

## A Diachronic Study of Code-Switching Patterns in the Language of a Third Culture Filipino Kid in Korea

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### ABSTRACT

Code-switching has been of immense interest in bilingualism for decades, and most previous studies present different code-switching functions in the language of bilinguals. However, a diachronic exploration of code-switching patterns in young polyglots' production is a road less ventured. The present study follows the three-year language development of a Filipino third culture kid (living in a culture other than their parents') in Korea from when he was 5;5 to 8;5 years old. Discourse analyses and hours of ethnographic observation through audio/video recordings expose a substantial shift of code-switching patterns across the three stages of language development. Significant changes can be observed explicitly in code-switching as referential function, addressee specification, and cross-cultural solidarity. The current investigation proposes that there is a diachronic change in the patterns of code-switching when a child's new language develops, and the results resonate with the argument that code-switching is used for increasingly sophisticated purposes to manifest multicompetence, behavior transformation, and identity change when a certain level of communicative fluency is reached. Finally, the study provides useful insights toward a cross-cultural understanding of the dynamic interplay of code-switching and multicultural kids' language in a pluralistic community.

**Keywords** : code-switching; third culture kids; language development; multicultural community; multilingual

### INTRODUCTION

As a widespread phenomenon in the speech of bilinguals or multilinguals, *code-switching* (henceforth, CS), the shifting of languages in a conversation, has been significantly explored in the fields of language acquisition, bilingualism, linguistics, and sociolinguistics. CS has drawn an immense interest because this phenomenon is considered the most significant factor leading to societal multilingualism (Jose et al., 2020; Osborne, 2020). While most studies have compared socio-linguistic factors of CS involving children in many different and sophisticated ways such as conversational motivations, cultural traditions, social relationships, or proficiency

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index synchronically (Lijadi & Schalkwyk, 2018; Myers-Scotton, 2020; Purdon, 2018; Tan et al., 2021), only little is known about the monitoring of the dynamics and development of CS patterns diachronically in children or as the child's proficiency increases over time (Volterra & Taeschner, 2020). Kuzyk et al. (2020) conducted a longitudinal study on CS but focused on the cognitive benefits in bilingual children. The present study, on the other hand, focuses on the experience of a migrant child, and it further extends on the role of CS in a sequential bilingual, one who learns a new language or languages after the first has been established. This child polyglot is an English-speaking Filipino and an exemplar of a third culture kid (henceforth, TCK) in Korea. TCKs are children who spring from parents' careers that may include but are not limited to military, religion, business, or profession (Tan et al., 2021; Useem & Useem, 1967). They are immersed in a culture or setting that is different from their parents' native countries. Simply put, they are *tag-along*. Apropos of this context, the role of CS in a TCK's language has been explored in this study. It aims to investigate the development of CS and identify its specific patterns that differ or have evolved when the second or third language development of young language learners reaches near-native proficiency compared to how CS has been used earlier in the language development continuum. Also, the study examines the observable behavioral changes that co-occur as proficiency increases. Specifically, the findings will provide additional and relevant information regarding CS in bilingualism and offer useful insights into the interplay of multicultural kids' language and behavior in a multicultural community. This study also adds an essential contribution to understanding code-switching dynamics in the language development of bilinguals or multilinguals, specifically, how, why, and when speakers choose one language variety over another in a multicultural, pluralistic society. As Wei (2020) states, this kind of study provides a better understanding of multilingual pupils' knowledge and skills as well as their perspectives on the world, especially on education, cultural tradition, and social relationships.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

Code-switching was and still is thought of by others as a language ploy that produces deviant, strange, broken, or confusing language, resulting in compensation for the deficiency (Crystal, 1987). However, linguists, psycholinguists, and sociologists consider it a part of the natural language development and acquisition pattern (Zeller, 2020). Bilingual speakers switch codes for several reasons, and scholars argue that CS for bilinguals could be viewed as a real and explicit discourse strategy (Kuzyk et al., 2022; Grosjean, 2020; Stępkowska, 2021). The succeeding subsections discuss the roles, issues, and motivation of code-switching in children and the broad description and personal predicaments of TCKs.

### CODE-SWITCHING IN CHILDREN

This section discusses code-switching in children. It mentions the association of CS with children's age and proficiency, how CS develops over time, and the motivating factors why CS occur. Third culture and CS in children is also discussed.

#### CHILDREN'S CODE-SWITCHING RELATIONS WITH AGE AND PROFICIENCY

Despite a great deal of research showing significant proof that CS has been widely used by bilingual children, some further argue whether these natural occurrences of CS relatively differ

with age or proficiency. Other studies postulate that young children's CS, in general, usually has no relationship with age (Peynircioğlu & Dorgunoğlu, 2002). They argue that the linguistic context or the presentation language used in the experiment and the degree of balance in bilingualism provides the moderating effect of the language mixing in the study of 36 Spanish-English bilingual children between 3 and 5 years old.

In contrast, Reyes (2004) and Genesee (2020) contend that there exists a positive relationship between language proficiency and young bilinguals' CS and that the young speakers' CS instances are interpreted as reflections of the developing communicative competence. Volterra and Taeschner (2020) also declare that for a bilingual to carry out a linguistic function in an utterance, a certain linguistic proficiency level must be reached. Thus, in their study of 55 English-Mandarin children, Yow et al. (2018) strongly suggest that the employment of CS in children is indeed a marker of linguistic competence.

#### CS DEVELOPMENT IN CHILDREN

Even at an early age, bilingual children can differentiate between languages and use them according to pragmatic or socio-linguistic principles (Lanza, 1992). Adult-like switchings can be found even in bilingual infants (Lanvers, 2001). To track the CS phenomena in children, consolidating the results of previous studies based on children's age is indispensable.

As early as 18 months, a German-English bilingual child in Lanvers' (2001) study is able to identify an appropriate language for a specific addressee. Even before the age of two, topical switchings appear along with other functions as emphasis, crutching, appeal, harmonization. Similarly, the study of Genesee (2020) declares that as early as 22 months or 2 years old, bilingual children indeed can differentiate between languages and that mixing or insertion of language elements is frequent. This phenomenon is due to children's language dominance and the rate of parents' mixing. After 3 years old, the mixing has become voluntary with the consideration of grammatical and pragmatic constraints. When it comes to intersentential and intrasentential switchings, Peynircioğlu and Dorgunoğlu (2002) also confirm that bilingual children as young as 3 to 5 years can use CS similarly with adult bilinguals. The degree of balance and the language presented play significant roles in affecting the mixing of languages. These young speakers strategically use CS for both linguistic and non-linguistic purposes. Most are sociopragmatic, and they function to gain attention or change speaking roles.

Similarly, Yow et al. (2018) suggest that the employment of CS in 5 to 6-year-old English-Mandarin children is a marker of linguistic competence. Giving additional evidence, Gross and Kaushanskaya (2015) report that English-Spanish children, 5 to 7 years of age, use CS as a cognitive function by using a voluntary control of the language that draws an explicit line for young bilinguals' use of CS.

Situational factors, i.e., setting and participants, mostly determine the CS of young bilinguals below 8 years old. However, the non-situational discursive function of language alternation, or according to the speaker's desires, is mostly used after the specified age. Sophisticated functions of CS for power-wielding purposes require social, pragmatic, textual competence, which goes beyond very young bilingual's capacity.

In agreement, Reyes (2004) states that CS is used as a strategy to interact with peers and to meet conversational goals for children 7 to 10 years of age. She also claims that younger children code-switch less than older children. To fulfill different socio-linguistic functions, the latter seemingly use a more comprehensive range of CS. According to Yow et al. (2018), these frequent

switchings positively correlate with their lexical and grammatical knowledge. These children who switch codes during conversations have demonstrated higher bilingual, interactional, and communicative skills than those who do not (Reyes, 2004). As children grow older, they progress by using more sophisticated discourse strategies. They also use the language that they feel most comfortable with and have greater proficiency during peer interaction, and this strategy includes the employment of CS in language conversations (Reyes, 2004). These communicative functions of CS are discussed in the subsequent section.

#### MOTIVATING FACTORS OF CS IN CHILDREN

One argument regarding CS in children is that CS signals language deficiency (Grosjean, 2020). At the beginning stage of bilingualism, young children insert linguistic elements into the emerging or weaker language from a dominant language. This mixing or switching can be attributed to the new language's limited language proficiency and are reflections of a child's developing communicative competence (Nicoladis & Secco, 2000). Several studies, however, prove that CS is used for different specific purposes and not only as a manifestation of linguistic deviance and deficiency (Grosjean, 2020; Kuzyk et al., 2020; Rydenvald, 2018). Other scholars contend that CS phenomena in bilingual adults are even visible in young bilingual children (Lanvers, 2001). In general, speakers switch codes due to the influence of various motivators. CS is also used for other young bilinguals for power-wielding purposes and other cognitive functions (Gross & Kaushanskaya, 2015). CS provides information and assistance, gives explanations, establishes and maintains a social relationship, and negotiates participation in conversations.

One of the proponents of language alternation motivations, Grosjean (2020), lists participant factors, situations, contents of discourse, and interaction functions as the general triggers that directly lead to language switching. The last function states that CS can serve as a language function when it occurs specifically *within* the conversation, and there is a myriad of little triggers for CS within speech turns. For some, CS has been used for several communicative reasons by children to ensure that listeners are aware of what to highlight and focus on in a similar situation on selected parts of the speech.

One communicative function of CS in children is for specifying addressees. Children adjust their language differently and appropriately according to the language of interlocutors. Specifically, CS is used to include or exclude people from a conversation or address a different audience or another person (Malik, 1994; Reyes, 2004). Aside from CS that respects the interlocutors' preference, Lanvers (2001) mentions emphasis, appeal, topical switches, self-corrections, and crutching as pragmatic functions of CS. Reyes (2004) also mentions four socio-linguistic functions of CS functions commonly used by Spanish-English speaking young bilinguals: topic shift, clarification, emphasis, and accommodating turns. She adds that the children, who exhibit the most outstanding bilingual competence, use CS more frequently, and as children get older, more sophisticated CS functions are used appropriately when situations demand. In addition to the list, CS can even be used for interjections or indicate certain emotions or speakers' mood. According to Malik (1994), CS usually occurs with a new dimension when bilinguals are in their peak of emotion as tired or angry.

These are just a few of the shreds of evidence suggesting that children use CS as a linguistic means to achieve successful communication for several interactive reasons.

### THIRD CULTURE KIDS

Third culture kids or TCKs, first coined by Useem and Useem (1967), are children who tag along with their parents to move to other countries due to circumstantial reasons that mainly include temporary job relocations, e.g., military, missionary, and diplomat (Fail et al., 2004; Tannenbaum & Tseng, 2015). TCKs undergo both deculturation and acculturation, described as painful and stressful but progressive processes. Fail et al. (2004) list several factors with which TCKs struggle in the new environment. These include a sense of belonging, reverse culture shock, marginality, and identity. When these children frequently relocate with their parents, they lack a sense of home, and the negative effect is lasting. However, some develop such strong feelings of attachment to the host countries that they experience reverse culture shock when returning to their native countries. Those who struggle to readjust to their home country are mostly those who have made the best adjustment in their adopted country (Rydenvald, 2018). Identity crisis is also considered an issue for TCKs. Fail et al. (2004) comment that rootlessness or the new and changing environments challenge TCKs' identity formation. These migrant children, compared with non-migrant children, suffer from a high rate of depression and anxiety and lower self-esteem (Diler et al., 2004).

Another factor leading to these negative emotional burdens of TCKs is the language barrier. Most TCKs are required and expected to be proficient in a language, especially when their native language is not available in the new location (Fail et al., 2004). In most cases, English is learned. This reason is due to English being an international language, and as a norm, international schools in which children often enroll mainly use English. In other cases, the host country's language is necessary, mainly when the universal language, English, is not readily available. In these cases, children sometimes diverge, negotiate, make adjustments or alter the code (Rydenvald, 2018). TCK – Korean kids in America face similar challenges (Song, 2019). The host country's language plays specific roles in these short-term migrant families and produces new language ideologies and identities (Garrett & Baquedano-Lopez, 2002).

TCKs' circumstances, though somewhat similar on the exterior, are different from each other (Song, 2019). At present, the growing economy of South Korea brings along foreign residents into the country. The Education Ministry of Korea revealed the number of students from multicultural families attending mainstream schools as 160,000 as of March 2022, a threefold increase over the last nine years (Lee, 2022).

Further, Strother (2012) reports that these children had a hard time fitting into Korean society and the hurdles they suffered in school include bullying and language barriers. According to the Foreign Services Institute (2022), a U.S. government's premier foreign affairs training provider, Korean language is among the most difficult language to learn. 88 weeks are required to reach proficiency in speaking and reading, excluding 10-15 hours per week of practice outside the classroom. Considering the number of migrant children in Korea, the Korean government is eyeing for support to this children (Kim, 2019). Korea is only one of the growing multicultural countries, and one way of understanding these cultural minorities is by looking into their unique situation through language usage.

Upon this stance, the present study investigates a Filipino TCK condition in South Korea, most precisely regarding the effect of the new language development through CS over a period of time and how it influences the child's behavior.

## METHODOLOGY

### MAIN PARTICIPANT AND SETTINGS

The present study followed the CS behavior of a Filipino male child, Quincy (a pseudonym), a sequential-bilingual Filipino child in Korea, and an exemplar TCK. He was sequentially exposed to three different languages from birth. He learned these languages at different points in time. The languages included Cebuano, which is a local Filipino language, English, and Korean. The study's coverage spanned three years, between the ages of 5;5 years to 8;5 years. For the first 15 months since birth, he was exposed to Cebuano, his first language, under his paternal grandmother's care. After this stage, his Filipino parents took him to Korea, where both worked as missionary English teachers. English was the language predominantly used in the house and most specifically when the boy was addressed. Cebuano was rarely used. His English progressed rapidly at an interactional near-native level by the age of three. However, the Cebuano language was used for lexical shifts and short phrases but had not progressed into a conversational level.

By the time the study began, Quincy was 5;5 years and was a kindergarten student. His Korean language was still developing. His community circle revolved around three main settings: the house – here he spoke English and Cebuano; the kindergarten class – where he spoke Korean; and the international church family – where all three and even more different languages converged. The international church family was composed of a congregation with different nationalities, such as Cebuano-, Tagalog-, or English-speaking Filipinos, Americans, Koreans, Africans, Indonesians, and Russians. Quincy could be characterized as an active, sociable, and outgoing boy. His personality helped him acquire different languages through interaction with others. These language domains of family, friendship, religion and education are commonly associated with a particular variety of language (Rydenvald, 2018).

Through an informed consent, the parents and even the child, agreed to video- and audio-record the child's language and behavior during observation sessions. The purpose of the study was clearly translated to the parents and the child. The information and data collected was assured to be kept confidential and can be used and accessed only for research purposes. *Labov's observer's paradox*, which states that the observer's presence greatly influences natural speech gathering, was overcome since the Filipino interviewer is a close family friend to the main participant.

### DATA COLLECTION AND INSTRUMENTS

This study mainly investigates how code-switching patterns change over time and how observable changes co-occur as proficiency increases. In order to address these objectives, conversation data from interviews and speech triggers (controlled and free) were gathered from audio/video recordings in different settings and different interlocutors for a period of three years (5;5 to 8;5 years old). The different settings and episodes include home, school and church situations. The interlocutors include family members, teacher and classmates, and church mates including children and adult. These language samples were further examined through discourse analysis. CS episodes from the recorded speeches were transcribed using discourse utility software, *VoiceWalker2.0*. The CS occurrences were investigated and compared at three specific points during the three years of observation. These points were identified by the development of the boy's Korean language by calculating Brown's mean length of utterance (MLU) - a linguistic

productivity measure for children. As per MLU’s criteria, any new additions to grammatical knowledge increased the length of utterance, and “morpheme development can be expressed by calculating the MLU,” (Brown, 1973, p. 54). Traditionally, MLU is calculated by gathering 100 utterances spoken by a child or a speaker, and the number of morphemes is divided by the number of words or utterances. A higher MLU may indicate a higher level of language proficiency. Even though MLU is cautioned not to be used as a lone measurement of language ability, it is a useful guide to indicate a trajectory pattern of language progress. In this study, MLU is used only as a point of reference in identifying timelines to compare CS patterns. The first stage, when the boy’s age was from 2;6 to 3 years, is characterized as the beginning stage of the boy’s Korean language exposure. His Korean language proficiency is described as limited and impoverished. The second stage, 3;6 to 4;5 years, covers the range when the boy has adapted to the quickly-progressing additional language and daily uses the language. The third stage, 7 to 7;11 years old, is the phase when the boy’s language proficiency has reached near-native. Table 1 shows the boy’s Korean MLU development, age, and the number of hours recorded. Also shown is the corresponding age of reference for the average development of a child’s MLU in the first language based on Rice et al.’s (2010) model.

TABLE 1. Participant’s language development stages by MLU

	<i>Quincy’s Age (yrs;mos)</i>	<i>Hrs. of Recording (hrs ’mins)</i>	<i>Korean MLU</i>	<i>Age Reference of MLU (Rice et al., 2010)</i>
First Stage	5;5	3’30	3.7	2;6 – 3;0
	5;11	3’04	3.75	
Second Stage	6;0	5’50	4.0	3;6 – 4;5
	6;1	3’25	4.1	
	6;6	1’30	4.2	
	6;11	0’33	4.2	
	7;4	3’56	4.5	
Third Stage	8;1	4’30	5.3	7;0 – 7;11
	8;4	1’20	5.4	
	8;5	2’10	5.45	
Total	3 yrs. ; 0 months	29hrs 8mins		

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In addressing the research objectives, a two-fold approach will be discussed: 1) the communicative patterns of CS apparent in the boy’s language and how these patterns change and transform along with the progression of the new language over time, and 2) CS development in relation with the boy’s language preference and identity development.

### COMMUNICATIVE FUNCTIONS OF CS ACROSS THE THREE STAGES

CS has been used for a myriad of reasons by bilingual speakers. Quincy is not an exception. Juggling three different languages in his mind, he also code-switched for various reasons, and each CS served a specific function and purpose in the conversation. Listed in this subsection are the most prevalent functions of CS in the boy’s language. Figure 1 visualizes the distribution of CS discourse functions throughout the observation period. From the analysis, the CS motivations that have the highest percentage are referential function (21%) and addressee specification (20%),

followed by the mood of the speaker (18%) and emphasis (17%). The rest include habitual expressions (11%), solidarity (6%), response to trigger effect (5%), and others such as self-corrections or clarifications and more (2%).

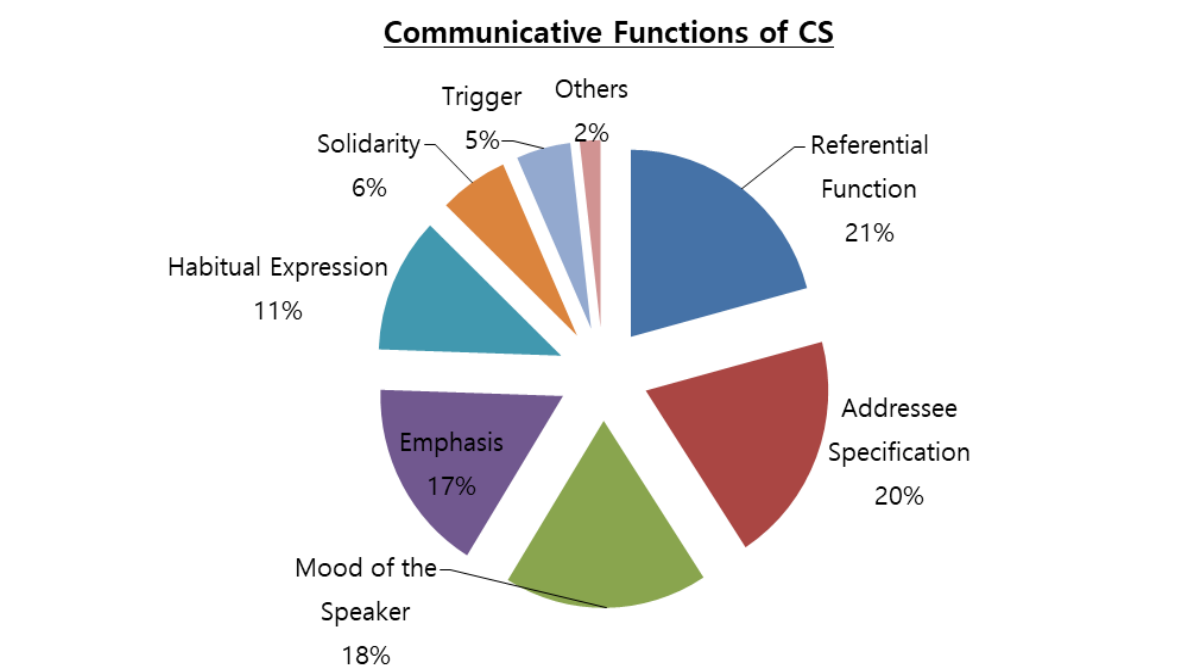


FIGURE 1. Distributional frequency of the communicative functions of CS

Looking specifically into the comparison of CS patterns, interesting results can be observed on how the boy used these CS patterns in the three different stages. As the new language proficiency progressed, CS also served increasingly more specific functions and purposes. This transformation of CS pattern frequency is illustrated in Figure 2.

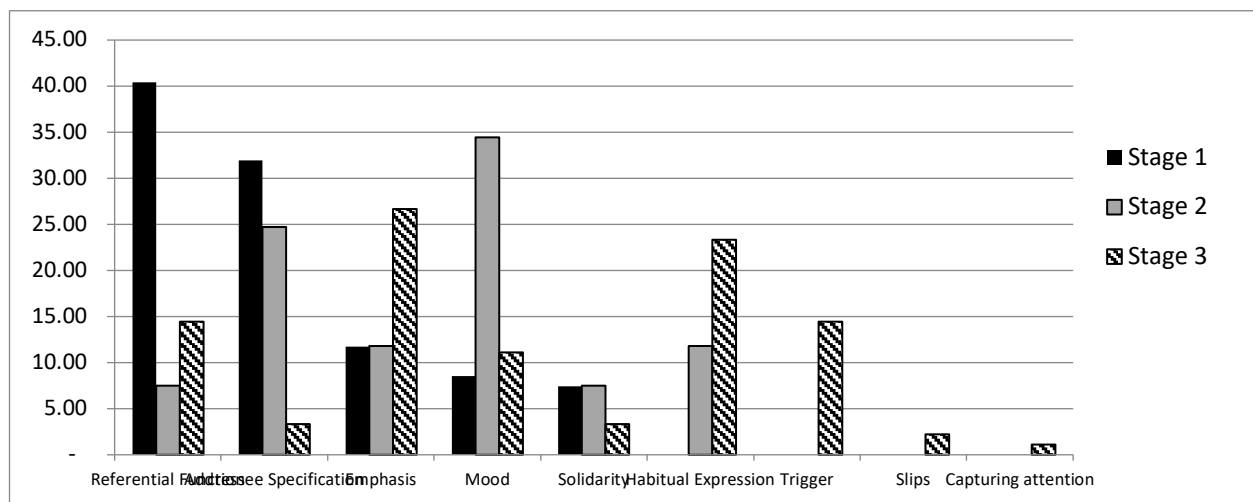


FIGURE 2. CS pattern comparison across the three stages of the boy's Korean language development



CS was mainly used as a referential function, an addressee specification, emphasis, mood determination, and to show solidarity in the first stage. In the second stage, CS had also been used for habitual expression and other - interactional functions. When the boy reached the near-native communicative second language (L2) proficiency, more sophisticated functions of CS were apparent. Among these CS patterns, three specific changes can be especially noted – using the referential function, addressee specification, and cross-cultural solidarity.

#### REFERENTIAL FUNCTION

One interesting observation regards the use of the referential function. As noted in the first stage, the boy prevalently employed CS for referential functions as a fallback strategy to recompense the linguistic insufficiency. According to Malik (1994), bilinguals generally substitute a word or phrase in another language when the speakers lack the knowledge, facility, or registral competence. One example was when Quincy creatively called a volcano ‘fire *ondok*’ (fire *hill*). In the second stage, the frequency dramatically dropped as CS was not extensively used to compensate for his language deficiency. This can be explained by the gaining progress of the new language. However, in the third stage, he used the referential function for other purposes, such as referring to concepts that were unavailable in the other language, as exemplified in the following excerpts. These unavailable counterparts, Korean words with no direct translations in English, are indicated in capital letters in the following excerpts.

(Excerpt 1) Stage 3 (8;1)

Dad: *Where’s your mommy?*

Quincy: *Mommy is there in SAMONIM’s house ~*

(Intended meaning – *the Pastor’s wife*; Literal meaning – *a noble man’s wife*)

(Excerpt 2) Stage 3 (8;4)

Quincy: *Hey! I said, “Don’t touch it.” We are waiting for my DONGSENG.*

(Intended meaning – *younger friend*; literal meaning – *younger sibling*)

Instead of translating or somersaulting the words in the other language, the boy retained the terms *dongseng* and *samonim*, not because he was incognizant of the literal linguistic conversion, but for their original meanings to be clearly preserved and correctly conveyed. Both terms do not have lexical equivalents in English. All Korean speakers address a pastor’s wife or any noble man’s wife as *samonim*, directly or indirectly. Typically, for English speakers, first names or family names are more appropriate. In general, addressing the pastor’s spouse as ‘*Pastor’s wife*’ indirectly or directly is deemed awkward. Thus, the boy preferred the Korean equivalent *samonim* to show also a degree of formality and respect. Moreover, the Korean concept of *dongseng* to refer to younger friends is unavailable in English. The boy favored using the term *dongseng* instead of the first name or the English equivalent *friend* to create a more precise reference and a lucid meaning of the subject. In the later stage of Quincy’s new language development, CS was a strategy he employed to avoid loss of the intended meaning, unnecessary misunderstanding, and confusion, especially when choosing appropriate words in the target language is difficult.

### ADDRESSEE-LANGUAGE SPECIFICATION

Another interesting CS phenomenon that had a significant transformation throughout the three stages is the addressee-language specification. In the first stage, the boy was quite strict in specifying a language to different discourse participants. Rydenvald (2018) notes that this recourse is natural for a bilingual or multilingual child. Despite the triggers to switch, the boy used only English to non-Koreans and only Korean to Korean friends even if the Koreans can converse in English and the foreign participants could understand and speak Korean. However, in the second stage, the strict assigning of language had weakened. He occasionally responded to switch triggers. He switched to Korean and then reverted to English if the speaker was non-Korean. Surprisingly, in the third stage, the boy comfortably used Korean even to non-Koreans, at times triggered or not triggered. Excerpts 3, 4, and 5 show the boy's conversations with the same non-Korean interviewer (who can speak well in all the three languages) in the three stages. Excerpt 6 is a conversation with a newly-acquainted monolingual American boy. In the excerpts, the Korean language has been Romanized, and the English equivalents are indicated in brackets. The items in parentheses are personal observations.

(Excerpt 3) Stage 1 (5;5)

Researcher: *Igo chuwa?*

*(referring to the balloons)*

[You like these?]

Quincy: *Hmm*

Researcher: *Mosun sek chowa?*

[What color do you like?]

Quincy: *Hmm*

Researcher: *YOU CAN CHOOSE. WHICH ONE DO YOU LIKE?*

Quincy: *THE RED ONE.*

Researcher: *Ppalgan sek?*

[Red?]

Quincy: *(No answer)*

(Excerpt 4) - Stage 2 (7;4)

Researcher: *Waah! Ttorojosso. Nuguya?*

*(referring to a character in a Nintendo game)*

[Waah! He fell. Who is it?]

Quincy: *Yosh-Yoshi.*

Researcher: *Yoshi? Yashi?*

Quincy: *Yosh-Yoshi-ga. Yashi-ga aniya.*

*'It's Yosh- Yoshi. It's not Yashi.'*

Researcher: *Wae Yoshi chowahe?*

[Why do you like Yoshi]

Quincy: *YOSHI CAN FLY.*

(Excerpt 5) Stage 3 (8;1)

Researcher: *Quincy, where's your mom?*

Quincy: *In the car.*

Researcher: APPA-NEUN?  
[How about your dad?]  
Quincy: CHA-E.  
[In the car.]  
Researcher: CHA?  
[Car?]  
Quincy: NE.  
[Yes.]  
Researcher: What's he doing?  
Quincy: Sleeping.  
Researcher: Ah, sleeping.  
Quincy: PIKONHESSO.  
[Because he's tired.]

(Excerpt 6) Stage 3 (8;3)

Quincy: Can you speak Korean?  
New Boy: No. Why?  
Quincy: How old are you?  
New Boy: I'm 9.  
Quincy: Ha! Me, too.  
(referring to his Korean age)  
AH, YA! KEUNYANG MOSUN SORI ALJI?  
[Ah, hey! You understand what I'm saying, right?]  
New Boy: Huh?  
Quincy: JIGEUM, KEUNYANG MOSEUN SORI ANYAGO?  
[Now, ah - do you understand what I'm saying?]  
New Boy: Hmm  
Quincy: HOKSHI. Ho ho HOKSHI.  
[Possibly. Ho ho. Possibly.]

In the first stage, we can see the hesitation in the boy's reply to the Korean trigger to switch, but in the second stage, the strict assigning of language waned. He started to intersententially mix his languages in the second stage. As he was conscious about the language of his interlocutor, he reverted to English. However, in the third stage, he felt comfortable switching between languages as he pleased. When a non-Korean spoke in Korean, he also responded in Korean the same way for Korean speakers who spoke English. Despite the other discourse participants' cultural affiliation, he freely expressed his Korean reply knowing that he could be understood. Interestingly, in excerpt 6, Quincy attempted to converse in Korean with a monolingual American boy. This instance substantially proved that he generally disregards the addressee's language unless triggered. His switch was probably out of personal preference in relation to his progressing Korean language proficiency. Volterra and Taeschner (2020) mention that when a child is fully bilingual, the tendency to label people with definite language decreases. In Quincy's case, however, this manifestation mostly emerged during the second and third stages. In the first stage, he was very hesitant to speak the language if he knew it was not the identified interlocutor's language. Therefore, this study suggests that proficiency affects addressee-language specification as a function of CS, especially in a non-balanced bilingual.

### PERSONAL INVOLVEMENT OR CROSS-CULTURAL SOLIDARITY

The third observable change in the CS patterns of the boy's utterance regards cross-cultural solidarity or the boy's personal involvement with the participants. When addressing adults, Quincy called them according to their cultural affiliation in the first stage. For non-Filipinos and non-Koreans, he generally called them *aunt* or *uncle*; for Koreans, *imo* [aunt], *samchon* [uncle], *ajushi* [mister] or *ajumma* [madam]; and for Filipinos, *tito* [uncle] and *tita* [aunt]. However, excerpt 7 shows an interesting shift in the use of lexical CS.

*(Excerpt 7) Stage 3 (8;4)*

*Researcher: How do you call Jay's daddy? (a Filipino)*

*Quincy: TITO*

*Researcher: How about Mike? (a Filipino)*

*Quincy: TITO Mike.*

*Researcher: Ahm How about David? (an Englishman)*

*Quincy: I don't know.*

*Researcher: How about Sheila's dad? (an American)*

*Quincy: Uncle*

*Researcher: Uncle Jack? Why Uncle Jack?*

*Quincy: TITO Jack is – no, I don't like TITO. So, just uncle.*

*Researcher: How about Ivan? (a Russian)*

*Quincy: TITO*

*Researcher: TITO Ivan? He's Russian.*

*Quincy: Uhm. Because if I say Uncle Ivan, I don't like it.*

*Researcher: How about David? How would you call him?*

*Quincy: uhm- I know - Uncle.*

*Researcher: Why Uncle?*

*Quincy: Not Filipino. Not a Filipino.*

*Researcher: But Ivan is not a Filipino.*

*Quincy: uhm. But- it's okay.*

It was noticeable that in the third stage towards the end of the observation period, these honorific titles were not solely based on cultural affiliation anymore, but for close connection, personal involvement, and solidarity, as illustrated in excerpt 7.

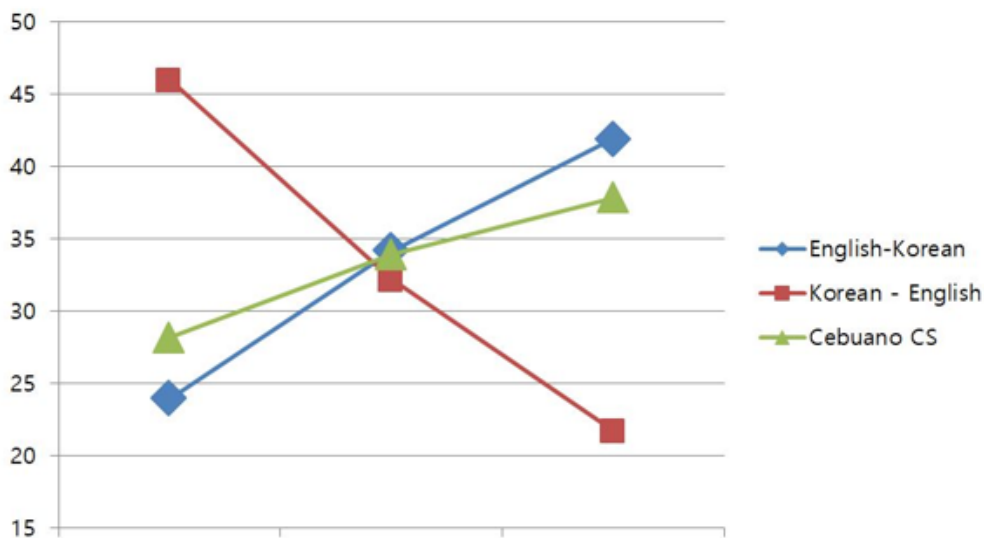
To sum up, as the new language proficiency increased, CS was also sophisticatedly employed in different ways. During the first stage, CS was mainly utilized for referential functions to complement linguistic deficiency and for addressee specification to assign speakers with a particular language. As the new language gained strength, CS patterns had been selectively used to suit communicative needs, contextual necessity, and circumstantial demands. This progressive connection of linguistic competence and CS as used in various and sophisticated discourse strategies agrees with the previous studies stating that CS is a linguistic tool to indicate multicompetence as the bilingual's proficiency expands (Reyes, 2004; Yow et al., 2018).

## DEVELOPMENT OF CS AND LANGUAGE CHOICE OVER TIME

Quincy had three languages with varying degrees in his mind. Across the three stages, language choice and dominance with these languages could be noticed by looking into how he used CS over time.

### CS AND THE USE OF BASE LANGUAGES

Since the boy's Cebuano language production had not reached the conversational or communicative level at the onset until the end of the study, only English and Korean languages were considered by the researchers as base languages for the boy. For comparison, the Cebuano CS occurrences were counted altogether, disregarding the base language as either Korean or English. Figure 3 presents the directional development of language switching from one base language to another code and how they developed throughout the proficiency stages.



Stage 1 (%)	Stage 2 (%)	Stage 3 (%)	CS Occurrences
24.94	34.05	41.53	English - Korean CS
46.83	32.15	21.12	Korean - English CS
28.23	33.80	37.35	Cebuano CS
100	100	100	Total

FIGURE 3. Development of CS occurrences across the three stages

From the illustration, it can be observed that CS had a significant development when the two base languages were used and compared across the three proficiency stages. Over the course of time, Quincy's English to Korean switching dramatically increased, while Korean to English switching decreased. Cebuano switching, as a side note, also increased. English switching (46.83%) in a Korean context in stage 1 was more frequent than Korean switching (24.94%) in an

English context. However, in stage 2, the switching for both languages was almost similar, from English base language to Korean CS is 34.05%, while from Korean base language to English CS is 32.15%. There seemed to be a balanced proficiency between the two base languages in this stage. Surprisingly in stage 3, the pattern was reversed, from an English context to Korean switching was 41.53%, while on the other hand, 21.10% for the Korean context to English switching. These results can be strongly attributed to the underlying increase of proficiency in the new language.

At the onset, English switching was widely used to compensate for his Korean linguistic deficiency. As the Korean language progressed, the use of CS in the old or first language drastically decreased. Instead, Korean CS was frequently employed in the English context. This result is in agreement with previous studies theorizing that for non-balanced bilinguals, more CS occurs with the first language (L1) from L2 contexts (Poplack, 2020), with L1 as more dominant. Undoubtedly, English was Quincy's dominant language in stage 1. The reverse pattern of CS in stage 3 showed that Korean had become his most dominant language due to more regular and more extensive exposure to the Korean language at school. This supports Grosjean's (2020) and Lanza's (1992) argument that language dominance can develop when a bilingual is exposed to one language more than the other language and when the language is needed to interact with more interlocutors.

The boy had certainly reached a level of language fluency and the language shift in his mind triggered the new language to behave like the dominant language. In excerpt 8, we can see the automaticity of the Korean language. The boy was asked by the interviewer to translate a Cebuano word into English. He preferred to answer the Korean translation first rather than in English despite knowing the meaning in both codes. This suggests that his Korean linguistic register was accessed faster than the English counterpart.

(Excerpt 8) Stage 3 (8;1)

*Researcher: Hey, Quincy. What is MUMO in English?*

*(Mumo is a Cebuano word for a fictitious character equivalent to a ghost or a monster.)*

*Quincy: MUMO, what?*

*Researcher: You said a while ago, "There's MUMO there in the closet."*

*Quincy: Ah, MUMO?*

*Researcher: Yes.*

*Quincy: Ahh. JOGI KWIMUL ITTDA. JOGI KWISHIN ITTDA.*

*[Ahh! There's a monster. There's a ghost.]*

*Researcher: What's that in English?*

*Quincy: There's a monster! There's a MUMO there.*

The excerpt implies that English, as his primary language, had been eventually replaced by Korean. The CS occurred due to automaticity in using the new dominant language for reasons that might include the convenience of use, language preference, and quicker access to the language register. In Heredia and Altarriba's (2001) description, this phenomenon can occur when the L1 decreases in strength, and the new language behaves as if it is the bilingual speaker's L1. The new language has become readily accessible, and the speaker comes to rely more on the new language.

### IDENTITY, LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT, AND CS

Along with the CS development across the stages, some behavioral development can also be perceived when the boy's language dominance dramatically changed from L1 to L2. Indeed, language is a fundamental resource for cultural and identity production (Auer, 2013). This argument is supported by the evidence shown in the boy's identity change as his new language competence gained more strength. As the boy mastered the Korean language, it had started to replace his L1's role and eventually conformed to the new language's identity as observed in the CS patterns of the boy's utterance demonstrated earlier in excerpt 6. Quincy preferred using Korean at this stage that he had to confirm first if the new foreign children spoke Korean. As observed, Quincy preferred using the new language more than his L1, even to non-Korean friends. His affinity to the Korean culture could be detected when he identified his age with the Korean age (9 years old), two years older than his international age (7 years old). His Korean CS was also an attempt to involve the speaker-participant in the culture he unconsciously identified. In another instance, Quincy was playing with another foreign boy who was a year older than him. In the Korean context, the use of *hyung*, a hierarchical honorific term literally meaning *older brother*, is alternately used to refer to an *older male friend* by male speakers. Quincy integrated this concept in excerpt 9 by calling another monolingual American boy as *brother* in equivalent for *hyung*.

(Excerpt 9) Stage 2 (7;6)

Quincy: *Uh I get it. The fish- I'm – I have many fish, brother!*  
(playing pretend fishing)

Boy: *No. I'm just kidding to join in.*

Quincy: *And what are you doing?*

Boy: *Hey, wait. Did you just call me brother?*

Quincy: *Your brother?*

Boy: *Yeah? Did you call me brother?*

Quincy: *He he. Yes.*

Boy: *I see. Everybody calls me big brother.*

This overt manifestation in favor of the Korean language, as observed in the use of CS, showed the boy's emotional involvement and attachment to the new culture. Later, in one of the interviews, the boy identified himself as more of a Korean than a Filipino. The dominance of the new language influenced not only his language choice but even his identity. On its particular level of fluency, this new linguistic code gives the bilingual a new image portrayal. Similar to Pavlenko's (2006) study of a bilingual's emotions, the results showed that the native Japanese speaker was reserved and indirect when speaking in Japanese but more direct and expressive in English. In Quincy's case, acquiring the new language upon reaching a certain level of proficiency indexed a new and a different persona. While a monolingual identifies oneself as a distinct identity, bilinguals either take a new identity or complement the old one. This argument agrees with the previous claims that language and identity are intertwined (Auer, 2013), each affecting the other. In Quincy's case, the role of language reveals his behavioral changes, which were apparent in the transformation of CS patterns over time.

## CONCLUSION

The current investigation monitored the language and CS patterns of a sequential-bilingual Filipino child identified as a TCK in Korea from ages 5;5 to 8;5 years old. The investigation started when the boy attended a Korean kindergarten where he was regularly exposed to the Korean language and ended when the boy's communicative language reached an almost native-like fluency after three years when he was already attending primary school. When compared in the different stages of the child's new language progress, his language choice and the use of CS patterns exposed a significant transformation that indicated an advancing multicompetence and proficiency, revealing a co-development of behavioral transformation and identity change.

The current study reveals a diachronic change in the patterns of CS overtime when L2 proficiency advances. When the boy's L2, the Korean language, was still impoverished, more CS was seen from L2 to L1. This manifestation was apparent in stage 1. In stage 2, a balanced proficiency was observed, so were the instances of CS. However, in stage 3, when the boy's L2 proficiency significantly advanced due to more exposure and use, the pattern was reversed by having more CS from L1 to L2. The underlying assumption is that the boy's L2 behaved as his dominant language, which according to Heredia and Altarriba (2001), can be more readily accessible, and the bilingual relies more on this new dominating language.

CS as a transformative process can be observed in the fluidity of its communicative patterns over time. In the present study, this substantial shift of CS could be seen explicitly in using the referential function, addressee specification, and cross-cultural solidarity. Initially, referential CS functioned as a fallback technique to show linguistic compensation. As proficiency increased, CS was referenced not for deficiency but for concepts unavailable in the other language to retain the intended meaning, which might have been altered if translated into the other language. Similarly, the use of CS in the addressee-language specification had also changed over time. What used to be a strict assigning of language for a speaker had slowly diminished when the new language started to dominate over the first language. As the new language replaced the old language's role, the preference for using the new language more often superseded the act of assigning strict languages to speakers in a multicultural context. This observation corresponded with the new identity formation of the boy. He identified and integrated himself with the new language's culture more than the identity he had with the L1. The new language gave the bilingual a new identity as it complemented the previous. While Volterra and Taeschner (2020) state that bilinguals can perform other linguistic functions with the new language when a certain level of proficiency has been reached, the findings of the present study also contribute to the existing knowledge of CS, offering evidence that the transformation of CS patterns is proposed to have a strong relationship with the diachronic advancement of linguistic proficiency in a new language.

The current study results have important implications for educators, parents, and policy-makers to understand the dynamic interplay between language development and the entailing behavioral, social, and cultural factors through the overt manifestation of CS patterns. Social acceptance and the general consideration of the CS phenomena are equally important in understanding that cultural and social aspects have a similar effect on the bilingual's language, language development, and behavior and that CS provides crucial means toward effective language learning and communication. The findings can also give helpful insights into the increasing number of TCKs in multicultural schools and international communities worldwide.

Although the study underwent conscientious procedures, there are a few limitations. In the implementation of data collection method, the recordings at some points in the three-year duration



may have not fully captured the whole language development of the child. Also, other sophisticated and automated linguistic productivity measures for children could be used aside from Brown's mean length of utterance, in order to arrive at a more precise measure of language productivity. Further directions for this study also include exploring the language of different TCKs with different cultural backgrounds in other specific contexts.

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