this might be a compensatory strategy for his deficiency in Japanese. Alternatively, it could reflect his father's mixed language input. Further exploration is needed for the explanation of his mixed utterances.

<sup>17</sup> PAST=past particle

<sup>18</sup> He didn't know how to say "go away" in Japanese at this stage.

<sup>19</sup> PROG=tense particle for progressive

### 2.2.2 Phase II (4;0~4;4)

After his fourth birthday, he started Japanese kindergarten and the Japanese input increased significantly. This change of setting seems to have influenced his language choice.

#### 2.2.2.1 Interactions with mother

T still speaks English to his mother consistently however one sample in which he responded in Japanese to his mother's English question is observed at the age of 4;2.29.

<II: 4;2.29> M: Shall I cut the toast in half?  
 T: *Kitta- -ra dame ookii ga ii.*  
 cut if don't big CP<sup>20</sup> OK  
 {Don't cut it, I like it big}

This is only one example hence it is not reasonable to generalize, but it is reasonable to infer that his Japanese had caught up sufficiently for a response in Japanese to be possible. He might have known how to say it in Japanese but not in English so that he was obliged to choose Japanese even though it was not the 'appropriate' language here.

#### 2.2.2.2 Interactions with Father

Since T's Japanese improved in phase II, most of the interactions between T and his father are in Japanese. A few mixed utterances are observed as follows.

<II:4;3.16> (T wanting to continue playing a computer game. )  
 T: **More** *suru- -no*  
 more play EP<sup>21</sup>  
 {I want to play more}

In this example CS<sup>22</sup> occurred in a Japanese context and just one word is switched. This also implies that Toshiya's Japanese has almost caught up with his English.

A frequently observed pattern is that he speaks English to his mother and he switches to Japanese and talks to father in one conversational turn. This transition will be further discussed in 2.4.

#### 2.2.2.3 Interactions with brother and other people

At the beginning of phase II he still spoke English to his brother.

<I: 4,0.10> (Ellis wants T's Chocolate)  
 T: No, you have got one.

However he talks Japanese to him at the age of 4;4.1.

<II: 4;4.1> (T is trying to do a jigsaw, E tries to touch it)  
 T: *Chigau Kore wa Toshiya no dake*  
 No this TOP Toshiya GP<sup>23</sup> only  
 {No, this is Toshiya's only}

He also talked to his British cousin in Japanese at the transition period of phase II and III.

<II: 4;4.24> (On the day he arrived in Britain, he was playing with his brother and his cousin)  
 T: *Chigau- -yo kore wa boku- -no senro*  
 No EP this TOP I GP railway line  
 {No, this is my railway line}

<sup>20</sup> CP=case particle

<sup>21</sup> EP=emphasis particle

<sup>22</sup> CS is examined in 2.3

<sup>23</sup> GP=genitive particle

acchi      it-      -te  
 away    go          DP  
 {Go away please. }

He spoke English to her one year earlier (see 2.2.1.3) but he speaks Japanese here. One can surmise that after experiencing Japanese kindergarten, he determined that children always talk in Japanese. He changed his language use from English to Japanese when he talked to his brother and then his choice with his British cousin is Japanese despite the fact that she is obviously not Japanese. However, when he talked to British uncle and aunt, he spoke English.

To summarise, in phase II his Japanese caught up with his English, his interaction with his father became smoother, his interaction with his mother wasn't affected by his Japanese and his interaction with his brother totally changed from English to Japanese. One might argue that in certain situations his Japanese was dominant at the end of phase II.

### 2.2.3 Phase III (4;5~)

We have interpreted patterns of language used in phases I and II as generally determined by Toshiya's awareness of who speaks each language, but subject to the influence both of the situation and which language is dominant. If this interpretation is accurate, then we should find that in phase III a further shift occurs, as Toshiya moves to an English-speaking environment and his English reasserts its dominance. As we shall see this is precisely what happens.

#### 2.2.3.1 Interactions with Mother

At the beginning of phase III there was still evidence of the strength of his Japanese.

<III: 4;5.18>      (When he got injured , he said to his mother)  
 T :      *itai itai.*      {Ouch, ouch!}

He used Japanese to express his feelings to his mother in an emergency. This implies that Toshiya's Japanese might have been slightly dominant at this time.

Nevertheless this is the only example of T's using Japanese to his mother in phase III, and later he spoke English to his mother when he was ill at the age of 5;2.

<III: 5;2.20>      T: Oh dear , I feel sick.

#### 2.2.3.2 Interactions with Father

As anticipated, there was a drastic change in this phase. He spoke in Japanese at the beginning of phase III.

<III: 4;5.28>      ( T is practicing how to write numbers.)  
 T :    *Go*            *yattemi*    *yoo*      *ka.*  
       five            try          IP<sup>24</sup>      QP  
       { Shall we try 'five'?}  
       F :      *Chotto*    *mise*      *te?*      Daddy    *ni.*  
               a little    show      DP                    to  
               {Show it to Daddy}  
 T :    *Etto koo*      *yatte* ((pause))    *Kore*      *wa*      *go.*  
       Well            this way    do            this      TOP      five  
       {Well, do it like this - this is five}

T uses the particles "ka" or "wa" smoothly and the discourse maker *etto* effectively. However around three months after he started school in Britain he started to talk in English to his father and

<sup>24</sup> IP=intention particle

from around five months after his arrival he used Japanese less and less often.

<III: 4;7.1> (Father is trying to change T's clothes and T refuses.)  
T: Let go of me, let go, let go

<III: 4;7.10> (Father and T are playing on the sofa)  
T: *Daddy wa kochokocho suki.* I'll tickle you.  
TOP tickling like  
{Daddy likes tickling}  
(Father tickles Toshi)  
T: Don't tickle me. I'll bash you. I'll thump you.

These utterances have not been learnt from his mother and it would appear that he has picked them up while playing with boys in school. We can argue that he links this kind of playing with English and uses it with his father. This is the starting point of using English with his father.

<III: 4;8.11> (When he was quite ill in bed, he said to his father)  
T: I am ill.

This could be contrasted with what he said to his mother when he got injured at 4;5.18. Now his dominant language is English again.

In interactions with his father, mixed utterances are also observed.

<III: 4;8.16> (Bathtime father is trying to wash his hair and he doesn't want to)  
T: You go to Japan on your own.  
Now you stay in Japan on your own  
F: Stay in Japan on my own?  
T: Yeah  
F: (pretends to cry) Daddy *hitori ka*  
alone QP  
{Should daddy go back alone?}  
T: *Chigau Ellis mo*  
No too  
{No, Ellis, too}

With the example above, he still switches to Japanese when his father talks in Japanese. But one week later, he responds in English to his father's Japanese question.

<III: 4;8.23> (T is playing with a toy fishing rod.)  
T: I caught a fish. I can caught one all by myself  
F: *Sakana tsut- -tan- -ka Toshiya*  
fish catch PAST QP  
{Have you caught a fish, Toshiya?}  
T: I can caught a fish all by myself

This pattern increased around 4;9 and it seems to become the norm when talking to his father.

<III: 4;9.28> (T and father are talking about what they want to be)  
F: *Toshiya wa ookiku- -nat- -tara nani ni naru- -no*  
TOP big become if what CP become QP  
{Toshiya, what do you want to be when you are grown up?}  
fireman *ka*  
QP  
{(Do you want to be) a fireman?}

T : Well I will be a monster when I'll be older.  
 F : *Daddy wa?* {How about Daddy?}  
       TOP  
 T : A dinosaur

Before his fifth birthday, this norm has settled. He understands his father's Japanese but he always answers and talks to his father in English.

<III: 4;11.27> (Watching TV father points to a monkey on the screen)

F : *Are wa osarusan ka?*  
       that TOP monkey QP  
       {Is that a monkey}  
 T : They're actually called "Lima", you see?

A couple of exceptions observed in our corpus should be noted.

<III: 4;9.29> (T is watching a Japanese video with his father)

T: *Tsugi wa onigiri desho, mite!*  
       next TOP rice ball TAGP look  
 {Look, next one is the "rice ball song"}  
 F: *Toshiya, onigiri ikutsu aru?*  
       rice ball how many exist  
 {Toshiya, how many rice balls are there?}  
 T: *San.* {Three}

The Japanese TV programme seemed to trigger T's use of Japanese. The same thing happened when he was looking at a Japanese children's magazine with his father.

<III: 5;1.26> (Toshiya points to a big engine)

T: *Kore wa Gordon*  
       this TOP  
 {This is Gordon.} (Gordon is a character in Thomas the Tank Engine)  
 (Father points to another cartoon character.)  
 F: *Toshi kore nan ya?*  
       this what QP  
 {Toshi, what's this?}  
 T: Anpanman  
       (one of the cartoon characters name)

When he sees Gordon and the other engines in an English book, he responds in English. These examples indicate that his use of Japanese is triggered by seeing Japanese TV or books. This implies that topic and media play a crucial role in language choice as well as settings and interlocutors.

### 2.2.3.3 Interactions with brother and others

At the beginning of phase III, he still talked in Japanese but around the age of 4;7 after 2 months in the U.K., he started talking in English to his brother.

<III: 4;7.1> (His little brother is blocking his view and he can't see the TV)

T: I can't see.

This is at about the same time as he started using English to his father. His brother's language gradually develops and they can have proper conversations.

<III: 5;2.23>

(Ellis tries to open a box with a present inside.)



E : Ellis open it  
 T : Well no you are not allowed it anymore  
 E: Ellis open it  
 T: Well it's hard for you  
 E: All right  
 T : Because it's big  
 E : Big  
 T : Yes  
 E: No biggest?  
 T : It is big  
 E: Yes

One thing to note is that E's language choice corresponds with T's, although we don't explore E's language development in this study.

When T was aged 5;1, his Japanese grandparents visited Britain. They talked to him in Japanese he responded with gestures such as nodding but he hardly talked to them. The only utterance observed is the following.

<III: 5;1.19> (T is playing with a ball with his grandfather)  
 T : Ojiichan<sup>25</sup> Get it .  
 Grandpa

At this time, the pattern of his father talking Japanese to him and of T talking English to his father is well established. He doesn't change the pattern even with his grandfather who is Japanese monolingual.

To summarize, phase III brought with it the most significant change in his language choice. His language interaction with his father and brother has shifted from Japanese to English, even though his father was consistently speaking Japanese to him. The role of settings has proved to be crucial in language choice. In addition topics and media can trigger language use and contribute to language choice.

### 2.3 Code-switching

As we have seen in 2.2, T's use of mixed utterances can be observed in each phase. In this section those mixed utterances are analysed from a functional perspective and the role of CS (code-switching) in his language choice is explored.

#### 2.3.1 Person-language identification

In phase I and II, the person-language identification, i.e. mother and English, father and Japanese, was established in his language choice. One intra-sentential CS in phase I exhibited how he identified language and interlocutor.

<I : 3;2.9> (T is looking at a picture of a train on the computer)  
 T : Mama, Toshi go- (T turns around and sees that it is his father there)  
           -noru- -ka?  
           ride QP

T might have said "Mama, Toshi go on this train?" in English and "*Daddy Toshiya kono*{this} *densha* {train} *noru* {ride/go on} *ka* {QP}" in Japanese. He couldn't mention 'this train' or '*kono densha*' because his code switched at the verb which comes before those words in English and after them in Japanese. Around this time the yes-no interrogative is realized simply by rising intonation at the end of the sentence in English and by the sentence-final particle "*ka*" in Japanese. (see 2.3.1)

<sup>25</sup> His mother employs 'ojiichan' {grandpa} in English sentence. So this word counts as a proper name.

Therefore his CS doesn't violate the grammars of either language.

It was the norm in phase I and II to do inter-sentential CS at the boundary of conversational turn according to the interlocutors.

<II: 4;2.1> (T, mother and father are talking about where to sleep in the bunk bed.)  
 M: Where's daddy going to sleep?  
     T : On the bunk bed-on the top bunk  
 M: On the top bunk bed with Ellis?  
     T : Yeah  
 M: Then Daddy and Ellis sleep together and Mummy and Toshi sleep together?  
     T : Yeah it's better  
 F : *Daddy ue ka?*  
     top QP  
     { Is Daddy going to the top bunk?}  
  
     T : *Daddy ue!*  
         top  
     {Daddy is going to the top bunk}  
 F : *Daddy ue ka? Daddy ue de nen- -no?*  
     top QP top at sleep QP  
     { Is Daddy going to the top bunk? Is Daddy going to sleep on the top bunk?}  
     T : *Nn neru*  
         sleep  
 F : *Toshiya wa?*  
                     TOP  
     {How about Toshiya?}  
     T : *SHITA!*  
         bottom

In one conversational turn, T says one sentence or phrase in one language to one parent and then he translates it to the other language for the other interlocutor.

<I: 3;4.10> (Watching children's program, Teletubbies, on TV. There appeared clouds.)  
 T : Two clouds. (to Mother)  
                     *Futatsu* (to Father)  
                     two

This translation functions to maintain a social relationship with the two interlocutors and also proves his metalinguistic awareness. (Metalinguistic awareness is further discussed in 2.4).

### 2.3.2 Compensatory Strategy

In the developmental stage of language acquisition, a lexical gap in one language can be compensated for with the other language. Examples of this can be observed as Intra-sentential CS.

<I: 2;7.23 > (Pointing to a toy train)  
 T : Dada *mita* this one.  
                                     saw  
     {Daddy saw this one}

English is the base language here and T used "mita" because he doesn't know "saw" at this stage.

<I: 3;8.29> (T puts a chair by the bathtub and tries to put it in the bathtub.)  
 T : I put it there and *kokoni* in.

here

{I put it there and put in here}

This example shows two intra-sentential CS as a compensation strategy. First he doesn't know "here" and switched to the Japanese "kokoni" to compensate for it. Through the word order at the end of the sentence it appears that this triggered his Japanese and he tried to continue the sentence in Japanese "kokoni ireru{put in} ".He doesn't know the Japanese verb "ireru" and so switched to the English "in". "In" is assigned the function of a verb here.

"On" is also assigned the function of a verb in CS.

<II:4;3.29> (T is asking his father to switch the fan on)  
 T: *Daddy kocchi keshi- -tara atsui kara*  
 Daddy this one switch-off if hot because  
 {Daddy if you switch this off, it's hot,}  
**on-** *-shi- -te*  
 switch on do DP  
 {so will you switch on please?}

Here is another example of Japanese based intra-sentential code switching. He doesn't know "tsuke te" meaning "switch on please". "~shi te" is a variant of *suru* {do} and means "please do". "suru" itself is placed after the noun phrase and functions as a verb maker in Japanese. 'Noun-phrase + *suru*' is another way of expressing action. The difference between 'noun phrase+*suru*' and the normal verb in Japanese is similar to that of Latin origin words and German origin words in English. The 'noun phrase+*suru*' form is more polite , more academic and is more often used in written text as compared to normal verbs. (see example below)

e.g. 'noun phrase + <i>suru</i> '			<b>normal verb</b>
<i>kaiwa-</i>	<i>-suru</i>	-----	<i>hanasu</i>
conversation	do		speak
<i>shokuji-</i>	<i>-suru</i>	-----	<i>taberu</i>
meal	do		eat

The noun phrase used with "*suru*" is called shino-Japanese which retains the Chinese sound whereas the normal verb consists of Japanese sounds. In the same way English or western origin loan words are frequently mixed with "*suru*" and come to function as a Japanese verb<sup>26</sup>.

e.g. <i>intaanetto-</i>	<i>-suru</i>	<i>dansu-</i>	<i>-suru</i>
internet	do	dance	do

Therefore Toshiya's use of "on" + "suru" is a reasonable compensatory strategy for Japanese.

### 3.3.3 Emphasis by repetition

When T repeats a word or whole sentence in the other language it has emphatic functions.

<I: 3;4.6> (Father tries to leave the bedroom)  
 T: Stay here *koko* {Stay here}  
 here

By switching and repeating in Japanese , T reinforces the word "here" The already observed example of inter-sentential (2.2.1.2.2 ) can be classified here.

<I: 3;4.7> (Father left the bedroom)  
 T: Come back *kocchi* *i-* *-te.*

<sup>26</sup> Honna (1995:51) also shows other examples: *torai-suru* {to try}, *disukasshon-suru* {to discuss}, etc.

here

stay DP

{Come back stay here}

Here is another reinforcement.

<I: 3;10.4> (Mother and Father are telling T that the video has finished and to go to bed)

T : It's not finished  
 F : *Owari ka -na*  
 finish QP TAGP  
 {Is it finished?}  
 T : No *owari na*<sup>27</sup>  
 finish NEG<sup>28</sup>

T repeats the negative sentence in Japanese and gives a reinforcement.  
 Repetition also has the function of clarification.

<I: 3;3.7> (Father is trying to go in the tunnel)  
 T : *Dame* You're too big. Go away  
 {no }

First he expresses prohibition in Japanese and gives a reason in English for clarification.

### 2.3.4 Involvement Intensification

As we have seen in chapter 2, sentence-final particles play a crucial role in the pragmatic function of Japanese. T also puts sentence final particles at the end of English sentences especially in phase III. This pattern of code-switching is called involvement intensification by Nishimura (1995:168).

When T learned the sentence-final particle “*ya*” which functions as a statement particle, he tried to put it in both Japanese and English.

<I: 3;9.28> (He sees a cat and tells it to go away.)  
 T : *Kore wa cat ya. Go away ya,*  
 this TOP STP<sup>29</sup> STP  
 {This is a cat. Go away}

One could explain that he learned a fixed expression “*Kore wa~ ya*”, realized that the noun phrase can go between “*wa*” and “*ya*” and therefore he inserted the English noun “cat”. Next he extracted “*ya*” and put it after the English phrase. The phrase “Go away” is realized as one word.

After T had spent a couple of months in Britain in phase III, his English became dominant and mixed utterances increased especially when he interacted with his father.

<III: 4;7.23> ( Bath time: father is holding a plastic toy.)  
 F : *Kore wani ka?*  
 this crocodile QP {Is this a crocodile?}  
 T : *Chigau yo*  
 No EP. {No, it's not.}  
 F : *Chigau?*  
 No  
 T : Maybe, maybe BEE<sup>30</sup> *desho.*  
 TAGP  
 {Maybe it's a bee isn't it?}

<sup>27</sup> The standard form is *owari ja nai* or *owari chigau*  
 finish CP NEG finish NEG

<sup>28</sup> NEG=negative particle

<sup>29</sup> STP=statement particle

<sup>30</sup> Underline indicates a prominent intonation.

T's first response to his father's question is Japanese, but he switched to English in the second response. "Maybe" is used when he is thinking. "*Desho*" is a particle for demanding agreement such as the tag question in English. By adding this sentence-final particle he adds a pragmatic function to the English sentence and he achieves the effect of seeking agreement.

<III: 4;7.23> (Father and T are talking about the lyrics of a song which T is practising.)

F: We all cave man?

T: No *chigau desho*.

no TAGP {No it's not}

We ARE the cavemen.

F: WE are the cave man

T: No *chigau yo*

no EP

{No(I'm telling you) it's not}

We ARE the cavemen *-desho*

TAGP

{It's "We are the cavemen" isn't it?}

Father is asking about English lyrics therefore T naturally answers "no" in English and then switches to the Japanese "*chigau*" to reinforce. The sentence-final particle "*desho*" is attached to it to add the pragmatic function of 'seeking agreement'. Father made the same mistake again and T put the sentence final particle "yo" which means "I am telling you that" and is stronger than "*desho*". He puts "*desho*" after the English sentence "we are the cave men" and gives a pragmatic function of seeking agreement again.

(T and father are playing a painting game on the computer)

<III: 4;10.9> T: Daddy, what's next?

F: *Kono iro*  
this colour

T: Is it *mizuiro ka?*  
light blue QP

With this example, because of the lexical gap in English T borrowed the name of the colour from Japanese. This Japanese colour name might have triggered his Japanese and the question particle "*ka*" is added without violating the English interrogative form. This can be argued as a sophisticated version of "Mama, Toshi go-*noru* {ride} *ka?*" in 2.3.1.

## 2.4 Metalinguistic Awareness

Having observed T's language use, in 2.2 and 2.3 some questions are raised: how does T think and feel about using two languages, and does it influence his language choice? These issues are explored in this section from the perspective of meta-linguistic awareness and language attitude.

### 2.4.1 Metalinguistic awareness

First we will explore how much he is aware of the presence of the two language systems.

#### 2.4.1.1 Translation

T seems to establish person-language identification from an early age and translation is used as a communication strategy. (see 2.3.1)

<I: 3;10.27> (T has made railway lines by himself)

T: Look I made a railway line. (To Mother)

*Senro tsukut-ta* (To Father)

railway line made PAST

{I made a railway line}

<II:4:3.30> T : Mama, this one and this one are the same colour. (to mother)  
*Kore to kore wa issho no iro.* (to father)  
 this and this TOP same of colour  
 {This one and this one are the same colour.}

This self-translation proves that he is aware of his interlocutor's language and that he has determined that it is appropriate to produce one proposition in two languages when there are interlocutors with different languages.

When T learnt new vocabulary in Japanese, he always went to his mother and explained it by English translation.

<I: 3;8 20> (T and father are reading a book on a snowman)  
 F : *Toshiya kore wa yukidaruma.*  
 this TOP snowman  
 {Toshiya, this is a snowman.}  
 T : *Yukidaruma*  
 { snowman}  
 (T goes to report to his mother)  
 T : Snowman is called "*yukidaruma*".  
 "Snowman" is English, "*Yukidaruma*" is Japanese.

The other way around rarely occurred because his English was usually ahead of his Japanese in phase I. His mother often asked him questions about Japanese words.

<I: 3;1.14> M: What's "dog" called?  
 T: *inu* {dog}

Therefore one can argue that assigning new Japanese words to already learned English words became one of his Japanese learning strategies. He was aware that there are at least two ways to name one thing from an early age.

Not only can he produce what he intends to say in two languages, he assigns himself the role of translator.

<I: 3;11.13> (He is watching a video "Three Little Pig". One little pig is singing a song.)  
 TV: *Ookami nanka kowaku- -nai kowaku- -nai*  
 wolf such as afraid NEG afraid NEG  
 {I'm not afraid of the wolf, I'm not afraid.}

T : He is not afraid of the wolf. (to mother)  
 <II: 4;2.12 > F : *Ashita shigoto ya na Daddy wa.*  
 tomorrow work STP TAGP TOP  
 {Tomorrow Daddy goes to work}  
*Toshiya to Ellis to Mummy wa oyasumi.*  
 and and TOP day-off  
 {Toshiya, Ellis and Mummy can have a day-off.}  
 T : *Daddy wa shigoto.*  
 TOP work  
 {Daddy goes to work}  
 Daddy have to go to work tomorrow.  
 (to Mother)

This indicates that T could conduct a fairly complicated process of translation. He comprehended the Japanese sentences, changed them into English sentences and told them to his mother.



### 2.4.1.2 Loan Words

Loan words in Japanese are so prevalent<sup>31</sup> (Honma,1995) that some vocabulary could be acquired as loan words first. Therefore there might be a chance of using Japanese phonology for English words. This occurs frequently with adult second language learners and causes intelligibility problems, e.g. tunnel /tVnkl/ pronounced as [to&nE\* .]. However T distinguished loan words and English words clearly.

<II: 4;1.13> (watching a video showing penguin)

T: *Kore pengin ya*  
 this /pEngin/<sup>32</sup> STP  
 F: *Toshiya eigo de pengin no koto nante iu -no?*  
 English in penguin of thing what say QP

{Toshiya how do you call “penguin” in English?}

T: Penguin  
 /pENGwin/

Children’s English TV programmes are also available in Japan, and characters’ names are employed as they are, except that the pronunciation is modified to the Japanese way. These can be categorized as loan words.

e.g. Characters’ name	English pronunciation	Japanese pronunciation
Dipsy	/dIpsi/	/di pSii/
Po	/pKU/	/p0:/
Scoop	/sku:p/	/s. k. :pu/
Spud	/spVd/	/s. pa?d0/

T realizes these differences. Usually when he talks about these characters he employs the English names but if he is asked to say them in the Japanese way, he pronounces them with Japanese phonology.

He especially emphasizes word-final vowels, e.g. /supa?d0/ for “Spud”. Therefore he is aware of the difference between Japanese and English phonology.

He is also sensitive to the segmental factor of phonology. Normally for Japanese learners of English, it is hard to distinguish the liquids /R/ and /l/ of English and the tap /r/ of Japanese. In phase III T showed his comprehension of those sounds.

<III: 4;5.14> (T and father are practising counting. )

T: *Daddy zero<sup>33</sup> kara hajime- -yoo- -ka?*  
 zero from start IP QP

{Daddy, shall we start from zero?}

F: zero [zER0]<sup>34</sup> {Zero}

T: *Chigau* {No}

F: zelo[zEIO] {Zero}

T: *Chigau nihongo de*

No Japanese in {No, say it in Japanese}

F: zero[zE\*0] {Zero}

<sup>31</sup> Honna (1995:45) indicates that 1) 10% of the lexicon of a Japanese standard dictionary are loan words mostly English, 2)13% of the words daily conversations are foreign words, 3) 60-70% of new words in the annually revised dictionaries of neologisms are from English.

<sup>32</sup> Phonemic and phonetic sign follows IPA (1999)

<sup>33</sup> “Zero” is also “zero” in Japanese, i.e. loan word.

<sup>34</sup> The pronunciation of standard English= /ziKRKU/

T :            Soo        {That's right}

This example explains two factors. One is that he can recognize the distinction between these words. His father's pronunciation in the beginning is fairly similar to Japanese sound except for the [R] sound, but he could point out the difference.

The other is that at the beginning of phase III he prefers his father speaking Japanese. This issue concerning language attitude is further explored in 2.4.2.

### 2.4.1.3 Awareness of other languages

T not only displays an awareness of English and Japanese but of other languages, too.

<I: 3;10.5> (When mother was reading a story to T, he started saying made-up words.  
Being annoyed, mother started reading the book in Welsh.)  
T: No, no, no! That's not right! That's German.

Actually there are similarities between German and Welsh, for example the velar fricative [x]. T had heard a phrase of German on a CD-ROM game before and he grasped a feature of German sound.

There is another example of showing his awareness of other languages.

<III: 5;0.29> (Mother and T are talking about a boy who came from India to his class)  
M: That little boy can speak two languages like Toshiya can.  
Toshiya can speak English and Japanese  
and he can speak English and another language.  
T: Yes, they speak Hindi in India.

He is aware that different languages are spoken in different countries.

## 2.4.2 Language attitude and awareness according to each phase

### 2.4.2.1 Phase I

In phase I, when his mother talked Japanese to T he said "no" and demanded that she speak English. He was more tolerant to his father's use of English. Before the age of three, when his Japanese grandparents asked him questions in Japanese, he replied with gestures, e.g. nodding or shaking his head.

### 2.4.2.2 Phase II

T enjoyed videos and TV programmes in both Japanese and English. However, in phase II he showed a preference for Japanese. In Japan, when TV programmes produced in Britain or the U.S. are broadcasted, they employ a simultaneous broadcasting system, and people can choose either language from two channels. T enjoyed programmes such as "Teletubbies"- a British children's programme in either channel throughout phase I. However, in phase II he often asked to put it on in Japanese.

<II: 4;3.29> (Father switched on both English and Japanese channel at the same time.)  
T: "Time for Tubbie-bye bye" to "tabii baibai no jikan da- -yo"

and Tubbie-bye bye of time STP EP

<i>to</i>	<i>ryouhou</i>	<i>itta</i>	<i>yo.</i>	<i>Toshiya</i>	<i>ryoohoo</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>iy.a</i>
and	both	said	EP		both	TOP	hate

{It said "Time for Tubbie-bye bye" and "tabii baibai no jikan da yo" both. Toshiya doesn't like both}

F: *Docchi ga ii no?*  
which CP good QP  
{ Which do you prefer?}

T : “*Tabiibaibai no jikan dayo*”      *ga*      *ii*      *no*  
Time for Tubbie-bye bye      CP      good      EP  
{I like “*Tabiibaibai no jikan dayo*”}

T often mentioned that his mother can't speak Japanese and his father can't speak English even though his parents talked in both languages to each other.

He is also aware of the language of schools.

- <II: 4;3.13> M: Do they talk Japanese in your new school?  
 T : NO. ENGLISH
- M: English do they?=  
 T : =(unintelligible)
- M : So Toshi has to talk in English to the boys and girls in his new school?  
 what does Toshi talk in *Aoba Youchien*?  
 {kindergarten's name}
- T : JAPANESE.
- M : Japanese. And what are you going to talk in your new school?  
 T : ENGLISH.

One might infer that he has established institution-language identification in phase II.

### 2.4.2.3 Phase III

As already mentioned, the norm in this phase was that his father talked to him in Japanese and T answered in English. Moreover T doesn't seem to care which language his father speaks to him in. Sometimes when T doesn't understand his father's Japanese, he says "What, I can't hear you, speak louder please." When he is asked if he speaks Japanese, he answers "No, I can't" or "Just a little bit".

T is also aware of the link between language and culture.

- <III: 4;10.6> F : *Osushi nai no Toshiya no gakko*  
 sushi NEG QP GP school  
 {Is there no sushi in Toshiya's school?}  
 T : No not in my school
- F : *Osushi nain-ka?*  
 sushi NEG QP  
 {Is there no sushi?}  
 T : Yeah but-because
- F : Hm  
 T : They don't ha-Not-they can-  
 because they can't-
- F : They can't catch fish!  
 T : No, because they can't talk Japanese you see.
- F : ((laughing)) They can't talk Japanese.  
 T: Only Just in Japan.
- F : In Japan?  
 T : Yeah but not in Wales.
- F : But you can make sushi without speaking Japanese.  
 T : No
- F : *Honma ka? Osushi nain-ka Toshiya no gakko wa.*  
 true QP sushi NEG QP of school TOP  
 {Is that true? Is there no sushi in Toshiya's school?}  
 T : Yeah. Because they don't know what it means

He relates sushi to Japanese and he determined that they can't make sushi in Wales because they can't speak Japanese. One might argue that he has established culture-language identification in phase III.

### 3.2 Influence of Parental Input on his language choice

The distinction between phase I and phase II is T's entrance to Japanese kindergarten, so any changes in his linguistic behaviour are not directly attributable to his parents. Nevertheless his improvement in Japanese in phase II might have influenced his father's use of Japanese. When they moved from Japan to Britain in phase III, the positions of majority language and minority language were switched. This might have had a major influence on the language use of every member of family.

The phase approach, which has been taken in this study, will be employed to identify the features of parental input and discourse strategy.

#### 3.2.1. Phase I

Toshiya spent more time with his mother than his father and because he didn't go to kindergarten at this stage, his mother was the main source of language input. Although English is a minority language, it has a high status in Japanese society, so the parents prioritized his learning English. His mother's input was more like "teaching" than his father's input. His mother read stories in bed to him and when he made a mistake, she corrected it immediately.

On the other hand, Japanese is a majority language in phase I, hence the parents didn't push the use of Japanese as hard as English. Father/ son activities involved more physical contact than those of his mother and the topics were limited to trains and vehicles. His mother employed some Japanese proper nouns as lexical items in her English utterance to T, such as "*ojiichan* (grandpa), *obaachan* (grandma), *shinkansen* (bullet train)".

His father basically used Japanese but sometimes he unconsciously switched to English. In the following example, T and his father have been talking for a while and singing Japanese songs. His father started singing English songs and played with the song by modifying the lyrics.

<I: 3;11.22> F: See-saw margarine toast  
T: See-saw marjory TRAIN  
F: Train *ka?*  
QP {Is it "train"}  
T: Marjory train.

Then his father mixed the English noun "train" with the Japanese interrogative particle "*ka*". Toshiya continued using English after this for a while. Then his father realized that it was time for a children's train program "*Hikarian*". He mentioned this in Japanese.

F: A – Toshiya *Hikarian ka na moosugu*  
(Children's program) QP TAGP soon  
{Toshiya, I wonder if Hikarian will be on soon}  
T: Daddy, is Hikarian going to be on today?  
F: Ye::s  
T: What ye::s?  
F: Ye::s  
T: Ye::s.

T repeated his father's question in English and returned the question. His father answered in English. Lanza's PDH (1992,1997) identifies this code-switching as a cue to promote a bilingual context. The interaction went on in English for a while.

F: On channel-  
T: Twelve!  
F: No  
T: Twelve!  
F: On channel-  
T: twelve  
F: Channel eleven  
T: Channel twelve  
F: Channel eleven  
T: Channel twelve (T spat with /v/sound)  
F: *Aa Toshi kitana ach-a-fi. channeru juuichi ban*  
yuck yuck channel eleven  
{Ah Toshiya yuck. It is channel 11. Toshiya it's eleven.}  
*Kyoo wa Hikarian aru ka na terebi de,*  
today TOP exist QP TAGP TV on  
{Is Hikarian going to be on TV today, Toshiya?}  
T: Yeah

In the above example, his father responded to the happening (T spat) in Japanese “*kitana*”<sup>35</sup>. This triggered his father's Japanese and he repeated his earlier utterances in Japanese. Nevertheless, Toshiya keeps using English and answered with “Yeah”.

This example is not a frequent occurrence, however his father's code-switching may have provided a model of language mixing to Toshiya. Goodz (1989) also argued this point.

[A]though the overall frequency of parental language mixes or switches maybe small, the fact that they occur in salient situations or children are particularly attentive may serve to make them especially potent models for children.(Goodz, 1989: 42)

### 3.2.2 PhaseII

In phase II, the entrance to kindergarten led to an increase in Japanese input and the interactions between T and his father seem to become smoother. Still his father's code-switching utterances are observed.

<II: 4;3.14> F: Air conditioner *ire* *yoo* *ka* (to Toshiya)  
switch on IP QP

<sup>35</sup> Actually the Welsh equivalent “ach-a-fi” is fused with “*kitana*” by his father.

{ shall we switch on the air conditioner }



His father exhibited a language mixing model here. “Air conditioner” could be a loan word in Japanese but he pronounced it in English so we can say that intra-sentential code-switching was employed here. His father’s code-switching across the conversational turns was also observed. In the following example, after Toshiya and his father argued over which channel to watch on TV, he went to his mother and asked her to turn the channel.

<II: 4;0.3> M : I don’t know ask Daddy.  
 (T ran towards his father)  
 T : Mu-Daddy you can do that?  
 F : Ye::s  
 T : A Daddy said yes. (To his mother)

His father answered in English to T’s English utterance. Again this is a rare example, however Toshiya’s utterance “Daddy said yes” tells us that this is a salient input for him.

‘Explicit’ discourse strategies (Kasuya, 1998) promoting monolingual context (Lanza, 1992, 1997) are observed in phase II.

<II: 4;1.14> ( Toshiya and his father are looking at a picture of when they visited a zoo.)  
 T : *Zousan wa poo poo shi-ta.*  
 Elephant TOP do PAST  
 {The elephant did a poo poo.}  
 F : *Zousan wa unchi shi- tan ka?*  
 elephant TOP poo do PAST QP  
 {Did the elephant do a poo .}

His father repeats T’s mixed utterance “poo-poo *shita*” in appropriate Japanese. This is an example of what Lanza calls the ‘Expressed Guess’ strategy. His father reformulated Toshiya’s language mixing and asked him a yes-no question.

<II: 4;3.13> T: *Ellis no birthday wa koko*  
 GP TOP here  
 {Ellis’s birthday is here}  
 F: *Toshi, birthday tte ihongo de nan te iu no?*  
 CP Japanese by what QT say QP  
 { Toshiya, how do you say “birthday” in Japanese?}  
 O- -tanjoobi. {It’s “otanjoobi”(birthday)}  
 PM<sup>36</sup> birthday

Here his father used two strategies. First he employed wh-interrogative to correct T’s English into appropriate Japanese. Lanza (1992, 1997) defines this as the ‘Minimal Grasp’ strategy. Then he provided the appropriate Japanese word without the interrogative form. This strategy is defined as ‘Repetition’ strategy and Kasuya (1998) categorizes this in the implicit strategies. His father repeated “ *X no tanjoobi itsu ?*” {When is X’s birthday?} after this and finally T said:

<II: 4;3.13> T : *Koko wa Toshiya no otanjoobi*  
 this TOP GP birthday  
 {This is Toshiya’s birthday.}

In phase II, a variety of strategies which negotiate monolingual and bilingual contexts are employed by his father.

<sup>36</sup> PM=Politeness Marker

### 3.2.3 Phase III

Phase III began when the whole family moved to Wales. This was a significant change in language situation for all of them. The position of the majority and minority languages were switched. Japanese became a minority language and did not have a high status. Because the parents wanted T to catch up with other British children's English, English learning was still prioritised in the family. His mother's parental teaching strategies were even more emphasized because T learned literacy at school and T brought work to do at home. Therefore his father was the single source of Japanese input in phase III. As we have seen in 3.2.3.2 the use of English to his father increased around three months after he arrived in Britain. The following example has already been introduced in 3.2.3.2.

<III: 4:8.23> (T is playing with a toy fishing rod)  
 T: I caught a fish. I can caught one all by myself  
 F: *Sakana* *tsut* *tan* *ka* *Toshiya*  
 fish catch PAST QP  
 { Have you caught a fish, Toshiya? }

Here his father recognizes the meaning of Toshiya's utterance and keeps the conversation going in Japanese. Lanza (1997) defines this as 'Move on' strategy and places it next to code-switching in the negotiation of a bilingual context. Kasuya (1998) categorizes this as an 'implicit' strategy. Toshiya continues the conversation in English.

T: I can caught a fish all by myself  
 F: You can catch a fish?  
 T: Yeah all by my self  
 F: *Honma* *ka* { Really? }  
 true QP

After T repeated a similar sentence, his father employed code-switching. His father prioritised correcting T's English form "can caught" into "can catch" rather than encouraging the use of appropriate Japanese. This strategy is also reported in Goodz (1989).

[T]he mother's main goal in this exchange was to correct her son's overextension. No concern at all was given to separating the two languages. (Goodz, 1989: 42)

In phase III, his father's 'move on' and code-switching strategy becomes the norm.

<III: 4:8.16> (Bath time)  
 T: Don't you wash my hair I will put this in my pyjama pocket.  
 (he is worrying about his new watch)  
 F: Pyjama pocket?  
*Daddy* *motte* *iko* *o* *ka* *sore.*  
 take go IP QP it  
 {(Do you want to put it in your) pyjama pocket? Shall Daddy take it away?  
 T: Mmh you put it in my pyjama pocket.  
 F: *Ha:i* {O.K.}

His father spoke Japanese, T spoke English, both comprehended each other's utterance, and the conversation went on. This 'Move on' strategy became the most frequent pattern of their interaction

Even though his father was determined to speak Japanese to T, code-switching was spontaneously triggered.

<4;8.23> (They are talking about his friend's birthday party.)  
 F : *Toshiya, Ellis nani shite- -ta*  
           what doing PAST  
           {What was Ellis doing?}  
 T : *Warui* ((whispering))  
       {Naughty}  
 F : *Waru?* ((laughing))  
       {Naughty?}  
 T : *Warui Ellis ga warui-*  
       naughty CP naughty  
       {Naughty Ellis is naughty}  
       -that's why he went upstairs  
 F : Ah Ellis went UPSTAIRS?  
 T : Yes he did and I took him down.

In this example T's code-switching triggered his father's code-switching. In phase III his father and Toshiya's interaction occurred in bilingual contexts. Because the interaction goes on, there is no reason for Toshiya to use Japanese.

### 3.2.4 Interaction between the parents

The interactions between parents are not intended to influence Toshiya but are natural models for him. When the parents have a conversation, the most frequently occurring pattern is that they talk their native language to each other and comprehend each other's utterances so that the conversation goes on.

<I: 3;8.24> M: I woke up once and he was just lying there and no blanket with  
 pyjamas right up here and all his tummy was showing and  
 freezing cold.  
 F: Eh sore darena hanashi? Ellis?  
     IJ<sup>37</sup> that whose story  
 { Whose story is that?(Are you talking about)Ellis?}  
 <I: 4;0.3> M: Were you planning on taking the car tomorrow then? Were you?  
 F: N? iya iiyo betsuni  
     IJ no OK don't mind  
 {No, it's OK. I don't mind}

This is Lanza's (1997,1992) 'Move-on' strategy. It is no wonder that Toshiya thinks the 'Move-on' strategy is natural because he has been exposed to this pattern since birth.

A wide variety of code switchings are employed. The most frequent pattern is an intra-sentential code switching where they speak their native language as a base language and inserts the other language.

<II: 4;0.3> (They are watching a boxing match on TV)  
 F : *Kono red no hoo ga maa ichiban tsuyoi*  
     this GP side CP well the best strong  
 { This red side is the strongest one}  
 <III: 5;1.13> F: Foot ball no header ka?  
                   GP QP  
 {Are you talking about "header " of football?}

<sup>37</sup> IJ=interjection

His father inserts a single English lexical item into a Japanese frame. Japanese particles are consistently used. This consistent use of Japanese particles in code-switching might have influenced T's 'English clause + Japanese sentence final particle' pattern, e.g. "we are the cavemen *desho* (TAGP: seeking agreement)" "{ It was "we are the cavemen", wasn't it}.

His mother's code-switching pattern sounds more fluent.

<II: 4;1.13> M: And then two little boys *maa* same age as Ellis *gurai* or a little bit older  
well about  
{and then two little boys well, about the same age as Ellis or a little bit older}

<I: 3;10.4> M: they don't say please give us money *toka-* *-sonnan*  
etc. such thing  
{they don't say please give us money}  
*zenzen nakat- -ta*  
at all NEG PAST  
{there was nothing like that}

Compared to his father, his mother's code-switching includes longer strings. In the first example of his mother's speech, the Japanese frame [maa X gurai]{well, about ~} is inserted into an English sentence and in the second example is a "Portmanteau sentence"(Nishimura, 1995: 166) which comes out as "SVOV" pattern. By using this pattern neither the English word order (S+V+O) nor the Japanese word order (S+O+V) are violated. It starts with English S+V = "They don't say" and then O= "please give us money" followed by the Japanese verb phrase "*zenzen nakatta*" {there was nothing at all}. "*Toka sonnan*" {things like that} and "*maa~gurai*" {well, about~} don't have clear ideational meanings but function as fillers or discourse interjections and contribute to fluency. The use of Japanese fillers in English sentences might have influenced T. For example "*Etto Cavemen*" {well, Cavemen}

In general, Toshiya doesn't employ such a variety of code-switching yet. Intra-sentential code-switching needs a certain degree of mastery of grammar in each language. There is a possibility he will employ a wide variety of code-switching in the future when he develops a grammar system in both languages.

## 4 Discussion

### 4.1 Language choice

Toshiya's dominant language with his interlocutor in each phase is tabulated in table 3.1.

	<u>Mother</u>	<u>Father</u>	<u>Brother</u>	<u>Settings</u>
<b>Phase I</b>	English	Japanese	English	home in Japan
<b>Phase II</b>	English	Japanese	Japanese	Kindergarten and home in Japan
<b>Phase III</b>	English	English	English	Primary School and home in the U.K.

**Table 2 T's language choice in the three phases**

Among the three constituents of Fishman's (1965/2000) domain definition, the setting played the most significant role in T's language choice. The pattern of language choice and settings are related. Major shifts in language choice always occurred after settings changed. Regarding the interlocutor, basically he established person-language identification but he changed it according to the major change of settings. His language use to his brother changed from phase I to phase II and then phase III, although appropriate interactions with his brother became possible only in phase III. His use of Japanese to father drastically decreased in phase III, even though his father kept speaking Japanese to him. Nevertheless, he used Japanese for specific topics within specific media. This implies that the topic also contributed to his language choice.

## 4.2 Exploring Code-switching

The mixed-utterances observed in this chapter are not mixed up incomplete ones but rule-governed functional ones.

Intra-sentential CS doesn't violate the grammar of either language.

In the earlier stages, CS was used as a compensatory strategy to fill in lexical gaps. Translation is the most frequently observed instance of CS. T translated between the two languages for the maintenance of social relations, i.e. he sticks to person-language identification. The most advanced one is that he comprehended a Japanese sentence uttered by his father or TV and translated it into English and delivered it to his mother. CS is employed as an effective communication strategy by T.

In phase III, a sophisticated usage of CS is observed. Sentence-final particles are added to the end of English sentences. This pattern of CS is also observed in Nishimura (1995) 's study of adult second generation Canadian Japanese. T can add a pragmatic function such as "demanding agreement" without violating the grammar of English. This is 'tag-switching' in Poplack' s (1980/2000) terminology.

## 4.3 The role of parental input

T's parents' languages are his immediate model. Basically his parents keep to the 'one-parent one-language' strategy, but they do unintentionally exhibit the mixed language model. When his parents speak to each other, a variety of CS was observed and there is a distinct difference in their use of CS. When his father employed CS, English referential words are borrowed with Japanese grammatical particles as the following example shows: "Football no(GP) header ka(QP)?{ Did you mean 'header' of football?}" If his mother had said the same example, it looks the same but in fact a totally different strategy would have been employed. When his mother employed CS, she seemed to use Japanese formulae to achieve certain kind of interactional functions such as vagueness.

T might have overheard these interactions and have been influenced by them. When speaking to T, his father exhibited CS throughout the three phases, whereas his mother's CS was hardly observed. This might be attributed to the nature and status of Japanese and English in the community and the family: 1) In Japan, English has a high status and loan words from English are prevalent but not the other way around. 2) The family prioritise English learning either in Japan or Britain.

His father's strategy is the one which promotes language use in a bilingual context in Lanza's PDH framework. Although in phase II when T's Japanese developed, strategies which promote language use in monolingual context were observed, his father's over all parental discourse strategy is biased to the ones promoting a bilingual context. In phase III, especially the frequent use of these strategies i.e. the 'Move on ' and the code-switching strategy didn't promote T's use of Japanese. The prevalence of the 'Move on' strategy set a pattern of interactions between T and his father, i.e. his father speaks Japanese to him , T speaks English to him, both comprehend each other's speech and the interaction moves on. The drastic change in phase III, when he stopped talking Japanese to his father (4.2.3), is attributed to the change in the language's status and the father's discourse strategy which allowed him to keep using English.

To summarise, parental input as a language model played a salient role in T's language choice and his father's discourse strategy didn't encourage T's use of Japanese with him.

## 5Conclusion

The change of situation significantly influenced T's language choice. His language choice with his brother changed in each phase and that with his father changed from Japanese to English in phase III even though his father kept talking in Japanese. The language situation seemed to play an essential role in language choice.

In general T differentiated between the two languages. He established 'person-language identity' at an early stage due to the 'one parent one language' strategy. The most frequently observed pattern of CS was inter-sentential CS: he talked to his father in Japanese and then switched to English to talk to his mother and vice versa. T's metalinguistic awareness also exhibited that he clearly differentiated between the two languages. When his language shifted in the change of situation, his

person-language identification must have been modified: e.g. Japanese with his father to English with his father. Therefore he still differentiate between the two languages and talked to his father mostly in English and not through mixing languages.

T's parents showed a variety of CS patterns and specifically his father displayed mixed utterances. They might have shown a model of language mixing. His father's discourse strategy also seemed to encourage language use in a bilingual context.

The amount of audio data collected for this study was more than I could possibly listen to, therefore I had to sample, based on the diary and the phases. If there had not been a limitation of time, more data could have been analysed, and many additional relevant examples – and indeed new phenomena – might have been found. Had I elicited materials and/or collected data at regular intervals, quantitative analyses would have been conducted. This might have made it possible to support certain findings more strongly, and generalise more about the patterns. On the other hand, the dataset that I have collected is extremely rich. It has the advantage of *not* being elicited but entirely naturalistic. Furthermore, the data collection has been responsive to when T was doing and saying interesting things, rather than being determined mechanistically by the calendar, a procedure that might have missed many of the most interesting material. Nevertheless, I hope this study shows that the change of language situation significantly influenced Toshiya's bilingual first language acquisition and that the role of interaction with his interlocutors was a crucial factor.

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