FAMILY FACTORS IN BILINGUAL CHILDREN'S CODE-SWITCHING AND LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE.

A New Zealand case study

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List of abbreviations used in this thesis

I.   General:

AD   Addressing people
AE   Affect and emotion
AR   Adult repetition
CM   Code-mixing
CS   Code-switching
EG   Expressed guess
GF   Greeting and farewell
LC   Language and culture
LM   Language maintenance
LS   Language shift
LSLM   Language shift and language maintenance
MG   Minimal guess
MQ   Message qualification
MS   Move-on strategy
NA   Negation and Affirmation
NSS   Network strength score
PART.   Particle
PDH   Parental discourse hypothesis
PP   Politeness and praising
QU   Quotation
SS   School subject

II. Abbreviations used for code-switching pattern

CE   Chinese-English
CEC   Chinese-English-Chinese
CECC   Chinese-English-Chinese-Chinese
CECE   Chinese-English-Chinese-English
CEE   Chinese-English-English
CEEC   Chinese-English-English-Chinese
CEEE   Chinese-English-English-English
CEEM   Chinese-English-English-mixing
CEM   Chinese-English-mixing
CEMC   Chinese English-mixing-Chinese
CEME   Chinese-English-mixing-English
CM   Chinese-mixing
CMC   Chinese-mixing-Chinese
CMCC   Chinese-mixing-Chinese-Chinese
CMCE   Chinese-mixing-Chinese-English
CMCM   Chinese-mixing-Chinese-mixing
CME   Chinese-mixing-English

CMEE   Chinese-mixing-English-English
CMM   Chinese-mixing-mixing
CMMC   Chinese-mixing-mixing-Chinese
CMMM   Chinese-mixing-mixing-mixing
ME   Mixing-English
MEC   Mixing-English-Chinese
MECC   Mixing-English-Chinese-Chinese
MEE   Mixing-English-English
MEEE   Mixing-English-English--English
MEM   Mixing-English-mixing
MEME   Mixing-English-mxing-English
MM   Mixing-mixing
MMC   Mixing-mixing-Chinese
MMCC   Mixing0mixing-Chinese-Chinese
MMCM   Mixing-mixing-Chinese-Mixing
MME   Mixing-mixing-English
MMEE   Mixing-mixing-English-English
MMM   Mixing-mixing-mixing

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person nor material which to a substantial extent has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning, except where due acknowledgement is made in acknowledgements.

Shanjiang Yu

Dedicated to the migrant parents who are worried about their children's mother tongue.

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Abstract

The purpose of this study is to investigate family factors in relation to young Chinese immigrants' code-switching and language maintenance. Specific attention is given to children's code-switching behaviour and how parents respond and the effect of parental response upon children's language choice in any subsequent utterance. Attempts are also made to identify the family factors that might have an effect on making language choice. Data were collected monthly through naturalistic tape-recording of families' conversations for one calendar year. Recordings of every other month were transcribed and coded for analysis. A questionnaire was used with the children's parents to obtain general family background information as well as to compare the parents' language beliefs and their actual language behaviour in real life.

Results indicated that within an average of 28.1 months of stay in New Zealand, the use of Mandarin Chinese, their ethnic language, was dramatically reduced. In typical family conversations, the parents were using Mandarin Chinese in only 75.6% of their conversational turns and that figure for the children was 65.1%. If the amount of mother tongue use at home is an indicator, then the speed of shift in these families investigated appears to be relatively fast. Few parents, however, felt that their children were using too much English or ever attempted to stop them doing this, despite the fact that all the parents claimed that they very much wanted their children to maintain the ethnic language and were fully aware of the importance of their role as the main input source of their ethnic language. This seems to suggest that the marketplace value of the mainstream language is overtaking the core value of their ethnic language.

Results also showed that parental use of English caused a substantially increased use of English from their children. There tended to be an "upgrading" towards English in the children's language choice suggesting that code-switching could be a temporary stage for the children along the gradual process of language shift. On the other hand, the parents were also found using more English after their children's code-switching. One

of the reasons for this might be that the parents want to improve their English and regard their children as an ideal person to practise English with.

With regard to daily communication functions, results showed that children often resorted to English for daily speech acts indicating that language function replacement has occurred for many daily communicative functions resulting from a gradually reduced use of the ethnic language.

Many family factors were found to be affecting language use in the families: the presence of grandparents and the decision to return to their birth country for residence in the future were clearly correlated with increased use of the ethnic language; the parents' level of English language, on the other hand, was found to be related to the amount of English used, though with exceptions.

These results strongly suggest that English is taking over the family domains that used to belong to the ethnic language. Parents who want their children to maintain their ethnic language need to put daily effort into action. Without painstaking daily effort, language shift will and probably is happening no matter how strong their theoretical beliefs might be.

[Note: Full transcript materials are not included in the present text due to reasons of space. Researchers interested in the raw data may, however, contact the author for possible access.]

Chapter 1   Introduction

1.1   Theoretical background to this study

Language shift, "a process in which a speech community gives up a language in favour of another" (W. Li, 2000: 497), has been studied by scholars from a wide range of disciplines with diverse approaches and perspectives. It has been found in many studies that language shift among immigrant minorities is typically completed within three generations (Fishman, 1991; Romaine, 1995; Clyne, 1999b). Studies on code-switching, the alternative use of two or more languages within the same utterance, on the other hand, frequently show that children's language choice is addressee-oriented (Lanza, 1992, 1997, 2001; Pfaff, 1999; Deuchar & Quay, 2000). While the majority of studies on language shift and maintenance have exclusively focused on the general trend and end-result of this phenomenon diachronically across generations, scholars in code-switching are more interested in uncovering its social motivation (Myers-Scotton, 1993a), psychological mechanism (Grosjean, 2001), and syntactical constraints. A further question worth asking, however, is how language shift happens in relation to people's daily language choice. For example, studies (Roberts, 1991; W. Li, 1994) show that parents of minority families often express deep concerns about the losing of their ethnic language among their second generation, but we do not know what the parents have done or are doing in their everyday interaction with their children to combat the shift.

It has been repeatedly reported that the maintenance of an ethnic language among second-generation immigrants is strongly correlated with the degree to which they are exposed to the language at home. In his oft-quoted Reversing Language Shift (RLS) theoretical model, Fishman (1991) regarded the intergenerational transmission of the minority language as a crucial stage in the process of language reversing. However, there has been a lack of detailed examination of everyday language behaviour in relation to language shift.   For instance, in the only book-length study   on   language

choice and language pattern among an overseas Chinese community, W. Li (1994) reported an age-related language shift from Cantonese monolingual to English-dominant bilinguals. While exploring the local sequential meaning of code-switching the author interpreted language shift mainly in terms of social networks. Family members from the same family, for instance, may develop different language patterns depending on their social relations formed in their daily life. A first generation grandparent whose daily contact is mainly restricted to family members and ethnic group of their own age or background normally employ their ethnic language whereas the locally born third generation would use the mainstream language of the adoptive country because their main social contact is speaking that language. First advocated by Milroy (1987) for sociolinguistic study, social network theory has its particular strength in explaining social behaviour among socially capable groups who are often in active and frequent contact with various other social groups beyond family; nevertheless, it may not be an indicative enough methodology in explicating language behaviour and language choice among younger bilingual children whose "interchange" and "interactive" (W. Li, 1994:179) activities are rather restricted within the confines of home and family.

Age has also long been found to be a crucial factor in maintaining minority immigrant languages. For younger immigrants whose first language has not yet been firmly established, home/family environment is almost the only place where their first language can be maintained or developed. If unattended, it may not be surprising to find that bilingualism will be only a short, temporary process in which immigrant children's second language (L2) overtakes their first language (L1). Tits (1959), for instance, reports a six-year-old Spanish girl who, when placed in a complete French environment, seemed to have lost all of her first language within a matter of 93 days while at the same time her level of French developed to almost the equivalent of her French peers.

One interesting question arising from this context is which generation the younger im-

migrants of this girl's age belong to. In survey studies where they are generally and arguably included as the first generation their competency and the stability in their first language has been either taken for granted or overlooked. Given that their ability to learn the second language and the opportunity to maintain their first language is definitely different from that of matured adults whose ethnic language is firmly established, younger immigrants clearly need to be treated as a special group with unique features.

Studies carried out in local New Zealand contexts (Holmes & Aipolo, 1991) have shown that Tongan is well maintained because it is used most of the time at home. However, English begins to affect the home language use once the children start school. It is natural for them to use English for topics and activities related to schooling since English is the language medium used. For younger immigrant children, language shift thus tends to start as they venture out of the home environment where L1 is spoken, and participate in the institutional structure of the wider society - first kindergarten and then primary school. However, traditional studies on language maintenance and language shift (LMLS) have overlooked these stages thereby leaving many questions unanswered. These include, for example:

- When parents report that they often use their ethnic language at home with their children, how much does the word 'often' mean in reality on an everyday basis *vis-a-vis* the information they reported?
- What are the children's actual language choices at home with their family members?
- How do the parents react if the children make a wrong language choice, i.e. using non-ethnic language, or code-switch between the two languages involved?
- How much does the parents' reaction influence the children's subsequent language choice?

Unfortunately, existing literature on language shift does not help much in answering these questions, partly because of the methods employed in previous studies. First, nearly all data relied on are self-reported, be it census results or questionnaire surveys. It is practically impossible for the researcher to check out to what degree the self-reported data can reflect the reality. Argyris and Schon (1978) noted in this connection that there is an important distinction between what people say they do and what they actually do in reality. The former is referred to as 'espoused beliefs' and the latter as 'beliefs-in-action'. There is clearly often a long journey from belief or intention to action. To obtain better answers to the types of questions posed above, a point or an interface is needed through which both the children's language choice and, at the same time, the parents' attitudes are visible.

It has been generally agreed that bilinguals are constantly making the best use of their linguistic repertoire for their communicative needs (Myers-Scotton, 1993a; Auer, 1998). Therefore, code-switching, the alternative use of two or more languages or language varieties by a speaker in the course of communication, has been found in multilingual settings to be an inseparable part of most bilinguals' everyday lives. While this linguistic behaviour might be regarded as part of the language norms of multilingual societies like Hong Kong and Singapore (Gupta & Siew, 1995; D. Li & Tse, 2002), it may not be so welcome in monolingual societies where bilinguals represent the minority. In a minority immigrant family, for example, where the parents want to maintain their mother tongue, home / family is normally the main place where the two languages come into contact with each other, rendering home / family an ideal place to observe bilingual language behaviour on an everyday basis. As suggested by Weinreich (1953) and implied in many recent studies on migrant minorities, code-switching behaviours may be integral to language shift (Bentahila & Davies, 1992; Goodz, 1994; Rindler Schjerve, 1997; Pfuff, 1999).

1.2   Code-switching and language maintenance and language shift

In the past three decades or so, studies on code-switching have produced an enormous literature focusing on different aspects of this phenomenon. Some researchers are interested in its social functions and motivation and bilinguals have been found to use different languages for different activities or topics (Blom and Gumperz 1972); Different languages could also be used to built up relationship or to achieve personal gains (Myers-Scotton, 1993a). Other scholars are more interested in the grammatical aspect of CS and have tried to put CS into different typological groups so to identify grammatical constraints involved (Poplack & Meechan, 1998; Myers-Scotton, 1993b; Muysken, 2000); Psycholinguists, on the other hand, want to find out what psychological mechanism is involved in this process and how it is monitored. (Grosjearn, 1998, 2001).

Few researchers have looked at code-switching in relation to LMLS. One exception, Lanza (1992, 1997), proposed the *parental discourse hypothesis* (PDH) in trying to analyse a child's interaction with her parents from a discourse perspective. It was found that the parents employed different strategies while responding to the child's code-switching; some of the parental strategies were found to encourage code-switching while others discouraged it. In a replicated study with a larger sample, however, Nicoladis and Genesee (1998) failed to find any direct support for the PDH. Nevertheless, whether this is a natural developmental phenomenon, as suggested by Lanza (2001: 226), or because of the different societal bilingual environment, as suggested by Nicoladis and Genesee, remains to be attested with different language pairs and different age groups.

Fishman, when diagnosing the social phenomenon of LS, emphasized the importance of the informal intergenerational transmission of the ethnic language "within the confines of the home, family, neighborhood and face-to-face community" (1991: xii). He maintained that without this prerequisite, any attempts to reverse language shift would

be "equivalent to constantly blowing air into a tire that still has a puncture. It is very difficult to achieve a steady state merely based upon the incoming air, because the losses [are] due to the unmended puncture" (1991: xii). When commenting on methodological issues in LSLM studies conducted in New Zealand, Holmes (1996:1) noted the scarcity of studies on language maintenance and shift among local minorities in the New Zealand context. She therefore strongly called for more attention to LS at the micro-sociolinguistic level:

> "In order to develop a programme aimed at maintaining any community language, accurate information is needed on a range of questions, including the extent to which the language is currently being used, in what contexts, the extent of proficiency in the language among different age groups, and the attitudes of the community members to the issue of language maintenance. (1996: 4)

To date, little response in this direction is evident. No substantial studies have been able to be located that systematically document and analyse the patterns of language use among local ethnic minorities.

1.3   Language maintenance and language shift with New Zealand Chinese

Since the first group of Chinese gold miners' arrival in 1865, the population of this ethnic community now accounts for about 2.6% of the total New Zealand population although the percentage fluctuated at times when adverse policies were implemented. Among them, those who arrived before early 1980s are sometimes called "old immigrants" and those who came after mid-1980s are often referred to as "new immigrants". These two groups of immigrants are different in that the majority of the "old immigrants" are Cantonese speaking peasants who normally came through 'chain migration'. The majority of the "new immigrants", however, are either skilled professionals or entrepreneurs and are most often Mandarin speaking. While there are studies reporting that language shift has occurred among the "old immigrants", it would be interesting to know what the situation is with the "new immigrants" with regard   to

LMLS.

1.4. Aims of the study

In view of the problems and questions mentioned above, the proposed study, therefore, has the following purposes: first, to describe how Mandarin Chinese is used among the target group; second, to investigate how the targeted younger Chinese immigrant children make use of their bilingual repertoire in the negotiation of language choice in home situations when interacting with their parents; third, to monitor how the parents react / intervene when their children move from one language to another; and fourth, to investigate how the parental interventions influence their children's subsequent language choice and language pattern.

To achieve these purposes the following questions will be addressed:

1. What are the language choice patterns of the subjects and their parents at home?
2. When do the children code-switch when interacting with their parents in the home situation?
3. What are the effects of the parental response upon the children's subsequent language choice?
4. What are the functional purposes of the children's code-switching?
5. What are the parental attitudes towards language and language maintenance?

While Question 1 is intended to provide a general background on which the other questions are based, Question 2 will look at under what circumstance subjects choose to code-switch. Question 3 is designed to find out how effective parental language choice is in influencing their children's language choice. Question 4 focuses on the communication functions of the children's code-switching. Finally, in Question 5, the parents' attitudes towards language shift and language maintenance are compared with their actual behaviours recorded in the tapes.

The reason to ask and to address these questions is that, to explain LMLS with Chinese immigrants in New Zealand, the first thing is to describe how the target population is using their ethnic language in their daily life in an English speaking environment. If both their ethnic language and English are employed in their family, to what extent is it so with children and parents respectively? If parents speak English, what effect will it impose upon children in relation to language choice? When children start with English, how will their parents react and how much will the parental reaction further influence the children's language choice afterwards? If LS is a long and gradual process as is often reported in the literature, are their any early signs that can be identified? Apart from the quantity of each language used, an attempt is made to investigate how some of the important daily communication functions are realized in the different languages involved.

In addition, a background aim of the research is concerned with the fact that immigrant minorities are in general often perplexed about how to maintain their first language within the family unit. By answering the aforementioned questions, the research also intends to provide some practical advice to parents who may want to do something to ameliorate language shift. More importantly, the answers to these questions should prove to be helpful through improving our understanding specifically of early bilingualism in an immigrant situation, compared with, and often overshadowed by, studies of bilingual first language acquisition which generally focuses on situations where parents often speak different languages.

Chapter 2   Literature review

2.1   Introduction

Over the past three decades or so, the way in which minority languages have been maintained and lost has attracted attention from many disciplines. Numerous studies have been carried out with scores of languages and factors identified as contributing to differential patterns of LMLS. In the following, some models of LMLS are first evaluated, drawing on some typical studies of relevance. At the same time, the constraints imposed on these studies will be outlined, as a basis for the theoretical stance behind the present investigation.

2.2   Factors relevant to language shift and language maintenance

Among the factors found to be influential in LMLS, some are clearly in support of language maintenance while others are ambivalent in that they can either promote language maintenance (LM) or retard it, depending on other factors involved in particular community groups (Clyne & Kipp, 1999: 36-37). The factors definitely promoting LM include: early point of immigration, language enclaves, ties with the homeland, extent of exogamous marriage, membership of a religious denomination with parochial schools, and pre-migration experience with language maintenance. Ambivalent factors are educational level of the immigrant, numerical strength of the immigrant group/community, linguistic and cultural distance from the dominant group, attitude of the majority to the language and group, and inter-ethnic differences (Romaine, 1995; Clyne & Kipp, 1999).

Taking educational level as an example of ambivalence, it has been pointed out that while a higher level education may help maintain a culture around the community language, it may also provide more access for the immigrants to the dominant culture, thereby creating more chances and points of contact and, thus, promoting language shift (LS). A lower level of education, on the other hand, may typically reduce and prohibit those accesses and contact chances with the dominant culture, thus promoting LM.

Similarly, the number of speakers of a language *per se* has been found to have little to do with LM, although, paradoxically, a larger minority group often supports greater LM. In effect, who speaks the language, as Romaine (1995) argues, is more important than how many speak it. Clyne and Kipp (1997) have also observed that speaker concentration is more important than raw numbers in language maintenance patterns.

The attitude of the majority to the language or group has also proved itself to be an important factor in LMLS. However, hostile and suppressive attitudes toward the minority language can result in either assimilation or greater efforts to maintain it. The Chinese community in New Zealand is a good example in this respect. In her study of LMLS among the New Zealand-born Chinese in the Wellington area, Roberts (1991) found that during the period of adverse discrimination, earlier generations of Chinese people had to keep a low profile, which, at least temporarily, reinforced their daily practice of LM. Yet, Clyne and Kipp's (1999) study also found that younger or second generation Chinese reacted to waves of racial discrimination by integrating as quickly as possible into mainstream Australian society, accompanied inevitably by loss of the community language.

More tolerant and favorable attitudes and policies may also serve to encourage pluralism or nurture a gradual shift into the majority language and mainstream culture as well. For instance, the subjects in Roberts' study were very clear that they wanted their children to be aware of their cultural and linguistic heritage. Nearly all 51 respondents said they would like their children to speak Chinese, and over two thirds of the people interviewed were taking, or had taken, positive steps in language and cultural maintenance by sending their children to a community-organized language school.

It should be noted, too, that the above-mentioned factors never work alone. Instead, they combine to render their effects and when ambivalent factors are combined, for instance, these may be strong enough to outweigh the effect of prior language maintenance expe-

rience. It is argued, therefore, that the deciding force behind the maintenance of a language comes from the interplay of social, group, and individual factors.

2.3 Theoretical models in relation to language shift and language maintenance

In addition to the factors outlined above, a number of theoretical models have been proposed to explain LSLM. These include: core value theory, market place value theory, social network theory, domain analysis and second language acquisition (SLA) theory. These theories are discussed individually below.

2.3.1 Core value theory

The core value theory was first introduced by Smolicz (1981) in his empirical research on LM in Australia. After testing the theory with an increasing number of ethnolinguistic groups, Smolicz argued that each group considered particular cultural values important for the existence of the group as a whole and that those who lost these values may face the danger of being excluded from the group. Thus, while language could be a crucial or core value for some cultures and groups, others may not mind losing it at all.

Table 2.1   Language shift in Australia, 1996

Birthplace	First generation Language shift (%)	Second generation language shift (%)
Netherlands	61.9	95
Germany	48.2	89.7
Spain	22.4	63
Poland	19.6	75.7
Hong Kong	9	35.7
Greece	6.4	28
PRC	4.6	37.4
Taiwan	3.4	21

(Source: Adapted from Clyne and Kipp, 1999: 34.)

Examples of groups who regarded language as integral to their core values were Greeks and Poles. They were thus more likely to maintain their languages in a minority situation. In contrast, the Dutch have been repeatedly reported to be the fastest in losing

their language under similar situations (see Table 2.1 above), probably because the maintenance of their ethnicity was, in some sense, not vital to them. Italians, on the other hand, were found to cherish family cohesion most. This, to some degree, may help account for the relatively high level of maintenance of their ethnic language. It needs to be noted further that core values may vary across generations and between sub-groups within the large group or ethnolinguistic community (Clyne, 1991: 91-102; Clyne & Kipp, 1999; W. Li, 1994). While New Zealand Chinese, for example, were found to place great importance on Chinese culture and Chinese heritage, including language (Roberts, 1991), Australian Chinese from Taiwan were reported to value language and ethnicity (Clyne & Kipp, 1999).

2.3.2   Marketplace value

Whereas core value theory is mainly built on the symbolic functions of language, marketplace value emphasizes the economic value of language. First introduced by Bourdieu (1982), the idea of marketplace value focuses on the material or instrumental function of language. It takes societal bilingualism as the market where different community languages compete, negotiate and exchange their own languages. A language will continue to exist as long as there are people using it; as W.Li puts it:

> "One's ability to use the appropriate language in the appropriate manner …
> affects one's chances of gaining access to situations where valuable resources
> are produced and distributed, and once there, to participate in the processes of
> production and distribution, indeed to benefit from them." (2000b: 116)

Along the same lines, De Vries (1983) regards language as 'linguistic capital' that provides economic and social status. Individuals with a low level of this capital will either be prevented from participating in the labor force or will be vulnerable and marginalized in the labor market. This will in turn affect their socioeconomic status. Although Grin (1996) is critical of the way language is treated via economic terminology, and the fact that it is hard to identify those necessary parameters of price, quantity, supply and demand,   he has to admit that economic factors always have a role

to play in LSLM.

2.3.3   Markedness theory

Based on the evidence from urban communities in Africa, Myers-Scotton (1988) argued that patterns of language choice differ according to speakers' social background and the type of interaction in which they engage. She found that the mother tongue is employed by most urban Kenyans for informal purposes or with someone from the same ethnic group. The mother tongue thus becomes important in maintaining ethnic identity and in securing certain material advantages, such as getting help from other members of the group in obtaining employment or other benefits. In contrast, people from the top of the socioeconomic scale use English at home for educational purposes to help their children to do better in school. At work, however, the picture changes. Speakers may use their mother tongue with people from the same ethnic group, or Swahili with people from other groups. English is the common code among white-collar workers with superiors, indicating one's level of education in more formal public interactions. Outside work, Swahili and English are used with people from other ethnic groups.

Critics have pointed out that the dynamic and complex meaning of code selection and alternation should be arrived at from a bottom-up approach, as in discourse analysis, rather than from a top-down approach such as markedness theory (cf. Auer, 1998).

2.3.4   Social network theory

Social network analysis, an anthropological concept first promoted during the 1960s and 1970s, basically aimed to find out how individuals form personal groups or communities from which they can benefit in solving their everyday problems (Li & Milroy, 2003). People within a group or community are linked to each other in one way or another so that it is not surprising to find various mutual influences among those who are closely related to their network as they make contact and interact on a regular basis.

Scholars have also developed a network strength score (NSS) to measure one's degree of integration into his/her group or community in terms of place of residence, family, employment, and some other activities. Results show that communities that are closely connected, regularly integrated, and interactively related often show a greater tendency to maintain their community languages (Boyce, 1992; Holmes, Roberts & Aipolo, 1993).

Social network analysis is a powerful instrument for taking into accounts both macro-socioeconomic factors and micro-sociolinguistic, day-to-day interaction in the exploring of language shift, especially with older children and adults who are mature enough to have their own social networks. It may not be powerful enough, nevertheless, with younger children who are mainly reliant on their family for their everyday needs.

2.3.5 Domains analysis

'Domains' (Fishman, 1965, 1967, 1971; Lieberson, 1980) are defined as total interactional contexts of communication, such as the home, work, school, church, etc. Whereas a language might be maintained in some domains, it may be displaced in others. According to Ferguson (1959), for example, people in a bi-dialectal or multi-dialectal society use two or more dialects/languages for internal communication. These dialects/languages are functionally separated with only very slight overlapping. Usually one language is used to support and express one set of behavior, attitudes and values, whereas another is used for a different set of behavior, attitudes and values. The language which is often employed for religious, educational and other aspects of high culture is called the High (H) variety, and the one employed for everyday purposes is called the Low (L) variety.

In Ferguson's opinion, H and only H is appropriate for one set of situations and for another L and only L, with very slight overlapping between the two. Such 'diglossia' tends to occur in societies with prestigious historical cultures (such as Greece, Egypt or the German-speaking part of Switzerland). In an era in which bilingualism is becoming

increasingly acceptable all over the world, the complicated language contact situations between bilinguals can seldom be dichotomized like this. Some problems with this framework include the argument that if the diglossia concept holds true, the rapid and frequent code-switching observed globally in many bilingual communities, such as Quebec for example, would seem almost impossible (W. Li, 1994:7). A second problem concerns the idea of stability of this diglossic situation. When Ferguson firmly stated that a diglossic situation may well last for several centuries, the ever-increasing research in language maintenance and language shift (LMLS) shows that majority migrant groups complete their language shift classically within three generations. A Chinese community in Newcastle, UK, for example, may move typically from monolingual in Chinese for the first generation, to a bilingual second generation, and finally, shift into the English monolingual third generation (W. Li, 1994). Diglossia theory put forward by Ferguson does not give any consideration to the social and linguistic process of this phenomenon.

Many people have attempted to revise this model (Fishman, 1967, 1971; Platt, 1977; Deuchar, 1978; Fasold, 1984). Fishman (1967), for instance, puts forward five domains which are often used to predict what language or language variety would be used for a certain occasion. A typical education domain would be teacher and student (participant) solving a chemistry problem (topic) in the classroom (setting). This particular domain would require a particular language code choice that would deem to differ from the choices made in other domains.

Human communication is a complex social process and this process is doubly complicated by bilingualism. Factors like age, sex, ethnicity, education, topic, setting, role relationship, may all come to affect the code choice. Among the many social factors involved, Fishman (1965) thinks that the people, the situation, the function, and the topic of the interaction are the most important.

Two points need to be borne in mind for anyone who is working with this model. First, domain analysis mainly deals with "typical interaction between typical participants in typical settings" (Holmes, 2001: 21). It only serves as a general frame for describing what linguistic code is normally considered appropriate. Any change in the factors listed may result in making a different code choice. In other words, language choice is always a real-time decision made in real situations based on all factors involved in that particular event. Therefore, it is not always easy to make an appropriate choice. Furthermore, there are always unconventional speakers behaving in an unconventional way.

Since Fishman, many studies have been carried out following this tradition. The results show that among the various factors identified, the use of migrant languages in specific domains is essential in the maintenance and intergenerational transmission of the mother tongue. It has been reported by Dorian (1981), for example, that the use of Gaelic was broadly associated with home, religion, and work domains, and that the use of Gaelic and English varied greatly. She also found that the age and the identity of the interlocutor outweighed almost all other domain factors in making code choices. Similarly, in Gal's (1979) study of a minority Hungarian-speaking community in Oberwart, Austria, the age and the identity of the converser were also found to be influential in speaker's language choice. Other domain components, such as topic or locale, however, carried less weight. Therefore, Martin-Jones (1989) has stressed the inclusion of the following three points in the study of the language change among linguistic minorities:

> "the ways in which the divisions between linguistic groups are related to class divisions and to political and economic relations within the framework of the state; the processes involved in the imposition of power and reproduction of power relations; the nature of the conflicts and social struggles generated by relations of power." (P.118)

Taking LSLM into consideration, the family domain is important in that when children

start kindergarten and school, the family/home domain normally becomes the prime front on which we see and feel the effect of those political, social and economic influences brought into the home by the children as reflected through language behavior. Therefore, detailed examination of the children's code-switching and the parental response towards it could reveal more about what is actually happening in the process.

2.3.6   Language use as the interface: implications from SLA

For younger immigrants whose literacy in L1 has just started before immigration, L2 could possibly become their dominant language largely due to the close and ever-increasing contact between the languages involved. Not surprisingly, the previous L1 will gradually give way to L2 which eventually replaces L1 thus reversing their positions.   For them, the maintenance and development of their ethnic language, has now changed its position from L1 to L2, and is not much different from second language acquisition (SLA), so that some of the findings of SLA research shed light on language maintenance and language shift among younger immigrants. De Bot (2001), for example, noted that research in SLA shows that the availability of certain (language) knowledge is directly related to how the knowledge is used. Frequent use will increase the availability of the knowledge and non-use of this knowledge will lead to the reduction of its availability. Language attrition is thought of as the weakening of the connection between knowledge nodes in memory that declines over long time non-use. It needs to be considered, however, that language loss/attrition is not an either-or concept but rather a continuum. Although an item is unlikely to disappear once it is stored in long-term memory, the retrieval of such knowledge depends on how the knowledge is re-activated and the frequency of such re-activation. De Bot maintains that "there is a direct relation between amount of contact with the language and the maintenance or loss of that language". (2001: 69).

When young children immigrate to a place where a completely different language/dialect is spoken, these young immigrants will first have to learn and use the local, often majority, language (L2). When their L2 rapidly catches up their L1, a

competition about which language to use is unavoidable for some situations. A choice has to be made depending on numerous factors, many of which are socio-economic. Ultimately, the extent to which the minority immigrant language is used will decide the fate of that language. Therefore, de Bot (2001) argues that the main reason for language loss is limited input/intake and output, as represented simply in Figure 2.1.

| Linguistic environment | → | Language use | → | Language processing |
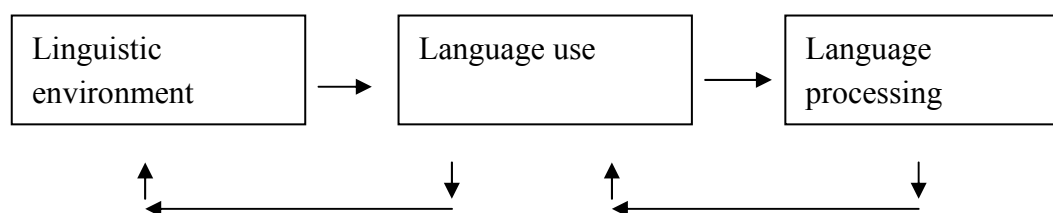
Figure 2.1 Language use as an interface between linguistic processes in language use
Source: de Bot (2001:70)

However, research in SLA also shows that language acquisition/learning does not necessarily occur with simple increase in input. Learner's interest plays a crucial role (Gass, 1997; Ellis, 1999). This is how language use comes into focus in the making sense of the links between socio-economic factors and language processing factors. De Bot, based on general findings from research in SLA, strongly argues that:

> "There must be a reason and motive to use a language in order to maintain it. If there are no opportunities for use and no input, the language system itself will gradually disintegrate."   (2001:78)

2.4   Types of code-switching

Code-switching (CS), 'the alternative use by bilinguals of two or more languages in the same conversation' (Milroy & Muysken, 1995: 7) has been studied as one of the central issues in bilingualism since Blom and Gumperz published their seminal study in 1972. As a general term, CS subsumes different forms of bilingual behavior. In linguistic terms, the most common distinctions made are between borrowing, mixing and switching. Regarding the linguistic structures involved in CS, Poplack's (1980) three-way division has been generally accepted, whereby CS is divided into the follow-

ing three CS types: tag-switching, intra-sentential code-switching and inter-sentential code-switching.

Tag-switching refers to the insertion of a tag or interjection in language A into an utterance which is otherwise entirely in language B. English examples are 'You know', 'Look', 'I mean' etc.. Since tags are subject to only minimal syntactic restrictions, they may be inserted as whole chunks at a number of points in a given stretch of discourse.

Inter-sentential code-switching is a switch at clause or sentence level, where each clause or sentence is in language A or language B. Such switches can also be made between speaker turns. An example is part of the title of Poplack's (1980) article:

> …sometimes I'll start a sentence in English *y termino en español*
> (…*sometimes I'll start a sentence in English and finish in Spanish*.)

Intra-sentential code-switching involves all kinds of switching within the clause or sentence boundary. The following is an example from Clyne:

> Dit kan be anywhere
> (*That can be anywhere*.)   (1987: 760)

Unfortunately, the agreement stops here. With regards to the intra-sentential switching, there has been much debate about the status of different subtypes. The issue of how to distinguish instances of 'code-switching' from 'code-mixing' and from 'borrowing' still remains unresolved. Pfaff (1979), for example, uses the term 'mixing' as a neutral term to cover both code-switching and borrowing, but later defines 'code-switching' as 'the use of more than one linguistic variety (language or dialect) by a single speaker in a course of a single conversation' (Pfaff, 1997:344). Meisel (1989, 1994), on the other hand, has her own definitional system. For her, any utterance or conversation having features of both languages is termed 'language mixing' whereas 'code-switching' is defined as a language skill acquired by the bilingual speaker that requires pragmatic and

grammatical competence in both languages. 'Fusion' is a term created by Meisel (1989) referring to young children's code-mixing because of their failure to separate the two linguistic systems. In her framework, 'borrowing', a term attracting much dispute, refers to the practice of phonologically and morphologically integrated elements of the 'embedded language' in 'the base language' (Meisel, 1994).

These apparent terminological conflicts are evidence of the complexity of the bilingual phenomenon under consideration. The lack of consensus on the terminology and typology of code-switching makes it essential for us to interpret and evaluate the claims of various authors about the constraints on code-switching or models of code-switching respectively, in considering each author's definition.

2.5   Functions of code-switching

Generally, two kinds of code-switching functions have been distinguished by previous researchers: social functions and discourse functions (Nishimura, 1995; Gumperz, 1982; Romaine, 1995).

2.5.1   Social functions

Social functions refer to the functions CS performs in the negotiation of a speaker's social identity/role during the language interaction. Researchers interested in social functions believe that the two languages or varieties used in a given community represent different identities and social roles (Gumperz, 1982; Heller, 1988; Myers-Scotton, 1993a).

Gumperz's study was based on a bidialectal community in northern Norway. In this community, two language varieties were used: Ranamal, the local or rural dialect, and Bokmal, the standard or urban variety. Although they are linguistically similar, they were regarded by local speakers as distinct varieties. In fact, these distinctive features were maintained because of the different social functions they fulfilled. Ranamal embo-

died local cultural identity: it was associated with home, family and friends, and more generally with locally based activities and relationships. Bokmal, on the other hand, was more associated with formal education and with official transactions, religion, and the mass media (Blom and Gumperz 1972). The two varieties were then used on different occasions and by different speakers. On certain occasions, speakers were found to switch from one to the other during the same social event. For example, clerks in a community administration office might switch back and forth between Bokmal and Ranamal depending on whether they were talking about official or unofficial matters; similarly, the local customer would respond in Ranamal about family affairs, then switch to Bokmal for the business part of the transaction.

Based on the evidence from urban communities in Africa, Myers-Scotton (1988) argues that patterns of language choice differ according to speakers' social background and the type of interaction in which they engage. She found that the mother tongue is employed by most urban Kenyans for informal purposes or with someone from the same ethnic group. The mother tongue here becomes important in maintaining ethnic identity and in securing certain material advantages, such as, getting help from other members of the group in obtaining employment or other benefits. People from the top of the socioeconomic scale also use English at home for education purposes, for example, to help their children to do better in school. When at work, it is another picture. Speakers may use their mother tongue with people from the same ethnic group, or Swahili with people from other groups. English is the common code among white-collar workers, and is used with superiors to show one's level of education in more formal public interactions. Outside work, Swahili and English are used with people from other ethnic groups.

Gumperz (1982) identified a function he named 'personalization vs. objectivization'. He argues that a distinction should be made between a "they"-code and a "we"-code. Thus, switching to the "they"-code often implies authority, objectivity, and formality ('objec-

tivization') while switching to the "we"-code invokes the opposite effect ('personalization'). The same function has been identified by different researchers from different bilingual contexts (Giles & Powesland, 1975; Heller, 1988; Myers-Scotton, 1993a). In all of these studies, CS serves as a means of identity/role negotiation.

2.5.2   Discourse functions

Discourse functions, on the other hand, refer to the discourse effect CS has upon the value or quality of the words or message conveyed, or 'what bilingual speakers, when they interact with each other, do using the two languages' (Nishimura, 1997:18). Therefore, it has no direct connection with the social values of language. Gumperz (1982) lists some of these functions as: "quotation", "interjection", "reiteration", "message qualification", and "addressee specification".

Gumperz (1982) points out that speakers are not always quoted in the language they normally use. Thus, a message is not always quoted in the code in which it is said, or likely to be said. For example, in a Turkish-Dutch bilingual community, when a child has just been asked what language is used when they play at home, the child says:

> Turkce, annemize de diyoruz*: 'Mama even mama ga maar brood maken diyoruz.'*
> (*Turkish, and we say to our mother: 'mama, go make some bread.'*)
>   (Boeschouten & Verhoeven, 1985; cited in Romaine 1995)

Note that although the child says that Turkish is his home language, what he said to the mother is reported in Dutch. The significant feature here is the switch itself rather than the accuracy of the content reported.

Another discourse function of CS noticed by Romaine (1995) is to mark interjections or to serve as sentence fillers. Poplack (1980) calls this tag-switching and it includes fillers, tags, and discourse markers. One example is the leave-taking of two Spanish-speaking Chicago professionals:

A: Well, I'm glad I met you.

B: *Andale pues* and do come again. Mm*?*
   (*OK swell and do come again. Mm?*) (Gumperz 1982: 77)

Code-switching can also be used to reiterate what has just been said---to clarify or emphasize a message, e.g. the English-Chinese speaking father calling to his small son while walking through a train compartment:

Keep straight. *Sidha jao* [louder]
(*Keep straight. Keep straight*.) (Gumperz 1982: 78)

Here the switch itself is important because the same thing is said in both languages, but the message is emphasized with a switch.

Code-switching can also qualify a message in which a topic is introduced in one language and commented on or further qualified in the other. An example from Japanese/English is from Nishimura (1997: 127), where the topic is introduced in Japanese and formally marked by *wa*, and the comment is given in English:

May 1942-*ni wa*, we were in Alberta.
(*By May 1942, we were in Alberta*.)

Specifying addressee is another function of code-switching. It serves to direct a message to a particular addressee when three or more people are interacting. This, while directing (including) the specific addressee, may also exclude others. The dual function of including and excluding exists at the same time. One Australian example is:

Where, 'nother knife? walima pocket knife karrwa-rnana.
(*Where's the other knife? Does anyone have a pocket knife*?) (McConvell, 1988)

Here the speaker uses Kriol to make a general impersonal inquiry about a knife in a question specifically addressed to the group of butchers who are co-participants in the

current activity.

Blom and Gumperz (1972) mention that code-switching may also be used to mark types of discourse or genres, e.g. lecture vs. discussion. For example, they reported that teachers delivered formal lectures in the official standard form of Norwegian, but used the regional Norwegian dialect to encourage discussion among the students.

2.6   Studies involving Chinese/English code-switching/code-mixing

Referring specifically to Chinese/English bilingual situations, Pfaff (1997: 341) notes that the typological distance between the languages involved in code-switching may be crucial factor 'in determining the linguistic constraints which accounts for the ways the two (or more) languages can be mixed'. Code-switching between different language pairs may therefore exhibit different characteristics. This comment was made mainly regarding the grammatical characteristics of the languages involved that may decide where possible code-switching could or could not occur. While this topic is both an interesting and important by itself, it falls out of the focus of the present study.

Kwan-Terry's (1992) study examines the code-switching and code-mixing behavior of a child from age 3;6 to 5;0. Although the child was learning Chinese and English simultaneously at the time of the study, his case was not one of 'bilingual first language acquisition' (Meisel 1989) since he had no exposure to English - his early second language – until he had reached the age of 1; 0. The results indicate that the child's code choice was dependent on socialization in the sense that he would associate a particular language with particular persons, while exhibiting certain flexibility in his code choice if he was not particularly emotionally involved. In other words, he was more likely to use the language norm he had identified with each speaker. In addition, the child could also make use of his own and other interlocutors' bilingual ability for certain communicative purposes like reinforcement or clarification. Kwan-Terry also found that the child code-mixed for various reasons depending on the base language.   In addition,

the child used code-mixing as an important strategy to fill gaps in his language vocabulary, especially when he code-mixed in his weaker language: Cantonese. There are, however, relatively few code-switching studies involving Chinese and English.

2.7   Conversational analytic approach to code-switching

In contrast with those top-down approaches mentioned above, Auer (1984) called for a conversation–analytic approach to CS. One basic idea in this approach is that situation is regarded as the co-operative product of the participants as a series of frameworks created and re-created by the people involved in the conversation. Every participant is thought of as continuously creating new frames that in turn may cause changes in many aspects of the subsequent activities.

With regard to language choice, Auer holds that "whatever language a participant chooses for the organization of his/her turn, or an utterance which is part of the turn, the choice exerts an influence on the subsequent language choices by the same or other speaker" (Auer, 1984: 5).   This influence is realized through contextualization cues, which may take various linguistic forms, sending out messages in respect of the relationship between the participants and their attitudes towards each other (Schegloff, 1987; Lanza, 2001). As these cues are provided and interpreted in the process of interaction by the speakers involved, they should be examined in the context in which they occur in order to bring about their situated meanings (Auer, 1995; W. Li, 1998). Representing a bottom-up approach, Auer claims that it "does not exclude linking microscopic aspects of conversational organization to ethnographically documented wider (macroscopic) structures, but rather serves to ground the former in the latter" (W. Li, 1998: 169).

In the light of this approach, Lanza (1992, 1997, 2001a) has explored the code-negotiation sequence in parent (caregiver) – child interaction from a language socialization perspective. She proposes:

"By observing the parent's reaction to the child's mixing, we may unveil the parent's attitudes towards this mixing. These attitudes may relate to norms within the larger community or even the smaller social unit of the family" (2001a: 207).

In order to find out how bilingual children choose to use one or both codes in interaction with their parents and how they take their parents' responses as a contexualization cue, Lanza, based on her study of a two-year-old Norwegian-English girl Siri, observed five common parental strategies called: Minimal grasp (MG), Expressed guess (EG), Adult repetition (AR), Move on Strategy (MS), and Code-switching (CS). These five strategies represent different values along a continuum as shown in Figure 2.2.

In Lanza's opinion, when parents respond to their child's code alternation, different strategies may imply different parental attitudes towards this code alternation. Some of the parental speech acts, therefore, may encourage further alternation while others may discourage it. For instance, if code-switching or move on strategy is used when a parent responds to his or her child's alternation, it is not only a clear signal that the parent understands the switching but also the child may even possibly see this as an encouragement for more switching. However, if a minimal grasp or expressed guess strategy is used, it means that the parent does not understand the mix. If the parent were bilingual, which is often the case, the strategy could mean that the child's mixed code is not appropriate thus this would discourage further alternation in the upcoming interaction.

Monolingual Context			Bilingual Context	
Minimal grasp	Expressed guess	Adult repetition	Move on strategy	Code-switching
1	2	3	4	5

Figure 2.2   Parental strategies towards child language mixes.
Source: Adapted from Lanza, E. (2001: 209)

In analyzing parental response, Lanza's (1992) five major parental strategies are exemplified in the following (1997:263-267). According to Lanza, CS is the most bilingual strategy among the five, comprising both inter-sentential and intra-sentential code-switching. By CS, it is meant that the parents switch from their ethnic language to the other language under discussion. The following is an example of intra-sentential code-switching in which the parent incorporates the child's use of Norwegian into her or his subsequent utterance:

    (Siri I Ma):

SIRI	MOTHER
borte///borte] /	// Borte]
borte/	gone
gone	
→	The little girl is borte, yeah.
	Little Miss Muffet. Mhm

An inter-sentential code-switching would look like the following:

TOMAS	MOTHER
	O.K. Are we finished? You wanna go downstairs and have dinner? Are you hungry?
→ ikke nå/	
not now	
	ikke nå? Du

In both examples, the parents show much endurance about the child's mixed use of two languages. In a family where one parent–one language rule is practised, the parents are expected to use their own ethnic language separately when communicating with their child. But the parents in the examples above, when responding to a child's utterance mixed with the other language, instead of sticking to their own language, either readily incorporated the child's misuse of the wrong code in their response or alternate to the other code completely. If the child's code-switching behavior is an initiation for code negotiation, the parental response could be a signal that the parents are quite open to engage in the negotiation initiated.

For the child, this would mean that his code-switching behavior was quite appropriate and he would take his parent's response as a positive sign encouraging his code-switching. As has been noted by Nicoladis and Genesee (1998), however, the category is 'nonspecific'; it could be used for many different purposes like move-on, clarification request, expressing a guess, or repetition so that it should be further explained, based on the specific context wherein it occurs.

The next category that is less bilingual is the adult repetition strategy (AR). In this category, the parent repeats what the child has said in the parent's first language. According to PDH, this category is less bilingual because it shows that the parent does not have any problem in understanding the child's code-switched utterance; neither does the parent give any sign of forbidding him/her doing so. Thus, it may implicitly encourage further use of the other language. This may be seen in the following example: Siri and her father are changing her doll.

SIRI	FATHER
Sånn / og ny **diaper** /	
Like that / and new diaper/	
→	Og så en ny bleie
	(And then a new diaper.)
clothes?/	

In the example, the father expressed his understanding of the English word 'diaper' by repeating it in his own language in his response. The child might be encouraged, though indirectly, to make more use of that English.

When the third category of move-on (MO) is used, the parents expressed their understanding of the child's switch and carried on with the topic in their first language. Lanza regarded this category as neither too monolingual nor too bilingual, therefore putting it in the middle of the continuum in terms of encouraging or discouraging the child's code negotiation in the subsequent interaction.   The following example is from

Lindholm and Padila (1978):

      E: ¿Cómo va? ('Where does it go?')

                                  C: In black, it goes in black.

→ E: ¿Qué son estos? ('What are these?')

                                  C: Parrots.

→ E: ¿Qué hacen? ('What do they do?')

In this example, each participant keeps on using his or her own language. The parent who may have noticed the child's inappropriate use of the other language carries on the interaction with the child without drawing any attention to it. In other words, this strategy is mainly concerned with the idea and content of the conversation rather than the linguistic form in which they are conveyed. This strategy may therefore give the child a feeling that he may go on with his switch as he was understood without any sign of disagreement. But it needs to be noted that this strategy may not be easily isolated as it requires the child to distinguish whether the parental response is topic-continuing or topic-initiating.   Lanza (1997: 266) therefore concludes: "…… the Move On strategy reveals a bilingual identity although the parent may only be using the other language".

The next two strategies, expressed guess (EG) and minimal grasp (MG), were adapted from Ochs' (1988) reference to different types of clarification requests. With the expressed guess strategy, the parent makes a guess at what the child has said in the parent's native language. It is typically done in a yes-no question waiting for confirmation from the child, as in:

Siri and her mother are looking at a book with a picture of a dog ('vov-vov').

    SIRI   MOTHER

                           Yeah, what does the vov-vov want?

    [m] ben/

→   A bone?

    yeah/

In the example, the mother recasts what the child has said by using English, her own language.   This reformulated question could be a sign to the child showing   that   the parent had difficulty in understanding some words in the other language, thus discouraging the child's further mixing.   This strategy may also be an expansion of the child's utterances.

The MG strategy is the last one identified in PDH framework. It is located at the monolingual extreme of the parental strategy continuum because the parent requests the child to reformulate his/her utterance usually by a Wh-interrogative equivalent such as "I don't understand." or "Say that again". It should be noted that the difference between Expressed Guess and Minimal Grasp is the degree to which the child is forced to re-phrase his / her problematic utterance. While in the Expressed Guess parents normally reformulate the child's utterance for the child to confirm, they request a reformulation from the child in Minimal Grasp. The former is usually a yes-no question whereas the latter an interrogative.

The result in the limited studies, however, is a mixed one. In Goodz's (1994) longitudinal study in Montreal, Canada, for example, it was reported that in half of the eight cases there was a strong correlation between parental and children's rates of code-mixing. Another longitudinal study in the same community but with more subjects could not, however, find any such correlation in ten of the twelve cases (Nicoladis & Genesee, 1998). Lanza (1992, 1997, 2001a) qualitatively showed further that Siri's code-mixing rate varied along with her increased ability in both languages, particularly when her mother changed her strategies when Siri was 2.0 to 2.1. In a replicated study with five children of the age of 2 – 3, Nicoladis & Genesee (1998) found that the children's overall code-mixing rate was negatively correlated with parental discourse strategy style. Furthermore, it seemed that the children would code-mix regardless of parental strategy. Their main response to their parents' strategy was code-mixing. In fact,   Lanza (2001a) claimed to have obtained the same results with her subject   Siri

when she recalculated Siri's data by following Nicoladis and Genesee's (1998) criteria.

These mixed results clearly call for more study. As can be seen, most of the subjects in the studies mentioned above are two-year-olds who are only at an early stage of their language development. They might be able to make appropriate code-switching with their parent or caregiver, but their metalinguistic ability in understanding contextualization cues would be rather limited in the beginning stage of language socialization, particularly in a bilingual language contact situation. In an attempt to reconcile these two opposing results, Nicoladis and Genesee (1998) designed a study to examine the relationship between parents' and the child's mixing rates at two different time points. Their results showed that none of the seven subjects' code-mixing correlated with that of their parents when they were 2;0 and 2;6. However, there was a correlation when they were 3;0 and 3;6. These results suggest that age is a crucial element in this regard and thus necessitates a wider age range of subjects for a better understanding of code alternation in the light of LSLM.

In addition, a point that has often been taken for granted is that the situation of early bilingual acquisition in a typical migrant minority family and that of bilingual first language acquisition are fundamentally different. In the former, both parents are speaking the minority language as their first language while in the latter, one parent-one language is the norm. This difference needs to be treated carefully.

2.8   Children's code-switching and language shift

Traditional studies on children's CS have mainly focused on its social and discourse function, grammatical constraints, and the psycholinguistic mechanism operating behind CS (Heller, 1988; Meisel, 1989; Zentella, 1997; Pfaff, 1999; Deuchar & Quay, 2000; De Houwer, 1990, 2001). Few people have approached it in light of LSLM.

In a longitudinal study of a Turkish/German bilingual boy from age 1:06 to 8:00, Pfaff (1999) examined the overt language mixing, code-switching, and global-code copying

from psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic perspectives. He found that proficiency in the boy's second language appeared to determine the changing pattern of mixing in both Turkish and German contexts. Generally, Turkish words were seldom mixed into German. In contrast, when interacting with the Turkish interlocutors, the opposite pattern of development was found. First, there was a considerable period of monolingual Turkish speech. Insertion of German formulaic phrases and lexical items began well after the child had used these items in German contexts. First nouns and then verbs were adapted morpho-syntactically into Turkish structures. Finally, there is complete alternation from Turkish to German triggered by the insertions, even with Turkish interviewers. Thus, a typical bilingual mode appears.

Some researchers are also interested in the elements mixed by bilinguals. In Redlinger & Park's study (1980:345), for example, three children mixed nouns most frequently, amounting to 40.3% of their mixes, while verbs accounted for only 6% of their mixes. Other studies (De Houwer, 1990; Lindholm and Padilla, 1978) showed more or less the same results. It is noteworthy that phrasal mixing occurs only rarely. Vihman's (1985) results seem to differ greatly from the studies mentioned above. Her results indicated that of a total of 151 mixed utterances produced by an Estonian/English bilingual boy, 24 (types) were function words, 24 nouns, 24 verbs and 1 adjective. The 24 function words appeared in 58% of the child's total mixed utterances. The difference seemed largely due to the different operational categories used since she defined function words as everything except noun, verb, and adjective. Therefore, she concludes (p.322) that function words are mixed more frequently than nouns by younger bilinguals. More relevant to our concerns is the fact that she, too, claimed that there is a predominance of single noun switches in inter-sentential code-switching.

2.9   Summary

- To sum up, it has been generally recognized (Romaine, 1995; Meisel, 1994; Gumperz, 1982:72; Muysken, 1995) that syntactic categories are not mixed

randomly. Nouns and noun phrases, for example, are mixed most frequently; on the other hand, phrasal switches occur infrequently.

- Research on the "one parent–one language" situation has indicated that, at early stages, bilingual children's grammatical systems develop simultaneously and independently, without interference between the two systems involved (Meisel, 1989, 1994; De Houwer, 1990). Nevertheless, language competency, especially in children, is highly dynamic, progressing or regressing dramatically depending on individual factors such as exposure and practice. Whether it is the one parent-one language principle or one language at home and one outside, one language is bound to win out over the other. In other words, the dominant and the dominated languages will in most cases change places over time, domain by domain, as the child gains more control of the majority language at the expense of the minority language. The former usually becomes the dominant language while the latter, often used for low purposes for inter-ethnic communication, becomes the dominated language.

- For a migrant group, language shift, the functional redistribution of a first language and second language, often occurs at the cost of the former. Traditionally, the research on language shift and loss has focused on the sociological and linguistic factors that appear to affect the process of language loss and the domains in which this occurs. Far less attention has been paid so far to how this process unfolds in relation to child-parent code negotiation in their daily conversation.

- The study proposed here breaks new ground in several ways. First, it focuses on language choice and language shift among the first generation young immigrants, a group that has often been mixed up with adults in traditional LMLS studies. The reason they need to be treated separately is that they have to start a new language while their first language is not stable enough. Secondly, the parents of subjects are

all well-educated in their ethnic language and all are fluent English speakers, as can be seen from the fact that all of them are either working or studying in environments where English is the main medium. Thirdly, although using the theoretical PDH frame originally proposed by Lanza (1992), the focus is code alternation behavior in the family domain in relation with LSLM. It is still part of their language socialization but has never been approached from this perspective. Through our reading, we often see a mythical gap in the literature between the positive attitudes held by a majority of the minority members toward the maintenance of their ethnic language and the oft-reported language shift completed within the classical cycle. Therefore, the underlying ambition of this small exploratory step is to provide some practical day-to-day advice for those parents who would like to see their children grow up bilingually.

Chapter 3   Design and methodology

3.1   Introduction

Of the many studies that have investigated LMLS, the majority have focused on the general trends and end results of this phenomenon. To date, little attention has been paid to the micro-socio level of the process that tends to start inter-generationally in the home as children venture out of the home environment where L1 is spoken, and participate in the institutional structures of the wider L2 society. That is, studies of language shift have traditionally taken a macro-linguistic perspective considering factors that inhibit or promote language shift rather than a micro- linguistic perspective which documents how this process occurs. Whilst the former always rely on census-like data, the latter often resort to ethnographic methods. This latter approach has been adopted in the present study which focuses on features of actual speech produced by eight bilingual subjects in the early stages of acquiring their second language in the family domain. This longitudinal study lasted for twelve months, concentrating on how Mandarin Chinese is used in the daily life of the eight separate families and sought to determine the reasons for the language shift, if there was any, during this period.

More specifically, the study focused on the children's code alternation in natural speech and parental response to this. The subjects were all from families who immigrated to New Zealand under the General Skills Category, a special category accounting for about 40% of the total arrivals from Mainland China after the points system was introduced by the New Zealand Immigration Service in 1987. This group was selected because of their relative homogeneity in that all are educated at or above undergraduate level in their first language and are all fluent users of English. On the one hand, they are more aware of the value of their own language and culture; on the other, when confronted with vital competition in education, employment for themselves and their children, they are definitely in a better position, for example, to retain or relinquish their first language, than earlier Chinese migrants in the 1860s or 1890s who were nearly illiterate in either Chinese or English.   Additionally,   they have seldom been mentioned in the general

studies on minority communities in New Zealand, even though it is thought to be academically interesting and socially significant to know how this special community makes its choices regarding language use.

3.2   Specific language group selected for study

The present study is, however, not only interested in the broadly theoretical aspects outlined immediately above. The author, as an immigrant to New Zealand from China with a young child, is also interested in micro-aspects of LMLS for personal reasons and in the hope that findings may be of interest and relevance to the Chinese ethnic community, as well as to sociolinguistics generally. In the following the background context relevant to current Chinese immigration is outlined.

The history of Chinese people in New Zealand began in 1865 when seven Chinese goldseekers left Melbourne on 18 December for Otago after being invited to rework the goldmines there by the Dunedin provincial government (J. Ng, 2003:28). They were mostly rural Cantonese speakers and were regarded as typical, temporary sojourners, as their primary goals were to earn a fortune and go back to China. At its peak, the number of Chinese goldseekers may have reached 5,000 and in the 1881 census they accounted for about one percent of New Zealand, non-Maori minorities. This number, however, declined to 2, 012 in the year 1916, largely due to the harsh anti-Chinese legislation during the period (J. Ng, 2003: 8).

These first arrivals, mostly male, remained outsiders until the 1930s when they were able to settle down with their wives and younger children who for the first time were allowed to unite with them in New Zealand under discriminatory regulations. This was followed by a slight boom in the number of Chinese people living in New Zealand. With continuing, strict controls through all possible governmental means, a half-century later, the 1986 Census recorded some 26,616 Chinese residents, including mixed ethnic

origins.

Study of language use among earlier New Zealand Chinese is largely fragmentary and anecdotal. Yet, some assumptions can reasonably be made based on the evidence known so far. According to some studies, the earlier gold seekers, and earlier Chinese dwelling in Wellington as well, were originally from around the present Pearl River Delta (J. Ng, 2003; Shum, 2003). Shum describes them as: "… small farmers and rural artisan stock. … Most were illiterate or poorly literate, and relied on their social grouping, based on kinship and locality as their chief resource and protection overseas" (2003: 6). We may therefore assume that the majority of them were Cantonese speakers as they were mostly from small counties of Guangdong such as Panyu and Taishan. Although there were also a few hundred Hakka and a handful of Hokkien speakers, it is not hard to imagine that Cantonese would be used as the lingua franca among them (W. Li, 1994). Concerning their education level, J. Ng writes: "…in the 1881 Census, only 90 out of 1,104 people had six or more years Chinese education. …, and only 104 out of 5,004 Chinese in New Zealand could read and write English, and twelve others could read English. Possibly not a lot more than 100 would have been able to speak fair-fluent English" (2003: 10).

3.3   New Chinese immigrants

The Chinese community profile has dramatically changed since 1987 when the New Zealand government removed the traditional immigration source bias and began to target Asian talent and investment. Within a matter of fifteen years by 2001, the general Asian population burgeoned to 237,459 or 6.6% of the national population. Ethnic Chinese or mixed Chinese accounted for 44% of the Asian population and 3% of total New Zealand population (Statistics New Zealand, 2002). Although the number of Chinese immigrants increased to 104, 583 in 2001(see below Table 1.1 and Figure 1.1), the major influx started from early 1990s with approved numbers of permanent residents rising from 1,042 in the 1990s to   8,750 in 2002   (New Zealand immigration

Services, 2002). These new immigrants differed in many respects compared with their earlier compatriots who were commonly found to be illiterate even in their own ethnic language. In terms of geographical origins they were far more varied and recent immigrants coming under skills category accounted for substantial percentage, for example, 43 percent in 2003 – 2004 calendar years (New Zealand Immigration Migration Service 2003-2004) and were usually university graduates with higher socio-economic status plus greater English language competence.

Table 3.1   Selected Asian Ethnic Group Populations, 1991 and 2001

Ethnic Group	1991	2001	Change
New Zealand-born Chinese	15,264	25,473	10,209
Overseas-born Chinese	28,401	78,519	50,118
Total Chinese	**44,793**	**104,583**	**59,790**
Korean	930	19,023	18,093
Filipino	4,917	11,091	6,174
Japanese	2,970	10,002	7,032

(*Source***:** Statistics New Zealand: 2001)
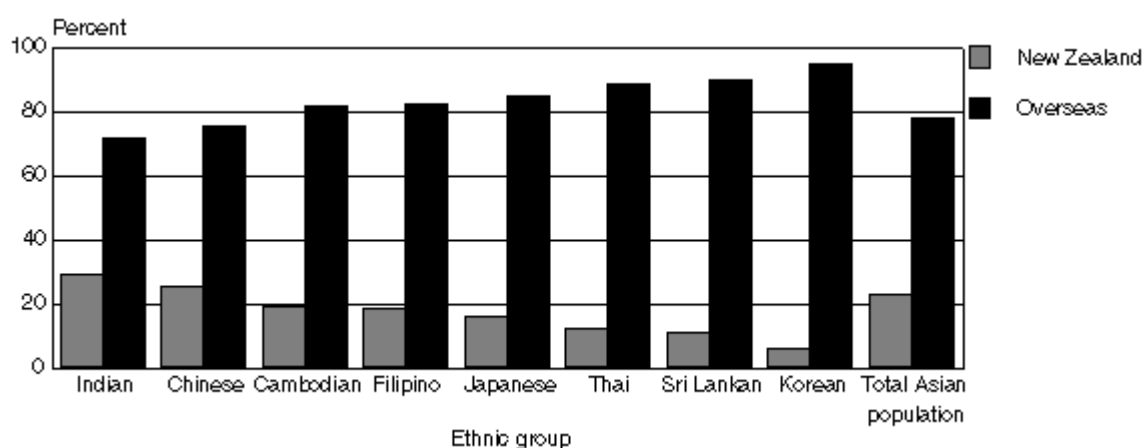
Figure 3.1 Birthplace of the Major Asian Ethnic Groups in New Zealand, 2001

(*Source*: Statistics New Zealand: 2001)

What further differentiated them is that, within about two years, the majority were able to find jobs working in various environments where they are exposed to English language and local culture on a daily basis.   This would considerably affect their lan-

guage behaviour and their language attitudes towards both their ethnic minority language and the majority language as well. According to the 2001 census, there were 7,776 overseas-born Chinese children between the ages of 0 – 14. These represented a population of special interest in terms of the phenomenon of LSLM. They are often homogeneously treated as first generation New Zealanders but may differ significantly in terms of first language maintenance and second language acquisition. To be more specific, it would be of more than considerable interest to know both how these children make their language choice and how, if they do, they switch between the two languages since findings on language shift and language maintenance (LSLM) among overseas Chinese are ambivalent in this respect (Roberts, 1991; W.Li 1994; Clyne & Kipp, 1997; Clyne, 2003). In some studies they were found to regard language as their core value (Smolicz, 1981) while elsewhere they were said to be "quite instrumental in their motivation to replace language" (Clyne, 1997, a response to W. Li, 1997: 148). Clearly, with reference to Table 2 on page 11, the shift rate rise from 4.6% of first generation to 37.4% of the second generation, demands explanation.

3.4   Selection of subjects

Based on the aims of this project, relevant information was passed among friends. Being a skilled migrant himself, the researcher had relatively easy access to this social group; therefore, the sampling of the study was mainly through social network. In addition, the researcher's child was one of the subjects. These two factors provided both opportunities and challenges. As monitoring monthly tape-recording for a whole calendar year would be a considerable task for each family and it was regarded as doing a favour for the researcher, sometimes it was hard for the researcher to push a family to re-record if one tape did not meet the requirements, thus, a few tapes were invalid. As a participant researcher, the researcher had ensured that the family maintained the normal language pattern when arranging recording. However, when it was time to fill in the questionnaire, some effort was required. What the researcher did was try to forget his role of researcher and answer each question in his role as an immigrant parent.

All the subjects were from friends' families or those of friends' friends. At first, ten children were chosen or recommended from friends. When it was time to decide the last subject, there were three to choose from: a 10-year old girl and a 4-year-old boy and S5. In order to keep a gender balance in each age group, the 10-year-old girl was left aside. The 4-year-old boy was not considered because he had just started kindergarten but all other children were at school after at least one year of kindergarten experience so that the effect from English on him may not have been comparable with other subjects.

Although S5 was born in New Zealand, he generally meets all the other requirements regarding the parental background, education level, family language, language exposure before going to school. The following criteria were used for sampling:

1. they were young Chinese immigrants under ten years of age; and
2. Mandarin Chinese was the dominant language used with them by family members; and
3. their parents immigrated to New Zealand under the General Skill Category.

Table 3.2   General characteristics of the subject-group

Subjects (S)		Sex	Age (years; months)	Length of stay in NZ (Years; months)	Education com-in China (Y)*	Living with grand-parents
Group 1	S1	Male	10; 9	3; 4	Y2	No
	S2	Female	9; 3	1; 6	Y2	No / Yes**
	S3	Male	9; 1	1; 9	Y1	No
	S4	Female	8; 8	2;9	Nil	No
Group 2	S5	Male	5; 4	5; 4	N/A***	Yes
	S6	Female	5; 1	2; 3	Nil	Yes
	S7	Female	5; 10	3; 1	Nil	No
	S8	Male	5; 1	1; 9	Nil	No

*   Y refers to the grade attended in primary school (e.g. Y2 = year 2)

**   S2's grandparents came in the ninth month of the data collection.

***   S5 was born in New Zealand

The subjects consisted of two age groups of four children each as listed in Table 3.2

together with relevant information at the time when data collection started. Gender numbers across each group were equalized so that comparisons could be made.

Table 3.3   Parental characteristics of subjects

Subject-Parent Links (F / M)*		Age (Year)	Level of education	Major	Level of English*	Length of stay in NZ (Y;M)*
S1	F	41	Bachelor	Electronics	Poor/N*	1; 1
	M	37	Bachelor	Agriculture	Good/Y	3; 4
S2	F	36	Bachelor	English	Goog/Y	1; 11
	M	36	Bachelor	Engineer	Poor/N	1; 11
S3	F	37	Master	Computer	Fair/Y	1; 5
	M	33	Bachelor	Architecture	Fair/Y	1; 5
S4	F	41	Master	Biology	Fair/Y	5; 3
	M	40	Bachelor	Biology	Poor/N	5; 3
S5	F	37	Master	English	Good/Y	12; 7
	M	34	Bachelor	English	Good/Y	11; 5
S6	F	34	Bachelor	Computer	Fair/Y	1; 11
	M	32	Master	English	Good/Y	1; 11
S7	F	36	Master	English	Good/Y	2; 0
	M	35	Bachelor	English	Good/Y	2; 0
S8	F	37	Master	English	Good/Y	1; 9
	M	35	Master	English	Good/Y	1; 9

*F = father; M = mother;

*Level of English: This is based on a self-evaluation in the questionnaire and the result of their IELTS required by New Zealand Immigration Office. Y means the parent has passed IELTS at least at Band 5. N means the parent does not have the evidence of passing IELTS at least at Band 5 which is the minimum requirement for English Language but has paid English language tuition fees which they could get access to upon their arrival of New Zealand.

*Y = Year; M=Month

The purpose behind having two age groups was to trace the possible age-specific differences in the aspects under study. Moreover, study of LMLS focusing on young immigrants at this age was considered important because this is a cognitively and linguistically critical period in their bilingual development. When they start school, they have just moved beyond the confines of the immediate family where they are spoken to predominantly in Chinese and are now spending around 75% (during weekdays) of their waking hours in a purely English-medium environment. In other words, the study pre-

sents a picture of these children who until recently were monolingual learners (before they came to New Zealand or before they started school if they are locally born), but who are at the early stages of L2 (English) acquisition in a society where English is the official medium. Information about the parents is presented in Table 3.2 above with the parents' number corresponding to the subject number, (e.g., F1 is S1's father, and M8 is S8's mother).

The purpose of this study, therefore, was fourfold:

1. to describe the children's general language choice;

2. to identify how the children code-switch in their daily interaction with their parents;

3. to monitor the parents' reactions to the children's code-switching;

4. to ascertain how much the parents' response influences the children's language choice in the subsequent conversational turn.

The linguistic context of each subject is briefly described at the end of this chapter for purposes of general comparison.

3.5   Data Collection

Direct observation was conducted to find out how the selected children talk to other people and to gain a general impression of their usual pattern of language use in the home setting. The observations were mainly carried out during weekend visits to the subjects' families or other gatherings. Occasional observational notes were kept by the researcher on some of the children's general language patterns, code-mixing and code-switching with parents, peers and other friends. Their language use in other domains, although an interesting topic, is excluded given that the focus of the study is on general home language use.

3.5.1   Audiotape recording

It is essential for any research dealing with people's language behaviours that the data

should be directly recorded or/and observed. Yet, the mere presence of the bserver or/and the recording equipment may modify the nature of people's talk, thus, making the data less reliable and less valid (W. Li, 1994; Milroy & Muysken, 1995; Nishimura, 1997). If the data collector has a natural relationship with the subject, however, they will not feel observed or/and recorded and will be more likely to speak naturally. Consequently, to minimize the effect of what Labov (1972: 209) called 'the observer's paradox', the present study involved parents as data collectors.

Audiotape recording, the primary data used in this study, was conducted in the subjects' homes monthly by the parents of the children. Parents were selected for the role of recorder both to preserve the naturalistic setting and to avoid topic disruption, given the volatility of subjects at this general age. Each recording session lasted for one hour and the data were collected over a period of twelve months. The decision to make monthly recordings over a period of one calendar year was based on the assumption that twelve monthly sessions would generate a reliable sample for our purposes.

To provide a fuller picture of the children's daily language use, across different 'sub-contexts', the children were recorded in different situations, for example, when the children were playing with the parents, at story-telling time and at mealtime.

Altogether 96 tapes were collected and labelled as Tape 1 to Tape 12 for each subject. In the course of data collection, S7 was sent back to China resulting in the last four tapes (S7-T9, S7-T10, S7-T11, and S7-T12) being recorded in China without her parents. Whilst it might be interesting to know the subject's language choice in a completely different language situation, they were excluded as deviant with regard to interactional setting or environment. To protect comparability and reliability of the data, the last two tapes from S1 were also excluded because they were, for practical reasons, three months later than scheduled. Thus, a total of 44 hours was recorded from eight subjects, yielding a relatively larger database in terms of similar studies. (Lanza, 1997;

Deuchar & Quay, 2000). The valid tapes actually used in the data analysis are listed in Table 3.3.

Each of the twelve recordings lasted for approximately 60 minutes. Since they concern instances of naturally occurring, spontaneous talk by the target children, they have been recorded when their parents thought they were in a talkative mood. For this reason, no preparation or warm-up time was necessary, as would be the case with outside researchers unknown to the children.

Table 3.4 Tapes used in the data analysis

Subject		Tape					
Group 1	S1	T1	T3	T5	T7	T9	N/A
	S2	T1	T3	T5	T7	T9	T11
	S3	T1	T3	T5	T7	T9	T11
	S4	T1	T3	T5	T7	T9	T11
Group 2	S5	T1	T3	T5	T7	T9	T11
	S6	T1	T3	T5	N/A	T9	T11
	S7	T1	T3	T5	T7	N/A	N/A
	S8	T1	T3	T5	T7	T9	T11

3.5.2   Questionnaire-interview

A questionnaire (see Appendix 4) was designed to collect general information about the family background and daily language behaviour, and at the same time to investigate the parental attitudes in relation to language maintenance and language shift. Basic background information on the families has been summarized in the following to provide some general contextual knowledge about the targeted families.

The questionnaire was originally scheduled to be administered upon the completion of the tape recording phase. This arrangement was made to reduce possible data contamination when the parents might try to adjust their language pattern to produce what they think the study needs. However, two intervening events led to its postponement. One event was the Sep.11, 2002 incident in the United States of America

and the other was a change to New Zealand immigration policy. Although the new policy was mainly aimed at reducing overall immigrant numbers, many people, especially Asian immigrants whose first language is not English, felt that they were linguistically disadvantaged and not welcome in New Zealand. The use of the questionnaire was postponed one year later until the researcher believed that the parents would be less emotionally affected when they answered the questions in the questionnaire.

The interviews were conducted with each parent face to face in each family. All the interviews were carried out in a separate room to avoid possible communication between husband and wife. During the interview, each parent was given a copy of the questionnaire, to make questions easier to understand and answer. As a strictly questionnaire-based interview, all the answers were marked on a separate copy although a tape-recording would have yielded more information for the few text open-ended questions.

3.5.3   Transcription

For logistical reasons, analysis of total data was impractical. To secure a representative, large data sample, the recordings for every alternative month were transcribed, labelled as T1, T3, T5, T7, T9, and T11 for each subject. Therefore, "S1-T3" refers to the third transcribed session of Subject 1. Similarly, S8-T9 refers to the nineth tape of Subject 8.

All transcription was carried out following the CHAT transcription system (The LIDES Coding Manual, 2000). Transcripts were then checked for accuracy by another fluent Mandarin/English bilingual who was linguistically qualified. Any differences were resolved by discussion. Further, if any uncertainty about an English datum existed, then a native English-speaking language teacher was consulted.

It needs to be noted that when providing examples, and in appendices as well, all Eng-

lish parts are in boldface, treated as embedded language. Anything uttered in Mandarin, the matrix language (Myers-Scotton, 2002), were converted into the Chinese phonetic system: Pinyin. Apart from these conventions, for all Chinese utterances, a free translation is provided in single quotation marks and bracketed. Where grammatical features were psycholinguistically salient, they were also glossed.

3.5.4 Terminological clarification

To avoid the inconsistent use of certain terms, the following terms were used in this study as defined in the following:

Code alternation refers to a complete switch from one language / dialect to another.

Code-switching is used to refer to the communication strategy of alternate use of two languages in the same utterance or conversational turn. It is regarded as a more advanced and more conscious use of one's bilingual resources. Therefore, in this study, it entails both code-mixing and code-alternation.

Code-mixing refers to the mixed used of two languages at a lower, more unconscious or incidental level by children of a much younger age, as has been discussed frequently in the literature (cf. W. Li, 2000: 495). In this study, its use is further restricted to a mixing happening within a conversational turn.

Mixing or *mixing-rate* is used for statistical purposes in relation to how much one could move between the two or more languages involved.

Conversational turn is used in the usual sense of what is said by a person before or after another person begins to speak. It is the unit used in data analysis for research question 1 (See section 3.4).

Conversational round refers to a conversational unit composed of four consecutive con-

versational turns. The four turns are usually contributed by two participants in a conversation without being interrupted by a third speaker. In this study, both the father and mother are regarded as belonging to one side; therefore, when a father starts a round in Turn 1, a mother's participation in Turn 3 is not regarded as interruption. (See section 3.4 and 3.5 below)

Utterance is used interchangeably with conversational turn if not specified.

Chinese is used to refer to Mandarin Chinese unless otherwise specified.

3.6 Data analysis of language choice

Studies involving younger bilinguals have used different units of analysis depending on the specific study's focus. In this study, two units are used to address different research questions.

For research question 1, the basic unit for analysis is *conversational turn*. A child's *conversational turn* may take the following forms:

(A)   One word from either language is involved. For example,

Illustration 1: S1 – T1

132.	M	Zhebian shi shenme yisi?
		('What does this side mean?')
133.	S1	**Decrease**.

(B)   A mixed turn consists of elements from both languages:

Illustration 2: [S2 – T3]

60.	F.	Fangle lajiao le?
		('Is there chilli?')
61.	S2.	Fangle lajiao **number three**.
		('There is chilli')

(C)   More than one utterance composed of elements from either or both languages involved:

Illustration 3: S5 – T9

131. S5   **I need to sharpen the pencils now. So give me**.

132. M3   **All are sharp enough. Don't sharp them any more**. Dou
             xiaode ting jiande, buyong zai xiaole, dou tinghao de.。
             'All are sharp enough, no need to sharpen again, everyone is
             in good condition.'

In order to establish the language choice pattern of the participants, all the utterances in the conversation were transcribed in their naturally occurring form and coded for language in three sub-language groups: Chinese, English, and Mixed. If a turn was unambiguously comprehensible as words of a specific language, they were transcribed in that language. All turns were coded for addressee. Some of the participants' actions were also provided when they served to clarify the boundary or meaning of the discourse.

Following the CHAT (LIDES, 2000) coding system, a turn was coded as being Chinese (C) if all the lexical items and grammatical items were unambiguously Chinese and a turn was coded as being English (E) if all the items in it were English. Similarly, a turn was coded as Mixed (M) if it contained lexical elements from both Chinese and English. Single word turns composed only of '*bu*/no' or '*shi/hao*/yes/OK' were, unlike some studies, also counted, as it was thought that this was an important language function in language development. All proper names, such as 'Foodtown, McDonald's, KFC', were counted for analysis. Kinship names (*mama* /mommy, *baba*/daddy, *shu shu* /uncle) were treated in the same way. As the focus of this analysis was the children's daily language patterns in their spontaneous conversations with their parents, only their intelligible utterances were counted and transcribed. Others that were excluded from the analysis include:

1. idiosyncratic onomatopoeia or babbling;

2. unintelligible utterances;

3. utterances made between the targeted participants and a native English speaker;

4. utterances not made between the parents and the child.

Also, conversation between the subjects and their peers was treated separately. The children's rate of using a certain subcategory language was counted in terms of the percentage of a participant's total conversational turns.

3.7   Conversational Round as an analysis unit

For research questions 2 and question 3, two steps were taken: first, to decide on an appropriate unit for analysis and, second, the actual coding.

In choosing a unit, the Parental Discourse Hypothesis of Code-mixing (PDH) (See section 2.3.6), is no doubt a very interesting step in the study of code-switching in relation to language socialization in early bilingual development. The focus of this study, however, was to investigate the dynamic relationship in parent-child interaction in an immigrant minority situation in the light of language maintenance and language shift. In particular, the present focus is on how much the parents' language choice might influence that of their children's. PDH was not considered an ideal tool for this study mainly because the same strategy can be realized in different languages. In many cases it is found to be hard to decide which strategy was really intended by the speaker. Language choice rather than the PDH strategies thus appeared to be a stronger indicator of parental language attitudes, reflected, consciously or unconsciously, through their everyday language patterns.

Based on these considerations, a unit called "Conversational Round" was used in our analysis. A 'Conversational Round', for the purpose of this study, has the following three features:

1. it must have a core utterance, i.e. the child's code-switched turn;

2. this code-switched turn must be preceded by a parental turn in either Chinese or a code-mixed form;

3. two other consecutive turns immediately made by the parents and the subject respectively must be present.

In other words, a Conversational Round is composed of four turns made by two speakers each contributing two relevant turns. The size of the round, like the location of the core utterance, may vary depending on the needs of different study foci. Children's code-switched turns made after parental English turns are treated similarly in a separate section. A typical Conversational Round is illustrated in example 4:

Illustration 4: S5 – T11

255.	M5.	Zanmen jia xianzai meiyou. yaoshi you dehua zanmen jiu ( )
		('Our home does not have. If we have we'll ( )')
256.	S5.	Nage shenme **shape** ya?
		('What shape (is) that one?')
257.	M5	Shenme **shape**, yiban doushi fanged bei! Shibushi? Nimen laoshi shibushi jiang ( )
		('What shape, normally, they are square! Isn't it? Didn't your teacher say ( )')
258.	S5.	Fangde.
		('Square')

In this example, the second utterance is the *core utterance,* a code-switched turn made by a child. Following a parental turn in Chinese, the subject embedded an English word 'shape' in his reply. In the subsequent turn, the mother used the English word again in her response without paying particular attention to the child's code-switching. The child, nevertheless, returned to the base language, Chinese, in the final turn of this round.

In the second step, each turn in a conversational round is coded for addressee and for language. As for language choice, the coding followed exactly the same rules used for

research question 1.   Since the situation when the parents are using English is treated separately, there are only two choices for the first turn made by parents in each conversational round. The rest of the three turns are coded either as C for Chinese, or E for English, or M for Mixed turns.

If a parent's Chinese turn is followed by a mixed turn from his/her child, this pattern is labeled as CM (Chinese followed by Mixing).   If the parent responds in Chinese in the third turn, the pattern is labeled as CMC. For Turn1 of a Conversational Round, there are only two possibilities existing, Chinese (C) and mixing (M), as parental turns in English are treated separately.


```
                          Conversational Round
          ┌──────────────────┐            ┌──────────────────┐
               Turn 1 (C)                      Turn 1 (M)
         ┌─────────────────────┐        ┌─────────────────────┐
    Turn 2 (CM)        Turn 2 (CE)      Turn 2 (MM)       Turns 2 (ME)
   ┌─────────┐        ┌─────────┐      ┌─────────┐        ┌─────────┐
CMC  CMM  CME*   CEC  CEM  CEE   MMC  MMM  MME   MEC  MEM  MEE
   (------------------------------------Turn 3** ----------------------------------------)
```
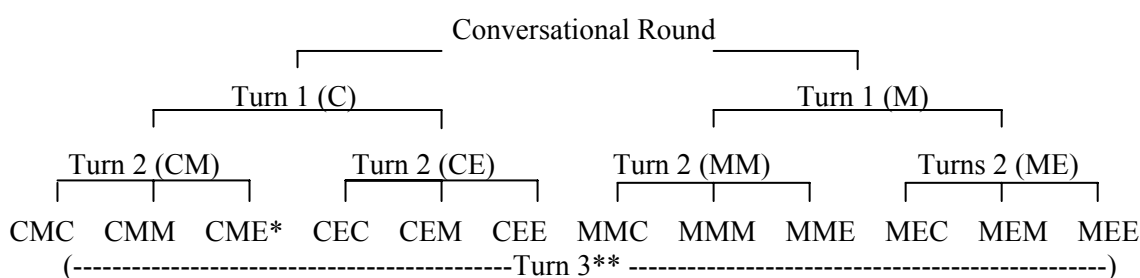
*   C=Chinese; M=mixing; E=English.
* *   Refer to the List of Abbreviation on page x.

Figure 3.2   Possible language patterns in a Conversational Round

All Conversational Rounds are selected with a code-switched turn (Turn 2) from a child. A child's code-switching is defined as either an act of mixing two languages or completely switching from one language to another. Therefore, there are only four possibilities for Turn 2 as Figure 3.1 illustrates: CM (Chinese followed by Mixing), CE (Chinese followed by English), MM (Mixing followed by Mixing), and ME (Mixing followed by English). (Refer to section 3.3.3 for definition and clarification of the terms used).   In Turn 3, since a parent may use Chinese, English or a mixture of both, there are 12 possible combinations (4 x 3) for turn 3. Since each of the combination in Turn 3 could be followed by Chinese, English, or Mixing, the total possible combination for Turn 4 are 12 x 3 (=36).

3.8   Factors influencing code-switching and function replacement

Many factors have been identified as relevant to code-switching. Code-switching, for example, has been found to be related to topic, context, relationship between the speaker, and many others (see Clyne, 2003 for a comprehensive review). Many factors have been mentioned and discussed, even in depth, in some studies, but often these factors have been approached from the perspective of code-switching. This study attempts to move one step forward to treat these factors more in relation to language shift and language maintenance.

Language is culture-loaded. "It is not always possible in this field to differentiate 'language' from 'culture' as a source of communicative behaviour …" (Clyne, 2003: 215). When languages come into contact, it is natural to see that cultural behaviour changes in the form of language etiquette. The Chinese language has complicated and different systems and traditions for certain communication functions. Apart from the factor of school and study (SS)-the most common topic for family conversation, three other factors are mainly dealt with for the purpose of this study: affective and emotional factor (AE), language and culture (LC), and polite and praising words (PP).

3.9   The subjects and their language exposure

Although the families are from different parts of Mainland China, Mandarin Chinese is the first and also dominant language for all the parents involved in this study. Even those parents who speak a regional variety speak one that is still classified as a subcategory of the broad northern dialect on which standard Mandarin is based. In addition, Mandarin Chinese tends to be the main code used by these families, no matter where they are from and what regional dialect they were brought up with. When there is no outsider present, they seem to be quite happy to switch to their own dialect and it is not unusual to find English being mixed in with their conversations.

It is a completely different picture for the children. Observations reveal that language

patterns among children were very much the opposite of the adults'. Normally, English would be their first choice but they opt to change to Mandarin Chinese with their parents. What is more interesting is that they could always choose the appropriate language with newly arrived friends. What often happens is that when a new friend comes, after a few tentative conversational turns, the children can usually intuitively make their judgments of each other's language preference and then select the appropriate code that can maintain their conversation and activity.

In saying that English is the dominant language used for normal school instruction and activities it should be noted that this does not exclude the possibility that sometimes the subjects were organised as a 'study-buddy' to help newly arrived Mandarin-speaking peer students. Although this might have happened to all the subjects it is not clear to what degree it has been practised. One thing that was evident was that many primary and secondary New Zealand schools now have their own TESOL staff to cater for the needs of the recent influx of non-English speaking immigrant pupils, so that the chances for the Chinese students to use their ethnic language in the normal school environment are rare.

Background information and the routine life of the subjects and their families are briefly introduced in the following so to provide a context for the analysis that follows.

3.9.1 Subject 1

Subject 1 (S1), the oldest child in this study, was 10;9 when data collection started. By that time he had been in New Zealand for three years and four months. S1, according to his parents, is a quiet boy. After finishing normal school work, watching TV and playing computer games, mostly in English, are his favourite indoor activities. Table tennis is one of his favourite sports. He has many friends from different cultures and English is the main language used with them regardless of their ethnic language background. Being a Year Six student, he goes to school from about eight o'clock in the

morning until 3:30 in the afternoon. Although there are other Chinese students at his school, Mandarin Chinese is seldom used among them.

During weekdays, S1 normally spends about two to three hours with his parents, but Zealand students normally have their lunch at school). Weekends are different. The family usually goes out together, to watch movies, shopping, and visiting friends most of whom are Chinese. Considering the fact that the child is often expected to do some extra reading on his own, in addition to the homework and assignments from school, and the parents also have to do all the household chores, a rough estimation of the total time for enriched communication between the child and his parents may hardly be more than five hours on a typical weekend. The situation in this regard may vary, however, from family to family and even from week to week.

Mandarin Chinese is the common code used in the family. Although the mother's first language is, strictly speaking, a regional dialect, she never uses it or has never been heard using it even with her co-regionalists. This is because, before they came to New Zealand, they lived in a big city in northern China where Mandarin Chinese is the only accepted code. Neither her husband nor her son speaks her dialect. One interesting thing about this family is that the father does not like New Zealand at all. He actually only stayed for a few weeks during his first visit and it was more than two years later when he was again united with his family. He definitely intends to return to China in a couple of years' time. Reasons given are mainly related to language and culture. Being an excellent automation engineer, he feels that he could do much better if he were not disadvantaged by his lower proficiency in English. Possibly influenced by his father, S1 does not like New Zealand either. Unlike most of other subjects in this study, S1 thinks that New Zealand is too quiet and boring compared with the big city he came from.

With reference to S1's language behaviour, the parents said S1 seldom speaks English with them.   S1 was also recorded twice when he was reading some Chinese texts.   It

seems the parents worry more about S1's Chinese rather than his English. In fact, they have started to send S1 to a Saturday school to learn Mandarin for about two hours a week.

3.9.2   Subject 2

Subject 2 (S2) was 9;3 when data collection started. She came to New Zealand at age 7;9 when she had just started her Y3 study in a provincial city in the middle of China. From tape-recording and direct observations, her Chinese appears to be the strongest among the eight subjects. Since her arrival in Auckland, she had been reading and memorizing classic poems although she has never attended any school for the purpose of maintaining or improving her Chinese. After school, she normally goes to a public library close to where her mother works, and then goes home with her mother.

A typical weekend for S2 is similar to that of S1, although it was observed that S2 makes fewer Kiwi friends than S1. As far as language choice is concerned, however, this does not appear to be much different since English is always their first choice, even among Chinese friends. Interestingly enough, on some occasions when they have friends whose English is not good enough for communication purposes, they often seem willing to communicate in Mandarin. When she is with her parents, Chinese is the dominant language, but observation shows that this is becoming less so. A common scenario is that a conversation starts in Chinese but ends up with the child using English, leaving the parents alone using Chinese.

S2's family situation changed during the last three months of data collection, as her maternal grandparents came to live with them. The grandparents speak standard Mandarin as their first and only language. Although they enrolled in a general English program after their arrival in New Zealand, they could hardly make use of it in any situations. It is assumed that the arrival of the grandparents did change the language pattern of the whole family given the fact they know nothing about English.   S2 was

actually excited about the arrival of her grandparents since she had been living together with them before coming to New Zealand. She has had to use Chinese with them and this increased her opportunities for speaking her mother tongue.

There was an informal language exchange "deal" made between the grandparents and S2 whereby the grandparents (mainly the grandfather who had been a schoolmaster) would   teach S2 Mandarin and S2 would teach them English in return. It is not known how long the agreement lasted or to what degree it was successful, but the presence of the grandparents has greatly increased S2's use of Mandarin Chinese.

3.9.3   Subject 3

Subject 3 (S3) was 9;1 when data collection started and he has been in New Zealand for one year and nine months. Based on observation and the questionnaire data, Mandarin Chinese is the main language used by him for everyday communication purposes.

S3 's daily routine is not dissimilar to that of other subjects using English for the majority of his waking hours, especially in school and with friends. Informal talks with the parents show that S3 seemed to have some difficulties in picking up English. The parents, therefore, were trying in many ways to help him. Measures reinforced by the parents included vocabulary learning, everyday conversation and story writing. Information obtained from the questionnaire revealed that the parents were more concerned with S3's leaning of English, it being the most urgent agenda for them regarding S3's education.

He did not seem to have many friends as compared with other subjects nor did he participate in many social gatherings. When he did play with his friends, like the other subjects, English was always the first code used for communication.

At the time of the current study's data collection,   S3's mother was studying for a ter-

tiary degree and the father was working in a local IT company owned and managed by New Zealanders. The parents' ability in English is only fairly good as may be judged from the tape recordings. A strong accent is apparent, although meaning is relatively clear.

3.9.4   Subject 4

Subject 4 (S4) was 5;8 when she came to New Zealand. When the data collection started, she had been here for about thirty-three months. As formal education usually commences at around the age of 6 in China, S4 did not have any training in reading or writing in Chinese. She started her primary education upon her arrival in New Zealand.

Although the family comes from southern China where a regional dialect is spoken for everyday needs, Mandarin Chinese is the common code used in this family, between the parents and the child and between the wife and husband as well. With an occupational background in biological science, the father's English is much better than the mother's and he had some working experience in an English-speaking country prior to immigrating to New Zealand.

On typical school days, S4 goes to school in the morning and comes back at around 3:30. Similar to other subjects, she hardly speaks any Mandarin Chinese in school although there are some other Mandarin-speaking Chinese students in her school.   The same choice is also made even when she is with her Chinese friends in the home situation. However, S4, unlike other subjects, watches a lot of movies in Chinese at home.

Despite the fact that S4's English is not very good and from time to time the parents have arranged some tuition to improve her English, they are quite concerned with S4's maintenance of Mandarin Chinese. For this purpose, they have been sending S4 to a Saturday school to study Mandarin Chinese.

3.9.5 Subject 5

Subject 5 (S5) is the only subject born in New Zealand. This does not, however, make him special in terms of general family language background and general language exposure. He fulfilled all the criteria set for subject selection for this study. Although he was locally born, he had been mainly looked after at home by his grandparents until he was four. To prepare him for primary education, S5 was sent to a community kindergarten where only English was used. The only potentially significant difference for this study is that S5 has a brother (YY) who is three years younger than him. At the time of data collection, YY mainly stayed at home with his grandparents.

Compared with other subjects, S5 also spends more time at home during weekdays as he does not have to stay in an after-school care centre. With reference to the language employed by the two children, it seems that S5 hardly uses any English when talking to his younger brother, which does not quite agree with what has often been believed or reported (Roberts, 1991).

At home, Mandarin Chinese is the dominant language used among family members. The presence of the grandparents might be a decisive factor in creating a predominantly Mandarin-speaking environment in this family since they are hardly able to make use of English for normal communication needs. S5's parents both have degrees majoring in English language; thus, presumably, they possess a higher than average level of English compared to other parents studied. Nevertheless, they did not seem to use more English than other parents. Although they want their child to maintain their ethnic language, they said they would not want to enforce this by risking the child's acquisition of English. During an informal talk, S5's father once told the researcher that they had been very careful not to mix English with Chinese in order to help the child separate the two languages on the one hand and to train the child to express himself purely in one language or another.

It is also worth pointing out that this family is the only one that has lived in New Zealand for more than ten years at the time of data collection. Both parents have permanent full-time jobs that allow them to live a contented and stable life. In addition, the father also seemed to be more aware of the cultural dimension of language learning.

During the questionnaire-based interview, the father emphasized that it would be better for a migrant to keep his or her ethnic language and culture, but that this should not undermine the learning of English in terms of the effort and time spent because English will be the main language used for education now and in the work-place in the future. Immigrants' achievement and success in education and future life were thought to be much more dependent on their ability in English rather than Mandarin Chinese.

3.9.6   Subject 6

Subject 6 (S6) came to New Zealand at the age of 2; 7. She was first recorded when she had just started Y1 at school. By that time she had already been in New Zealand for about twenty-seven months and her younger sister NN was about twelve months old. In terms of family composition, S6's situation is quite similar to that of S5's in that she has a younger sibling and lives with her grandparents as well.

On a daily basis, S6 goes to school at around 8 o'clock in the morning and comes back home at around 3 o'clock in the afternoon, mostly accompanied by her grandparents. Then she typically does her daily homework and reading as most of other New Zealand school children do.

For everyday communication, Mandarin Chinese is the only language used between the parents and the grandparents' generation because neither of the grandparents speaks any English. When speaking to S6, however, there is some variation in the parents' language pattern. The father seemed to be more consistent in using his ethnic language, Mandarin Chinese, with S6; the mother, on the other hand, was fairly flexible in her lan-

guage choice when conversing with S6. She was also recorded spending more time with S6 than the father. One thing worth mentioning is that S6 has more native English-speaking friends than other subjects and they often played together after school. English was, of course, the only language used among them. It was interesting to notice, in our direct observation during our occasional visits, that even S6's two-year-old sister was picking up one or two English words when playing with this group.

Like other families in this study, there is also a difference in the parents' attitudes to the child's maintenance of the ethnic language. While the mother was quite concerned that her daughter might be, or was becoming, more and more reluctant to speak Mandarin Chinese, the father was quite relaxed about it. He tended to be more practical, saying that if they were to stay here, English would be the children's main language anyway.

3.9.7   Subject 7

Subject 7 (S7) was only 2; 6 when she arrived in New Zealand and was 5;10 at the beginning of the data collection. Since her arrival in New Zealand, she had been attending a local kindergarten until she went to school at age of 5; 0. Three months before the start of her monthly recordings, her grandfather had been staying with the family for about nine months. S7 was sent back to China after the eighth recording so the last three tapes were only made possible with the kind help of S7's aunts in China.

On a typical weekday, S7 went to school at around 8:30 and came home at about 5 o'clock in the afternoon. Between 3 and 5 o'clock, she went to an after school care where English is the only language used. Both in school and kindergarten, English was expected to be the only language employed for normal instruction and activities. During weekends, the family always actively socialized with friends of various backgrounds. Depending on the situations, either Mandarin Chinese or the Sichuan Dialect (SCD) would be used as the dominant language for these gatherings. It was not uncommon to see English elements mixed with either Mandarin Chinese or SCD. Nevertheless, inter-sentential code-switching was rare.

S7 normally used English with her peer friends for those regular weekend get-togethers. S7, like other children, could switch to Mandarin Chinese with her parents even in the middle of her game in English with her playmates. She, like other subjects, also demonstrated her flexibility in her language choice. She could always switch to Mandarin Chinese with any newly arrived Chinese friends.

The language pattern in this family was, however, different in a number of respects. For everyday life, the parents almost always use their regional dialect (SCD) that belongs to the broad northern dialect but may not be intelligible for other Mandarin speakers without sufficient exposure. When they talk to S7, however, they mainly use Mandarin Chinese with occasional code-switching to either English or their regional dialect. Similarly, the grandfather whose first and only language is the regional language, SCD, could only converse with S7 in that regional dialect. Therefore, S7's understanding of the regional dialect SCD is substantial. Once or twice, S7 was noticed imitating her parents' dialect in an amusing way.

S7's parents seemed to be quite concerned about S7's Chinese. They helped her with some basic reading and writing in Mandarin Chinese and even sent S7 back to China for a period of ten months mainly to have some basic but systematic training in reading and writing. This proved to be effective in all four language macro-skills, (i.e. listening, speaking, reading and writing). Moreover, it was also observed that, since her return from her ten month visit from China, she was quite proficient and willing in the use of Mandarin Chinese with her parents.

3.9.8 Subject 8

Subject 8 (S8) came to New Zealand at age 2; 11. He had been attending kindergarten until he started his primary education when he turned 5. On typical schooldays, he went to school at around 8:30 in the morning and came back home at around 5:00 in the afternoon. From 3 to 5 o'clock in the afternoon, he stayed in an after-school care centre

attached to his school. Similar to all other subjects, he was not expected to use any Chinese at all for normal instruction and activities in either school or the after-school care centre.

At home, both Mandarin Chinese and the SCD dialect are used for everyday purposes between the parents, although the father was often found to use his dominant language, Mandarin Chinese, for important matters or serious discussion. However, Mandarin Chinese was always used with S7. It should be noted that S8's maternal grandmother, who could only speak the SCD dialect, had been with the family since S8 was born, so S8 had been constantly exposed to this Mandarin variety almost on a daily basis. Although S8 had never been observed or recorded using a single word from that variety, his ability to understand that regional dialect is quite good. This had been proved by the parents who, in the middle of their conversation in SCD dialect, asked S8 what had been said and the child was always able to paraphrase the basic message.

S8's parents were also concerned about their son's Mandarin Chinese. They were trying to tutor him, though not regularly, in some basic writing skills. With regard to reading, since S8 did not have sufficient ability to do this independently, it was re-enforced by making a quarter of the bedtime stories Chinese ones and S8 seemed to be quite happy with this arrangement. This family was also frequently engaged in weekend gathering of friends. While English was unexceptionally the common medium used among the children, either or both Mandarin Chinese and SCD dialect were occasionally used by the adults.

3.10   Summary

- In this chapter the precise interest of the present investigation was defined in relation to LMLS studies generally, namely, to look at the possible relationship between LMLS and daily language behaviour among Chinese immigrant families in Auckland, New Zealand. The focus of the study was to explore how

parents respond when their children code-switch from Chinese to English in home situations where Mandarin Chinese - their mother tongue - is supposed to be used. Further attention was given to how those parental responses would influence the children's language choice in the subsequent utterance.

- The population for the present study was defined as 'new' Chinese immigrants who arrived after the mid-1980s under the skilled category. The reason for targeting this population was that they are different from previous immigrants with regard to level of education and English language proficiency, factors found to be relevant to LMLS.

- The case study sample from that population was further defined as eight young Chinese children aged from 5 – 10 year at the time of data collection. The parents of the families are all university graduates with some holding postgraduate degrees. Generally, their level of English is fairly high given the fact that, at the time of data collection, they were either working in environments where English is the main means of daily communication or enrolled into full-time diploma or degree courses which all require a substantial level of English competence.

- The data on which the study is based were defined as daily family conversations conducted in home situations. For that purpose, monthly audiotape recording were collected for one calendar year. Given the focus of the study, each subject's recordings of every other month was chosen, transcribed, and coded for analysis. There were a total of 44 tapes valid for the analysis. In addition, a questionnaire-based interview was also used with the parents intending to gather necessary information in relation to LMLS and their daily language practices.

- The major unit for data analysis was defined as 'Conversational Round'. It normally consists of four conversational turns two of which are contributed   by

parents and children respectively. Among the four turns, (T1, T2, T3, and T4), T2 is the core turn as it is the children's code-switched turn. Another area of investigation was the replacement of daily conversational functions and thematic factors affecting converser's language choice. Daily conversational functions include: negation/affirmation, quotation, addressing people, and greeting and farewell. The thematic factors include: school and study, affection and emotion, language and culture, and politeness and praising.

- Finally, to contextualize these procedures in the life-world of the selected sample, a description of each subject's individual characteristics and family situation was given.

Chapter 4   Language choices of the target families

4.1   Introduction

Language choice and language use is an essential part of LMLS. It is more so for younger immigrants since the home or family situation is probably the only place for migrant minorities where they can use their ethnic language. Although many scholars have broached this idea, its importance was not fully explicated until the early 1990's (Fishman 1991).

In the study of LMLS among minority immigrants, detailed description of the everyday language behaviors of the target group is important, especially for the following two reasons: first, it provides the researcher with general background knowledge of how the languages involved are practised on an everyday basis, on which people in turn make their judgments; second, the description itself may reflect parental attitudes and the strategies employed, consciously or unconsciously, in their verbal interactions with their children. For these reasons the present study documents how the subjects and their parents make use of their two languages in their spontaneous interaction in the home situation.

Based on the methods and procedures described in Chapter 3, this chapter presents the results for the first research question. For the purpose of this chapter, we chose to present our results in the form of a bar chart. The actual number of turns made by each subject, and other relevant information, are listed as Appendices 1 to 8 for reference. For convenience, each research question is restated before the results are given. Discussion of the results follows in the next chapter.

4.2   Language choice

Research question 1: *What are the language choice patterns of the individual subjects and their parents in the home environment*?

Table 4.1 and Table 4.2 list all the language choices made by the parents and the child in each family in all the analysed data. Overall, when the parents are talking with their children, 75.6% of their turns are made in Mandarin Chinese, 10.4% of their turns are made in English and code-switched turns account for 14.1%. Together the latter two figures already account for a quarter of their total contribution. This shows that the adult immigrants' pattern of language use is, within an average period of 28 months, undergoing relatively rapid change.

Table 4.1   Parents' total language choice with children

Parents	Chinese		English		Mixed		Total
1	1062	87.5%	14	1.2%	138	11.4%	1214
2	877	84.7%	49	4.7%	109	10.5%	1035
3	503	41.8%	491	40.8%	210	17.4%	1204
4	1130	92.1%	26	2.1%	71	5.8%	1227
5	1024	75.5%	164	12.1%	168	12.4%	1356
6	987	65.8%	134	8.9%	380	25.3%	1501
7	148	78.7%	15	8%	25	13.3%	188
8	1153	83.5%	52	3.8%	175	12.7	1380
Total (x)	6884	(75.6%)	945	(10.4%)	1276	(14.1%)	9105

Table 4.2   Children's total language choice with parents

Subject	Chinese		English		Mixed		Total
S1	803	74.9%	30	2.8%	239	22.3%	1072
S2	620	69.9%	185	20.9%	82	9.2%	887
S3	233	26.4%	578	65.5%	72	8.2%	883
S4	934	84.1%	49	4.4%	128	11.5%	1111
S5	954	73.9%	269	20.8%	68	5.3%	1291
S6	750	52.3%	492	34.3%	192	13.4%	1434
S7	127	70.9%	25	14%	27	15.0%	179
S8	818	68.4%	144	12.1%	233	19.5%	1195
Total (x)	5239	(65.1%)	1772	(22%)	1041	(12.9%)	8052

The children's language choice is different from that of their parents in several ways. First, their use of Mandarin Chinese is about ten percent less. Second, whilst the parents' English turns are about four percent less than their use of code-switched turns,

the children's English turns are nine percent more than that of their code-switched turns, which suggests that, English, the local majority language, is having a greater effect upon younger immigrants. Although Mandarin Chinese remains their main language choice, their turns made in English and code-switching combined exceeds one-third of the total when they are talking with their parents.

4.3   Individual performance

There are, of course, variations across families and subjects and sometimes the variation is substantial, depending on age and family background. Individual variation in the language choice of each specific subject and family is described separately in the following.

4.3.1   Subject 1 (S1)

Figure 4.1 lists the language choice of S1 and his parents in the recorded interactions. Taking the family as a whole, a total of 2286 turns (see Table 4.1 and 4.2 above) were recorded in the five tapes. The parents contributed just over half of the turns (1214). Given the triadic exchange situation (with both parents and the child participating), the child, with an overall contribution of 46.9%, can be evaluated as the dominant participant in this regard.
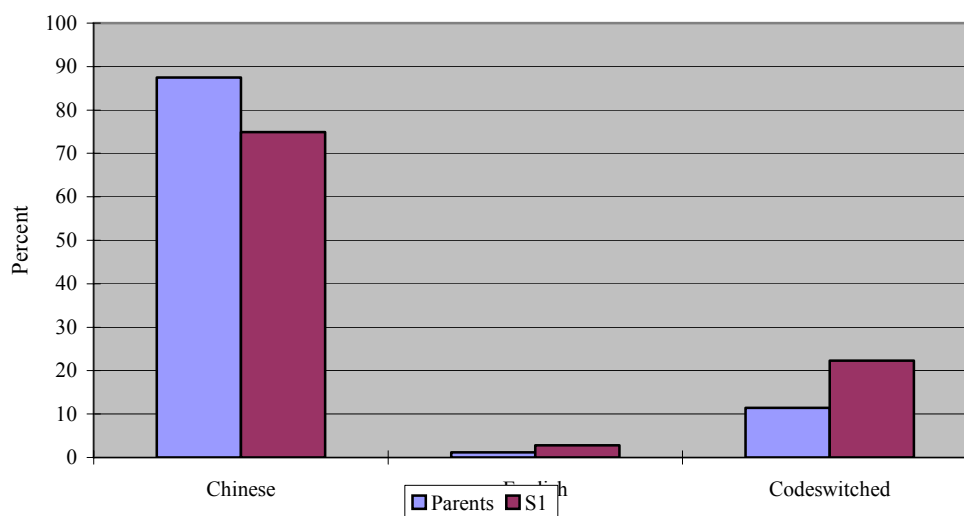
Figure 4.1   Language choices in family 1

From Figure 4.1 we can see that Mandarin Chinese is the dominant language used in this family by both the subject and his parents. About 87% of the parents' turns are made in Mandarin Chinese. Code-switching is their second favorite choice accounting for 11.4% of their total turns. English turns are very little (1.4%).

Changes are obvious through successive tapes as shown in Figure 4.2. The parents' use of their first language varies mildly from a high of 92% in Tape 1 to a lower percentage of 83.6 in Tape 7. Compared with the parents, S1's use of Chinese displays an overall diminishing trend. The progressive variation in the use of Chinese is about double that of the parents (10% vs 20%).
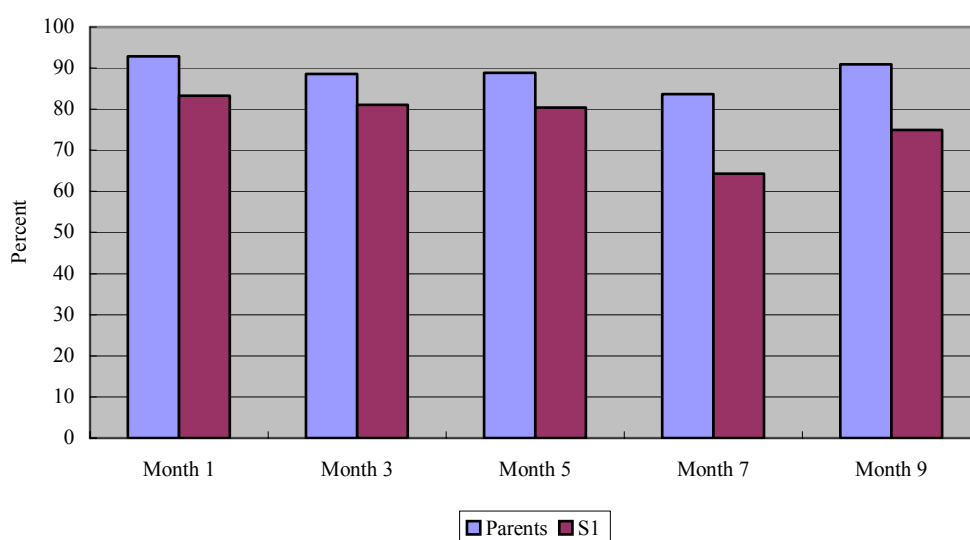
Figure 4.2   Chinese used by family 1

In sharp contrast, the use of English is rather limited in all the participants' turns across all tapes. Although the average English use of all participants is low across all tapes (2%; See Appendix 1), the parents seem even more reluctant to use English. Out of the 1214 parental turns in the 5 tapes available, there are only 14 (1.2%) turns made in English. In fact, English was not used at all in two of the tapes (1 and 9).
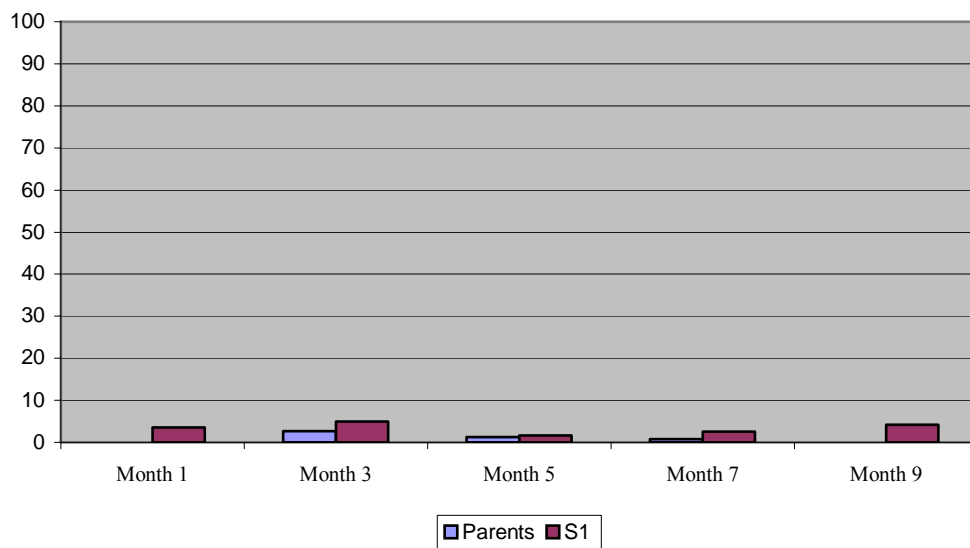
Figure 4.3   English used by family 1

For the third sub-language type, code-switched turn (M), the parents' rate of code-switching ranges from the lowest 7.1% in Tape 1 to the highest 15.7% in Tape 7. Interestingly, the parents' increase in their use of code-switching with the child progressed relatively evenly and overall the rate of M was ten times more than their use of English.
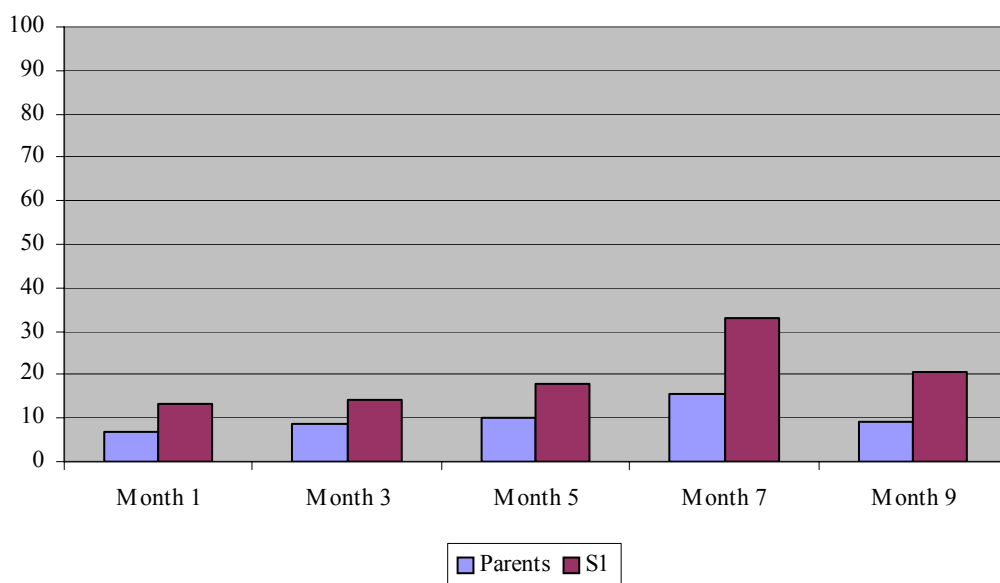
Figure 4.4   Code-switching used by family 1

Similarly, S1 also shows an increased use of code-switched utterances, from 13.1% in Tape 1 to a high of 33.2% in Tape 7, representing more than one third of the total turns produced by this subject. Compared with Figure4.1 where the child uses about 13% less Chinese than his parents do, his code-switched utterances (Figure 4.4), on average, are twice as much as his parents (22.3:11.4).

In terms of general trend over time month 7 is unusual. While S1's use of English maintains at a lower level in Figure 4.3, his use of Chinese decreases sharply in Figure 4.2, and in the same time, his use of code-switching sharply increases. This reflects the nature of the topic and the type of activity going on when the participants are recorded.

Close checks of the transcript show that in the recording for that month, the family not only talked about S1's study, i.e. physics and maths, but also touched upon computer knowledge and creating one's signature. School and study is mentioned in every tape, but when the topic goes deeper, as in this recording, the child has to embed many English terms although he could still manage to use Chinese as the base language. With regard to topics like "creating a signature", both S1 and his father have to resort to English in expressing themselves since signatures are not used as widely in China as in New Zealand. For example, the word "signature" and "sign" are used twenty-five times and eight times respectively in this tape.

4.3.2   Subject 2 (S2)

As Tape 11 is S2's own monologue exclusively in English, it is excluded from our analysis here. Tape 1 was recorded when S2 was playing with her playmate rather than parents, therefore, this tape was also excluded from the analysis in relation to parental response.

The general language choice made by family 2 is presented in Figure 4.5.   From it, we

can see that Mandarin Chinese is definitely the dominant language used for everyday conversation leaving only a small percentage for English and code-switched turns. More than 80% of the parents' turns are made in Chinese, with about 5% English turns and 10% code-switched turns respectively. S2's language choice is clearly different from that of S1's. Counted by conversational turn, her use of Chinese was about 15% less than her parents'. When it comes to the use of English, the situation is reversed. S2's use of English was four times more than that of her parents, reaching up to 20.9%. Her use of code-switched utterances is, however, not much different from that of her parents.
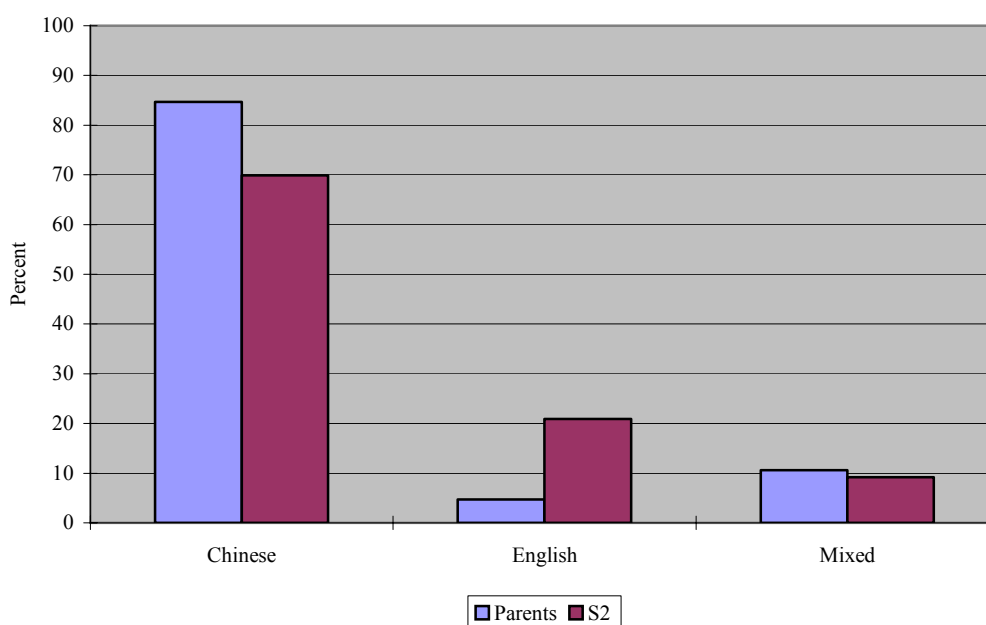
Figure 4.5   Language choices in family 2

Figure 4.6 presents S2's language choice with her playmate. This is S2's first and only tape recorded when playing with her playmate. Her playmate is also a recent young immigrant with a Mandarin-speaking background. She is three years younger than S2 but her time in New Zealand is roughly the same as S2's. It is clear that the main language used is English accounting for 76.8% and about 86% for the playmate and S2's overall production respectively. Compared to the similarly higher rate of English, there is a bigger gap between their use of Chinese. While S2 uses only about 8.9% Chi-

nese, the playmate uses 16.7% Chinese, about twice of that of S2's. Their rates of code-switching, on the other hand, are both low. (6.5%: 5.2%).
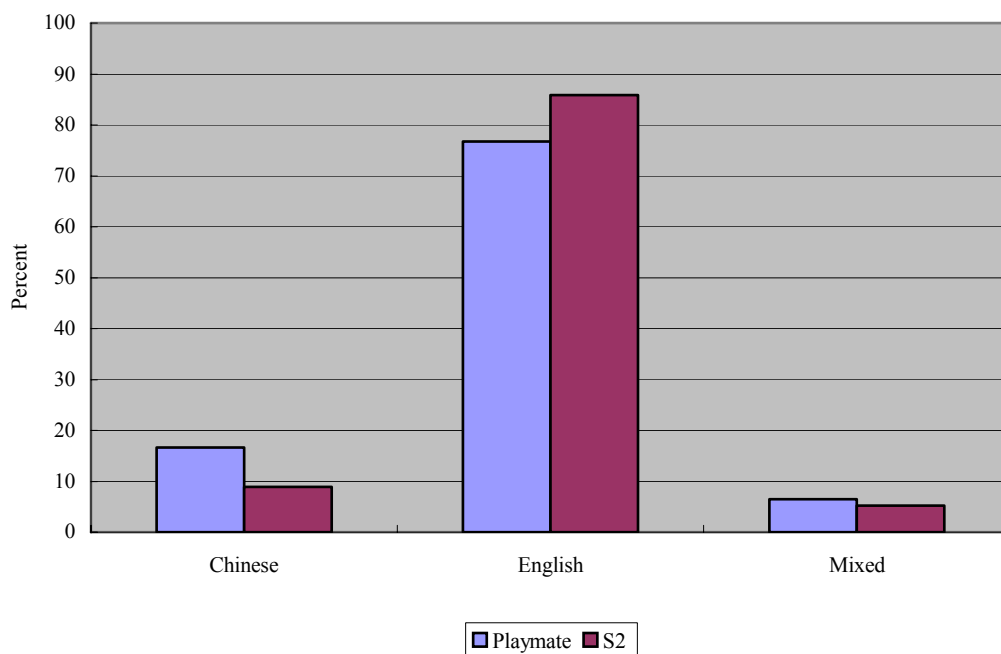
Figure 4.6   S2'S language choice with playmate

Figure 4.7 is about how Chinese is used in parent-child conversation in family 2 over time. From Tape 3 to Tape 9 (S2-T1 and S2-T11 are excluded as the former was about peer-friend activity and the latter self playing), the parents' use of Chinese tends to be rather stable ranging from 83% in Tape 7 to 87% in Tape 5. S2 seems to gradually increase her use of Chinese moving from 61% in Tape 3 to about 80% in Tape 9. It is quite interesting to note that S2's use of Chinese sharply increases from 63% in Tape 5 to a high of 81% in Tape 7 and this increase continues in Tape 9. An average difference of about 17% between the first two tapes and the last two tapes is significant in terms of language choice. Follow-up checking revealed that S2's grandparents arrived before Tape 7 was recorded. It seems likely, therefore, that it is the presence of the grandparents that could have influenced S2's language choice at home due especially to the observed fact that the grandparents speak no English.
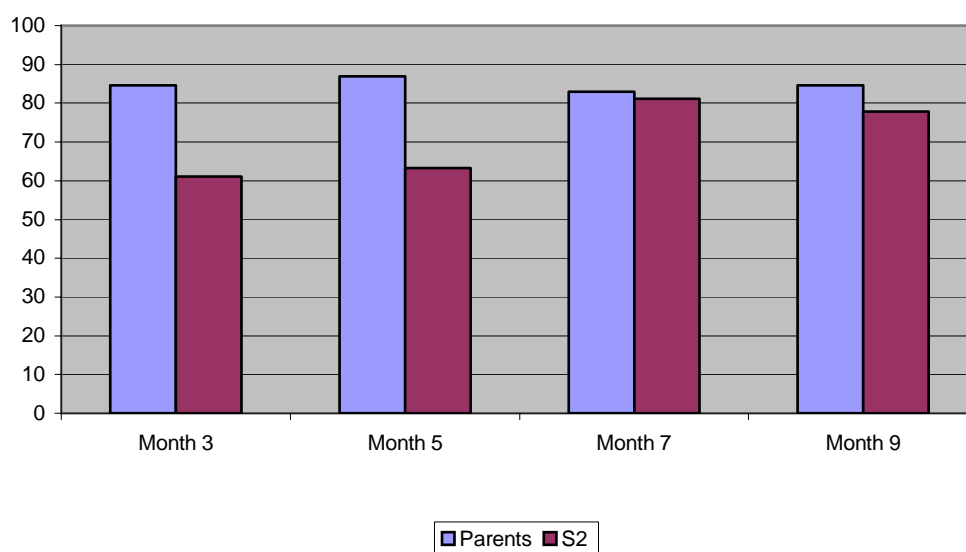
Figure 4.7   Chinese used by family 2

We must be careful, nevertheless, when drawing this conclusion since a child could, among other things, choose to keep silent or avoid interacting with someone who speaks another language.   The fact that S2 managed to make this change tells us that S2 was both willing to do so and capable of doing this. S2 had also been staying with her grandparents since she was born before coming to New Zealand, so that a close relationship had developed over years. This could be observed from the way she was excited when talking about the arrival of her grandparents.

Considering that the old couple could neither utter nor understand a single word in English, S2 would have to use Mandarin Chinese even when talking to her parents, given the fact that most of the tapes were recorded during mealtime when all family members were present.

S2's use of English with her parents is listed in Figure 4.8. From it we can see that the parents' use of English remains at a low level across the board, fluctuating from 6% in Tape 3 to 2% in Tape 9. S2's use of English, on the contrary, actually reverses her Chinese pattern in Figure 4.7. She uses more English in Tape 3   (25.7%)   and Tape 5

(29%), but the percentage reduces to 12.7% in Tape 7 and ends with a low of 10.5% in Tape 9. Although the average gap between the first two tapes and the last two tapes is only 14%, one thing is clear that S2's use of English significantly reduces after Tape 7. This correlates inversely with her increased use of Chinese.
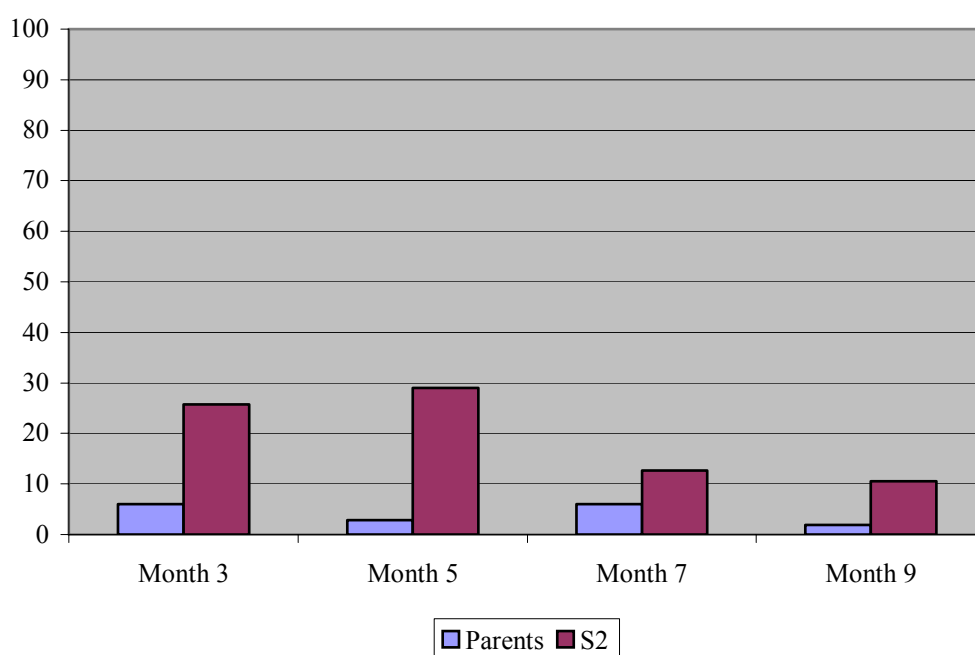
Figure 4.8　English used by family 2

Figure 4.9 below is about how people code-switch in family 2. In this figure, the parents slightly but steadily increase their rate of code-switching when talking to their child, from about 9.4% in Tape 3 to about 13.5% in Tape 9. The subject, on the other hand, has an irregular pattern in her use of code-switched utterance. It starts from the highest point of 13.2% in Tape 3 but sharply drops to the lowest point of 6.2% in Tape 7. It then rises again to 11.6% in Tape 9. Although there is a gap between the highest point and the lowest point in both the parents and the child's use of code-switched turns, they suggest different interpretations. While the parents shows a gradual increase over time with small changes indicating that they are not affected by the grandparents in this respect, S2's situation differs at least in two ways. First, her gap (7%) is bigger than that of the parents' (4.1%); second, S2's change is irregular and parabolic in shape.
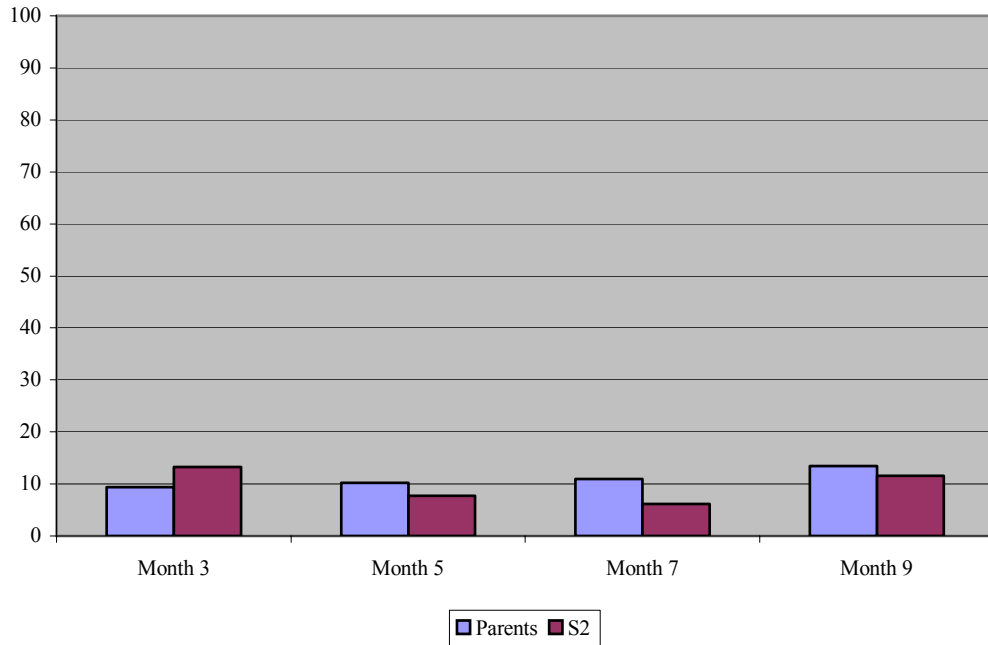
Figure 4.9   Code-switching used by family 2

While it might be easier to understand that the code-switched utterance is her least preferred form in family talk in the presence of her grandparents who do not understand any English, this cannot explain why the decrease started from Tape 5 that was recorded before the arrival of the grandparents.

Where S2 displays her unstable language choice pattern in Tape 5, her increased use of code-switched turns in Tape 9 could be explained in psycholinguistic terms. S2 could have monitored her language choice carefully in the first two months when she was immersed in the happy mood of a family reunion accompanied by the exchange of gifts and lively family talk after about four years separation. During this time, S2's Chinese must have been activated to its highest level (Grosjean, 2001), therefore enabling her to contribute more turns in Chinese but fewer in either English or the code-switched utterances. When all the excitement ebbed away and was replaced by normal everyday life, however, S2 might have lowered her guard in respect of her language choice. English would perhaps be more and more activated and start creeping in as evidenced by both more English turns and more code-switched turns in Tape 9.

4.3.3   Subject 3 (S3)

Figure 4.10 lists all the conversational turns made by family 3. A quick glance tells us that this family is different from the first two families. Here English has become the main language. Unlike other parents, S3's parents use almost equal amount of Chinese and English when talking to their child in family situations (41.8%: 40.8%) (See Appendix 6).
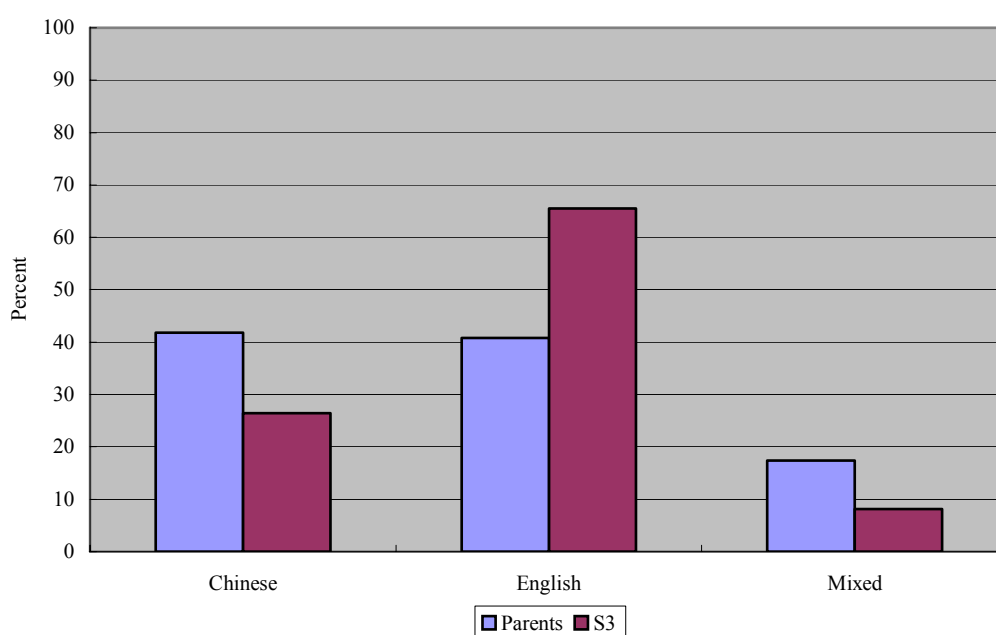
Figure 4.10   Language choices in family 3

Considering the greater percentage of English utterances made by the parents, it is not surprising to see that 65.5% of S3's total turns are made in English, with his Chinese turns totaling only about 26.4%. The parents' code-switched utterances form only a small proportion of the total despite the fact that the parents code-switch twice as much as the child does.

The following three figures list the detailed information on the turns made in the three sub-language groups. From Figure 4.11 we can see the general trend in the use of Chinese across all the tapes. Except in Tape 5, the parents make more turns in Chinese

than the child who makes the least Chinese turns (1.9%) in Tape 11 followed by Tape 1, where the number slightly increases to 6.6%. As Figure 4.12 shows, the percentage of English turns in family 3 forms a balanced curve with the highest points at the two ends but the lowest in the middle. It moves from about 90% for both the child and the parents in Tape 1 to an average of 29% in Tape 5 and to the lowest average of 19% in Tape 7 and finally ends with 91.6% for S3 and 42.1% for the parents in Tape 11. It is clear from this that English is the main language used by this family in Tape 1 and Tape 11.

Compared with Figure 4.11 and Figure 4.12, code-switching does not seem to be favoured in family 3. As Figure 4.13 shows, the parents code-switch in only 17.4% of their total conversational turns while the child's responses amount to half of that (8.1%). Moreover, this ratio remains the same throughout the tapes except in Tape 3.
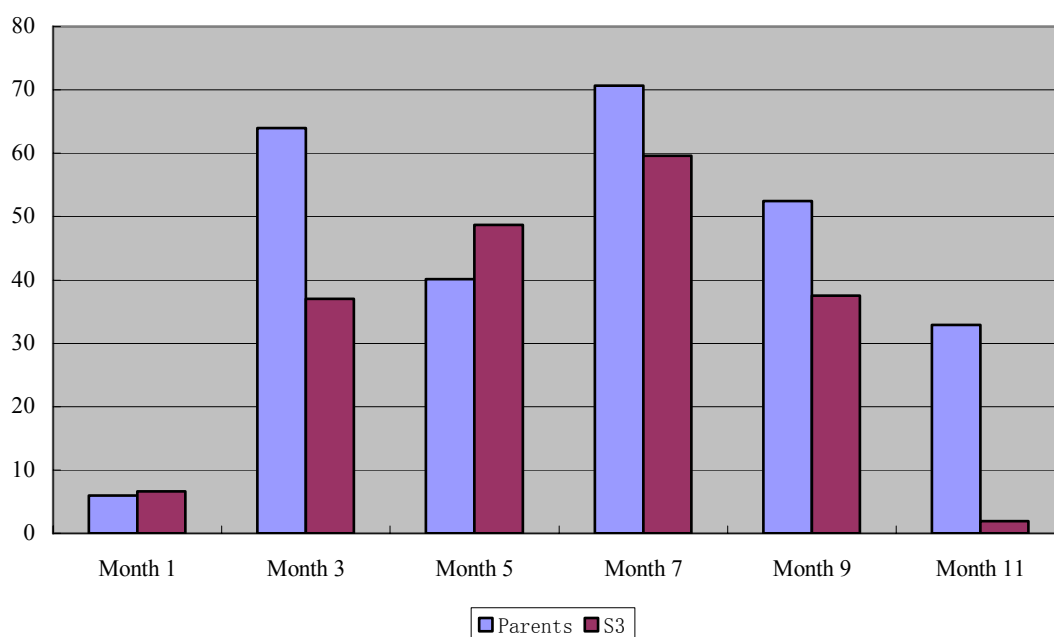
Figure 4.11   Chinese used by family 3
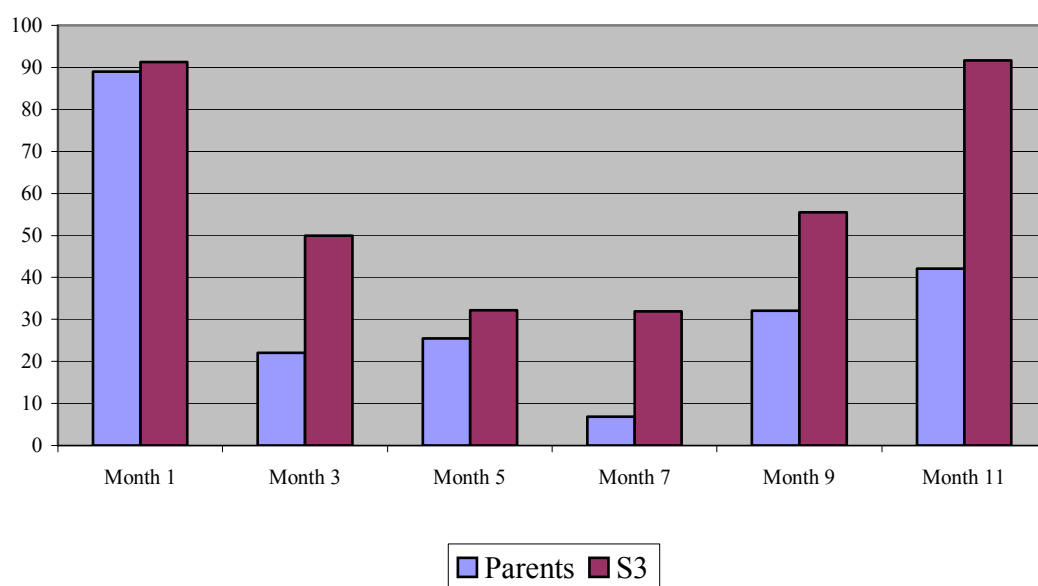
Figure 4.12   English used by family 3
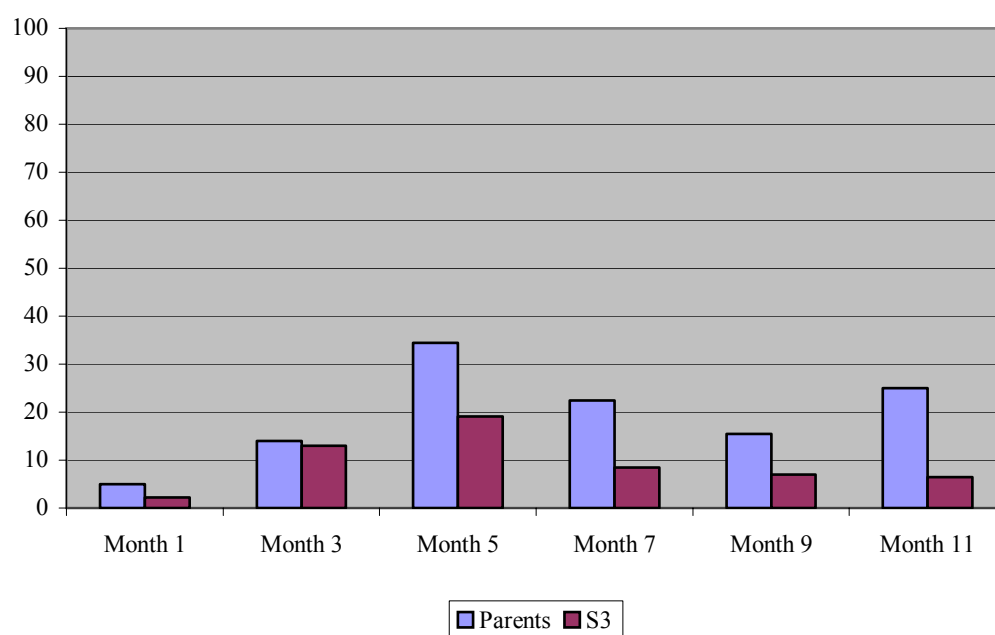
Figure 4.13   Code-switching used by family 3

4.3.4   Subject 4 (S4)

Subject 4 is the youngest in group1. The language choice made by this family is quite clear as is shown in Figure 4.14. As in family 1 and 2, Chinese is absolutely the main code used in this family. The parents and the child each contribute 92.1% and 84.1% of their total turns in Chinese. On the contrary, English and code-switched turns averaged

only 3% and 8% respectively.
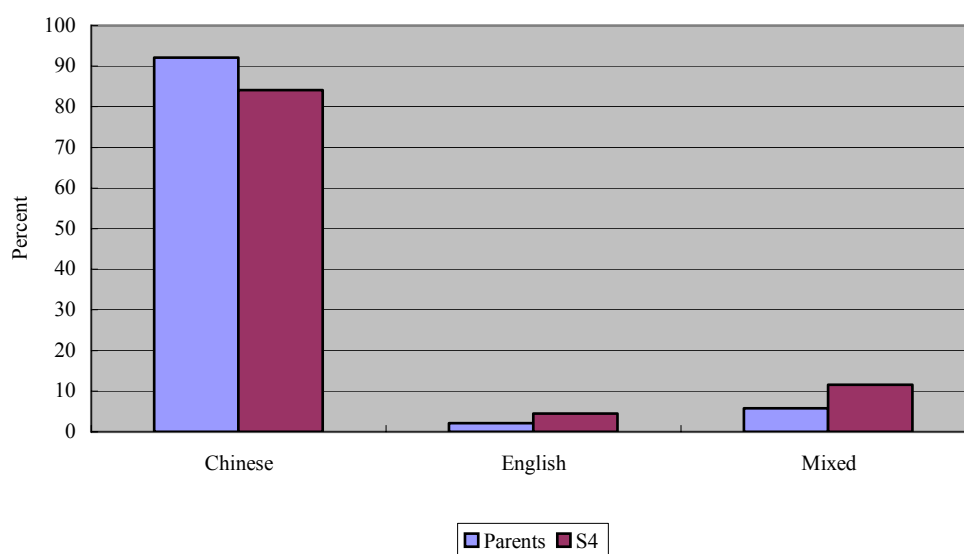
Figure 4.14   Language choices in family 4
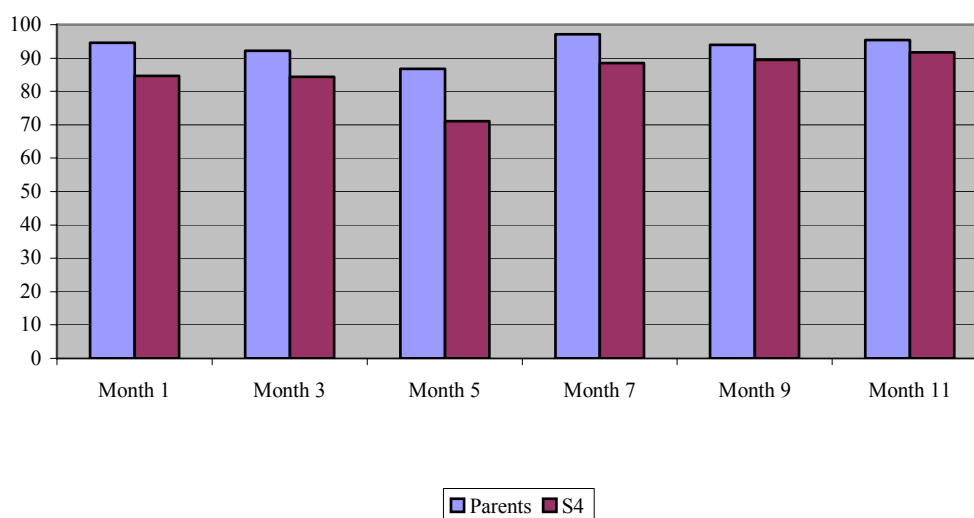
Figure 4. 15   Chinese used by family 4

Across the tapes, the use of Chinese is very stable for both the parents and the child although the parents use slightly more Chinese than the child does in all the tapes. There is no significant variation between tapes, indicating that the use of Mandarin Chinese in this family was dominant.

In contrast, their uses of English and code-switched utterances are not so regular, as can be seen in Figs. 4.16 and 4.17. On the one hand, the parents' use of English is extremely low, ranging from 0% in Tape 11 to 5% in Tape 5. The child's average English turns, on the other hand, more than doubled that of her parents' and also with a wider gap (7.8%).

Interestingly enough, both the parents and the child have one tape where they do not use English at all. While this may not be important for the parents whose average turns made in each tape is only about 2.1%, it might be worth noting for the child. When checking with transcripts, no particular factor could be found in Tape 7 except that the father was not present at that recording session. Checking with other tapes showed that the father does make more English turns than the mother when talking to S4. It has also been noticed that, compared with the father, the mother not only makes fewer code-switched turns, but also fewer English turns.
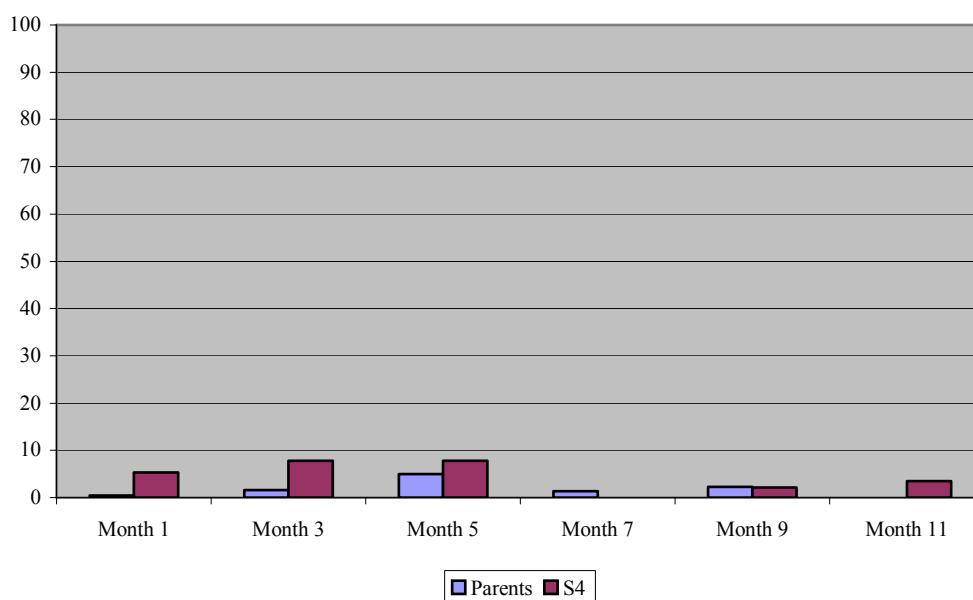
Figure 4.16   English used by family 4

Figure 4.17 shows that the child code-switched more frequently than the parents. Except in tape 11 where the two sides are almost equal to each other (4.7%: 4.8%), S4's code-

switched turns double that of the parents' in four tapes, reaching the highest point in Tape 5 (21.1%). Generally, the use of code-switched turns in this family is more stable than their use of English.
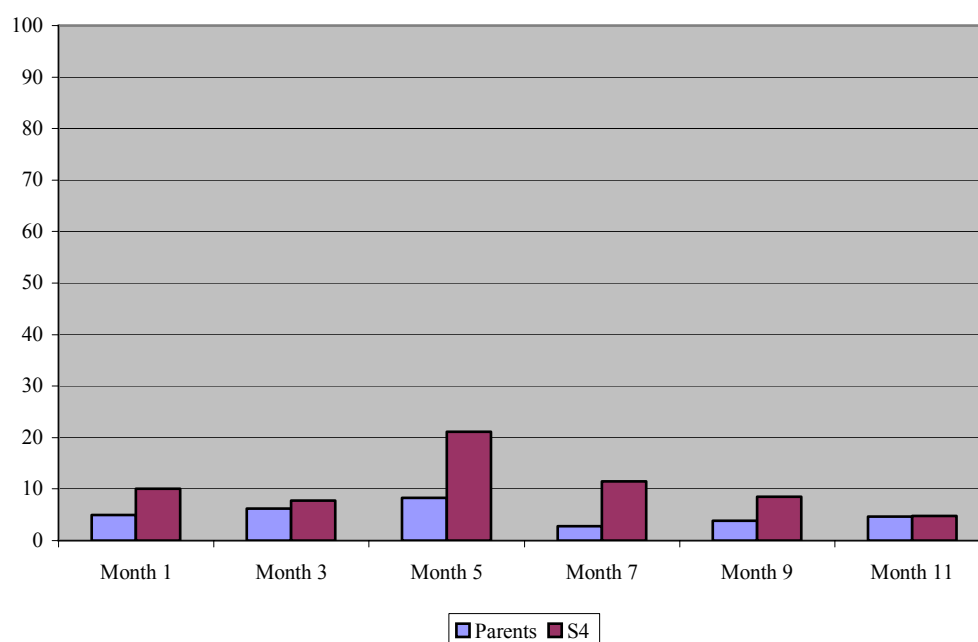
Figure 4.17   Code-switching used by family 4

4.3.5   Subject 5 (S5)

Figure 4.18 presents the general language choice made by family 5. As can be seen Mandarin Chinese is the main code employed in this family in their everyday interaction. Percentages of turns made in Mandarin Chinese by the parents and their child are quite close, reaching up to 75.5% and 73.9% respectively. English is not used much in this family as the percentage is only 12.1% for the parents and a slightly higher 20.8% for the child. One interesting point in this family is that the parents code-switch more than twice as much as the child does (12.4%: 5.3%). In addition, code-switching is the least favorite way of talking for the child.
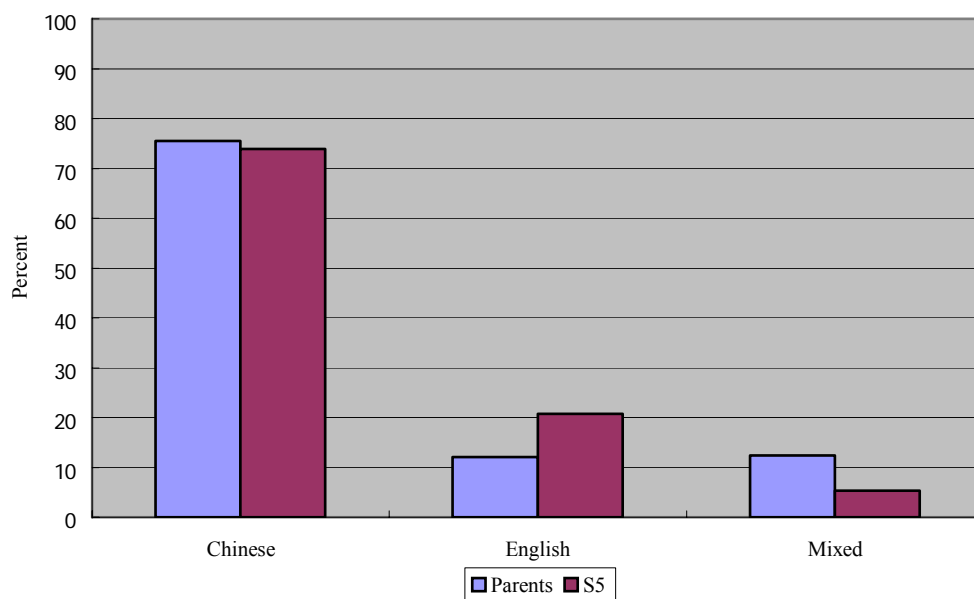
Figure 4.18   Language choices in family 5

Figure 4.19 displays the general trend in this family's language choice over time. We can see that the use of Mandarin Chinese in this family is not stable, displaying a falling-rise-falling curve, but the percentage use of the parents and of the child are similar in all tapes except Tape 3.
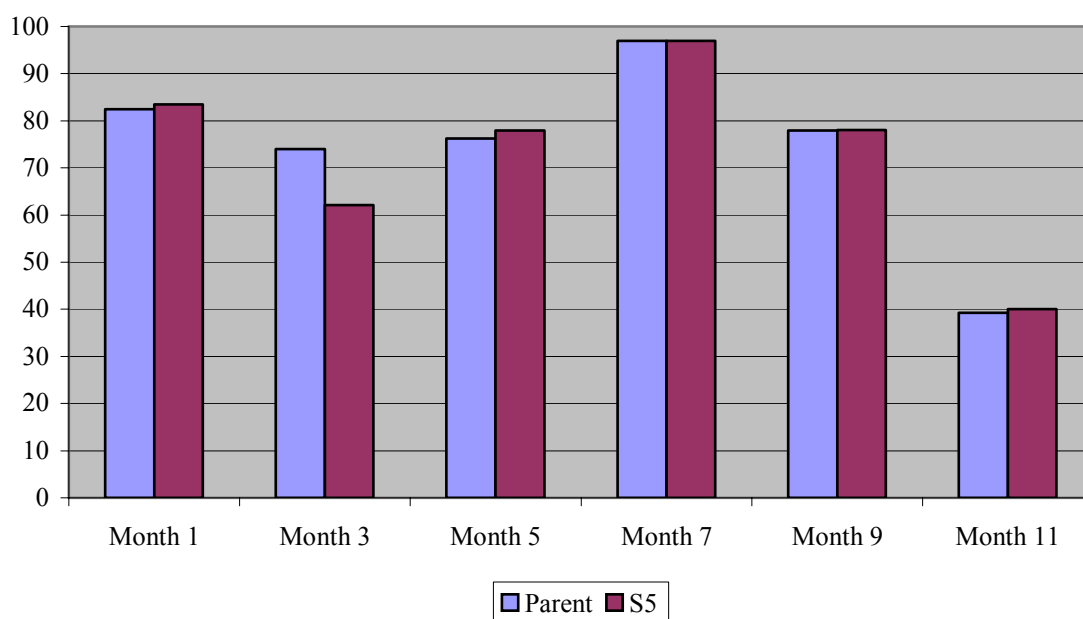
Figure 4.19   Chinese used in family 5
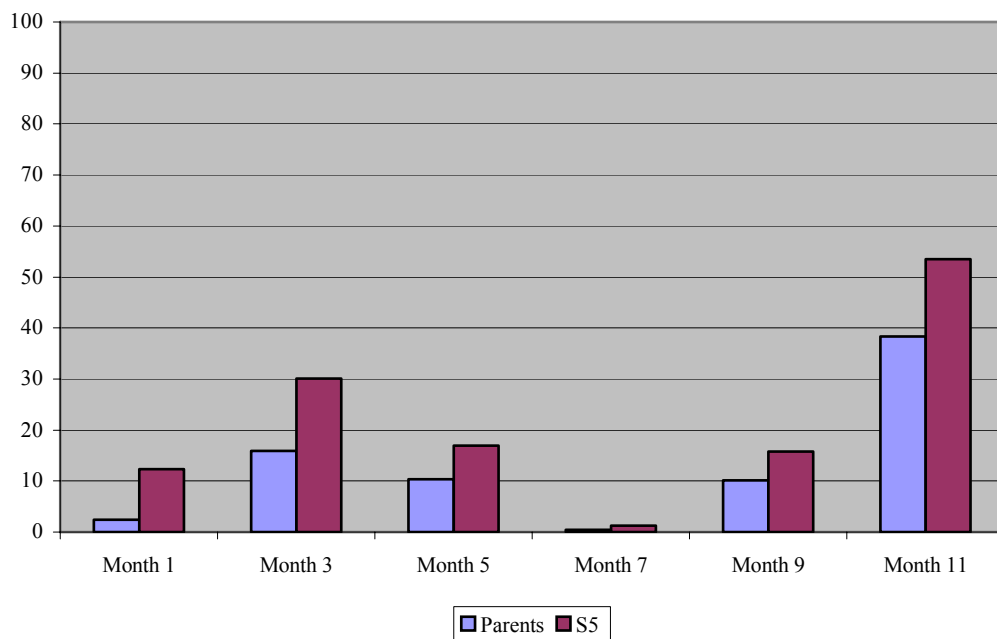
Figure 4.20   English used by family 5

The use of English in the family, as is shown in Figure 4.20, is not as regular as Chinese is in two ways. First, there are bigger gaps between the parents and the child (averaging 12.1% and 20.8% respectively). Second, there is hardly any pattern in the changes across the tapes. For example, while the parent-child ratio of the English turns is 2.4%: 12.3% in Tape 1, this ratio goes down to 0.4%: 1.3% in Tape 7 and then rises up to 38.3%: 53.5% in Tape 11.

When it comes to the use of code-switched turns, as shown in Figure 4.21, the situation changes in that the parents' percentage of CS turns is much higher than the child's across all tapes. Although there is hardly any identifiable particular pattern, the child does, however, keep a comparatively stable percentage when code-switching, leaving a marginal gap of 3.4% between Tape 1 and Tape 3. The parents, on the other hand, started in a middle position in Tape 1 (15.1%) and dropped to the lowest point in Tape 7 (2.6%) but jumped to the peak (22.4%) in Tape 11.
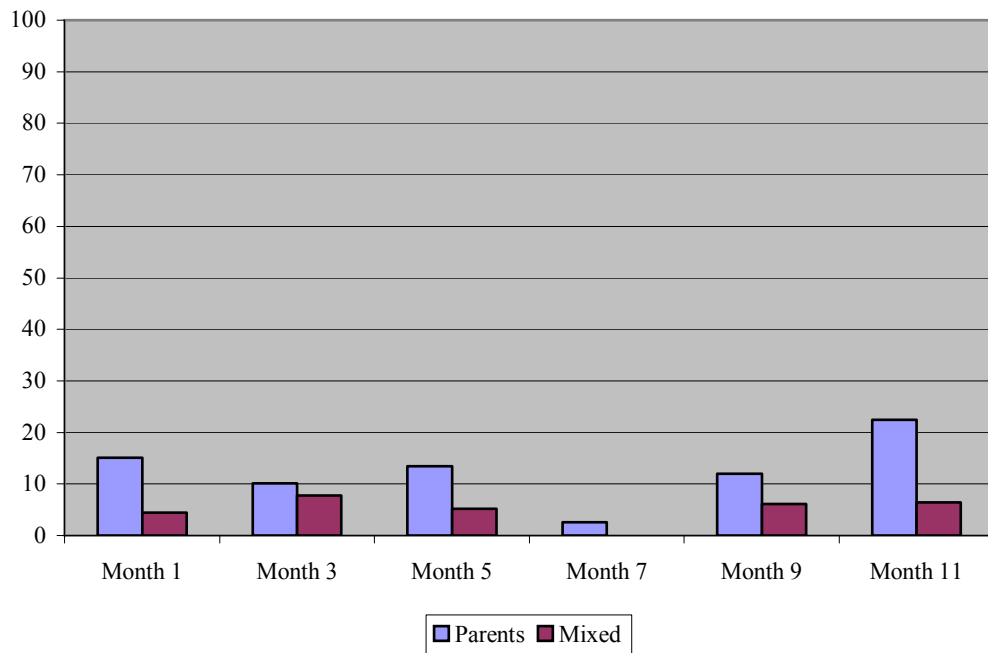
Figure 4.21   Code-switching by family 5

Considering the fact that the average percentage of turns made in Chinese by the parents and the child in this family is extremely close (75.5%: 73.9%), their language choice differs in the distribution of the remainder percentage between English and code-switched turns. Where the parents contributed almost equally to English and code-switched turns (12.1%: 12.4%), the child has shown a preference for English over code-switching, contributing a majority of his remaining proportion (20.8%) to English and leaving only about 5.3% for code-switched turns.

4.3.6   Subject 6 (S6)

For technical reasons, data on Tape 7 were not available due to the bad sound quality of the recording. Figure 4.22 presents the overall language choice of family 6. Like other families, Mandarin Chinese is the main medium for everyday conversation although the percentages are lower than that of the other families. Code-switching is the second choice for the parents who make about 25.3% of their total turns in this form with only 8.9% in code-switched turns. The situation changes for the child who has made 34.3% of her turns in English, with only about 13.4% turns made in code-switched form.
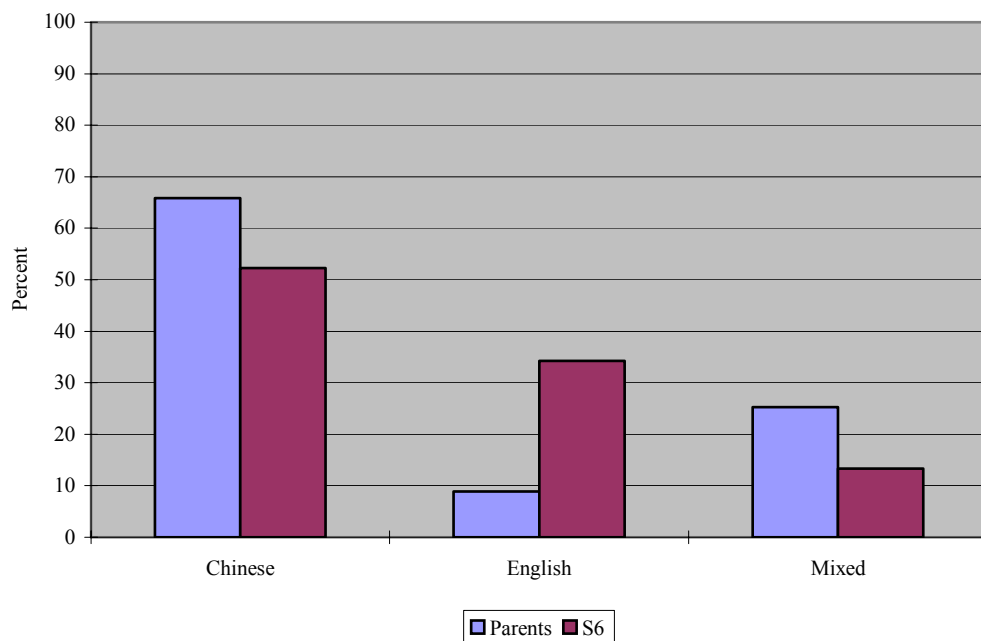
Figure 4.22   Language choices in family 6

S6 was recorded for only about thirty minutes with one of her Mandarin-speaking playmates. This girl playmate, who was five years older that S6, had been in New Zealand for less than one year so her Mandarin Chinese was much stronger than her English. In the activities recorded, it seemed that the playmate was absolutely in control of everything involved. The transcripts show that it was always the playmate who set up the situation and therefore decided the appropriate language to be used.

S6's language choice with this playmate was strikingly different, as is shown in Figure 4.23. For the first time Mandarin Chinese became the main choice among children. Actually, Mandarin Chinese overwhelmingly dominates their conversation to such a degree that the average turns made in English and in code-switching are less than 2% respectively.
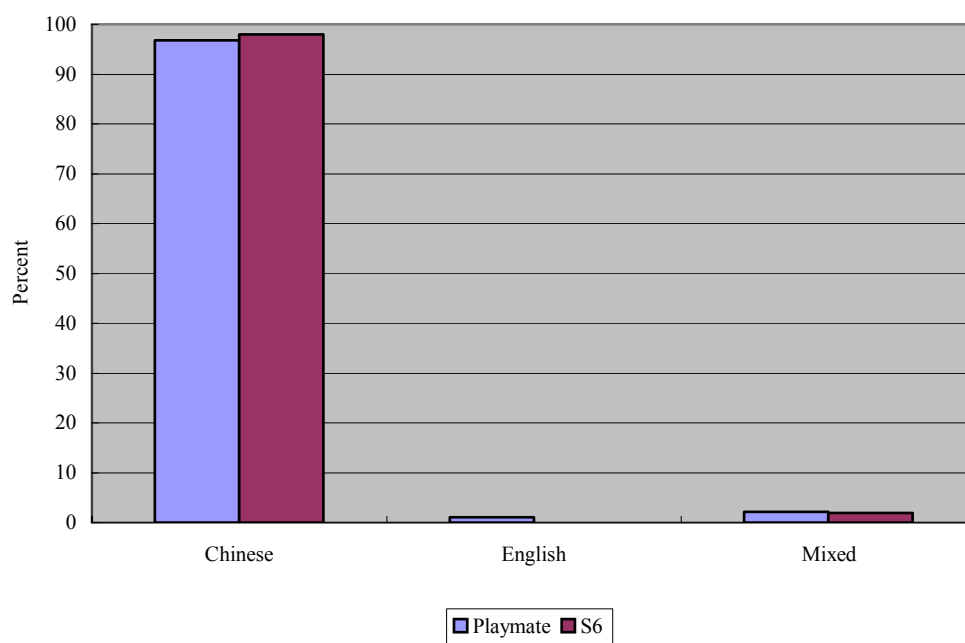
Figure 4.23   S6's language choice with playmate
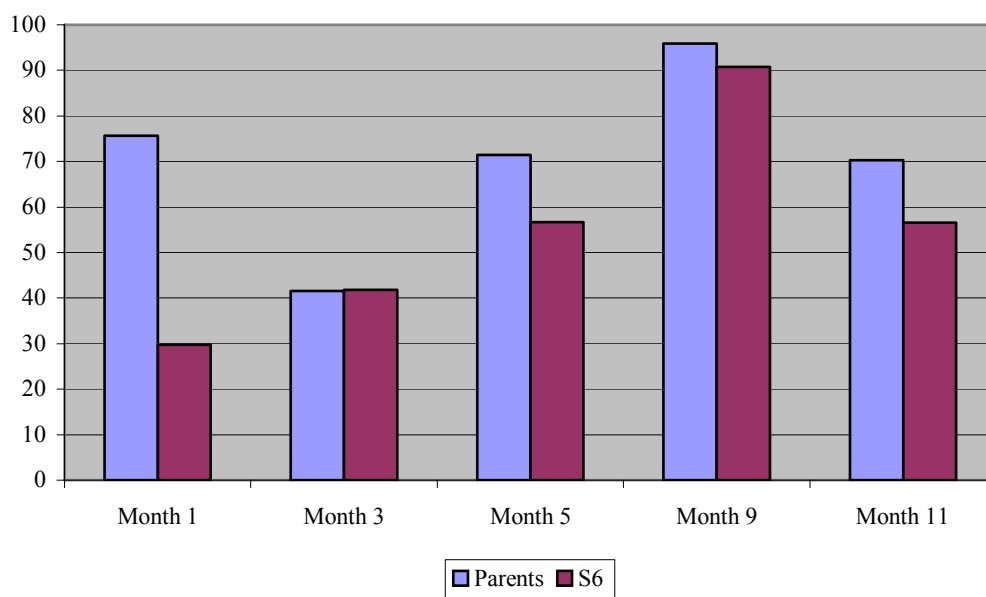
Figure 4.24   Chinese used by family 6

Figure 4.24 above lists how Mandarin Chinese is used in family 6. From it we can see that the parents use more Chinese than the child does except in Tape 3, where the two sides make an equal amount of turns in Chinese. Across the tapes, the child tends to continuously increase her use of Chinese from the lowest point of 29.7% in Tape 1 to the highest 95.9% in Tape 9; this then drops to 70.3% in Tape 11. The parents mainly follow the same trend except that they start with the second highest point right from Tape 1. It is noteworthy, too, that the biggest gap (46%) between the parents and the child also exists in Tape 1.

The use of English in family 6 is presented in Figure 4.25. It shows that while the parents keep their English turns moving between 6% and 14%, the child gradually reduces her English turns dropping from about 55% in Tape 1 to about 24% in Tape 11. It is interesting to note that in Tape 9, the child makes only about 0.6% of her turns in English and the parents do not make any exclusively English turns at all.
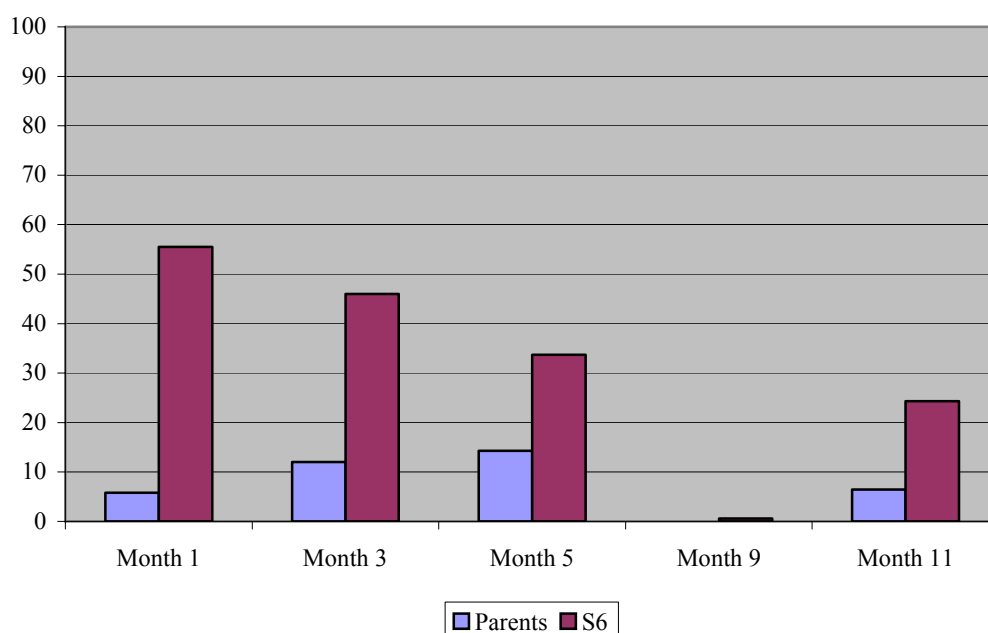
Figure 4.25   English used in family 6
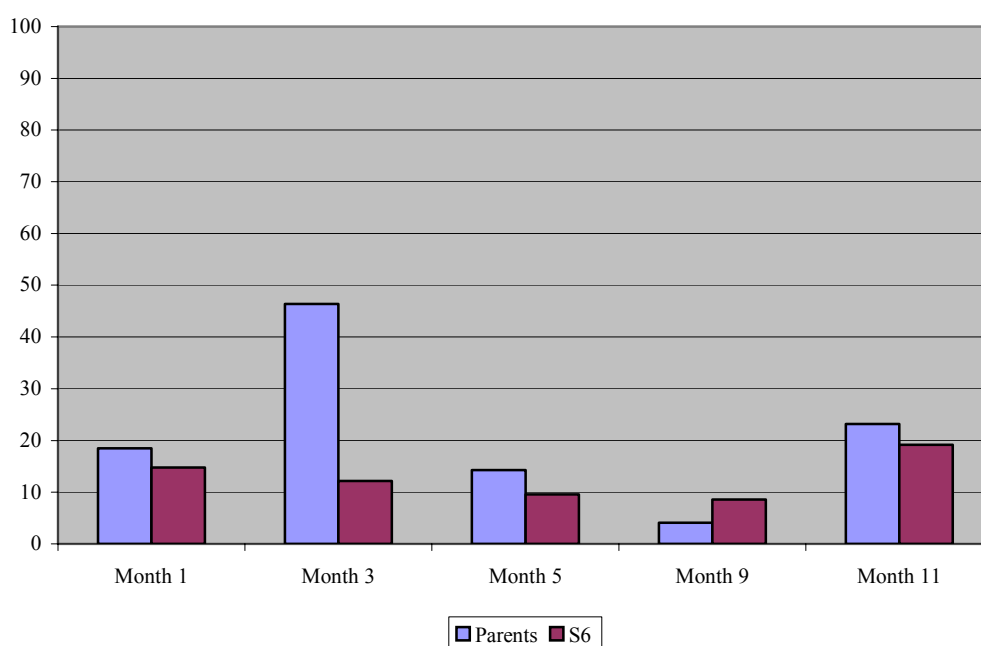
Figure 4.26   Code-switching used by family 6

The use of code-switching in family 6, as shown in Figure 4.26, remains largely at a reasonably stable level throughout the tapes, except in Tape 3 where the parents' percentage reaches the highest point of about 46%. It is worth noting that in Tape 3 where the parents and the child contribute the same proportion of turns made in Chinese, their use of English and code-switching vary greatly. Where the parents heavily prefer code-switching (46.4%), the child makes about the same amount of turns in English.

4.3.7   Subject 7 (S7)

Due to practical reasons (see section 3.3.1), there are only two tapes available for analyzing S7's language choice with her parents. The results, which are listed in Figure 4.27, show that the language choice in this family is quite normal in that Mandarin Chinese is the main code used for everyday communication. The use of English and code-switching both match closely between the parents and the child without leaving much of a gap.
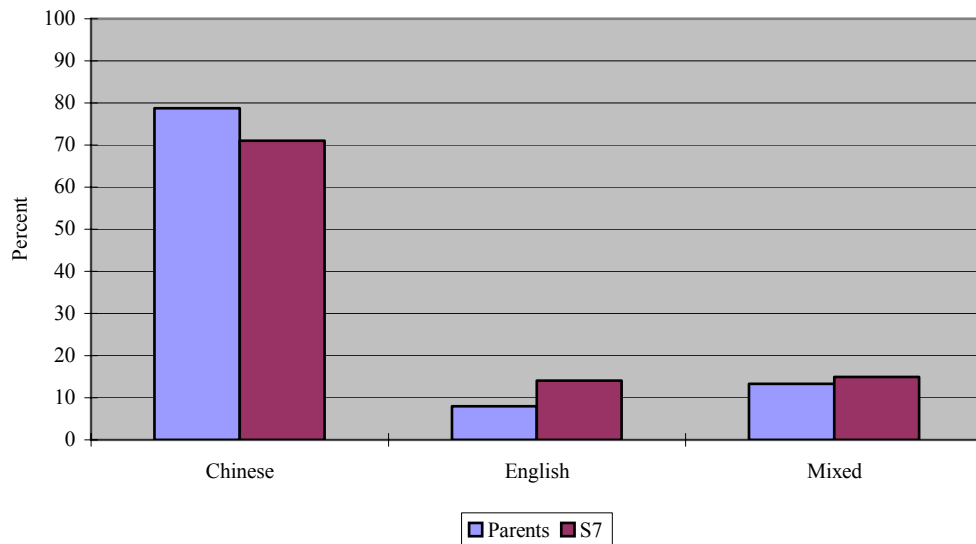
Figure 4.27   Language choices in family 7

The situation remains more or less the same when comparing the use of Mandarin Chinese, as is shown in Figure 4.28. From Tape 5 to Tape 7, the parents and the child increase their use of Mandarin Chinese by 11.5% and 20% respectively.
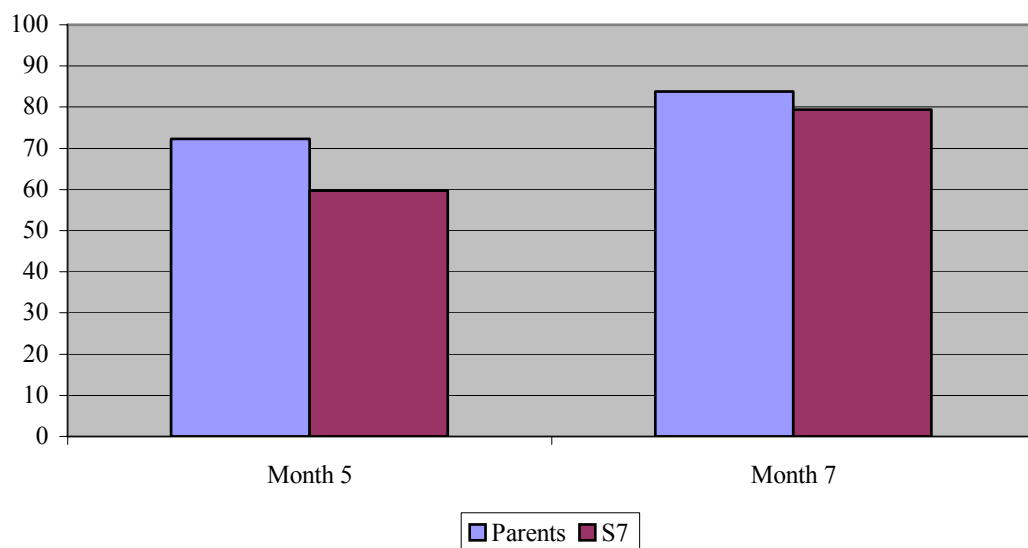
Figure 4.28   Chinese used in family 7

With reference to the use of English, which is displayed in Figure 4.29, it is not surprising that in Tape 5 the child makes about 10% more turns in English than her parents do. The parents actually do not make any English turns at all in Tape 7.
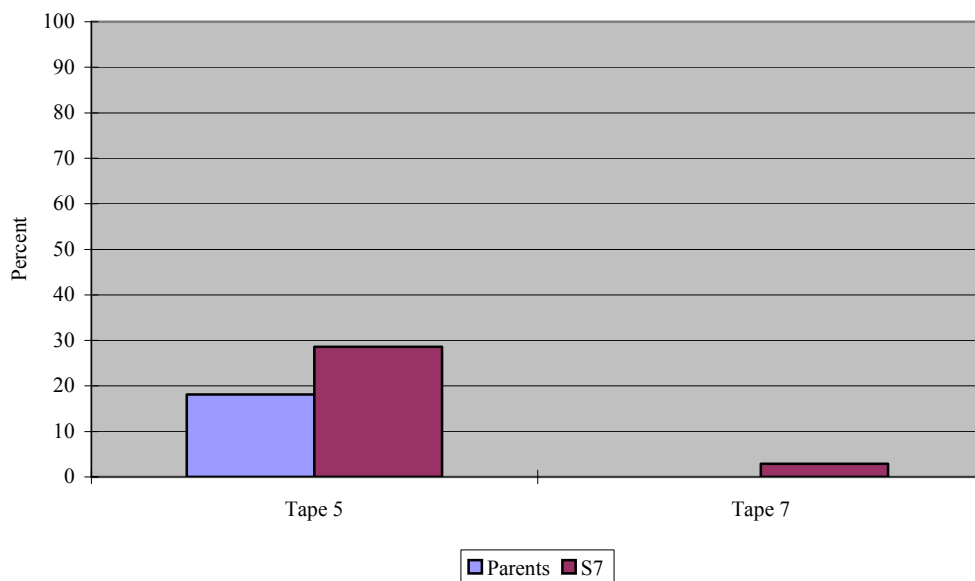
Figure 4.29   English used in family 7

The use of code-switching is shown in Figure 4.30. On average, the child code-switches more frequently than the parents but the difference is not substantial. The fact that S7 was recorded in four tapes with different playmates might reduce the accidental effect of one episode in one tape, therefore providing an opportunity to look at the language pattern of young immigrants among themselves.
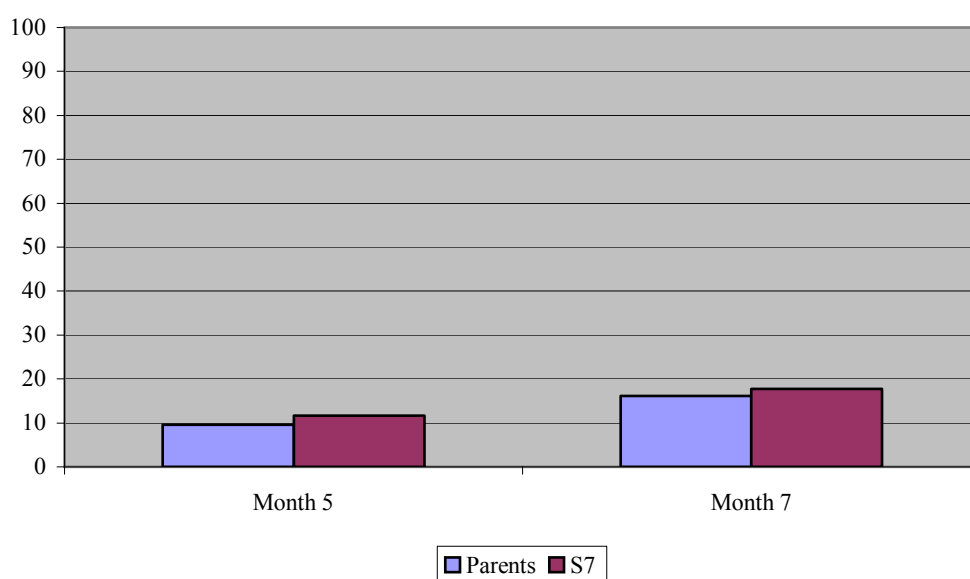
Figure 4.30   Code-switching used in family 7

Figure 4.31 presents S7's overall language choice with her playmates. Sharply contrasted with a typical parents-child dyadic situation where Mandarin Chinese is almost always used as the dominant medium, English takes over as the absolute main language form when the children are verbally interacting with each other. This rate goes above 90% for both S7 and the playmates with only a small 2% margin. The use of Mandarin Chinese, on the other hand, is about 5%. Code-switching is even less preferred than Mandarin Chinese.
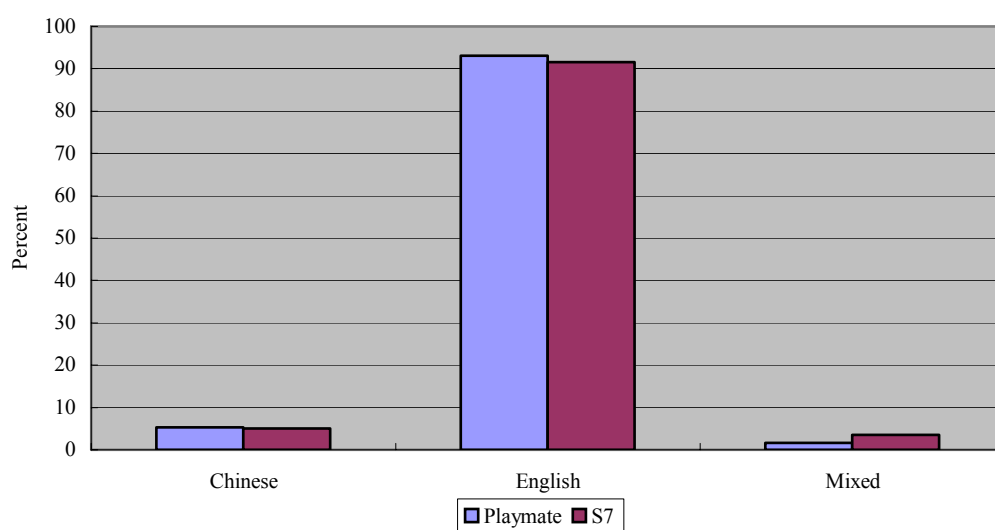
Figure 4.31   S7's language choice with playmate
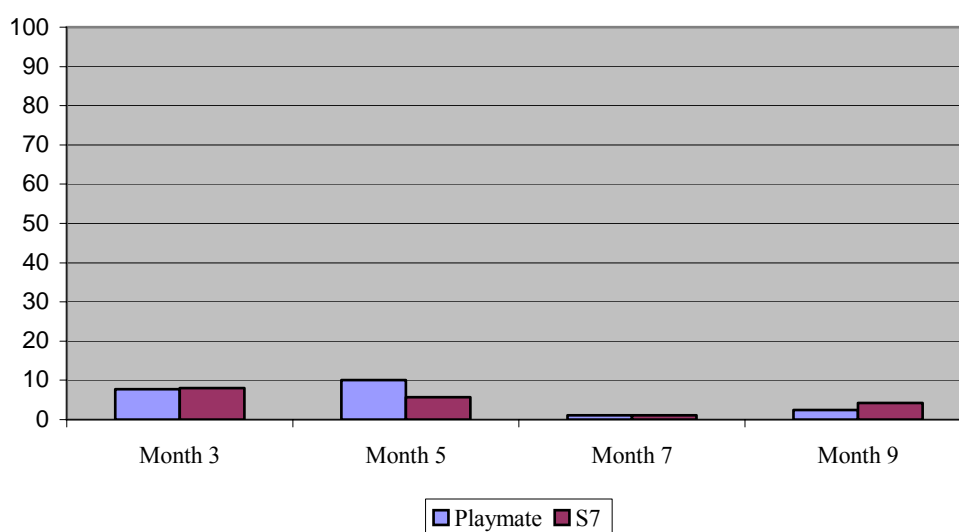
Figure 4.32   S7's Chinese used with playmate

Across the tapes, S7's use of Mandarin Chinese, as shown in Figure 4.32 above, tends to gradually drop from about 8% in Tape 3 to about 4.2% in Tape 9. With regard to the length of stay in New Zealand, family language pattern, and parental education level, the playmates recorded with S7 do not differ markedly from the subjects of this study.

In Figure 4.33, S7's use of English tends to slowly increase, moving from about 88% in Tape 3 to about 97% in Tape 7. Although the rate drops to 93% in Tape 9, the general trend is a rising one.
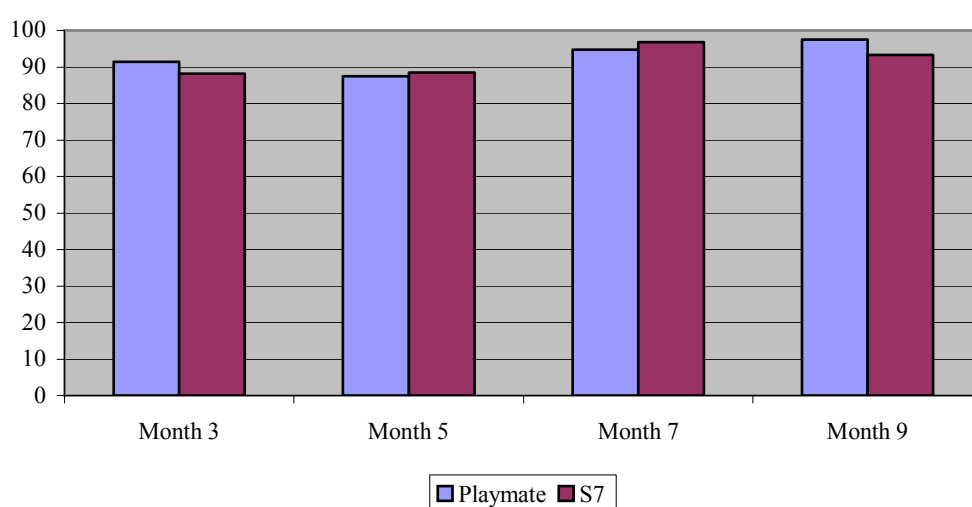
Figure 4.33   S7's English used with playmate
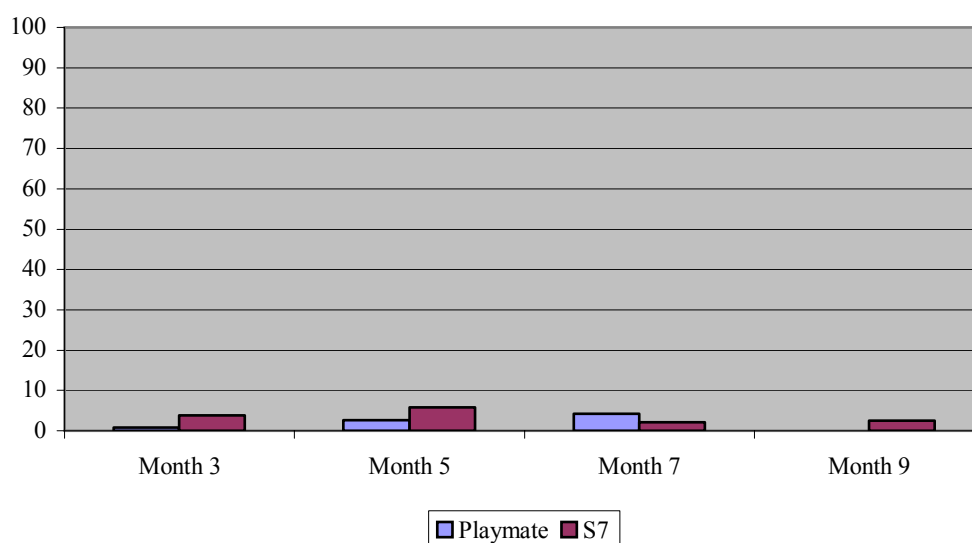
Figure 4.34   S7's code-switching used with playmate

It seems that code-switching, as Figure 4.34 shows, is the least preferred form of communication among the children when adults are absent. This can be seen from the extremely low proportion of code-switched turns made across the four tapes. While S7 slightly reduces her rate from 5.8% in Tape 5 to about 2% in Tapes 7 and 9, her playmates start lower and end up with no code-switching at all in Tape 9 (refer to Appendix 7).

4.3.8   Subject 8 (S8)

S8's language choice with his parents and his playmate is presented in Figure 4.35 and Figure 4.36. Figure 4.35 indicates that Mandarin Chinese is the main form of language used for everyday purposes in the family. The parents make more than 80% of their turns in Mandarin Chinese, which is more than 15% higher than that of the child. The child contributes more in English and code-switching forms. This does not, however, change the fact that both English and code-switching are secondary choices for parent-child dyadic conversations in this family.
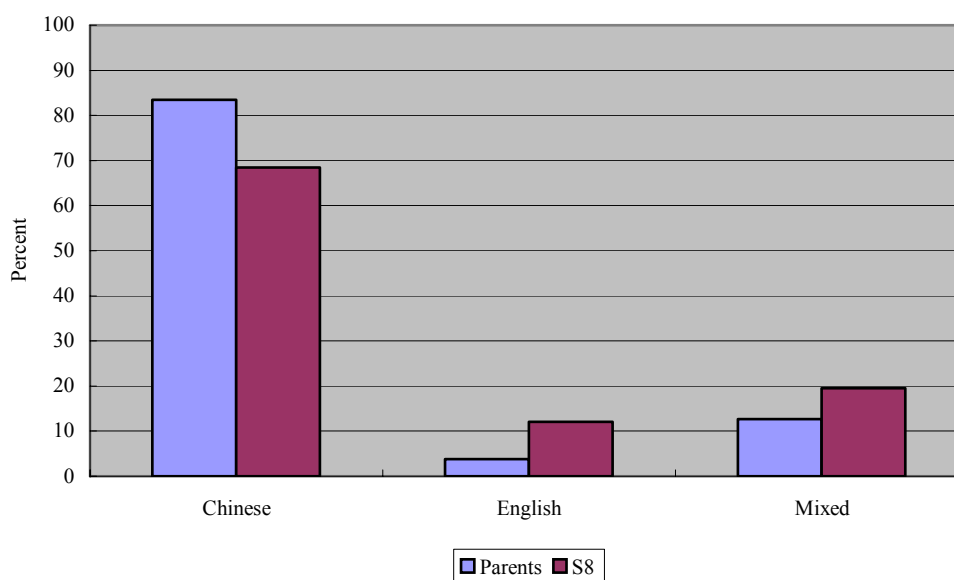
Figure 4.35   Language choices in family 8

When interacting with his playmate, English become the main language, as may be seen from Figure 4.36. Tape 1 is the only tape in which S8 was recorded with his playmate.

This playmate was a 6-year-old girl who had been in New Zealand one and half years longer than S8. It is interesting to note that S8's English turns are 15% more than that of his playmate who is obviously more fluent in English. The playmate's code-switched turns are 17% higher than S8's but both made about the same proportion of Chinese turns.
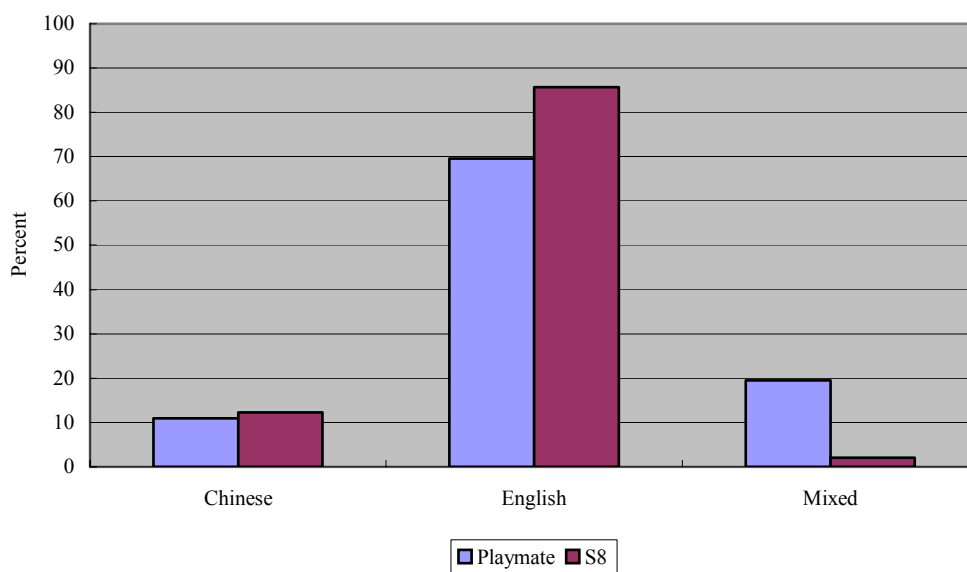
Figure 4.36   S8's language choice with playmate
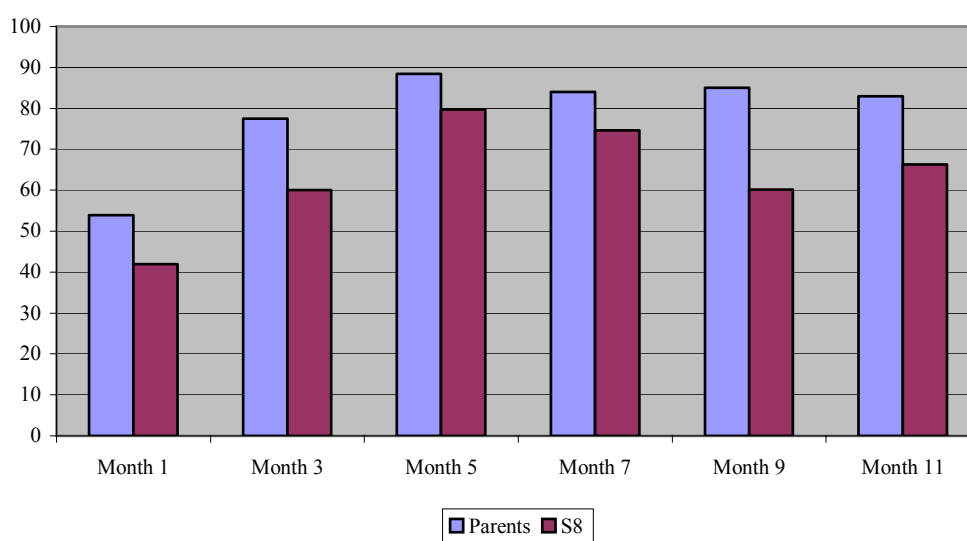
Figure 4.37   Chinese used in family 8

In Figure 4.37 above, the use of Mandarin Chinese tends to rise from Tape 1 to Tape 5 and then flattens off until Tape 11. This reflects the fact that the use of Mandarin Chinese in this family is stable for both sides leaving a relatively uniform gap between them.

When it comes to English as shown in Figure 4.38 below, S8, like most other subjects, makes more turns than his parents do and his use of English is not stable. In contrast, the parental use of English is rather stable over time, with a small variation of 4.1%. The child, on the other hand, has a variation of 17.4%.
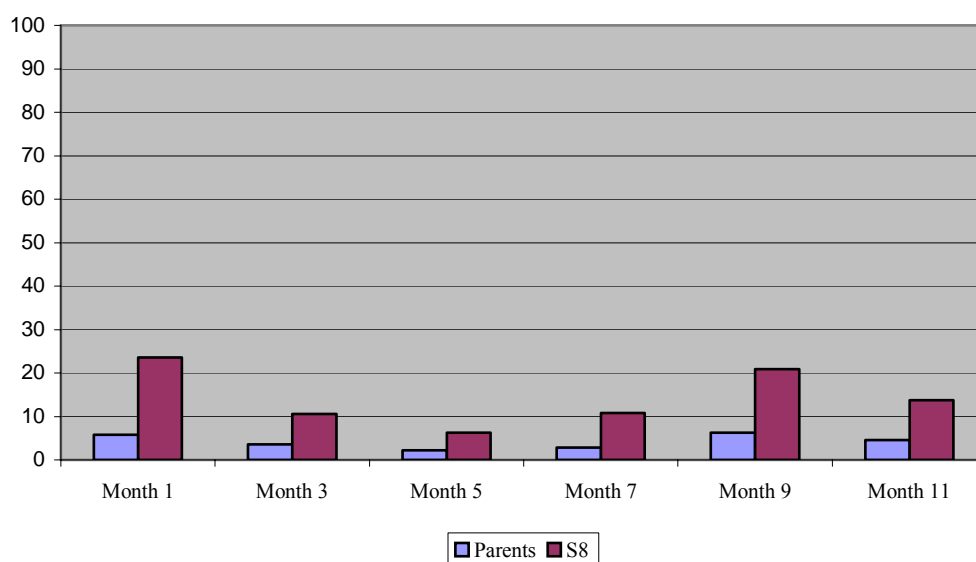
Figure 4.38   English used in family 8

Figure 4.39 indicates a generally decreasing trend in the use of code-switching across the tapes, although the lowest point for both the parents and the child appears in Tape 5. It should be noted, however, that the parents and the child follow each other in the general trend of their code-switching behavior, i.e. both start with their highest point in Tape 1 and reach the bottom point in Tape 5 and then gradually rise.
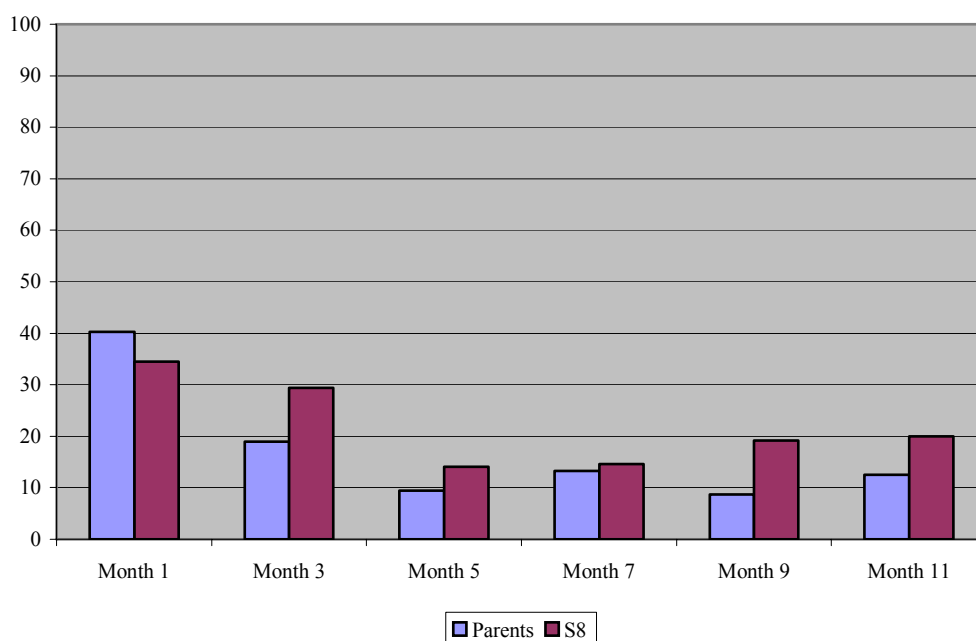
Figure 4. 39   Code-switching used by family 8

It needs to be pointed out that the activities recorded in Month 1 and Month 3 are different. While Side A of Month 1 is all about S8 and his playmate who is of similar background, both Side B of Month 1 recording and Side A of Month 3 recording are story reading by the father and his son. In the course of reading, the father frequently asks questions to make sure that the boy understands the story. When coding, those readings from the books are coded as English if not mixed with Chinese. This makes Month 1 recording the lowest in the use of Chinese for both the parents and the child. It also shows the highest use of English by the child as he often asks questions whenever he could not follow the story line. A similar reason may also apply for the Month 3 recording, which is the second lowest in the use of Chinese.

It is also noteworthy, in this situation, that when asking questions about the meaning of certain words or a certain part of the story, it is inevitable that certain words from one language are inserted into a grammatical structure of another when questions are asked. This is why the father and the child have the highest use of code-switching in the recording for Month 1.

Excluding the first two recordings in Figure 4.38 and 4.39, it is quite clear that S8's use of Chinese is gradually dropping whereas his use of English is rising over time, though there is fluctuation in Month 9. (Refer to Appendix 12 for raw figures).

4.4   Summary

- This section investigates the general language choices made by the eight subjects and their parents in their normal daily parent-child dyadic communication. Detailed analysis shows that Mandarin Chinese remains the dominant language used in these families for everyday purposes although the degree of this dominance varies according to the types of situational variation discussed above in section 4.3. Overall, the parents use about 10% more Chinese than the children do.

- However, English is rather rapidly entering the immigrant families after living in New Zealand for approximately an average of 28.1 months. This is clearly indicated by the fact that a quarter of the parents' conversational turns are made in English or code-switched form and this figure rises up to 34.9% for the children. It needs to be noted that when this happens, all parents expressed strong desire to maintain their ethnic language with their children (See the questionnaire results in sections 8.3.6 and 8.3.12). There is a difference, nevertheless, with regard to the second favourite choice. Whilst code-switching seems to be the parents' second favourite language choice, English is the children's second choice. This result seems to suggest that the children are more affected by English than their parents are.

- The parents' use of English seems to be related with their level of proficiency in English. Generally, the better their English is, the more they tend to use it with their children rather than code-switch. However, when the parents are speaking English,   more than 80% of children's responses are in English.   Neither their

Chinese nor code-switched turns achieve more than ten percent in this respect. In other words, the children are more than happy to speak English at home.

- Nevertheless, this general pattern can be interrupted by the arrival of visiting grandparents. When non-English speaking grandparents stay with the family, the child would have to speak more Mandarin Chinese. They seem to understand that Mandarin Chinese is the best choice in this situation.

- It should be noted that sometimes the parents who are less capable in English may still choose to speak more English with their children as a means to facilitate their children's learning of English. In this case, the use or maintenance of Chinese is simply something secondary indicating that generally English is considered more important in non-domestic domains.

- Another factor related to language choice is the degree to which the families feel settled and regard New Zealand as their new home. Parents who have stable and satisfactory employment tend to be more concerned with their children's learning of school subjects. They know that English is overwhelmingly important not only for study at school at present, but also as a key to a successful career and happy life in the future. Therefore, they are more relaxed about the maintaining their ethnic language with their children. Language maintenance for them is only secondary, such as in the case of S3. If the parents are not happy with the life or work condition here, they seem to put more emphasis on the use and learning of Mandarin Chinese, in case their children return to their birth country with them such as S1.

- When the children are interacting with their Chinese-speaking peers and friends, for example, in Figs. 4.6 and 4.24, English is obviously the first choice. Chinese and mixed form are their secondary choice. This shows that children are the

active agent in bringing English into home domain.

Chapter 5   Children's code-switching at turn 2

5.1   Introduction

Research question 2: *When do the children code-switch when interacting with their parents in the home situation?* After describing the general language choice of the subjects in their everyday family situation, this section moves on to address the second research question. To achieve this purpose, the overall information of the database on which this project is based is provided first. This is followed by the detailed analysis of the subjects' code switching with their parents. A short summary is given at the end of this section.

Table 5.1 lists the primary data analyzed in this project. Among the 48 tapes collected, eight tapes were excluded from the present analysis either because they did not meet the recording requirements (see section 3.3) or there was no parental interaction at all throughout the tape. Therefore, from a total of 40 tapes, and following the procedures set up in Chapter 3, a further total of 662 code-switched turns from the subjects was obtained.

Table 5.1   Overall data summary of code-switched turns in each tape

Subject	Tape & number of code-switched turns						Total	Average per tape
	1	3	5	7	9	11		
S1	4	19	39	58	7	N/A	127	25.4
S2	N/A	34	39	16	9	N/A	98	24.5
S3	2	18	30	4	19	16	89	14.8
S4	9	13	18	3	9	3	55	9.2
S5	2	8	2	0	3	16	31	5.2
S6	16	5	27	N/A	10	25	83	16.6
S7	N/A	N/A	10	11	N/A	N/A	21	11.5
S8	9	45	19	29	19	37	158	26.5
Total	42	142	184	121	76	97	662	16.55

The last column of the above table shows the average number of code-switched turns per tape as a general index of code-switching (CS) frequency. From these data it is evi-

dent that each family has its own conversation style, and that even within a family, the length of the turns made and the number of turns contributed by each family member may also vary. The general code-switching frequency usefully describes in general how much each child could code-switch in one hour of recording and also reveals roughly the different code-switching habits among the eight subjects.

Roughly, the subjects fall into three groups in terms of their CS frequency. S4, S5 are the lowest with their average CS frequency ranging from 5.2 to 9.2 per tape. S7, S3 and S6 fall in the middle with their CS frequency ranging from an average of about 12 to 17. S2, S1 and S8 have the highest average CS frequency of around 25 per tape, which is around ten more code-switches than the middle group on average and roughly three times that of the first group.

When monitoring parents' interaction with their children, three codes were used: Chinese (C), English (E), and code-switching (abbreviated as M for easier coding). In the following three sections, each one is discussed in relation to the children's responses.

5.2   Children's code-switching after parental Chinese turns

In order to investigate the influence of parental language patterns upon that of their children's, children's code-switching was treated differently according to parental code choice immediately before the children's code-switch. Two patterns were found in this regard: one is when the parents used Chinese followed by children's mixing (a pattern abbreviated as CM) and the other is when parents mixed Chinese and English, shortened as MM (parental mixing followed by children's mixing).

Table 5.2 shows that among the children's 662 code-switched turns, 490 (74%) were made after parental Chinese turns. The rest 172 (26%) were made when the parents themselves were mixing Chinese and English in their own turns before the children took

over the conversation.

Table 5.2   Children's total CS after parental Chinese & Mixed turns

Subject	Children's CS after parental Chinese turns (CM)		Children's CS after Parental mixed turns (MM)		Total
S1	109	85.8%	18	14.2%	**127**
S2	76	77.6%	22	22.4%	**98**
S3	47	52.8%	42	47.2%	**89**
S4	42	76.4%	13	23.6%	**55**
S5	20	64.5%	11	35.5%	**31**
S6	66	79.5%	17	20.5%	**83**
S7	15	71.4%	6	28.6%	**21**
S8	115	72.8%	43	27.2%	**158**
Total	**490**	**74%***	**172**	**26%**	**662**

*Minor discrepancies in totals are due to decimal rounding.
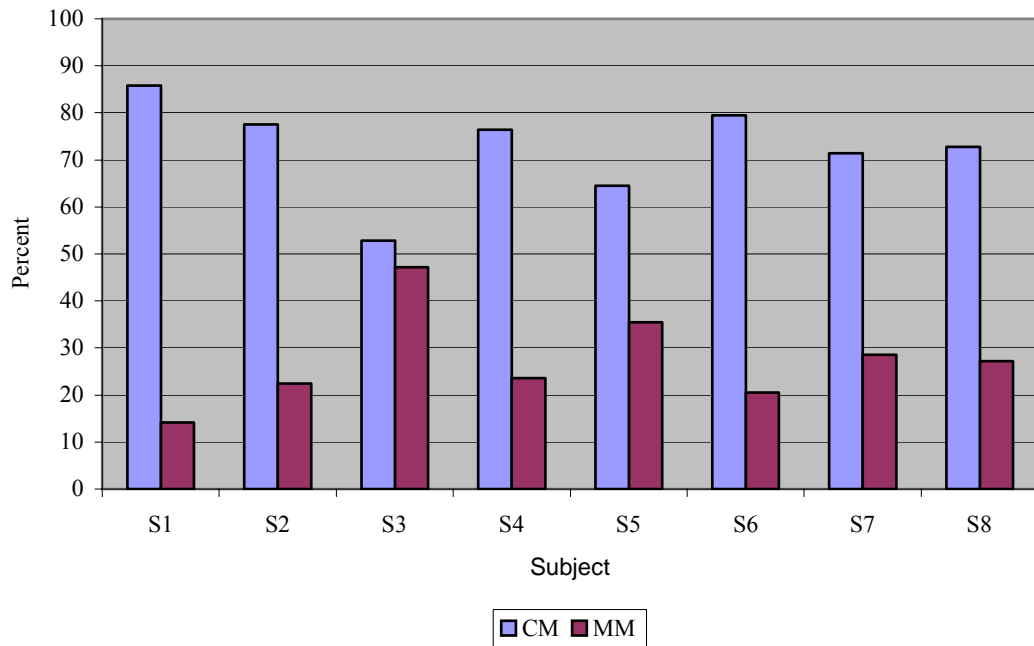
Figure 5.1   Children's code-switches after parental Chinese & Mixed turns

Among the eight subjects, all but two of them made more than 70% of their code-switching when their parents were speaking Chinese, while this figure for S3 and S5 was about 52% and 64% respectively.   It is quite interesting to see that, on average,

the children's code-switching after parental code-switched turns was only about one-third of the number occurring after parental Chinese turns. This shows that generally the children did not like to code-switch with their parents.

Table 5.3   Children's code-switching after parental Chinese turns (CM+CE)

Subject	Children's language choice				Total
	M		**E**		
S1	97	89%	12	11%	**109**
S2	26	34.2%	50	65.8%	**76**
S3	17	36.2%	30	63.8%	**47**
S4	36	85.7%	6	14.3%	**42**
S5	13	65%	7	35%	**20**
S6	48	74.2%	18	25.8%	**66**
S7	8	53.3%	7	46.7%	**15**
S8	86	74.8%	29	25.2%	**115**
Total	**331**	**64.1%**	**158**	**35.9%**	**490**
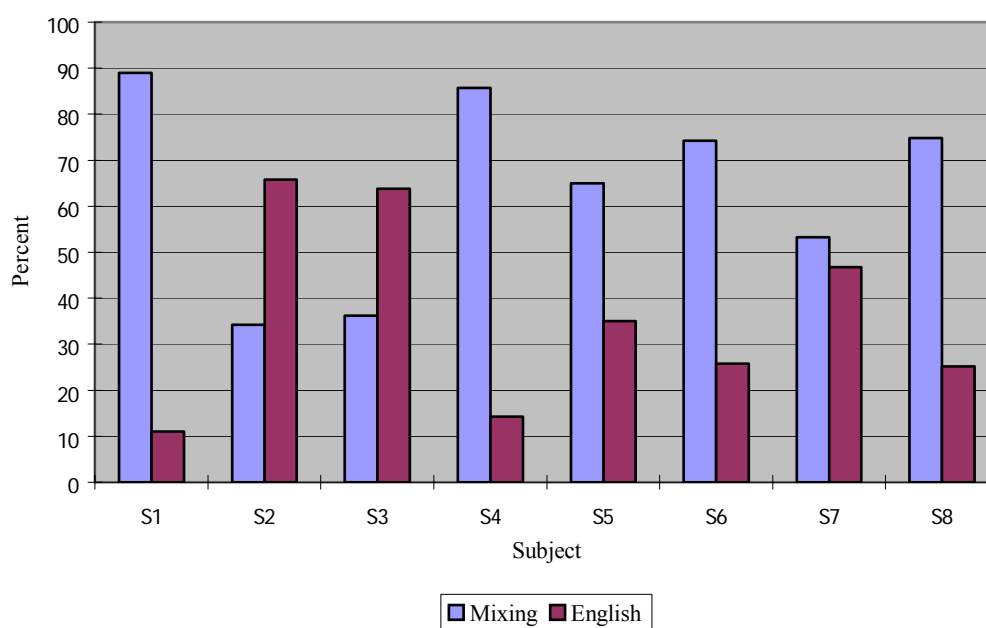
Figure 5.2   How children code-switch when parents speak Chinese

In Chapter 3, code-switching is defined to include two sub-types: code-mixing and code alternation. The former is the use of Chinese and English in the same conversational turn and the latter refers to the complete shift from Chinese to English.   Table 5.3 pre-

sents the distribution of children's code-switched turns in Turn 2 after parental Chinese turns. It shows that on average less than two-thirds of the children's turns were in code-mixed form, with English turns accounting for more than one-third. This indicates that when the parents are speaking Chinese to their children, the children would tend to respond with code-mixing rather than a complete alternation to English, although considerable differences exist between subjects. These are discussed in the following.

5.2.1   Subject 1

S1 has the highest percentage of code-mixing (89%) but the lowest percentage of English turns (11%). He is the oldest child in this study and seemed to be more aware of his language choice when speaking to his parents. This is reflected in two facts: first, he used the highest percentage of code-mixed turns when his parents were speaking Chinese with him; and second, he used the lowest percentage of English turns after parental code-mixed turns. The following two examples are from S1:

Example 1: S1 – (30)

191.	M:	Shi ma？
		'Is it?'
192.	S1:	Tama shi ge **tour guide, tourism industry**.
		'His mum is a …'
193.	M:	Zuo nage daoyou。
		'To be a tour guide.'
194.	S1:	Dui ya。
		'Right.'

Example 2: S1 – (106)

631.	F:	Wo xie yige，（ ）
		'I'll write one, ( )'
632.	S1:	Zhege tai、tai **boring** la!
		'This is too, too boring!'
633.	F:	Tai **printed** le, shibushi?
		'Too printed, isn't it?'
634.	S1:	Tai **printed**, shi。
		'Too printed, yes.'

In Example 1, S1 is having a conversation with his mother about one of his classmates. When the mother makes a clarification request in Turn 191, S1 replies by mixing Chinese and English together in Turn 192. The mother's third turn actually is the translation of the child's previous turn. And the child confirms the mother's translation in the last turn of this Conversational Round.

Example 2 is from Tape 7 when S1 and his father are talking about signatures. In this Conversational Round, the father's initial Chinese turn is followed by a mixed turn from the child. Note that the child is trying to make a negative comment on his father's signature. But after some hesitation in the form of repeating the Chinese adverb "tai" (too), he ends up with an English adjective "boring". In the third turn, the father also uses an English word "printed" to confirm his understanding of S1's comments in the previous turn. And in Turn 4, S1 shows his agreement with father's comment by mixing the same English word into Chinese therefore finishing this Conversational Round.

5.2.2   Subject 2

The situation with S2, to some degree, reverses that of S1's. More than two-thirds (65.8%) of S2's code-switched turns are in English and only about 34.2% of it is in mixed form. This indicates that after parental Chinese turns, S2's rate of using English is almost twice as much as that of her code-mixing. Here are some examples:

Example 3: S2 - (2)
30.	F	( ) haochi ba，zhe xin mifan ( ) ？Zenmeyang？
		'( ) Tastes good, this new season rice ( )? What do you think?'
31.	S2	**Thank you**.
32.	F	Zenmeyang，wen ni？
		'What do you think, (I am) asking you?'
33.	S2	**OK**.

Example 4: S2 - (19)
356.	M	Shi ni ziji yao pao。
		'You started running yourself.'

357.	S2	**No**. Bu guangshi。
		'No. Not really'
358.	M	Wo bu rangnipao la？
		'Did I stop you from running?'
359.	S2	Dui ya。
		'Yes.'

Example 3 is taken from a mealtime family conversation when the father is trying to seek S2's comments on the food prepared. S2 replies, somewhat unseriously, with a formulaic English expression "Thank you" in Turn 31. In Turn 32, the father, realizing that S2's reply in Turn 31 is irrelevant, repeats his request with a stronger version. S2 keeps on using English in Turn 33 although the father does not use English at all in either Turn 30 or Turn 32.

Example 4 occurred between S2 and her mother. The mother, similar to the father, does not use any English in either Turn 356 or Turn 358, but S2's response is different. In Turn 357, she first gives a short negative answer in English but she immediately provides some supplement in Chinese. She then switches back from code-mixing in Turn 357 to Chinese in Turn 359.

It is worth noting that S2 seems to use more English with her father than with her mother. As a matter of fact, this difference exists throughout S2's recordings. Two intertwined aspects suggest themselves as explanations for this. First, the father's English level is much higher than the mother's; and second, naturally, the father uses more English with S2. This is supported by the transcripts of S2's code-switched Conversational Rounds in Appendix I.

5.2.3 Subject 3

S3's situation is different from most of the other subjects in this study. As was mentioned in chapter 3, S3 is the only child whose English ability worries the parents the most. In order to help him with his English, the parents, among other things, try to

use more English with him at home. Therefore, there are two tapes that record the parents using surprisingly more English than other parents, especially when the triads were playing games. Possibly, another reason for the surprisingly high level of parental English in these two tapes is that the parents misunderstood the purpose of the recording. They assumed the study was about how younger migrant children learn English so that it would help if they could speak more English with the child. This became evident in an explanatory conversation sometime during the data collection. Therefore, attention needs to be drawn to these two points for a better understanding of S3 and his parents' language choice.

In table 5.3, 36.2% of S3's code-switched turns is code-mixing and 63.8% in English. Although this proportion remains similar when compared with Table 5.4 (p. 104), S3's use of English soars up in Table 5.5 both in terms of raw number (327) and percentage (94.5%). These results seem to suggest that S3's code-switching pattern is not influenced much by the preceding parental turns. His use of English, nevertheless, is high and stable, as evidenced in the following two examples from S3:

Example 5: S3 - (12)

130.	M	En？((Pause)) Ni chengtian kan guanggao, shibushi? Ni
		haimeiyou geiwo jiangwan ne, Ni hen xihuan nayige bufen? 'Eh? You watch ads all day, do you? You haven't finish! Which part do you like?'
131.	S3	**I like this, thing, cool**.
132.	M	Na shi ( ) 'That is ( )'
133.	S3	**No. It's a rabbit**.

Example 6: S3 - (62)

434.	M	Manba dou tebie xiao, jiu name yige dapai jiu gong geita le。 ( )
		'All (my cards) are small, the only big one is donated to him.'
435.	S3	A! **Sorry**… 'Oh, sorry!'
436.	F	**My favourite**.

437.   S3   **Can I go first**?

Example 5 is from Tape 3 when S3 and his mother were talking about their likes and dislikes regarding television advertisements. In this Conversational Round, the mother uses all Chinese in both Turn 130 and Turn 132 but S3 replies in English in both of his turns. In Example 6, however, S3 uses a mixed turn in Turn 435. When the father switches to English in Turn 436, S3 follows his father to finish off the round in English.

5.2.4   Subject 4

S4's results generally resemble S1's. Out of a total of 42 CS cases, 36 (85.7%) are made in code-mixing and only 6 (14.3%) in English. Moreover, it seems that S4 is not quite active in using English or code-mixing at home either in terms of absolute number of code-switched conversational turns or the average per tape (refer to Table 5.1). Actually, neither S4 nor her parents favor using English or code-mixing in their everyday conversation (see Figure 4.14 on page 68). This is in agreement with the results in section 4.1, in that the use of English is extremely limited in family 4. When the child does code-switch, however, she prefers code-mixing to English:

Example 7: S4 - (5)
323.   F: = (   ) Shenme yanse ? Baide?
                  'What colour? White?'
324.   S4   ((Pause)) Haiyou **Pizza**。Mogu, jiushi yong **potato** zuochengde。
                  Hei hei。
                  'Still got Pizza. Mushroom, just made of potato. Hei, hei.'
325.   F: Hao chi ma?
                  'Does it taste good?'
326.   S4   Hao chi。
                  'Yes.'

Example 8: S4 - (48)
248.   M   En, bie, bie, bie. nijiu gaosuwo cong nabian，shibushi？( )
                  nishuoba。
                  'Eh, no, no, no. Just tell me from where you are, Is it? Go on.'
249.   S4   Di yige **window**.
                  'The first window.'

250.　　M　　En。
　　　　　　　'OK.'
251.　　S4　　Di er，di san。
　　　　　　　'The second, the third.'

Example 7 is about food. When S4 is answering her father's Chinese question, she mixed two English words "Pizza" and "potato" into her Chinese structure. Note that the word "Pizza" is treated as a mixed word as there is an established Chinese translation for it. It might be interesting to note that the other word mixed is "potato", a word of high frequency in everyday use. The father does not seem to have paid any particular attention to the child's code-switching. He carries on the conversation by asking another question in Chinese. S4 ends this round with another Chinese turn. Example 8 follows the same language choice pattern although the topic is different, and this time, the English word mixed is "window".

A close look at the transcripts also reveals that the mother's use of English, either as code-mixing or as a whole turn, is much less than the father's. In addition, S4's English turns and mixed turns addressed to her mother are less than those addressed to her father, presumably because the mother is not quite confident in using English due to her lower level of proficiency in English.

What needs to be pointed out is that when both S3 and S4 are experiencing some difficulties in learning English and their parents' English language level is similar, their general language choice and code-switching pattern are far more different. Where S3's parents seem to have tried to speak more English with the child in order to help him, S4's parents display a pattern that is more natural and authentic, generally reflecting the language behaviour pattern observed in the researcher's visit. One of the reasons is that S4's parents used to work in agriculture, a field where they have learned the importance of sampling in data collection. This should have contributed to the fact that, the general family situation being the same, there is no abrupt changes in the language behaviour of this family.

5.2.5   Subject 5

S5 is the only subject born in New Zealand and his parents' English level is among the highest. This is evident from the English turns they have made in the tapes as well as the fact that both parents have worked in local, New Zealand-owned companies for nearly ten years. It would not be surprising if they were found to proliferate the use of code-switching. Results indicate, however, that neither code-switching nor English was favored by any of the family members. This is supported by both the lower percentage of code-switching and the absolute number of code-switched turns. It seems that English and Chinese are kept well apart in this family.

Another point worth noting here is the recording context. Unlike S2 whose tapes were all recorded at mealtime, every S5 recording was carried out in a study environment, mostly with his mother. The topics covered were often related to school and study and the subjects concerned included English, mathematics, and Mandarin Chinese, as exemplified in the following examples:

Example 9: S5 - (1)

98.	F	xxx xiang gao, gege xiang gao le ba。
		'xxx want to do it, older brother also wants to do it.'
99.	S5	**I can read this**. ( )
100.	F	Ni xie shenme ne? Ni huahua hai shi xiezi?
		'What are you writing? Drawing picture or writing words?'
101.	S5	Wo bu gaoshu ni。 ( )
		'I'm not telling you.'

Example 10: S5 - (22)

174.	M.	Ai ai，zhege fang zhe'r，zhe shi yao xiede。Gan maya！Aiya！
		'Hey, put this one here, it needs practice. What are you doing!'
175.	S5.	( ) **do you know why**?
176.	M.	**Why**?
177.	S5.	**Could you write it here**?

In Example 9, S5 responds to his father's Chinese turn with a code alternation in turn 99. The father,   sticking to Chinese, carries on the conversation with some more questions.

This time S5 switches back to Chinese in turn 101. Example 10 is a typical Conversational Round in the study-related situation where the parent starts with a Chinese or a code-mixed turn followed by three English turns.

Throughout the recordings, it seems that S5's parents seldom initiate code-switching (see also Figure4.18). However, they are also happy with their child's code-switching and, moreover, are often quite ready to code-switch with their child. This contradicts what the father told the researcher in a private conversation, namely, that they would discourage code-switching at home so that their child could develop the desirable habit of expressing himself in either language but not mixing the two together.

5.2.6   Subject 6

Subject 6 (S6) was also recorded mostly with her mother under study-related conditions. Generally, S6's sessions with her mother were more about learning English, for instance, spelling checking, the game of "I spy with my little eyes …" but her sessions with her father are more on general topics as illustrated by example 11 and 12:

Example 11: S6 – (2)
15.	F.	Na xue shali？
		'Then what did you learn?'
16.	S6.	Yinwei **computer** quan huile。
		'Because all computers broke down.
17.	F.	Quan huaile ya！
		'All broke down!'
18.	S6.	En。

Example 12: S6 - (20)
10.	M.	Wei shenme buxing a?
		'Why not ?'
11.	S6.	Yaoyou mogui ( ) wo keyi shuo **Go away**。
		'If there is ghost ( ) I can say go away.'
12.	M.	Shi ba。 Hao haizi nengshuo Go away ma？
		'Is it. Can good child say go away?'
13.	S6.	Huai haizi caishuo。
		'Bad children do.'

The father is talking to S6 about her learning at school. After the father's Chinese turn, the child replies with a code-mix in Turn 16, then this Conversational Round is ended with two Chinese turns. In Example 12, the child also uses a code-mixed turn to reply to her mother's question. Unlike the father, the mother mixed the same English phrase with her Chinese structure.

5.2.7   Subject 7

S7 only recorded two valid tapes due to logistical reasons (see section 3.3.1). Her average code-switching rate by tape, however, is not the lowest among the eight subjects, the absolute number being less meaningful here.

Table 5.3 shows that the distribution of S7's code-switching after parental Chinese turns is almost equal between E and M. This means that S7 does not have a preference for her code-switching behaviour. None of the situations recorded are closely related to English language learning. But like all other parents, S7's mother and father are quite open towards their daughter's code-switching in the home situation, as is shown in the following:

Example 13: S7 - (1)

327.	M.	Kuai dian chi。	
		'Hurry up.'	
328.	S7.	**Stupid man**	
329.	F.	Kuaidian chi, bu zhun shuohua le. **No talking**.	
		'Hurry up, no talking. No talking.'	
330.	S7.	**No talking**. Yao luyin。	
		'… Have to do the recoding.'	

Example 14: S7 - (5)

402.	M.	Yao zhao yizhang quanjiade。( )。Quanjiade xiang。Zheci chuqu duo zhao yidian quanjiade xiang。
		'Wo need a family photograph. ( ). The whole family. Wo need to take more family pictures when we go out this time.'
403.	S7.	**I … ( ) I'm not a baby**.
404.	F.	**You are a baby**.
405.	S7.	**No. I am not**. ( )

While in Example 13, the father made a code-mixed turn after his daughter's English turn, he completely switched to English in example 14.

5.2.8 Subject 8

Subject 8 (S8) is the youngest subject. Within his total of 115 code-switched turns after parental Chinese turns, 86 (74.8%) are code-mixing, with English turns only accounting for about one quarter of the total. This shows that, when his parents start a Conversational Round, code-mixing is much more preferred to English, as in the following examples:

Example 15: S8 - (56)

59.	F	Hao ba!
		'All right!'
60.	S8	Zhe shi ge **map**.
		'This is a …'
61.	F	Lai, bai zai zhebian. Haishi bai zai zhebian ya? Ni bai zai na bian wo gou bu dao le.
		'Come on, put it here. Or put it over here? I cannot reach it if you put it over there.'
62.	S8	**OK**.

Example 16: S8 – (106)

69.	F	Jiushi zhege ma!
		'This is the one!'
70.	S8	A! Di er ge **butter** fang le meiyou a?
		'Ah! Have you put butter for the second?'
71.	F	Fang le, bu neng tai duo.
		'Yes, I have, but too much.'
72.	S8	A! Cha bu duo zhege **cheese** dou yong le yi ban le.
		'Ah! You have almost used half of this cheese.'

Although the topics in the two examples are different, the first example concerning playing a game and the second everyday conversation, S8 chooses to reply with code-mixing in Turn 2. The father's responses in Turn 3 are all in Chinese. The child's choice in Turn 4 is also different. While he alternates from Chinese to English in Example 16, he mixes another English word "cheese" in a Chinese structure.

5.3　　Children's code-switching after parental mixed turns

Table 5.4 presents how the children code-switch in Turn 2 following their parents'
code-mixed turns. With a total of 172 such instances, which is 26% of the total
code-switched turns, the subjects' average rate of code-mixing drops to 58.4%.　This is
about 10% lower than that in Table 5.3. However, their rate of alternation, i.e. complete
switch from Chinese to English, increases from 32.2% in Table 5.3 to 41.6% in Table
5.4.

Table 5.4　　Children's code-switching after parental code-mixing (MM+ME)

| Subject | Children's language choice | | | | Total |
	Mixing		English		
S1	17	94.7%	1	5.3%	**18**
S2	6	27.3%	16	72.7%	**22**
S3	16	38.1%	26	61.9%	**42**
S4	8	58.3%	5	41.7%	**13**
S5	4	36.4%	7	63.6%	**11**
S6	11	64.7%	6	35.3%	17
S7	5	83.3%	1	16.7%	**6**
S8	34	77.3%	9	22.7%	**43**
Total	**101**	**60%***	**71**	**40%**	**172**

　*Minor discrepancies in totals are due to decimal rounding.
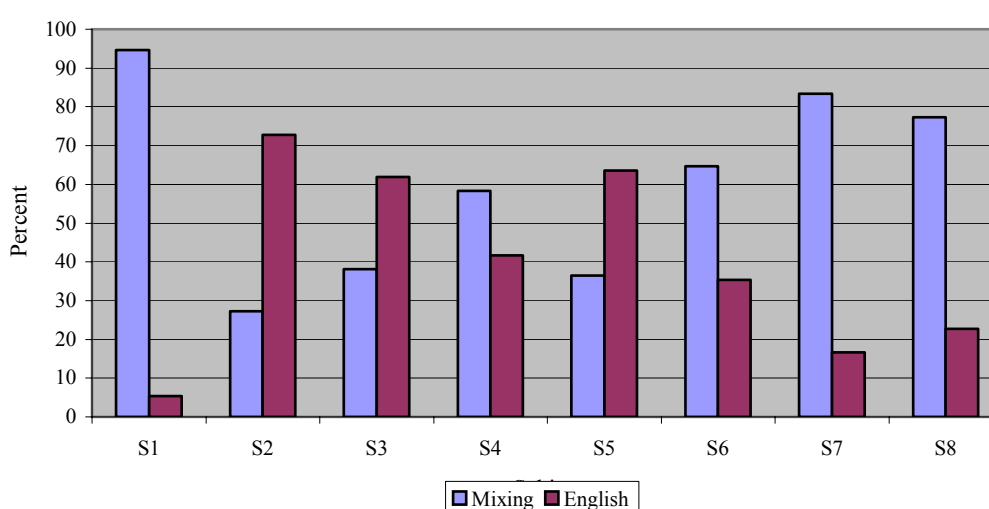
Figure 5.3　　How children code-switch when parents code-switch

This suggests that the children's code choice is influenced by their parent's language choice in everyday conversation. When the parents code-switch in the first place, while more than half of the children's turns were still in code-mixed form, the percentage of turns made in English increased by about ten percent. This implies that the increased use of English, though mixed with Chinese, leads to more use of English by their children.

There is, however, some variation across the subjects together with this overall trend. While some subjects increased their mixing rates, other subjects decreased them. For instance, the mixing rates of S1, S7, and S8 in Table 5.4 are actually higher than in Table 5.3. This indicates that these three subjects actually increased their rates of mixing when responding to their parents' mixed turns. In other words, these three subjects' mixing rates tended to be affected by their parents' mixing in the previous turn. The phenomenon can be illustrated in the following three examples:

Example 17: S1 - (15)

312. M　　Ao, dui。( )　Yingai shi gantanhao, jingtanhao。Yinwei **surprise**, dui ba。/ikstres/ ((Wrong pronunciation)).
'Oh yes. ( ) It should be exclamation mark, exclamation mark. Because of surprise, am I right. //ikstres// ((Mispronunciation))'

313. S1　**Exclamation** ma。Wo bushi gaosu nile ma，shangci。
'… + PART. Didn't I tell you, last time.'

314. M　　Ao，**exclamation**.
'Oh, ….'

315. S1　Ni jiu jibuzhu, ni zheren。
'You always forget, you.'

Example 18: S7 - (12)

130. M.　　Wo qu shang yitian ban caide **one dollar**。Ni xie yiyezhi de **one dollar**, dou gouduo lema。
'I only get one dollar working for a whole day. You get one dollar for writing one page. That's enough.'

131. S7.　Yitianban ni jiude **two dollar**。
'You work one day for one dollar.'

132. M.　　Cai de **one dollar**, ni yiwei。Zhe qian bushi henhao zhengde。

'For only one dollar, don't you believe. It's not easy.'

133.   S7.   Wei shenme ni zhide yikuai **dollar**, renjia ne？
'Why you only get one dollar? What about others?'

Example 19: S8 - (5)

58.   F   = **out of side of** jiushi kanbujian le。 Mashang jiuyao kanbudao tade tou le。 Zhangde taigao le。
'… means you cannot see it. You soon will lose sight of its head. It's growing so high.'

59.   S8   Zhineng **telescope cai kandejian**。
'It could only be seen through telescope.'

60.   F   Dui ya。 Tamen zhineng kaizhe feiji laikan。
'Right. They can only see it on an airplane.'

61.   S8   Na zhege youyi, er, san, sige, zheli you sange, zheyou liangge, zheyou liangge，zhege yeyou liangge, zhege yeyou liangge, zheyou sange, zheyou yige, zhege you yi, er, san, sige。
'Then there are one, two, three, and four, there are three, here are two, this also has two, this has two as well, there are three here, there is one, there is one, two, three and four.'

In these three examples, all three subjects respond with code-mixing, but the nature of the mixing is different. In Example 17, S1 and his mother are talking about punctuation marks. When the mother makes a pronunciation error in Turn 312, the child corrects her by providing the right one. Example 18 is different; the structurally similar English noun phrase (NP) has been mixed in all the four turns of this Conversational Round. In Example 19, S8 mixes an English word "telescope" to elaborate his father's intended meaning in the previous turn.

On the other hand, while there is a sharp drop in code-mixing rate with some subjects (S4 and S5), there is also a slow decrease with others (S2, S3, and S6) and at the same time the rate of English increased. Taking S4 as an example, when her parents are addressing her in Chinese, the majority of her code-switched turns are in mixed form (85.7%), with only about 14% in English. When her parents address her with mixed turns, S4 sharply increases her response in English to about 41.7% thus reducing her code-mixed turns to about 58.3%.

In Table 5.4, S3's mixing rate changes slightly from 36.2 % in Table 5.3 to 38.1%. This means that S3's mixing rate is not much affected by his parents' mixing in terms of his language choice. In other words, S3's switch to English remains at a higher level no matter what his parents are using: Chinese or code-mixing.

5.4 Children's language choice after parental English turns

While the two sections above are concerned with the children's overall code-switching behaviors under two circumstances, i.e. when their parents start the Conversational Round either using Chinese or a mixture of Chinese and English, another important scenario to consider is how the children make their language choice if their parents start using English in the first place. The investigation of this question should reveal how much the young immigrants are affected in their daily language use if their parents initiate the use of the majority language in an immigrant society like New Zealand.

To discuss this question, all the parental turns in English and the children's immediate subsequent turns were extracted from the transcripts; Table 5.5 presents the relevant results of the 40 tapes recorded from the eight subjects.

Table 5.5　Children's language choice after parental English turns

Subject	Children's language choice						Total parental English turns
	Chinese		Mixing		English		
S1	3	25%	7	58.3%	2	16.7%	12
S2	8	24.2%	4	12.1%	21	63.6%	33
S3	9	2.6%	10	2.9%	327	94.5%	346
S4	4	21%	6	31.6%	9	47.4%	19
S5	9	12.2%	7	9.5%	58	78.4%	74
S6	11	10.7%	9	8.7%	83	80.6%	103
S7	1	7.7%	1	7.7%	11	84.6%	13
S8	7	10.1%	6	8.7%	56	81.2%	69
Total	52	7.8%	50	7.5%	567	84.8%	669
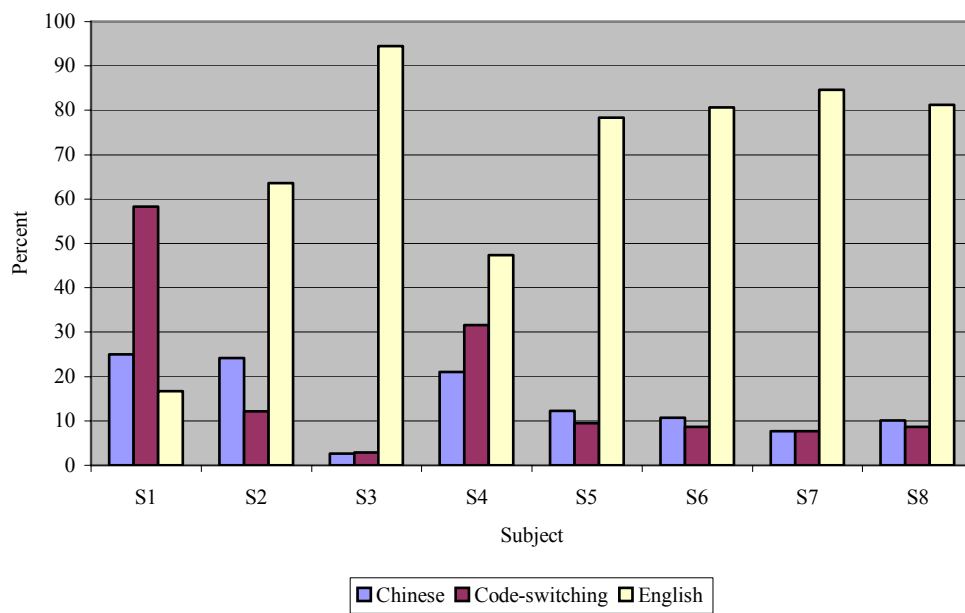
Figure 5.4   Children's language choice after parental English turns

Among the 669 instances where the parents are initiating the use of English when interacting with their children, the majority of the children's responses (84.8%) is in English. The use of both Chinese and code-mixing is limited to 7.8% and 7.5% respectively. It seems that, on the average, the children are quite ready to use English with their parents if they are addressed in English first. This result also supports the patterns that have been identified in previous sections, especially CEEE, MEEE, MMEE, and CMEE.

Across the subjects, however, some individual differences also emerge. S1, for example, is a quite specific case in this regard. In the total of 12 such instances, more than half (58.3%) of his responses are made by mixing Chinese and English. There are only two occurrences (16.7%) in which he responds in English and three (25%) in Chinese. In other words, when his parents are speaking English with him, S1 would be more likely to mix Chinese and English in his response. Chinese is his second choice and English, the last. The following is an extract from S1's Tape 3:

Example 20: S1 – Tape 3:

175.   S1:   Shenme?
                    'What?'

175.   M: **Answer**。

176.   S1:   **Answer** xie zaizheer?
                    'Write answers here?'

…

…

333.   S2:   Dui。

                    'Yes.'

334.   M: **Apostrophe**.

335.   S2:   Dui, wo geini xie **quotation mark**.
                    'Yes. I'll write … for you.'

Note that in Turn 176 and 334, it is the mother who initiates using English after S1's Chinese turns. But the child did not follow his mother to switch from Chinese to English as might be the case for other children. Instead, S1 uses two code-mixed turns to respond to his mother in turns 177 and 335.

It seems that S1 is trying to accommodate to his parents' language choice. At the age of about 11 and having been in New Zealand for more than three years, S1 might be quite aware that his English is much better that that of his parents. Therefore, a conversation in Chinese should be more comfortable for his parents and his Chinese is strong enough to cope with most of the situations. The advantage of doing this is that he can improve his Chinese, while also being able to resort to English for help at any time.

It should also be noted that S1' parents utter the smallest number of English turns (=12) within 5 tapes. This equals two or three English turns in every tape. As has been pointed out, there are two inter-related reasons for this. First, in terms of English fluency, S1's parents, especially the father, may be among the lowest within these eight families. During the interview after the data collection, the father mentioned how bad he felt when he first arrived here. He made it very clear that, after having worked in New Zea-

land for about four years, he still wanted to go back to China simply because he could not develop even the smallest sense of belonging.   No matter how successful he was with his job, he felt lonely and left out once the job was done. There was not much communication with other colleagues just because of his English. Although this was a common experience for most of the parents in this study, it was particularly salient in S1's family.

Second, partly resulting from the first reason, S1 himself did not like living in New Zealand. For him, New Zealand was such a small place compared with the big city where he came from. Considering the possibility that S1 may have to go back to China with his father someday, S1 has been pushed hard to keep on studying Mandarin, first at home, and then in a community Mandarin class. The child himself seemed quite happy about learning Mandarin. These two reasons combined to create a family environment in which Mandarin was always the first choice for daily conversation.

On the contrary, English was S2's favorite choice in this respect. The following excerpt is from S2's Tape 7:

Example 21: S2 – Tape 7

151	F	**Hand. Knife, pork, spoon, dinner plate, dessert plate, mug**, **plastic cup.** ((Pause)) **Book**. ( )
152	S2	Women meiyou ( ) meiyou **tea towel**。 'We don't have ( ) don't have ….'
153	F	Ranhiu shi **quilt**，**table game**。 'And then…'
154	S2	**Ok**。
155	F	**Clip board**。
156	S2	En? Shenme？ 'En? Pardon?'
157	F	**Clip**，**clipboard**。
158	S2	Nage **clipboard** paodao nali qule？ 'The … where is it?'
159	F	**Torch**。
160	S2	**Yes**. **But I don't know where it is.** ( )

161	F	**One box**.
162	S2	Ehum？
163	F	**One box**.
164	S2	**Easy**.
165	F	**(　) cooking wares, pencil case**,
166	S2	**Easy, easy, easy**,
167	F	**Toilet (　)**.
168	S2	**Uhem**？
169	F	**Toilet，one toilet (　　　)**.
170	S2	**Easy, Easy**.
171	F	**Medicines**.
172	S2	**That's your problem**.
173	F	**Eh, biscuits**.
174	S2	**Easy**.
175	F	**Cake. Biscuits or cakes.**
176	S2	**Buy some**.

This conversation happened when the family was trying to help S2 to prepare for a school camp. The short interaction was started with English by the father and, except for three code-switched turns and an English turn, went on for about twenty turns until it was interrupted by the mother. There were no signs of any sort indicating that the parents may have been unhappy about the children's use of English. The conversation was completely built on meaning and communication. None of the two sides seemed to have paid any attention to the form or medium used for that purpose. Although there were not many exchanges with so many English turns in a row, this example shows us to what extent English could be used in some of the targeted families.

S3's situation is similar to that of S2's. There are two tapes where the family is speaking English when playing games, which lead to a surprisingly high percentage of English turns. It is doubted that this was done on purpose, in an attempt to project the child's image as an English-user at home. A closer look at the other four tapes, however, still shows a strong tendency to use English and code-mixing in S3, as well as flexible responses from his parents. This is especially true when the topic is about schooling and study, as in the follow exchange:

Example 22: S3 – Tape 5

194	M	Na ni jiaole shenme a?
		'Then what did you teach?'
195	S3	**Reading**。
196	M	Jiao le **English**?
		'Taught … .'
197	S3	**Books**.
198	M	**Read chapter books**?
199	S3	**No. Just picture books**.
200	M	**Oh, you're teacher now**.
201	S3	**Yeah**.
202	M	**You'd better to improve yourself quickly, otherwise your English is not enough to teach the text**.
203	S3	**Yeah.**
204	M	Ao。 **Language** de shihou ni jiu daizhe tamen nian na? Nian ying yu ya? En?
		'Oh. You read with them when (it's) … time? Read English? En?'
205	S3	Dangran la。
		'Of course.'

This is a typical example of the parents being 'dragged' into using English. In Turn 194, the mother starts, in Chinese, checking with S3 about his activities at school. When she is first replied to by her son in English in Turn 195, the mother 'upgrades' her language choice to code-mixing in her second turn, and then resorts to using English. The most interesting point is that in Turn 204, the mother 'downgrades' her language choice, switching back to code-mixing. She inserts one English word 'Language' in a long Chinese turn. The child, seemingly to have noted some conversational cues from the change in his mother's language choice, also 'downgrades' his language choice from using English in Turn 203 to using Chinese in Turn 205.

A closer look at S3's tape transcripts reveals that there are many such episodes in which, when parents initiate a topic in Chinese, the child usually switches, first from Chinese to code-mixing and then to pure English. At this point, the parents often follow their child and English as well. When a parent signals the conclusion of the current topic, probably by using code-mixing, the child also ends up using Chinese.   Considering that the pa-

rents are deeply concerned with S3's learning of English, probably, this is one of the means by which the parents are trying to help with S3's English. One direct result of their doing so is S3's strikingly large number and high percentage of turns made in English.

One thing the parents may not notice is that S3's Chinese may deteriorate faster as well. Direct observation shows that S3 displays stronger resistance to speaking Chinese even when he is addressed in Chinese by other Chinese adults.

S4's parents have the third smallest number of English turns by tape. (n=19). They are the second couple who do not have any New Zealand educational experience. Although they both work, the father's small business mainly caters for the Chinese community and the mother is working in an environment where little English is required. Judged from the fact that their English language background is weaker than other couples and they do not have much chance to use English in their job either, their language level may not allow them to make a large number of English turns.

It is also noteworthy that S4's English reply after these parental English turns is the second lowest (47.4%). One reason, among others, could be that the child, judged from her meta-linguistic ability, may well be aware that English is not her parents' preferred language choice. Sometimes, there might be less of a communication problem if she is able to accommodate to her parents in terms of language choice for family conversation rather than vice versa. Sometimes it is vocabulary, and sometimes it is pronunciation that hinders the parents' use of English, as is illustrated in the following:

Example 23: S4 – Tape 3

| 507 | M | En。 Ta shi liannai, zhongguo jiao liannai。 Wo buzhidao zhe jiao shenme, jiaozuo shenme **con**－
'En. It's condensed milk, It's called "lian nai" in Chinese. I don't know how they call it here, what is it, con- ' |
| 508 | S4 | **Condensed milk**。 |

509	M	/**konden**/ ((Wong pronunciation of the word))
510	S4	**Condensed milk**
511	M	**Milk**.
512	S4	En。
		'En.'

Example 24: S4 – Tape 5

11	M	Liubingxie zhenme shuode?
		'How to say rollerblade?'
12	S4	**Roller blade**。
13	M	**Roller play**？
14	S4	**Roller blade**。
15	M	**Roller**，（ ）wan de dongxi, shibushi?
		'…, something like a toy, isn't it?'
16	S4	**Roller** jiushi hui niu de。
		'Roller is something that turns.'
17	M	E。
		'Eh.'
18	S4	Xiangge lunzi, xiang wo zhege, xiang nege, yikai, mum。 Kankan。 jiuzai **roll** 。
		'Like a wheel, like mine, like, you turn it on, mum. Look. It rolls.'

In Example 23, the mother and the child are having a casual conversation. When the mother is stuck with the English equivalent, the child quickly provides it in Turn 508. When she sees that her mother could still not use it after trying twice, S4 gives up using English. Example 24 is similar. In this episode, the mother and the child are talking about one of the school activities. The mother directly asks the child how to say "rollerblade" in English. When the child replies, naturally in English, the mother fails to grasp the right word. When the mother still cannot get it right, in Turn 15, the child gives up again, by providing an explanation in code-mixing.

There are differences between S1 and S4 although they both have fewer parental turns in English. Where S1 mostly prefers code-mixing to respond to his parents' English turns, S4 prefers English. But S1's use of code-mixing is much higher than S4's use of English. Moreover, while S1, who is best in both Chinese and English among all the

subjects, seems to have made his language choice more out of his own meta-linguistic awareness, S4's lower percentage of English use is restrained, among other things, more by her parents' English language proficiency.

For the four younger subjects in Group 2, there is a lot in common in their language choice after parental English turns. First, English tends to be the major code for all of them in responding to their parents' turns made in English. That all these four subjects have about 80% of turns made in English shows their strong tendency to switch to English after their parents' English turns. Second, their turns made in both Chinese and mixed form are more or less evenly distributed at a similarly low level at around 7.7-12%. This suggests that younger children have less conscious control over language choice and are more easily influenced by others.

5.5 Summary

- This chapter has investigated how the children code-switch with their parents in three different scenarios, i.e., when the parents were using Chinese, English, and code-switching. It has been found that about three-quarters of the children's code-switching was made when the parents were speaking Mandarin Chinese. Only slightly more than one quarter of their code-switching was made after parental code-mixed turns. However, if the Conversational Round was started by the parents with code-mixed turns, the children's average use of English turns increased but their rate of code-mixing would drop. In other words, the children seemed to be one step ahead in terms of language choice. They would use more code-mixing when their parents were speaking Chinese. When their parents were code-mixing first, their use of English rapidly increased but their use of code-mixing decreased.

- This pattern becomes more prominent after parental English turns. If parents start Conversational Rounds in English, the majority (85%) of children's reply were in English. Neither Chinese turns nor code-mixed turns exceeded more   than   eight

percent. For many subjects, there seems to be an 'upgrading' phenomenon identified. This means that the children code-switch frequently when their parents are speaking Chinese. If the parents code-switch with them, the children would move one step forward to produce more English turns.   If the parents are 'carried away' by their children's use of English, consciously or unconsciously, the children would be more than happy to speak more English until Mandarin Chinese is completely pushed out.

● These phenomena indicate that, within about two to three years' time, there has been a quite rapid change in the language patterns of the immigrants. Particularly, younger immigrants display a steady tendency to code-switch in family situation even when their parents were using Mandarin Chinese. But code-mixing only seems to serve as a transitional device, as the children's rate of code-mixing actually dropped after parental code-mixed turns.   The results suggest that parental language choice has great impact on their children's language choice.

● Moreover, the fact that there is a large number of English turns made by the parents clearly shows that the parents' language behavior is also changing as a result of the linguistic contact with the majority language, accompanied, of course, by the reduced use of the ethnic language.

● Apart from these general trends, the subjects vary with reference to the degree of the changes in their language pattern. One reason that seem to explain this wide variation is that when the parents' level of English is not high, for example in family 1 and family 4, the children tend to use more code-mixing but less English after parental Chinese turns. Also, they tend to use fewer English turns when their parents were using English indicating that the children seem to know that less English would make their communication more efficient and cause fewer problems for their parents.

Chapter 6   Parents' response and effect on children

6.1   Introduction

Research question 3: *What are the effects of the parental response upon the children's subsequent language choice?* The previous two chapters served to provide a general picture of how the children studied make their language choice when interacting with their parents in the home situation. Their linguistic behavior has been sampled in two situations: first, when the parents are speaking Chinese, and second, when they are mixing Chinese and English in one conversational turn. Since the main purpose of the present investigation is to find out what kind of effect the parental response could have upon the children's language choice in the immediate subsequent turn, it is necessary to look at how the parents respond to their children's code-switching. The following section concerns the parents' language choice when responding to their children's code-switching.

6.2   Parents' responses in Turn 3

Table 6.1 presents a summary of the sixteen parents' responses in Turn 3 to their children's code-switching in Turn 2. Overall, some 419 (63.3%) of the parents' responses are in Chinese, and 189 (28.5%) in mixed form, whilst only 54 (8.3%) responses are made in English.

Table 6.1   Parents' responses in Turn 3

Pattern	Parents' response in Turn 3 (n=16)						Total
	Chinese		**Mixing**		**English**		
CM	232	70.1%	88	26.6%	11	3.3%	**331**
CE	107	67.3%	31	19.5%	21	13.2%	**159**
MM	54	53.5%	41	40.6%	6	5.9%	**101**
ME	26	36.6%	29	40.8%	16	22.5%	**71**
Total	**419**	**63.3%**	**189**	**28.5%**	**54**	**8.2%**	**662**
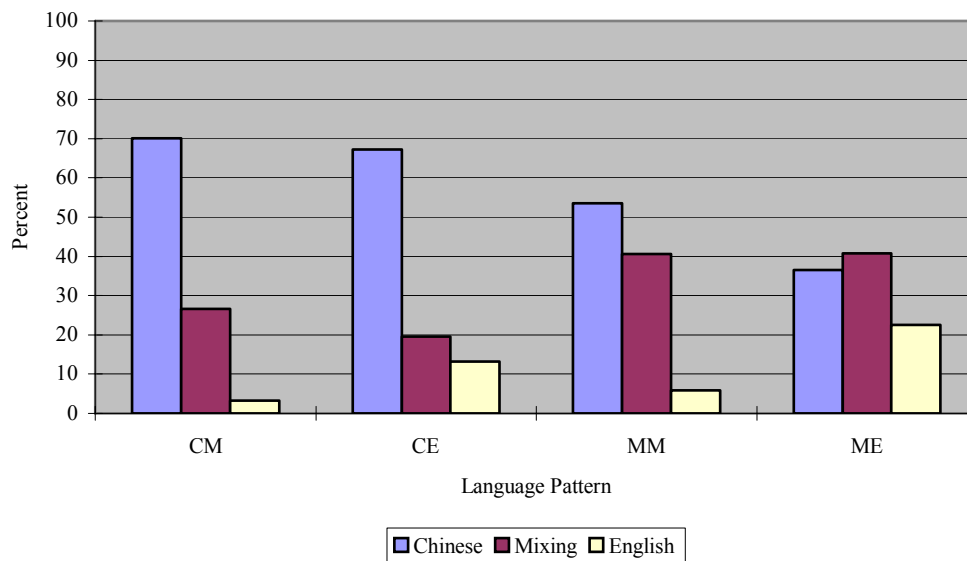
Figure 6.1   Parents' response in Turn 3

It is apparent that the parents are quite ready to use Chinese to respond to their children's code-switching but, at the same time, they also display certain flexibility. This is clearly supported by the fact that their mixed turns account generally for more than three times the amount of English replies they make to their children's code-switching.

In the total of 662 code-switched turns from the children (this number equals the total number of Conversational Turns as each children's code-switched turn forms the core of a Conversational Round), there are only two occasions identified from S8 when he was asked to speak Mandarin Chinese. Unfortunately, neither of the two parental attempts yielded any desired results. On the first occasion, the request was only embedded in a longer turn when the father was reading a story with the child. On the second occasion, the child actually succeeded in a negotiation with his mother, so she has to make one more code-mixed turn:

Example 25: S8 - (10)

54.   F   "**From now on I'll fetch the newspaper**." Zhegegou jiu shuo, congchi yihou a, wo laina baozhile. "**But it's important for him to defend the house if a burglar comes**." Danshi zuizhongyao

		de yinggai shi shenme ya?
		'… This dog says from now on, I'll get the newspaper… But, what is the most important thing?
55.	S8	**Burglar**.
56.	F	Shi shenme yisi? Ni yong hanyu shuo shi shenme yisi a? "**But it's important for him to defend the house if a burglar comes**." Zheshi shenme yisi a? Ruguo laile zei, laile qiangdao dehua, ta yao xuehui zenme yang baohu fangzi, shibushi a?
		'What does it mean? Say what it means in Chinese? … What does this mean? If burglar comes, he should learn how to protect the house, is it?'
57.	S8	En.
		'En'

Example 26: S8 - (71)

554.	M	Ni shuo yingyu ma, wo, ni shuo han yu ma.
		'You say English, I, could you speak Chinese.'
555.	S8	Bu, bu. Ni yao shuo xian (?) yingyu, **please**.
		'No, no. You should speak (?) English, …'
556.	M	Hao. T**he race** shi shenme?
		'OK. What is the race?"
557.	S8	**Let's** ( ).

This could be a clear message to the children that code-switching is absolutely acceptable. The use of English is not at all forbidden. Rather, it forms a natural part of their everyday conversation. Sometime, the parents are learning English from their children, thus, they may actually encourage more use of English at home.

Examining the table by row, it is interesting to note that the pattern CM makes up exactly half of the total of 662 turns. After the 331 CM turns, more than two-thirds (70.1%) of the parents' turns are in Chinese and the percentages of mixed turns and English turns are 26.6% and 3.3% respectively. This means that while the parents could manage to reply to their children's code-switching mainly in Chinese, slightly more than a quarter, or one in four, of their responses is code-mixing, although their use of English is restricted to a minimum level. The followings are examples for the three patterns:

Example 27: S6 - (9) (CMC)

194.	F.	Bushi a。
		'Nope.'
195.	S6.	En, bushi。 Ta, ta **jump on the tree**.
		'En, bushi. It, it ….'
196.	F.	Ao, bengdao shushang le。
		'Oh, jumped on the tree.'
197.	S6.	Ha! Ha! **A joke. Why the tomato on the bed**?
		'Ha! ha! … …'

Example 28: S1 - (20) (CMM)

340.	M	En ( )
		'En'
341.	S1	( ) Zhege zanmen **order** guola！
		'( ) We have ordered this one.'
342.	M	Meiyou！( ) **order,** libaisan zai **order** ne。
		'No! ( ) order, have to be ordered Wednesday.'
343.	S1	( ) haimei **order**?
		'Never ordered?'

Example 29: S3 - (21) (CME)

3.	M	Shi nide tongxue haishi shenme?
		'Is it your classmate or what?'
4.	S3	Bushi wode tongxue，shi **year three** ( ).
		'It's not my classmate, it's …. ( ).'
5.	M	**Junior**.
6.	S3	En，junior，zai nage，zai nage difang，zai yige **tree** dixia，**trying to beat, trying to beat him**.
		'En, junior, in the, in the place, under a tree, … ….'

Example 27 is a typical CMC pattern where the parent starts with Chinese in Turn 194 but this is followed by a mixed turn from the child in Turn 195. The parent, sticking to Chinese, explains the meaning of the mixed part in the child's previous turn. Example 28 is a typical CMM pattern in which a Conversational Round is started by a parent in Chinese but is then replied to by the child with a code-mixed turn. In Turn 342, the parent responds to the child's code-mixing with a code-mixing. Often, in the CMM pattern, the mixed items in Turn 2 and 3 are related or even exactly the same, as in Example 29.

After the pattern CE, (i.e. the Conversational Round is started with Chinese by the parents but followed by an English response from the child,) the situation changes. There are 67.3% turns in Chinese. This is slightly lower than after CM but it is still more than two-thirds of the total CE (159). The use of mixed turns drops further to 19.5% and the biggest change exists in the use of English. Where the parents' use of English is limited to 3.3% after CM, this percentage increases to 13.2% after CE. In other words, the children's use of English in Turn 2, to some degree, increases their parents' use of English. It seems, from this result, that the parents' language choice is also influenced by the preceding turns made by their children.

Regarding the parent's language choice after MM, the use of Chinese continues to drop to 53.5% and so does the use of English. On the contrary, however, the use of code-mixed turns more than doubles, amounting to 40.6%. This further suggests strongly that children's language choice also influences that of their parents'.

When it comes to the last pattern, ME, the parents' use of Chinese drops to the lowest level (36.6%), only about half of the figure after CM. While the use of code-mixing remains almost the same (40.8%), the use of English radically increases to 22.5%. It is obvious that this is the pattern which shows the children's strongest influence upon their parents' language choice.

6.3   Children's language choice in Turn 4

6.3.1   Introduction

This section deals with the children's language choice in the last turn of the Conversational Round. It explores to what extent these children's language choice could be affected by their parents in typical Conversational Rounds.

6.3.2   Children's language choice at Turn 4: Type 1 - CM+

Table 6.2 summarizes the children's language choices at Turn 4 after the pattern CM (parental Chinese followed by children's code-switching). This pattern subsumes three

combinations the parents may make in Turn 3, namely, CMC, CMM and CME. The children's language choice after these three patterns will be dealt with one by one.

After CMC, the children's major choice is Chinese (56.9%). While their use of code-mixed turns is about one-third of the total, the use of English only accounts for 8.2%.

After CMM the children's language choice pattern is quite similar, except for slightly higher percentages of Chinese and English but a lower percentage for code-mixing.

Table 6.2   Children's language choice after CM+

Pattern	Children's language choice						Total
	Chinese		M		English		
CMC	132	56.9%	81	34.9%	19	8.2%	232
CMM	51	58%	28	31.8%	9	10.2%	88
CME	2	18.2%	5	45.5%	4	36.4%	11
Total	185	55.9%	114	34.4%	32	9.7%	331
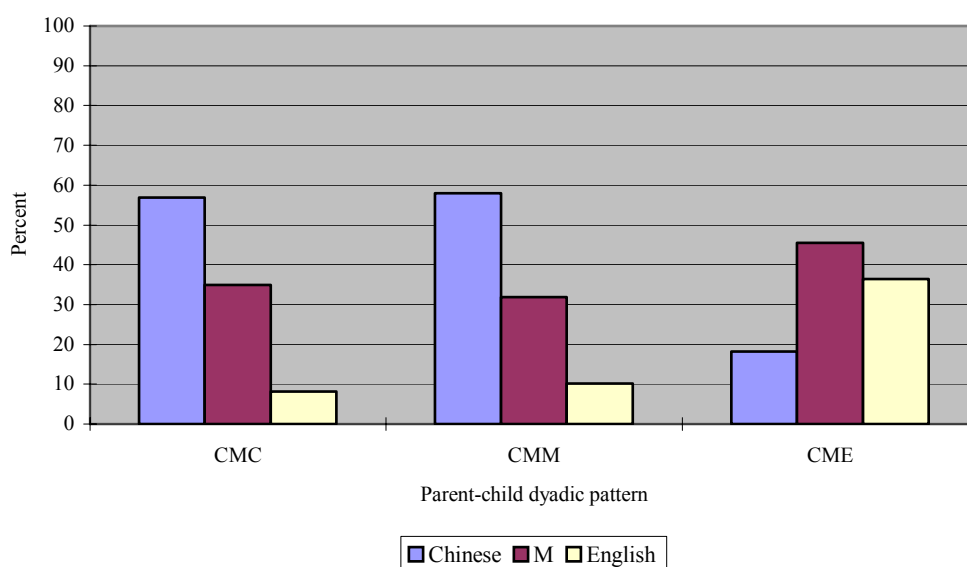
Figure 6.2   Children's language choice after CM

When it comes to the CME pattern, the general trend changes noticeably. These changes are important although there are only about 11 such instances. Here the use of Chinese

dramatically drops to about 18% but the use of code-mixing and English increase to about 45.5% and 36.4% respectively. It seems that when children code-mix after parental Chinese turns, it will not make much difference in the children's subsequent language choice in the immediate next turn whether their parents respond in Chinese or code-mixing. But if the parental response is in English in Turn 3, it does change the children's language pattern. Here, the children's use of English increases by about 26% as compared with the situations when the parents are responding in Chinese or code-mixing. The following are some action examples of the three patterns: CMCC, CMCM, and CMCE.

Example 30: S2 - (39)

56.	F	Ranhou you kai shenme le?
		'What did (you) do then?'
57	S2	Ranhou women dadianhua，jiao women tongxue canjia **party** ( ).
		'We then made phone calls, telling our classmates to join the party ( ).'
58.	F	Tamen laibuliao 。
		'They cannot make it.'
59.	S2	Tamen laideliao 。
		'They can.'

Example 31: S4 - (8)

381.	F:	Lianggeren fen sige gu, yigeren neng fen jige?
		'Two people to share four drums, how many does each get?'
382.	S4	En, **two**。
		'En, two.'
383.	F:	Liu ge ren ne? ((Pause)), Ao, liang gerenfen liugegu ne?
		'Then what six people? Oh, two people share six drums?'
384.	S4	En, **three**。
		'En, three.'

Example 32: S2 - (10)

231.	F	Zhenme shuo a, S2?
		'How to say it, S2?'
232.	S2	Xian le，en，**Too salty**, hei, hei hei。
		'Too salty, en, … …, hei, hei, hei.'
233.	M	Saoqi？
		'Bad smell?'
234.	S2	**Sal, salty**.

Within the 662 Conversational Rounds, the CMCC pattern is the most common pattern (n=132) identified. It accounts for up to 20% of the total. As is shown in Example 30, when S2 responds to her father's Chinese turn with a code-mix, the father carries on the conversation in Chinese. Although the father does not pay any attention to the child's code-mixing, he keeps on using Chinese without showing any signs of encouraging further mixing. The child, therefore, returns to Chinese in Turn 4.

Example 31 represents CMCM, the second most common pattern. There are 88 such cases and representing some 13.3% of the total 662 instances. In Example 31, even when the parent keeps on using Chinese in Turn 383, the child may still continue to use code-mixing in the last turn of the Conversational Round.

CMCE is the last pattern after CM. In this pattern, the child moves from code-mixing to code-alternation, as shown in Example 32. When S2 is asked how to express an idea in English, she replies with a mixed turn, but when her mother is trying to amuse her with the English sound in Turn 233, S2 repeats the pronunciation of the English word without any Chinese in the last turn of the Conversational Round.

6.3.3   Children's language choice at Turn 4 (2) - CE

Pattern CE represents the situation when the children switch completely to English in Turn 2. Table 6.3 lists children's responses in Turn 4 after CEC, CEM, and CEE.

Table 6.3   Children's language choice after CE+

Pattern	Children's language choice (n=8)						Total
	Chinese		M		English		
CEC	38	35.5%	14	13.1%	55	51.4%	107
CEM	9	29%	10	32.3%	12	38.7%	31
CEE	6	28.6%	2	9.5%	13	61.9%	21
Total	53	33.3%	26	16.4%	80	50.3%	159

After CEC, the children appear to favor English in responding to their parents' Chinese

turns. With 55 occurrences, CECE turns out to be the third most common language pattern with our subjects. Code-mixing turns out to be the least preferred form (13.1%) while Chinese turns fall in the middle (35.5%). This seems to suggest that, in a Conversational Round, if the children start using English in Turn 2 after a parental Chinese turn in Turn 1, it will not help much in changing the children's language choice in Turn 4, even if the parents respond in Chinese in Turn 3.   This is shown in Example 33:
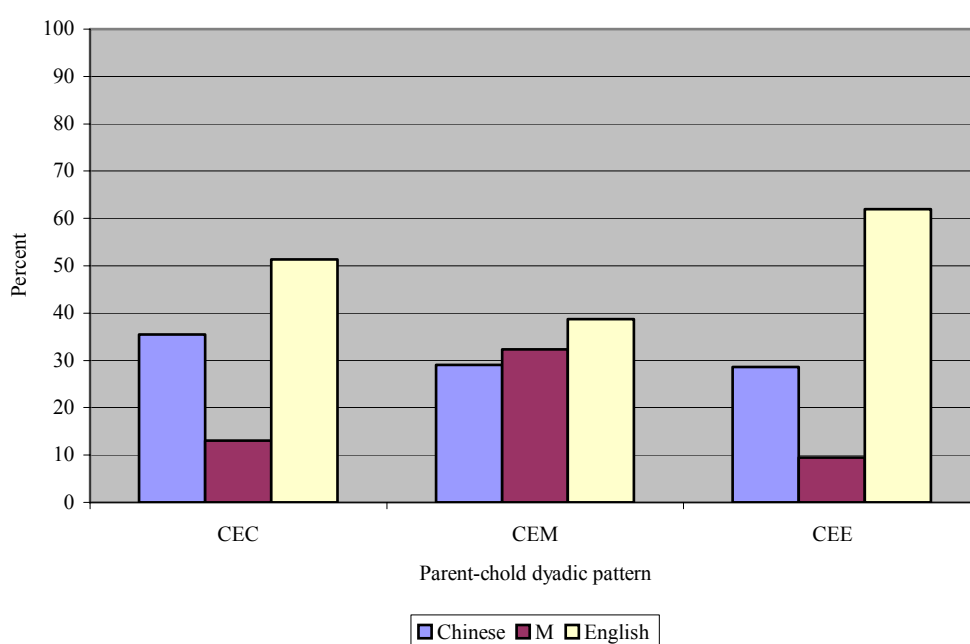
Figure 6.3   Children's language choice after CE

Example 33: S8 - (74)

28.	M	Wo kao yihuir, A? Kuai yidianr.
		'Let me sit for a while, OK? Be quick.'
29.	S	**No way**.
30.	M	Kuai yidian!
		'Be quick!'
31.	S	**I've got** ( )

Example 33 is the 74th Conversational Round from S8. The mother was very tired so she wanted to sit on the couch on which S8 was lying. While the mother made her strong request in Chinese in both Turn 1 and Turn 3, the child refused twice in English.

No matter how the parent responds, the child simply sticks to English. It was found, in fact, that this kind of 'emotional code-switching' is not unusual with all the subjects. It often happens when the children are emotionally disrupted and, therefore, are losing guard of their language choice. The most common word, either used to form a turn by itself or mixed into Chinese structure, is the word 'No'. (This is one type of 'function replacement', which is discussed in detail later in this chapter. 7)

It might be interesting to see that whether children's code choice after CEM is distributed fairly evenly, compared with the other two patterns. The highest percentage goes to English (38.7%) but the biggest gap exists between CEME and CEMC, at less than 10% (38.7%: 29%).

Children's performance after CEE is significantly different. Although the actual number of the cases is smaller (n=21), its distribution varies greatly. Children's use of Chinese remains more or less at the same level of around 30%, but there is a sharp decrease in the use of code-mixing and a sharp rise in the use of English. The gap between the two patterns CEEM and CEEE soars to 52.4%. Examples include:

Example 34: S2 - (82)

583.	F	A？Huajuaner chile jige?
		'Ah? How many spring rolls have you had?'
584.	S2	**Three quarters, probably**.
585.	F	**Just three quarters**?
586.	S2	En, wo bu zhidao，fanzheng wo chile sankuai zheme dade。
		'En, I know, I've had three pieces of this size anyway.'

Example 35: S5 - (22)

174.	M.	Aiai, Zhege fang zheer, zhe shiyao xiede, ganma ya！Aiya！
		'Hei, put this one here, you need to write this, What are you doing! Hei!'
175.	S7.	( ) **do you know why**?
176.	M.	**Why**?
177.	S7.	**Could you write it here**?

Example 36: S8 - (111)

237	F	Na shi shenme ya?
		'What is that?'
238	S8	**It starts with "F".**
239	F	**"F" a, starts, something starts with "F", en, Fireball**!
240	S8	**No! You can't make**---

Example 34 is a CEEC pattern from S2 during a typical mealtime conversation. After the father's English response in Turn 3, the child switches back to Chinese anyway. Examples 35 and 36 are both CEEE patterns although the topics concerned are different. Example 35 is from S7 in a study-related situation where the child employs English in Turn 2. The mother, who initiates this Conversational Round in Chinese, switches to English to respond to her son's English turn, and the Conversational Round ends with another English turn from the child.

Example 36 is part of an everyday conversation from family 8. Here the Conversational Round is started by the father in a Chinese turn but is followed by an English turn from his son. Since the context involves a puzzle game in English the father goes on using English with his child. The child finishes the Round with another English turn.

The CEEE pattern reveals two related points. First, the parents in this study seem open-minded with regard to their children's use of English at home; second, the parents themselves are quite ready to employ their own bilingual resources. This is strongly supported by the complete lack of evidence of any showing of negative feedback or discouragement from the parents.

The results from Table 4.6 seem to suggest that children's language choice at Turn 4 varies depending on their parents' language use. While the parents' use of Chinese in the third turn does not have much effect in making the children speak more Chinese, their use of English does lead to a significant rise in the children's use of English.

6.3.4 Children's language choice at Turn 4 (3) - MM

The following two sections concern children's language choice when parents start the Conversational Rounds by using code-mixing in Turn 1.

Table 6.4 summarizes children's language choice in Turn 4 after pattern MM. For the pattern MMC, the majority of children's responses in Turn 4 is in Chinese (59.2%) and about one quarter of it is in code-mixing. By contrast, their use of English is only about 14.8%. When it comes to MMM, the use of Chinese reduces by about 10% to 48.8% and the children's use of code-mixing and English both increase to 31.7% and 19.5%, respectively. With pattern MME, the children's use of Chinese continues to drop from 48.8% in MMM to 16.7% and the use of code-mixing is halved to about 16.7%. As with the situation in CE, however, the children's use of English dramatically climbs to 66.6%. This is about 47.1% higher than that of MMM and 51.8% higher than MMC.

Table 6.4   Children's language choice after MM+

Pattern	Children's language choice (n=8)						Total
	Chinese		**M**		**English**		
MMC	32	59.2%	14	25.9%	8	14.8%	**54**
MMM	20	48.8%	13	31.7%	8	19.5%	**41**
MME	1	16.7%	1	16.7%	4	66.6%	**6**
Total	**53**	**52.5%**	**28**	**27.7%**	**20**	**19.8%**	**101**
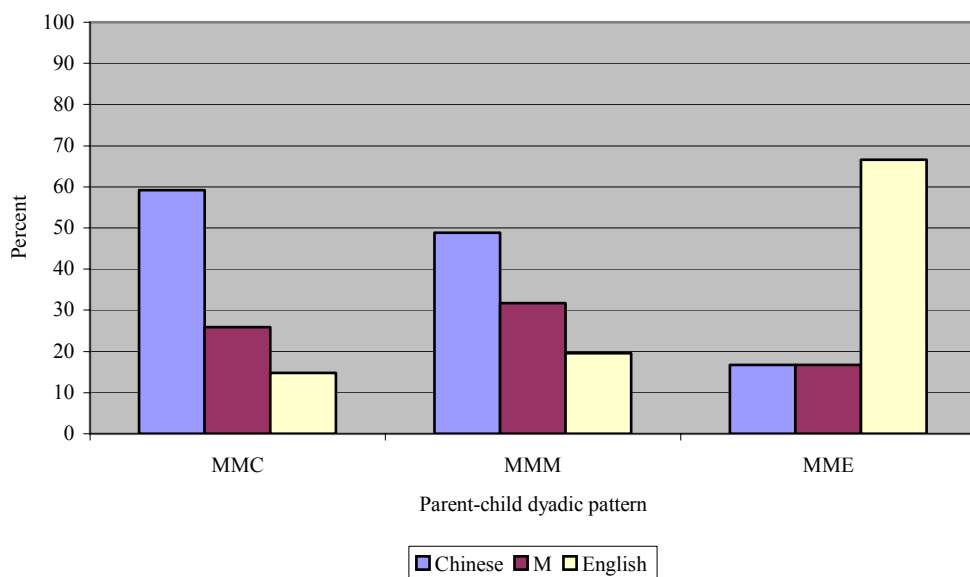
Figure 6.4   Children's language choice after MM

This would suggest that when the parents start a Conversational Round with a code-mixing and are followed by a code-mixed turn by the children in Turn 2, the influence of the parental language choice in Turn 3 upon the children's language choice in Turn 4 is similar to that after CE. This is supported by the fact that the distribution of children's language choice is rather close after the pattern MMC and MMM. Whether the parents use Chinese or code-mixing after MM, the majority of the children's response would be in Chinese. The use of code-mixing and English is both low and with comparatively small gaps between them: 25.9%: 31.7 for the use of code-mixing and 14.8%: 19.5% for the use of English. This sharply contrasts with pattern MME where the use of both Chinese and code-mixing reduces to 16.7%, but the use of English sharply rises to 66.7%. Examples are shown in the following:

Example 37: S1 - (52)

914	F:	Zhe shi ge **drama** ma!
		'This is a drama!'
915	S:	Bu shi **drama,** yi ge dian ying.
		'Not drama, a movie.'
916	F:	Zhe shi ge dian ying.
		'This is a movie.'
917	S:	Dui. Zhe shi, jiu shi mei nian you yi ci liang ci de.
		'Yes. This is, just once or twice a year.'

Example 38: S3 - (45)

209.	M	En, shi zheyang de。 Hai, Ni jiaota de shihou, ni haishi nian **chapter book**, na nushi gen nage **reading time** yiyang le?
		'En, it's like this. Hei, when you're teaching him, you still use chapter book, then isn't it the same as reading time?'
210.	S3	Bushi。 Naxieren zai **do work**.
		'No. Those people are ….'
211.	M	**Do** shenme **work**?
		'… shenme ….'
212.	S3	**You know, language**.

Example 39: S3 - (25)

21.	M	He, nimen xianzai yong **chapter book** le!
		'Wow, you're now using chapter book!'
22.	S3	En。 Bixu yao **read chapter book**. Zai **library borrowed** de。

> **Eleven o'clock we went to** ( )
> 'En, must read chapter book. Borrowed from library.'
23.   M   **Went to the library**?
24.   S3   **Yeah**.

In Example 37, the father and the daughter both make a code-mixed turn, inserting the same English item into the Chinese structure. But when the father starts using Chinese in Turn 3, the child also switches to Chinese in the final turn. Example 38 shows another situation where when the mother keeps on using code-mixing, S3 makes one step further to respond with an English turn. In Example 39 where S3 and his mother are talking about S3's study at school, the mother's initial code-mixed turn is followed by a code-mixed turn from the child. When the mother responds in English in Turn 3, the child replies in English as well.

6.3.5   Children's language choice at Turn 4 (4): ME

Table 6.5 shows that, after pattern ME, there are 71 turns among which 26 (36.6%) are MEC, and 29 (40.8%) are in code-mixed form, with 16 (22.5%) in MEE. For pattern MEC, 30.8% of the children's responses in Turn 4 are in Chinese. Code-mixing is thus the least preferred choice with a percentage of about 15.4% out of the total of 26 MEC cases. The use of English climbs to about 53.8%.

Table 6.5   Children's language choice after ME+

Pattern	Children's language choice (n=8)						Total
	Chinese		M		English		
MEC	8	30.8%	4	15.4%	14	53.8%	**26**
MEM	5	17.2%	6	20.7%	18	62.1%	**29**
MEE	1	6.3%	1	6.3%	14	87.5%	**16**
Total	**14**	**19.7%**	**11**	**15.5%**	**46**	**64.8%**	**71**

In the second pattern, MEM, the use of Chinese reduces to about 17.2% but the use of code-mixing slightly increases to 20.7%. At the same time, the use of English goes up to about 62.1% or about two-thirds of the total MEM. With regard to the 16 MEE turns, there is only one response in Chinese and one response in code-mixed form.   In sharp

contrast, the use of English enjoys the sharpest increase, rising to 87.5%.
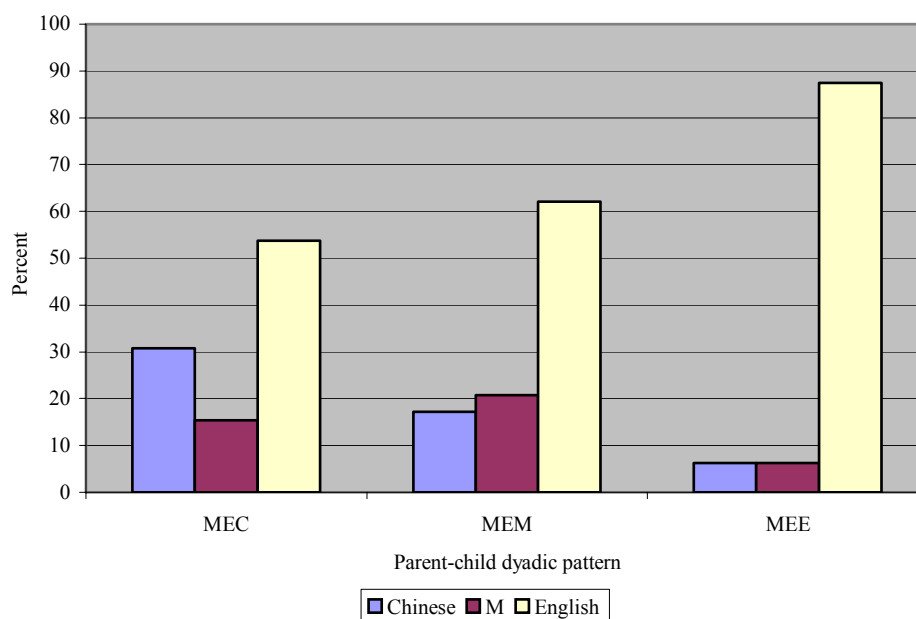
Figure 6.5   Children's language choice after ME

Across the three post-ME patterns, the most striking feature is that the children's responses in English at Turn 4 are all well over 50%. This implies that when the parents initiate a round with code-mixing and are being followed by an English turn from their children in Turn 2, no matter what choice the parents use in Turn 3 in their responses to the children's code-switching, more than 50% of the children's turns are made in English for Turn 4.

Careful examination suggests that there is an 'upgrading phenomenon' in some children's language choice, i.e. they tend to use code-mixing to respond to their parents' Chinese turns but use English turns to respond to code-mixed turns. Perhaps the most comfortable pattern for the children is to respond to English in English. These two patterns are illustrated in the following:

Example 40: S3 - (51)

363.   M   Haiyou yinian nijiu du **intermediate school** le。Jiushi, jiushi。
                  'One more year you'll go to intermediate school. Yes, yes.'

364.	S4	**Two more years**.
365.	M	Dui a, **one more year**.
		'Right, ...'
366.	S4	**Two more**.

Example 41 – S2 (66)

543.	F	The best. It's the best. Your mum is the best. ( ) It's the best.
		Your mum is the best. Shibushi?
		'… Isn't it?'
544.	S2	I heard the other one. ( ) worst among the worst.
545.	F	( ) It's the best among the best.
546.	S2	It's the worst among the worst.

Example 40 is a typical MEME pattern in which the mother uses two code-mixed turns in both Turn 363 and 365 but the child responds with two English turns in Turn 364 and 366. This MEME pattern is actually quite common with some subjects. In this pattern, the parents and their children each choose to use their favourite code for their own turns. Neither of the two sides cares about what language the other side is using nor do they accommodate to each other.

In example 41, S2 was having an argument with her father. The Round is started by the father with a code-mixed turn. When the child responds in English in the second turn, the father simply continues the argument in English. The Conversational Round then finishes off with the third English turn by the child.

This shows that, as the children's English is becoming stronger and stronger and their Chinese weaker, they feel more confident and comfortable in using English, especially in relation to the domains of school and study. However, common sense tells them that their parents are more comfortable with Mandarin Chinese. Their parents may have problems in their English though they often know and use words the children may not understand. But if their parents start using English in the first place the children appear to be more than happy to go along with it since that is their stronger language. This explains why the parents' code-mixing could increase the children's rate of English and why parental English turns often stimulate English response from their children.

6.4 Key language choice pattern across subjects

In a multilingual environment, the choice of using one language/dialect over the other is complicated. Often, there are many explicit and/or implicit factors involved in deciding to whom to speak what language and where and when to use it. Due to individual differences, sometimes the same factor may cause different results in different individuals and many different factors may well be working on the same subject. Therefore, after describing the general language choice patterns of the subjects in section 6.2 and 6.3, this section moves on to deal with individual subjects in detail. In particular, we aim to identify, among the 36 (12 x 3) possible language choice patterns, the most common language choice patterns practised in each family.

6.4.1 Subject 1 (S1)

Table 6.6 lists S1's total language choice patterns in 127 Conversational Rounds (based on five recordings) . It shows that the most common language choice pattern is CMCC (n= 43). This pattern accounts for about 33.9% of the total of 127 samples. The second favorite pattern is CMCM (n=29) and the third is CMMC (n=16). Their percentages are 22.8% and 12.6% respectively. The two patterns together amount to 88, or 69.3% of the total.

Table 6.6   S1's total language choice pattern

Pattern		Children's language choice						Total	
		Chinese		M		English			
CM	CMC	43		29		2		74	
	CMM	16		7		0		23	
	CME	0		0		0		0	
CE	CEC	4		1		2		7	
	CEM	1		2		0		3	
	CEE	1		1		0		2	
ME	MEC	0		1		0		1	
	MEM	0		0		0		0	
	MEE	0		0		0		0	
MM	MMC	7		5		0		12	
	MMM	4		1		0		5	
	MME	0		0		0		0	
Total		76	59.8%	47	37%	4	3.1%	127	

Patterns which are less favoured by S1 and his parents include CMMM and MMCC (n=7), MMCM (n=5). In addition, there are also some patterns that are not practised at all, i.e. CME+, MEM+, MEE, and MEE+. A typical example for S1's favorite pattern CMCC is Example 42:

Example 42: S1 - (11)

85.	M	Zi jiushi qingdu, ni buyao shuo //lì zì//.
		'Zi is neutral here, don't pronounce as //lì zì//.'
86.	S1	Wo de **sharpen** ta la。
		'I've got to sharpen it.'
87.	M	Wo geini nage changed bine?
		'Where is the one I gave you?'
88.	S1	Nage？
		'Which one?'

This is Conversational Round 11 taken from the third recording of S1 where the mother is trying to give some corrective feedback on the tone of certain Chinese characters. Although S1 replies with a code-mixing in Turn 86, his mother keeps on using Chinese in Turn 87 and so does the child in Turn 88.

6.4.2   Subject 2 (S2)

Table 6.7 presents all the language choices made by S2 in 98 Conversational Rounds. The most frequent pattern for S2 is CECE, followed by CECC and CMCC. The pattern CECE occurred 22 times, equalling 22.4% of the total. Patterns CECC (n=14) and CMCC (n=12) each account for 14.3% and 12.2% of the total of 98. The fact that S2's top three patterns only add up to 48.9% means that S2's language choice pattern is distributed more widely than that of S1's, as S1's top three patterns amount to 69.3%. The following is an example for pattern CECE.

Example 43: S2 - (27)

500.	F	Shenme？
		'What?'
501.	S2	**Nothing. ( ) Have a change. Thank you, Barbie**. ( )
502.	F	Na bu genghao ma!

'Isn't it better?'

503.   S2   **Yeah! What (   ) have to (   )?**

Here the father initiates this Conversational Round and in Turn 500 the father asks a question in Chinese but is replied to in an English turn from the child. Unlike S1, when the father continues to use Chinese in Turn 502, the child also sticks to her language choice in the last turn of this round.

Table 6.7   S2's total language choice pattern

Pattern		Children's language choice						Total
		Chinese		**M**		**English**		
CM	CMC	12		5		3		20
	CMM	4		1		1		6
	CME	0		0		0		0
CE	CEC	14		2		22		38
	CEM	2		2		4		8
	CEE	2		1		1		4
ME	MEC	0		3		6		9
	MEM	1		0		3		4
	MEE	0		1		2		3
MM	MMC	3		0		0		3
	MMM	1		0		1		2
	MME	0		0		1		1
Total		39	39.8%	15	15.3%	44	44.9%	98

In this kind of typical mealtime conversation, it is quite common to see that the parents are using their language and the children theirs. In other words, this pattern forms a "You speak your language and I speak mine" situation and it appeared to be rather widely practised in some families although not necessarily as the most frequently occurring pattern.   Such conversation often runs smoothly without any interruption from the parents with regard to language choice, indicating that code-switching in these families is well accepted. To a certain extent, the parental response towards the child's code-switching reflects, consciously or unconsciously, flexible parental attitudes towards the use of English and code-switching in the home situation. This flexible attitude, in return, encourages the child's continual, and often greater,   use of English

with her parents.

6.4.3 Subject 3 (S3)

From Table 6.8 it is evident that, like S2, S3's preferred language pattern is also CECE accounting for 19 occurrences, or 21.3% of the total. Patterns MECC (n=6) and MEME (n=6) follow next, both amounting to 6.7%. Again (as with S2), the three most frequent patterns indicate relatively more dispersion of response patterns, together accounting for only 34.7% of the total 89 cases.

Table 6.8   S3's total language choice pattern

Pattern		Children's language choice				Total	
		Chinese	**M**	**English**			
CM	CMC	3	1	3		7	
	CMM	3	2	3		8	
	CME	0	1	1		2	
CE	CEC	5	3	11		19	
	CEM	2	0	4		6	
	CEE	0	0	5		5	
ME	MEC	5	0	6		11	
	MEM	2	2	6		10	
	MEE	1	0	4		5	
MM	MMC	4	0	5		9	
	MMM	3	0	2		5	
	MME	0	0	2		2	
Total		28	31.5%	9	10.1%	52	58.4%	89

An example of the CECE pattern is shown below:

Example 44: S3 - (12)

130.	M	En? ((Pause)) Ni chengtian kan guanggao, shibushi? NIhai meyou geiwo jiangwan ne! Ni xihuan nayige bufen?
		'En? ((Pause)) You watch ads all day, don't you? You haven't finish telling me! Which one do you like?'
131.	S3	**I like this, thing, cool**.
132.	M	Na shi ( )
		'That is ( )'
133.	S3	**No. It's a rabbit**.

In this example, the topic is not about study but television programs. Although the mother uses Chinese in both of her turns, the child replies with two English turns. It is noteworthy that S3 uses everyday English in the two English turns. From observation it is certain that S3 could express those ideas in Chinese but he chose not to.

6.4.4 Subject 4 (S4)

From Table 6.9 it is clear that S4's language choice patterns are more concentrated. This can be supported by the fact that her CMCC pattern (that is CMC + Chinese), the most favored one, accounts for 30.9%. The most frequent patterns, CMCC and CMCM (18.2%) account for almost half (n=27; 49.1%) of the total number. A further example of the CMCC (CMC + Chinese) pattern is as follows:

Table 6.9   S4's total language choice pattern

Pattern		Children's language choice						Total	
		Chinese		M		English			
CM	CMC	17		10		1		28	
	CMM	3		2		2		7	
	CME	0		1		0		1	
CE	CEC	1		0		3		4	
	CEM	0		1		0		1	
	CEE	1		0		0		1	
ME	MEC	2		0		0		2	
	MEM	0		1		1		2	
	MEE	0		0		1		1	
MM	MMC	3		0		1		4	
	MMM	3		1		0		4	
	MME	0		0		0		0	
Total		30	54.5%	16	29.1%	9	16.4%	55	

Example 45: S4 - (5)

323.	F:	= ( ) Shenme yanse? Baide?
		'What colour? White?'
324.	S4	((Pause)) Haiyou **Pizza**。 Mogu, jiushiyong **potato zuochengde** Hei, hei。
		'((Pause)) Still got Pizza. Mushroom, just made of potato. Heihei.'
325.	F:	Haochi ma?
		'Does it taste good?'

326   S4   Haochi。
                'Yes.'

This exchange happens during mealtime casual chatting. The father utters a Chinese turn first asking about the color of one particular food. After a short pause, the subject answers her father's question by inserting two English words "Pizza" and "potato" into a Chinese structure. The father carries on the conversation with another question, but S4 switches from code-mixing to Chinese.

6.4.5   Subject 5 (S5)

From Table 6.10 it is evident hat S5's language choice patterns are similar to that of S1 and S4 in several ways. First, they all favor pattern CMCC most; second, their language choice patterns are relatively concentrated, with the addition of S5's top three patterns (CMCC, MEEE, and MEME) accounting for 51.6% of the total responses.

Table 6.10   S5's total language choice pattern

Pattern		Children's language choice					Total
		Chinese		M		English	
CM	CMC	9		2		1	12
	CMM	1		0		0	1
	CME	0		0		0	0
CE	CEC	2		0		1	3
	CEM	1		0		1	2
	CEE	1		0		1	2
ME	MEC	0		0		0	0
	MEM	0		0		3	3
	MEE	0		0		4	4
MM	MMC	1		0		0	1
	MMM	2		1		0	3
	MME	0		0		0	0
Total		17	54.8%	3	9.7%	11	35.5%	31

One example of MEEE is the following:

Example 46: S5 - (13)
    146.   M.   S5, zhe jiushi **naughty**。Zhe jiuxiang nage gou yiyan, xiang

naughty le。Haohao xie, wo gei ni ( )
'S5, this is naughty. It's like that dog, wants to be naughty. Write well, I'll give you ( )'

147.	S5.	**Too hard. I want to paint**.
148.	M.	**No. You still have to do some math. First, and then you can paint**.
149.	S5.	**No**.

This is a school-related situation in which the mother starts the Conversational Round by a code-mixing. When the child tries to make some argument in English, the mother responds in English. In the last turn of this interaction, the child simply uses one English word "no". This is the word used most often as a single-word turn by all the subjects.

6.4.6 Subject (S6)

From Table 6.11 it can be seen that the pattern CMCC, again, is S6's favorite choice. It has 17 occurrences throughout S6's tapes. The second and third choices go to CMCM, which has 14 occurrences, and CECE, which has 7 instances, all three most frequent choices amounting to 38 (45.8%) out of the total of 83 cases.

Table 6.11   S6's total language choice pattern

Pattern		Children's language choice			Total
		Chinese	M	English	
CM	CMC	17	14	3	34
	CMM	9	3	1	13
	CME	0	0	1	1
CE	CEC	5	3	7	15
	CEM	1	1	0	2
	CEE	0	0	1	1
ME	MEC	0	1	1	2
	MEM	1	2	0	3
	MEE	0	0	1	1
MM	MMC	4	2	1	7
	MMM	2	2	0	4
	MME	0	0	0	0
Total		39	28	16	83

The pattern CMCM is illustrated in the following:

Example 47: S6 - (71)

582.	M	Naxie dahaizi。 xxx didi ne? Neng lianqilai ma? 'Those big children. xxx What about younger brother? Can it be linked?'
583.	S6	Ta huade texiao。 Nage **circle** zheme xiao。 'His is very small. The circle is this small.'
584.	M	Shi a? 'Really?'
585.	S6	**Circle** yeyou dade, **about this big**。 Danshi women laoshi rang nong zheme dade。 'There are big circles, … . But our teacher requires this big.'

This is a normal conversation in which the mother talks about S6's school activities. The mother starts this round by asking a question in Chinese. When the child replies by mixing an English word "circle" into a Chinese structure, the mother carries on the conversation with a confirmation question in Chinese. The child finishes the round with another code-mixed turn.

6.4.7 Subject 7 (S7)

Table 6.12 lists all the language choice patterns occurring in family 7. As has been explained in section 3.3.1, there were only two tapes complying fully with the requirement for the data analysis, but general features still stand out from the twenty Conversational Rounds extracted. For the fifth time, CMCC is practised as the most common language choice pattern. CMMM, CEEE, and MMCC are equally practised with 2 occurrences for each. Another feature that should be noted is the fact that some patterns are not used at all, for instance: CME+, MEM+, MEE+, and MME+.   One example for S7's CMCC is:

Example 48: S7 - (10)

473.	F.	Dui。 'Yes.'
474.	S7.	Wo ziji xiang du yixia **paper**。 'I want to read paper.'
475.	F.	Zhewanle jiu duba。 'Do it when you finish folding.'
476.	S7.	Ranhou wo buxiang ni ting。 'Then I don't want you to hear it.'

Table 6.12   S7's total language choice pattern

Pattern		Children's language choice						Total
		Chinese		M		English		
CM	CMC	4		1		0		5
	CMM	1		2		0		3
	CME	0		0		0		0
CE	CEC	1		1		1		3
	CEM	1		1		0		2
	CEE	0		0		2		2
ME	MEC	0		0		1		1
	MEM	0		0		0		0
	MEE	0		0		0		0
MM	MMC	2		1		0		3
	MMM	1		1		0		2
	MME	0		0		0		0
Total		10	47.6%	7	33.3%	4	19.1%	21

This is a weekend conversation between S7 and her father who is not recorded much throughout the data. The father is quite consistent in his use of Chinese, so that when S7 tries one code-mixed turn in Turn 474 and is responded to in Chinese by her father, S7 switches back to Chinese in Turn 476.

In terms of English language ability, S7's parents are among the best in this targeted group. They are one of the three couples who had university degrees majoring in English before they came to New Zealand. These three couples, additionally, all had local tertiary education experiences as well as local work experiences in an English-speaking environment. However, as with family 5, the patterns involving the parents' use of English in the third turn of a Conversational Round, all have lower or even zero occurrences, suggesting that these parents are more guarded when responding to their children's code-switching.

6.4.8   Subject 8 (S8)

Subject 8 is the youngest and from Table 6.13 it is clear that the most favored pattern in his family is CMCC (n=27). CMCM and CMMC are the second   (n=19)   and   third

(n=14). The three patterns combine to form about 38% of the total 158 samples. The distribution of other patterns is fairly even. In Example 41 shown below, after the two parental turns, the child uses two code-mixed turns.

Example 49: S8 – (30)

369.	F	Jiao dou hui bei cai duan, hen ying de pixie。
		'Even feet could be broken, very hard leather shoes.'
370.	L	Na hen ying hen ying de **sports** ne?
		'Then what about very very hard sports (shoes)?'
371.	F	( ) Yinwei zhe jiao hen ruan, ( )。
		'( ) Because our feet are soft, ( ).'
372.	L	Danshi, danshi, danshi you xie da gege wan **rugby**。
		'But, but, but, there are some big boys playing rugby.'

S8's parents in this example share much in common with those of S7. Although they both have a stronger English background, their response to the child's code-switching tends to concentrate on CMC+, CMM, CEC+, MMC+ and MMM. This would seem to reflect flexible parental attitudes towards the mixed use of the two languages even in home situations.

Table 6.13:   S8's total language choice pattern

Pattern		Children's language choice			Total
		Chinese	Code-switching	English	
CM	CMC	27	19	5	51
	CMM	14	11	2	27
	CME	2	3	2	7
CE	CEC	6	4	8	18
	CEM	1	3	3	7
	CEE	1	0	3	4
ME	MEC	1	0	0	1
	MEM	1	0	5	6
	MEE	0	1	2	3
MM	MMC	8	6	1	15
	MMM	4	7	5	16
	MME	1	1	1	3
Total		66	55	37	158

6.5　Summary

● This chapter examined how the parents respond to the children's code-switching in Turn 3 and the possible effect of this upon their children's subsequent language choice in Turn 4. It was found that although both of the parents' use of Chinese and code-mixing declined slightly, their use of English increased noticeably on average from 3.3% after CM to about 13.2% after CE, suggesting generally that children's language choice could impose an effect on the language choice of their parents.

● After the patterns MM and ME, the parents' use of Chinese continued to drop but their use of code-mixing increased to about 40% for both situations. It is worth noting that after the pattern ME, the parents' use of Chinese dropped to the lowest level, but their use of English reached the highest point (22.5%), again, suggesting the effect of the children's language choice upon their parents.

● The parents tended to be quite tolerant towards their children's mixed use of Chinese and English, as reflected in the fact that one-third of their responses to the children's code-switched turns were also made in mixed form. This mirrored the parental attitudes towards their children's mixed use of Chinese and English in family situations. English was not highly favoured on the average but the parents did use about 22% English turns, when responding children's English turns. This could be interpreted as a reciprocal influence between the children and the parents, indicating the changing language pattern among the parents.

● The children's language choice in Turn 4 displayed some important patterns with regard to the effect of the parental response upon the children's language choice in the Conversational Rounds. An English response from the parents was directly related to the children's use of English, as supported by the rapidly increased use of English by the children in patterns CMEE (36.4%), CEEE (61.9%), MMEE (66.6%), and MEEE (87.5%).　This　result indicated that parental use of English

easily triggers children's use of English.

- In general, the pattern CMCC was clearly revealed as the most common pattern for all families (6 out of 8), suggesting that these parents were able to keep on using their ethnic language when responding to their children's CS and their children usually switched back to their ethnic language. However, the pattern CECE appeared to be the second most favourite pattern for the children, implying that the children had strong tendency to keep on using English with their parents even when their parents stick to their ethnic language. Different families did have different favourite patterns, which depended mainly on the parents' level English proficiency. Other relevant factors also include parental attitudes towards the maintenance of the ethnic language under discussion.

Chapter 7 Children's code-switching: reasons and functions

7.1 Introduction

After detailed description of the language choice in the targeted families, this chapter focuses on when and why the subjects code-switch. Specifically, the aim is to identify the content themes relating to the children's code-switching from Mandarin Chinese to English in their daily conversation with their parents. Additionally, the communicative functions of the children's code-switching are also investigated. The results demonstrate that certain functions are disappearing from the children's Mandarin Chinese leading presumably to their eventual non-use, although we cannot say that they have lost those functions at this stage.

7.2 Conversational themes in relation to children's code-switching

There are several content themes identified as closely related to the children's code-switching. The four most important or frequent ones include the following: school and study, emotion, language and culture, and polite and praising words. The general results are presented in Table 7.1 and each is discussed separately below.

Table 7.1 Themes relating to code-switching

Subject	Factors								Total
	SS		AE		LC		PP		
1	58		6		11		1		76
2	9		16		7		8		40
3	40		4		0		3		47
4	18		2		2		1		23
5	9		5		0		1		15
6	15		0		6		0		21
7	0		2		0		1		3
8	5		5		5		7		22
Total	154	62.3%	40	16.2%	31	12.6%	22	8.9%	247

(Key: SS=study and school; AE=affective & emphatic; LC: language & culture; PP=polite and praising words.)

7.2.1 Code-switching relating to school and study (SS)

Code-switching relating to school and study (SS) includes switches associated with the mentioning of any activities concerned with subject learning or with things that happened in school. This proved to be the most important factor affecting the children's code-switching as it had the largest number of occurrences (n=154) among the four main themes identified and was the most frequently occurring type of code-switching for five of the eight subjects (S1, S3, S4, S5, and S6).

Differences also emerged between the two age groups. First, occurrences identified with the older group were three times that of the younger group. Second, while the effect of the four themes on group 2 was more concentrated, this effect on group 1 was spread wider. Thus, although the ranking of the four themes are the same in terms of percentage considerable variability exists across subjects, with code-switching relating to school and study accounting for 67.2% of the total for group 1 and for 47.5% for group 2.

As with other family topics, conversation about school and study was often started by the parents in Chinese, but as the conversations proceeds the children were often found to switch from Chinese to English for a particular activity or to express special terms for certain subjects. This is shown in the following examples:

Example 50: S1 - (19)

312.	M	**Exclamation**. Nage ne？Jiushi nage /apostre/。Bushi。
		"… What about that one? The one … no."
313.	S1	**Apostrophe**。
314.	M	**Apostrophe** shi nage?
		"… which one is it?"
315.	S1	Shi zhege。**Speech mark** you sanzhong，yige jiao **question mark**.
		"It's this one. There are three types of speech marks, one is …."

Example 51: S4 - (19)

283.	M	Ao。
		"Oh."
284.	S4	( ) Women shi jiao **Wheel's Day**.
		"We call it …."
285.	M	Shi ma！
		"Really!"
286.	S4	Yinwei naxie dongxi douyou nege lunzi dema。
		"Because those things all got wheels."

The code-switch in example 50 involves some special terms used in a certain subject while the code-switch in example 51 is about a particular event in local school. Given the English language level of the parents, it is not surprising to see the children mixing large number of English terms into Chinese as English is the only medium for school study. Some of the technical terms are new even to the parents, so that code-switching naturally functions as gap-fillers in these cases.

However, it is interesting to note that the children also code-switch when there are simple established equivalents in Chinese, as is shown in the following examples:

Example 52: S3 – (33)

86.	M	**Math** zuo shenme le？
		"What did you do for math?"
87.	S3	**Math** jiushi zuo timu le！
		"Only do some exercises for math!"
88.	M	Shenme yang de timu？
		"What type of exercise?"
89.	S3	**Sheets**.

Example 53: S4 - (3)

187.	F	Na jiushi le ma! Ni zhang liangsui ta ye zhang liangsui。
		"Then it's right! You are two years older and so is he."
188.	S4	Na ta yinggai，yinggai jiu zai nage，**Intermediate**。
		"Then he should, should be in the Intermediate."
189.	M	**Intermediate**。
190.	S4	Nage **Intermediate**。
		"The …."

Example 54: S1 - (69)

119.	F	Wei shenmo ne?
		"But why?"
120.	S1	Shuo taiduo **student** la!
		"It's said there are too many students now!"
121.	F	Taiduo, **student** taiduo la!
		"Too many, too many students?"
122.	S1	Dui. Ta shuo shiyou jiubai, you babaige dao jiubai ge xuesheng. Ta shuo shi **far more than** nage **than usual** ( ) jiushi shuo **Intermediate Normal** shi sanbai dao wubai.
		"Yes. he said there are nine hundred, there are eight hundred students. He said it's … the, … ( ) it means … is from three hundred to five hundred."

In examples 52, 53, and 54, only the term "sheets" could be a gap-filler, as the Chinese equivalent "dānyè liànxí" may be new to the child. All other code-switched items have simple equivalents in everyday Chinese that should certainly be in the children's repertoire. Nevertheless, they still code-switch, and so do the parents. Why might this be the case? This may partly be due to the nature or depth of the conversation recorded. When a conversation about school and study starts with older children, there is a higher possibility of encountering more technical terms and concepts which they can only explain/express in English. This, however, may not be the case for the younger group, even though the topic remains the same. Since the younger children in this group are all year 1 or year 2 students there is far less chance of encountering difficult terms and concepts which have to be explained in English. Taking their language background into consideration, it should not, for example, be a problem for the younger children to understand and express the ideas of, say, multiplication and subtraction; mathematical terms such as "power", "square", and "factor", however, would normally come in the late primary or intermediate levels.

School and study was found to be clearly the most common topic for parent-child dyadic conversation. It is also a convenient way for the parents to keep track of the child's learning at school. Overseas Chinese as well as some other Asian ethnic groups

are known for the value they place on the education of their children. As degree- or higher degree-holders, all the parents have a comparatively strong background in certain subjects. It is not surprising, therefore, to find the parents giving special attention to mathematics and English, the two universally most important subjects. Mathematics is possibly their most capable area in this respect. In this kind of study-related conversation, the focus is always on the meaning rather than on the form so that the parents are less mindful of the language they are using, than of the message they wish to get across.

7.2.2 Code-switching relating to affective and emotional factors (AE)

Human beings are emotional animals. Various emotions are expressed by different means of which language is a major one. As one natural outlet of one's stronger feelings, emphatic and affective expressions would come more easily in one's more dominant language or dialect. Younger immigrant bilinguals may find it hard to express their strong emotions in their ethnic language simply because they do not and cannot have enough linguistic input of this kind from their parents - the major and often only input source of their ethnic language. The young Chinese immigrants who have been spending much more time in more emotional interaction with their English-speaking peers, would find it easier and more at their disposal to express certain emotions in English. Such peer language expressions, learnt from their peers, would be more accurate and have greater occurrence.

Taking all this into consideration, it is not surprising to find that this second most influential factor in children's code-switching is closely related to children's code-switching from Chinese to English, particularly when they are making exclamations and expressing strong feelings. This affective/emotional code-switching can occur either with Chinese or English. Typical words used include: "hurray", my god", "oh dear", "oh no" and "oh shit". This is shown in the following examples:

Example 55: S2 - (38)

56.	F	Dui ya !
		"Right!"
57.	S2	Ta genwo yiqi zaijia。Women jiu nong yige **big mess**, jiuxiang kai **party** yiyang。
		"She stay at home with me. We'll make a big mess, just like holding a party."
58.	F	Ranhou =
		"And then?"
59.	S2	= **No adults. Only kids. Hurray**!

Example 56: S1 - (25)

55.	F	Guolai bangwo yixia.
		"Come to give me a hand."
56.	S	**Oh, shit**, deng yi xia. **Oh, shit**. Da xiang you ge piaoliang de, piaoliang de
		"… wait a moment. … The elephant has a beautiful, beautiful"
57.	F	Q,
58.	S	Shen mo?
		"What?"

In example 55, S2's exclamation "Hurray" is made in an English turn when the family is talking about a party. Where the father uses all Chinese in both of his turns, S2 replies first with a mixed turn and then alternates completely to English in turn 59 with an exclamation. Similarly, in example 56, when S1 makes some mistakes in reading Chinese text, he swears twice in English in an otherwise Chinese turn.

7.2.3 Code-switching relating to language and culture

Migrant minority languages, unlike aboriginal minority languages in a number of English-speaking countries, are mostly home languages with less governmental support for use for public purposes. Many ubiquitous New Zealand proper names, such as McDonald, KFC, Foodtown, Warehouse, Pizza (Hut), Queen Street, and Skycity, easily slip into everyday community language usage. Even with names that have established translations in Mandarin Chinese, like "Màidānglǎo" (for McDonald) and "Bǐsàbǐng/Bìshèngkè" (for Pizza), those translations are seldom used in such families,

either by the parents or the children. In addition, children sometimes switch to English to express some ideas which may otherwise be impolite in Chinese. Both of these linguistic and cultural phenomena are shown in the following examples:

Example 57: S1 - (39)

338.	F	Dui ma?
		"Is it?"
339.	S	Dui. Ta men, nimen meiqukan, buyao gen wo **argue**.
		"Yes. They, you didn't go there, don't argue with me."
340.	M	Meiyou. Women kande qingqingchuchu.
		"No. We saw it thoroughly."
341.	S	Na er ya ! ( )
		"It's impossible."

Example 58: S8 - (57)

117.	F	Wo.
		"Me."
118.	S8	Lai baohu. Ranhou zheshi **fence**, ni buneng guolai. Ni buneng guoqu. Huozhe ni dalan nage **fence**, nijiu keyi guolai le.
		"To protect. And then this is the fence, you cannot come over. You cannot go over there. If you break that fence, you can cross over."
119.	F	Zhege shi shenme ya? ( )
		"What is this?"
120.	S8	Zhege, dengdao qifei dao **space** limian, zhege jiu puuu!
		"This, when set off (and reaches) the space, this will puuu!"

Example 57 is part of an argument. When S1 is trying to assert his viewpoint forcibly, he uses an English word "argue" without any hesitation. In Chinese, the normal word would be "zhēng" or "jiàng" in this case. These words are not employed by the child either because he has not acquired them or he is not sure whether they are appropriate for this occasion. The English word "argue" serves him well here in that it sounds serious and strong enough without offending his parents. This example shows that S1, the most competent user of both Chinese and English among the eight subjects, is also a culturally sensitive language user. This is similar to what is referred to by D. Li as "overt-code-switching"; and he regards it as "one major concern of the bilingual … (namely) that using the functional equivalent of a guest language expression in a host

language may result in unwanted semantic loss or gain". (2001: 20).

Compared with S1's strategic choice of "argue", S8's use of "fence" in example 58 seems due to its lexical absence in L1. When playing a game with his father, S8 uses the English word "fence" twice to refer to one part of the game. This may not be surprising if we know that the idea of having a fence around residential houses even in medium-sized cities in China is becoming rare so that words like "fence", "deck", and "townhouse" which bear strong local New Zealand cultural connotations are frequently used by both parent s and children in family conversations.

7.2.4　Code-switching relating to politeness and praise (PP)

Different languages have different traditions to express politeness or praising. In traditional Chinese families, where the parents are regarded as having clear authority, politeness among family members is often recognized and realized in action rather than in words like in English. This is possibly one of the main reasons for this factor being the least influential. For younger immigrants who have lived in an English-speaking environment for years, English ways of expressing politeness and praising start creeping into the home situation where Mandarin Chinese is supposed to be the main medium for daily communication. These English expressions are used either alone or in an English turn to make a request, to apologize, or to show politeness. This is shown in the following examples:

Example 59: S2 - (78)

380.	F	Mafan。 Chifan na toufa dou jindao fanlibianle。
		"Trouble. Your hair is falling into your rice."
381.	S2	**More water please. More water please**.
382.	M	Bie **water** le，ni zai lai dian'er tangyuan ba。 ”
		"Don't (say) water, come and have some sweet dumplings."
383.	S2	**No**.

Example 60: S1 - (13)

| 108. | M | Wo kan hao yi diandian。 Danshi wo jianyi ni buyao yong zhezhi bi。 Tai xi。 |

		"I think it is a bit better. But I suggest you did not use this pen. It writes too thin."
109.	S1	**Please**!
110.	M	Bushi。Nimen laoshi ye bu xihuande。Tai xi。
		"No. Your teacher won't like it. Too thin."
111.	S1	Na，jiu zai ( ) xie。
		"Then, just write on ( )."

Example 61: S8 - (134)

257.	F	En, keyile, buchi le。Zuihou yikou。Dou meiyou fan le. Chiduole kesou, zhidao ma?
		"En, it's OK, that's enough. The last mouthful. There isn't any rice at all. You'll cough if you have too much, know that?"
258.	S8	**Paper, please, daddy**!
259.	F	En. ( )
		"En."
260.	S8	**Pardon me**.

In example 59, S2 is requesting some more water. When her father declines her request and suggests that she have some sweet dumpling instead, S2 refuses with a "no". In example 60, when S1's mother suggests that S1 not use the type of pen, S1 uses the English word "please" to insist on his request. In example 61, S8 uses a polite word "please" with a request in turn 258 and he also apologizes in English in turn 260. A Chinese equivalent for "please" in this situation would be "Qiúqiú ně le". The children may not have the opportunity to fully acquire the meaning as well as function of this type of expression as Chinese parents would not have to use this type of expressions in a typical everyday situation.

7.3 Communicative functions of children's code-switching

7.3.1   Introduction

In addition to thematic-affective effects on code-switching, the children were found to use code-switching for realizing different communicative functions. The results of such functional aspects of children's code-switching are presented in Table 7.2, according to their frequencies. Overall, 163 cases fall into the following four main categories: negation and affirmation (NA), the most frequently used function, accounting for 80.4%

(n=131) of the total; quotation (QU), the second frequent function, which accounts for 9.8% (n=16); addressing people (AD) ranking third with 11 (6.7%) cases; and greeting and farewell (GF) with only 5 occurrences (3.1%).

Table 7.2   Functions of code-switching

Subject	Function								Total
	NA		QU		AD		GF		
1	6		6		0		1		13
2	56		0		0		0		56
3	15		1		0		0		16
4	10		1		2		1		13
Group 1	87	87.9%	8	8%	2	2%	2	2%	99
5	7		0		0		0		7
6	14		6		2		1		23
7	3		0		2		2		7
8	20		2		5		0		27
Group 2	44	68.8%	8	12.5%	9	14.1%	3	4.7%	64
Total	**131**	**80.4%**	**16**	**9.8%**	**11**	**6.7%**	**5**	**3.1%**	**163**

(Key: NA=negation and affirmation; AD=addressing; QU=quotation; GF=greeting & farewell.)

From Table 7.2 certain differences between the older (Group 1) and younger (Group 2) children are evident. Group 1 has more occurrences (n=99) than Group 2 (n=64), and the older children's functions of code-switching are even more concentrated than the thematic influences displayed in Table 7.1. The cases NA alone account for 88% of the total occurrences and for 69% in Group 2.

In addition, the younger children's functions used in code-switching seem to be distributed more widely. This is reflected in the percentages of the top three functions of the two age groups: the percentages of the top three categories for the younger group (68.8: 14.1: 12.5) is much narrower in range than that of the older group (87.9: 8: 2). Third, the top three choices are also different for the two age groups. While the older subjects prefer NA, QU, and AD as their first three favourites, their younger counterparts use NA, AD and QU as their most frequent functions. These functions are examined below in order of their overall frequency.

7.3.2 Code-switching relating to negation and affirmation (NA)

Negation and affirmation (NA), an essential discourse function in everyday communication, is, independent of relative age, clearly the most frequently used function identified, indicating a strong tendency to switch to English to enact NA. After code-switching triggered by these negation words, either English or Chinese could be used. This is exemplified in the following:

Example 62: S5 - (21)

144.	M.	Zhe jiushi **math** a！ Zhe shi nide **math book**.
		"This is your math! This is your math book."
145.	S5.	**No. I want to do** ( )
146.	M.	**This is your handwriting book**.
147.	S5.	**I wan to do a sentence book**.

Example 63: S6 - (45)

549.	F	Ni dai niaobu ma?
		"Will you bring nappies?"
550.	S6	**Yes**.
551.	F	Shei gei ni huan niaobu a?
		"Who will change nappies for you?"
552.	S6	**No**. Ni gei wo huan biaobu。
		"… You will change nappies for me."

In example 62, after a mixed parental turn, S5 negates what his mother is saying with a "no", and then finishes his turn with English. In example 63 where the father and S6 are doing an imaginary game, S6 answers her father's question with an English affirmative word "yes" in turn 550. For her father's second question, S6 first gives a short negative answer which is then supplemented with a full answer in Chinese. As a common communicative function, negation and affirmation is the major one that has been found to be replaced with our subjects. This is further explored in section 7.4 below.

7.3.3 Code-switching relating to quotation (QU)

Compared with other functions of code-switching, code-switching for the purpose of quotation seems to have much to do with the quality and content of the message quoted.

When we quote someone, we tend to be concerned more about the content of the things to be quoted and the communicative effect upon the audience. To try to exactly represent the original message, the original language, in which the message is first conveyed, is often used.

The children were found to use code-switching when they are making direct quotations, though the cases are limited in our database. When the children wanted to quote from other sources, it seemed that they often quoted directly in the original language. S1 was also found translating part of the content into Chinese. When subjects switched to English, however, the direct quotation was often introduced by a Chinese structure "Ta shuo" ("he said"), as is shown in the following examples:

Example 64: S1 - (1)

5.	M	Yao xian zuo zuoye, shi ba？
		"Must do homework first, right?"
6.	S1	En。Ranhou，bushi laoshi (　)，ta shuo，ta shuo，ta yong ta dewen zhege xingqide nage (　)。Ranhou ta youshuo (　) Zhege xingqide **homework** (　)，ranhoune, ranhou ta shuo "**Oh**, hao **I'll do it again**"。Houlai ta you gei wo。
		"Yeah. And then, no, the teacher ( ), he said, he said, he uses he has to make sure that the week ( ). And then he said ( ) this week's homework ( ), and then, and then he said 'Oh, OK …'. Later he gave me."
7.	M	En。
		"En."
8.	S1	Ta shuo，ta shuo，ta shuo，**People don't like, don't want to get home this week**, **please join us**. ( )
		"He said, he said, he said, … ( )"

Example 65: S6 - (53)

136.	M	Ni gen ta shuo shat a mei tingdong?
		"What did you say that he did not understand?"
137.	S6	xxx shushu dai hade pengyou，tamen budong **English**，nage xiao, nage xiaohai ye buneng。Nage xiaohai jiushi zhidao **yes, no**，haiyou **go**，haiyou **grass**，haiyou **tree**, haiyou **footpath**, haiyou **eat it**, **nose**, **eye** dou buzhidao。
		"Uncle xxx and his friends, they don't understand English, and the child didn't either. The child knows only yes, no, and go, and

		grass, and tree, and footpath, and eat it, nose, and he does not even know eye."
138.	M	Na, nage, ni gen nashushu shuo sha？
		"Then, the, what did you say to the uncle?"
139.	S6	Ta jiu zhidao **hello**, **bye-bye**，**hello**, **bye-bye**，haiyou **yes**，**no**。Jiu meile。
		"He only knows hello, bye-bye, hello, bye-bye, and yes, no. And that's all."

Example 66: S8 - (64)

228.	F	Jiu shi.
		"Of course."
229.	S8	Ranhou ta shuo **the white one win**.
		"And then it says …."
230.	F	**The white one won**.
231.	S8	Dui, ran hou ta shuo **the black lose**.
		"Right, and then it says …."

In turn 6 of example 64, S1 is trying to tell his parents the requirements for the homework. The teacher's words are first reported in Chinese in indirect speech. But then S1 switches to English to report the latter part of his quotation in direct quotation. Note that in turn 8, the main content of the quotation is introduced by the Chinese pattern "Ta shuo" (=he said) after S1 repeats it three times. In turns 137 and 139 of example 65, S6 quotes a few English expressions said by someone and these expressions are connected by Chinese connectives "haiyou" (= on top of that). In turn 229 and 231 of example 66, S8 is directly quoting from the computer after he played a chess game on the Internet. S8 also uses the same Chinese pattern to introduce the direct quotation.

7.3.4   Code-switching relating to addressing people (AD)

The ways of addressing people in Chinese sometimes are different from that of English. While it is common in English to address one's family members and relatives by their first name, it is regarded as impolite or even rude to do this in Chinese, especially with people older than the addresser. In Chinese culture, family and relatives are important depending on factors such as age and gender.   Accordingly,   Chinese has developed a

complicated address system to represent those relationships. Each relative needs to be addressed appropriately by using the appropriate name title that describes this relationship. For example, there are different address forms for different uncles and aunts depending on whether s/he is from the maternal side or fraternal side or whether s/he is older or younger than one's mother or father.

For young English-Chinese bilinguals, then, the two culturally different ways of addressing people leave traces in their everyday language. These traces become obvious when the two languages are used together. In this study, some children were found to code-switch when they addressed people, so that a child's language choice was indicated by the way they addressed their addressee. For example:

Example 67: S1 - (108)

641.	F	En.
		"En."
642.	S1	Ni zhidao henduoren, henduo ren **signature** dou zheyang. Ni kan xiang **Mr. Francis**. **In signature** ta jiuzheyang. Jiu zheyang.
		"You know many people's signature are like this. Look, Like … it is just like this."
643.	F	Zhe shi shenme ya?
		"Just like what?"
644.	S1	Zhe jiushi
		"This is."

Example 68: S8 - (70)

534.	F	Hao ba!
		"All right."
535.	S8	Ranhou jiu buyong hua ta le, jiu geng **easy.** ((Pause)) Na yige bai dezhi. **I can't see it very well, daddy. Come here**. ((Pause))
		"And then you don't have to draw it, easy. That one is straight…"
536.	F	Buyong ba ( ) jiu zheyang hua jiu keyi ( ).
		"Don't have to ( ) just draw it like this ( )."
537.	S8	Modedao ma?
		"Can you feel it?"

In example 67, S1 is talking about signatures with his father. When mentioning one

person's name, S1 uses Mr xxx instead of "xxx xiansheng" (Mr.) when the base language is Mandarin Chinese. In example 68, there are three turns in Chinese and one in mixed form. In the only mixed turn in this Conversational Round, S8 alternates from Chinese to English where he addresses his father by using "daddy" instead of "baba" (dad). This is frequently the case where children are found addressing their parents differently depending on the language used at the time of talking. For example, S8 was found using "dad/daddy" four times when speaking English but used "baba" thirteen times when speaking Mandarin Chinese. The word "baba" was never mixed with English, neither was "dad/daddy with Chinese. This result seemed to suggest that some children tend to choose to address their parents depending on the language they are using or want to use. In other words, their way of addressing their parents could be an indicator of their subsequent language choice.

7.3.5 Code-switching relating to greeting and farewell (GF)

Greeting and farewell are another important speech act of daily life. It was found that the children in this study often greeted people in English, except in the case of complete strangers whose English level was not clear, when English was always their first choice for greeting. There are not many such occurrences in our database, given the fact that most of the tapes were recorded when there was not much possibility of visitors coming and going. The following examples nevertheless show this particular feature:

Example 69: S1 - (24)

22.	M	Shi, xxx, ( )
		"Yes,"
23.	S1	xxx, wo jintian zuole, wo zuole, nage **review**. Xianzai wo kaishi zuo **angles** he **geometery** la.
		"I did today, the review. Now I start doing angles and geometry."
24.	F	Xing. Mingtian women women mingtian zai jiezhe zuo, ranhou ( )
		"OK. Tomorrow we, tomorrow we'll continue, then ( )"
25.	S1	((To the recorder)) **Hello!**

Example 70: S6 - (64)

| 423. | M | Ni weishenme zheme meilimao ne? |

		"Why are you so impolite?"
424.	S6	Wo shuo **bye-bye** le。 "I said bye-bye."
425.	M	Na yeye rangni shuo xiexie, ni weishenme bushuo? Pazai dishang yidongbudong, en? Xiaci zheyang haide fani zhan, zhidao leba? Meiyou limao de ren meiyou ren xihuan, zhidaole ba? "Then why, when grandpa told you to say thanks, you didn't but lie on the ground, en? Do this again, you will stand there as your punishment. Understand? No one likes rude people, understand?"
426.	S6	xxx lai le。 "xxx is coming."

Example 69 is interesting in that in the middle of a conversation about his school work, S1 turns to the recording machine and says "Hello" to it in English. While it is not clear whether he is greeting the machine or the researcher symbolized by the machine, it at least shows how S1 greets someone with whom he is not quite familiar with. At this stage, this subject had met the researcher a few times and he knew that the researcher was a Chinese-English bilingual. Similarly, in example 70, when the mother is getting anxious about her child's manners, the little girl uses a direct quotation to tell her mother that she did say "bye-bye" when their friends were leaving.

7.3.6 Code-switching relating to message qualification (MQ)

In addition to the four main categories of functions discussed above, there were two minor functions (involving only one or two occurrences), identified in the following. Bilingual speakers sometimes introduce a topic in one language and switch to another to make comments or give further explanation. This was evident from the following example:

Example 71: S8 - (37)

454.	F	Bushi a! Tamen zai ganma ne? "They are not! What are they doing?"
455.	S8	Tamen zai **hide from the bears**. "They're hiding from the bears."
456.	F	Shenme ya? "What?"
457.	S8	Tamen zai cangqilai. "They are trying to hide away."

In example 71, S8, when being asked a question by his father, uses a code-switch to explain what the people in the book are doing. S8 first introduced the subject "tamen" (they), and then he switches to English for further explanation of the topic.

7.3.7   Code-switching relating to reiteration (RE)

Bilingual children are found to repeat what they have said in another language for further explanation or emphasis (See section 2.5 for detail). There were, however, only two examples in our database:

Example 72: S6 - (8)

186.	F	Keyi。
		"All right."
187.	S6	Na wo keyi nongge **joke** ma?
		"Can I make a joke?"
188.	F	Keyi。
		"Sure."
189.	S6	**Joke. Why the banana on the tree**? ((Pause)) Wei shenme xiangjiao, wei shenme xiangjiao zhudao shushangle?
		"… why the banana, why the banana (lives) on the tree?"

Example 73: S6 - (73)

659.	M	O，Na you shenme ke gaode？
		"Eh, how does that make it a big fuss?"
660.	S6	Danshi **baby-house** tebie **mean**，ni zhidao me？
		"But, baby-house, is especially mean, you know?"
661.	M	Shima？
		"Really?"
662.	S6	**Baby-house** shi zhi yige renlitou doushi meiyou gutou, doushi fangzi name ying，zhiyou **paint** zai ni lianshang。haiyou ( )。
		"Baby-house means there is no bone in a body, as hard as a house, there is only paint on your face. And ( )."

In example 72, S6 is telling a "joke" to her father. She does this twice, first in English and then she repeats it in Chinese. In example 73, S6 is telling off one of her classmate who had been "mean" to her.   When doing this, S6 explains the English expression "baby-house" in Chinese in order to show how "mean" her classmate was to her.

7.4 Replacement of language function

In a bilingual society, the existing languages /dialects often play different roles for different communicative functions depending on the context in which they are used. The relationship between those languages/dialects is not stable. Rather, it is always a dynamic balance, with each competing for more uses all the time. When the territory, i.e. the places where it is normally practised, of one language/dialect are gradually taken over by the other, then language shift/death happens. In a minority immigrant situation, language shift does not happen overnight but it is happening slowly all the time. This is why the typical language shift of an ethnic minority language often takes a few generations. This section deals with the identification of what functions of an ethnic minority language have been or are being taken over by the dominant language in the immigrant situation of New Zealand in our sample.

7.4.1 Language function replacement in the recordings

One type of language function found to have been replaced from time to time was related to negative/affirmative responses. As has been defined in Chapter 3, one Conversational Round is composed of 4 Conversational Turns, two from the parents and two from their child. For 662 Conversational Rounds, there are thus altogether 1324 turns from the eight children.

Table 7.3 lists the first type of function replacement and its occurrences in the 662 Conversational Rounds. From the table we can see that the negation word "no" has been used by the children 76 times and 4 times by the parents (repetition in the same turn has been excluded). The affirmation word "yes" has been used 17 times by the children to express the idea of affirmation, with no parent contribution.

From Table 5.2, Chapter 5, we know that there were 490 instances of children's code-switching after parental Chinese turns including CM and CE; this represented 74% of the children's total CS. Children's code-switching after parental code-switched turns

thus accounted for only 26% (n=172), i.e. the patterns MM and ME. This means that the word "no" was used by the children in 74% of total negations when the parents are using Chinese. Negation was used by the children in 26% of total negation when the parents were code-switching. This strongly suggests that the children were used to expressing negation in English even when their parents are speaking Chinese to them.

Table 7.3   Function replacement of negation and affirmation

Subject	Negation and Affirmation			
	Negation: No*		Affirmation: Yes /Ok	
S1	No: 4		Yes: 2;	OK: 2
S2	No: 31		Yes: 4;	OK: 14
S3	No: 10		Yes: 2:	OK: 3
S4	No: 9;	M**: 1	Yes: 0;	OK: 0
S5	No: 6;	M: 2	Yes: 1;	OK: 0
S6	No: 8;	M: 1	Yes: 5;	OK: 0
S7	No: 1		Yes: 0;	OK: 0
S8	No: 7		Yes: 3;	OK: 8
Total	No: 76;	M: 4	Yes: 17;	OK: 27

No*= This also includes the related forms like "nay' and "nope"

M**=mother

The degree of replacement, however, varies from subject to subject. S2, for example, has the highest frequency (n=31) in using the English word "no" to express negation. S3 has the second highest rate with 10 cases. This is closely followed by S4 (n=9), S6 (n=8), S8 (n=7), and S5 (n=6). S1 and S7 have comparatively lower frequencies with only 4 and 1 occurrences respectively. Note that the word "no" can stand alone to form a turn by itself or mix with other words from either language. For example:

Example 74: S4 - (23)

47.	M	Deng ni yihou zhangda qu nali dushu ma?
		"Do you want to study there when you are older?"
48.	S4	**No**.
49.	M	Wei shenme？
		"Why?"
50.	S4	**I like that only for holiday**.

Example 75: S6 - (15)

226.	F	Ao, yao xilian, wo xiang xilian。
		"Oh, must must wash face, I want to wash face."
227.	S6	**No. Banana didn't wash your face**.
228.	F	En, wei sha?
		"En, why?"
229.	S6	Yinwei **funny**.
		"Because it's funny."

Example 76: S1 - (127)

148.	M	Na nimen ( )
		"Then you ( )"
149.	S1	**No**, zhen de. Shi zhe yang de,
		"…, I'am sure. It's really like this."
150.	M	( ) Zai ba nage Cai Lun nage( )
		"( ) And then you should ( )."
151.	S1	( ) Cai Lun, ( ) wo buxiang du.
		"( ) Cai Lun, ( ) I don't want to read."

Example 74 is from S4 when the family is talking about a trip S4 has made to Australia. When she is asked whether she would go there for future education, the child replied with an English negation word "no". She continues to use English in turn 50 to answer a question about her reasons. In example 75, however, the English negation word "no" is used together with some other English words to form a turn. The subject is trying to make a joke or puzzle for her father when she negates the father's first try in Turn 227. In example 76, the word "no" is mixed with some Chinese words when S1 is negating what his mother has said in the previous turn.

There are some cases in which both of the two children's turns in a Conversational Round are made up of nothing but only the English negation word. In example 77 below, S2 uses the word "no" twice as her responses to her father's two questions in Turn 118 and 120. With this kind of simple question for everyday purposes, it is not feasible to say that the subject does not know to respond in Chinese.

Example 77: S2 - (43)

| 118. | F | S2, zhe shengxia de mifan dou liugei ni le a? |

"S2, the rice left is all for you?"

119.	S2	**No**.
120.	F	Ni kankan, ( ) hoaxing shi wo rangni bieyale, bieyale。
		"Look ( ) sounds like I do not allow you to press."
121.	S2	**No**.

Affirmation and agreement was also found to be frequently expressed in English by the children when talking to their parents. This is shown in the right column of Table 7.3 which lists the function replacement for affirmation and agreement expressed by the most commonly used words "yes" and "OK". Altogether, there were 46 occurrences identified in the 662 Conversational Rounds; of these about 34 cases happened after parental Chinese turns and 12 after parental code-switched turns. As in the replacement of negation, the function of affirmation/agreement here is realized by using some English words. For example:

Example 78: S2 - (32)

594.	F	Ni yige?
		"Only you?"
595.	S2	**Yes**.
596.	F	Yige ren?
597.	S2	**Yes**.

Example 79: S8 - (155)

552.	M	**Just draw a door. You don't have to** ( ). **Door** zenme huishi zheyang? Xiang sanjiao xing ne?
		"… Door How come doors are like this? Like a triangle?"
553.	S8	**Supposed to be**.
554.	M	Na nijiu zai shangmian xie yige dongxi. ( ) Daxie.
		"Then you can write something on it. ( ) capital."
555.	S8	**OK**.

In the short encounter in example 78, when the father asks his daughter about whom she would like to visit China with, S2 replies, twice, with only one English affirmative word "yes". The word "OK" in example 79 is used in a similar sense. In this example, the mother is helping S8 with his homework. The mother first starts with English but swit-

ches to Chinese from the middle of her turn. S8 responds in English in turn 553. In the last turn of this Conversational Round, S8 expressed his agreement with an "OK".

7.4.2 Function replacement of polite and praising words

Due to cultural reasons, polite and praising words are less practised among Chinese family members in everyday situations. As a minority community language in an environment where English is the main language medium, it is not surprising to find those younger Chinese immigrants picking up the English traditions to express their politeness and praise.

Table 7.4   Function replacement of polite words among the children

Subject	Polite words	
	Please	Thanks
S1	2	0
S2	2	4
S3	0	0
S4	1	0
S5	1	0
S6	0	0
S7	0	0
S8	3	1
Total	**9**	**5**

Table 7.4 above tallies all the uses of two typical polite words "please" and "thanks" in our primary data. In the 662 Conversational Rounds, there are 9 uses of "please" and 5 uses of "thanks", or related forms like "thank you". Two examples are given below:

Example 80: S4 - (11)

28.	F	Yaoburan jiu jifenzhong。
		"A few minutes then."
29.	S4	**No**.
30.	F	Yaobu jiu guanshang。
		"Or turn it off."
31.	S4	**Please**.

Example 81: S2 - (57)

406.	M	Chi dianr xifan ba。
		"Have some porridge."
407.	S2	( ) **cheers. Thanks**.
408.	F	Shenme？
		"What?"
409.	S2	**Nothing**.

In example 80, when the father is trying to limit the time so that S4 will not watch too much television, S4 refuses her father's suggestion but she uses an English word "please" to insist on her request when her father does not agree. Similarly, S2 in turn 407 of example 81 refuses her father's suggestion in English to have more porridge as well.

This type of function replacement is also happening to some of the parents. Further examination of the transcripts reveals that, for example, S5's mother is found to have used "good boy" fifteen times to encourage and praise her son.

Field observation during family visits suggests that the function replacement extends well beyond the recordings. It is much deeper and wider. This matter will be picked up again in the next chapter in comparison with the results gained from the questionnaire.

7.5 Summary

● This chapter has first examined the content themes or topics and functions in relation to the children's code-switching. It has been found that the children's code-switching is related to four main themes: 'school and study' was clearly the most frequent factor found related to children's code-switching probably because it was the most common topic for the families' conversations relating to the parents' hidden agenda for this kind of family talk, namely, to check their children's study and provide help if necessary. The nature of such conversation ensured that meaning rather than form was more important, which in turn would make code-switching unavoidable when encountering technical terms and concepts.

- The affective or emotional factor is found to be the second important cause in children's code-switching due mainly to the lack of semantic input. Although Mandarin Chinese was their first language before they came to New Zealand. Over time their English is developing rapidly while their Mandarin Chinese deteriorates, thereby limiting the input of Chinese in certain areas. The children's use of English to express strong emotions would thus represent an index of language dominance.

- In addition to input, language and culture were other factors found related to children's code-switching. Code-switching was facilitated by the existing words or concepts for which a ready equivalent term in the other language did not exist or the children have not acquired ("gap-filling"). Likewise, cultural tradition – such as those related to politeness and praise – influenced CS by steering language choice towards the language /culture where linguistic expression of the relevant attitudes was more overt or natural.

- In general, the children were found to code-switch for a variety of communicative functions and this seemed related to function replacement as an early sign of language shift, when everyday communicative functions of the minority language are taken over by the majority language.

Chapter 8   Parental attitudes and language use

8.1   Introduction

Research question 5: *What are the parental attitudes towards language and language maintenance?* This chapter reports on the results of a questionnaire (see Appendix 4) designed both to gain general information from the targeted families and also to investigate parental language attitudes. Its purpose was to triangulate the data obtained from the recording by comparing what parents say they will do and what they really do in order to shed possible light on younger immigrants' language shift and language maintenance.

As was mentioned in chapter 3, the questionnaire was used with the parents one year after the completion of the recordings in order to minimize the possible effects upon the parents caused by the September 11th events in the U.S.A. and a major change in New Zealand immigration law.   Since then, no significant contextual change in the families studied occurred, allowing us to assume that the general language patterns of both of the children and parents remained the same with regard to the maintenance of the ethnic language.

The questionnaire consisted of three sections: background information, parental reports on children's daily language behaviours, and parental attitudes towards language maintenance. As the background information about the eight families has already been summarized at the beginning of Chapter 3, this chapter focuses on the latter two sections of the questionnaire.

8.2   Language use

The following discussion reports on the parents' responses to questions concerned with the use of both L1 and L2 in the family setting. (The actual questions posed are given as the heading for each sub-section.)

8.2.1 What is the most frequently used language between spouses?

With reference to home language use, both parents from six families reported that they always used Mandarin Chinese to each other and there were two families where the parents used their regional dialects with each other. This generally matches with the results from the recordings, although at least one couple was found to use Mandarin occasionally with each other when they reported using a dialect.

8.2.2 What is the most frequently language used between parents and children?

When the parents were asked what language they used with their children, all the parents reported using Mandarin most of the time. However, one parent admitted that she sometimes switched from Chinese to English when talking to her child and another parent was reported by his spouse as using his dialect when he got angry. A closer look at the relevant transcript actually revealed that both parents used their dialect when they were chiding the child.

Table 8.1   Reported parental language use with their children

	Most frequently used language		
	Mandarin	English	Other
Parents	16	0	0

It needs to be noted that whilst the parents said their Mandarin Chinese was their most frequently used language with their children, the recordings showed that they actually used an average of 10% of English and 14% of code-switching. Their actual use of Chinese with their children was only around 75.6%. Even if S3's parents, who were the only ones admitting using English sometimes, are excluded, the proportion of Chinese use was about 80.8%, indicating that 20%, or one in five, of the parental turns were either in English or code-switched form.

It is interesting to note that the majority of the parents report using Mandarin with their spouses. Nine of the 16 parents were brought up speaking regional dialects (as shown in

Table 8.2), and the dialect would probably have been used at least before they went to university. There would be a number of reasons, such as university education away from one's home town, job relocation, and the increasing importance of Mandarin Chinese as a result of governmental promotion, that have contributed to the change to Mandarin in their everyday language use. The fact that all of them could manage to use Mandarin Chinese with their children shows the huge influence of an official language upon regional dialects. This could be an indicator that, in an immigrant situation like New Zealand where Chinese immigrants come from diverse regional backgrounds, Mandarin Chinese has the potential to become a *lingua franca* among the local overseas Chinese.

Table 8.2   Parental language use at home

Subjects	Parents	Dialects
1	Father	Mandarin
1	Mother	Sichuan Dialect
2	Father	Sichuan Dialect
2	Mother	Mandarin
3	Father	Hunan Dialect
3	Mother	Hunan Dialect
4	Father	Cantonese
4	Mother	Cantonese
5	Father	Mandarin
5	Mother	Mandarin
6	Father	Mandarin
6	Mother	Mandarin
7	Father	Sichuan
7	Mother	Sichuan Dialect
8	Father	Mandarin
8	Mother	Sichuan Dialect

8.2.3   Are there any rules requiring everyone to speak Chinese at home?

With reference to the children's language use at home, only one parent had a rule requiring family members to speak only Chinese at home; this parent also said that the rule was often followed by the members of the family. The main reason given by   the

parent for having such a rule was simply to have a Chinese environment so the child would not lose the mother tongue.

Table 8.3   Whether there are family rules about family language use

	Yes	No
Number of Parents	1	15

Clearly that the majority of parents seemed quite open-minded with regard to their children's language use at home. For the children, this would signal that any language is acceptable, thus leaving more chances for the children to negotiate their language choice.

8.2.4   Have you ever felt that your child is using too much English with you?

When asked whether they had ever felt that their child was using too much English with them, ten parents replied in the negative; four parents responded "Yes", and two "Sometimes".

Table 8.4   Is the child using too much English with you?

	Yes	No	Sometimes	Uncertain
Number of Parents	4	10	2	0

When they did feel that the child was speaking too much English with them, two parents said they would "Keep on using Chinese". Others reportedly said the following to their children: "Could you speak Chinese with me?", "Could you say this in Chinese?" Unfortunately, only two occasions were identified where S8 was suggested to speak Chinese and he did.

Note that these responses from the parents were given when the children were making about 22%, or slightly more than one in five, of their total conversational turns in English. In addition, there is another 12% of turns in code-switched form. This non-interfering parental policy, though not articulated, could be a signal that encourages the children to use more English.

8.2.5   Have you ever stopped your child using English with you?

While the majority (n=11) of the parents stated that they had never stopped their children speaking English, five parents said that they did stop their children using English and asked them to speak Chinese. When the children were asked to do so, two parents said the children would listen but three parents said the children only obeyed sometimes.

Table 8.5   Stopping the child speaking English

	Yes	Sometimes	No
Number of Parents	2	3	11

Again, we should bear in mind that their children on average were using about 22% English turns when talking to their parents at home.

8.2.6   How frequently do you speak English with your child?

Ten parents reported that they seldom spoke English with their children while five parents admitted that they only sometimes used English with their children. S3's mother chose "Often" for this question and this is in accordance with her language behaviour in the recording. However, S3's father, who was recorded speaking more English than the mother, said he only spoke English sometimes with his son.

Table 8.6   Frequency of speaking English with children

	Always	Often	Sometimes	Seldom	Never
Number of parents	0	1	5	10	0

This contradicts the recording data. When the family members were together, for example, it was the father who often initiated or suggested using English.   From Table 4.1, section 4.2.1, we know that S3's parents were making about 40% of their turns in English and 17% in code-switched form.   However, when we look at the two tapes where the father was involved throughout the whole tape, it appear that the father spoke English with his son to a degree that should be more than 'sometimes'. For example, in

Tape 1 where S3 was playing a card game with his father, 89% percent of the father's turn was in English and 5% in code-switching. In Tape 9 where the whole family was playing a card game, 43.5% of the father's turns were in English and 26.3% in code-switching. An average of more than 80% of either English or code-switching should be more frequent than 'sometimes'. This example may serve as a good example of possible differences between belief and action.

Why, when they are using about 40% English turns with their child, did one of the parents seem to underreport his use of English? One possible explanation is that the parents want to help the child with his English. During data collection, S3's parents had mentioned several times that they were informed by the school that S3 had some difficulties in learning English and the situation really worried the parents. Therefore, they were trying various ways to help their child. On several occasions the mother was recorded checking S3's spelling. Possibly, to speak more English with the child at home is another part of the help package.

For this family, though not articulated directly, it seems that the maintenance of Mandarin Chinese is only secondary. To improve the child's English to a better point is much more important. For all immigrant children, this is a practical dilemma as their school performance in most subjects largely depends on their English ability.

8.2.7 Which of the children's languages is stronger in the four language skills?

Generally, the four language macro-skills of reading, writing, listening and speaking, appeared to be deteriorating, in order of markedness, from reading and writing to speaking and listening. Listening in Chinese was the best-maintained skill as all subjects except 2 and 3 were reported to have stronger listening in Mandarin than in English. Subjects 2 and 3 were stronger in English but subjects 7 and 8 were equally strong in both languages. Also, with subject 1 it was reported that he liked to switch from English to Chinese. These results agreed with the results from the recording in chapter 4.

Table 8.7   Children's stronger language skill*

	Listening	Speaking	Reading	Writing
Chinese	14	6	0	0
English	4	10	16	16

*   Note that when a child is thought to be equally capable in both languages, the parent would tick both languages for that particular skill, thus making the total ticks for listening and speaking exceed 16, total number of the parents from the eight families.

With regard to speaking, subjects 5 and 6 were still stronger in Mandarin as reported by both parents, but subjects 1 and 7 were reported to be so only by one of their parents. All other subjects were stronger in English.

None of the children's parents reported the literacy skills in Mandarin as better than English, clearly indicating that while orality could be maintained to some degree, the maintenance or development of literacy was, without exception, the biggest problem facing the families.

8.2.8   Which language is used by the child in some family situations?

In order to investigate the children's language use with regard to daily communicative function, nine typical family situations were identified and listed to establish function language usage patterns and parents were asked to tick which language that was most probably used by the child in each situation.

Table 8.8 shows that, in general, English was the most frequent choice, with "Mainly English" being ticked 67 times for the nine functions by the sixteen parents, representing nearly half (47%) of total responses. This was followed by "Mainly Mandarin" with 34 ticks (24%) and "Both Equally" with 19 ticks (13%).

Thus English was involved to some degree in some 84% of total situated usage. In fact, only the functions of 'Asking for Favour'   and 'Getting Angry' involved using more

Mandarin than English and of these only the former records a sizeable difference (71% occurrences vs. 53%), suggesting that language choice for the former function involved a strategy of ingratiation based on a perception of parental preferences.

Table 8.8   Language use and situation

Situations / Functions	Category				
	Always Mandarin	**Mainly Mandarin**	**Both Equally**	**Mainly English**	**Always English**
Asking for favor	2	9	1	4	0
Expressing thanks	1	3	1	10	1
Apology	1	1	2	9	3
Joke	1	3	4	7	1
Self-talking	2	2	3	6	3
Getting Angry	1	7	1	5	2
Greeting	1	4	2	9	0
Farewell	0	2	0	13	1
School & study	1	3	5	4	3
Total	**10**	**34**	**19**	**67**	**14**

The nine categories chosen here are typical daily situations. When acquiring one's first language, these may be, along with many others, the first functions people have to master. Considering that all subjects, except S5 who was locally born, were about three years old when they first came to New Zealand, it could well be assumed that they must have the competence to fulfil all those functions in Mandarin Chinese. Even for S7, who was only two and half years old when she came, and S5, who was born in New Zealand, these functions should be acquired much earlier in Mandarin Chinese than in English because his main caretakers were his grandparents who could hardly speak any English resulting Mandarin Chinese as the main home language used with him.

Thus, it appears that after two to three years residence, English is functionally dominant for these children, further indicating, together with results from chapter 7, the rapid "invasion" of English into the language domain which used to belong to the community language.

8.2.9 How frequently does the child play with other Chinese children of similar background?

All but one family met other families of similar background, regularly and frequently (most often once a week, see Table 8.9 below.). Observation revealed that Mandarin Chinese was always the code used by the adults for these informal regular gatherings, regardless of language backgrounds. For the children, however, English, based on observation and tape transcripts, appeared to be the absolutely dominant language; Mandarin Chinese was rarely used. One possible exception was if they were playing with someone who had recently from China and could not speak English; then the children would, interestingly, choose to use Mandarin Chinese with their new friend.

Table 8.9   Frequency of socializing with other Chinese of similar background

	Daily	Weekly	Monthly	Tri-monthly	Seldom
Number of Parents	2	11	1	0	2

8.2.10   How often is your child exposed to non-parental input in Chinese?

This question was intended to determine parental estimates of how much Chinese input the children received from sources other than personal interactions with their parents. Results showed that watching Chinese TV/video was the main activity they engaged in, in this respect. But even with this single input source, the frequency did not appear to be significant for language maintenance, ranging in frequency for two of the 8 subjects, from once a day (n=4), to once a week (n=4), to once per month (n= 4). There were two exceptions with regard to other media. Subject 8, for example, listened to Chinese radio news every day with his parents and subject 7 read Chinese storybooks once a week.

Table 8.10   Frequency of non-parental input at home

	Daily	Weekly	Monthly	Bimonthly	Seldom
Read Chinese story books	0	3	0	0	13
Listen to Chinese radio	2	1	0	0	13
Watch Chinese TV/video	4	4	4	0	4
Visiting Chinese website	0	0	0	0	16

As Table 8.10 shows, the children's Chinese input, at least from these four sources, is rather limited. From Table 3.1, section 3.2 we know that only S1, S2 and S3 had some basic literacy in Mandarin Chinese before they came to New Zealand but it actually stopped developing since then. Although three subjects were attending a community language class, no one should expect too much from the restricted input of two hours per week. In language learning, adequate comprehensible input in the target language is an essential condition for output so that the limited input in Chinese could partly explain why the subjects' language ability is diminishing since their arrival in New Zealand.

8.2.11 Do you think that your child could express some ideas better in English than in Chinese?

Three quarters of parents (see below Table 8.11) estimated that their child's English was better than his/her Mandarin for certain uses. Among the things, domain examples listed by parents, ideas and activities related to school and study were the most common. Other situations included quarrelling and anger, rage and unhappiness, telling jokes, refusals, and culture- related activities, such as "sleepovers".

Table 8.11   Global parental estimate of children's comparative competency

	Yes	No	Uncertain
Number of parent	12	4	0

These results support the findings in chapter 7 concerning function replacement, in that the children would prefer using English to express things related to school and study. They also tended to switch to English for emphatic and emotional expressions.

8.2.12 Do you think that your child could express some ideas better in Chinese than in English?

When asked whether their child was better at expressing something in Chinese than in English, the reply for his question was relatively evenly split (see Table 8.12). Seven parents chose "Yes" but eight chose "No". "Uncertain" was ticked by one parent.

Table 8.12   Is your child better in Chinese than in English?

	Yes	No	Uncertain
Number of parent	7	8	1

Some typical situations where Chinese competency was better included (literally translated from Chinese): "for everything except for things about school.", "Chinese is used for anger and privacy, otherwise English.", "Things he wants or does not want, likes and dislikes.", "Chinese is always used except for things relating to school", and "When things get complicated, Chinese is not fluent, though OK for everyday purposes".

Some of the parents' responses again reinforce the findings in chapter 7 pertaining to the operation of function replacement. One prominent point shared by a majority of the parents is that English is the most common code mainly for things related to school and study. It is noteworthy that this estimate does not quite agree with Table 8.8 which shows that the children would most probably combine Chinese and English when talking about their school and study and mainly use English for all but two of 9 everyday functions.

It was noticed by the researcher that some parents experienced difficulty in answering this question, especially when asked to give examples suggesting that recall of global, relative language use was a complex task for them.

8.3   Parental attitudes

The purpose of this questionnaire section was, first, to investigate the parents' plans for the immediate   future and their general feelings towards the host country, as these may have some effects upon their everyday language use; the second purpose was to investigate the parental attitudes towards their ethnic language and the maintenance of it.

8.3.1   Do you want to stay in New Zealand for the next five years?

The results showed that twelve parents were planning to stay in New Zealand for at least the next five years whereas three were not certain. Two of these were S8's parents; the third was S1's father. The latter said maybe he would go back to his home country in about two or three years' time. Interestingly, one of S3's parents ticked "No" for this question.

Table 8.13   Whether to stay in New Zealand for the next five years

	Yes	No	Uncertain
Number of parent	12	1	3

Job security seemed to be the main factor influencing people's decisions in this respect. At the time the questionnaire was used, at least one parent from each family had found a permanent job related to their previous qualifications and work experience. However, language and culture could also have an effect. There was one parent who has determined to leave his high salary to go back to China simply because he did not like to work here. This had much to do with his English language ability. He was professionally capable of any job assigned to him but felt extremely frustrated when he could not verbally participate, prove himself and demonstrate his know-how. Cultural isolation from colleagues made his situation worse when he could not find much to say apart from his job and work.

8.3.2   Do you consider New Zealand home?

With regard to whether New Zealand was perceived as 'home', the results were more diversified. Among the sixteen parents, nine chose "Yes", two chose "A little"; there were three who chose "No" and two who chose "Uncertain".

Table 8.14   New Zealand as home

	Yes	A little	No	Uncertain
Number of parent	9	2	3	2

These results seemed to correlate with people's future plans as the majority of parents (n=11) consider New Zealand their home, although two of them did not feel strongly about the question and a further two were not certain. Note that S1's father was one of the two parents who did not regard New Zealand as home at all. When prompted, language and culture were said to be the main reasons for this response generally.

8.3.3 How would you identify yourself?

Although all parents identified themselves as Chinese, with seven parents identifying themselves as "mainly Chinese" and nine parents as "absolutely" Chinese, none of the parents chose the categories "New Zealander" or even "Half and half". This is not surprising considering the fact that the average length of the families' stay in New Zealand was less than three years at the time of data collection. It clearly reflects how they identify themselves as relatively new first generation immigrants.

Table 8.15   Parental perception of identity

	Chinese	Mainly Chinese	Half and half	Manly New Zealander	New Zealander
Number of parent	9	7			

8.3.4 Does an ethnic Chinese have to be able to speak Chinese?

When asked whether a Chinese has to be able to speak Chinese to be a Chinese, fourteen parents chose "Yes" and two chose "No". While this result may be a potential advantage for the maintenance of their ethnic language, it is hard to say how much effect the belief would have in reality.

Table 8.16   Speak Chinese to be a real Chinese

	Yes	No	Uncertain
Number of parent	14	2	0

8.3.5 Is Mandarin Chinese in danger of being lost in New Zealand?

For this question, the majority of parents (n=9) chose "Maybe not" while five parents

were quite confident that their ethnic language would not be lost in New Zealand. However, there was one parent from family 6 who strongly believed that the Chinese language would definitely be lost. Some parents said they did not know what would happen to the Chinese language in the future although they thought it would be retained across the first two generations, as they were using the language every day.

Table 8.17   Danger of losing Chinese in New Zealand

	Definitely	Maybe	Uncertain	Maybe not	Not at all
No. of parents	1	1	0	9	5

Although various reasons were given for their answers, a few main points were mentioned by several of the parents. Some parents thought, for example, that the Chinese language would probably not be lost in New Zealand because China was developing rapidly and the Chinese language would become more and more important as an international language. It would remain the most favoured communication medium among Chinese people, particularly with the increasing number of new immigrants and international students coming from mainland China.   This, in turn, supported the parental belief that to maintain their ethnic language may give them some advantage in future employment. The influx of new immigrants and students also witnessed the rapid, local growth in public media in Chinese, ranging from daily television and radio programs, and dozens of free Chinese newspaper.

It must be noted that many parents expressed uncertainty about the fate of their ethnic language with the second generation although they did not consider it to be a big problem with the first generation.   Typical responses included (translated literally)

"Chinese like to use Chinese for inter-group communication, at least at the moment,   it should be fine with the second generation but not sure after them."

"First and second generations are using it all the time and their parents always use   Chinese with their children."

"There are many Chinese newspapers and radio programs as well; Many contacts with China and more and more Chinese students are coming."
"Sino-New Zealand co-operation is rapidly increasing, more chances to use Chinese, more community school teaching Chinese, parents also encourage their children to use Chinese."

"Its local practical function; Chinese is also an international languages; The parents support the maintenance of Chinese."

"Adults won't; the children are too young when [they] come. They are mainly educated in English. Input of Chinese is limited in speaking and listening. There is no reading and writing. Only English is used in school. There is no environment for Chinese."

"Chinese immigrants have larger percentage, stable community; Chinese is mainly used within the community; its use may be increased."

"Large number of immigrants, Chinese is an advantage for employment."

"There are so many Chinese people and there are so many foreigners learning Chinese; but it is hard to say what will happen to the next generation."

Whilst these parental beliefs sound supportive of the maintenance of their ethnic language, they may be no more than pious hopes without appropriate actions.

8.3.6 How important is Mandarin Chinese to your child?

All parents wanted their child to maintain Chinese generally considered it as important issue (see Table 8.18 below). Ten parents thought Chinese was "very important" to their children, four parents thought it was "extremely important" and two parents thought it was "not very important".

One of S3's parents chose "Not very important", indicating that English was more important than Mandarin Chinese in this family. This also serves as indirect evidence of its exceptionally frequent use of English. Again, inconsistency existed between parents from the same family. For example, while one of S8's parents ticked "Extremely important", the other parent chose "Not very important".

Table 8.18   Language maintenance and its importance

	Extremely important	Very important	Important	Not very important	Not import-ant at all
No. of parents	4	10	0	2	0

Many reasons were given for the maintenance of their ethnic language. Among them, the following three were the most frequently mentioned: first, to be bilingual in English and Chinese was seen as having a big potential advantage for future employment; second, they had to use Chinese to communicate with their relatives in their birth country; and third, Chinese was their mother tongue so their should be able to use it. The following are some typical reasons given by the parents (translated literally from the Chinese):

"Chinese is mother tongue; the future is multilingual, for the child's future."

"As a Chinese the child must be able to speak Chinese."

"To be able to communicate with friends & relatives back in China."

"There are many Chinese people and many chances to be in contact with them."

"To have a deep and comprehensive understanding of the language and culture and can make best use of it."

"Employment advantage; don't worry about too much about tradition our mother tongue. It's enough to be able to speak it."

"Instrumental; Good for their employment; economic benefits"

"Bilingual is an advantage in future career; the world is becoming more multicultural."

"As a Chinese one should be able to speak their own language."

"With the economic development in China, Mandarin Chinese may be used wider."

"Better for their survival here; Good skill for both employment and career."

The local rapidly growing number of Chinese immigrants and Chinese students has

probably resulted in many parents feeling that a higher level of competence in Mandarin Chinese could gain their children some advantage in possible future employment. With regard to communication with relatives back in China, it is apparent that this is much more a parental wish than a motivation deriving from the children. As time goes by and their life and job become more stabilized, ties with their relatives in China is most probably doomed to become weaker and weaker. This is supported by the occasional complaints from parents that their children were becoming more and more reluctant to talk to their grandparents in China over the phone.

From the reasons given by the parents, we can see that the parents are fully aware of the potential advantages of being bilingual so that it is natural that they would want their children to retain such an advantage.

8.3.7 Do you worry that your child may lose his/her Mandarin Chinese?

Slightly less than half of the parents (n=7) did not worry that their children would lose Mandarin. There were four parents who clearly worried and there were only three who worried a little. One of S6's parents felt uncertain about this question and one of S5's parents said that listening and speaking would not be lost but reading and writing would.

Table 8.19   Worry about language shift among their children

	Yes	A little	No	Uncertain
No. of parents	5	3	7	1

Half of the parents, to some degree, did worry about losing their ethnic language with their children. They realized that, one day, their children would lose their language, an important part of their identity. This result, when compared with section 8.3.5 again suggests that for the parents, language maintenance was more of a pious hope than a realistic expectation. This present section is about language losing among the younger immigrants whereas section 8.3.5 is about the fate of the language in general.

8.3.8 With regard to maintaining Mandarin, which of the four language skills is the most important one for your child?

This question asked parents which skill was the most important one for the child. Note that the total choices made were more than 16 as the parents were allowed to choose more than two. Overall, listening and speaking seemed to be more important than reading and writing as the former two were ticked nine times and ten times respectively. Reading and writing, on the other hand, were only ticked six times each.

Table 8.20   The importance of the four language skills

	Listening	Speaking	Reading	Writing
No. of parents	9	10	6	6

In a sense, this result reflects the common sense view in that listening and speaking are the main form of communication for any first language. Reading and writing usually come years later when someone is fully competent in listening and speaking. For many people, listening and speaking serve more purposes in everyday life. Therefore, it is more realistic and practically useful for the children to first maintain the aural and oral ability and leave the other two until a later stage.

8.3.9 Which language skill have you taught your child?

Again, some parents ticked more than one skill. Reading came at the top this time as the most frequently taught skills (n=11; see Table 8.21 below). Writing was the second frequently taught skill by the parents (n=8); listening and speaking were equally ticked six times only. Pragmatically, the parents did not teach or help their children more with the skills which they thought were more important; rather, they spent more time on the less important skills.

Table 8.21   Language skills taught by the parents

	Listening	Speaking	Reading	Writing
No. of parents	6	6	11	7

On the surface, this is contradictory with respect to the last   question   which   showed

listening and speaking were more important than reading and writing. But 'more important' does not mean the children need more help. Many parents, on different occasions, mentioned that reading and writing skills would most likely be lost with the second generation since listening and speaking were more important.

This agreed only partly with the reasons they gave for maintaining the language. Listening and speaking might be enough, for example, for communication with their relatives in China by telephone. As for employment, its importance should vary depending on the specific tasks undertaken in a profession. As for the third reason, it could be done with any or all of the language skills.

8.3.10 How frequently do you teach your child?

All but two parents claimed to regularly and consciously seek to develop their child's Mandarin. Eight parents reported that they taught their children every week; four others did this only once a month. S3's has not received any help from his parents in his respect. There was one parent from family 7 claiming to teach her child every day although this was exaggerated according to our observations. In this particular case, the child had just come back from her ten-month visit to China when the parents were interviewed with this questionnaire. The child's quick improvement in her Chinese, which was the original incentive for sending her back, might have pleased her parents, and therefore encouraged the parents to continuously put more effort into helping the child maintain the language.

Table 8.22   Frequency of parents' teaching

	Daily	Weekly	Monthly	Seldom
No. of parents	2	8	4	2

When prompted with questions like how they taught, the most common answer was 'to provide explanation and corrections when needed'. Nothing definite was mentioned in relation to reading or writing instruction. Some parents appeared to have over-reported

their help with their children's reading and writing because most of them experienced difficulty in providing evidence and example.

8.3.11 Have you ever sent your child to Mandarin classes?

Four children attended local weekend community language schools teaching Mandarin. The parents seemed to be happy with the children's achievements in those schools although a major problem reported by some parents was that the children did not use much Mandarin in their Chinese class with each other.

Table 8.23 Number of children attending Mandarin Chinese class

Yes	No
4	4

8.3.12 With regard to speaking Mandarin Chinese at home, how much can the parents influence the child?

All parents thought the use of L1 in the home was vital for its maintenance. Ten out of sixteen believed that adults were extremely important in helping their children to maintain L1. The following are typical comments made by the parents on the importance of home language use:

"The child would have already forgotten [his Chinese] if the parents haven't been using it; the child's Chinese is becoming worse. His Chinese is not enough when talking about things from English sources."

"The child will not be able to use it if the parents do not use it with them as this the only chance for the language survive."

"Except the Saturday Chinese school, home is the only environment; if the parents do not use it with them, the child's Chinese will not improve; If the parents always stick to it, it might help in their understanding."

"Family is the final and the last place for mother tongue maintenance. Positive attitudes from the parents may nurture a positive attitude in their children."

"[Family] is a decisive factor; There is no way to maintain it if the parents do not use it."

"[Family] is the only chance to expose the child to their mother tongue; The most possible place to use it."

These comments clearly reflect the awareness that, in a situation like New Zealand, the intergenerational transmission of the ethnic language mainly relies on the daily effort of the parents.

Perhaps, however, the fragility of L1 over time, when the children are growing up, is underrated. When these children move from primary school to secondary school, the time the children spend with their parents will dramatically decline, not to mention the Chinese communication input. The effect of minimal Saturday/Sunday school instruction is also doubtful in this respect, as the learning of their mother tongue at this stage is virtually dealing with a new language at least in terms of literacy.

8.4 Summary

● A questionnaire was designed to investigate the general language behaviour of the targeted families and the parental attitudes towards the maintenance of their ethnic language. It was found that three quarters of the parents reported using Mandarin with each other, leaving one quarter of the parents speaking regional dialect with each other. However, Mandarin Chinese was reported as the most frequently used language with the children. This results generally matches the results from the tape-recording (see section 4.2.1), indicating that Mandarin Chinese is the main language used in these families.

● Only one parent reported that there was a rule requiring everyone speak Mandarin at home. Nevertheless, the majority of parents (63%) never felt that their children were speaking too much English and 11 parents (69%) never stopped their children doing so, showing a rather flexible parental attitudes towards the children's use of English. Even when the parents tried to stop; the children did not always obey. Ten out of 16 parents (63%) reported they seldom used English with their children

while there were 5 who admitted that they sometimes used English and there was only one parent who chose 'often'. This result seemed to be much underreported compared with the recordings and transcripts. Nevertheless. the children were reported always using English with their Chinese peers of similar background, a result clearly reflecting the both the recording and researcher's observation.

- With reference to the children's strength in the four language skills (speaking, listening, reading and writing) in Chinese, majority (n=14) of children were reported to be strongest in listening and some (n=6) in speaking but without anyone ticking reading or writing, indicating the children's well maintained orality in Mandarin Chinese.   As with English, all parents ticked literacy as equally stronger than orality.

- The children were reported to be better in English when talking about school and study, complicated ideas, and things they were not familiar with. In addition, English was also reported to be the main choice for many important daily communicative functions, which supported the function replacement discussed in chapter 7.   For the majority of the families studied, the limited parent-child dyadic conversation turned out to be the major source of regular input for their ethnic language although the majority of families had regular gatherings with other Chinese immigrants where English was the children's default language used for those occasions. One important non-parent source of Chinese input was regularly watching videos.

- Most parents strongly identified themselves clearly as Chinese with the majority of them regarding New Zealand as their 'home'. Language and cultural differences did affect their responses in this respect as with one of S1's parents. Most of the parents thought that one had to be able to speak the ethnic language in order to be a proper member of that ethnic group.

- The majority of the parents believed that Mandarin Chinese would not face the danger of being lost in New Zealand. However, eight parents were worried that that their children might be illiterate in their ethnic language. But that worry did not seem to be serious because the parents thought that listening and speaking were more important for their children. It is interesting to note that the parents reported providing more help with less important language skills, reading and writing, which were also the children's weaker skills.

- With regard to the reasons for maintaining their ethnic language, these mainly involved communication with relatives in China, employment advantage, and cultural identity. To help to achieve this goal, half of the children had been or were being sent to community weekend schools studying Mandarin Chinese two hours a week, although the effect did not seem satisfactory. Parental roles in language maintenance were well recognized by all the parents with 11 parents ranking it as 'extremely important', especially in respect of listening and speaking.

Chapter 9   Discussion and conclusion

9.1   Introduction

As was discussed in Chapters 1 and 2, language shift and language maintenance have been approached from different perspectives in the past few decades. Recent studies on languages shift and language maintenance have moved the focus from mainly describing the general language use situation to exploring the mechanism behind this process. The study reported here aimed at finding out how this general process begins at a micro level.

In particular, (see above section 1.4), five research questions were posited. In this final chapter, each of these is discussed in turn – in relation to both the empirical findings of the present study and relevant previous literature.

9.2   Language choice in bilingual families

With regard to general language choice in the home environment, the results of this study show that Mandarin Chinese is the main, if not the only, language used between the parents. This is consistent with previous research on language use in ethnolinguistic communities in Australia (Clyne, 1982; Pauwels, 1995).

English and code-switching form an important part of the daily parent-child communication, with conversational turns made in Mandarin Chinese, their ethnic language, accounting in our data for about 75.6% for the parents and 65.1% for the children. If the amount of mother tongue use at home is an indicator of language shift, then the speed of shift in the families investigated in our study appears to be faster than that of other overseas Chinese communities reported (W. Li, 1994; Ng & He, 2004) considering that their average length of stay in New Zealand is only about 28.1 months.

Why it is so when almost all parents reported having strong desire to bring up their children binguallyl and clearly understand the huge potential of doing this?   Although

the main condition for this is the parents' high level of education in general and their higher English language proficiency in particular, the driving force behind, we would argue, is the marketplace value of the languages involved. When asked why they want their children to maintain their mother tongue, some parents still cherish their ethnic language as one of their core cultural values, by saying, for example, "As a Chinese, the child must be able to speak Chinese", "As a Chinese, one should be able to speak their own language". However, more parents put instrumental aspect of being bilingual in the first place as is clearly said by one of the parents during the interview: "Employment advantage, don't worry about too much about tradition, our mother tongue. It's enough to be able to speak it." In other words, the parents know that English has a much higher marketplace price than Mandarin Chinese does here. English language skill is the first and foremost skill for both life and employment.

Else where, it has been widely known and repeatedly reported that language is the biggest problem for new immigrants with non-native English speaking background and those parents have learned it the hard way (see for example, Henderson, 2003). They know exactly how badly they have been disadvantaged because of their inadequate English language proficiency. Therefore, it is not hard to understand why they not only seldom stop their children speaking English, but also initiate using English themselves simply because the parents themselves want to practise their English and the children are their best teacher.

This result seems to suggest that the marketplace value of English is winning over the core value of Mandarin Chinese and the parents' comparatively higher English language proficiency is a major contributory factor in this rapid change in the families' daily language choice. However, it remains a question whether this rapid change means faster language shift or a conscious parental strategy that can help their children fit into the mainstream society while at the same time be able to maintain their ethnic language.

There is probably a psychological reason for the parents' wide use of English, namely, communication with their children. When the child is small, education and communication are so important that parents will speak whatever the child can understand to capture the child's attention and to encourage the child to talk (Goodz, 1994). As the child grows up, the parents still need to code-switch with their children in order to make the family talk run smoothly; they could hardly afford to always stop their children in the middle of their conversation and ask them to speak another language. Unless there are other rules in place, minority migrant parents often have to choose whether to code-switch with their children and have a happy family conversation, or stop the child and ask him/her to speak another language. If they choose the latter, they might end up with breaking the communication and risk ruining their harmonious relations. This is presumably why the present study has found that parents' language choices are also influenced by their children's language choice in that parental mixed turns in Turn 3 doubled, reaching 28.5% (see section 6.2) whereas the overall parental mixing rate was only 14.1% (see section 4.2.1).

The present finding that the children use more English than their parents is consistent with many previous studies of language use among immigrant families where children are often found to be the active agents of the change in language pattern (Roberts, 1991; Pfaff, 1999).

Some other factors appear to combine to affect the language choices in these households. These include general environmental changes affecting individual members, parental level of English with competency correlating positively with English use and code-switching use with their children, the stability of the parents' job, and the decision to return to the home country for residence which correlates positively with the use of their ethnic language.

Paradoxically, in the present data an inverse relationship between L1 and L2 seems to

be operative. Parents with higher English proficiency tended to closely monitor the use of their ethnic language with their children and impose more pressure on the children for the purpose of maintaining it whilst parents with lower English proficiency tended to speak more English with their children to facilitate their child's learning of English. S3's parents, for example, uttered 40.8% of their total turns in English whereas the average parental turns of the other seven families was only about 5.8% (see section 4.2.1).

Over the duration of the present investigation which lasted 12 months, there does not seem to be significant change in the language patterns within the eight families. The language choices of the families appear to be stable with a substantial amount of English and code-switching from both parents and children. This seems to suggest that the length of stay in the host country does not seem to be related to their language choice at home. The main reason for this would seem to be that the parents in our study are all skilled migrants with a higher than average level of English. This allows them to use English for various purposes, such as education. In fact, it is not hard to imagine that the parents, when they first arrived here, must have worried about their children's learning of English, and therefore, have helped in various ways to enable their children to cope with their study in the shortest time. What they may not have realized is that, within a matter of two years time, English has entered their family easily and has taken over much territory that used to belong to their ethnic language. It is in this sense that the parents' high level of English could be a contributor in the process of language shift.

In contrast, the grandparent generation immigrants in W. Li's (1994) and Roberts' (1991) studies are hardly literate in either Chinese or English. While their lack of ability in English prohibits their communication with their children and grandchildren in English, it could be a positive factor in the maintenance of their ethnic language, i.e. Cantonese, for both of the studies. This further illustrates how the education level of adult immigrants could be an ambivalent factor with reference to minority   immigrant

language maintenance as discussed in Clyne & Kipp (1999).

The presence of grandparents has also been found in our study to be closely related to the children's language choice. This agrees with the results from earlier studies which show that the presence of grandparents and other aged relatives is positively correlated with language maintenance (Roberts, 1991; W. Li, 1994; Pauwels, 1995; Clyne, 1999). (Note that this correlation, however, could be temporary depending on the recency of such older relatives' arrival). When a child has a sense of intimacy and closeness in the family, he or she will feel an emotional need to be one part of it and be happy to do so. They will be more likely to make an effort to communicate with their parents in their parents' mother tongue as they often know this is their parents' favourite language. In addition, it is also important for the parents to provide quality interaction in their ethnic language to challenge their children intellectually and emotionally bond with them. However, if the child perceives his or her family, and particularly the parents, as distant and remote, there will be less emotional relevance and there will be less motivation to communicate in their ethnic language. This result could serve as evidence for Tannenbaum & Howie's (2002) study which claims that "…family relations play a significant role in language maintenance in immigrant children." (2002: 420).

On a micro level, in a total of 17,157 conversational turns recorded from the eight families, the parents make some 24.5% of either English or code-mixed turns when they are addressing their children. In response, the children make 35% of their turns either in English or code-mixed form. Although there are no comparative statistics available, common sense suggests that the present results would be similar in other comparable studies, since both of the parents and children in W. Li's (1994) study are reported to address each other in both English and their ethnic language. Nevertheless, given the length of stay in the host country, the families in the present study would seem to have outperformed such counterparts (W. Li, 1994; Roberts, 1991; Ng & He, 2004).

In Ng and He's (2004) study, the parents and the children contributed 35.8% and 40.4% of the total 1091 code-switched turns respectively. This is higher than the figures obtained in the present study. However, from the fact that the grandparents' generation also contributed about 23.7% of the total code-switched turns, we can see that English was used across the three generations. Note that these families were well-established immigrants coming to New Zealand generations ago. Therefore, the present situation of the 'old' immigrants could mirror the linguistic future of the new immigrants in which both the grandparents' and grandchildren's generations are limited bilinguals while the parents are competent bilinguals.

Another point that needs to be noted is that 58% of the total interpretive code-switching – where switching is made to resolve communication problems - was made by the parents (Ng & He, 2004: 39). This may have to do with one of their data collection criteria which required at least 30% of the family talking to be in English. This criterion could have some effect on the people's language choice, encouraging, for example, more English from the children on the one hand and therefore prompting more interpretive code-switching from the parents on the other. In our study, on a few occasions where subjects were recorded with their parents and grandparents few interpretive turns from the parents were evident. More often than not, the children in our study were found either to keep on using English or to keep silent when they were asked to speak Chinese or to interpret what they had just said.

It is worth noting that this happened when their average time of stay in New Zealand was only about 28.1 months and where the majority of the parents were strongly in favour of the maintenance of their ethnic language. If English continues to erode into the family domain at the present speed, the fate of the ethnic language is not hard to predict. Without persistent effort from the parents and sufficient support at community and government levels, it would seem to be hard for the individual efforts to yield satisfactory results in the long run. As Roberts concluded: "In the end, minority commu-

nity resistance to complete language shift, combined with changes in the minority community's attitude to language maintenance, make the long term developments unpredictable" (1991: 55).   It seems that there is a considerable gap between thinking bilingually and acting bilingually.

In contrast, children's beliefs seem to be more indicative than that of parents, as children are the ones who are maintaining and developing the language. It has been reported that children's beliefs are strongly correlated with the maintaining and developing of their ethnic language (Gibbons & Ramirez, 2004). Children's strong belief in favour of bilingualism and minority language maintenance "and the related determination to resist the hegemony of the dominant language are as important as more familiar affect, pride, status, and instrumental beliefs." (p.112).

There are numerous similar reports from studies of bilingual first language acquisition where one parent speaks the dominant language and the other speaks a minority one. It has also been commonly found that parents actually produce a substantial quantity of utterances in their non-native language when they claim to follow a 'one-parent one-language' rule.

For example, in Lanza's study (1997), although Siri's parents "claimed a one-person, one-language strategy in addressing their child" (p. 87), they were recorded using a high percentage of bilingual strategies.   Among the 90 lexical code-mixes the child made with her mother, the latter responded only with four (4.4%) code-switching. The father's code-switching rate after the child's code-switching was 3%. This is much lower when compared with 36.7% found with the parents in the present study (see page 118 which shows the total of both Mixing and English) since in Lanza's study, code-mixing includes either the other language or a mixture of both languages. From this figure, Siri's parents seemed more monolingual than the parents in our study did. Similar results were found in several studies of this kind. Parents were often found to be

much more flexible and tolerant when their children started with inappropriate language. The parents are often reported either switching to their non-native language or engaging in code-mixing. (De Houwer, 1990; Dopke, 1992: 472-473; Goodz, 1994: 71; Bolonyai, 1998: 30)

9.3   Parental strategy and effect

The results of the present study show that children's language choice is strongly influenced by that of their parents'. Parental use of English is strongly correlated with the sharply increased use of English by the children. The percentage of the patterns CMEE, CEEE, MMEE, and MEEE clearly suggests that if parents respond to children's code-switching in English, there is little chance for the children to switch back to Chinese in the subsequent turn. This result is strongly supported by the fact that, among the 669 English turns initiated by the parents in all the tapes, 84.8% of the children's responses are in English.

This finding does not seem to support some of the results in the literature which claim generally that children at the age of 2 are addressee-sensitive and capable of adjusting their language choice accordingly (De Hower, 1990; Lanza, 1997; Quay 1995; Cameau, L., Genesee, F. & Lapaquette, L, 2003). The children in our study appear to be also sensitive (though not exclusively) to their parents' use of English and were apt to continue with that code but were reluctant to switch back to their ethnic language. This difference may relate to the children in the previous studies being very young and more volatile in all their behaviours as well as in their language choice. However, when children start kindergarten and formal education and begin venturing away from home into the broader society, parental influence is bound to be weakened. When one of the children's languages, usually the socially dominant language, rapidly outperforms the dominated language, the children will predictably opt to stick to the stronger language under various pressures from school and society.

Another interesting finding is that the rate of parental code-mixed turns reveals an inverse relationship with that of their children's. That is to say, after parental code-mixed turns, the children's rate of code-mixing drops whilst their rate of English rises. This finding supports Nicoladis and Genesee's (1998) study which found "significant negative correlations between parental discourse styles and their children's rates of code-mixing within a single observation session" (p. 96).   In fact, the present study has found that the children tend to 'upgrade' their language choice with their parents, so that when their parents are speaking Chinese, the children's rate of code-mixing outnumbers their rate of English and when their parents use code-mixing, more children tend to completely switch to English rather than code-mixing.

Although there is evidence showing pragmatic differentiation from children of around two years of age (De Hower, 1990; Nicoladis & Genesee, 1998; Deuchar & Quay, 2000), children's language competence develops rapidly. Language association, as has been emphasized by Lanza (2001), is "interactive and developmental" (p. 227). These changes are more subject to how the parents really behave linguistically on a daily basis rather than their general beliefs and attitudes which are often far removed from what actually happens. Children's code-switching behaviour, an integral part of bilingual children's repertoire, is changing along with the development of their language proficiency in the languages involved (Hansen, 2003). When these children grow older and the overall parental influence weakens or even fades away, the majority of them will tend to become monolingual in the mainstream language.

However, there is always a tension between the intention and the meaning of code-switching. It is hard to say whether the meaning assigned to a switch is really what has been intended by the speaker (Stroud, 1992:131). The problem with PDH (see section 2.7) strategy categories is that some strategies are 'plurifunctional'. The interpretation of the intended function, then, is completely left to the addressee. While the parental strategy itself could be unconscious (Schiffrin,   1984),   it would be hard

enough for a one-and-half year old child to pick up subtle contextualized cues. For example, both of the monolingual strategies, Minimal Grasp and Expressed Guess (see section 2.7), could well be interpreted by the young child as a request for a clearer pronunciation or a louder voice.

Besides code-switching, Siri's parents were also recorded using 15.5% of Move On strategy. According to Lanza (1992, 1997, 2001), when Move On strategy is used the parents carry on the conversation in their own native language without paying any attention to the child's use of the inappropriate language. This could be a signal to the child that the use of the other language is well accepted and understood. Therefore, it may serve to encourage the child to continue to use the inappropriate language.

In addition, Adult Repetition, the most frequently used strategy by the parents (counting for 45.5% on average), could either be monolingual or bilingual depending on how the adult repeats it. Often, it could be a Move On strategy, for example, if the mother, when hearing her child using the other language, first repeats what the child has said and then continues the conversation by supplying more information and explanation. Snow states that "parents (even ones who adhere to a strict one parent, one language rule) respond to their children's earliest words in a content-related way, even if this involves crossing languages" (1988: 351). When children grow older and the parent-child conversation become more content-based, it would seem to become harder for the parents to sacrifice normal communication for language form. Family language choice control, in other words, becomes more problematic. Clear and direct instructions like "what mama/Papa says" (Lanza, 1997: 272, 303) are typically supplied in order to provide enough contextualized cues for the child.

From Lanza (1997) it is evident that parents can be more bilingual with their children than their discourse strategies would suggest. When the Move On strategy is used heavily, a pattern of "you speak your language and I speak mine" would eventually

emerge with one parent when one of the child's languages is dominant over the other. This is corroborated in the families investigated in the present study.

It seems apparent, therefore, that to maintain and develop minority languages with young immigrants, persistent parental effort is needed on a daily basis. Simple, explicit, and direct parental strategies, such as simply stick to the "right" language, for example, would be more effective. The kind of implicit and subtle strategies proposed by Lanza (1992, 1997, 2001) might work well for language socialization with younger preschoolers, although there is recent evidence showing that bilingual children of 3 and 5 years old could identify language-based communication breakdowns and repair in the "right" language (Comeau *et al*, 2003). That, however, was an experimental situation involving strangers rather than true simultaneous conversations between children and parents. An essential difference is that in bilingual families, the parents are often more or less bilingual and the children are well aware of this. Furthermore, the genuinely multilingual social relationship between English and French in Montreal is quite different from the relationship between Mandarin Chinese and English in New Zealand. For the purpose of maintaining and developing minority immigrant language at home, these strategies seem too delicate and too weak when compared with the kinds of social-political pressures and forces the children are confronted with.

Results of the present study suggest that language choice is more effective with regard to minority language maintenance /development at family level. Therefore, to some degree, these findings agree with Roberts (1991) when she writes that "…providing the right environment for language maintenance is only half the battle. The other half is getting children to speak the language for large chunks of their childhood". (p. 56). Elsewhere, when analysing unsuccessful bilingual education, Clyne (1999) has likewise suggested, with some emphasis:

> "In fact in many of the families where bringing up children bilingually doesn't work, the problem is that the parents are not consistent. They sometimes use one

language and they sometimes use another, and they switch from one language to the other. The child doesn't get enough input in the weaker language or the minority language…. " (1999)

9.4 Function replacement

Due to the quite significant levels of English use by both the children and their parents throughout the data tapes, the children's Mandarin, their ethnic language, was found in the present study to be seriously deteriorating. This is supported by both the recordings and the parental reports of their children often switching to English for many basic daily speech acts and communication functions. Given that their average arrival age was 64 months, these children should have already learnt how to perform those functions in their mother tongue before they arrived. They now appear to be hesitant, however, to perform those functions in their L1 within a period of about two to three years. For some parents, this may be an unwelcome result but it could hardly be otherwise if their daily language choice is taken into consideration.

Language shift – the declining use of one's native language between and within generations – is a slow and unnoticeable progress which often "expresses itself in a form of an increased scatter of performance." (de Bot, 2001: 96). The deterioration of the children's mother tongue identified in the present study is likewise a clear sign of the increased scatter of performance. From an SLA point of view, Mandarin has already become a second language for these young immigrants. They need sufficient output to maintain what they have acquired and sufficient input to make progress. Due to various reasons, however, quality L1 input through dyadic parent-child conversation tends to diminish in many families.

In a minority immigrant situation, such as New Zealand, the family is their main place for output and parents the main source for input. For the promotion of language maintenance the parents, together with the child, need to create a situation in which the

parents could provide quality input so the child is motivated to use their ethnic language. Interest, as Ellis (1999) has emphasized, is a crucial factor for incidental vocabulary acquisition to take place.

At the family level, there appear to be two main reasons responsible for the replacement of language. First, there is not enough quality input or enough chance/pressure for output. Second, replacement is a passive but pragmatic choice made by the parents.

From the results in chapter 8 it is clear that nearly all parents want their children to maintain their ethnic language. Besides, all parents realized the importance of their own role in reference to language maintenance. Nonetheless, compared with the importance of English and other school subjects, the maintenance of their mother tongue is in reality only a secondary priority.

Length of residence outside of China is also a factor enhancing language shift and is most probably related to weakened links with relatives and decreased interaction with them.

Likewise, the employment advantage factor would seem to weaken in importance over time, with maintenance of the mother tongue in reality progressively appearing to be complementary rather than central as only one skill among many.

Results of the present investigation thus suggest that parents who are really keen to maintain their ethnic language with their children should concentrate first on how to create the need for communication in that language and, second, on how to have more motivated output from their children, it is meaningless to talk about input if there is no need or desire for communication (de Bot, 2001). The importance of motivation in language learning has long been proved by numerous studies from SLA. As Herdina & Jessner have argued that:

"…language use is primarily dependent on communicative environment and the resulting frequency of communicative exchanges in a specific language. Every use of a particular language system constitutes an activation of a particular item or number of items of a language system and thus functions as a memory refresher cycle for specific LS. Language use therefore has as activating or refresher function contributing to the maintenance of a language system."   (2002: 106)

This echoes Grosjean (1998, 2001) who maintained that the activation of certain language units specific to one language enhances the overall activation level of the whole language system and which in turn aids the recognition of words in that language.

9.5   Results in relation to previously discussed models

Based on the results of this study, it seems that the following reflections could reasonably be made concerning the models discussed in Section 2.3.

Marketplace value vs core value

Although overseas Chinese are known for the great emphasis they put on their cultural inheritance in which language accounts for an integral part, marketplace value of the mainstream language, here it is English in New Zealand, is found overriding the core value of their ethnic language. This could be supported by the amount of English used in the families within such a short period of time. In fact, for minority immigrants, the maintaining of their ethnic language as such could be boiled down to a conflict between ldeal and reality. The reason why RLS has not been largely successful among minority migrant communities lies in the fact that the ideal often has given way to reality for want of stronger motivation.

Social network theroy

Social network, although not analyzed as a primary factor affecting younger immigrants' language choice, could be assumed to be increasingly influential especially when children grow older venturing away from family and forming their own social group.

Markedness theory

Markedness theory does not seem to be applicable in the present study as the focus of this study is on family domains where the subjects were too young to negotiate their emerging differential identity.

Parental strategy in relation to LMLS

For the purpose of LM, parental language choice seems to be more effective. But the major issue is how to set family language rules for different domains and exercise those rules in daily life.

Perils of ethnography

This investigation also shows some of the dangers of ethnography, i.e. how to understand the threats of validity and reliability of ethnographic investigation on the one hand and how to counter these threats on the other, especiall, when belief is involved.

9.6 Implications and advice

In traditional bilingual societies like Hong Kong, code-switching could be a daily norm and thus represents an essential bilingual skill throughout one's lifetime. For younger Chinese immigrants in the New Zealand context, however, code-switching may become a matter of concern for parents, as it may be an important sign of language shift. The maintenance of minority immigrant languages clearly involves many social, political, economic, educational, and demographic factors. While Singapore, for instance, represents a good example of treating language and its socio-economic value as resources to manage (Xu & W. Li, 2002: 291; Wee, L., 2003), such planning is in turn related to a government's treatment of minority LM as an important ecological issue (Clyne, 1982).

Given the small proportion of Chinese ethnics in the New Zealand population generally, it would be too optimistic to expect much promotion of Mandarin at government level.

The job of maintaining one's ethnic language thus has been and will remain largely a prerogative at the community and family level. Naturally, LM would further involve individual factors, such as: core value, employment advantage, and communication with the home country. In other words, it becomes more like an individual choice. If LM is an investment in education, then for an expensive investment of this kind there must be a worthwhile reason behind it. For younger minority immigrants, success in school and future career depend much more on their achievements in their overall knowledge rather than in the maintenance of their mother tongue. From this point of view, language shift, to some degree, comes to be passively accepted by the parents as a socio-economic necessity.

Present results suggest that, in a minority immigrant situation, language shift proceeds from declined use of the ethnic language at home by both the children and their parents. Due to pragmatic reasons, the parents seldom or never stop their child from doing this. Rather, the parents themselves often contribute, consciously or unconsciously, to this process by gradually using more English. Parental beliefs about maintaining their ethnic language, no matter how strong they seem to be, are only secondary compared with the actual needs of education and successful survival.

For those parents who do want their child to maintain or further improve their ethnic language, it is crucial to understand that the process involves more than just belief or enthusiasm. It is probably not easier than learning another, different second language in an immigrant minority situation. Based on the results of the present study, the following practices are suggested to maintain the ethnic language in the home environment:

1. Given the fact that both parents are using their minority language as their mother tongue, a situation which is different from some other bilingual situations where one of the parents is the speaker of the mainstream language, the policy of one parent – one language is hard to implement. Therefore, alternative measures should

be considered. One possibility is to set family language rules and strictly reinforce them (for example, set their ethnic language for home domains and English for public domains). Also, the amount of English used in the home situation could be limited to certain times, or specific time slots could be arranged for education purposes where English is needed.

2. While communicating with their children, parents should stick to their family language policy so as to provide quality input and ensure 'pushed output' from their children. Problem areas in their children's use of their ethnic language should be targeted and regular and immediate help provided. These measures will help to increase the children's exposure to the language.

3. If the financial situation allows it, it would be important to arrange trip back to their birth country or visits from their grandparents or other relatives who are English illiterate and are not intending to learn it. This would force the children to use more of their ethnic language in a natural, unforced way.

4. Local community language school could be another choice only when strongly reinforced by the parents at home as well.

9.7   Suggestions for further research

The points mentioned in this chapter so far offer extremely valuable insights and could only be derived by such a detailed examination of the process of language shift as it unfolds. However, given the necessarily limited generalizability of case study research, these insights are pointers to further research and stand in need of further illumination. Thus, it might be appropriate to highlight some of the key issues raised in 9.2 to 9.4 for specific investigation, with reasons given, with methodological recommendations.

1. Language shift and language maintenance with younger immigrants often involves two issues: shift and maintenance.   Language shift is defined by de Bot (2001)   as de-

clined use of the language between and within generations. Future research could usefully focus on the degree to which this decline is related to quantity, the frequency of the language use, the quality, the nature and depth of the language use between parent and children.

2. A subsequent interesting area is the quality of input of the ethnic language. Young immigrants like those investigated in the present study are sometimes called Generation 1b, an important distinction noted in early literature (Haugen, 1953: 334; Clyne, 2003: 5). They may have native-like pronunciation in both languages; however, their ethnic language may quickly give way to a second language in their daily communication at a speed depending on various factors. Maintenance of the ethnic language as such, then, should use the distinction between literally maintaining what a child has acquired prior to immigration, and further developing the language. For either case, enough qualitative input in the language is essential. Given the reality that parents are the main source of the input of the language and the main interlocutor in that language, it would be interesting to study in detail the quality and quantity of the input a child obtains from his/her parents. A comparative study could be carried out by comparing L1 in the L1 situation and L1 in the L2 situation. For instance, to investigate how much it could work if the parents are using method and materials used in communicative language teaching.

3. Although Clyne (2003:6) has pointed out three intrinsic problems with cross-section study regarding language attrition, comparative study between children who emigrate and those who remain in their birth country could be designed as language change is a piecemeal process. Results of the research in this area could be important and informative with possible reference to parental input in daily life, children's level of grammar, vocabulary, and frequency and type of error made.

4. Investigation into children's attitudes towards their ethnic language and their use of their ethnic language and experience outside the family would be another useful area for

future research. The result could help us understand more about children's feelings and attitudes towards their ethnic language. Their personal experience of using the ethnic language could tell us possible factors that may promote or prohibit the use of their language.

5. Parental desire to improve their competency in the mainstream language deserves serious attention in future study. The results of investigation along this line could reveal the unspoken family language practice and at the same time could possibly provide some reasons for parental code-switching that might be overlooked otherwise.

6. Although the present study is broadly in line with conversation analysis of code-switching, a different analysis unit 'Conversational Round' has been introduced to investigate the immediate impact of conversers' language choice. However, its effectiveness awaits further attest on larger sample or other communities.

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Consent to Participation in Research

Title of Project:	**Language Shift and Language Maintenance in Young Chinese Immigrants in Auckland, New Zealand**
Project Supervisors:	**Ron Holt, and Allan Bell**
Researcher:	**Shanjiang Yu**

- I have read and understood the information provided about this research project.

- I have had an opportunity to ask questions and to have them answered.

- I understand that my daughter/son, _____, will be audio-taped for one hour every other month and transcribed.

- I understand that I may withdraw, on behalf of my daughter/son, or any information that I have provided for this project at any time prior to completion of data collection, without being disadvantaged in any way. If I withdraw, I understand that all relevant tapes and transcripts, or parts thereof, will be destroyed.

- I agree, on behalf of my daughter/son, _____, to take part in this research and the results may be used by the researcher for his future study or publication.

Guardian's signature: _____
Guardian's name: _____
(Please print clearly)
Date: _____
Project Supervisor Contact Details: Professor Ron Holt
                        Head of the department
                        School of Languages
                        Faculty of Arts
                        AUT,
                        Private Bag 92006, Auckland 1020
                        Phone: 917 9999 extn. 6680

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on February 11, 2002. AUTEC Reference number 01/116.

Appendix 2

参 与 研 究 同 意 书

项 目 标 题：奥 克 兰 少 年 中 国 移 民 的 母 语 保 持 与 语 言 迁 移

指 导 老 师：Ron Holt, Allan bell

学 生： 于 善 江

- 我 已 了 解 此 研 究 相 目 的 有 关 情 况.

- 我 有 权 询 问 各 种 有 关 问 题 并 能 得 到 答 复.

- 我 知 道 我 的 女 儿/儿 子＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿将 在 一 年 内 每 月 被 每 月 录 一 次 音，每 次 一 小 时，录 音 内 容 整 理 出 来。

- 我 知 道 在 收 集 数 据 完 成 前，我 可 以 代 表 我 女 儿/儿 子 退 出 或 收 回 所 提 供 的 任 何 信 息 而 没 有 任 何 不 利 影 响。而 且， 一 经 退 出，所 有 相 关 磁 带 与 材 料 也 将 一 同 销 毁。

- 我 代 表 我 的女 儿/儿 子＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿ 同 意 参 加 此 研 究 项 目，其 结 果 可 能 用 于 未 来 的 研 究 或 公 开 发 表。

监护人签 名：＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

监 护 人 姓 名 ：＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

日 期 ：＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

指 导 老 师 联 系 地 址 ：

Professor Ron Holt

Head of the School of Languages

Faculty of Arts

AUT

Private Bag 92006, Auckland 1020

Phone: 917 9999 extn. 6880

Participant Information Sheet

Project Title: Language Shift in Young Chinese Immigrants
                            in Auckland, New Zealand ------ A case study

To: Mr./ Mrs. _____, the guardian of (Name of the child) _____

The purpose of this study

My name is Yu, Shanjiang. I am a student at the Auckland University of Technology. Enrolled for doctoral degree in applied linguistics in School of Languages, Faculty of Arts, I am conducting this research for the purpose of my thesis on young Chinese immigrants' language shift and language maintenance, especially when they start their kindergarten and primary school that are regarded as two important steps during which language shift furthers rapidly. I have chosen this field because by doing it, I will be able to understand young Chinese immigrants' language choice and language behavior in home settings in general, and to identify the factors and reasons related to language shift and maintenance in particular. The project is proposed to start from July 2001.

How was a person chosen to be asked to be part of the study?
In regarding to the varied language backgrounds and the composition of the Chinese community in New Zealand, those who meet the following criteria are warmly invited for this study:

- having been here in New Zealand for 4 or less than 4 years; and
- coming from Mainland China with Mandarin as their main home language; and
- attending kindergarten or primary school where English is the medium.

We are intending to have two age groups attempting to find out any age-related differences in their home language use. Group 1: children from 3.5 – 5.5 years old who have started their kindergarten or primary school in New Zealand; Group 2: Children from 7- 9 years old who have started their primary school in Mainland China but have never studied English before they came to New Zealand.

Can I join the study?
Any one who meets the criteria is welcome to join the study. The researcher will locate children through social network who meet the criteria set out above. Informal talk about the project will follow with the parents who will then explain and talk to their children. If the child agrees to take part in the project, a formal Participation Information Sheet will be sent to the family. When they understand what will happen in the study, a Consent Form will be sent to the family and signed by the parents on behalf of the

children. Children are to give assent where possible. Children or parents who act on behalf of the child may withdraw from participation of their own volition at any time without any effect on their benefit.

What happens in the study?
Each subject will be audiotaped by their parents for one hour every month for a period of twelve months (i.e. twelve recordings from each subject) in natural home settings. It will be made clear to both the subjects and their parents that only natural and spontaneous conversation is valuable to this study. While anything intentional should be avoided, appropriate parental prompts are desirable so as to get adequate verbal production from the subject in the course of recording. For the same reason, physical containment of the children would not be necessary during recording.

What are the discomforts and risks?
There are no discomforts or risks of any kind in this study since the focus of the study is on the subjects' natural and spontaneous language use in home situations.

What are the benefits?
The results of the study will be presented to the parents in writing together with suggestions and advice in regarding to their child's language shift and first language maintenance. This is assumed to be helpful in those children's bilingual education.

What compensation is available for injury or negligence?
Not applicable.

How is my privacy protected?
All information I get during the study is confidential. All data will be locked in a cupboard on campus. Every child and their family will be dealt with anonymously, and all the recordings and the transcripts can only be accessed by the researcher and his two supervisors for the purpose of this study. The researcher may also use them for future publication.

Costs of participating
Although there is no actual money cost involved as everything for recording will be supplied, the researcher fully understand that time may be a cost for the children and to choose a right time to record and to monitor the process of recording once a month is an extra burden for certain families.

Opportunity to consider invitation
It is completely voluntary to participate in the study

Participant concerns
Any concerns regarding the nature of this project should be notified in the first instance to the Project Supervisor: Professor Ron Holt, Head of the Department. Concerns

regarding the conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary, AUTEC, Madeline Banda, madeline.banda@aut.ac.nz ,917 9999 ext 8044.

If you agree, on behalf of your child, please let me know by filling in a **Consent Form** and give it back to me. Thanks very much for your time and help in making this study possible. If you have any queries or wishes to know more about, please let me know either by mail or E-mail on:

Postal address: 2 / 20, Dominion Street, Takapuna, North Shore, Auckland, 1309
E – mail: shanjiang.yu@aut.ac.nz

My supervisors are:

Professor Ron Holt	Professor Allan Bell
Head of the School of Languages	Director of the Communication Research Center
Faculty of Arts	Faculty of Arts
Auckland University of Technology	Auckland University of Technology
Private Bag: 92006	Private Bag: 92006
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Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on February 11, 2002. AUTEC Reference number 01/116.

Shanjiang Yu
Student ID: 0005227
School of Languages, AUT
Date: 01May 2003

家庭语言习惯问卷

本问卷将占用您大约三十分钟时间

说明：本问卷的目的是了解您的孩子在家中的语言习惯以及相关情况，任何选择均无对错之分，请按实际情况回答即可。

I. 家庭背景

1.1　　性别:　　　　男 ☐　　　女 ☐

1.2　　年龄:　　　_____

1.3　　在中国时的职业为　_____

1.4　　最高学历

	父亲	母亲
大专	☐	☐
大学	☐	☐
硕士	☐	☐
博士	☐	☐

1.5　　　i.　到目前为止，你在新西兰居住的时间为

　　　　　　_____年　_____ 月

　　　　ii.　未来五年内是否准备留在新西兰？

　　　　　　是 ☐　　　否 ☐　　　不知道 ☐

　　　　iii. 在新西兰有家的感觉吗？

　　　　　　有 ☐　　有一点 ☐　　　没有 ☐　　不知道 ☐

1.6　　你初到新西兰时的英语水平如何？

　　　　很好　　　较好　　　一般　　　较差　　　很差

1.7　　在家中，你与配偶交流最常用的语言/方言是?

　　　　普通话 ☐　　　英语 ☐　　　其他 _____.

1.8　　在家中，你与孩子交流最常用的语言/方言是：

普通话 ☐　　　英语 ☐　　　其他：_____

II. 孩子的语言习惯

2.1 i.　孩子刚来新西兰时的年龄为：　_____ 年 _____ 月.

　　ii.　孩子总共在新西兰生活的时间为：_____年 _____月

2.2　i　在家中有没有要求每个人都要说汉语？

　　　　　有　　　　　☐

　　　　　没有　　　　☐　　　　(请转到 2.3)

　ii **如果有这样的要求**, 你觉得每个人遵守得怎么样？

| 总是 | 大部分 | 有时候 | 不常 | 从未 |
| 遵守 | 时间遵守 | 遵守 | 遵守 | 遵守 |

为什么?_____

_____

2.3　i.　你有没有觉得孩子有时候在家里跟你说英语说得太多？

　　　有 ☐　　　没有 ☐　　　不知道 ☐

　　ii.　**如果有的话**，你当时一般会怎么做？

_____

_____

2.4　i.　当孩子跟你说英语的时候，你有没有中途打断过他/她，要求孩子说

　　　普通话？

　　　　　有　　　　　☐

　　　　　有时候有　☐

没有 ☐ (转到 2.5)

ii 如果有的话，孩子听吗？

听 ☐　　　有时候听 ☐　　　不听 ☐

2.5 你认为你跟孩子说英语的频率如何？

总是　　经常　　有时　　很少　　从不

2.6 下列语言能力中，你认为孩子用哪种语言时较强？

	普通话	英语	其它
听	☐	☐	☐
说	☐	☐	☐
读	☐	☐	☐
写	☐	☐	☐

2.7　在家中，孩子在下列情况一般使用那种语言？

	总是 普通话	主要是 普通话	一半 一半	主要 用英语	总是 用英语
请求帮忙	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
表示感谢	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
道歉	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
讲笑话	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
自言自语	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

发怒	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
问候	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
告别	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
谈论学校和学习	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

2．8． 如果有下列亲属同住，

i. 孩子一般使用何种语言与他们交流 ？

ii 亲属一般使用何种语言与孩子交流？

		总是 普通话	主要用 普通话	英汉 夹杂	主要 用英语	总是 用英语
祖父母	孩子与祖父母	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
	祖父母与孩子	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
叔叔	孩子与他们	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
阿姨	他们与孩子	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

2.9.1 i 除了同住亲属外，孩子与其他说普通话的孩子交往的频率为：

每天 一次	每周 一次	每月 一次	每两个 月一次	很少 或没有

ii 孩子一般用什么语言跟这些说普通话的朋友交流？

主要是 普通话	多数是 普通话	英汉 夹杂	多数 是英语	主要 是英语

2．9．2　　孩子做下列事情的频率如何？

	每天	每周	每月	每两个月	几乎没有
读中文故事书	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
听中文广播	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
看中文电视或音像节目	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
浏览中文网	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

2.9.3　i 你是否觉得你的孩子在用英语表达某些思想或感情方面比用汉语更利？

是的　☐

不是　☐　　(转到 ii)

如果是的话, 请举例说明

_____

_____

ii 你是否觉得你的孩子在用汉语表达某些思想或感情方面比用英语流利？

是的　☐

不是　☐　　(转到 3.1)

如果是的话, 请举例说明

_____

_____

III.　语言态度和语言保持

3.1 你认为自己更属于下列哪一类人？

中国人　　主要是　　　一样　　　　　主要是　　　新西兰人

中国人　　一半　　　　　新西兰人

3.2   你觉得作为一个中国人，是否一定要会说中文?

　　　　　　　　　是的　　　☐

　　　　　　　　　不是　　　☐

　　　　　　　　　不知道　　☐

3.3   你觉得在新西兰，普通话是否面临消失的危险？

肯定 会　　　可能会　　　　不知道　　　　也许不会　　　　根本不会

为什么？＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

3.4   i   你希望你的孩子保持普通话？

　　　　希望　　☐

　　　　不希望　☐　　　　(转到 4.2)

ii   如果希望的话, 你觉得普通话对你孩子的重要性有多大？

非常　　　　　很　　　　　重要　　　　　不是　　　　　根本

重要　　　　　重要　　　　　　　　　　很重要　　　　　不重要

iii   请问你为什么希望你的孩子保持普通话？

＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

3.5   你担心自己的孩子会失去普通话吗?

担心☐　　　有点担心☐　　　不担心☐　　　不知道　☐

3.6   对于孩子学普通话，你认为下列语言能力中哪一项对你的孩子最重要

听　☐　　　　　说☐　　　　　读☐　　　　　写☐

3.7   对于孩子保持普通话，你在下列哪方面教过孩子？

听　☐　　　　　说☐　　　　　读☐　　　　　写☐

如果有，频率如何：

| 每天 | 每周 | 有时候 | 偶尔 | 从来不教 |

3.8　有没有送孩子去补习汉语？

有　　□

没有　　□　　(转到 ii)

i.　　**如果有**，多长时间？　　_____ 年 _____ 月

ii.　　未来两年还准备这样做吗？

是的　　□　　　　不是 □　　　　不知道 □

3.9　　孩子在家里说普通话，你觉得的父母对他们的影响有多大？

| 非常大 | 很大 | 一般 | 不太大 | 没有影响 |

为什么 _____

---The end ---

Thanks for your time.

Shanjiang Yu

Student ID: 0005227

School of Languages, AUT

Date: 01May 2003

Questionnaire for Language Use at Home

This questionnaire will take about 30 minutes.

I.   Family background

1.1   Sex: Male   ☐   Female   ☐

1.2   Age: 21-29   ☐   31- 39   ☐   41- 49   ☐

1.3   What was your occupation in China?   _____ .

1.4   What is the highest level of education you have reached?

	Father	Mother
Diploma	☐	☐
Bachelor	☐	☐
Master	☐	☐
Doctor	☐	☐

1.5   How long have you had lived in New Zealand? _____ years _____ months

1.6   Do you plan to stay in New Zealand for the next five years?
         Yes   ☐   No   ☐   Uncertain   ☐

1.7   Do you consider New Zealand 'home'?
         Yes   ☐   No   ☐   Uncertain   ☐

1.8   How well could you speak English when you arrived in New Zealand (circle)?
      Very well   Quite well   Fairly   Poor   Very poor

1.9   Which language / dialect do you use with your spouse most of the time at home?
      Mandarin   ☐   English ☐   Other _____ .

1.10   What language /dialect do you use with your children most of the time at home?
      Mandarin   ☐   English ☐   Other _____ .

II.   The child's language use at home

2.1   How old was the child when s/he first arrived in New Zealand?
               _____ years   _____ months

2.2   How long has the child been in New Zealand now?
               _____ years _____ months

2.2 i   Is there a rule that you can speak only Chinese in your home?
               Yes   ☐
               No   ☐   (go to 2.3)
      ii   If yes, to what extent do people always follow it?

always   often   half and   not very   never
half   often

Why? _____

_____

2.3 Have you ever felt that your child is using too much English with you at home?

Yes ☐   No ☐   Uncertain ☐

If **yes,** what do you usually do when you feel your child is using too much English?

1._____

2._____

3. _____

2.4 Have you ever stopped your child using English and ask them to use Chinese?

Yes ☐   No ☐

If **yes,** does the child usually do as you say?

Yes ☐   No ☐

2.5 How often do you use English with your child (circle)?

Always   Most of time   Sometimes   Rarely   Never

2.6 In which language skill is the child stronger?:

	Mandarin	English	Other
Listening	_____	_____	_____
Speaking	_____	_____	_____
Reading	_____	_____	_____
Writing	_____	_____	_____

2.5 When the child is at home, what language s/he would use in these situations?

	Always Mandarin	Mainly Mandarin	Both Equally	Mainly English	Always English
Asking for a favor	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Expressing thanks	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Apologizing to someone	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Telling a joke	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Talking to themselves	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Getting angry	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Greeting	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Saying goodbye	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

2.6 If any of the following people live in the same house,

i. What language does the child use when speaking to the following relatives?

ii What language does the relative use when speaking to the child ?

		Always Chinese	Both equally	Always English

Grandparents i the child uses to them ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

ii   they use to the child ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

Aunties/uncles i   the child uses to them ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

ii they use to the child ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

2.7   i. Apart from the people the child lives with, how often does the child mix with other Chinese-speaking people?

Everyday at least	Once a week at least	Once a month at least	Every 3 months at least	Less often or never

ii   What language / dialect does the child usually use with his/her Chinese friends

Always Mandarin	Mostly Chinese	both equally	Mostly English	Always English

2.8   How often does the child do the following in Mandarin?

	Every day at least	Once a week at least	Less often or never
Read Chinese story books	☐	☐	☐
Listen to Chinese radio	☐	☐	☐
Watch Chinese TV/audio tapes	☐	☐	☐
Watch Chinese videos	☐	☐	☐
Go to Chinese websites	☐	☐	☐

2.9   i   Do you think that your child is better at expressing some ideas or feelings in English than in Chinese?

Yes   ☐

No   ☐ (go to ii)

If yes, what kind of things? _____

_____

ii Do you think that the child is better at expressing some ideas or feelings in Chinese than in English?

Yes   ☐

No   ☐ (go to 3.1)

If **yes**, what kind of things? _____

_____

Language attitudes and language maintenance

3.3 Would you describe yourself mainly as a:

Chinese	Mainly Chinese	Half and half	Mainly New Zealander	New Zealander

3.4 Do you think a person has to be able to speak Chinese to be a real Chinese?

               Yes ☐

               No ☐

               Uncertain ☐

3.3 Do you think the Chinese language is in danger of being lost in New Zealand?

      Definitely   Maybe yes   Uncertain   Maybe not   Not at all

      Why? _____

      _____

3.4 i Do you want your child to keep Chinese?

               Yes ☐

               No ☐ (go to 4.2)

     ii If **yes**, how important do you think Chinese is to your child?

      Extremely important   very important   Important   Not very important   Not important at all

     iii Please give reasons for maintaining Chinese with your child:

      i.   _____

      ii.   _____

      iii. _____

3.8 Do you worry that your children may lose their Mandarin?

           Yes ☐   No ☐   Uncertain ☐

3.9 Which language skills (in Mandarin) do you think is most important for your children?

      Listening ☐ Speaking ☐   Reading ☐   Writing ☐

3.10 Do you try to teach your child Mandarin in the following aspect:

      Listening ☐   Speaking ☐   reading ☐   writing ☐

3.11 How frequently do you do this?

      Everyday Every week   Twice a month   Once a month   Seldom

3.9.   Is the child attending or has the child attended any class learning Mandarin?

         Yes ☐

         No   ☐ (go to ii)

b) If yes, for how many years?   _____ years _____months.

c) Are you planning to do so in the next two years?

         Yes ☐   No ☐ Uncertain

3.12   How important do you think you are in keeping your child using Chinese at home?

Extremely important	Very important	Important	Not very important	Not important at all

---The end ---

Thanks for your time.

Appendix 6

1. Language choice in family 1

Tape	Participant	Chinese		English		Mixed		Total
1	**Parents**	78	92.9%	0	0%	6	7.1%	84
	S1	70	83.3%	3	3.6	11	13.1%	84
3 B	**Parents**	163	88.6%	5	2.7%	16	8.7%	184
	S1	150	81.1%	9	4.9%	26	14%	185
5	**Parents**	420	88.8%	6	1.3%	47	9.9%	473
	S1	295	80.4%	6	1.6%	66	18%	367
7	**Parents**	331	83.6%	3	0.8	62	15.7%	396
	S1	234	64.3%	9	2.5%	121	33.2%	364
9	**Parents**	70	90.9%	0	0%	7	9.1%	77
	S1	54	75%	3	4.2%	15	20.8	72
11	**Not available**							

Language choice in family 2

Tape	Participant	Chinese		English		Mixed		Total
1	**Playmate**	32	15%	169	79%	13	6%	214
	S2	15	6.1%	218	88.6%	13	5.3%	246
3	**Parents**	269	84.6%	19	6%	30	9.4	318
	S2	162	61.1%	68	25.7%	35	13.2%	265
5	**Parents**	247	87%	8	2.8%	29	10.2%	284
	S2	155	63.3%	71	29%	19	7.7%	245
7	**Parents**	273	83%	20	6%	36	11%	329
	S2	236	81.1%	37	12.7%	18	6.2%	291
9	**Parents**	88	84.6%	2	1.9%	14	13.5%	104
	S2	67	77.9%	9	10.5%	10	11.6%	86
11	**Playmate**	7	26.9%	17	65.4%	2	7.7%	26
	S2	9	37.5	14	58.3%	1	4.2%	24

Language choice of S3's family

Tape	Participant	Chinese		English		Mixed		Total
1	**Parents**	13	6%	195	89%	11	5%	219
	S3	15	6.6%	208	91.2%	5	2.2%	228
3	**Parents**	64	64%	22	22%	14	14%	100
	S3	17	37%	23	50%	6	13%	46
5	**Parents**	63	40.1%	40	25.5%	54	34.4%	157
	S3	74	48.7%	49	32.2%	29	19.1%	152
7	**Parents**	41	70.7%	4	6.9%	13	22.4%	58
	S3	28	59.6%	15	31.9%	4	8.5%	47
9	**Parents**	272	52.5%	166	32.1%	80	15.4%	518
	S3	96	37.5%	142	55.5%	18	7%	256
11	**Parents**	50	32.9%	64	42.1%	38	25%	152
	S3	3	1.9%	141	91.6%	10	6.5%	154

S3's language choice with playmate

	Chinese		English		Mixed		Total
Parents	503	41.8%	491	40.8%	210	17.4%	1204
S3	233	26.4%	578	65.5%	72	8.1%	883

Language choice made in family 4

Tape	Participants	Chinese		English		Mixed		Total
1	**Parents**	208	94.6%	1	0.5%	11	5%	220
	S4	160	84.7%	10	5.3%	19	10%	189
3	**Parents**	294	92.2%	5	1.6%	20	6.2%	319
	S4	205	84.4%	19	7.8%	19	7.8%	243
5	**Parents**	262	86.7%	15	5%	25	8.3	302
	S4	192	71.1%	21	7.8%	57	21.1%	270
7	**Parents**	71	97.2%	1	1.4%	2	2.8%	73
	S4	77	88.5%	0	0%	10	11.5%	87
9	**Parents**	174	94%	4	2.2%	7	3.8%	185
	S4	168	89.4%	4	2.1%	16	8.5%	188
11	**Parents**	121	95.3%	0	0%	6	4.7%	127
	S4	132	91.7%	5	3.5%	7	4.8%	144

Language choice of family 5

Tape	Participants	Chinese		English		Mixed		Total
1	Parents	207	82.5%	6	2.4%	38	15.1%	251
	S5	204	83.5%	30	12.3%	11	4.4%	245
3	Parents	154	74%	33	15.9%	21	10.1%	208
	S5	126	62.1%	61	30.1%	16	7.8%	203
5	Parents	119	76.3%	16	10.3%	21	13.4%	156
	S5	106	77.9%	23	16.9%	7	5.2%	136
7	Parents	225	97%	1	0.4%	6	2.6%	232
	S5	219	97%	3	1.3%	4	1.8-7%	226
9	Parents	240	77.9%	31	10.1%	37	12%	308
	S5	218	78.1%	44	15.8%	17	6.1%	279
11	Parents	79	39.3%	77	38.3%	45	22.4%	201
	S5	81	40.1%	108	53.5%	13	6.4%	202

S5's language choice with playmate

	Chinese		English		Mixed		Total
Parents	1024	75.5%	164	12.1%	168	12.4%	1356
S5	954	73.9%	269	20.8%	68	5.3%	1291
Total	1978	74.7%	433	16.4%	236	8.9%	2647

Language choice in family 6

Tape	Participants	Chinese		English		Mixed		Total
1	**Parents**	156	75.7%	12	5.8%	38	18.5%	206
	S6	62	29.7%	116	55.5%	31	14.8%	209
3	**Parents**	184	41.6%	53	12%	205	46.4%	442
	S6	171	41.8%	188	46%	50	12.2%	409
5	**Parents**	225	71.4%	45	14.3%	45	14.3%	315
	S6	170	56.7%	101	33.7%	29	9.6%	300
7	*Playmate*	27	96.4%	1	3.6%	0	0%	28
	S6	33	94.3%	0	0%	2	5.7%	35
9	**Parents**	164	95.9%	0	0%	7	4.1%	171
	S6	147	90.7%	1	0.6%	14	8.6%	162
	S6	69	100%	0	0%	0	0%	69
	Playmate	65	97%	0	0%	2	3%	67
11	**Parents**	258	70.3%	24	6.5%	85	23.2%	367
	S6	200	56.5%	86	24.3%	68	19.2%	354

S6's language choice with playmate

	Chinese		English		Mixed		Total
Playmate	92	96.8%	1	1.1%	2	2.1%	95
S6	102	98%	0	0%	2	1.9%	104

Language choice of family 7

Tape	Participants	Chinese		English		Mixed		Total
5	**Parents**	60	72.3%	15	18.1%	8	9.6%	83
	S5	46	59.7%	22	28.6%	9	11.7%	77
7	**Parents**	88	83.8%	0	0%	17	16.2%	105
	S5	81	79.4%	3	2.9%	18	17.7%	102

S7's Language choice with playmate

Tape	Participants	Chinese		English		Mixed		Total
3	**Playmate**	9	7.8%	106	91.4%	1	0.8%	116
	S5	11	8%	120	88.2%	5	3.8%	136
5	**Playmate**	12	10%	104	87.4%	3	2.6%	119
	S5	7	5.7%	108	88.5%	7	5.8%	122
7	**Playmate**	1	1.1%	90	94.7%	4	4.2%	95
	S5	1	1.1%	89	96.8%	2	2.1%	92
9	**Playmate**	4	2.5%	156	97.5%	0	0%	160
	S5	8	4.2%	180	93.3%	5	2.5%	193

Language choice of S8's family by tape:

Tape	Participants	Chinese		English		Mixed		Total
1	Parents	28	53.9%	3	5.8%	21	40.3%	52
	S8	23	41.9%	13	23.6%	19	34.5%	55
3	Parents	200	77.5%	9	3.5%	49	18.9%	258
	S8	147	60%	26	10.6%	72	29.4%	245
5	Parents	245	88.4%	6	2.2%	26	9.4%	277
	S8	181	79.7%	14	6.2%	32	14.1%	227
7	Parents	242	84%	8	2.8	38	13.2	288
	S8	194	74.6%	28	10.8%	38	14.6%	260
9	Parents	175	85%	13	6.3%	18	8.7%	206
	S8	107	60.1%	37	20.8%	34	19.1%	178
11	Parents	291	82.9%	16	4.6%	44	12.5%	351
	S8	189	66.3%	39	13.7%	57	20%	285

S8's language choice with playmate

	Chinese		English		Mixed		Total
Playmate	8	11%	50	69.5%	14	19.5%	72
S8	6	12.3%	42	85.7%	1	2%	48
Total	14	11.6%	92	76%	15	12.4%	121

Appendix 7

Coding sheet for language choice   Subject: Tape

Coding sheet 3: language choice after parental English turns

No.	Page	Chinese				English				Code-switching			
1													
2													
3													
4													
5													
6													
7													
8													
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15													

Appendix 8

Subject 1: Total CS Turns (=127)
S1 - Tape 1 (= 4)

S1: subject 1;   **F**:   S1's father;
M: S1's mother;   **xxx**:   people's name;
= : interrupted turn;   [:   overlapping utterances;
( ): indecipherable parts within a turn; **((Gap))**: indecipherable parts across turns;

(1)

5.   M．要先做作业，是吧？

6.   S1．嗯。然后，不是老师（   ），他说，他说，他用他得问这个星

         期的 那个（   ）。然后他又说（   ）这个星期的 **homework**

         （   ），后呢，然后他说 "**Oh**, 好， **I'll do it again**"。后来他又

         给我

7.   M．嗯。

8.   S1.   他说，他说，他说，**People don't like, don't want to get home this**

         week, **please join us**. （   ）

(2)

42.   M.   一百应该说=

43.   S1.   = 一百四十 percent out of （   ）

44.   M. 不可能一百四十 percent

45.   S1.   这上面说的一百四十！

(3)

132.   M. 这边是什么意思？

133.   S1.   Decrease

134.   M. Decrease value 什么意思？

135.   S1.   就是减嘛。

(4)

136.   M   从什么地方减？

137.   S1.   （   ）减多少 percent。

138.   M．说大声点儿。

139.   S1.   减多少 percent。

End of Tape 1
S1 (Henry)

S1 - Tape 3 (= 19)
(5)

3.   M   好了。把那个中文拿出来读。你中文那个什么，老师说的那个，

嗯，就是练习题，你得多做，啊。

4.   S1   你说，（   ）他说每天一个,他说每天就 Monday 到 Friday practice, 就

是它有五个，就是，

5.   M   对呀，

6.   S1   就是每天一个。

(6)

20.   M   嗯。

21.   S1   然后他让你继续在 missing gap 上面写。

22.   M   滴答滴答下雨了。

23.   S1   我忘了那个滴答在 （   ）

(7)

35.　　M　嗯。

36.　　S1　Absolutely not.
37.　　M　OK.

38.　　S1　因为没学这课。

(8)

59.　　M　听写还不行吗？不要你默写。

60.　　S1　我不想当 copy out, copy out（　）

61.　　M　那这些字你都该写的嘛！

62.　　S1　该写的我都 copy up 了。你看，我都 （　　）

(9)

63.　　M　那你还，那我给你念，那给你听写，你能写吗？

64.　　S1　我今天不能做，我的做这个！Monday, 春雨。 Monday.

65.　　M　你把春雨做了，那这是你上次欠的债呀！上星期的债嘛！先把这
　　　　　　个做了。

66.　　S1　你教我这个可能有点 advance. 那个 end of year 那个 test。

(10)

67.　　M　就是那个，就是做那个。

68.　　S1　题。就是那个 test 我没做这个。

69.　　M　你得先把春雨念一念才能写

70.　　S1　他妈的，我知道怎么念春雨。

(11)

85.　　M　子就是轻读，你不要说 /li 4 zi 4/

86.　　S1　我得 sharpen 它啦。

87. M 我给你那个长的笔呢？

88. S1 哪个？

(12)

93. M 谁选的？你选的（ ）

94. S1 那笔差！你给我买的破笔。你给我买好看的，那种 colour 的。

95. M 画笔呀？

96. S1 他们嫌我穷似的。

(13)

108. M 我看好一点点。但是我建议你不要用这支笔。太细。

109. S1 Please!

110. M 不是。你们老师也不喜欢的。太细。

111. S1 那，就在（ ）写。

(14)

118. M 期末考试，考试题（ ）

119. S1 他每，每，这次没听写就给我一个 test，而且还算（ ）。

120. M 你看你老师，你看人家写那个八。重写！第二个八写的那么差。

121. S1 怎么差？

(15)

228. M 请吃吧，对。好了，然后把它每一个字写一行。写在这上头。到时候我要听写的。

229. S1 我还没做他妈的 homework.

230. M 谁的 homework?

231. S1 我的，我中文的这是几天的（ ）.

(16)

280.　M　不好写，真不好写。

281.　S1　OK. Watch. I'll mark it right. ((Pause)) 你看，多漂亮啊！

282.　M　还是用那个写，太硬。

283.　S1　都把纸弄坏了。

(17)

304.　M　叫小兵，还有什么呀？一个木头上挂两把刀，挂一把刀。然后有

　　　　两个小兵。

305.　S1　我来写一个 sentence。

306.　M　嗯

307.　S1　是，嗯，哦，你是这个旁吧？((S1 is asking M's name))

(18)

312.　M　噢，对。（　）应该是感叹符号，惊叹号。因为 surprise, 对吧。
　　　　/ikstres/.

313.　S1　Exclamation 嘛。我不是告诉你了嘛，上次。

314.　M　噢，exclamation.

315.　S1　你就记不住，你这人。

(19)

316.　M　Exclamation. 那个呢？就是那个 apostre, 不是。

317.　S1　Apostrophe。.

318.　M　Apostrophe 是哪个？

319.　S1　是这个。 Speech mark 有三种，一个叫 question mark,

(20)

340.　M　嗯　(　)

341.　S1　(　)　这个咱们 order 过啦！

342.　M　没有！(　) order, 礼拜三才 order 呢。

343.　S1　(　)　还没 order？

(21)

344.　M　没呢。(　).

345.　S1　你 see you, 哦 ，right. 你买的沙发。 我 (　) 行吧？

346.　M　别说了，赶紧写。

347.　S1　完了看 Dragon Ballzee. 我写完了再看行吗？

(22)

348.　M　写完了再看。看完了再给你出题，好不好？

349.　S1　Deal.
350.　M　Deal.

351.　S1　四十了。完了看 Dragon Ballzie. 然后五点才完。五点十分(　).

(23)

354.　M　今天争取那个听写得全对噢。

355.　S1　OK. Later see you. Half an hour, eh?

356.　M　嗯，还有两分钟就录完了。声音小一点。那喝完了吗，那个饮料？

357.　S1　Yeah.

End of Tape 3
Henry

S1 - Tape 5 (=39)

(24)

22. M: Shi, xxx, ( )

23. S: xxx, wo jin tian zuo le, wo zuo le, na ge **review**, xian zai wo kai shi zuo
     Angles   he **Geometery** la.

24. F: Xing. Ming tian wo men women ming tian zai jie zhe zuo, ran hou (   )

25. S: ((To Recorder)) **Hello!**

(25)

55. F: Guo lai bang wo yi xia.

56. S: **Oh, shit**, deng yi xia. **Oh, shit**. Da xiang you ge piao liang de, piao liang
     de

57. F: Q,

58. S: Shen mo?

(26)

119. F: (   ) zai na er ne?

120. S: (   ) **School**.

121. F: Shi zhong xue hai shi xiao xue ya?

122. S: Zhong xue.

(27)

126. M: Ken ding shi yao mai **uniform** la!

127. S: Di yi tian ni ke yi yao, mei bu mai, ta yao ni,,(   ) bu, hai you zhong wu
     ni bu neng zou hai yao **after school care**, dei dai ban tian. Di er tian, ni iu
     dei (   )

128. M: (   ) Xing qi tian zai mai bei. Hai bu zhi dao mai xie shen mo, (   ) xue
     xiao mai (   )

129. F: Ta yao qu de hua, di yi tian yao song ta qu ma!

(28)

152. M: Na ge wa zi, dong tian na yang mao wa zi dao zhe er, shi bu shi xx? Mei
     tian dou dei chuan zhe qu.

153. S: Zhen shi, yi ge, (   ) xxx **Primary School** pai de shi shen mo? Shi yi ge
     shan, yi ge xiao de yi ge xiao **pool** xiao de **hill,** yi ge **circle**.

154. M: En.

155. S: Jiu zhe yang, jiu (   )

(29)

181. M: Ta ma bu chou a!

182. S: (   ) **Of course**. Zhen fei de

183.   M: Ta ma bu pang.
184.   S: Zhen pang.

(30)
191.   M: Shi ma?
192.   S: Ta ma shi ge **tour guide**, **Tourism Industry**.
193.   M: Zuo na ge dao you.
194.   S: Dui ya.

(31)
195.   M: Ta hai shuo ma. Ta shuo ta ma jin tian yao shang ban.
196.   S: Ta men chi fan dou bu yi qi chi. Ta ba (   ) wan shang chu qu jian cao,
            huo zhe shi bu gen ta men chi. Ta men fan ye hen jian dan. Ta men lao
            (   ) lao shi chi na ge po **jelly.**
197.   M: En.
198.   S: Ta ma dou ke neng bu, you, hen shao gei ta zuo fan, dou chi po **jelly** gen
            na ge (   ) de **jelly** (   ) **pie** jiu xing le.

(32)
201.   M: En.
202.   S: Ta shuo gou yao ta (   ), ran hou wo men hou lai you qu, ta hui jia wo
            men kan ta. Wo men cong na ge, wo cong Fujian ren de na ge **fence** kan
            le yi xia..
203.   M: En.
204.   S: Wo men cong na er kan.

(33)
211.   F: Na er qu le?
212.   S: Bu zhi dao. Fan zheng **empty** le. Ta na ge da gui zi mei you le.
213.   F: **Empty** le.
214.   S: Dui.

(34)
226.   M: Bu xing. Ni zui hao qu na na ge yao qu pen yi xia.
227.   S: (   ) **Company Halt**!
228.   M: Ni si! Shui jiao **Company Halt**?
229.   **S:** Jiu shi ni zai er zhan yi de, bu shi you zhe xie **company** ma, **business
            state** ma.

(35)
230.   M: En.
231.   S: **Connect** (   ) yi ge **company**, (   ) **Halt** jiu shi **stop**. **Company Halt!**
232.   M: Na shi shen mo yi si ne? **Company** jiu **stop**?
233.   S: Dui!

(36)

238.   M: Zhe xie shi er zhan ma?

239.   S: Zhe na shi er zhan, zhe shi zhe xie Yue Nan zhan de bing. Ran hou ne hou lai ta men shuo, zai Yue Han gan le xie huai shi, ran hou ta men mei gan. **Convicted**, Ta men ba ta nong dao jian yu le, zhe xie ren.

240.   M: En.

241.   S: Hou lai ta men tao chu lai xian zai shi gan hao shi, ba zhe xie du pin, zhong du pin ren dou gan diao.

(37)

278.   F: Ni gen ta shuo ta bu yao ta.

279.   S: Wo men na tian, ta jiu bu ting. Ta hai pa ta jiu bu gan lai. Hai you na tian gou ( ) zhui le, wo men shuo le " **Stop, stop** !". Ta jiu bu ting, ta jiu bu ting.

280.   F: Na xiao hai sha de hen, na xiao hai hao xiang bi lao da sha.

281.   S: Dui.

(38)

319.   M: Bu shi, na shi yi ge ting. Wo men jin qu kan le. San ge **bedroom** hai yi ge fan ting, yi ge ke ting. Ta ke neng ba na ge

320.   S: Bu shi! Ting wo shuo. Ta men you **enough spaces for everyone to sleep in**. Lao da he, you xiao de, **brother** ta men lia shui yi wu. Na liang ge, na liang ge biao mei de ba ba ma ma you yi wu. Biao mei zi ji you yi wu, hai you na liang ge xong di Fujian ren ye you yi ge wu.

321.   M: Ta men de ba ba ma ma ye you yi ge wu?

322.   S: Dui ya!

(39)

338.   F: Dui ma?

339.   S: Dui. Ta men, ni men mei qu kan, bu yao gen wo **argue**.

340.   M: Mei you wo men kan de qing qing chu chu.

341.   S: Na er ya ! ( )

(40)

373.   F: ( ) wan le.

374.   S: **No.**

375.   F: Xing ma?

376.   S: Wo jiu zhu zai wo zhe jian.

(41)

404.   F: Ta men pa gou de ma!

405.   S: Na, shui guan ta men. Ta men, ying gai, ta men, ta men neng cong ta

men bu yong **fence** na er jiu ke yi (   )

406.   F: Ai, wo gao su ni, ni ping chang dei kan zhe dian er le, wan yi gou yi jiao, wan yi yao shi you ren lai le, ni dei chu qu. Dong ma?

407.   S: A!

(42)

433.   M: Ke neng hai shi shang wang yi hou rang ren jia hei ke gei hei le.

434.   S: Rang **hacker**.

435.   M: Dui. Ren jia gei shao le.

436.   S: Rang **hacker** ba ta (   )

(43)

437.   M: En.

438.   S: Zan men hai bei hacked guo, ni yao nong yi ge **Norton-Anti**, **Anti-hacker** (   ) ni ying gai mai yi ge **honesty computer**.

439.   M: En.

440.   S: Ting gui de, yi bai wan mei yuan ne!

(44)

443.   F: Shui (   )

444.   S: Qi shi ni dou mei nong ge **password** gei **hacker**, (   ) **hack**, xian zai na dou shi **hacker.**

445.   M: Neng yi xia (   ) **hacker.**

446.   S: Dui ya! Dui ya. Yong na xie, na ge, na xie **credit card pin, pin** numbers.

(45)

536.   F: ((To S)) You ren da dian hua, wo gen ni shuo, **leave a message,**

537.   S: Wo jiu wen, wo jiu wen ta **leave a message**, ta ting shuai de. ((Xiao))

538.   F: Ta zen mo shuo a?

539.   S: Ta jiu zhe yang, (   )

(46)

546.   F: Ta zen mo shuo de?

547.   S: Ta fan zheng (   ) ta jiu bu yao, (   ) **a message.**

548.   M: Shuo ta bu yong liu yan, shi ba?

549.   S: Dui ya.

(47)

75.   M: En.

76.   S: Ta jiu, **my** wo dian nao bu neng **take** na ge **pressure**. Wo jiu xia wang.

77.   M: En.

78.   S; Ta dou deng le wu fen zhong le hai mei chu lai ne!

(48)

564. M: Liu bei. **RAM , RAM**, wo na ge 64,. Dang shi hai jue de hen da, xian zai
     RAM 256 . **RAM** xiao le shang wang jiu shi ma fan.

565. S: xxx de dian nao geng po. Xxx de dian nao geng shi de, (   ) you xie, you
     xie shang dian li ba, you hen duo **item** de dian nao, hen duo xiang
     Thousand of item. Ta dian nao dou bu neng **take** na ge **pressure.**

566. M: En.

567. S: Ta jiu, **my** wo dian nao bu neng **take** na ge **pressure.** Wo jiu xia wang.

(49)

586. F: En. (   ) Chang ge (   )

587. S: Kan, ni men kan Fu Te de **destruction** (   ) Fu Te de che.

588. F: Zhe shi Fu Te de?

589. S: Bu shi, Fu Te che duo zhong? Duo. Na lai **stop**, xia po, ni kan zhe ge bu
     shi Fu Te zhe ge shi Fu Te.

(50)

598. S: Dui. **Heavier, at more speeed**, wo zhi dao zhe ge.

599. M: Na shi **physical fact**

600. S: Wo zhi dao zhe ge **physical fact**.

601. M: En.

(51)

603. M: En.

604. S: Ni kan, **Normal** (   ) **Toyata** you **ABS** ken ding neng **stop** de.

605. M: En.

606. S: Zhe ge che jiu mei you **ABS.**

(52)

621. F: Kan che shang? Ao! Ni (   ) che shang xie zhe ne?

622. S: **ABS, electrical window, spoiler, (   ) twin-turbo**,

623. M: **Spoile**r shi shen mo dong xi?

624. S: Jiu shi jia su qi li de. ((Pause)) Wan le, wan le. Wo de zhua zhu le.
     Cool.

(53)

659. M: Yue Na zhan zheng, bu shi Yue Nan zhang,

660. S: Ta men shi **convicted of crime** ta men mei gan, ran hou **sent to prison**,
     ta men tao chu lai, yao bian cheng **AP.**

661. M: Wo mei xi zao, dou mei xi zao a ?

662. F: Dou mei you.

(54)

664.   M: Ni xian qu xi ba. Xi wan le. Ao, bu xing, zhe er li bu liao ni.

665.   S: Dui. ((singing)) Wo shi **main person.**

666.   M: Ni shi **chairman.**.

667.   S: Ni li bu liao wo.

(55)

696.   M: En.

670.   S: **Private to us**.

671.   M: En.

672.   S: **Private** jiu shi you.

(56)

729.   F: Ni, ni, ye dei lun zhe duo fu dian er ze ren la! Wo men ( )

730.   S: Gou jin tian gen wo **shake hands** la!

731.   M: Ta gen ni ting hao de ba!

732.   S: Ta jin tian zai jie shang **upside down** le.

(57)

843.   M: Shi mei guo de ba?

844.   S: Mei guo qi shi nian dai ma, ta men xiang **future living** ma,

845.   M: En,

846.   S: Suo yi ta men zhe yang.

(58)

868.   M: **Chrysler** bu zen yang a! **Chrysler** you shen mo ya?

869.   S: Chryster you ge hen gao de **building**

870.   M: Ao, ta na ge **Auction** ( )

871.   S: Ao, zhe ge!

(59)

873.   F: En.

874.   S: ( ) ma, bu shi hai you ge ma ma, na ge ma zai, na ge ma zai zhao de **Tahailand** de shi kai shi **auction** shi er shi **million**

875.   M: Dui.

876.   S: Er shi **million** zhe ge ma ye shi yi yang de na mo, na mo, wei shen mo ta kai shi cong san bai.

(60)

877.   F: Ta ken ding bu yi yang de.

878.   S: Shi yi yang de, hai shuo, jiu shi you liang zhong na ge ma, na ge ma de **section.**

879.   F: Shi ba? ( ) Bu yi yang de.

880.   S: Bu shi.

(61)
904.   F: Ni xia shuo.
905.   S: Wo shi shi xiang **jelly** yi yang.
906.   F: Dong le zen mo neng chi ne?
907.   S: Wo wo bu shi na ge bing ma, wo yong ge shao zi ba ta, wo chi bing he qi
                lai,

(62)
914.   F: Zhe shi ge **drama** ma!
915.   S: Bu shi **drama,** yi ge dian ying.
916.   F: Zhe shi ge dian ying.
917.   S: Dui. Zhe shi, jiu shi mei nian you yi ci liang ci de.

End of Tape 5

S1 - Tape 7 (=58)

(63)

38.   M: Zhong liang yao **square.**

39.   S: Dui. ((Pause)) Wo jin tian shang wan ke **print** le yi ge **map**, zuo wo de
           na ge **explord (?)**

40.   F: Zuo le ma?

41.   S: Wo li bai yi zai xue xiao le. ( )

(64)

42.   M: Ni dian nao da chu lai de shi shen mo dong xi?

43.   S: ( )Na ge ( ) **biography,** na ge, ta de, ta de na ge **expedition.**

44.   M: En.

45.   S: Ran hou ne hai you ta de na ge ( ) **expedition**.

(65)

56.   M;   Zhi jie cha zai ni na ge ( )

57.   S: Wo jin tian ba na ge **map**, ni zhi dao ma, ( ) wo cong dian nao shang,
           wo **push** na ge **send**,

58.   M: En,

59.   S: Ran hou, wo ba ta **sent** dao ( ) le. Hou lai wo you ba na ge, you xia
           ang le, ran hou you ba ta **snapped** zai na ge **desktop** shang. ( )

(66)

62.   M: Ran hou ni hai xie shen mo, ni xie de na xie ( ) yu fa de ( )

63.   S: Na shi na ge na ge **time** ( ) na ge **time** ( ) na ge jiu nong bu liao na ge
           vertical xian. Xian.

64.   M: Ke yi hua ya!

65.   S: **Vertical** xian.

(67)

66.   M: E…

67.   S: Ran hou wo hai dei yao **picture**.

68.   M: **Vertical** xian de hua, ke yi hua xie xian, ke yi hua shu xian. Yi hui er
           wo jiao ni.

69.   S: Na wo jiu zhi jie zuo zai dian nao shang.

(68)

114.   F: En, ( ) xie shen mo wen zhang?

115.   S: **Essay**.

116.   F: Ni xian zai hui xie la?

117.　S:　En.

(69)

119.　F:　Wei shen mo ne?

120.　S:　Shuo tai duo **student** la!

121.　F:　Tai duo, **student** tai duo la?!

122.　S:　Dui. Ta shuo shi you jiu bai, you ba bai ge dao jiu bai ge xue sheng. Ta
　　　　shuo shi **far more than** na ge **than usual** (　) jiu shi shuo **intermediate**
　　　　Normal shi san bai dao wu bai.

(70)

125.　F:　En.

126.　S:　Ta shuo xian zai yao, ke neng yao **kick out some people**.

127.　F:　(　) Gei ren jia ti na er qu?

128.　S:　Ti chu qu.

(71)

153.　F:　Mei kan duo shao ma!

154.　S:　Wo kan le suo you de **science** de shu.

155.　F:　Ni du na mo kuai? Neng gou?

156.　S:　En?

(72)

157.　F:　Neng du na mo kuai ma?

157.　S:　Wo jiu **chose several subject.**

158.　F:　Ni dou du guo ma?En? Ju ti de du guo mei you?

159.　S:　Zhe xie dou du le.

(73)

161.　F:　Ni ba mei yi pian de wen zhang dou du guo la? Mei you ba?

162.　S:　Wo shi **search specific topic** (　) ma.

163.　F:　Ni jiu shi zhi kan **topic** a?

164.　S:　En. Wo kan qian mian de **topic**

(74)

165.　F:　Jiu kan **topic**, bie de bu kan na?

166.　S:　Bu shi. Qian mian yao kan (　) **chosed** de **specific topic**, (　) du na ge
　　　　topic de wen zhang,

167.　F:　En.

168.　S:　Wo jie le yi ge dian nao de **dictionary**.

(75)

203.　F:　Ai!

204.　S:　You de. Wo bu zhi dao (　). Wo men shi jin le na ge dian nao, dian nao

na ge, **coumputer room** li la.

205.	M:	En.
206.	S:	Ran hou li, ( ) lao shi shuo na ge. ( ) ni men shen mo dong xi dou
		mess le, ran hou jiu jiao wo men chu qu. Ran hou ba men guan shang.

(76)

213.	F:	Ye shi ( ), shi ba?
214.	S:	En. Xx ye **apply** la.
215.	F:	Ta ye **apply** la?
216.	S:	En.

(77)

226.	F:	E.
227.	S:	Ta **after school** ye shi.
228.	F:	Ta shi shang shen mo ya?
229.	S:	**Primary**.

(78)

250.	F:	Xian zai hai da ma, ni men?
251.	S:	Da ya! Xxx tian tian dou bu dai **bat**, xxx , wo dou bu zhi dao ta you
		mei you, lao shi shuo, wo you, wo you.
252.	F:	xxx da de hao ma?
253.	S:	En?

(79)

260.	F:	Dou shuo shen mo a?
261.	S:	Dou shuo zan men mei you **bat** de bu neng wan le.
262.	F:	Wei shen mo ne?
263.	S:	Ta men bu xi huan lao shi gei bie ren na ge. Ta men de **bat** bei.

(80)

302.	F:	Zhe xie **donation** you mei you ren bu jiao a? A?
303.	S:	Ni yao bu jiao ni jiu bu neng **participate** zai li mian.( )
304.	F:	Ao. Suo you de ren dou jiao a?
305.	S:	En, huo zhe ni jiu bu **participate** le ( )

(81)

308.	F;	Yi nian yi bai kuai. Qi nian qi bai kuai. Shang **college** hai shi yi bai a?
309.	S:	Na ya shi **Garammar**.
310.	F:	E, wo shuo yao dao **Grammar** de hua?
311.	S:	Wo bu zhi dao le. Ao, yao yi bai wu.

(82)

314.	F:	Ai, ta gen ni bu yi yang a?
315.	S:	Shi a. Ta shi yi bai wu, wo shi yi bai. Ta shi **Grammar** ma.
316.	F:	Ta shi hai wai xue sheng a, ta shi. Ta ying gai bi ni gui ba? A?

317.   S: Ao, ke neng shi.

(83)
321.   F: Hai zi shang xue yi yang a?
322.   S: Na wo jiu yi bai wu, Hou lai, na ge **Grammar**, wo shang ji nian?
323.   F: **Grammar**, shang wu nian ba, shi bu shi?
324.   S: E.

(84)
335.   F: Shang na er a?
336.   S: Na shi gei **year   eight** de, ming nian wo jiu neng can jia.
337.   F: Ni bu shi shuo you san ge **trip**, shi shen mo?
338.   S: E, qi shi you yi ge, hai you yi ge.

(85)
339.   F: Shi shen mo dong xi?
339.   S: Shi **year eight** de. (   ) neng can jia. (   ) cong na ge yi yue, jiu shi yi, san yue yi hao,
340.   F: En.
341.   S: Kai shi, ni yao shi xiang can jia jiu, jiu shi, ni yao xiang can jia, ni yao xiang bao ming qu hua xue, zai **Queen's Town**.

(86)
349.   F: En.
350.   S: Jiu ba **number, cut down** dao 24 ge.
351.   F: A.
352.   S: Hua xue de, e, hai neng, hai neng, hai neng. (   )

(87)
372.   F: Ai. Ni de zhong wen mei wen ti a!
373.   S: Shui shuo mei wen ti. Jiu shi ni ba wo **confuse** le.
374.   F: Mei **confuse** de. Jin zi.
375.   S: Ni ba xxx kun shang le?

(88)
422.   F: Da zai bian bian shang.
423.   S: Jiu **touch** dao zhe er.
424.   F: **Touch** dao **edge** shang.
425.   S: Zai hua xia lai.

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432.   F: A, ni da zai **edge** shang,
433.   S: Gang **touch** yi dian la.
434.   F: **Touch** yi dian na shi hao qiu a!

435.   S: En.

462.   F: Wei shen mo?
463.   S: Yin wei you hen duo na ge shu xue, xiang **prime number** na xie, ta men
            dou mei xue ma. Ran hou ne, ta jiu
464.   F: Jiu bu gao xing.
465.   S: Hai yao (   ). Ta shuo ni men dou xue le zhe xie, zhe xie zai **primary**,
            prime number zhe xie.

466.   F: Ni xue de mei you?
466.   S: Wo xue le. Wo **primary** mei jiao, (   ) wo ma jiao wo de.
467.   F: Dui. Ni xian zai hai ji de ma?
468.   S: En.

470.   F: Na lao shi=
471.   S: Lao shi xian zai. Ao, wo men xian zai zai xue **Geometry** le.
472.   F: A. (   ) you mei you xue guo ni?
473.   S: Mei you. Wo men xian zai kai shi xue zen mo **measure**, ni kan, zhe bu
            shi yi ge **round** (   ) ma,

478.   F: En.
479.   S: Jiu shi yi ge **angle** shi zhe yang,
480.   F: Dui.
481.   S: Ran hou zhe shi yi ge **compass** (   ) , zhe ge shi **angle**, ran hou shi
            compass, ran hou ne, zhe ge **compass**, ran hou ne, ni zai kan na ge, bu
            hi, jiu shi zhi neng **measure** xiang zhe ge **angle** ba, zhi yang ,zhe yang.

482.   F: En.
483.   S: Ni ba **compass** zhe yang fang guo qu,
484.   F: Dui.
485.   S: Ran hou ni zai kan, ni zai kan na ge, ni zai kan na ge, ta zhe li you ge
            matching up na ge xian,

486.   F: A.
487.   S: Ran hou ni jiu zhi dao ta de **angle** la.
488.   F: Shi ba!
489.   S: Ta na ge xian dao na ge shu de **compass** de, jiu shi **angle**.

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495.   F: Dou **check** le?

496.   S: Zhe zui hou yi dao ti shi, zhe shang mian de **answer** dui ba.

497.   F: Dui.

498.   S: Ran hou ni kan yi ge shi qi ba wu shi liu

(97)

503.   F: En.

504.   S: You wu shi liu. Ni jiu zhao na ge wu shi liu. Shang mian jiu you na ge **number**.

505.   D: Dui.

506.   S: Jiu you na ge **alphabet**,

(98)

507.   F: En, en.

508.   S: Ran hou ni jou xie yi ge **code**,

509.   F: En.

510.   S: Jiu shi, ta bu shi shuo ma, you ge **guestion, what**, zai na ge ti shang mian.

(99)

541.   F: Guang gao, hai you guang gao.

542.   S: Ran hou ne, 21 hao jiu **channel**   21 shi na ge, shuo ba hao, a, qi hao, **seven of March, Jim Richmon coming to cimenas in Singapore**.

543.   F: Ao, na ni yao xia li bai?

544.   S: Xia li bai ke neng dao niu xi lan ba.

(100)

559.   F: xxx ((Spelling of S's English name)) ba,

560.   S: Bu shi, ni xian gei wo **try to copy** yi xia.

561.   F: Wo gei ni **cope** yi xia.

562.   S: Ni **copy** bu liao.

(101)

569.   F: Ha! Ta Ma De!

570.   S: You xie ren de **signature** jiu zhe yang ((writing sth?)) jiu zhe yang.

571.   F: Zhe shi ge shen mo **signature**?

572.   S: Jiu shi yi ge **signature**, you xie ren jiu shi zhe yang de. Nong de ni **copy** bu liao ma, ni kan bu dong. Ni kan wo zhe ge ni **copy** bu liao. Ni **try** lai **copy** yi xia. Ni zhe ge duo jian dan.

(102)

577.   F: En. Na ni ye **copy** bu xiang ma.

578.   S: Ye ye **close**, dan ni **copy** bu liao zhe ge.

579.   F: Wo **copy** bu liao zhe ge ma? Wo bu xin!

580.   S: Zhen de, ni **copy** bu liao.

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585.   F: Xiang bu xiang, xiang bu xiang.

586.   S: Ni shi, ni nong, mai jia ju de shi hou, ren lai le, ni qian **signature** ni zhe mo man, ni zhe mo man, ni zhe mo man **sign**, ni zhe mo man **sign** shi ba, ren jai =

587.   F: Na ni gei wo kuai yi dian **sign** yi ge gei wo kan kan. Jiu zai zhe er **sign** jiu xing le.

588.   S: Wo dei huan yi ge (   )

(104)

599.   F;   xxx ne?

600.   S: **R** shi zhe yang, x shi zhe yang ma, ni kan. **Normally** ni de **R** shi zhe yang, wo de x shi zhe yang. En, zhe yang,

601.   F: Zhe ge shi ni bie ren xue de, hai shi zi ji xiang de?

602.   S: Wo cong bie ren kan de, wo cong bie ren de **handwriting** kan le yi xia, **copy** le yi xie na zhong **style**. Ran hou wo zai ba wo de **style** jia qi lai, ran hou jiu (   ) le zhe ge.

(105)

609.   F: Xie xxx ((M"s Englsih name))

610.   S: Ta you liang ge **signature**.

611.   F: Ai, ni xie xxx ((ying yu)). Kan xiang bu xiang. Wo kan.

612.   S: Wo xie de (   ) (   )

(106)

631.   F: Wo xie yi ge, (   )

632.   S: Zhe ge tai tai **boring** la!

633.   F: Tai **printed** le, shi bu shi?

634.   S: Tai **printed**, shi.

(107)

635.   F: En.

636.   S: Hai **bold** de le.

637.   F: Tai **bold** de le.

638.   S: Ni kan wo ma de ye tai na ge le. Zhe er tai xiao la. You ge ren shi zhe yang, (   ) you ge shi zhe yang.

(108)

641. F: En.
642. S: Ni zhi dao hen duo ren, hen duo ren **signature** dou zhe yang . Ni kan xiang **Mr. Francis**. **In signature** ta jiu zhe yang. ((Pause)) Jiu zhe yang.
643. F: Zhe shi shen mo ya?
644. S: Zhe jiu shi

(109)

669. F: En. ((Pause)) Shen mo?
670. S: You dian xiang **Mr. Francis** de **signature**. Jiu zhe yang xia hua. Ran hou jie, xxx ta ta ye shi zhe yang,
671. F: En.
672. S: Ta xie wan ta yi xie le, ta xie, ka. Yi hua chu lai le.(   ) shi zhe yang de. Ta zuo de xiang wo de.

(110)

680. F: ((Xiao)) Kan bu dong, kan bu dong. Ta min xie de tai (   )
681. S: Wo men zhe shi xin de **signature**, ni zhe ge tai **printed** le.
682. F: Na, wo bu hui xie ni men na zhong.
683. S: Na wo gei ni **create** yi ge.

(111)

692. F: Kan bu qing chu, (   ) ni na ge **signature** jiu mei yong le.
693. S: Ni Kan na ge (   ) **contract** ba, ni xie ni de **signature**, ren hai rang ni **print** yi xia **name**.
694. F: En.
695. S: Na ni xie, ni jiu xie ni zhe ge, xiang wo zhe ge hen nan de **signature**. Ren jia ye zhi dao ni de ming zi a! Yin wei xian rang ni xie **signature**, zai rang ni **prin**t ni ming zi. Ni kan jiu zhe yang.

(112)

701. F: En.
702. S: You ren fang, kan ren fang zhe zhong **"I"**? Na mo cu de **" I" in signature** ma?
703. F: Mei you a?!
704. S: Ta jiu zhe yang.

(113)

709. F: Shui xie de?
710. S: Wo kan zhe (   ) **signature**, ta **sign** zai wo de **book** shang.
711. F: A, jiu shi ni na ge **primary school** de shi hou?
712. S: Dui. Hai you yi zhong shi zhe yang de.

(114)

713. F: Ni gei ren jia **sign** le ma?
714. S: **Sign** le.
715. F: En.
716. S: Hai you yi zhong. NI kan de dong zhe ge ma?

(115)

723. F: En.
724. S: (   ) wo xian jiao **Year Five** na ge ban.
725. F: En.
726. S: Jiao ta (   ) **signature.**

(116)

751. F: Zhe ge shi shen mo ma?
752. S: Ta ba ba de **signature.**
753. F: Jiu zhe mo yi ge quan a?
754. S: En.

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755. F: Na shi shen mo dong xi a. Na shi?
756. S: Jiu shi zhe yang de. Ta **show** wo, ta jiu shi zhe yang **show** wo de. (   ) **show earlier**.
757. F: A ya !!
758. S: Gu yi xie de hen xiao, kan bu chu lai.

(118)

761. F: Kan bu dong, kan bu dong. Ni men xian zai suo you ren dou zhe mo xie?
762. S: Dui. Ni kan, hen duo ren dou shi yong wo zhe zhong **style**, jiu shi ba zhe xie shu (   ) yong wo de **style**, hen duo ren yong wo de zhe zhong.
763. F: (   ) Kan bu don a! En.
764. S: Hen duo ren zhe yang.

(119)

765. F: En.
766. S: Ni kan bu chu lai **letter** ma?
767. E: En.
768. S: Huo zhe hen duo ren ta men dou zhe yang.

(120)

782. F: Mei you la.
783. S: Wo hai you **signature** ne!
784. F: Yi jing mei you le?

785.　　S:　Ni ting.

The End of Tape 7, S1

S1: Tape 9 (=7)

(121)

44.　　M:　En.
45.　　S:　Wo gao su ni, (　　) jiao **co-efficient**.
46.　　M:　**Co-efficient,** shui bu zhi dao a!
47.　　S:　(　　) Bu zhi dao.

(122)

98.　　M:　Xia wu shi (　　).
99.　　S:　**Yes, yes, yes. You will**.
100.　　M:　Xia wu ke neng wo yao qu kan (　　) ne!
101.　　S:　**Yes, yes, you will.** (　　)

(123)

112.　　M:　You shen mo yong?
113.　　S:　Zai **space** a! Zai **space** a, zai **space** you hen duo yong chang.
114.　　M:　You shen mo yong?
115.　　S:　Ni neng **cut**, jiu shi ni neng, yao shi ni neng chuan guo yi ge (　　) de
　　　　　　space,

(124)

126.　　M:　En.
127.　　S:　Ma ma, ta bu **famous**, zhong guo na ge yi ge (　　) ta ta ta shuo a, (　　)
128.　　M:　A, di, di, di dong yi.
129.　　S:　Ta shuo, (　　) yi qian, zhong guo ren dou jue de yue liang shi ge na ge
　　　　　　godess, wan hou, ta shuo yue liang shi ge qiu. Ran hou (　　)

(125)

132.　　M:　Dui, zhe quan shi zhong guo ren zao de.
133.　　S:　**So, so what**? (　　) Gu dai mei you zhi, ((Lue))((Popular scence text)
134.　　M:　Xue dao 12　ke,　Na hai you liang ke zen mo ban?
135.　　S:　Ke yi zai xia ge **term** xue ya!

(126)

140.　　M:　Yi ge **term** xue liang ke ya? Zhe ben shu xue le
141.　　S:　**No**, yi ge **term** xue liang ke , zen mo hui de? Zhe ge ren!
142.　　M:　(　　) Xue liang ke?
143.　　S:　**No**, wo men dou zai shi er ke le, ni zhen shi ben!

(127)

148.   M: Na ni men ( )

149.   S: **No**, Zhen de. Shi zhe yang de,

150.   M: ( ) Zai ba na ge Cai Lun na ge( )

151.   S: ( ) Cai Lun, ( ) wo bu xiang du.

The End of Tape 9   S1 (Henry)