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**To what extent is the speech of a bilingual child affected by their
having acquired two languages simultaneously?**

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

This dissertation investigates bilingualism and the child bilingual speaker. The reason for this choice was that my experiences of learning languages and teaching English as a foreign language (EFL) have led to a great interest in the process of language acquisition, in particular the acquisition of two languages simultaneously. During my employment as an EFL teacher on a summer school camp in England in 2006, I had the opportunity to record the speech of a bilingual five-year-old girl and it is this data which forms the foundation of my research. The aims of this dissertation are to gain knowledge of the nature of bilingualism and the issues surrounding bilingual child language acquisition. I intend to carry out a detailed analysis of the data which will relate to and deepen my understanding of the issues I investigate.

In chapter two I consider the level of proficiency one needs to be deemed 'bilingual'. In doing so I explore the issue that there are various areas in which proficiency can be obtained and that the bilingual speaker is rarely equally fluent in both languages. This chapter also defines the different types of bilingual language acquisition and the circumstances under which a child may become bilingual. The issues in this chapter are necessary in providing a background to the topic, since one cannot explore bilingualism and the bilingual child unless one knows what bilingualism is. Chapter three discusses the phenomena of code-switching, borrowing and language mixing. Since the literature presents conflicting interpretations of these phenomena, I first define these strategies and then discuss the controversial theory that language mixing is evidence for the child having a single language system. In opposition to this view I suggest alternative reasons for language mixing. Finally I discuss construction replication and extension which can also feature in the bilingual

child's language. In addition to introducing the important topic of the unitary system hypothesis, this chapter is essential since it introduces the processes which will be considered in the data analysis.

In chapter four (the methodology) I explain the data selection, my reasons for using the case study method and the issues surrounding access to subjects. I then describe the data, the data collection process and how the data is presented. This chapter also introduces some important methodological problems regarding the study of bilingual child language. In chapter five I present the biographical profile of my subject Lucy, an English/Italian bilingual whose mother is Australian and father is Italian. At the time I first recorded Lucy she was staying temporarily in England but I later recorded her in her home in Italy where she had lived since she was ten months old. The biographical profile gives general background information about Lucy and then specific information about her language use both in England and Italy. This chapter and the methodology are important because they introduce the background to the case study, which enriches the understanding of the data.

Chapter six (the analysis) examines Lucy's speech in relation to the processes defined in chapter three. I identify and explain the instances of language mixing, construction replication and extension, and offer explanations for why such productions might have occurred. In doing so one is better able to evaluate the conflicting interpretations of the phenomena discussed in chapter three. The analysis seeks to discover the extent to which Italian affects Lucy's English and the conclusion answers this question, offering a positive evaluation of Lucy's productions as creative communicative strategies which allow her to achieve her communicative goals.

CHAPTER TWO

Defining Bilingualism and the Bilingual Speaker

2.1 Bilingualism: A Proficiency Continuum

When exploring the definitions of bilingualism and the bilingual speaker, one is unable to find a universal consensus. Language proficiency is an important factor in the definition of bilingualism, which leads to much debate and disagreement. At one end of the spectrum are linguists such as Haugen (1953: 7), cited in Mackey (2000), who assert that bilingualism is the ability to produce “complete meaningful utterances in the other language”. According to this definition, a native English speaker with no prior knowledge of another language could be deemed bilingual if they were to go on vacation to France and order a meal in French. Diebold (1964), cited in Romaine (1995), is even more extreme, using the term ‘incipient bilingualism’ to characterise the initial stages of contact between two languages. By this definition, any person who knew a word in another language could be classified as an incipient bilingual. Diebold’s term also allows for the fact that a person may be able to understand utterances in another language but be unable to produce complete meaningful utterances. Some linguists refer to such cases as ‘passive’ or ‘receptive’ bilingualism; a phenomenon which is common among individuals whose “parents were immigrants from a country where a different language is spoken” (Padilla 1977: 113). At the other end of the spectrum are linguists such as Cummins (1979) whose definition of bilingual competence is discussed in terms of an “ideal bilingual speaker with a perfect knowledge of both languages” (Milroy and Muysken 1995: 3). Bloomfield (1933: 56) too, cited in Romaine (1995), asserts the criterion for bilingualism as being the “native-like control of two languages”. Certainly it is clear that linguists have different expectations with regard to the level of proficiency required to be categorised as bilingual. Mackey (2000: 26-27) asserts that “the point at which a speaker of a

second language becomes bilingual is either arbitrary or impossible to determine” therefore he considers bilingualism as simply “the alternate use of two or more languages”. Similarly Grosjean (1995) states that “we will call ‘bilingual’ those people who use two, or more, languages... in their everyday lives” (p.259).

2.2 What Constitutes Proficiency?

Even if one is to decide upon a level of proficiency which one must reach to be deemed bilingual, one is faced with different aspects of language in which this proficiency could be reached. Myers-Scotton (2006) explains that “professionals... do not have a good measure of proficiency” and that this is partly because “linguistic varieties consist of three main systems (phonology, morphology and syntax, and the lexicon)” (p.39). Monolingual speakers usually have equal competence in phonology, morphology and syntax, though their lexicons may vary. Conversely, bilinguals may exhibit unevenness amongst these systems, especially in phonological abilities. In addition to these areas Romaine (1995) highlights the need to account for listening, reading, speaking and writing skills and Myers-Scotton (2006) states that “any evaluation ought to consider both grammatical competence and communicative [pragmatic/sociolinguistic] competence” (p.40). One might argue that you cannot define a speaker as proficient unless their abilities are equal in all these areas: “For a person to claim mastery of a language implies the ability to both encode and decode in the language... [and this] further implies mastery of the [phonemes or graphemes, lexicon, syntax, semantics]” (Padilla 1977: 112). However, it seems that emphasis may be placed upon spoken skills: “bilingualism may be based on reading or writing as well as speaking. But... we will consider speaking most essential in our definition” (Myers-Scotton 2006: 44).

2.3 Balanced and Dominant Bilinguals

A further issue is whether a speaker needs to be equally proficient in all the languages concerned to qualify as bilingual. Adams (2003) discusses the view that “bilingualism is marked by equal and fluent competence in two languages” (p.3). Although there are bilinguals of this type, equally “there are speakers who have greater competence in one language than another, and it would seem perverse to exclude them from a study of bilingualism given that they might be perfectly capable of communicating fluently in the second language” (Adams 2003: 3-4). Hamers & Blanc (1989), cited in Adams (2003), distinguish between the ‘balanced bilingual’ who has equal competence in both languages, and the ‘dominant bilingual’, for whom competence in one of the languages is superior to competence in the other language. The problem with such a distinction is that in some contexts a speaker may be a balanced bilingual whilst in other contexts they may display a dominance of one language over another. Grosjean (1995) explains that bilinguals normally use their languages for different purposes, in different domains of life and with different people and that because “the needs and uses of the languages are usually quite different, bilinguals are rarely equally or completely fluent in their languages” (p.259).

2.4 Simultaneous and Successive Acquisition

Bilingualism may occur as the result of ‘simultaneous’ acquisition, where languages are acquired alongside each other, or due to ‘successive’ acquisition, where a language is acquired after another has already been acquired. One might suggest that simultaneous acquisition applies to children still acquiring language whilst successive acquisition applies to adults and children who have fully acquired their first language, however, there has been much debate about where simultaneous acquisition ends and successive acquisition begins. According to Lanza (1997) simultaneous acquisition refers “to a situation in which the child is exposed to two languages from birth” (p.13)

whereas McLaughlin (1978), cited in Lanza (1997), asserts that the acquisition of two languages before the age of three is simultaneous and the introduction of a second language after three years is successive. Despite the conflicting interpretations of simultaneous acquisition, it is clear that it applies to children and not adults, whereas successive acquisition may apply to both children and adults.

2.5 The Bilingual Child: Environment and Input

For those bilingual speakers who have acquired their languages during childhood, the circumstances surrounding the creation of bilingualism vary widely and determine whether the languages are acquired simultaneously or successively. Vihman & Laughlin (1982), cited in Lanza (1997), identify two basic environments in which a child might acquire language, the home and the community, and three types of language input; each caretaker using one language, mixed use by each caretaker, and an environment bound language where one language is used at home and another in the community. Romaine (1995) expands on these identifications by defining six types of bilingual children based on factors such as the parents' native languages and the language of the community. The 'One Person-One Language' child has parents whose native languages are different but each of them has some degree of competence in the other's language. The language of one of the parents is the dominant language of the community but the parents each speak their own language to the child from birth. The 'Non-dominant Home Language/One Language One Environment' child also has parents whose native languages are different and the language of one of the parents is the dominant language of the community. However both parents speak the non-dominant language to the child, who is fully exposed to the dominant language only when outside the home. In the case of the 'Double Non-dominant Home Language without Community Support', the parents again have different native languages and like the 'One Person-One Language' type the

parents each speak their own language to the child from birth, however the difference is that the dominant language of the community is different from either of the parents' languages. The 'Non-dominant Home Language without Community Support' child has parents who share the same native language which they speak to the child but the dominant language of community is not that of the parents. The fifth type defined by Romaine (1995) is the 'Non-native Parents' where the parents share the same native language and the dominant language of the community is the same as the parents, yet one of the parents always addresses the child in a language which is not his/her native language. Finally there is the 'Mixed languages' situation where the parents are bilingual, sectors of the community may also be bilingual and the parents code switch and mix languages.

CHAPTER THREE

The Bilingual Child and Bilingual Child Language

3.1 Defining Language Mixing, Code-Switching and Borrowing

One of the most salient and commonly researched features of bilingual child language is ‘language mixing’, “the co-occurrence of elements from two or more languages in a single utterance” (Genesee 2000: 327), which can occur phonologically, morphologically, lexically and at the phrase level. For Köppe & Meisel (1995) language mixing encompasses both ‘borrowing’, which entails taking a word or short expression from another language and adapting it to the base language (Grosjean 1995), and ‘code-switching’, which is shifting “completely to the other language for a word, phrase or sentence” (Grosjean 1995: 263). Meisel (1989) on the other hand uses Redlinger & Park’s (1980: 337) definition of language mixing as the “indiscriminate combination of elements from each language” and excludes code-switching which Meisel (1989) describes as the “bilingual’s ability to select the language according to the interlocutor, the situational context, etc.” (p.13).

Indeed Genesee (2000) describes code-switching as a “sophisticated, rule-governed communicative device used by linguistically competent bilinguals to achieve a variety of communicative goals such as conveying emphasis, role playing, or establishing socio-cultural identity” (p.330). Blom & Gumperz (1972), cited in Milroy & Muysken (1995), identify ‘situational switching’ which is triggered by a change in the situation such as topic and participants, and Köppe & Meisel (1995) identify ‘conversational switching’ which conveys specific social or pragmatic information, for example, Fantini (1985) found that his son began to quote other people’s utterances in the language in which those utterances were spoken and used code-switching as a stylistic means of expression,

in order to amuse or tease the hearer or even to exclude a third person. In addition Romaine (1995) notes that code-switching can mark injections, serve as sentence fillers, reiterate what has just been said and specify an addressee as the recipient of a message.

Both language mixing and code-switching occur on a lexical and phrasal level, however, they differ in their uses and motivations and I will therefore distinguish between the two phenomena. I will also distinguish between language mixing and borrowing since in the case of borrowing, the lexical or phrasal elements from the other language are adapted to the base language (Grosjean 1995).

3.2 Language Mixing as Evidence for a Unitary Language System

A major issue in the research on bilingual language acquisition is whether the young child acquiring languages simultaneously initially has one language system which is gradually differentiated into two separate systems, or whether the child has two separate linguistic systems from the onset of development (Lanza 1997). Such a view corresponds with Paradis' (1981) 'extended system' hypothesis which posits that "there is one large language stock which contains elements from both languages" (Romaine 1995: 87). In contrast, the 'dual system' hypothesis suggests that "there are different networks of neural connections underlying each level of language... [and] the two language systems are represented separately" (Romaine 1995: 88). Evidence for this latter system comes from aphasia cases, in which languages are selectively or successively restored or inhibited: this indicates some neural independence for the languages at some level.

De Houwer's (1990) study, cited in Myers-Scotton (2006), provides evidence that children acquiring languages simultaneously do develop two systems for how to form words and put together larger units into sentences: the grammatical development of one language did not have any

fundamental effect on the development of the other language. On the other hand, language mixing has been used as evidence for “an undifferentiated or unitary underlying language system” (Genesee 2000: 327). It is argued that the child mixes words from both lexicons because they have a word in one language for which there is no equivalent in the other language, therefore the child uses words from a joint lexicon. When the child does have equivalents across the languages they may not realise they are from two separate languages and therefore use the equivalents across languages indiscriminately since they are perceived as synonyms within one system.

Based on the assumption that children acquiring two languages from birth to early infancy “pass from a stage in which the two languages are undifferentiated to a gradual separation of the two systems” (Padilla 1977: 115), Volterra & Taeschner (1978) proposed a three-stage model of differentiation. In stage one the child has one lexical system which includes words from both languages which frequently occur together in constructions. In stage two the child distinguishes two different lexicons but applies the same syntactic rules to both languages. At the third stage the child has two linguistic codes, differentiated both in lexicon and in syntax but each language is exclusively associated with the person using that language. Volterra & Taeschner (1978) assert that only at the end of stage three, when the tendency to categorise people in terms of their language decreases, can a child be deemed truly bilingual.

3.3 Alternative Explanations for Language Mixing in Bilingual Children

Since “differentiation occurs during the third year of life” (Genesee 2000: 330) one might argue that language mixing cannot be used as evidence for an undifferentiated system because language mixing occurs beyond three years of age. Instead Genesee (2000) proposes that bilingual children language mix because they “identify a referent with the lexical item in the language that was first or most frequently used to label it” (p.333). In addition Genesee (2000) suggests that language mixing

occurs because bilingual children “lack appropriate lexical items in one language but have them in the other language... [therefore] they borrow from one language for use in the other” (p.332). Language mixing may also be used as a ‘relief strategy’ when the necessary linguistic material is more easily available in the other language, for example, when the topic of conversation normally falls within the domain of the other language, or it may be the result of the fact that code-switching and borrowing occur in the child’s linguistic environment.

3.4 Construction Replication

In addition to the aforementioned levels on which mixing can occur, Genesee (2000) discusses syntactic mixing as in Swain & Wesche’s (1975) example, *They open, the windows?* This shows a French/English bilingual three-year-old using the noun apposition construction from French in an English utterance. Swain & Wesche (1975) also report instances of semantic mixing such as *You want to open the lights?*: in French the verb *open* is used where English would use *turn on*. Such instances might be seen as ‘construction replication’: Matras & Sakel (2006) identify ‘matter replication’ which is the direct replication of morphemes and phonological shapes from a source language, and ‘pattern replication’ which occurs when the internal structures of the language are reshaped; instead of the formal substance or matter being imported, “the patterns of distribution, of grammatical and semantic meaning, and of formal-syntactic arrangement at various levels (discourse, clause, phrase, or word)... are modelled on an external source” (p.2). Since Lanza (1997) uses ‘language mixing’ as a general term for all types of language contact and Genesee (2000) uses it to “refer to interactions between the bilingual child’s developing language systems” (p.327) one might indeed suggest that Swain & Wesche are right to label such phenomena as ‘mixing’. However, other linguists such as Dulay & Burt (1974), cited in Romaine (1995), use the term ‘interference’ to describe such phenomena. Grosjean (1995) describes an interference as a

“deviation from the language being spoken due to the influence of the other ‘deactivated’ language” (p.262). The term interference does not describe code-switching because this occurs in the bilingual mode in which both languages are activated and bilinguals can decide to switch base languages. Instead interferences usually occur in the monolingual mode in which bilinguals “adopt the language of their monolingual interlocutor(s) and deactivate, as best they can, the other language” (Grosjean 1995: 262). Although some bilinguals are able to do this and pass as monolingual, deactivation is rarely total and this is seen in the interferences bilinguals produce.

When replicating constructions the speaker is acting in the monolingual mode with one base language and the actual linguistic forms of the deactivated language are not used, therefore I will distinguish construction replication from language mixing. Instead construction replication clearly shows a deviation from the base language which is due to the influence of the deactivated language and is thus a type of interference. However, since interferences can occur at all levels of language (Grosjean 1995), I will use the specific term ‘construction replication’ in order to avoid ambiguity.

3.5 Extension

The speech of a bilingual speaker acting in the monolingual mode may also exhibit deviations from the base language which are not a result of language contact, such as overgeneralisations and simplifications. Grosjean (1995) refers to such deviations as ‘within-language deviations’ which “can occur when a language is mastered only to a certain proficiency level” (p.262), as in the case of a bilingual child who is still in the process of acquiring their languages. One might suggest that ‘extension’ is a type of within-language deviation: Harris & Campbell (1995) describe extension as “a mechanism which results in changes in the surface manifestation of a pattern” (p.51). Extension can “eliminate exceptions and irregularities by bringing the new analysis into line with the rest of

the existing grammar... [and can] change the syntax of a language by generalising a rule” (Harris & Campbell 1995: 97). Therefore one could argue that extension encompasses ‘overgeneralisation’ whereby a speaker takes a regular rule and applies it to irregular lexis, for example, applying the regular plural rule to irregular nouns such as *mouse*, resulting in *mouses* (Berko Gleason & Bernstein Ratner 1998: 368). In addition, when linguistic expressions are extended to new contexts, they can lead to ‘grammaticalisation’: “when a content word [nouns, verbs, adjectives] assumes the grammatical characteristics of a function word [prepositions, connectives, pronouns, demonstratives], the form is said to be ‘grammaticalised’” (Hopper & Traugott 1993: 4). Extension and overgeneralisation also occur in the speech of monolingual children and have been defined by Dulay & Burt (1974) as ‘developmental errors’. It is possible in the case of bilingual children for such developmental errors to interact with the aforementioned construction replication, producing ‘ambiguous errors’ (Dulay & Burt 1974) which cannot be classified as either interference or as developmental errors.

CHAPTER FOUR

Methodology

4.1 Selection and Access

The preliminary focus of this dissertation was second language acquisition and this was partly determined by the fact that I had a forthcoming position as an English as a Foreign Language (EFL) teacher on a summer school camp in 2006, therefore I knew I would have access to individuals who were learning a second language. I intended to record informal interviews with my students and analyse their speech. However, this access was restricted because it transpired that my students were under the age of consent and I was not able to obtain parental consent. I overcame this problem by instead recording informal interviews with their foreign adult group leaders. I was also able to record Lucy¹, my boss Fiona's bilingual five-year-old daughter, because I could obtain parental consent from Fiona. Since I lived in the same quarters as Lucy and Fiona on campus, and later visited them in Italy, I spent a great deal of time with Lucy. This allowed me the freedom to record Lucy as and when it was most convenient, and I was able to select the environment in which these interactions took place.

Although the recordings of the group leaders yielded interesting data, the unforeseen opportunity to record Lucy inspired a change of focus and I decided to use Lucy as the subject of a case study on child bilingualism. Focusing solely on Lucy allows the opportunity to explore the topic of this dissertation in greater depth and the unlimited access to Lucy increased my understanding of the issues involved. Indeed the “case study approach... gives an opportunity for one aspect of a problem to be studied in some depth” (Bell 1999: 10) and “the focus on one or a few instances

¹ For the purpose of this research I have used pen names as I recognise the importance of the anonymity of the participants involved.

allows the researcher to deal with the subtleties and intricacies of complex social situations” (Denscombe 2003: 38).

4.2 Data Collection

The first audio recording of Lucy’s speech took place two days after Lucy had arrived in England, on 24th July 2006, whilst I was looking after Lucy in our quarters on campus. The setting was an informal environment in which we played with Lucy’s toy dolls, role-played and chatted informally. For the remaining three weeks of the summer school I noted down interesting instances of Lucy’s speech as and when they occurred and when I had the means to make a record of them. These instances of speech occurred in informal conversations in a variety of settings with my colleagues and I. During the week I spent in Italy I continued to keep a written record of Lucy’s speech in informal settings, both in the home and the local community, and mainly amongst Fiona, Fiona’s friend, my friend and I. The second audio recording took place in Lucy’s house on the last day of my stay in Italy, on 23rd August 2006. The setting was an informal environment in which I asked Lucy questions and we chatted. When studying child language from a developmental perspective longitudinal studies are necessary, however, time constraints have not allowed such a study. Nevertheless my data demonstrates Lucy’s speech on various occasions and in different settings, therefore providing a broader insight than a single recording.

A further issue in collecting data is that it is difficult for “researchers to achieve their aim of investigating situations as they naturally occur without any effect arising from their presence” (Denscombe 2003: 39). On the occasion of the first audio recording I therefore did not tell Lucy she was being recorded because I wanted the interaction to be as natural as possible. The recording equipment, a Dictaphone, aided this concealment since it was inconspicuous and Lucy did not

notice it until the end of the interaction when she mistook it for a camera. By keeping a written record of Lucy's speech I was also able to avoid the 'observer's effect' as even I would not be aware of when such instances were going to present themselves. In order to gain a second opportunity to record Lucy, who played on the beach in Italy with her friends every day, I had to ask for Lucy's 'help' and explain the situation to her. I do not believe that Lucy's awareness of the Dictaphone had a significant effect on Lucy's speech because by this point she was familiar with me and we were therefore able to have a natural conversation. If anything, Lucy's awareness of being recorded worked to my advantage because she was keen to listen to herself on the Dictaphone. She then wanted to continue the interaction so that she could listen to herself again, and when she showed a desire to return to her friends, I was able to prolong the interaction by using her interest in listening to herself as a type of 'bargaining tool'.

4.3 Data Presentation

The two recordings of Lucy's speech have been transcribed using transcription conventions based on DuBois' (1991) symbols for discourse transcription, listed in Schiffrin (1994: 422-423). Some of DuBois' (1991) transcription symbols were not relevant to my data and I have consequently not included them in my list of transcription symbols. In addition, DuBois (1991) lists certain symbols as 'user-definable' and I have therefore applied them accordingly². The two records of speech did not need transcribing since they were written records in a notebook; instead they have been word-processed in the order in which they appeared in the notebook, thus reflecting the chronology of their occurrence. Although they are presented in the style of the transcriptions it was not possible to record the finer details of the utterances, hence the only transcription symbol used is that which

² See Appendix 1 for the list of symbols used in the transcriptions.

allows the researcher to comment; this symbol was necessary for explaining the context of the utterance. Finally all four pieces of data are arranged chronologically³.

4.4 Problems with Interpreting and Analysing Child Language

Lanza (1997) asserts that “working up a transcript is a time-consuming and demanding process which requires decisions at many levels” (p.103). Indeed it can be difficult to interpret the child’s speech and using a Dictaphone which does not allow a visual recording makes the transcription process even harder for the transcriber. Fortunately I was both a participant and the transcriber of the interactions therefore I fully understood the context and was able to remember the actions that accompanied the speech; this consequently aided my interpretation. Nevertheless it was difficult to interpret some of Lucy’s utterances when they were not clearly articulated. In addition, during the first recording, the audio tape skipped many times and some speech was distorted or lost. Analysing child language can also be problematic as one is faced with issues such as determining when a structure is considered to be ‘acquired’. It is also difficult to make generalisations and compare the case study with other case studies since each case study is unique and there are an infinite number of factors which influence the findings. However, this case study does not seek to make generalisations about bilingual child language but instead examines one instance and in doing so contributes to the accumulation of case studies which together create a wider understanding of the topic.

³ See Appendix 2 for the data.

CHAPTER FIVE

Case Study Biographical Profile

5.1 Background Information

Lucy Ramsey-Rossi was born on 17th May 2001 in Sydney, Australia, to an Australian mother, Fiona Ramsey and Italian father, Marco Rossi. Whilst her parents had a two-year relationship prior to Lucy's birth, they have not been in a relationship since she was born. Marco was present at Lucy's birth, having flown out to join Fiona. In March 2002 the family moved to Italy, and Fiona and Lucy moved into Marco's parents' holiday home in Sorí, near to Genoa, where Lucy's paternal relatives live. Whilst in Italy Lucy returned to Australia to visit family once a year, with the exception of 2004 when she visited twice; therefore in total she visited Australia five times. In addition, she went on holiday to Germany in 2004, to Singapore for one week in 2004 and to Canada in 2005 for three weeks. In 2005 Fiona came to England to work on a summer school camp. In the third week, Marco brought Lucy over to join her mother and Lucy spent three weeks in England. During summer 2006 Fiona again came to England to work for the same company and this is where I met her. In the third week Marco brought Lucy over from Italy and they both spent a few days with us. Marco then returned to Italy and Lucy stayed with Fiona for the remaining few weeks of camp. Fiona and Lucy have now moved to New Zealand therefore the following information only applies up until autumn 2006 when they left Italy.

5.2 Relationships

Lucy has always lived with Fiona and would generally see Marco at weekends due to his work commitments. Lucy would see her Italian grandparents and relatives at least once during the week and also at weekends. Lucy has not spent as much time with her maternal relatives as they live in

Australia but she has visited them annually and would have regular conversations on the phone with her aunt. Other people in Lucy's life included those she was in contact with in her hometown Sorì; a small fishing port on the Italian Riviera with a small, close community. Fiona had many contacts with the locals in the village and a good number of international friends. Lucy also had many Italian friends in the village and from the age of sixteen months, Lucy attended an Italian nursery school for two to three days per week.

5.3 Language Use in Italy

Lucy has been exposed to and acquired two languages from birth, English and Italian; therefore her bilingual language acquisition can be seen as simultaneous. In Italy, both prior to and during my stay there, Lucy would speak English with Fiona and when communicating with her Australian relatives and Fiona's English speaking friends. Lucy would speak Italian with Marco, Italian relatives, Italian friends and locals. Lucy could therefore be seen as the 'One Person-One Language' child bilingual as defined by Romaine (1989): Fiona and Marco both have different native languages, they have competence in each other's language, one of their languages has been the dominant language of the community (in Australia initially and then later in Italy) and they each speak their own language to Lucy. However when with both her parents, Lucy would speak English with Marco. She would also speak some English, around 20% of the time, when alone with him. However, when the decision was made for Fiona and Lucy to move to New Zealand, Marco spoke Italian with Lucy more often when they were alone. Lucy could therefore also be defined as the 'Non-dominant Home Language/One Language One Environment' type since in Italy both parents would speak the non-dominant language, English, to Lucy.

The code-switching between Marco and Lucy was also extended to story reading; Marco read to Lucy in both Italian and English. Fiona however has only ever read to Lucy in English. Lucy would

also be read to in Italian by her grandparents and at nursery school. She was exposed to films in English at home and in Italian at school. In addition she would watch Italian television programs at her grandparents' house. The activities at nursery school mainly included drawing but at the age of four the children were taught colours and some numbers in Italian. More recently, at the age of five, letters and more numbers were introduced and Lucy's nursery school teachers commented that Lucy was a quick and keen learner.

5.4 Language Use in England

During summer 2006 when Lucy spent three weeks on the summer school camp in England Lucy spoke English all the time with her mother, the staff, the international students and I. On camp Lucy was exposed to a variety of non-native English accents such as Portuguese, French, Taiwanese, Chinese and Austrian. She was popular with the students and would socialise with them at meal times, free time and during activities such as sport or arts and crafts. Lucy was exposed to numerous English-speaking films which we watched with the students and in our own free time. Her mother read books in English with her, as some of the other staff and I. Lucy went on the excursions with staff and students, and thus used English in a variety of environments.

CHAPTER SIX

Analysis

6.1 Code-Switching

As a result of having both English and Italian speaking interlocutors when in Italy, Lucy would code-switch on a day-to-day basis. I did not experience Lucy code-switching in England since Marco was the only Italian speaker on campus, he stayed for only a few days and when the family were together they spoke English. However, whilst in Italy I did observe Lucy code-switching. On one occasion Fiona was chatting to Italian friends, and whilst Lucy spoke English when directly addressing Fiona or myself, she switched to Italian when speaking to her mother's Italian friends. Even though Fiona herself was speaking Italian, Lucy would not speak to her in Italian. Such an instance of 'situational switching', whereby Lucy switches according to the interlocutor's language, did not apply with Marco with whom her language use was much less stringent.

6.2 Language Mixing

The data shows Lucy acting in the monolingual mode, using English but deactivating Italian, because her interlocutors are native English speakers with whom she only speaks English. Since Lucy is not acting in the bilingual mode she does not code-switch in these interactions, however, Italian does enter her speech:

(194) LUCY: She was at home and the <L2 campanello L2> was ringing ((rings bell again))

(195) ELLEN: And the what was ringing? ((bell still ringing))

(196) LUCY: The...the... sound of the door.

(197) ELLEN: The sound of the door.

(198) LUCY: The bell of the door.

(699) ELLEN: That's cool. So ... I was wondering, what is your favourite food in Italy?

(700) LUCY: <L2 Acciughe L2>. <L2 Acciughe L2>bluh.

Such instances cannot be seen as 'borrowing' as defined by Grosjean (1995) because the Italian lexical items are not adapted to the base language; instead one could identify these productions as cases of language mixing at the lexical level because they show the co-occurrence of elements from two languages in single utterances (Genesee 2000). In (194) Lucy language mixes because she lacks the lexical entry for *campanello* 'doorbell' in English. When questioned Lucy realises that I do not understand and uses her English language creatively to describe her meaning, almost achieving the target language. Lucy's use of *acciughe* 'anchovies' in (700) is less explicable. One might argue that it is a case of borrowing; indeed "[a] very frequent type of borrowing is that which involves culture-specific items, e.g. food..." (Romaine 1995: 142) and speakers may use borrowing to achieve a particular effect. To augment this effect speakers may not even adapt the lexical item phonologically to the base language; therefore one could argue that although Lucy's production maintains its phonological features, it could be seen as borrowing. However, borrowing only succeeds if the interlocutors understand the borrowed items, and as far as Lucy was aware I did not speak Italian, therefore she could not assume that I would understand, especially as anchovies are not the most salient of food types. Lucy could instead be seen to be language mixing: the majority of Lucy's contact with food has been in Italy and although Lucy does know the equivalents of food names in English, *acciughe* is perhaps too unusual, thus by using *acciughe* Lucy is filling a gap in her English lexicon or even relieving herself from the pressure of searching for the appropriate lexical entry since the topic of conversation usually falls within the domain of Italian. It is also

possible that Fiona's use of Italian lexis for some food items may have influenced Lucy's language choice, or that the question, which asked what Lucy's favourite food was "in Italy", could have primed the answer to be Italian. If I had questioned Lucy's use of *acciughe*, as I did with *campanello*, one might have been able to determine Lucy's motivations for using Italian in (700) more clearly.

Lucy also uses Italian when referring to the Italian members of her family, even though she understands the English equivalents:

(514) ELLEN: And what's Daddy's name?

(515) LUCY: Rossi.

(516) ELLEN: Rossi. So your name's Lucy Ramsey-Rossi?

(517) LUCY: Yeah.

(518) ELLEN: So you've got Mommy and Daddy's names?

(519) LUCY: And Rossi is <L2 Babo L2>

(536) ELLEN: And who do you speak Italian with?

(537) LUCY: <L2 Nonna, Nonno, Tata, Tato L2> ... um.

In these instances Lucy is clearly not using *Babo* 'Daddy', *Nonna* 'Grandma' and *Nonno* 'Grandpa' because she lacks the lexical entry in English (indeed when referring to her maternal relatives she uses English kinship terms) or because the topic of the conversation usually occurs in Italian; instead this mix may be attributed to the fact that "[t]he name is such an inseparable part of a

person's identity that it may retain its grammatical characteristics when it is transferred into another language" (Adams 2003: 369). Lucy does not however have the translations of all kinship terms:

(536) ELLEN: And who do you speak Italian with?

(537) LUCY: <L2 Nonna, Nonno, Tata, Tato L2> ... um.

(538) ELLEN: Who's Tata and Tato, Toto?

(539) LUCY: My <L2 zia L2> and my, no my aunty and my aunty's, my aunty ... my aunty and the other aunty.

Tata and *Tato* are the nicknames of Lucy's aunty and uncle. It seems that Lucy is going to call them both by the Italian translation, *zia* and *zio*, but then changes her mind and reverts to English. However, she encounters a problem because she does not know the word *uncle*. Instead she attempts to refer to him as a possession of her aunty but again finds that she does not have the appropriate lexical entry and subsequently calls him *the other aunty*. When I interpret this to mean that Marco has two sisters Lucy corrects me and states that only her *zia* is her father's sister. I have at this point still not realised that *Tata* and *Tato* are nicknames and wonder if they are friends. When I ask Lucy this she replies as follows:

(553) LUCY: No! They're my aunties.

(554) ELLEN: Oh okay.

(555) LUCY: One is a boy aunty and one is a girl aunty.

In Italian the terms for *uncle* and *aunty* differ only in their endings, as with *grandma* and *grandpa*; the female roles bear the feminine ending *-a* and the male roles bear the masculine ending *-o*.

However, Lucy cannot access the name *uncle* purely by altering *aunty*. Instead she employs the feminine/masculine divide by creatively referring to them as *boy aunty* and *girl aunty*, rather than using language mixing as her only resource.

6.3 Construction Replication

The Italian language not only occurs in Lucy's speech as a form of language mixing, but it also influences the structure of Lucy's English as in (150) where Lucy replicates the Italian construction *prendere il sole* 'to sunbathe' when playing with her dolls:

(150) LUCY: ~ Because they was getting sun, the top can come off.

The verb *prendere* means 'to take' or 'to get', hence Lucy's use of the verb *get*: such an instance would be defined as semantic mixing by Swain & Wesche (1975) and as an interference by Grosjean (1995) since it is a deviation from the base language English. Interestingly, Lucy does not replicate the definite article *il* as one might expect.

In the following examples Lucy and I are playing with her dolls and she uses the past tense to describe the characteristics of the dolls present at the time and the actions that she is currently making them carry out:

(160) LUCY: "I'm going to sleep!" Because it was nighttime.

(208) LUCY: "I dunno". Then another one was arriving. This was Kiki.

(328) LUCY: "Yeah I'm higher!" Now she couldn't come up here.

(346) LUCY: No there was .. she was the nasty one okay?

(352) LUCY: And then she was do like this ((rings the bell))

(382) LUCY: ((squeals)) and she was falling down, she was almost falling down okay .. and she was climbing up here, he was the foot to go up there.

In a play context, Italian speakers use the past tense to describe the current states and actions of the characters in the imaginary world they are creating, therefore Lucy is clearly replicating the Italian syntactic construction and this was an aspect of her speech which Fiona highlighted to me. Although the present tense would be used in English in this situation one might argue that the past tense is still grammatical and it is possible that Lucy is intending to use the past tense for a particular effect. However, the following examples demonstrate that Lucy is not conceptualising the situation in the past tense since she uses the temporal adverb *now* which firmly places the action in the present:

(32) LUCY: It's true that it was, that she was in the costume.

(33) ELLEN: She was in the costume? ... When?

(34) LUCY: Now.

(330) LUCY: Okay now I was standing up.

Interestingly there is one instance where Lucy does use the present tense, though this is then immediately juxtaposed with the past tense:

(67) ELLEN: She's she's going to the beach .. she's just left the beach, she's left the beach because it's closing.

(68) LUCY: No because she's ill. She was gonna .. have a little rest at home.

The majority of Lucy's life has been spent in Italy and her playmates have been Italian, therefore one might suggest that Lucy replicates the Italian construction in this particular play context because she is accustomed to using Italian in the play environment whereas she is not used to using English in this context and may not know how to. Similarly Lucy may be replicating the Italian construction in (150) because her experience of sunbathing has mainly and/or first occurred in Italy, where her home was right on the beachfront, therefore she may not be accustomed to using or have access to the lexical entry in English.

The remaining examples in this section differ in this respect since one cannot suggest that Lucy is replicating the Italian construction because the conversation topic usually or first occurred in the domain of Italian, or because she lacks the lexical entry:

(108) LUCY: "But where you live?"

(112) LUCY: "Erm... you know that you in England?"

(123) ELLEN: "It's England, but which which town in England?"

(124) LUCY: (Y whispers Y) What it means?

(458) ELLEN: Have you been there recently?

(459) LUCY: Yes .. what it means?

(689) ELLEN: Your cousin was there? I don't think he was.

(670) LUCY: Why? You knew them all?

Lucy replicates the Italian interrogative structure by excluding the auxiliary verb *do* found in English interrogatives; in Italian a demonstrative is turned into an interrogative by means of intonation or punctuation (in open questions a question word such as *che* 'what' precedes the demonstrative phrase). Since there is no auxiliary verb to indicate the subject or tense in Lucy's productions, Lucy conjugates the verbs in (124) and (459) to *means* rather than the target *mean* and the verb in (670) to *knew* rather than *know*; this also imitates the Italian because in Italian the verb is conjugated in the absence of an auxiliary. However, Lucy compromises between the two languages since she does use pronouns, which she would not do if she were fully replicating the Italian construction: Italian allows a pro-drop because the verb conjugation indicates the subject. Conversely, Lucy does not always use the required pronoun in English:

(728) LUCY: And if person look on the board, can fall in.

Since Italian allows a pro-drop Lucy can be seen to replicating this construction by eliminating the subject pronoun in the main clause.

Lucy also replicates the Italian construction in negative utterances (790) and when expressing the idea of possession (491, 492):

(789) ELLEN: Tell me what you did today first, I want to hear what you did, because I haven't seen you all day long ... what have you done today?

(790) LUCY: I didn't do nothing.

(491) LUCY: The hairbrush of my Mum

(492) LUCY: ((looking at a photograph of her mother with dreadlocks)) Kathryn, look at the hair of my Mum!

In Italian the negative *non* 'not' precedes the verb phrase and is sometimes followed by a second negative such as *nulla* 'nothing'. In (790) Lucy clearly replicates the double negative which Italian allows and English does not. Lucy also replicates the Italian construction which expresses the idea of possession by using the preposition *di* 'of' in (491) and (492).

The following example shows Lucy replicating the Italian construction *fare una fotografia* 'to take a photograph':

(475) LUCY: Can you do me a photo?

Lucy uses the verb *do* because she is literally translating *fare* 'to do'. Lucy also replicates the Italian construction *può farmi una fotografia?* because in Italian the first person singular indirect object pronoun *mi* 'to/for me' is attached to the lexical verb as a suffix: Lucy replicates this construction by positioning the English first person singular object pronoun *me*, without the preposition, immediately after the lexical verb, rather than after the noun as in *can you take a photograph for*

me? In (486) one also sees that Lucy replicates the Italian construction *tu mi vedrai che sono ancora piccolo* ‘you will see that I’m still little’ because she inserts an object pronoun into the English construction:

(486) LUCY: ((on telephone to aunt)) You will see me that I’m still little >>

In addition Lucy demonstrates construction replication in the following instances:

(242) LUCY: No one other one was there.

(431) LUCY: Lesson of ballerina.

(559) LUCY: <X Wani X>, a friend of us, and <X Kiki X> another friend, that is his wife, and Sammy <XX> and ...

(737) ELLEN: Have you ever had any pets?

(738) LUCY: No. What are the pets?

If one is to deconstruct the Italian construction *nessuno altro* ‘no one else’ one sees that *nessuno* translates as ‘no one’ whilst *altro* literally translates as ‘other’; this would explain Lucy’s production in (242). What is puzzling is the addition of a second *one*. Lucy also replicates *lezione de balletto* ‘ballet lessons’ in (431), though Lucy uses the noun *ballerina* rather than *ballet*, perhaps because we had previously been discussing that she wanted to be a ballerina when she was older. In (559) Lucy replicates the Italian construction *un amico di noi* ‘a friend of ours’ since *noi* literally

translates as ‘us’. Finally Lucy demonstrates a replication of the Italian construction when she inserts the definite article in front of a generic noun in (738).

These instances of construction replication are mainly syntactic though there is a semantic replication in (475). Unlike the replication of *prendere il sole* and the use of the past tense in a play context, which could be attributed to similar motivations as language mixing, the latter examples in this section can be attributed to not having fully acquired English, or they may be seen as deviations from the base language (interferences) which are the result of Italian not being fully deactivated.

6.4 Extension

In addition to the between-language deviations in Lucy’s speech where Italian is imported into English or where Italian influences the structure of Lucy’s English, there are also within-language deviations which show Lucy extending an element from one paradigm to another within English:

(150) LUCY: ~ Because they was getting sun, the top can come off.

(300) LUCY: Sofia, Margherita .. that you knows, like er .. let’s not call them like, she was Sofia okay ~

(421) LUCY: @ I’m nicer though ...(N) But she have it like this... “Ha look how my feet are!”

(619) LUCY: Because there’s .. my cousins!

(642) LUCY: Like, what’s their names?

(725) ELLEN: What shall we talk about them?

(726) LUCY: ... (N) That they can drown if they are metal.

(727) ELLEN: Yeah.

(728) LUCY: And if person look on the board, can fall in.

(780) LUCY: Er she have a brother, a little one, and she have a mummy... a daddy, no she don't have a daddy.

In these instances there is incongruity between the subject of the verb and the verb conjugation, therefore Lucy is extending one verb conjugation to another. In doing so she is “eliminat[ing] exceptions and irregularities by bringing the new analysis into line with the rest of the existing grammar” (Harris & Campbell 1995: 97).

In the following exchange Lucy uses the pronoun *one* to refer back to the common noun *town* in (44). However she then uses *one* to refer to the proper noun *Switzerland*. Since I am discussing the origin of the bell we are playing with, the more appropriate response to the question of where Lucy's bell is from would be *from there too* rather than *from that one too*. Lucy then further extends *one* to follow a possessive adjective and demonstrative adjective.

(44) LUCY: From a little town, very very little one.

(45) ELLEN: From a little cow? But that one's from Switzerland. Where's yours from?

(46) LUCY: ... From that one too.

(47) ELLEN: From Switzerland too?

(48) LUCY: Yeah it's just that my one is without this one ((referring to a feature of the bell))

One also sees Lucy extending the expression of quantity *a little bit* when she is referring to frequency in (453), extending the adverb of frequency *usually* to the place of its related adjective *usual* in (489) and extending the semantic meaning of *say* to *talk* in (484):

(452) ELLEN: Wow... So how many times have you been to Australia?

(453) LUCY: Just a little bit, when I when I was one I was in Italy.

(489) LUCY: ((in pizzeria)) I'm having my usually pizza

(484) LUCY: Is it right what it's talking?

Since extension “can eliminate exceptions and irregularities by bringing the new analysis into line with the rest of the existing grammar” (Harris & Campbell 1995: 97) one can include overgeneralisation as a type of extension. In both England and Italy I recorded Lucy using *the cooker* (480, 493) to refer to ‘the cook’. She was therefore overgeneralising the rule whereby the suffix *-er* is added to a verb in order to derive a noun as in the case of *build* and *builder*. However the verb *cook* is irregular and remains morphologically unaltered as the noun *cook*. In (483) Lucy overgeneralises the regular plural rule when she applies the suffix *-s* to the irregular noun *fish*:

(483) LUCY: ((looking over a bridge into a stream)) Fishes live in the water. If they don't they can die...because nobody eat them.

As already explained, English turns a demonstrative into an interrogative by using the auxiliary verb *do* before the verb phrase. Since the auxiliary verb indicates the subject and the tense, the lexical verb is not conjugated as in the demonstrative. In (485) (and also in (494)) Lucy overgeneralises this rule by applying it to the irregular verb *be*:

(485) LUCY: ((looking at a photograph)) Did I be there?

These instances of extension, which can be seen as deviations from the base language, might demonstrate that Lucy has not yet fully acquired English. However, such productions have also been termed ‘developmental errors’ (Dulay & Burt 1974) and are found in the speech of monolingual children. Nevertheless such productions show Lucy creatively using the language she does have available at that point in time to aid her communication.

6.5 Ambiguous Productions

There are some instances which one could suggest are examples of extension, however, on closer examination it is possible to suggest that Lucy’s Italian has affected her productions, as in the following examples where Lucy takes the perfect participles *done* and *gone* and extends them to the simple past construction:

(100) LUCY: Then she done like this, “Hey! Wake up!”

(166) LUCY: I done it for real

(167) ELLEN: You did what?

(168) LUCY: The yawn, real yawn.

(465) LUCY: Yep even when I was little bit big .. but then ... I saw my Grandma die .. then... I gone away because .. I don't know why these .. stupid Barbies are like this.

Some verbs in English do allow their participles to be used in both the present perfect and the simple past, however some irregular verbs such as *do* and *go* have two participles, one which is used with the subject in the simple past and one which is used with the subject and the auxiliary verb *have* in the present perfect. By extending the present perfect participle to the simple past Lucy “eliminates exceptions and irregularities” (Harris & Campbell 1995: 97). In Italian there is no distinction between the present perfect and the simple past; therefore *ho fatto* means both ‘I have done’ and ‘I did’, whilst *sono andato* means ‘I have gone’ and ‘I went’. Therefore in translating from Italian one is faced with two options and it is possible that in making the decision of which tense to use, which Lucy does not have to do in Italian, Lucy is distracted from making the further distinction between the participles themselves. The following instances can also be seen as instances of extension and at the same time one can argue that Italian has had an influence on Lucy’s productions:

(478) LUCY: They came first us

(479) LUCY: ((when playing ‘hairdressers’)) You wear it how I make it to you?

(640) LUCY: Do you have some cousins?

In (478) the ordinal number *first*, a content word which can act as a noun, adjective or adverb, is extended to a new context in which it is then grammaticalised to a function word, acting in the place

of the preposition *before*. However in Italian *primo* can act both as ‘first’ as in *il primo* ‘the first’ and as the preposition *primo* ‘before’ as in the phrase *sono venuto primo di noi* ‘they came before us’. Lucy therefore has the option of two lexical entries in English and does not choose the target item, since in Italian she does not have to distinguish between ‘first’ and ‘before’. In (479) Lucy is trying to ask if I will wear my hair in the style in which she does it and in this context one would use *to do someone’s hair* rather than *to make someone’s hair*. However in Italian the verb *fare* means ‘to do’ and ‘to make’, which might explain Lucy’s production since she has two different lexical entries in English but only one in Italian. Similarly the Italian *dei* as in the construction *hai dei cugini?* ‘do you have any cousins?’ can translate as ‘any’ and ‘some’, therefore whilst one might argue that Lucy is extending *some* to a position in which *any* is more appropriate, one could also suggest that Italian has influenced Lucy’s production.

Lucy’s use of prepositions might be seen as a type of extension since in the following examples she applies a preposition to situations where it is not normally used:

(63) ELLEN: She’s going away?

(64) LUCY: Yes.

(65) ELLEN: Where to?

(66) LUCY: At home because there... ~ it was closing, to <th>the beach was closing okay .. “Okay bye!”

(482) LUCY: ((when playing ‘doctors’)) You stay to the hospital

(365) ELLEN: ... What’s it like in Italy?

(366) LUCY: At the sea.

(520) ELLEN: Yep, Dad. Daddy yeah? And do you know when your birthday is Lucy?

(521) LUCY: At May.

However, one can also suggest that Lucy's Italian has had some bearing on her English productions. In (66) and (482) the Italian construction would be *a casa* 'to home' and *al ospedale* 'at the hospital', however *a* can mean both 'to' and 'at' which may account for why Lucy chooses *at* rather than *to* in (66) and *to* rather than *at* in (482). Similarly the Italian translation of (366) would be *al mare* which shows the preposition *a* (contracted here with the definite article) also encompassing the English preposition *by*, however, Lucy replicates the Italian construction directly by using *at* in English. One could also argue that such instances are not influenced by Italian but are instead merely within-language extensions, as is the case in (521) where one cannot see a correlation with Italian; the target *in May* would be *in maggio*.

In the following examples Lucy takes a lexical item and extends it by using it in a position where an alternative lexical item with a similar meaning would normally be used:

(283) ELLEN: "You're bare feet?"

(284) LUCY: "Yes"

(285) ELLEN: "No you're not, you've got big blue boots on"

(286) LUCY: No, let's do that she was. "Hi!"

(481) LUCY: ((when playing 'doctors')) Let's do that you're the nurse

(477) LUCY: ((holding camera)) Shall I squash the button?

Lucy uses the lexical verb *do* to mean ‘pretend’ in (286) and (481), however it is possible that Italian may have influenced this extension since one can say *facciamo un gioco*, literally ‘let’s do a game’. In (477) Lucy uses the lexical verb *squash* to mean ‘press’. One might wonder whether Italian has had any influence on this production since these two verbs, *primere* ‘to press’ and *sprimere* ‘to squash’ differ only in one letter in Italian. Such instances of extension might be because Lucy is filling a gap in her lexis, or they could be the result of her using language creatively.

A very salient feature of Lucy’s speech was her use of *even* as in the following examples:

(133) ELLEN: She’s dead, so where does you gran- what about Daddy’s Mom and Dad? Where do they live?

(134) LUCY: ~ I dunno who’s her Mum, of my Mum, I dunno <XX> ~ I dunno.

(135) ELLEN: <Wh>what about, what about Daddy’s Mom and Dad? .. Where are they?

(136) LUCY: I don’t know even the Dad of my Mum.

(730) LUCY: And blah blah blah but ow <@ giggles @>. They have even sails. And now it’s your turn.

(465) LUCY: Yep even when I was little bit big .. but then ... I saw my Grandma die .. then... I gone away because .. I don’t know why these .. stupid Barbies are like this.

(160) LUCY: “I’m going to sleep!” Because it was nighttime.

(161) ELLEN: Oh it’s nighttime now okay.

(162) LUCY: Even we need to do it ((starts pretending to snore)) (H Hx) do it like this

In (136) Lucy could feasibly be aiming to produce *I don’t even know...* However, I am asking her about her paternal grandparents but she seems to be focusing on her maternal grandparents since she has previously told me of her maternal grandmother’s death and says in (134) that she does not know Fiona’s mother. Lucy could therefore be using *even* to mean ‘also’ in her stream of thought. Similarly in (730) Lucy could be aiming to produce *they even have sails* or perhaps *they also have sails* when describing boats. In (465) Lucy is talking about the amount of times she has been to Australia and *even* seems to mean ‘also’ in this case too. One might suggest that if Lucy is trying to use *also* then her use of *even* demonstrates extension, however *even* is not placed in the position where *also* would be; this demonstrates construction replication since in Italian *anche* ‘also’ and *ancora* ‘even’ follow the verb. In (162) we are playing with Lucy’s dolls and she wants us both to make snoring noises and here the use of *even* seems to be as a discourse marker.

The former examples in this section show the distinctions made in English but not in Italian contributing to extension, whilst the latter examples of the use of *even* can be seen as both extension and construction replication. One could therefore argue that these examples suggest Lucy has so far mastered English only to a certain proficiency level and that they also show that Italian has not been fully deactivated. Instead of simply extending within English, Lucy is extending her language interlingually and is thus using language even more creatively to communicate her intentions.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Conclusion

The case study method used in this dissertation has allowed me to explore the topic of bilingualism and bilingual child language in great depth. The information presented in the 'Biographical Profile' has enabled me to not only identify Lucy's language acquisition with the types of acquisition discussed in chapter two but to also better interpret the data in the analysis. The analysis itself has enriched my understanding of the issues discussed in chapter three and allowed me to better evaluate the conflicting interpretations of the phenomena discussed. This dissertation did not seek to make generalisations about child bilingualism but instead aimed to discover the extent to which Lucy's speech is affected by having acquired two languages simultaneously: the data analysis shows that Lucy's speech is indeed affected by her having acquired two languages simultaneously from birth, but that her speech also demonstrates acquisition processes found in monolingual children.

The ability to use two languages allows Lucy to code-switch as illustrated in 6.1, however, I am not fluent enough in Italian to have been able to identify conversational code-switching, I could only observe situational code-switching triggered by changes in interlocutor. The data itself shows that acquiring two languages simultaneously affects Lucy's speech because she uses Italian lexical entries in otherwise English utterances, as illustrated in 6.2. One might argue that such instances are code-switching, however, code-switching occurs in the bilingual mode and the data which this case study examines shows Lucy acting in the monolingual mode with a native English-speaking interlocutor. These instances can also not be seen as borrowing as defined by Grosjean (1995) because the Italian lexical items are not adapted to the base language; instead they can be seen as

language mixing at the lexical level. Lucy language mixes in these utterances because she lacks the lexical entry in English and because the topic of conversation normally occurs in Italian, therefore she is using Italian as a ‘relief strategy’. In the case of kinship terms, it is the identity of the referent which influences the language of reference. It is also possible that parental language mixing has influenced Lucy’s linguistic behaviour. However, one cannot suggest that Lucy language mixes because she has a unitary language system; Lucy is five years old and differentiation occurs around three years old.

The effect of bilingual language acquisition can also be seen in the construction replications Lucy produces. The first example in 6.3 shows Lucy replicating the semantic meaning of the Italian construction whilst the following examples show Lucy replicating an Italian syntactic construction. One can argue that these instances of construction replication occur because Lucy identifies the referent with the Italian construction which was “first or most frequently used to label it” (Genesee 2000: 333). Since this explanation is one which Genesee uses for language mixing, one could suggest that these instances are indeed semantic and syntactic mixing as defined by Swain & Wesche (1975). The remaining examples in 6.3 cannot be attributed to the explanations which Genesee (2000) gives for language mixing. Instead these construction replications may indicate that Lucy has not yet fully acquired English or that Italian has not been fully deactivated and therefore has influence on Lucy’s productions. This would suggest that these latter construction replications should be considered a type of ‘interference’ as defined by Grosjean (1995) since they are deviations from the base language due to the influence of the other language which has not been fully deactivated. In terms of referring to construction replication as language mixing one might argue that this is justified when the motivations behind the construction replication are the same as those which can contribute to language mixing. However, when the construction replications occur

due to not having fully acquired English and/or not having fully deactivated Italian, one should perhaps view the replications as deviations which demonstrate interference, though this term should perhaps be treated with caution since ‘interference’ might carry a negative connotation.

In contrast to Lucy’s code-switching, language mixing and construction replications, it is also evident that not all of Lucy’s productions can be attributed to having acquired two languages simultaneously; section 6.4 presents instances of extension and overgeneralisation which can be found in the speech of monolingual children and might be seen as ‘developmental errors’ which demonstrate that the speaker has not yet fully acquired the language. The data also shows ambiguous productions which demonstrate extension but at the same time show that Italian has an effect on Lucy’s speech: in some of the examples in 6.5 English has two linguistic items for the one Italian item, therefore Lucy has a choice in English which she does not in Italian and subsequently she does not choose the target language. Some of the uses of *even* in the latter examples in 6.5 could be interpreted either as extension or as construction replication, or even both. Like the instances of extension in 6.4 these ambiguous productions could be due to Lucy not having fully acquired English but at the same time they suggest that Italian has not been fully deactivated. One could argue in fact that in addition to extending intra-lingually as in 6.4, Lucy extends inter-lingually.

The data analysis demonstrates that it is not always possible to categorise a particular speech production because some productions are ambiguous and because designation is a matter of interpretation. However, the analysis did not merely categorise Lucy’s language but also sought to identify the motivations behind her productions: the analysis shows that Lucy overrides the constraints of the base language when she is motivated by a communicative necessity. In some cases these deviations draw purely on the linguistic material available in English, as in the cases of

extension, but the majority of productions show that Lucy draws upon her other language, Italian, and allows it to have an effect upon her English, in the form of language mixing and construction replication, in order to achieve her communicative goals. One might question whether this indicates that Italian is her dominant language in terms of proficiency. However, it is impossible to determine whether this is the case because I do not have samples of Lucy's Italian and therefore cannot determine whether English has an effect on her Italian and then compare the extent to which each language influences the other. Indeed Myers-Scotton (2006: 330) asserts that "there is no consensus on how to determine the child's dominant language" and this is partly because bilinguals use their languages for different purposes, in different domains of life and with different people (Grosjean 1995). It is also important to avoid viewing Lucy's productions as the result of Italian being dominant because such a view suggests that "bilingualism results in children who cannot adequately speak either language" (Padilla 1977: 114). One should therefore view speakers as 'language builders' rather than 'imperfect language learners' (Heine & Kuteva 2005) and view the deviations from the base language as productions which use the available linguistic resources from both languages in novel ways for the purposes of achieving the speakers' communicative needs and intentions.

Word Count: 9, 995

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APPENDIX 1**Transcription Conventions****Speakers**

Speaker identity/turn start	:
Speech overlap	[]
False start	< >
Truncated word	-

Transitional Continuity

Final	.
Continuing	,
Appeal	?
Exclamation	!

Pause

Long	...(N)
Medium	...
Short	..

Vocal Noises

Vocal noises	()
Inhalation	(H)
Exhalation	(Hx)

Laughter	@
Laugh quality	(@ @)

Phonetics

Phonetic/phonemic transcription	(/ /)
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Transcriber's perspective

Researcher's comment	(())
Uncertain hearing	<X X>
Indecipherable syllable	X
Non-transcription line	\$
Tape cassette distortion	~

Specialised notations

Code-switching	<L2 L2>
Role play speech	“ ”

APPENDIX 2**The Data****Transcription of Recording One****Date: 24th July 2006****Location: Sherborne, England**

- (01) ELLEN: Okay .. Somebody moved my wardrobe!
- (02) LUCY: ... <Wh>where was it?
- (03) ELLEN: Well it was around there. I think they ((referring to the students in the room next door)) were trying to get through the door ... Shall we sit on my bed?
- (04) LUCY: ... Hm?
- (05) ELLEN: Sit on my bed?
- (06) LUCY: <X Can I sit there? X>
- (07) ELLEN: Huh?
- (08) LUCY: Can I sit there?
- (09) ELLEN: Yeah! ... Which one shall I be? ((referring to the toy dolls)) ... ~ Shall I be that one?
... Okay .. ((door slams)) Oops the door just slammed.
- (10) LUCY: Yeah. ~
- (11) ELLEN: .. There's a what? ~
- (12) LUCY: <X A mock X>
- (13) ELLEN: A moth?
- (14) LUCY: No it's not a moth.
- (15) ELLEN: What is it?

- (16) LUCY: A bee.
- (17) ELLEN: (H) A bee? Really? Are you sure? ~
- (18) LUCY: <X that there, I even black X>
- (19) ELLEN: Hm?
- (20) LUCY: It's gone out.
- (21) ELLEN: It's gone outside... What's happened to her top? ((referring to doll)) You don't know?
- (22) LUCY: ~ <X In my bag bock X>
- (23) ELLEN: It's where?
- (24) LUCY: In my bag.
- (25) ELLEN: In your bag?
- (26) LUCY: You put this on .. the the .. you can eat on there? ((referring to blanket on bed))
- (27) ELLEN: Erm, yeah, it's so the <th>the duvet doesn't get dirty. I didn't put it on. The cleaners put it on. ~ What's her name going to be? ((referring to doll)) ... Look at you scoffing that biscuit.
- (28) LUCY: Hm?
- (29) ELLEN: You scoffing that biscuit ... ~ clothes isn't she?
- (30) LUCY: ~ ... <XX> it's true that she was in the costume.
- (31) ELLEN: Say that again.
- (32) LUCY: It's true that it was, that she was in the costume.
- (33) ELLEN: She was in the costume? ... When?
- (34) LUCY: Now.
- (35) ELLEN: She's in a costume now? But where's the top?

(36) LUCY: I don't know. It's in my bag <XX> ((sees a little bell with bow on it)) Hey that's mine there!

(37) ELLEN: What is?

(38) LUCY: ... That ~ mine's the same.

(39) ELLEN: Do you? What is it? [Do you want to bring it over?]

(40) LUCY: [Is a little bit] Hm?

(41) ELLEN: Bring it over? ((Lucy rings the bell)) What is it? ((Lucy rings the bell again))

(42) LUCY: A bell is from <XX>

(43) ELLEN: From where?

(44) LUCY: From a little town, very very little one.

(45) ELLEN: From a little cow? But that one's from Switzerland. Where's yours from?

(46) LUCY: ... From that one too.

(47) ELLEN: From Switzerland too?

(48) LUCY: Yeah it's just that my one is without this one ((referring to a feature of the bell))

(49) ELLEN: What's yours got on it then?

(50) LUCY: Just this.

(51) ELLEN: Just the hearts?

(52) LUCY: Yeah, it opens you can put it on your arm.

(53) ELLEN: What colour is yours?

(54) LUCY: Like this one.

(55) ELLEN: Exactly the same?

(56) LUCY: Yes a little bit but without this.

(57) ELLEN: Without what?

(58) LUCY: The flower.

- (59) ELLEN: Without the flower, so it's got the heart and it's got the .. Is this the same?
- (60) LUCY: Yes, even all around here and in here, just that here you can open it and put it on your arm ((the bell is attached to elastic and Lucy puts her wrist through it))
- (61) ELLEN: On your wrist.
- (62) LUCY: Yes ... ~ she's going away ((referring to doll))
- (63) ELLEN: She's going away?
- (64) LUCY: Yes.
- (65) ELLEN: Where to?
- (66) LUCY: At home because there... ~ it was closing, to <th>the beach was closing okay .. "Okay bye!"
- (67) ELLEN: She's she's going to the beach .. she's just left the beach, she's left the beach because it's closing.
- (68) LUCY: No because she's ill. She was gonna .. have a little rest at home.
- (69) ELLEN: Okay, so she's saying goodbye then.
- (70) LUCY: "Bye!"
- (71) ELLEN: "Bye!"
- (72) LUCY: "Bye"
- (73) ELLEN: .. Then what shall we do now?
- (74) LUCY: ~ yours, you can choose with yours, she was doing something (H Hx H Hx H Hx)
((Lucy makes snoring noises))
- (75) ELLEN: They're both sleeping, this one decides she gets bored ((door opens) it's Mommy
- (76) \$: ((Fiona enters room))
- (77) LUCY: (H Hx H Hx H Hx) ((Lucy continues to snore))
- (78) FIONA: <X X>

- (79) ELLEN: ~ the two Portuguese people were
- (80) FIONA: <X X>
- (81) ELLEN: Yeah, I was gonna put her in the single one where Steph was but [her Dad's just moved in there] ((discussing accommodation for the new arrivals on camp))
- (82) LUCY: [Where you going Mummy?] Where you going Mummy?
- (83) FIONA: Where am I going? I'm just going to check on the internet.
- (84) LUCY: ~ <XX>
- (85) FIONA: Okay ~
- (86) LUCY: It's not that you won't come.
- (87) FIONA: <X with me? X>
- (88) LUCY: Yes.
- (89) FIONA: <XX>
- (90) LUCY: It's not that you won't come because then we lose you ((door opens)) because then we lose you... ~ then we lose you and then we don't find you.
- (91) FIONA: No, I can't really get lost here on the grounds.
- (92) ELLEN: ~ we'll come back.
- (93) FIONA: <XX>get lost.
- (94) \$: ((Fiona leaves))
- (95) ELLEN: ~ she's sleeping then, she has to sleep, I'll come and wake you up, okay go to sleep.
- (96) LUCY: No she was already ~ wake up she was eating .. reading a book <XX>
- (97) ELLEN: Okay .. what's she reading?
- (98) LUCY: She thought .. that she was <aw>asleep and then she <XX>
- (99) ELLEN: She what?
- (100) LUCY: Then she done like this, "Hey! Wake up!"

- (101) ELLEN: (H) “Wake up! Wake up!”
- (102) LUCY: “I was <a>already awake”
- (103) ELLEN: “Oh I’m so sorry you looked like you were asleep”
- (104) LUCY: (Hx)
- (105) ELLEN: “Shall we go back to the beach?”
- (106) LUCY: “Yes”
- (107) ELLEN: “Come on then”
- (108) LUCY: “But where you live?”
- (109) ELLEN: “I live in Sori, where do you live?”
- (110) LUCY: “In England”
- (111) ELLEN: “Do you? Which part? Where?”
- (112) LUCY: “Erm... you know that you in England?”
- (113) ELLEN: “That we’re in England now?”
- (114) LUCY: “Yeah”
- (115) ELLEN: “I didn’t know that .. Where are we in England?”
- (116) LUCY: “In my house!”
- (117) ELLEN: “Where’s your house?”
- (118) LUCY: “Here”
- (119) ELLEN: “Where’s here?”
- (120) LUCY: “Where you .. standing on”
- (121) ELLEN: “Oh, which what’s the name of the town?”
- (122) LUCY: ... “I told you it’s England”
- (123) ELLEN: “It’s England, but which which town in England?”
- (124) LUCY: (Y whispers Y) What it means?

- (125) ELLEN: What do I mean?
- (126) LUCY: What it means?
- (127) ELLEN: Which town? Well England has lots of different places, England's a big place and it has lots of different towns, so you know in Italy, you live in Sorí with Mom and Dad lives in Genoa .. and other people where do your grandparents live do they live in Sorí as well?
- (128) LUCY: No, in Genova.
- (129) ELLEN: They live in Genova.
- (130) LUCY: You say my Grandma?
- (131) ELLEN: Grandma.
- (132) LUCY: No she's dead.
- (133) ELLEN: She's dead, so where does you gran- what about Daddy's Mom and Dad? Where do they live?
- (134) LUCY: ~ I dunno who's her Mum, of my Mum, I dunno <XX> ~ I dunno.
- (135) ELLEN: <Wh>what about, what about Daddy's Mom and Dad? .. Where are they?
- (136) LUCY: I don't know even the Dad of my Mum.
- (137) ELLEN: No but you know Daddy, Babo, his Mom and his Dad, where do they live?
- (138) LUCY: In Genova.
- (139) ELLEN: They live in Genova too, so Daddy and his Mom and his Dad live in Genova, which is one town, and then you and Mom live in Sori which is another town ... and this town is called Sherborne.
- (140) LUCY: Yeah but we in England.
- (141) ELLEN: In England.
- (142) LUCY: ... ((speaks as the doll)) "Oh look at my boobs"
- (143) ELLEN: ((speaks as the doll)) "They're... er brilliant, mine are"

- (144) LUCY: "See yours!"
- (145) ELLEN: "They're the same I haven't got a top on you can already see"
- (146) LUCY: "My ones are a bit bigger than yours"
- (147) ELLEN: "They're bigger? @ Really?"
- (148) LUCY: "Yeah"
- (149) ELLEN: Are you sure? .. Maybe they are... I don't know why mine hasn't got any top on though, it's a bit rude, to show your boobs to people, you shouldn't show them.
- (150) LUCY: ~ Because they was getting sun, the top can come off.
- (151) ELLEN: Because you're getting sun?
- (152) LUCY: Yes you <XX>
- (153) ELLEN: So she doesn't want her boobs to be white?
- (154) LUCY: Yeah ((tries to take doll's top off))
- (155) ELLEN: I don't think it'll come off, her head's too big.
- (156) LUCY: Yes it will, see?
- (157) ELLEN: Well done ~ Do you go to school in Sorí?
- (158) LUCY: No I go in .. <XX> "Bye! Bye!"
- (159) ELLEN: "Bye!"
- (160) LUCY: "I'm going to sleep!" Because it was nighttime.
- (161) ELLEN: Oh it's nighttime now okay.
- (162) LUCY: Even we need to do it ((starts pretending to snore)) (H Hx) do it like this
- (163) ELLEN: I'm doing it sitting up.
- (164) LUCY: Okay <XX>
- (165) ELLEN: Is it morning time now? ((yawns)) "Wake up" (Hx) Big yawn. "Good morning".
- (166) LUCY: I done it for real

- (167) ELLEN: You did what?
- (168) LUCY: The yawn, real yawn.
- (169) ELLEN: You did a real yawn?
- (170) LUCY: Yes @
- (171) ELLEN: Did you? Are you tired?
- (172) LUCY: No. "Hello, hi, woo!"
- (173) ELLEN: "Hello! How are you?"
- (174) LUCY: Which <XX> I did wake <XX> up
- (175) ELLEN: "How are you?"
- (176) LUCY: ((rings the bell)) ... ((rings the bell)) ... that was that thing we would
- (177) ELLEN: I'll get this one, she can do the splits ((referring to doll)) what's this called do you know?
- (178) LUCY: No... I'll have this one okay.
- (179) ELLEN: You want that one?
- (180) LUCY: Yes.
- (181) ELLEN: Okay.
- (182) LUCY: "Hello!"
- (183) ELLEN: What are their what are their names then?
- (184) LUCY: She was Fragola and she was Rosie.
- (185) ELLEN: Fragola and Rosie. Doesn't Fragola mean strawberry?
- (186) \$: ((Lucy nods))
- (187) ELLEN: Does it? In Italian? So she's called Strawberry and she's called Rosie.
- (188) LUCY: Yes.
- (189) ELLEN: Okay then.

- (190) LUCY: ((rings the bell)) this one's a- she was asleep ((rings the bell))
- (191) ELLEN: Waking up, is that the alarm?
- (192) LUCY: Yeah ((rings the bell)) "Ooh! We wake up" <XX> ((continues to ring the bell))
- (193) ELLEN: "Good morning"
- (194) LUCY: She was at home and the <L2 campanello L2> was ringing ((rings the bell again))
- (195) ELLEN: And the what was ringing? ((the bell is still ringing))
- (196) LUCY: The ... the sound of the door.
- (197) ELLEN: The sound of the door.
- (198) LUCY: The bell of the door.
- (199) ELLEN: Was ringing.
- (200) LUCY: Ding dong, it was like this ((rings the bell))
- (201) ELLEN: The door? ((the bell is still ringing)) Why was the door ringing?
- (202) LUCY: Because she was coming ((rings the bell))
- (203) ELLEN: Oh okay ((the bell rings for a long time)) Oh I've got to go and open the
door okay
- (204) LUCY: "Hello!"
- (205) ELLEN: "Hello Fragola, how are you?"
- (206) LUCY: "Good .. and you?"
- (207) ELLEN: "I'm fine thank you, what shall we do today?"
- (208) LUCY: "I dunno". Then another one was arriving. This was Kiki.
- (209) ELLEN: Kiki.
- (210) \$: ((Lucy rings the bell))
- (211) ELLEN: "Hello"
- (212) LUCY: "Hello, Rosie"

- (213) ELLEN: "Hello Kiki how are you?"
- (214) LUCY: "Good"
- (215) ELLEN: "Are you? What shall we do today?"
- (216) LUCY: "I dunno"
- (217) ELLEN: "Shall we go shopping?"
- (218) LUCY: "Yes let's have a little rest"
- (219) ELLEN: Let's have a rest? ((yawns)) Your friends are very tired .. there we go.
- (220) \$: ((Lucy rings the bell))
- (221) ELLEN: "Hello"
- (222) LUCY: "Hello" .. This one in again Kiki.
- (223) ELLEN: Another Kiki?
- (224) LUCY: No it was an again her.
- (225) ELLEN: Again Kiki
- (226) \$: ((Lucy rings the bell))
- (227) ELLEN: "Hello Kiki what are you doing here again?"
- (228) LUCY: "I was going and get some shopping"
- (229) ELLEN: "You've got some shopping already?"
- (230) LUCY: "Yeah"
- (231) ELLEN: "What did you buy?"
- (232) LUCY: "Hm you'll see <@chuckles@>"
- (233) ELLEN: "Wow what beautiful clothes, can I try them on?"
- (234) LUCY: "Yes"
- (235) ELLEN: (Y whispers Y) Give me your skirt, shall we swap skirts? ((referring to the doll's skirts))

- (236) LUCY: No she can't take it off.
- (237) ELLEN: Oh she can't can she, shall we put that one on her instead then?
- (238) LUCY: Which one?
- (239) ELLEN: That one, that skirt.
- (240) LUCY: No otherwise she gonna be nude.
- (241) ELLEN: Okay...
- (242) LUCY: No one other one was there.
- (243) ELLEN: Okay.
- (244) LUCY: It was an again Rosie okay?
- (245) ELLEN: Rosie.
- (246) LUCY: This was called Rosie <XX> ((rings the bell))
- (247) ELLEN: "Hello"
- (248) LUCY: "Hello Rosie, I'm called Rosie too"
- (249) ELLEN: "Oh hello Rosie"
- (250) LUCY: Because I always hear .. say some .. because I always go to the Rosie's
- (251) ELLEN: Go and see the Rosies?
- (252) LUCY: Yeah always there. "My name is Rosie"
- (253) ELLEN: "Hello Rosie"
- (254) LUCY: "Hello" .. Is <X little X> how they .. the head to the boobs. I have the head at the
bum ((referring to her doll))
- (255) ELLEN: Okay why?
- (256) LUCY: Because.. I can turn around.. and magic
- (257) ELLEN: Okay.. but your boobs are on your back then ((referring to Lucy's doll))
- (258) LUCY: Yes

- (259) ELLEN: ... That's a bit silly!
- (260) LUCY: <XX> ((rings the bell)) <XX>
- (261) ELLEN: What?
- (262) LUCY: This is the cow.
- (263) ELLEN: Cow?
- (264) LUCY: Yes.
- (265) ELLEN: Cow's arriving now?
- (266) \$: ((Lucy rings the bell continually))
- (267) ELLEN: <XX> the cow.
- (268) \$: ((Lucy still continues to ring the bell))
- (269) ELLEN: Who's arrived now, the cow?
- (270) LUCY: "Moooooo"
- (271) ELLEN: "Hello cow"
- (272) LUCY: "Haraah!"
- (273) ELLEN: Are you the cow, Lucy, are you gonna be the cow?
- (274) LUCY: ~ I'm gonna do her that she was "Hello Fin! Fin?"
- (275) ELLEN: Who's Fran? .. That's Fran? .. "Hello Lucy" (Y whispers Y) sorry .. "Hello Rosie"
- (276) LUCY: "And you Kiki? What you doing Kiki?"
- (277) ELLEN: "Er I'm going to go shopping! Do you want to come?"
- (278) LUCY: "Look how high I am"
- (279) ELLEN: "That's because you've got big shoes on"
- (280) LUCY: <XX> "I don't, I'm bare feet"
- (281) ELLEN: "Bare what?"
- (282) LUCY: "I'm bare feet"

- (283) ELLEN: “You’re bare feet?”
- (284) LUCY: “Yes”
- (285) ELLEN: “No you’re not, you’ve got big blue boots on”
- (286) LUCY: No, let’s do that she was. “Hi!”
- (287) ELLEN: I’ll have to do that she was?
- (288) LUCY: Yes.
- (289) ELLEN: Okay... “Shall we go and find you some shoes then Rosie?”
- (290) LUCY: “Why I have them at home, this is my home”
- (291) ELLEN: “Okay you’d better put some shoes on before we go shopping”
- (292) LUCY: “I’m not gonna come”
- (293) ELLEN: “Oh okay then I’ll go by myself”
- (294) LUCY: “I wanna watch <XX> here”
- (295) ELLEN: “Okay then goodbye”
- (296) LUCY: “Bye”
- (297) ELLEN: What are your friends called at home Lucy?
- (298) LUCY: Hm?
- (299) ELLEN: Your friends in Italy, what are they called?
- (300) LUCY: Sofia, Margherita .. that you knows, like er .. let’s not call them like, she was Sofia
okay ~
- (301) ELLEN: Who’s Sofia? Oh this doll okay, but your friends at home, your real friends, what
are they called?
- (302) LUCY: Sofia and Margherita and Emma .. I don’t remember the other ones.
- (303) ELLEN: You don’t remember the other ones. Where did you meet them? At school?
- (304) LUCY: Yeah at school.

- (305) ELLEN: Do you go to school in Italy?
- (306) LUCY: No I don't.
- (307) ELLEN: Where did you meet them then?
- (308) LUCY: ~ Kindergarten.
- (309) ELLEN: In Kindergarten.
- (310) LUCY: "Hello! Look how high I am!" ((holding doll in the air))
- (311) ELLEN: Wow that's very tall .. What's Kindergarten like?
- (312) LUCY: Like a school.
- (313) ELLEN: What do you do there?
- (314) LUCY: You <XX> play .. "Hello! I'm so high!"
- (315) ELLEN: "Hello!"
- (316) LUCY: "Can you reach up here?"
- (317) ELLEN: "No"
- (318) LUCY: "Why?"
- (319) ELLEN: "I can't do it, you're too high"
- (320) LUCY: (Hx) It's not true that she couldn't do it
- (321) ELLEN: ..."Can't reach".
- (322) LUCY: But there was stairs, I was the stair okay
- (323) ELLEN: There's what?
- (324) LUCY: I was the stair.
- (325) ELLEN: You're the stair.
- (326) LUCY: Yeah.
- (327) ELLEN: ... ((walks doll up Lucy)) up your nose .. I can reach it too.
- (328) LUCY: "Yeah I'm higher!" Now she couldn't come up here.

- (329) ELLEN: "I can't get up there again now"
- (330) LUCY: Okay now I was standing up.
- (331) ELLEN: That's very tall
- (332) LUCY: "Hi look how tall I am!"
- (333) ELLEN: "I'm tall too"
- (334) LUCY: @ "I'm taller than you"
- (335) ELLEN: "Oh you are aren't you, have to put you down your top!" @
- (336) LUCY: @ <XX>
- (337) ELLEN: That's not very nice Lucy .. Is your plaster okay?
- (338) LUCY: Which one?
- (339) ELLEN: Your plaster?
- (340) LUCY: Yeah.
- (341) ELLEN: Is it okay?
- (342) LUCY: Yeah, I should take it off.
- (343) ELLEN: No keep it on, it's okay.
- (344) LUCY: ((makes squealing noises)) No because there was
- (345) ELLEN: Are they not good friends?
- (346) LUCY: No there was .. she was the nasty one okay?
- (347) ELLEN: She's the nasty one? Okay then.
- (348) \$: ((Lucy rings the bell))
- (349) \$: ((Ellen hits the doll with the other doll))
- (350) LUCY: "Hey!"
- (351) ELLEN: She's not very nice you said, so I'm hitting it.
- (352) LUCY: And then she was do like this ((rings the bell))

(353) ELLEN: That's a bit loud isn't it .. Let's put that over here.

(354) LUCY: <XX>

(355) ELLEN: So do you like it in England?

(356) LUCY: What?

(357) ELLEN: Do you like it in England?

(358) LUCY: Me?

(359) ELLEN: Yeah.

(360) LUCY: Yes.

(361) ELLEN: Is it different to Italy?

(362) LUCY: Yeah.

(363) ELLEN: How?

(364) LUCY: A lot.

(365) ELLEN: ... What's it like in Italy?

(366) LUCY: At the sea.

(367) ELLEN: It's at the sea .. what else?

(368) LUCY: It's .. nothing ~ "Okay bye!"

(369) ELLEN: What's the weather like in Italy?

(370) LUCY: Sometimes like here, it rains.

(371) ELLEN: It's like here really?

(372) LUCY: <XX>

(373) ELLEN: What, is it hot all the time?

(374) LUCY: No, is here hot all the time?

(375) ELLEN: No.

(376) LUCY: It's like here ... "Look how high I am"

- (377) ELLEN: Very tall.
- (378) LUCY: It's, let's see if you can reach .. not with the arm, I was the stair.
- (379) ELLEN: Oh right okay ...(N) I reached you.
- (380) LUCY: "Ahh you higher!"
- (381) ELLEN: "Standing on your head now"
- (382) LUCY: ((squeals)) and she was falling down, she was almost falling down okay .. and she was climbing up here, he was the foot to go up there.
- (383) ELLEN: (Y sings Y) dum dum dum dum dum, there we go.
- (384) LUCY: She was under <XX> of her, then she was gonna fall down okay?
- (385) ELLEN: Okay (H) "oops she's she's dead!"
- (386) LUCY: And then she was alive because there was on the bed.
- (387) ELLEN: ...Okay.
- (388) LUCY: She was.
- (389) ELLEN: Is that Mummy coming back? I can hear somebody walking.
- (390) LUCY: It must be ((opens door)) Mum is that you? ...
- (391) \$: ((The door closes))
- (392) ELLEN: It's not Mummy?
- (393) LUCY: No it was a nobody.
- (394) ELLEN: So what shall we do when I come to Italy?
- (395) LUCY: We can play <XX>
- (396) ELLEN: Hm?
- (397) LUCY: (Y whispers Y) Wait ((listens)) it was do ((makes buzzing noise))
- (398) ELLEN: Oh what the machine?
- (399) LUCY: ... <XX> again

- (400) ELLEN: What shall we do when I come to Italy?
- (401) LUCY: We can go to the beach.
- (402) ELLEN: We can go to the beach? My friend's gonna come too.
- (403) LUCY: Which one?
- (404) ELLEN: My best friend, she's going to come.
- (405) LUCY: Who?
- (406) ELLEN: Her name's Hannah, you'll like her. Do you want to see a picture of her?
- (407) LUCY: Yes.
- (408) ELLEN: Oh it seems I haven't got any pictures of her here .. I'll show you a picture one day
of her. What else shall we do then apart from going to the beach?
- (409) LUCY: To the playground.
- (410) ELLEN: To the playground.
- (411) LUCY: Yes. There's more toys than here.
- (412) ELLEN: Is there?
- (413) LUCY: There's even the swing
- (414) ELLEN: There's a swing?
- (415) LUCY: You go woo woo very fast
- (416) ELLEN: @
- (417) LUCY: "Hello Kaki!" ... ~ it was this one .. it was she was like this...
- (418) ELLEN: ~ around her legs?
- (419) LUCY: Yes.
- (420) ELLEN: That's cool... wow.
- (421) LUCY: @ I'm nicer though ...(N) But she have it like this... "Ha look how my feet are!"
- (422) ELLEN: Like a ballerina.

- (423) LUCY: Yes she was a ballerina la [lala la].
- (424) ELLEN: [What do you want to be Lucy when you're older?] What do you want to be when you're older?
- (425) LUCY: I dunno.
- (426) ELLEN: Ballerina?
- (427) LUCY: Yes ... I'm gonna do lessons.
- (428) ELLEN: You're going to do what?
- (429) LUCY: I'm gonna do it.
- (430) ELLEN: Do what?
- (431) LUCY: Lesson of ballerina.
- (432) ELLEN: Lesson of ballerina?
- (433) LUCY: No I'm gonna do <X> dancer ... dancer so I can be a ballerina
- (434) ELLEN: Cool.
- (435) LUCY: ~ I think this is old ((referring to the bell))
- (436) ELLEN: Why?
- (437) LUCY: Because
- (438) ELLEN: Do you want me to fix it?
- (439) LUCY: Yes if you can do it .. wait, wait wait I can do it I can do it, no <X>
- (440) ELLEN: What's the food like in Italy Lucy?
- (441) LUCY: Pardon?
- (442) ELLEN: What's the food like in Italy? Is it yummy?
- (443) LUCY: Yeah.
- (444) ELLEN: What do you normally eat?
- (445) LUCY: We eat pasta like here ... I can't tell because I don't remember.

- (446) ELLEN: Have you ever been to Australia?
- (447) LUCY: Yes I been, I born in Australia
- (448) ELLEN: Were you? ... When did you go to Australia?
- (449) LUCY: <XX>
- (450) ELLEN: Hm?
- (451) LUCY: I'm going at Christmas.
- (452) ELLEN: Wow... So how many times have you been to Australia?
- (453) LUCY: Just a little bit, when I when I was one I was in Italy.
- (454) ELLEN: So you were born in Australia?
- (455) LUCY: Yeah.
- (456) ELLEN: Have you ever been there since you since you left?
- (457) LUCY: Pardon?
- (458) ELLEN: Have you been there recently?
- (459) LUCY: Yes .. what it means?
- (460) ELLEN: I mean have you been there this year?
- (461) LUCY: No
- (462) ELLEN: Last year?
- (463) LUCY: No just when I was born.
- (464) ELLEN: Just when you were born.
- (465) LUCY: Yep even when I was little bit big .. but then ... I saw my Grandma die .. then... I
gone away because .. I don't know why these .. stupid Barbies are like this.
- (466) ELLEN: Let me fix it. So you were born in Australia?
- (467) LUCY: Yes.
- (468) ELLEN: And then you left and then you went back to see your Grandma?

(469) LUCY: Yes.

(470) ELLEN: Do you remember it?

(471) LUCY: Yeah ... No I don't.

(472) ELLEN: You don't [remember]

(473) LUCY: ((sees Dictaphone)) [Is this a camera?]

(474) ELLEN: Yep.

(475) LUCY: Can you do me a photo?

(476) ELLEN: Yep I'll go and get my other camera though because my other camera's better than this one. Let's turn this one off and then we'll go and get the other one okay?

Record of Speech One

Date: 24th July 2006 to 14th August 2006

Location: England

(477) LUCY: ((holding camera)) Shall I squash the button?

(478) LUCY: They came first us

(479) LUCY: ((when playing 'hairdressers')) You wear it how I make it to you?

(480) LUCY: ((referring to the cook)) the cooker

(481) LUCY: ((when playing 'doctors')) Let's do that you're the nurse

(482) LUCY: ((when playing 'doctors')) You stay to the hospital

(483) LUCY: ((looking over a bridge into a stream)) Fishes live in the water. If they don't they can die...because nobody eat them.

(484) LUCY: Is it right what it's talking?

(485) LUCY: ((looking at a photograph)) Did I be there?

Record of Speech Two

Date: 17th to 23rd August 2006

Location: Italy

(486) LUCY: ((on telephone to aunt)) You will see me that I'm still little

(487) LUCY: ((when passing fountain in Sorì)) I did a swimming in that fountain

(488) LUCY: I didn't come here before

(489) LUCY: ((in pizzeria)) I'm having my usually pizza

(490) LUCY: I asked to Kathryn

(491) LUCY: The hairbrush of my Mum

(492) LUCY: ((looking at a photograph of her mother with dreadlocks)) Kathryn, look at the hair
of my Mum!

(493) LUCY: ((referring to the cook)) the cooker

(494) LUCY: ((looking at a photograph)) Did I be there?

Transcription of Recording Two**Date: 23rd August 2006****Location: Sorí, Italy**

(495) ELLEN: Recording of Lucy. Wednesday twenty-third of August two thousand and six...

(496) \$ ((Dictaphone record button turned off))

(497) \$ ((Dictaphone record button turned back on))

(498) ELLEN: Okay so that's on now. Do you

(499) LUCY: [Yeah.]

(500) ELLEN: [see the little red button?]

(501) LUCY: Yeah.

(502) ELLEN: That means it's recording and it's going round... So what's your name?

(503) LUCY: Lucy.

(504) ELLEN: What's your surname?

(505) LUCY: Ramsey.

(506) ELLEN: Just Ramsey? I thought you've got another bit to your surname.

(507) LUCY: Yeah. Ramsey. Rossi.

(508) ELLEN: Why do you have two surnames?

(509) LUCY: Because... I dunno why.

(510) ELLEN: Is Ramsey Mommy's name?

(511) LUCY: No, Mummy's name is Rossi.

(512) ELLEN: Are you sure?

(513) LUCY: No. Ramsey.

(514) ELLEN: And what's Daddy's name?

- (515) LUCY: Rossi.
- (516) ELLEN: Rossi. So your name's Lucy Ramsey-Rossi?
- (517) LUCY: Yeah.
- (518) ELLEN: So you've got Mommy and Daddy's names?
- (519) LUCY: And Rossi is <L2 Babo L2>.
- (520) ELLEN: Yep, Dad. Daddy yeah? And do you know when your birthday is Lucy?
- (521) LUCY: At May.
- (522) ELLEN: In May. What date?
- (523) LUCY: I dunno.
- (524) ELLEN: You don't know. It's just in May. And how old are you now?
- (525) LUCY: Five.
- (526) ELLEN: And, when do you speak English Lucy?
- (527) LUCY: When I'm with Mummy and Daddy.
- (528) ELLEN: And what about when you're just with Daddy, what do you speak then?
- (529) LUCY: ... Um English and Italian.
- (530) ELLEN: If it's just Daddy and nobody else, do you speak Italian?
- (531) LUCY: No, both.
- (532) ELLEN: Both? When do, when, who else do you speak Italian with?
- (533) LUCY: Hm?
- (534) ELLEN: You speak English with Mom, and with me, and sometimes with Dad, Babo.
- (535) LUCY: Yeah.
- (536) ELLEN: And who do you speak Italian with?
- (537) LUCY: <L2 Nonna, Nonno, Tata, Tato L2> ... um.
- (538) ELLEN: Who's Tata and Tato, Toto?

- (539) LUCY: My <L2 zia L2> and my, no my aunty and my aunty's, my aunty ... my aunty and the other aunty.
- (540) ELLEN: They Babo's sisters?
- (541) LUCY: No, one's ... (Hx) no, they're not <L2 Babo L2>'s sisters, one, my <L2 tia L2> is <L2 Babo L2>'s sister.
- (542) ELLEN: Who's your aunty?
- (543) LUCY: My aunty is the my
- (544) ELLEN: [Tia?]
- (545) LUCY: [<L2 Zia L2>]
- (546) ELLEN: Oh okay, so you speak Italian with Nonno, Nonna, Tia, who's Toto and Tata?
- (547) LUCY: Hm?
- (548) ELLEN: Who are the other two people?
- (549) LUCY: <L2 Tato L2> and <L2 Tata L2>.
- (550) ELLEN: Who are they?
- (551) LUCY: I told you.
- (552) ELLEN: Are they friends?
- (553) LUCY: No! They're my aunts.
- (554) ELLEN: Oh okay.
- (555) LUCY: One is a boy aunty and one is a girl aunty.
- (556) ELLEN: Okay, are they Babo's sisters?
- (557) LUCY: Yeah. Not two but just one, the girl.
- (558) ELLEN: Okay alright then. And who else do you speak English with?
- (559) LUCY: <X Wani X>, a friend of us, and <X Kiki X> another friend, that is his wife, and Sammy <XX> and ...

- (560) ELLEN: Katheryn?
- (561) LUCY: Yeh Katheryn and ...
- (562) ELLEN: Do you ever speak Italian to Mom?
- (563) LUCY: Nah.
- (564) ELLEN: Never?
- (565) LUCY: Never.
- (566) ELLEN: Oh. Which language do you like the best?
- (567) LUCY: English.
- (568) ELLEN: Really? Why?
- (569) LUCY: Because English is er nice in ... Australia and because I like to be English because I
born in Australia.
- (570) ELLEN: Okay. And what do your friends think about you speaking English?
- (571) LUCY: I dunno.
- (572) ELLEN: You don't know. Do you think it's good to speak two languages?
- (573) LUCY: Yep.
- (574) ELLEN: Why?
- (575) LUCY: Because ... if you have friends that have another a language you can talk that
language.
- (576) ELLEN: To them?
- (577) LUCY: Yeh.
- (578) ELLEN: Is there any another languages you'd like to learn?
- (579) LUCY: No.
- (580) ELLEN: No? You're just quite happy with English and Italian?

(581) LUCY: You remember? You know that ... do you, did you come ... on the bus... with the last kids that were going home?

(582) ELLEN: When you went to London with Mom?

(583) LUCY: No with the last kids that going home?

(584) ELLEN: In Sherborne?

(585) LUCY: No the other ones that came...

(586) ELLEN: From Hong Kong?

(587) LUCY: Yeh!

(588) ELLEN: Which ones? Like Carl and ... that group?

(589) LUCY: Yeah.

(590) ELLEN: Yeah. No I didn't go with them home. Did you?

(591) LUCY: Yeah but I heard from somebody that I said that I heard (/li:sazeI/) <@ giggles @>

(592) ELLEN: What does that mean?

(593) LUCY: Erm, Lisa.

(594) ELLEN: What did you hear about Lisa?

(595) LUCY: Nothing, I just heard Lisa.

(596) ELLEN: What did they say?

(597) LUCY: <XX>

(598) ELLEN: Did you try to speak, did you try to speak their language with them?

(599) LUCY: Yeah.

(600) ELLEN: What <l>what words did you learn can you remember?

(601) LUCY: No, just (/li:sazeI/)

(602) ELLEN: (/li:sazeI/). Do you know what that means?

(603) LUCY: No.

(604) ELLEN: Did they not tell you?

(605) LUCY: No.

(606) ELLEN: Ah. Do you know what language they speak? ... They speak a language called Cantonese, ... Sounds exciting doesn't it? They live in Hong Kong, which is part of China, and they speak Cantonese and Mandarin in China, they speak two languages in the same country.

(607) LUCY: No, three!

(608) ELLEN: What's the third one?

(609) LUCY: English!

(610) ELLEN: Oh okay, but the country's divided, some people in the country speak Cantonese and some speak Mandarin.

(611) LUCY: And some speak English.

(612) ELLEN: Yeah as a second language though, because they learn it... What shall we do now then, do you want to do some drawing?

(613) LUCY: Hm hm.

(614) ELLEN: Yeah?

(615) LUCY: Yeah.

(616) ELLEN: What do you think about going back to Australia by the way? Are you excited?

(617) LUCY: Yeah.

(618) ELLEN: Why?

(619) LUCY: Because there's .. my cousins!

(620) ELLEN: Yeah.

(621) LUCY: That is Treeeeehhkk

(622) ELLEN: That is what?

- (623) LUCY: Trek.
- (624) ELLEN: Drek?
- (625) LUCY: No, not Drak, I wanted to just be silly, and I want to just say it silly, but his name really is Jack.
- (626) ELLEN: Jack? Oh okay, who else?
- (627) LUCY: Er I don't remember the other ones. Now, now can I hear what is there?
- (628) ELLEN: You want to hear it?
- (629) LUCY: Yeah.
- (630) ELLEN: Okay.
- (631) \$ ((Dictaphone record button turned off))
- (632) \$ ((Dictaphone record button turned back on))
- (633) ELLEN: So what did you think of that? Did it sound funny?
- (634) LUCY: Yeah. Um can I do another one?
- (635) ELLEN: You want to do another one? We'll have to keep talking and then we can listen to the new one, yeah?
- (636) LUCY: Yeah!
- (637) ELLEN: So what do, do you want to ask me some questions?
- (638) LUCY: Yeah, <wh>
- (639) ELLEN: Go on then.
- (640) LUCY: Do you have some cousins?
- (641) ELLEN: Yeah.
- (642) LUCY: Like, what's their names?
- (643) ELLEN: I have ten cousins, one is called Michael.
- (644) LUCY: Michael.

- (645) ELLEN: Daniel.
- (646) LUCY: Daniel.
- (647) ELLEN: Lucy.
- (648) LUCY: Lucy.
- (649) ELLEN: Katheryn.
- (650) LUCY: Katheryn.
- (651) ELLEN: And Lucy and Daniel are twins, do you know what that is?
- (652) LUCY: The same.
- (653) ELLEN: Huh?
- (654) LUCY: The same.
- (655) ELLEN: Yeah they were born on the same day. And then my other cousins are called Stefan and Stas and they live in Poland, because their Mummy's Polish and their Daddy's um English. And then my other cousins are called Hannah, and er-
- (656) LUCY: Hannah?
- (657) ELLEN: Yeah, not the Hannah you met, a different one. Hannah and Jonathan and Luke and Sammy.
- (658) LUCY: Just Dan? <XX>
- (659) ELLEN: Hm?
- (660) LUCY: Dan the one of the other camp?
- (661) ELLEN: Hannah? Say that again.
- (662) LUCY: No, Dan of the one the other cam- is yours, of the other camp is yours?
- (663) ELLEN: I don't know what you mean.
- (664) LUCY: The other Dan of the camp is your?
- (665) ELLEN: Dan! Camp, my cousin? No no no no, he's just a friend.

(666) LUCY: Ah.

(667) ELLEN: No no, I, my cousin Daniel I don't see him very often. I saw him recently at a wedding because my cousin Katheryn got married.

(668) LUCY: Yeah.

(669) ELLEN: So I saw him then. But no, Daniel at camp wasn't my cousin, he I didn't know him, you knew him before I did.

(670) LUCY: Who?

(671) ELLEN: Daniel. Dan. At camp. You know Dan. You knew him before I did.

(672) LUCY: Why?

(673) ELLEN: Because you met him last year, do you remember? In Sherborne when you went to visit Mom.

(674) LUCY: (H) Errr.

(675) ELLEN: So you knew Dan before didn't you? What do you think about Daniel?

(676) LUCY: That he's mad!

(677) ELLEN: He's mad. What do you think about Ashley? ((another colleague on camp))

(678) LUCY: Nice.

(679) ELLEN: Nice. What do you think about Tiffany? ((colleague on camp))

(680) LUCY: Nice.

(681) ELLEN: Hm. Did you have fun on camp?

(682) LUCY: Yeah.

(683) ELLEN: What was your favourite thing?

(684) LUCY: ... Pay. Play ... Pay because I wanted to just say... silly! <@ shrieks @> and normal, but the normal thing of the camp is play, playing.

(685) ELLEN: Playing.

- (686) LUCY: Yeah.
- (687) ELLEN: You enjoyed playing?
- (688) LUCY: In the camp, one of those kids are called Jack and my cousin was there.
- (689) ELLEN: Your cousin was there? I don't think he was.
- (690) LUCY: Why? You knew them all?
- (691) ELLEN: Who?
- (692) LUCY: The kids that were there?
- (693) ELLEN: I didn't know them all ... I didn't know all of their names. Who was your favourite person?
- (694) LUCY: ... You!
- (695) ELLEN: Me? @ Why was I your favourite person?
- (696) LUCY: Because you nice.
- (697) ELLEN: I'm nice. Ashley's nice too.
- (698) LUCY: Yeah.
- (699) ELLEN: That's cool. So ... I was wondering, what is your favourite food in Italy?
- (700) LUCY: <L2 Acciughe L2>. <L2 Acciughe L2>bluh.
- (701) ELLEN: Acciughe?
- (702) LUCY: Acciugulbluh
- (703) ELLEN: Stop being silly
- (704) LUCY: I want to just say. Now can I hear?
- (705) ELLEN: In a minute.
- (706) LUCY: Please now!
- (707) ELLEN: In a minute.
- (708) LUCY: Please now

- (709) ELLEN: What did you think about the food at camp?
- (710) \$: ((Scuffle noises as Lucy fidgets))
- (711) ELLEN: You're not gonna talk ...
- (712) LUCY: Chippies and fish!
- (713) ELLEN: You liked the chips and fish?
- (714) LUCY: Yeah.
- (715) ELLEN: Did you like the pasta?
- (716) LUCY: Yeah. Now can I hear?
- (717) ELLEN: Okay, you can hear it now.
- (718) \$ ((Dictaphone record button turned off))
- (719) \$: ((Dictaphone record button turned back on))
- (720) LUCY: Let's talk about...umm...boats.
- (721) ELLEN: Boats?
- (722) LUCY: That are there ((points to boats on wall))
- (723) ELLEN: Oh those boats.
- (724) LUCY: Yeah.
- (725) ELLEN: What shall we talk about them?
- (726) LUCY: ...(N) That they can drown if they are metal.
- (727) ELLEN: Yeah.
- (728) LUCY: And if person look on the board, can fall in.
- (729) ELLEN: Yeah.
- (730) LUCY: And blah blah blah but ow <@ giggles @>. They have even sails. And now it's your turn.

(731) ELLEN: Right okay. I'm going to talk about... um... I don't know. What shall I talk about?

You give me something to talk about.

(732) LUCY: Um dogs.

(733) ELLEN: Dogs? My favourite type of dog is a King Charles spaniel and they're all .. they've got long hair and floppy ears and we used to have a dog which was er a sheep dog, a Collie, and she was called Tessa and then she died a few years ago ... which is a bit sad. And we can't get another dog until my cat's died because my cat's very very old and he can't see anymore so we can't get another dog until the cat's gone.

(734) LUCY: Why?

(735) ELLEN: Because he's really old , if we get a dog then the cat won't be very happy. Have you ever had any pets?

(736) LUCY: Hm?

(737) ELLEN: Have you ever had any pets?

(738) LUCY: No. What are the pets?

(739) ELLEN: What are pets? Animals, like a dog or a cat.

(740) LUCY: Cat.

(741) ELLEN: Cat, you had a cat? Where, here? What was it called?

(742) LUCY: Moon.

(743) ELLEN: Hm?

(744) LUCY: Moon.

(745) ELLEN: Moon? Did you choose that name?

(746) LUCY: I don't remember really.

(747) ELLEN: What was Moon like?

(748) LUCY: Grey.

- (749) ELLEN: Grey ... Are there any animals in Australia?
- (750) LUCY: Hm mh.
- (751) ELLEN: Who's got animals?
- (752) LUCY: Ah nobody.
- (753) ELLEN: Nobody? ((yawns)) Oh I'm tired.
- (754) LUCY: I don't remember because I haven't been there for <X long time X>
- (755) ELLEN: No?
- (756) LUCY: ((shrieks)) and blah blah blah. I like this cushion and I love <XX> ... Can I hear now?
- (757) ELLEN: You can hear in a few minutes. Are you going to miss Italy when you go?
- (758) LUCY: @
- (759) ELLEN: What are you gonna miss the most?
- (760) LUCY: My friends.
- (761) ELLEN: Tell me about your friends, what are your friends called?
- (762) LUCY: Nooowwaahhh.
- (763) ELLEN: Go on.
- (764) LUCY: No.
- (765) ELLEN: Please. I met some of them yesterday, who did I meet? Isotta? What's she like?
- (766) LUCY: You met her. You can know.
- (767) ELLEN: No, but you tell me, I only met her for three minutes.
- (768) LUCY: No.
- (769) ELLEN: Well I can see what she looks like, but what's she like, is she a good friend?
- (770) LUCY: Yeah.
- (771) ELLEN: What, is she good fun?

- (772) LUCY: Yeah.
- (773) ELLEN: What else do you like?
- (774) \$ ((Lucy gestures))
- (775) ELLEN: What does that mean?
- (776) LUCY: Curly hair.
- (777) ELLEN: Curly hair.
- (778) LUCY: <XX>
- (779) ELLEN: Yeah.
- (780) LUCY: Er she have a brother, a little one, and she have a mummy... a daddy, no she don't have a daddy.
- (781) ELLEN: Why doesn't she have a daddy?
- (782) LUCY: Haha she did.
- (783) ELLEN: You liar.
- (784) LUCY: Now can I hear?
- (785) ELLEN: You want to hear?
- (786) LUCY: Yeah.
- (787) ELLEN: Can we speak for a few more minutes and then we'll turn it off and go back down to the beach and listen to it yeah?
- (788) LUCY: Yeah.
- (789) ELLEN: Tell me what you did today first, I want to hear what you did, because I haven't seen you all day long ... what have you done today?
- (790) LUCY: I didn't do nothing.
- (791) ELLEN: No? You didn't do anything? ... Did you play on the beach?

(792) LUCY: No but I did do a swim and ((hangs upside down off sofa)) I don't know why I'm upside down.

(793) ELLEN: All the blood will rush to your head and you'll feel sick if you do that for long.

(794) LUCY: Why?

(795) ELLEN: So you went swimming?

(796) LUCY: Yeah.

(797) ELLEN: What else did you do? ((Lucy picks up Dictaphone)) ... did you eat anything?

(798) LUCY: ((makes noises into Dictaphone)) Now can I hear?

(799) ELLEN: You want to hear it now, okay, and then we'll go down to the beach yeah?

(800) LUCY: Yeah.