[Treatise]

Coerced code-switching and its effect on young developing bilinguals：Literature review

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1. Introduction

Bilingual speakers (speakers of two or more languages) are known to change from one language to another between sentences or even within a sentence. This feature of bilingual speech is known as code-switching. There are many reasons why bilingual speakers switch codes during conversation. These include the need to allow for the linguistic ability of their conversational partners, to include people in, or exclude people from the conversation, and to signal group identity. The decision to switch codes is usually made by the speaker in response to the context in which the conversation is taking place. However, in some cases the speaker may be directed to switch codes by their conversational partner or by someone observing but not directly taking part in the conversation, such as a parent or other member of the community where the conversation is taking place. In this "coerced code-switching" the speaker's choice of language is restricted. Young children may be coerced or directed when to switch codes by their parents and peers as they learn which language is appropriate for each conversational context. However, as young bilingual children experiment with their languages and develop their linguistic competency such coerced code-switching may in fact reduce their motivation to code-switch, and influence their cultural identity.

While there is significant research on the linguistic development of young bilingual children, including the reasons and motivations behind code-switching, there appears to be less research into the impact of

coerced code-switching on both their bilingual development and cultural identity. This article serves to draw together some of the literature concerning coerced code-switching, and to provide an overview of the positive and negative effects coerced code-switching has on the linguistic development of young Japanese/English bilingual speakers.

2. Definitions

2.1 Defining bilingualism

Albrecht (2004) observes that the definition of bilingualism is as diverse as the studies and research into this phenomenon. Hamers and Blanc (2000 : 6) note that a popular definition of bilingualism introduced by Blomfield in 1935 is the ability to use two languages with "native like control". On the other hand, McNamara (1967 ; cited in Hamers and Blanc, 2000) suggests that to be bilingual one needs to possess a minimum level of competency in only one of the four language skills of a language other than the first. Between these two greatly differing positions there is a whole array of definitions to choose from. It is now generally accepted, however, that it is rare for bilingual and multilingual speakers to have equal ability across all their languages, with one language normally stronger than the other(s). Thus, Albrecht (2004) can claim that over fifty percent of the world's population is believed to be bilingual or multilingual. According to Grosjean (2010 : 4) "bilinguals are those who use two or more languages (or dialects) in their everyday lives." Grosjean's definition emphasizes regular use as opposed to fluency and includes multilingual speakers. As our research interests lie with young developing bilinguals we will use the term "bilingual" to refer to those people who are regularly exposed to more than one language and are able to function and/or react in two or more languages.

2.2 Defining code-switching

Code-switching is the ability of a bilingual speaker to switch rapidly and completely between languages. Baker (2014 : 74), notes that "code-switching may occur in large blocks of speech, between sentences or within sentences". When people switch from one code to another for reasons which can be identified through a change in situation, it is often referred to as situational switching (Blom and Gumperz, 1972 ; Holmes, 2001). When people switch for rhetorical reasons to convey how they wish their words to be interpreted, it can be referred to as metaphorical switching (Gumperz and Hernandez-Chavez, 1975). Gumperz (1982 : 59) defines conversational code-switching "as the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems." A broader definition is "the alternate use of two or more distinct languages, varieties of a language or even speech styles, within the same speech situation by the same individual" (Hymes, 1974 ; Wong, 1979).

A summary of major uses of code-switching taken from Holmes (2001 : 34-42) includes :

1. To make allowances for participants' language ability.
2. To make allowances for changes in social situations.
3. To signal group membership and shared ethnicity.
4. To indicate social distance.
5. To express or discuss particular topics more adequately.
6. For amusement and dramatic effect.
7. For rhetoric (metaphorical switching)

2.3 Defining coerced code-switching

The term "coerced code-switching" refers to instances when a bilingual person is explicitly directed to switch languages by a co-present speaker (Schinckel, 2004). Schinckel used the term coerced code-switching

when reporting on an interaction between a Japanese father and his young six-year-old biracial daughter in which the father was coercing his daughter in Japanese to use English with a known English speaker to describe a previous day's activities. The daughter was placed in a position where : (1) but she knew she had to use a language appropriate to the situation, this decision-making process was removed from her ; (2) she was required to process three pieces of information as instructed by her father ; (3) the combination of (1) and (2) contributed to a feeling of pressure and anxiety which was revealed in her refusal to code-switch and continue the conversation. The term coerced code-switching is attributable to Tim Greer (Schinckel, 2004). We take the above three factors to constitute a definition of coerced code-switching, such that the coerced speaker has the decision-making power removed by another person, he or she is directed to process information in the enforced language and as a result feels some mental discomfort, pressure or anxiety.

3. Motivations for code-switching

Code-switching occurs when the individual seeks to conform to or deviate from their interlocutor (Durano, 2009). For example, Ruan (2003) observed a first-grade Chinese class made up of learners who spoke both Chinese and English and noted that the children switched languages in their speech so as to "realize social function, pragmatic function, and meta-linguistic function". This is consistent with Gumperz's (1982) view that code-switching plays a critical discourse function for bilinguals. The author noted that bilinguals frequently make choices about the language to use during interactions as they jointly construct social meaning in their interactions. Some studies have specifically sought to examine bilingual children's code-switching behavior (Albrecht, 2004 ;

Bauer & Montero, 2001 ; Fantini, 1985). These studies have shown that the code-switching behavior of bilingual children is influenced by the cognitive demands of the tasks being performed, as well as contextual demands such as topics, and their conversational partners. Holmes (2001), for example, notes a major use of code-switching is to make allowances for other speakers' language ability.

Appel and Muysken (1987), drawing on the functional model framework of Jakobson (1960) and Halliday et.al (1964), along with the work of Gumperz and Hernandez-Chavez (1975), Gumperz (1976), Scotton (1979) and Poplack (1980), categorized the reasons for code-switching into six functions. The functions of code-switching will vary between communities. The six functions and their definitions described by Appel and Muysken are:

a. Referential. A switch will occur when it is decided that a specific subject is best discussed in one language. This may be because of a lack of knowledge or facility in the other language. There may be concepts specific to a community or technical subjects that are more appropriately discussed in one language as opposed to the other.
b. Directive. Participant-related switching may be performed to address or exclude a specific listener(s) during a conversation and to allow for a change in the makeup of the participants. For example, parents may switch to a child's less developed language when they don't want their child to understand what is being said. This becomes harder as the child gets older and his or her language proficiencies improve.
c. Expressive. Switches occur when the speaker wishes to make sure that the listener is aware of his or her mixed identity. A good example would be a person of Maori descent in New Zealand switching between Maori and English to emphasize their minority culture and language.
d. Phatic. Also referred to as metaphorical switching by Gumperz and

Hernandez-Chavez (1975) when, as mentioned earlier, a speaker wishes to convey how they want their speech to be interpreted.
e. Metalinguistic. When switching "is used to comment directly or indirectly on the languages involved" (Appel and Muysken, 1987 : 120) and is used to impress on others one's linguistic ability and skills.
f. Poetic. Where bilingual speakers make use of their ability to switch from one language to another language to make puns and jokes for the purpose of amusement or entertainment.

Schinckel's (2004) observation of code-switching among young developing bilinguals noted three possible reasons why a six-year-old participant switched codes.
(1) Choosing a language based on the physical appearance of the conversational partner. For example, an interlocutor with a European appearance would be addressed in English, whereas an apparently Asian conversational partner would be addressed in Japanese. This seems to be a particular form of the "directive" function.
(2) Accommodating a conversational partner's language choice. In cases where the child's interlocutor instigated the conversation, the child would follow their lead and respond in the interlocutor's chosen language.
(3) Accommodating a conversational partner's preferred language or language proficiency. The child seemed able to make judgments about her interlocutor's linguistic abilities and adjust her own language choice accordingly. As is the case with (1) and (2) this seems to be a form of the "directive" function, although it could be argued that there is an element of the "referential" function in a code-switch that results from the child's perception that her interlocutor is unable to speak about a topic in the chosen language.

These observations suggested that by six years of age a child is able

to make an appropriate language choice based on both her conversation partner's appearance and linguistic abilities. This conclusion leads us to the next section which examines the literature relating to the development of children's code-switching skills.

4. When and how children develop code-switching skills

There is a generally held belief that, by the age of two, bilingual children are able to notice different language inputs depending on who is talking (Baker, 2014), with Johnson and Wilson (2002) noting that research now available suggests children raised bilingually from birth realize from the beginning that they are learning more than one language. Hammink (2000) suggested that the code-switching behaviour of bilingual children develops with age. She argued that young developing bilinguals initially switch codes to adapt to the linguistic abilities of their conversational partners or to make use of a more readily available lexical item. As the children grow older, their code-switching ability becomes more complex and may be used to emphasize a point, demonstrate ethnic identity or group solidarity, or to exclude individuals from the conversation. This is supported by Itagaki's (2006) study on the development of pragmatic functions of code-switching. Itagaki observed her two Japanese-English bilingual daughters, aged two and four, over a nineteen month period. She observed differing conversational code-switching abilities in terms of complexity, function, and frequency which confirmed that her two-year-old daughter was aware that she was using two different languages. Interestingly, both parents were Japanese, with the mother bilingual in English and Japanese. Itagaki's research was based on an earlier study by Köppe and Meisel (1995) in which the authors found that bilingual children develop their ability to use code-switching as part of their communication strategy as they mature. Itagaki's research reached the

same conclusions, thus confirming Köppe and Meisel's findings.

Children raised in bilingual environments are regularly exposed to more than one language. For example : (1) an environment where the mother tongue (or community) language is different from the national language ; (2) a non-native country where the language is different from the parents' language ; or (3) a home with parents, guardians or extended family members who have different mother tongues (Albrecht, 2004). In such examples children naturally grow up acquiring the necessary languages to communicate. Itagaki (2006) created a bilingual environment in her study by only speaking English to her children, while her husband only used Japanese. This follows the one language-one parent/guardian strategy (Baker, 2014) that is popular with mixed marriage families. This to some degree forces the child to speak both languages even if one language is less preferred. Evidence presented in Thordardottir (2006) suggests evidence shows that even the most determined bilingual parents are not very successful at maintaining this strategy over time. A likely reason is that it is unnatural for a bilingual parent to only speak one language and to some extent disconcerting for the child when the parent refuses to use a language with him or her but uses it with others.

Another factor to consider here is the concept of "majority" and "minority" languages. The majority language is that of the host country, the one encountered outside the bilingual home, and used in the education system. The minority language is the other one, that the parents are trying to establish in their children. When a child has more contact with the majority language, for example at kindergarten, then this increased contact will result in the child's stronger ability in the majority language. In order to balance this effect, if both parents can speak the minority language then it is beneficial for the child to receive the additional minority language input. Our own experiences of the one

language-one parent strategy support this adaptation.

5. Coercion in code-switching : reasons and effects

The majority of literature concerning coerced code-switching and the reasons for such behaviour focuses on language maintenance, language shift, identity and educational policy. When a child living in a bilingual environment is motivated or encouraged to use the languages of the community, it can be inferred that parents coerce their children to engage in code-switching (Albrecht, 2004 ; Grosjean, 1982). Thordardottir (2006) suggests that parents are often forced to coerce their children to develop code-switching behaviour if the environment where the child is being brought up is a mixed-language home, in which bilingualism is part of the norm. Within this setting parents and extended members of the bilingual community around the child code-switch between languages in various ways when interacting with other bilingual individuals to facilitate language development and reinforce bilingualism (Thordardottir, 2006).

For a young developing bilingual child, being prompted can be a relatively positive experience if the child is learning how to judge when a switch in codes is appropriate, for example when conversing with monolingual family members or friends. Alternatively, the experience may be negative if the child believes the decision about when to switch has been removed from him or her. It may be that the child is not ready or able to switch, for example if the task and the information to be processed are simply too challenging. The occurrences of coerced code-switching within the immediate family and the wider community will likely create a mix of positive and negative effects on the bilingual development of the children.

Becker (2001) suggests that a common reason for coercing bilingual

children to engage in code-switching is the hope of creating some form of balance between their acquired languages. Baker (2014) notes, however, that studies have revealed that a balanced bilingual is more the exception than the norm; one language is usually dominant. Becker's study of code-switching in children's narratives concluded that code-switching gives bilingual children the opportunity to "gain experience with linguistic, psycholinguistic, as well as social-communicative aspects of two languages and to signal meaning by shifts in language" (2001: 113). Becker also noted that using code-switching can give bilingual children strategies to access multiple meanings for lexical items and grammatical morphemes across their languages.

5.1 Language maintenance

In preliminary investigations aimed at informing the planning of our research project, we spoke to parents in mixed marriages, where the minority language is English and the dominant language is Japanese. We found that their primary concern was about the maintenance of the minority language. The social interactions among many families were considered to be more than just a social network; families interacted with the additional intention of maintaining, supporting and encouraging their children's bilingualism as a shared enterprise. One of the authors (Schinckel) used to support his children's language maintenance through a bilingual playgroup in Japan. The group was formed to encourage English use and contact among bicultural families. Such a group also gave parents the opportunity to discuss language development and concerns. Schinckel's observations of the playgroup in action revealed a conflict between the parents and their desire to have the children use the minority language during play, and most of the children who naturally find it easier to converse in their dominant language, which in this case is also the community's dominant language. We would argue

that this is a good example of children reacting negatively to coercion to speak in their minority language. For most of the children their preferred language choice is the majority language (Japanese). To enjoy and maintain the flow and energy of their activities it is obviously easier for the children to interact in Japanese without having to make allowances for each other's minority language ability.

Holmes (2001 : 63) notes that minority languages can be maintained through frequent contact with other minority families and by visiting one's homeland. While we would not question the possibility of such maintenance, it is clear from our observations that maintaining a minority language through contact with other minority families is a complex process in which coerced code-switching can take a prominent role. This is an issue that we will consider as our research project develops.

Fishman (1991, cited in Schwartz, 2010) argued that the family acts as a natural barrier against linguistic pressures from outside, because its privacy and intimacy make the family a particularly resistant unit. This remains the case, even though the modern urban family has perhaps less socialization power than in times past. Fishman (2000) identified the most important element in language transfer from one generation to the next as the language used at home by mothers with their children. As Schwartz (2010 : 173, citing Spolsky, 2007) argues, focusing on the traditional nuclear family with children can thus help us "explore more closely the children's language socialization within the context of both minority and majority languages". This argument points us towards a suitable context for the next stage of our own research project.

Within the family, a number of factors influence language maintenance (Schwartz, 2010). These include family structure, parental education, the acculturation of the parents, family cohesiveness and emotional relations ; here we will briefly outline each of these factors in

turn.

Family structure, and particularly the presence of older siblings seem to play an important part in bilingualism in the home, for example, bringing the majority language into the home and using it with younger siblings (Spolsky, 2007), but elsewhere older siblings have co-operated with their mother's policy of only speaking the minority language at home with younger siblings until they started formal preschool education (Kopeliovich, 2010). It is thus clear that older siblings affect family language policy but there are relatively few studies that include actual language interactions at home.

Parental education is another factor in language maintenance. While it might seem reasonable to expect that parents with a strong education in their own language and culture are more likely to promote bilingualism with their children, actual findings in this area have been contradictory. King and Fogle (2006, cited in Schwartz, 2010 : 174) for example, "found a high level of education relative to the total population among American families promoting heritage language retention and bilingual education." Yet, Doucet (1991) and Harres (1989) reported that the opposite was in fact true, with families with a higher level of education more likely to move away from heritage language use.

The third factor in language maintenance is the acculturation of the parents, that is, the extent to which parents are assimilated into the new culture. Both an immigrant's age at arrival in the new culture and the length of time spent there correlate with use of the heritage language; younger arrivals and those with longer stays were more likely to have reduced heritage language use and thus be less likely to promote it with their children.

The final factor, family cohesiveness and emotional relations, is seen as affecting the link between the generations. According to Spolsky (2004, 2007), immigrant parents often see the use of their first

language with their children as a means of fortifying family cohesion. Conversely, if the children choose to speak the host country language it can have a negative effect on family relations (Wong Fillmore, 2000). In an interesting and particularly relevant study, Okita (2002) reported on the native language avoidance of Japanese women living in the UK and married to British men. Okita showed how these mothers avoided using Japanese with their children because of negative experiences with their families in Japan : "Well, it was always work, work, work. We hardly had dinner together, just on New Year's Day... Family ties... I didn't have it... My father did what he wanted to do and my mother suffered for it." (Okita 2002 : 92, cited in Schwartz 2010 : 176). In addition, the participants reported a strong association between the Japanese language and behaving in a "Japanese way" : "When I speak in Japanese, I become like a Japanese mother and I don't like it." (ibid.)

It becomes clear from a consideration of these studies that in-depth investigation of family language policy and our specific topic of coerced code-switching requires researchers to focus on the beliefs and attitudes of participants, via questionnaires, interviews and other ethnographic techniques.

5.2 Language Shift

Language shift can be applied both to migrants who take up life in another community, and to non-migrant minority groups. These groups may abandon their native language to take up the majority language. Holmes (2001 : 52) notes that this is typical for those who use a minority language in a predominantly monolingual culture and society. Japan is such a monocultural society with the majority of Japanese children having little or no regular contact with children of other nationalities. Children of mixed marriages may feel alienated from the majority and in order to emphasize their Japanese identity will refuse to speak the

minority language outside the home and sometimes within the home. A child's language shift to the majority language is not uncommon but causes anxiety amongst many parents, particularly if the effect is the loss of the minority language. An example of this can be found in Kopeliovich (2010) which reported a study of one immigrant family from the former Soviet Union living in Israel. The mother was keen to transmit Russian, her native language, to her children : "During the first 7 or 8 years in Israel, Natasha actively interfered with her children's language choice, pressured them to use more Russian, nagged them for codeswitching to Hebrew, and corrected mistakes in Russian" (Kopeliovich 2010 : 168). As the mother herself reported in an interview : "We had battles of Stalingrad about the Russian language." (ibid.) The children resisted their mother's pressure only to speak Russian to her, arguing that they no longer needed "her" Russian now that they were living in Israel. Eventually the mother was forced to look for new solutions and she changed her "Russian only" policy at home. This, however, led to some disappointment for her as she was painfully aware of the inconsistency between her language ideology and actual practices in the home. On the other hand, her husband had become reconciled with the children's attitudes much earlier than his wife, saying : "Yes, Russian is important for me. It is the language of my being. . . . Do I have to fight for it? . . . Of course, I want to transmit something that I love to my children. . . . But I understand that it will be different for them."

A migrant family leaving behind poverty and poor education may embrace the language of their new country as they see economic and educational benefits attached. A non-migrant family may feel pressure to adopt the language of the majority in order to obtain the same benefits that otherwise may be denied them due to the attitudes of the majority. Over time such groups may begin to feel that their language is inferior, meaning that these people have developed a negative attitude

towards their own language. Baker (2014 : 92) reports that even "young children quickly pick up the pecking order of languages in the family and the community". Should a shift away from the minority language to the majority language occur the ability to code-switch will also diminish.

In her study on multilingual play amongst Dominican children Paugh (2005) writes that in rural Dominica there is a rapid language shift from Patwa, a French-based creole, to English, the country's official language. Contributing to the shift is the fact that rural children are forbidden to speak Patwa in front of adults. Adults are coercing children to speak English in the belief that this will impact positively on their children's future and one can argue that negative language attitudes also direct or coerce a switch in codes. If, however, a migrant or non-migrant minority is large enough in numbers and passionate about their language it is possible to slow down or avoid language shift. Holmes (2001 : 61) reports that when the language is seen as an important symbol of ethnic identity, it is generally maintained longer.

Clearly one's native language and identity are inextricably linked, and these links have arisen in the studies that we have reviewed so far. In the next section we will outline some studies that explicitly investigate the relationship between identity and language.

5.3 Identity

There are many varieties within a language connected with social class, ethnic background, region, age, or simply the situation where the dialogue is taking place, for example, formal or informal, academic or social. Language also identifies groups or highlights the differences between groups.

Every day, bilinguals are involved in a number of social situations which influence their choice of language. Such choices are also dependent on their identity. According to Giles, Coupland and Coupland

(1991) individuals vary their language choices within interactions, depending on their social goals. In discussing their Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT), Giles et al. (op. cit.) held that individual participants may choose to either emphasize or de-emphasize aspects of their identities in response to the context of the situation.

Bailey (2002) explored the experiences of second generation Dominican Americans living in North America including how social stereotypes affected their interactions with other racial groups. The study revealed that parents coerce their bilingual children to engage in code-switching to enable the children to construct identities with both languages. Bailey (2002 : 11) described identity in the Dominican/Spanish context as "everyday enactment of Dominican/Spanish identity through language thus representing retention of symbolic power and decentering American racial classification". Thus, he defined identity as power relations between participants in an interaction. Language use plays an important role in expressing identity (Gumperz, 1982; Velásquez, 2010). Gumperz argued that language differences mainly serve to express social identity and are effected according to established traditions and norms. Similarly, Bailey (2002) argued that language is directly related to identity as it defines it in the sense that a society's first language is the mode that categorizes its speakers. Velásquez (2010) sought to investigate why and how code-switching occurs in bilingual conversation as well as its possible connection with identity. She found that code-switching enables bilinguals to construct identities and express their identities with the communities speaking each language, or contextual circumstances. According to Velásquez (2010), bilinguals use code-switching in conversations as "part of the process of integration into a new society and developing a newly constructed identity in relationship to a new social and cultural context, in which language is an important signifier" (p. 84). Bilinguals are able to switch from one language

to the other because "they have expanded their identity boundaries, and identify themselves as part of both language communities, or because they have different identities that are associated with different languages" (p. 85).

In addition, Velásquez (2010) seems to suggest that parents coerce their bilingual children to engage in code-switching so that they are able to maintain both community languages for their day-to-day existence. This is because code-switching allows them to identify themselves with the cultural practices of their native communities as well as the cultural practices of the new location (Thordardottir, 2006). In Bailey's (2002) study, he found that code-switching marked specific group identities and affiliations among the teenagers interviewed.

5.4 Education

Within an educational setting young bilinguals are coerced to switch codes in order to encourage acquisition of the language used in the delivery of instruction (Thordardottir, 2006). Language attitudes of the public, pressure groups, local and national governments play a significant role in educational policy, particularly in multilingual and multi-varietal societies. Often it is the minority languages that suffer and more significantly the education of those children belonging to minority groups.

Unbalanced and at times flawed research into childhood bilingualism during the 1930s and 1940s that focused on the consequences of bilingualism on cognitive and linguistic development helped to perpetuate the belief that bilingualism was an unnecessary hardship imposed on children (Malakoff and Hakuta, 1991 ; Hoff, 2001). Malakoff and Hakuta note that these assumptions were based on the belief that "monolingualism is the cognitive-linguistic norm and that the child's cognitive system is fragile and designed to cope with only one

language" (1991 : 141). Hakuta (1986) writes that the assumption that monolingualism was the norm led to bilingualism being blamed for cognitive, social and emotional damage in young bilinguals. Exceptions to this assumption did exist, however, for example Leopold's (1939-1949) observations of his bilingual daughter from which Leopold suggested that "an early bilingual experience gives children an added control of language processing" (Diaz and Klinger, 1991 : 175).

Current positive attitudes to bilingualism owe much to the balanced studies of middle-class French/English bilinguals by Peal and Lambert (1962), which found that a bilingual upbringing provides advantages by offering broader cultural experiences that monolinguals usually do not have. These findings helped dispel earlier myths concerning the burden of being bilingual. These and subsequent studies (e.g.Bialystok, 1991 ; Baker, 1993) have found that bilingualism positively influences the acquisition and development of various cognitive skills such as linguistic awareness, mental flexibility, superior concept formation, visual-spatial abilities and a more diversified set of mental abilities (Diaz & Klinger, 1991 ; Baker, 2014 ; Hoff, 2014). The positive effect of bilingualism on cognitive development is in turn affected by the environment in that under certain conditions the actual bilingual situation may be additive, for example both languages are supported at an emotional and institutional level by the community and society in general. However, as noted above, linguistic environments may continue to be subtractive, for example when the low status minority mother tongue is replaced by the high status majority language (Lambert 1975, cited in Malakoff &Hakuta, 1991).

6. Conclusion

This literature review has shown that children who are raised in bilingual environments recognize differences in languages from birth, and that code-switching ability begins from age two. Developing bilinguals are highly influenced by the behaviour of those around them. Research has shown the motivations behind code-switching and the reasons to coerce developing bilinguals to code-switch. For young developing bilinguals learning when to switch languages appropriately within given situations is the most common reason. Other prominent reasons include language maintenance, language shift, identity and education. The literature suggests that without coercion, code-switching may not be practised by those children who have a preferred language and cultural identity, thereby affecting their bilingual language development. Parents of children who live in bilingual environments may coerce their children to engage in code-switching to enable them to construct a social identity with the communities speaking the languages and where it is important for their academic development.

A lacuna remains in the research concerning what the actual positive and negative effects coerced code-switching has on developing young bilinguals. Schinckel (2004) revealed that coercing a child as young as six can have a negative impact when the child was not ready to switch codes as required. How this impacted on the child's bilingual development and identity was not researched. Using this review and our own observations, noted above, as a starting point, we aim to plan and carry out a study which will go some way to rectifying this situation.

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