The Development of Pragmatic Functions of Codeswitching:
A Case Study of Two-Year-Old and Four-Year-Old Japanese-English Bilingual Children

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This study focuses on the development of pragmatic functions in the codeswitching (CS) performed by two bilingual children. The participants, M (four years old) and S (two years old), are sisters who live in Japan with their Japanese parents but are simultaneously acquiring English as well as Japanese. Natural conversations between the children and their parents were recorded every other week for about half an hour each time, and the children's codeswitching during these conversations was analyzed both qualitatively and quantitatively. First, switches were categorized into the function they served, such as filling lexical gaps, CS upon request, self-initiated CS, emphasis, framing discourse, quotation, making metalinguistic comments, repair, role-play and private speech. The switches were then analyzed quantitatively in terms of their function, frequency and direction. It was found that the two-year-old bilingual was already able to choose the appropriate language according to the context, confirming the findings of earlier studies such as Lanza (1992) about two-year-olds' ability to codeswitch. Moreover, the two-year-old started using simple conversational codeswitching as well. As for the four-year-old subject, she was found to be able to use more types of conversational codeswitching. The results suggested that the ability to use codeswitching for pragmatic functions develops as children grow. The order in which M and S started using each function was similar to the findings of Köppe & Meisel (1995), who analyzed the codeswitching of two French-German bilingual children. Thus, the study confirmed that young bilinguals develop their ability to use codeswitching as an effective communication strategy as they mature.

コード切り替え語用論的能力の発達 ― ２歳児と４歳児の日英バイリンガル幼児の場合
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本研究は、日本在住の日英バイリンガル幼児二名(姉4歳、妹2歳)の行ったコード切り替え（以下ＣＳ)の実例を基に、早期バイリンガルのＣＳの機能と発達を考察したものである。二週間に一度、30分程度家族の会話を録音し、ＣＳの起こった部分を書き起こしてデータを収集し、質的、量的に分析した。質的分析では、ＣＳを以下の１０種類の機能に分類した：分からない語彙を片方の言語で補うＣＳ、求めに応じたＣＳ、対話者に合わせて自ら行うＣＳ、強調のためのＣＳ、対話者の注意を引くためのＣＳ、引用、メタ言語的発言を含むＣＳ、言い直しのＣＳ、ロール・プレイ中のＣＳ、独り言のＣＳである。量的分析では、彼女らのＣＳ使用をが、機能、頻度、方向の面から提示されている。その結果、２歳児でも、対話者や状況といったコンテクストに即して正しい言語選択を行い、さらには簡単な会話的ＣＳをも行っていることが分かった。４歳児のほうは、より高度な機能を持つ会話的ＣＳを行っており、バイリンガルであることや、二言語使用に対する自覚が高まっている様子がうかがえる。これは、子どもの成長に応じて、ＣＳを語用論的な機能のために使用する能力が高まったことを示している。二人の児童が各コード切り替え機能を使い始めた順序は、Köppe & Meisel (1995)の先行研究と類似していた。これは、バイリンガルが、有効な会話手段としてのＣＳを早くから習得し、発達させていることの表れであろう。

INTRODUCTION

Codeswitching is defined as language alterations within the same conversation (Myers-Scotton, 1993). Traditionally, codeswitching was seen as a sign of confusion or incompetent language proficiency due to bilingualism. In recent years, however, many researchers and linguists have argued that codeswitching can be an effective style of communication which is used by many bilinguals, regardless of the languages they use (Gumperz, 1982; Fotos, 1995; Yamamoto, 2001). The late 1970s and 1980s saw continued interest in the social motivations of codeswitching. Today, codeswitching is clearly established as a subject of study from a number of different points of view (Myers-Scotton, 1993).

However, there is little research on codeswitching performed by young bilingual children who are still in the process of developing their language abilities, and studies on codeswitching between Japanese and English by bilingual children are even more rare. This case study is intended to contribute to this area of research by examining the codeswitching of two young Japanese-English bilingual sisters who

live in Japan with their Japanese parents and analyzing how they learn to use codeswitching as an effective communication strategy.

PREVIOUS RESEARCH

Definition of Bilingualism

In the present paper, a functional definition of bilingualism is adopted. This means "bilinguals" are defined to be people who use two languages regularly but do not necessarily have native-like fluency in both (Grosjean, 1982). In contrast, "monolinguals" are defined as people who hardly use a second language, even if they have some knowledge or command of it. Grosjean (1985) argued that bilinguals are rarely equally fluent in both of their languages, since the needs and uses of each are usually quite different. Thus, even if a person who speaks two languages is dominant in one of the languages, like the participants of this study, s/he can be accepted as being "bilingual".

Codeswitching by Young Bilingual Children

Since the 1990s, codeswitching by very young bilinguals has received increased attention (Lanza, 1992; Genesee, Nicoladis & Paradis, 1995; Wanner, 1996; Nicoladis, & Genesee, 1996). Much of this research appears to have been in response to questions about when infants realize that they are dealing with two distinct languages and start to differentiate between them. Volterra & Taeschner (1978) had theorized that bilingual children initially process all language input in one system and only start to differentiate between their two languages from the age of three, or in their two-word stage. However, Lanza (1992) found that a two-year-old bilingual could choose the appropriate language according to the context, and therefore suggested that two-year-old bilinguals already differentiate between their languages, thus challenging Volterra & Taeschner's theory (1978). Her findings were confirmed by other studies (e.g., Genesee, Nicoladis & Paradis, 1995; Nicoladis, & Genesee, 1996), including Wanner's (1996) study of his Japanese-English bilingual son. Shikano (1998) also studied the codeswitching of her daughter and found that the two-year-old Japanese-English bilingual displayed contextually and linguistically sensitive codeswitching.

However, Lanza (1992) also concluded that codeswitching by two-year-old bilinguals is not as pragmatically sophisticated as the codeswitching done by older bilinguals. She argued that extensive use of codeswitching as a stylistic device does not seem to appear until the ages of five or six. This is one of the themes the current study is designed to explore.

Reasons Postulated for Codeswitching in Young Bilinguals

In considering the reasons for the codeswitching she observed, Lanza (1992) pointed out that her two-year-old Norwegian-English bilingual subject codeswitched more often when she spoke Norwegian, her dominant language, than when she spoke English, her weaker language. Lanza (1992) suggested that this might be due to the fact that her Norwegian father was more tolerant of her codeswitching than her English-speaking mother was. Lanza (1992) concluded that parental input was more influential than language dominance in determining the frequency of codeswitching.

In contrast, Genesee, Nicoladis & Paradis (1995), who focused on the direction of codeswitching and parental input when they studied the language use of five very young bilinguals, discovered that the toddlers codeswitched more often when they were communicating in their non-dominant language than when they were using their dominant language.

Other possible reasons for codeswitching were discovered by Taura (1998), who compared the codeswitching of young Japanese-English bilingual siblings, his eight-year-old son Kye and four-year-old daughter Emilee. Taura found Emilee to be an effective codeswitcher, despite the fact that her English was dominant. In contrast, Kye codeswitched only when he lacked linguistic resources in one of his languages or when he wanted to quote something that was said in English while he was speaking in Japanese, even though his proficiency in both English and Japanese was greater than Emilee's. Taura (1998) concluded that it is not linguistic proficiency, but the interaction of the situation and the codeswitcher's intentions that determines whether or not a bilingual will codeswitch.

Functions of Codeswitching

Researchers have identified a number of functions of codeswitching. Gumperz (1982) classified the conversational functions of codeswitching as follows: quotation, addressee specification, interjections, reiteration, message qualification, and personalization versus objectivization.

Whereas Gumperz (1982) analyzed codeswitching in adult conversation, Köppe & Meisel (1995) focused on the pragmatic functions of codeswitching in communication by bilingual children. They studied the codeswitching of two French-German bilingual children, Ivar and Annika. Köppe & Meisel (1995) observed the following pragmatic codeswitching functions when their participants interacted with German-speaking and French-speaking researchers in a play group: codeswitching upon request, role-play, self-initiated codeswitching, metalinguistic comments and marked language choice.

The pragmatic functions focused on in this study and examples of each function gleaned from previous research are presented below. The key word for each function appears in bold type in the first line. An explanation of the function follows. The languages involved are presented next, followed by the researcher's name and publication date of the study from which the example is taken. In the next line, the age of the child in years; months, and days is provided in parentheses after the speaker's initial. English glosses of words or sentences in other languages are provided in square brackets to the right of the example.

  * Codeswitch to compensate for a **lexical gap**
    When a child doesn't know a word while speaking in one language, s/he may use the equivalent of that word in the other language in its place.
    English-Japanese example from Namba (2002):

    T (2;7,23): (Pointing to a toy train) Dada *mita* this one.   [saw]

* **Codeswitching upon request**
  Children select and answer in the appropriate language when addressed by an interlocutor.
  German-French example from Köppe & Meisel (1995):

Ivar (2;7,17):	Oh derkann nich fahr(en) der auto.	[Oh this one can't move the car.]
French researcher:	*Qu'est-ce qu'elle a fait l'auto la voiture*?	[What has it done the auto the car?]
Ivar:	*Peut, peut pas rouler*.	[Can can not move.]

  According to Köppe & Meisel (1995), the practice of determining language choice according to situational factors is established quite early.

* **Self-initiated codeswitching**
  Children address someone in a different language than the one they were using without being asked to do so.
  German-French example from Köppe & Meisel (1995):

French researcher:	*Et comment est-ce qu'il va partir à Paris?*	[How will he go to Paris?]
Ivar (2;11, 21):	*Avec-avec le avec---*	[with, with, the with…]
(To German researcher)	Will weggehen.	[(I) want to leave.]

  Fantini (1978) also pointed out that participants or interlocutors are of primary importance when children choose their code. Self-initiated switches are evidence that bilingual children identify who speaks what language.

* Codeswitch to **repair** an utterance in order to meet interactional demands
  English-Norwegian example from Lanza (2001):

Siri (2;2):	*Klappe* hand.	[clap]
Mother:	Hm?	
Siri:	Clap hand.	

* Codeswitch for **emphasis**
  This type of codeswitch usually takes the form of a switched repetition of the words to be emphasized.
  English-Japanese example from Fotos (1995):

  Seven-year-old boy: The hammer was in the head like this. *Kou iu fuu ni.*   [like this]

* Codeswitch to **quote** or report speech
  English-Japanese example from Fotos (1995:)

  Seven-year-old-boy: And then he said, *"doshitano?"*   [What is the matter?]

* Codeswitch to **frame discourse** in order to attract and hold the listener's attention
  English-Japanese example from Fotos (1995):

  Eleven-year-old girl: I saw Moon Walker. Moon Walker was so weird *dayo.*   [It is!]

  According to Namba (2002), this is one of the more sophisticated usages of codeswitching and is observed in the later stages of development, at around 4 years old.

* Codeswitch used for **private speech**
  Spanish-English example from Fantini (1978):

Mario (6;1):	Here it is. The one that you didn't saw [sic].	
	His name is Shazam.	
(To himself)	*Algo 'sta mal*.	[Something's wrong.]

* Codeswitch during **role-play**
  German-French example from Köppe & Meisel (1995):

  Ivar (2;08,15): (Pretending to buy something)

So ham mir/hier sieben mark, so	[So we have/here seven marks.]
(To French researcher) *On va-on va manger.*	[We are-we are going to eat.]

* **Metalinguistic comments**
  As a consequence of their increasing bilingual awareness, children begin to make remarks about their languages and ask their parents for translations.
  German-French example from Köppe & Meisel (1995):

Annika (3;07,13): (To Mother) *Mais maintenant comment ça*	[But now what does one
s'appelle encore vorlesen*?*	say again for "to read"?]

  According to Wanner (1996), the use of translation equivalents (TEs) can be considered evidence of awareness of the existence of different languages. Thus, codeswitching to confirm the meaning by using the other language can also be categorized as the function of making metalinguistic comments.

* Codeswitch to make **marked language choice**
  This type of codeswitching may be used to create funny effects by playing with the two languages or even to exclude a person from the conversation.
  German-French example from Köppe & Meisel (1995):

Ivar (4;04,14): (to Mother)	Böse kleine männchen und dann	[Wicked little men and then
	ham sie a (ber) bestimmt angst.	they surely are afraid.]
French researcher:	*Moi j'comprends pas, oui mais*	[I don't understand, yes
	ça c'est de l'allemand dis donc.	but that's German.]
Mother:	*Elle comprend pas Marie-Claude,*	[Marie-Claude doesn't
	tu sais.	understand, you know.]
Ivar:	*Ça fait rien.*	[That doesn't matter.]

In addition to identifying the functions served by the codeswitches made by their child participants, Köppe & Meisel (1995) investigated how the young French-German bilinguals developed the pragmatic functions of codeswitching as they grew older. Observing Ivar's mixed speech from 2;05,07 to 5;01,22 and Annika's speech from 2;0,10 to 4;03,24, they found that the two participants developed codeswitching functions in a similar way as they grew. Table 1 shows the codeswitching functions observed in their data and the ages at which Annika and Ivar started to use them.

TABLE 1: Codeswitching Functions Used by Annika and Ivar (From Köppe & Meisel, 1995)

CS Function	Annika	Ivar
CS upon request	2;0	2;5
Self-initiated CS	2;0	2;8
Role-play	2;3	2;6
Metalinguistic comments	3;5	3;8
Marked language choice	—	4;4

Thus, it has been shown that even in the earliest stages of bilingual language acquisition—at two years of age—bilingual children codeswitch situationally, and that bilingual children gradually learn to perform other types of codeswitching. The current study therefore focuses on how the use of various codeswitching functions develops in the speech of two young Japanese-English bilingual sisters, two-year-old S and four-year-old M.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This study addresses two research questions. The first is: How does codeswitching by a two-year-old bilingual function? Data on codeswitching by the younger participant in this study will be examined to see if the two-year-old bilingual is able to codeswitch appropriately according to the context, as the participants in the studies by Lanza (1992) and others were, and if she can, what kind of functions the switches perform.

The second research question is this: How do the functions of the codeswitching by the participants of this study, two young Japanese-English bilingual children, develop as they get older? Previously, the development of pragmatic codeswitching functions by German-French bilingual infants was observed in a longitudinal study by Köppe & Meisel (1995). Does the codeswitching by the Japanese-English bilinguals follow the same pattern in terms of the progression of the different pragmatic functions it fulfills as was seen in the development of those two German-French young bilinguals?

METHOD

Participants

S is a two-year-old daughter of Japanese parents. Her father is a monolingual Japanese speaker, while her mother, the author of this study, is a Japanese-English bilingual who uses both of her languages to communicate with her two daughters. S is not in school yet and spends most of her time at home with her mother. She watches English videos for about two hours a day. For S, Japanese is the dominant language.

M is four years old and is S's older sister. She goes to a Japanese kindergarten from Monday to Friday. She also takes English lessons in a group one hour a week. The group consists of ten Japanese students, aged three to six, including M. Most of the students have been raised bilingually by their parents. The teacher is a native speaker of English, and the class is conducted in English only. Like her sister S, M also watches English videos for about one hour a day. Japanese is dominant for her as well, and she hardly ever codeswitches during conversations with Japanese monolinguals.

Communication between the girls' parents is conducted in Japanese only. Although the father is a monolingual Japanese speaker, he has had a positive attitude toward M and S acquiring both Japanese and English since their birth. The girls almost always speak to their father in Japanese. In most situations, they also use Japanese to initiate conversation with their mother, although they often respond to their mother in the language which she uses to talk to them.

Language between the sisters is usually in Japanese. However, their conversations sometimes include English and Japanese-English codeswitching when their mother is present or when they role-play

at home.

Except for the one-hour weekly English lesson and some video watching, the participants' mother is their only source of English input. For this reason, Japanese has become dominant for both sisters.

Data Collection

This case study is based on naturalistic observational data focusing on the linguistic interaction between family members. The author began recording data on M's speech when her daughter was three years old. Initially, M's codeswitches were recorded in the author's journal. Then in May 2004, when M was four years and one month old and S was two years and one month old, the author began videotaping their conversations every other week. By leaving a video camera running at home for about half an hour each time, she was able to record the switches they made between their languages during family conversations. The tape-recorded data was collected from May 2004 to December 2005, when M was age 4;1 to 5;8 and S was 2;1 to 3;8. During the nineteen-month data collection period, a total of 40 recordings were made, with a total length of eighteen hours and eleven minutes.

Soon after each recording session, the author watched the tape and recorded all instances of codeswitching by the girls during the session. Contextual information, including time, location, activities and participants in the conversation, was also noted. The codeswitching data was then categorized by function.

To improve the reliability of the categorizations, a second researcher was asked to classify the codeswitching functions independently, and the results were compared to establish inter-rater reliability (Fotos, 1995). The percentage of agreement between the two raters was 84%. In cases of disagreement, the raters discussed the reasons for their choice and then the author decided which category the codeswitch in question should be assigned to.

RESULTS

Qualitative Analysis

The data was first analyzed by categorizing the participants' codeswitches according to the pragmatic functions they serve, as in such studies as Köppe & Meisel (1995) and Fotos (1995). The codeswitches in the data were categorized as fulfilling the following pragmatic functions: switching for emphasis; lexical gap; self-initiated CS; switching to frame discourse; quotation; CS upon request; making metalinguistic comments; repair; private speech; role-play. The order they appear in the list is the order in which they appeared in the data. An example of each is presented below. Japanese utterances are written in *romaji* (Roman letters). English translations of the Japanese parts of each switch are given on the right side of the page.

Switching for Emphasis

Switching for emphasis usually takes the form of a switched repetition, that is, repetition of the same meaning but in the other language, as seen in Example 1. This function was found in the early stages of S's data.

Example 1 (Watching TV)

S (2;1,21):   Mommy, *mite!* See!   [See!]

Lexical Gap

Since Japanese is dominant for both M and S, codeswitching from English into Japanese due to lexical gaps occured more often than from Japanese into English. However, both M and S also codeswitched from Japanese to English several times, perhaps because they had temporarily forgotten the Japanese words or perhaps because it was easier for them to use English words in those situations.

Example 2 (S has just spilled her tea)

S (2;3,26):   *Koboshita*! (On my) Foot.   [I spilled (it)!]

Example 3 (Talking about taking her turn as one of the leaders in her kindergarten)

M (4;9,9):   Day after tomorrow is Mako's *otouban*.   [Turn]

Mother: Oh, with who?

M: I don't know.

Self-Initiated CS

S started to identify people with languages as early as 2;4, as seen in the next example.

Example 4 (Watching a TV program in which a man has just fallen off a boat)

S (2;4,22): (To Father)   *Hora, ochita, ochita.*   [Look, he fell! He fell!]

Father: *Un, ochita ne.*   [Yes, he fell.]

S: (To Mother)   See, he fell!

Mother: Yes.

Switching to Frame Discourse

Framing discourse involves attracting the listener's attention. In Japanese-English bilingual speech, Japanese words such as *"ano"* (uhmm) and *"ja"* (then) are often used just before an English utterance in order to attract the listener's attention. Data from the present study revealed that even a two-year-old bilingual is able to frame discourse by codeswitching.

Example 5   (Watching a TV program in which a caterpillar is eating a leaf)

S (2;5,23): *Hora*, eating.   [Look!]

Quotation

Quotation is recognized as one of the simplest but most effective functions of conversational codeswitching. Numerous studies involving many different pairs of languages have observed that bilingual people switch languages in order to quote speech in the original language used. In the following example, we see that two-year-old S was able to use this function of codeswitching.

Example 6 (Decorating a Christmas tree in the living room)

S (2;7,8): (To Father who has just entered the living room)

        Hora mite. Deck the hall with boughs of holly *ne.*   [Look! / isn't it.]

CS Upon Request

In the present data, S started to answer in the appropriate language when prompted from around her third birthday, as recorded in the example below.

Example 7 (Pointing to a box of flash cards)

S (3;0,17): *Kore, kore, kore!*   [This, this, this!]

Mother: You want to play a card, Saki? You want to play the card?

S: ---.

Mother: That's the card. You want to play the card?

S: Yes.

Making Metalinguistic Comments

According to the author's journal, M started asking for translations and making other types of metalinguistic comments when she was 3:5. The videotapes revealed that S also started asking for translations at around the age of three.   In Example 8, S didn't actually ask for a translation. Instead, she confirmed the meaning of "medicine" by translating it into Japanese and using a rising intonation indicative of a question.

Example 8   (Mother in the kitchen; S playing in the living room)

Mother: (To S)   Medicine time!

S (3;3,4):   Medicine?

Mother: Yeah, medicine. Come here.

S: *O-kusuri?*   [Medicine?]

Mother: Yes.

Repair to Meet Interactional Demands

At the end of the current study, it was past S's third birthday, but she had not yet used codeswitching in this way. M, however, was found to often start talking in Japanese and then switch into English in the middle of the sentence. She did this only when talking to her mother. This might be because M's mother sometimes asks her children to speak English to her.   The reason why M rarely repairs her English utterances by switching into Japanese must be that she rarely starts a conversation in English, since it is not her dominant language. M started repairing her utterances around her fourth birthday. This function seems to be motivated by M's wish to meet her mother's demand that she use English.

Example 9 (Playing house with her mother)
M (4;1,8): (Pointing to a toy)   *Kore*….this is a butter.   [This]

Role-Play

M often codeswitches while doing role-plays with S and their mother.   M tries to carry out the role-plays in English.   However, she seems to create a distinction between play and reality by using a different language for each; that is, she says the "lines" of the role-play in English, but she usually uses Japanese to ask S or her mother to do or say something which is needed for the play, as seen in Example 10.

Example 10 (M and S are pretending they are exchanging gifts)
M (4;2,7): (Giving a box to S) This is a present for you.
S: Thank you.
M: *Mako-chan ni shite.*   [Do it for me.]
S: (Giving a box to M)   This is a present for you.
M: Thank you.

Private Speech

M often uses Japanese, her dominant language, to express personal feelings or to talk to herself. In Example 11, she talks to herself in Japanese absentmindedly.

Example 11 (Looking for a stuffed animal named Lulu)
Mother: Who [sic.] is Lulu?
M (5;5,6):   Lulu? Lulu? Lulu is here, here.
              (Picking up a stuffed animal)

              Ah chau wa, chau. Ah?   [Oh, that's not it. It's not. Oh?]
(Giving her mother another stuffed animal) Lulu is this.

Quantitative Analysis

In addition to qualitatively analyzing the participants' codeswitches according to the pragmatic functions they serve, the sisters' codeswitches were also analyzed quantitatively to investigate how often the subjects used these different codeswitching functions. The direction of codeswitches was also taken into consideration in the present study in order to investigate the correlation between codeswitching and language dominance. In the recordings, M and S codeswitched a total of 100 times (M, 76; S, 24). In this section, the codeswitches by M and S are analyzed according to their function, frequency and direction.

Codeswitching Functions

Table 2 presents the way the subjects used codeswitching as a conversational strategy in terms of how often they used each of the codeswitching functions. The direction of the switches is also indicated, with E→J meaning codeswitching from English to Japanese and J→E, codeswitching from Japanese to English.

Table 2: Functions of the Participants' Codeswitches and Frequency of Use

CS Functions	S		M		Total
	E→J	J→E	E→J	J→E	
CS Upon Request	0	2	1	20	23
Lexical Gap	4	2	13	4	23
Metalinguistic Comments	4	0	10	0	14
Framing Discourse	6	0	5	0	11
Repair	0	0	1	6	7
Emphasis	0	1	1	4	6
Private Speech	0	0	5	0	5
Self-Initiated CS	1	1	1	1	4
Role-Play	0	0	4	0	4
Quotation	0	3	0	0	3
Total	**15**	**9**	**41**	**35**	**100**

As seen in Table 2, both M and S codeswitch to fill lexical gaps in both languages, changing from English to Japanese and vice versa. It can be inferred from this that codeswitching is a very helpful tool for bilinguals; to keep an interaction going when they don't know a word in the language they are

speaking or have temporarily forgotten a word, they compensate by using its equivalent in their other language.

Table 2 also shows that M very often codeswitches from Japanese to English as CS Upon Request. This may reflect her recognition that her mother expects her to speak English when she addresses M in English.

In addition, the table shows that S, though only two years old, also uses codeswitching functions as a communicative tool. She was observed to use not only situational codeswitching, but also conversational codeswitching functions such as framing discourse and quotation.

Direction of Codeswitching

Table 3 shows the direction of codeswitches by M and S during the observation period.

TABLE 3: Direction of Codeswitching

Direction	M	S
	Number (%)	Number (%)
English to Japanese	41 (54%)	15 (63%)
Japanese to English	35 (46%)	9 (37%)
Total	76 (100%)	24 (100%)

In Table 3, we see that M and S made more switches from their non-dominant language (English) to their dominant language (Japanese). This seems to suggest that one of the main factors in codeswitching by young bilingual children is language dominance. However, we cannot rule out the possibility that their codeswitching is more influenced by their parents' input. M and S might avoid codeswitching when talking to their father in Japanese because he is a monolingual Japanese speaker. On the other hand, they must feel that it is allowed for them to codeswitch when talking to their mother in English, since their mother often codeswitches herself.

DISCUSSION

As seen in the results presented above, S was able to make use of codeswitching successfully in conversation. From the data, it can be inferred that two-year-old bilinguals are already aware that they are using two different languages. Compared to S, M was found to use more codeswitching functions, with codeswitching functions such as repair, role-play and private speech seen only in M's utterances.

The order in which S and M began using the different codeswitching functions is very similar to that found in Köppe & Meisel's data (1995). However, the use of codeswitching in role-play occurred much

later in this study than it did in Köppe & Meisel's. Here, M did not use it until she was 4;2, and S did not use it at all during the course of the study. In contrast, Annika used it when she was 2;3 and Ivar, when he was 2;6, in Köppe & Meisel's study (1995).

As for the function called "marked language choice", neither M nor S has used codeswitching for this function yet. In Köppe & Meisel's research (1995), Annika did not use codeswitching for this function, but Ivar started to use it when he was 4:4. It may be that use of codeswitching in this way requires more maturity, and that M and S may start to use codeswitching in this way in the future.

CONCLUSION

The participants in this study have lived in Japan since birth and both of their parents are Japanese, so Japanese is their dominant language. They are therefore not balanced bilinguals, but nonetheless, they were observed to use codeswitching for a number of pragmatic functions. This is consistent with the conclusions of Taura (1998) that codeswitching occurs in bilingual conversations regardless of the interlocutors' age or linguistic development. As for the order in which they began to use the various codeswitching functions, similarities were found between the data in Köppe & Meisel (1995) and that for M and S.

The results suggest that even two-year-old bilinguals are capable of codeswitching so that they are using the appropriate language for a given interlocutor. It can be inferred that the two-year-old participant was aware of the two different languages in her life earlier than would be indicated by Volterra & Taeschner's hypothesis (1978) that bilingual children start to differentiate their two languages from the age of three or in their two-word stage. This is consistent with the findings of previous research by Lanza (1992), Köppe & Meisel (1995) and others.   Moreover, the data contains examples of S using conversational codeswitching for such functions as emphasis, framing discourse and quotation.

The other participant, M, who is S's older sister, was observed to codeswitch more often and use codeswitching for a greater variety of functions than S, suggesting that varied use of codeswitching develops with age.

When the direction of codeswitching was examined, it was found that switches from the non-dominant language, English, to the dominant language, Japanese, occurred more often than they did in the other direction.   This is consistent with the findings of Genesee, Nicoladis & Paradis (1995). Codeswitching due to linguistic constraints such as a lexical gap might account for this result.

The present study focused on codeswitching functions and the development of their use in young Japanese-English speaking bilingual children. Since the older participant was not yet six years old when the study ended, it can be surmised that the participants may develop their use of codeswitching for more functions as they grow. To determine what these are and when they develop, it would be necessary to keep recording and observing the codeswitching functions and development in the participants' conversation.

Although codeswitching has been studied by more researchers recently, studies of codeswitching in early bilinguals are still rare. To better understand the nature of bilingualism and the development of bilinguality, it is essential that early codeswitching is studied longitudinally and from many perspectives. It is hoped that this study contributes to the ongoing research in this field.

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