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journal or publication title	言語教育研究
volume	21
page range	167-193
year	2010-11
URL	http://id.nii.ac.jp/1092/00000503/

A Study of Code-switching in an International Elementary School

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Abstract

This study investigated the use and characteristics of code-switching in teacher-student and student-student interaction in an international elementary school in Chiba, Japan. The study investigated first grade students (43 in total), who are from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds, over a series of five weeks. A total of 8 focus students were interviewed to identify the students' perceptions about why and when they code-switch. From the discourse analysis and interviews with children along with the survey conducted on the children's parents, it was found that code-switching was context-sensitive, and children's preferences and the school language policy impacted their linguistic choice in and outside the classroom.

Introduction

An ability of bilinguals to code-switch (hereafter CS) between two languages is very commonly observed in multilingual and multicultural communities around the world. The studies of CS have attracted the attention of researchers including language professionals inviting scientific analysis from various academic disciplines. Linguists, for example, are interested in the structural outcomes that manifest linguistic behavior of bilingual language speakers. Sociolinguists look at CS as a reflection of social constructs and study CS from sociological perspectives.

Cognitive scientists are involved in investigating mechanisms that control language switching while neuropsychologists examine neurological characteristics of how bilinguals engage in code-switching. Language teachers and educators are interested in bilingual speakers' abilities to alternate between two or more languages and underlying factors that helped them acquire two languages. Their aim is to seek approaches to better instruct learners to help them become proficient speakers.

The purpose of this study is to investigate elementary school children in an international school to identify who engage in code-switching and for what reasons. Children in the present research site are 'bilingual' children in that they are exposed to at least two languages: L1 (mainly Japanese) and L2 (English). Although the degree of exposure is different, they are nonetheless able to handle both languages and function well at the elementary school (based on the observation of the students and the perceptions by the school teachers). However, as is the case with most bilinguals, they show disparate abilities in their use of English because of the difference in the age when they first started learning a second language and other factors like experiences of schooling, affecting the quality of linguistic input received at school and from peers. Their dominant language also varies depending on family background such as their parents' first language. The current study, therefore, explores what the underlying factors are for the children to code-switch. Do the students code-switch because of the lack of English proficiency? Or do they code-switch for social or psychological reasons?

The research questions, therefore, are twofold.

- 1) How prevalent is code-switching among the Grade 1 children in the international school? Who code-switches and when do they code-switch?

- 2) What are the reasons for code-switching? Do the reasons differ between high English proficiency students and low English proficiency students?

Literature Reviews

The term code-switching is defined by Heller as “the use of more than one language in the course of a single communicative episode” (1988, p.1). Similarly, Numan and Carter (2001, p.275) refer to it as “a phenomenon of switching from one language to another in the same discourse,” and Myers-Scotton (1993, p. vii), “the use of two or more languages in the same conversation.” Bullock and Toribio (2009) define it as “the ability on the part of bilinguals to alternate effortlessly between their two languages.” This definition, stressing that CS is a bilinguals’ effortless alternation, however, requires further definition of what it means by ‘bilinguals’ and to what extent their alternation is ‘effortless,’ and it invites confusion to understanding of what the nature of CS is.

CS comprises a broad range of contexts. It can extend from the insertion of single words, which is known as intra-sentential CS (alternation occurring within clause boundaries), to inter-sentential CS (alternation occurring at clause boundaries) or even to manifestation of languages for larger segments of discourse. Auer (1984, p.1) defines it as “the alternating use of more than one language.” This definition is employed here as it is more suitable for the purposes of the current research for it does not limit CS to certain linguistic phenomenon and is more comprehensive of contact situations.

Who engages in code-switching draws attention of researchers of broad disciplines, and it is widely studied from political and sociocultural perspectives. For second language researchers and language teaching professionals, it is of

interest because of the implications they can gain from the study of the mechanism of code-switching to better instruct second language learners.

Bilinguals are classified in terms of their language proficiency, or when their exposure to the second language began. Speakers who have been exposed to two languages from birth or early childhood are called *simultaneous* or *early bilinguals*. Those who already maintain a linguistic system fully when their exposure to L2 began are called *late bilinguals* or *second language acquirers*. Bilinguals are also classified depending on where and how they learned their second language. If they have acquired a second language without formal instruction, they are usually termed *naturalistic bilinguals*, but if they had received schooling and learned the second language in classrooms, they are called *elite bilinguals* (Bullock & Toribio, 2009). Our research participants include both early and late bilinguals and naturalistic and elite bilinguals (further described in the section under Methodology) as they all came from diverse family backgrounds when they joined the international school. These students all sit together in classrooms and receive education, but their level of understanding may differ because of the language contact they have had. It is of researchers interest, therefore, to investigate who engages in CS and for what reasons.

Bilinguals code-switch for a variety of purposes and reasons. Code-switching varies depending on the interlocutor, topic, and context in which the conversation takes place. CS is also used for social and political reasons among others (Baker, 2006). A speaker may use one language (e.g., L1) deliberately to achieve a desired social goal, and he may refrain from using the other (L2) despite his level of L2 proficiency (Norton, 2000). According to Norton (2000), language choice is a socially determined practice. The study by McKinley and Sakamoto (2007)

illustrate that returnees (*kikokushijo*) refrain from using English not because they want to repress their English abilities but because they consider the feelings of their group members who are not good at speaking English and also to “avoid the stigma of being aloof” (p. 6). According to the researchers, those returnees avoid using their L2 because they do not want to be regarded as showing off; thus, they code-switch “for self-protection from stigmas” (p.13). Their study shows that language use is affected by social settings that are structured by “indigenous cultural practices” (Stroud 1998, p. 322) that emphasize homogeneity (Sato, 2004).

The study by McKinley and Sakamoto (2007) also shows that returnees switch one language from the other “in order to find the most appropriate nuance to convey their desired meaning” (p. 16). The researchers argue that language switching often occurs as the result of the lack of correspondence between the two languages: language switching is a phenomenon that is associated with the incongruence between L1 and L2, a deficiency in the language itself. However, a participant in their study reported she switches languages because of the lack of her word knowledge.

Code-switching observed by bilinguals is occasionally perceived by the general public as a lack of language skills or proficiency (Bullock & Toribio, 2009, p. 1); that is, one language is used as a replacement for the other when someone is unable to find an appropriate word in the original language. This case is often referred to as “restricted code-switching” (Hamers & Blanc, 2000, p. 267). Bernardini and Schlyter (2004), for example, argue that the bilingual child uses more developed language in order to cope with situations in which one language is less advanced than the other. Code-switching, however, is not necessarily seen as indicative of language degeneration but rather as a bilingual’s competence to

use two languages. As Bullock and Toribio (2009) argue “a significant body of research has amply demonstrated that CS does not represent a breakdown in communication, but reflects the skillful manipulation of two language systems for various communicative function” (p.4). Research also shows that those who are more fluent in a language tend to code-switch (Meisel, 2004). Muller and Canton (2009), for example, demonstrated that the ability to switch two languages within a sentence level correlated with the children’s increased ability of syntax.

Although some have negative attitudes to code-switching and say that it is a sign of deficit or lack of mastery of both languages, and “bilinguals themselves may be defensive or apologetic about their codeswitching and attribute it to laziness or sloppy language habits” (Baker, 2006, p.109), others (e.g., Cantone, 2007; Muller & Cantone, 2009) argue language mixing is an individual choice.

Investigating into the purposes and reasons for code-switching in the case of children in an international elementary school is of great value because it may reveal children’s linguistic competence, and how it relates to their reasons for code-switching.

Methodology

Setting

The study took place in an international elementary school, on the outskirts of Tokyo. This school has been designated as a “special zone for structural reform,” by the Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology (MEXT), which allows the school to formulate its own unique curriculum. All classes including Math, Science, Social Studies, and other subject areas, except Japanese (Kokugo) and Japanese Studies, are taught in English by native English

speaking teachers.

The classes usually started with students sitting all together on the floor facing the teacher. The teacher and the students were highly interactive, and students were generally very responsive to the teacher's questions. After some whole class activity, students were grouped together according to proficiency levels and worked at the desk in small groups. The teacher meanwhile read stories to children group by group by asking various kinds of questions including inferential as well as factual questions. Sometimes students were given time to read individually and other times were told to work on the computer. The students in these classes, therefore, were not constrained at their desk throughout the class hour, but were physically mobile engaging in various kinds of activities.

Participants

The participants of the study were first grade students from two classes (43 students in total, 21 and 22 in each class) and their parents, homeroom teachers from each class, an ESL teacher (Allen), and Head of the school. Students were six- and seven-year-old boys and girls (16 boys and 27 girls) with various family and educational backgrounds but were mainly children of parents whose native language was Japanese (Father, 76.7%; Mother, 90.3%). Some of these children spent their early childhood abroad, but others joined this school without such previous experiences.

The homeroom teachers assess students' stages of language acquisition twice a year (in Term 1 and Term 3), to evaluate the students' progress in English acquisition and to seek appropriate teaching strategies, based on "Assessment for Learning: English Language Learners (ELL) Stages for Language Acquisition"

(British School Tokyo¹). This assessment consists of 10 developmental stages, and it comprises “Use of spoken language,” “Reading,” and “Writing.” This is a can-do based assessment, but possible capabilities are also stated when given some scaffolded help by the teacher. This assessment is used throughout the school years.

In selecting focus students for our study, the researchers referred not only to the ELL assessments but also to the homeroom teachers’ perceptions about the students’ overall English ability in the classroom settings. Hence, eight focus students, four higher and four lower in English proficiency, were chosen for the present study. The following table (Table 1) shows the students labeled alphabetically and their ELL assessment stages, and in addition, the class average and individual students’ overall average. For reference, the researchers stated in

Table 1. ELL Assessment of the 8 focus students

Student	Spoken language	Reading	Writing	Student Average
A	9	9	9	9
B	10	10	10	10
C	10	10	10	10
D	10	8	6	8
E	5	5	4	4.6
F	4	5	5	4.6
G	5	5	4	4.6
H	5	5	3	4.3
Class average	6.4	6.4	6.1	

¹ This was sourced from the British School of Tokyo and was adapted from the document “EAL Formative Assessment Descriptors” by the National Association of Language Development in Children (NALDIC).

Appendix A some sample statements of Stage 10 and Stage 5 statements taken from the “Assessment for Learning: English Language Learners (ELL) Stages for Language Acquisition.”

Table 2 shows the top four High English Proficiency (hereafter HEP) students’ demographic information. The table was made based on the official documents from the students’ parents about their children’s first and second language in addition to their experience of studying in an English speaking school. All of the HEP students had experience of studying in English before they joined the current international school. Except for Student C, who was attending an international school in Tokyo for one year, these students stayed in a foreign country between the ages of 2 and 7. Their dominant language, as given by the students themselves, varies and does not necessarily correspond with their experience of staying abroad or going to English speaking schools. Student A, for example, who stayed in Singapore for 4 years and went to local school where the medium of instruction was English responded that the language he could communicate in best was Japanese. Student C with no experience of studying abroad responded that her

Table 2. Students’ demographic information (High English Proficiency students)

Student	Stayed abroad (age)	Dominant language	Understand lessons in English	S*	L*	R*	W*
A	4 years (2-6)	Japanese	90~100%	Eng	Eng	Same	Same
B	4 years (3-7)	English	100%	Eng	Eng	Eng	Eng
C	No	English	100%	Eng	Eng	Eng	Eng
D	4 yrs 7 m (2-7)	English & Japanese	100%	Same	Jap	Eng	Eng

*S= Speaking skills, L= Listening skills, R=Reading skills, W=writing skills

major language was English. In fact, she has already attained the highest stage (Stage 10) of language acquisition for all areas of Spoken language, Reading and Writing, according to the ELL assessment, so her responses about what language she does best in may be true.

Student B and C, who reported that their dominant language was English, responded that they understood lessons in English (100%) and that they did better in English than in Japanese in all of the four skills (speaking, listening, reading and writing). Student A and D responded that their dominant language was Japanese (and English), but they seemed to do well in both languages depending on the skills.

Table 3 shows Low English Proficiency (hereafter LEP) level students' demographic information. Here only one student (Student D) had instruction in English before he came to this international school. Except for this boy, they all responded that their dominant language was Japanese and that they understood Japanese better than English in general. Although their average ELL Assessment level is 4.5 and is in the middle stage of development, some perceived that their English was not good.

Table 3. Students' demographic information (Low English Proficiency Students)

Student	Stayed abroad (age)	Dominant language	Understand lessons in English	S*	L*	R*	W*
E	No	Japanese	50-20%	Jap	Jap	Jap	Jap
F	No	Japanese	20%	Jap	Jap	Jap	Jap
G	No	Japanese	60%	Jap	Eng	Jap	Jap
H	1.5 yrs (5-6)	Chinese	100%	Eng	Eng	Jap	Jap

*S= Speaking skills, L= Listening skills, R=Reading skills, W=writing skills

On average, judging from interviews with them, HEP level students are more mature, able to speak better and appropriate Japanese than those LEP students.

Methods

Approaches to the study of CS include three major strands: the structural approach which focuses on language structure, mostly morphological and syntactic patterns in CS, the psycholinguistics approach which aims to understand the cognitive mechanism of language acquisition, and the sociolinguistic approach which investigates social factors that promote or inhibit CS (Bullock & Toribio, 2009).

The approach the researchers undertook to understanding the phenomena of code-switching includes ethnographic observation with close analysis of discourse, interviews with children, and questionnaires to their parents. Interviews were also conducted with the homeroom teachers and the ESL teacher to gain knowledge about the school educational system and their students' overall academic skills, and with the Head of the school to seek his views about education and the school's educational philosophy. Field notes were taken as classes were observed. Participants' ELL assessment records were used to examine the students' English proficiency for the study, and their official background information to determine their home language (s), dominant language, and their academic background before they joined the current elementary school as first graders.

1) Classroom Observation

One of the principle researchers (Tanaka) sat at the back of the English

classes taught by two homeroom teachers. While two homeroom teachers taught in their own classes, an ESL teacher, who is the other principle researcher (Allen), taught those who needed extra support with their English skills. Those students were sometimes pulled out to a different classroom for a certain period of class time for scaffolded help in learning English in a small number in ESL class. The ESL teacher taught those students from each class together within the same 120-minute class time.

Since the classes were held at the same period in the school timetable, the principle researcher (Tanaka) was able to observe only one class at one time. However, both classes were videotaped concurrently with the help of two research assistants who were positioned in each class to videotape the ongoing classes.

One hour 20 minute classes were videotaped for 5 weeks in February and March in 2010. More than two video cameras were used to record the students' linguistic behaviors when they started to engage in different classroom activities. The total recording time amounted to 496 minutes (8.3 hours).

2) Interviews with Children

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with the 8 focus students individually using the format (Appendix B) during the class time in March. The principle researcher (Tanaka) conducted interviews in Japanese as most of the students preferred Japanese to English (a few said either will do). Each interview took about 20 to 30 minutes. Students were asked why they switched English to Japanese and vice versa, and when and why they code-switched, as well as what language they understood best, how much they understood the lessons in English, and which language they understood better in terms of speaking, listening,

reading, and writing as summarized in Table 2 and Table 3. The interviews were recorded, later transcribed verbatim, and then translated into English.

3) Questionnaire

The questionnaire was administered to the parents of Grade 1 students. The purposes of the questionnaire were to find out about the students' family background and their home language. It also aimed at finding their beliefs about what was important to raise their children to be bilingual.

Results and Discussion

Results of the Student Interviews

Reasons for code-switching, which were most frequently heard from the students, were coded into five categories. For using/speaking Japanese were: (1) Personal [context], (2) Personal [ease and comfort], (3) Interpersonal; and for using/speaking English: (1) Personal, (2) Context [obligation, policy, compulsory]. The following are descriptors for each category. If any of the students' response contained the following descriptors, the utterance was labeled as belonging to the specified category.

Reasons for using/speaking Japanese

- (1) Personal [context]...in class, on playground, break time
- (2) Personal [ease and comfort]...easier, more relaxing, feel comfortable, understand/speak/like Japanese better
- (3) Interpersonal...my friend understands Japanese better, my friend doesn't speak English well, for my friend

Reasons for using/speaking English

- (1) Personal...want/like English, to improve, do better than Japanese
- (2) Context [obligation, policy, compulsory]...at school, in class, in an international school, expected, rule, etc.

The followings are direct quotes from the 8 focus students. These are translations from Japanese. Letters in the parentheses indicate students' labels. (e.g., A refers to Student A).

Why use Japanese

Personal [context]

“It’s our break time, so I feel I want to speak Japanese.” (A)

“During the playtime, (I want to speak Japanese.)” (D)

“I forget to speak English during break time.” (G)

Personal [ease, comfort]

“I use Japanese when it’s something exciting.” (A)

“By mistake.” “When I’m hungry, and I think I want to eat cookies at home, then I speak Japanese.” “I want to keep speaking English, but my body gets tired, and when I’m tired, I somehow want to speak in Japanese.” (C)

“It’s easier to speak (Japanese).” “I don’t usually speak with people who only understand English.” (E)

“I don’t feel like it (=speaking English).” “I get bored.” “I don’t like English very much.” “It’s (=Japanese is) easy to speak.” (F)

“I slip to Japanese when the class goes on. I get bored.” (G)

“I speak Japanese when I don’t understand.” (H)

Interpersonal

“My friends speak Japanese better.” (A)

“When my friends don’t understand, and there is someone who can’t understand English, I have to speak Japanese to them.” “I feel sorry for my friends.” (B)

“Because I have Japanese speaking friends, so I slip.” (D)

Other

“Because the teacher said it is OK (to speak Japanese during the break time).” (F)

Why speak English

Personal

“I want to speak English. I’ve decided that it’s better for me to speak in English. I’ve decided I’d only use English except when I use Japanese in Japanese class.” (B)

“Because I came here to learn English.” (G)

Context [obligation, policy]

“Because I’m in class.” “I think we should study properly.” (A)

“Because this is an English school.” (D), (E)

“Because we have class in English, and we speak in English.” (G)

“Because it is an international school.” (H)

Context [compulsory]

“Because I’m afraid of being told off. If I’m told ‘English, please’ for 3 times, I get very scared.” (C)

“Because teachers get angry if we don’t.” (F)

“Because we are not allowed to speak in Japanese.” (H)

Table 4 and 5 illustrate the results of the students’ reports on how often they spoke Japanese. There are slightly more instances for Low English Proficiency (LEP) students to speak in Japanese at school (e.g., on playground, during break time, or playtime), but High English Proficiency (HEP) students also reported that they spoke Japanese at school quite often (Student A and D). One student was determined not to speak Japanese at school (Student B). However, this student said that she spoke Japanese with friends who couldn’t speak English well. Within the students questioned, students seemed to feel more familiar with Japanese than with English. One girl claimed that when she thought about home, she forgot to speak in English. One boy responded that he used Japanese when he was excited.

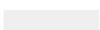
LEP students, on the other hand, responded that they felt easier or more comfortable to speak in Japanese than to speak in English. One claimed that she did not like to speak English, and one other mentioned that she got bored speaking English. Their perceptions may reflect their inability to understand lessons in English very well. Some actually reported that they understood the

Table 4 High English Proficiency (HEP) student perceptions of how often they engage in speaking English and Japanese

Student	Speak Japanese at school	Speak English in class	Speak Japanese in class
A	99.9%	75%	25%
B	0%	100%	0%
C	50%	90%	10%
D	80%	50%	50%

Table 5 Low English Proficiency (LEP) student perceptions of how often they engage in speaking English and Japanese

Student	Speak Japanese at school	Speak English in class	Speak Japanese in class
E	100%	0%	100%
F	100%	90%	10%
G	99%	51%	49%
H	90%	50%	50%

- *  Context [Policy][Compulsory]
-  Personal [Ease, Comfort] [Improve, want]
-  Interpersonal [Better comm.]

lesson only a little (e.g., “sukoshiwa wakaru”).

When asked if the students spoke English all the time in class, both HEP and LEP students responded that they actually spoke Japanese occasionally. However, LEP students seem to speak Japanese more often than HEP students. When asked why they speak English in class, students responses for speaking English differed slightly between HEP and LEP students. While HEP students were more internally motivated to speak in English, LEP students spoke English because it was the school policy. LEP students also spoke English because of the external reasons (e.g., Teachers get angry). It is interesting to note that teachers’ perceptions of how much students speak in either language are at times different from student perceptions.

Analysis of Transcriptions of Class Lessons

The video evidence collected amounted to 496 minutes of recordings of the class lessons, which works out to over eight hours of data. The transcription of these recordings was undertaken by a small team that the researchers

recruited through colleagues and friends, who have transcribed around 50,000 words between them.

The recordings showed very few instances of code-switching. Except for the katakana pronunciation (i.e., pronouncing English in a Japanese way), that students used at times, there were only six instances of code-switching. These instances fall into three separate categories depending on the times they were used.

The first of these categories is the code-switching that took place in transition periods in lessons. These instances often occurred during ‘Carpet Time’ when the students sat together on the carpet and listened to introductions to a subject and discussed this, or at the end of the session as a plenary when the lesson was reviewed, and the learning was consolidated. After periods of sustained concentration using English, it seems that some students may have found a release from it by switching to Japanese as can be seen in the example below:

Teacher is getting the students to line up to leave the classroom.

Students: (Chatting and gradually lining up. Some are speaking in Japanese.)

Teacher: Girls. Well done to K, well done R, well done E, well done M. And we are walking not talking.

The second category of code-switching which was found through the recorded evidence links to our findings in the student interviews that children sometimes felt like switching to Japanese when they were excited and interested in a subject. In her book about *Bilingual First Language Acquisition* (BFLA), De Houwer (2009) suggests “Children’s language choice, so their use of one particular kind of utterance rather than another is not random” (p. 46). Although not all the students

in our study were BFLA children, we would argue that most, if not all, of them follow this pattern of choice in language use and that this choice becomes more accessible as proficiency increases. Based on the observation of the students in the example shown below, it seems that their choice was to use Japanese in the situation where they were very engaged in the task.

Teacher: OK, so you can go to the Mario Land. That will be interesting. I will give you, you are going to be in groups of four and you need to decide, who is Chip, who is Biff, who is Floppy and who is Kipper. Now, obviously, there are two boys, girl and a dog, but it doesn't matter if you are a boy or girl, or dog. OK? It doesn't really matter. Now, if you actually want to change one of the characters for another character, so if you wanted to do Wilf, Wilma or Nadim instead, that will be brilliant as well. You need to decide which characters you are. And I will be asking you, after a short while, who is which character and where your adventure is going to go, OK? So remember, I want to hear you talking with your English switches turned on. Who is going to be in our groups today? So can I ask, S, K, E and M, can you go to the grey carpet, please, to decide your characters?

Student K: フロッピー、フロッピー！ (Floppy, Floppy!)

Student M: わたしもフロッピーがいい。 (I want to be Floppy, too.)

The final instance of code-switching that was observed was more related to specific students in one lesson. It is of interest not because it occurred several times in a brief part of the lesson but because it occurred in Japanese with two students for whom Japanese was not L1. The L1 of both of these students was not

English but Korean, so it is interesting to think about why these students chose to code-switch from English to Japanese and not English to Korean. One suggestion relating to the social context in which code-switching occurred is that Japanese was used because the students wanted to fit in with the majority of the students in the classroom whose L1 was Japanese. Of course, whether this was actually the case is unclear, and in further studies it may be interesting to playback recordings to students and ask them why the code-switching had taken place.

Conclusion

This paper investigated international elementary school children with the purposes to examine who code-switch when, and why. From the current study, classroom observations showed classes taking place in English at nearly all times meaning very few instances of code-switching were observed, and the instances found were not of intra- or inter-sentential type. Children used their languages monolingually, either English or Japanese, as a larger segment of discourse.

The students reported frequent use of Japanese at school (outside classroom), and the reasons for code-switching varied, but it was mostly a personal choice. For both High and Low English Proficiency students, Japanese was the language spoken at home, and they felt most comfortable using it. Ease and comfort, therefore, was the main reason for switching to Japanese. High English Proficiency students, however, also used Japanese for interpersonal reasons. They used Japanese as a deliberate strategy to facilitate communication among their peers. That is, if they perceived that their peers could communicate better in Japanese, they used Japanese to communicate. This implies that students, as low as Grade 1, have an ability to judge the English level of other peers, and make

adjustments for their use of language. Children also tended to speak Japanese in transition periods when they were moving on to a next activity, possibly when they felt released from sustained tensions of working hard.

Children spoke English, but their reasons differed between High English Proficiency (HEP) students and Low English Proficiency (LEP) students. While HEP students had intrinsic motivations to speak English (e.g., to improve English), LEP students were speaking English for extrinsic reasons (e.g., because it is obligatory/ compulsory/ a policy).

In sum, code-switching is context-sensitive. Children code-switch depending on 'who' they are talking to (e.g., teacher, students with good English ability or students with low English ability), 'what' they are doing (e.g., playing), and 'where' they are (e.g., in class/playground). Code-switching is a choice children make. They seem to use Japanese as a psychological and physical release from sustained concentration on classroom lessons, as a strategy to facilitate communication, and for affective and interpersonal reasons. Meanwhile, they use English to improve English as well as to abide by the school 'English only' policy.

Very few instances of intra- and/or inter sentential code-switching occurring for the children in the present study coincides with the previous studies on children's code-switching. Citing the study by McClure (1981), Hamers and Blanc (1983) state that code-switching intrasententially is "a maturational social process similar to the development of stylistic and repertoire usage, and children learn it later since it requires full development of syntactic rules for both languages" (1983, p.267). According to McClure, children use code-switching in different ways depending on their age. As children mature, they use code-switching as a communicative strategy and a marker of ethnic group membership and identity. A proposed

follow-up longitudinal study with the students described here would further contribute to the understanding of the nature and characteristics of code-switching in children.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Stage 10 and Stage 5 taken from “Assessment for Learning: English Language Learners (ELL) Stages for Language Acquisition”

Stage 10	
Spoken language	<input type="checkbox"/> Can apply syntactic rules (e.g., subject/verb agreement, tense), but not consistently and will be beginning to use modals (might, will, must) <input type="checkbox"/> Can comprehend and can participate in mainstream academic learning activities and if help is given and if contextual support is provided <input type="checkbox"/> Will continue to have difficulty following interaction at native-speaker speed because of need for processing time
Reading	<input type="checkbox"/> Can comprehend texts on familiar topics <input type="checkbox"/> Will be continuing to develop reading strategies, through modeled reading by the teacher (e.g., in shared reading)
Writing	<input type="checkbox"/> Can write simple texts (e.g., narratives, reports, recounts, procedures) modeled on those read with and/or by the teacher, but with particular features omitted (e.g., verb endings, and tense-time orientation difficulties) which will sometimes cause difficulties in comprehension for the reader. <input type="checkbox"/> Can demonstrate greater speed and fluency in writing because of their increased fluency in spoken English and their wider knowledge base in English

Stage 5	
Spoken language	<input type="checkbox"/> Can participate in activities on familiar topics, but may struggle with the language associated with complex ideas <input type="checkbox"/> Can experience lapses in comprehension due to gaps in vocabulary, or overload of new vocabulary, or lack of understanding concepts due to previous lapses in comprehension <input type="checkbox"/> Can lose concentration if the topic and language are unfamiliar
Reading	<input type="checkbox"/> Can comprehend literal meanings, but will have difficulty making inferences <input type="checkbox"/> Can retell simple narrative with little prompting <input type="checkbox"/> May lack comprehension in longer texts due to lack of understanding of cohesive devices (e.g., because, so) and of pronouns referencing earlier text.
Writing	<input type="checkbox"/> Can write with some fluency texts of limited length and on familiar topics when the text is of a familiar type (e.g., descriptions, narratives) <input type="checkbox"/> Can write with increasing accuracy and legibility; errors in hand-writing, spelling, omission of articles and use of tenses will not generally impede overall meaning

Appendix B: Interview with Grade 1 students

Interview with students (Grade 1)

[A] Demographic questions:

1. What is your name? _____ Boy/ Girl
 What nationality are you? _____
 What nationality is your father? _____
 What is your father's mother tongue? _____
 What nationality is your mother? _____
 What is your mother's mother tongue? _____
 How many brothers and sisters do you have? How old are they? _____

2. Have you lived in an English speaking country before you came to MIS?
 Yes / No
 If yes, where did you live and for how long? In _____ for _____
 Have you studied in an English speaking country before you came to MIS?
 Yes/ No
 If yes, where did you study, public school, international school, or Japanese school and for how long? In _____ for _____

3. What language do you usually use with your parents/ sisters/ brothers?
 Always English Always Japanese

With Mother	1	2	3	4	5	6
With Father	1	2	3	4	5	6
With your sister(s)	1	2	3	4	5	6
With your brother(s)	1	2	3	4	5	6

(1= Always English, 2= Mostly English, 3= More English than Japanese, 4= More Japanese than English, 5= Mostly Japanese, 6= Always Japanese)

4. Who do you speak more, with your father or with your mother?
 What do you talk about with them?
 With my father/ With my mother (_____)

5. Do your parents help you learn English (e.g., with your homework)?
 Yes, my father helps me learn English (by _____)
 Yes, my mother helps me learn English (by _____)

[B] Questionnaire:

1. Do you understand lessons in English?
 All the time Most of the time Usually yes Sometimes not Usually not
 いつも分かる ほとんど分かる 大抵分かる 時々分からない 大抵分からない
 (100%) (90%) (80%) (60%) (20%)

2. Which do you understand better in general, English or Japanese?
 English/ Japanese/ Both about the same/Other language ()

3. Which is easier for you to speak/ listen/ read/ write, English or Japanese?
 a) Speaking: English/ Japanese/Other
 b) Listening: English/ Japanese/Other
 c) Reading: English/ Japanese/Other
 d) Writing: English/ Japanese/Other
 Other language? ()

4. Which language do you use with your friends at school/ in class (besides Japanese class)?
 At school: English (%)/ Japanese (%)
 In class: English (%)/ Japanese (%)

5. Do you use more Japanese/ English with some friends than others?
 If so, why?
 More Japanese with some friends (reason:)
 More English with some friends (reason:)

6. Do you feel you have to speak English at school?
 Yes/ No If yes, why? ()

7. Do you want to speak English only in class? Yes/ Sometimes/ No
 Why/ why not? ()
 Do you want to speak Japanese sometimes? Yes/ Sometimes/ No
 Why/ why not? When? ()

8. Do you feel you are more Japanese or (your nationality:)?
 Why do you feel so? (If students cannot answer this question, "Which country did you support in Olympic games?")
 Feel more Japanese (reason:)
 Feel more (your country:)
 (reason:)

9. Do you feel you're proud that you can speak English?

Yes/ No

Why/ Why not?

10. Do you want to learn English more? If yes, why?

Yes/ No

Why? (

)