

UNIVERSITÀ DELLA CALABRIA



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TITOLO TESI

A Comparative Socio-Psycholinguistic Study on Plurilingual Code-Switching:

Standard vs Local Varieties

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ACRONYMS

A = Adjective

BADIP = Banca Dati dell'Italiano Parlato

BFLA = Bilingual First Language Acquisition

BIA = Bilingual Interactive Activation Model

BL = Both Languages at Home Children

C = Complement

C_{HL}, = Computational system for Human Language

CMC = Computer-mediated-communication

CP = Complementizer Phrase

CS = Code-switching

DP = Determiner Phrase

EP = Event Phrase

EPP = Extended Projection Principle

ESB = Early Successive Bilinguals

G = Grammar

G_a, G_b = Grammar A, Grammar B

IP = Inflectional Phrase

L = Language

L.-M. A. = Lexicalist-Minimalist approach

L1-C1=First Language-First Culture

L_a = Language A

LA = Lexical Array

L_b = Language B

LF = Language Faculty

LF = Logical Form

LSB = Late Successive Bilinguals

M1 = Monolingual Passage preceding the code-switched passage

M2 = Monolingual Passage following the code-switched passage

MAXLCS = Maximum Length of Code-switches in Words

ME = Mutual Exclusivity Principle

MEANLCS = Mean Length of Code-switches in Words

ML = Minority Language at Home Children

MLFM = Matrix Language Frame Model

MLU = Mean Length of Utterance

MMLU = Mean Mean Length of Utterance

MNDW = Mean Number of Different Words

MP = Minimalist Program

MRL = Mean Response Latency

MTNW = Mean Total Number of Words

N = Noun

NB = Number of Borrowings

NCSB = Number of Code-switches and Borrowings

NDW = Number of Different Words

NEI = Number of Errors and Interferences

NP = Noun Phrase

O = Object

OPOL = One-Parent-One-Language Children

OT = Optimality Theory

P = Preposition

P. A. = Psycholinguistic approach

PCSB = Percentage of Code-switches and Borrowings above the Total Number of Words

PF = Phonetic Form

PFIC = Phonetic Form Interface Condition

PS M. = Plastina-Selvaggi model

S = Subject

S. A. = Sociolinguistic approach

S.-G. A. = Structural-Grammatical approach

SB = Simultaneous Bilinguals

SES = Socioeconomic Status

SLI = Specific Language Impaired Children

SPEC = Specifier

IMPCS = Integrated Model of Plurilingual Code-Switching

SVO = Subject-Verb-Object Word Order

T = Lexical access time

TAGS = Tree Adjoining Grammars

TDC = Typically Developing Children

TM = Theory of Mind Principle

TNW = Total Number of Words

TOT = Tip of the Tongue phenomenon

UBILEC = Utrecht Bilingual Language Exposure Calculator questionnaire

UG = Universal Grammar

V = Verb

VSO = Verb-Subject-Object Word Order

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ABSTRACT

Questa ricerca presenta uno studio comparativo sugli usi concreti, l'accesso lessicale, gli atteggiamenti, l'autopercezione della competenza linguistica ed i *pattern* di accettabilità del *code-switching* (CS) plurilingue in tre contesti territoriali. Il punto di sintesi di questa analisi comparativa è la presenza dell'Italiano in contatto con le altre varietà, ora minoritarie (tutelate legislativamente o meno) ora maggioritarie, a volte autoctone e a volte di recente costituzione.

A differenza di studi precedenti sul CS bilingue, in questo lavoro si privilegia il CS plurilingue e si propone una chiave di analisi mista, sia di approccio sociolinguistico sia psicolinguistico sia strutturale-grammaticale, che intende andare oltre le tradizionali dicotomie che definiscono il CS come "accettabile o grammaticale e inaccettabile o non grammaticale" e che cerchi di elicitarne valutazioni più sfumate e precise (concetto di *gradience* e di *magnitude estimation*. Bard, Robertson and Sorace 1996) da parte degli informatori.

Complessivamente, la comparazione avviene tra cinque lingue standard (Italiano, Croato, Inglese, Spagnolo e Filipino) e cinque varietà locali (Arbëreshë, Occitano, Calabrese cosentino, Ciacavo e Istroveneto), e le combinazioni del CS analizzate sono state: Occitano-Calabrese-Italiano, Filipino-Inglese-Italiano, Spagnolo-Italiano, Croato-Ciacavo-Italiano-Istroveneto e Inglese-Italiano.

In dettaglio, partendo dal contesto locale calabrese con particolare riguardo al Cosentino, sono state condotte tre diverse tipologie di indagini. La prima ha avuto come target le *attitudini* verso il CS nelle minoranze storiche arbëreshë (68 informatori) e occitana (16 informatori); la seconda ha testato l'*accettabilità* del CS nella comunità della nuova minoranza filippina (40 informatori), mentre nel terzo caso è stata condotta una ricerca sulla comprensione dell'*implicatures* conversazionali in frasi con CS che ha coinvolto la nuova minoranza degli studenti universitari latinoamericani (18 informatori) presso l'Università della Calabria. La raccolta dei dati sul CS Occitano-Calabrese-Italiano è avvenuta mediante il metodo delle interviste aperte con una metodologia essenzialmente qualitativa, mentre nel caso del CS Spagnolo-Italiano, Arbëreshë-Italiano e Filipino-Inglese-Italiano si è implementata un'indagine conoscitiva quantitativa basata sui dati raccolti nei questionari a risposta chiusa.

Nel secondo contesto, l'Istria croata, l'indagine ha riguardato sia gli *atteggiamenti espliciti* verso il CS, sia il *lexical access* in conversazioni spontanee da parte di parlanti bi-/trilingui (53 informatori). In questo *case study* è stata adottata una metodologia qualitativa (interviste aperte) e quantitativa (analisi dei tempi dell'accesso lessicale).

Nel terzo ed ultimo contesto territoriale, la Scozia, la ricerca è stata circoscritta all'accettabilità del CS nei bambini bilingui Inglese-Italiano (17 partecipanti), attraverso la tecnica psicolinguistica del *picture description task* unitamente ad interviste ai genitori dei partecipanti sul *language input ed exposure*.

This research presents a comparative study on the actual uses, lexical access, attitudes, self-perception of plurilingual competence and patterns of acceptability of plurilingual code-switching (CS) in three different countries.

The common theme underlying this comparative analysis is the occurrence of the Italian language in contact with other varieties, which in some cases are minority languages (officially protected or not) and in others majority codes, sometimes autochthonous and even of recent creation.

Unlike previous studies on bilingual CS, this dissertation places specific emphasis on *plurilingual* CS with the purpose of proposing a new mixed key for data analysis, which goes beyond the traditional neat dichotomies defining CS as “acceptable or grammatical vs unacceptable or ungrammatical”. The attempt is to elicit more fine-grained and precise judgements on behalf of the informants correlated to the concept of gradience.

The comparison is traced between five standard languages (Italian, Croatian, English, Spanish and Filipino) and five local varieties (Arbëreshë, Occitan, Calabrese dialect of the Cosenza province, Chakavian and Istrovenetian), and the CS combinations analysed are the following: Occitan-Calabrese-Italian, Filipino-English-Italian, Spanish-Italian, Croatian-Chakavian-Italian-Istrovenetian and English-Italian.

As far as the single territorial contexts are concerned, three distinct research studies were conducted across three different countries, namely, Italy, Croatia and Scotland. Starting from the province of Cosenza in Calabria, an investigation on attitudes towards CS was carried out among the historical minorities of the Arbëreshës (68 informants) and Occitans (16 informants). This was followed by a survey among the new minorities of the Philipinos (40 informants) in which CS acceptability was also targeted through a designed task. Another survey directed to the Latino American university students (18 informants) present on the University of Calabria campus aimed at testing their comprehension of implicatures in code-switched utterances. A qualitative methodology was adopted and the method of interviews was applied in the case of the Occitans, while in those of Spanish-Italian, Arbëreshë-Italian and Filipino-English-Italian CS, a quantitative methodology was employed for questionnaire data analysis.

In the second research context, the Istra region of Croatia, an investigation of bi-/trilingual speakers' explicit attitudes towards CS and on their lexical access in spontaneous conversations was conducted (53 informants). In this specific case study, a qualitative (open interviews) and quantitative (time course of lexical access) methodology was introduced for data analysis.

In the third and final context, Scotland, focus was placed on the acceptability of CS and on its use in English-Italian bilingual children (17 participants) using the psycholinguistic technique of picture description task together after interviewing participants' parents about their language input and their children's bilingual exposure.

DEDICATION

To plurilinguals / Ai plurilingui

To everyone who loves and who loved me / A tutti quelli che mi vogliono e che mi hanno voluto bene

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I dedicate this work in memory of Prof. Cristina Piva, my supervisor for my master degree thesis, as the first professor who believed in me as a researcher.

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SUPERVISOR'S FOREWORD

As Dino Selvaggi's supervisor for his PhD dissertation, *A Comparative Socio-Psycholinguistic Study on Plurilingual Code-Switching: Standard vs Local Varieties*, which he has written in fulfilment of his doctoral studies at the *Andre Gunder Frank School in Knowledge and Innovation for Development* at the University of Calabria, Italy, I am delighted to write the foreword to this impressive endeavour.

The theme addressed by this dissertation is plurilingual code-switching as the practice of alternating between more languages or varieties of language in both spoken and written modes. This phenomenon is extremely significant in the current globalised multilingual world, where speakers are increasingly expected to use linguistic multicompetence in a wide range of communicative contexts in both formal and informal interaction. Plurilingual code-switching can be seen as tangible proof of multicompetence and as the most evident achievement performed by multicompetent users. Unlike monolinguals who do not have any other language to switch into, plurilinguals engage in intricate processes when alternating between standard languages, local varieties or between the two types of codes. Code-switching plays a key role in consolidating multicompetence within historical speech communities sharing an L1, as well as shaping newly defined contexts of use, which stem from current social phenomena, such as increasing migratory fluxes, work and study mobility and interethnic marriages to name a few. In this light, plurilingual code-switching commonly occurs in a wide range of daily-life settings and for numerous communicative purposes, where it is likely to function as a valuable resource, for instance, to renegotiate unshared languages among speakers, cross language barriers, or

even to engage in intra-familial communication. Thus, code-switching can no longer be solely conceptualised as mere linguistic deficiency as formerly assumed, but it also needs to be crucially valued as a powerful communicative skill.

The intricate processes underlying code-switching have attracted the interest of grammarians, sociolinguists and psycholinguists alike. Nevertheless, traditional studies have considered code-switching only from single disciplinary standpoints, thus treating the phenomenon as discrete social, psychological or structural processes. In this fragmented perspective, focus has been placed either on the subjective aspects of code-switchers or on the social features of the speech communities where code-switching is regularly practised. Moreover, research has shown a preference for laboratory experiments rather than for fieldwork. This has favoured the practice of analysing code-switched samples out-of-context over more empirical methods directed to capturing authentic tokens and explaining their use through recurring socio-psycholinguistic variables.

Dino Selvaggi's doctoral dissertation mirrors the felt need for a paradigm shift in the investigation of code-switching, drawing on extensive literature and academic reflexion for its comprehensive overview of the complex phenomenon. The introductory analysis of traditional approaches to code-switching critically highlights the major drawbacks of these approaches. It convincingly substantiates Selvaggi's argumentation for an innovative socio-psycholinguistic approach without, however, disregarding the importance of the structural approach. Selvaggi's short-term research stays in Croatia and Scotland, as well as his intense research activities in Calabria have given him strong incentives to identify and pinpoint various facets of plurilingual code-switching. The ample collection of empirical data across a personalised choice of communicative

contexts and informants is a further element of extreme originality. The in-depth and meticulous investigation has been coherently organised into three major significant case studies, which offer systematic accounts of an impressive number of standard languages and local varieties, comparatively related on the basis of their common contact with the Italian language. The investigation, in fact, first seeks to shed light on the patterns of Italian-standard/local varieties of code-switching in three areas, which are well-chosen as they strike a balance between Southern (Calabria, Italy), Eastern (Croatia), and Western (Scotland) Europe.

Besides the rich variety of codes covered, the breadth of Selvaggi's dissertation lies in the ambitious accomplishment of delving deeper into comparing the different attitudes, patterns and grades of acceptability which emerge across a total of six cases, of which three pertaining to the first study. These fall under the detailed investigation on Calabrese minorities, which embraces and skilfully compares plurilingual code-switching within both historical linguistic minorities and new minorities. The comparative analysis is further extended to the second case study which looks at a completely different context, such as the Istra region of the Republic of Croatia, where explicit and implicit attitudes towards trilingual and quadrilingual code-switching are surveyed and the issue of lexical access is thoroughly researched. Finally, the comparative analysis tactfully shows how the sampling of informants was rigorously designed to cover all social classes and age groups, which in the third case study included Scottish children under the condition of intra-familial bilingualism. In this case, focus is mainly placed on seeking the influence of a different set of code-switching variables, including the amount and type of parental language input and children's output among else.

The results of each of the three case studies offer a clear picture of how plurilingual code-switching is strongly related to dynamic socio-psycholinguistic variables, allowing readers to greatly deepen their understanding of the phenomenon. The considerable amount of data further allows Dino Selvaggi to draw thoughtful generalisations concerning his findings in comparison to previous studies, but more importantly, to critically discuss their implications for the new approach proposed.

Following our joint elaboration of the Integrated Model of Plurilingual Code-Switching (IMPCS), this *doctoral dissertation* represents a considerable step *forward* in testing the model across the case studies presented. The specific value added by this work therefore lies in the all-encompassing approach and the comprehensiveness of Selvaggi's framework, representing the first analysis of this kind concerning plurilingual code-switching. As Selvaggi points out, however, the IMPCS was tested on SVO languages which share many common properties, showing gained awareness of the limitations of his study. His suggestions for further research focus on the issue can be considered as the result of his ongoing laborious work and critical reflexion.

It is a pleasure for me to have supervised Dino Selvaggi as a PhD candidate because he has been a highly self-motivated student, who has managed to keep to his academic commitments with responsibility and perseverance despite all the difficulties encountered. In summary, this dissertation provides new insights into the socio-psycholinguistic aspects involved in the practice of plurilingual code-switching and offers thought-provoking stimuli for future studies in this area.

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INTRODUCTION

Studies on code-switching (hereafter CS), or the alternation of two or more varieties or codes within a conversation or in a written text, have been conducted for more than seven decades. Following Weinreich's (1953) influential work, which paved the way for most research in the area of language contact, a number of studies have investigated both bilingualism and code-switching.

As bilingualism has finally been recognised as the major condition of the world's population (Romaine 1995; Grosjean 2008), the practice of switching codes as its most characteristic phenomenon has received strong attention from a variety of approaches. It has thus finally lost its "path of deviant status to be fully integrated into the bilingual competence" (Toribio 2001; McSwan 1999, 2000, 2004, 2014), becoming as important as stylistic variation and monolingual grammatical competence are to monolinguals.

Most research focused on bilingual code-switching, where just two codes are alternated in communicative interactions. Thus, after a long brainstorming session with my supervisor, we underlined that not very much attention has been paid to plurilingual CS in a true "holistic" view, at the level of theoretical constructs, methodology of analysis and empirical studies. As a consequence, we reached the decision that a study that could encompass crucial sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic factors related to CS besides the more traditional grammatical-structural approach was strongly needed. It is unarguable that a purely grammatical analysis of CS is not suitable, given that sociolinguistic and psychological variables affect the use of the standard and dialectal varieties both at the societal and at the inner individual level. Hence, this research work proposes a mixed socio-psycholinguistic method to assess the actual practice and

attitudes towards CS, notwithstanding the use of instruments belonging to the minimalist and grammatical judgement framework.

The first part of this dissertation provides a critical literature review, which outlines the stances taken by a number of authors belonging to heterogeneous backgrounds, while at the same time highlighting the position adopted in the current work and its underlying rationale.

In the following methodological section, the theoretical background will be outlined in detail in order to present the method of data collection and analysis employed with particular reference to the original contribution made in comparison to previous studies regarding CS attitude and acceptability judgments.

The central part of the dissertation is based on three case studies: code-switching in Calabrese historical and new minorities, socio-psycholinguistic aspects of plurilingual code-switching in Croatia and code-switching in bilingual children in Scotland.

In all the studies, the language in contact is (standard) Italian and the languages together are used for a comparative analysis which highlights the changing societal and official status of Italian. In the first area of Calabria, Italian is the majority language which shares its domains of use with five minority languages: Arbëreshë and Occitan (historical linguistic minorities) and Philipino, English and Spanish (new minorities). In the second area, the Istra region of the Republic of Croatia, Italian and the Istrovenetian dialect are minority languages, but only Italian has been granted an official status in the region. Although it is not the language of *in-group* communicative exchanges (Blagoni 2001, 2012, Scotti-Jurić and Ambrosi-Randić 2010), it shares its communicative domains also with the majority standard Croatian and the Chakavian/Čakavski dialect, thus contributing to create a situation of tri-/quadrilingualism.

In the last area, Scotland, Italian does not have any official status and it is not an autochthonous language, but only one of the various immigrant languages spoken.

As for the informants involved in the three case studies, the investigation has attempted to cover all social classes and ages. Particularly, in Calabria the age range was from adolescents to elders, while in Croatia people aged 18+ were involved. The only case in which participants ranged from 4-11 was that conducted in Scotland as focus was placed on child bilingualism.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Adopting a mixed structural/grammatical and psycho-sociolinguistic research approach to plurilingual code-switching, the research questions posed in the study are basically the following:

- 1) What are the patterns of Italian-standard/local varieties of code-switching in the three areas under examine?

This question intends to provide data from a descriptive point of view on the actual practice of code-switching, whereby Italian is in contact with the standard and local varieties in Calabria, Croatia and Scotland.

- 2) Do different attitudes, patterns and grades of acceptability emerge in these three linguistic contexts?

Here the aim is to conduct comparative analysis in order to underline possible differences in CS attitudes, patterns and acceptability according to the official status or social prestige of Standard Italian.

- 3) Are the practices, attitudes and patterns of acceptability consistent with previous studies?

This third question seeks to determine if current findings on plurilingual CS match more with sociolinguistic studies, psycholinguistic works or with the lexicalist-minimalist approach (MacSwan 1999, 2014).

- 4) What are the implications of the current research findings for a mixed socio-psycholinguistic-grammatical theory of plurilingual code-switching?

This last question intends to further highlight the rationale behind the current research work, highlighting the importance of an integrated theory in which code-switching

attitudes and acceptability are investigated with fine-graded scales to rule out, for instance, neat polarisations such as complete valorization-complete refusal of CS or acceptable-inacceptable CS,) and to incorporate psycholinguistic factors, grammatical structures and actual corpora data. This new method could also be potentially testable on corpora of different languages.

I - LITERATURE REVIEW

1. Language contact phenomena and code-switching

The first systematic descriptive studies on language contact and code-switching (CS) appear in the 1950s. Weinreich (1953) highlighted how a situation of multilingualism is a common practice in the majority of the European regions, even if each variety does not hold the same status neither at the societal nor at the individual level (diglossia). As MacSwan (2014: 2) pointed out, the term codeswitching first appeared in Vogt's 1954 review of Weinreich's (1953) *Languages in Contact* and then in Haugen's (1956) *Bilingualism in the Americas*. Haugen (1956) himself proposed that different situations can be observed in bilingual communication, and they are characterised by a communicative *continuum*, extended from an endpoint where the terms in the L2, L3 etc. are fully phonologically and morphologically integrated into the L1 (borrowings), to the opposite endpoint where the other language term is fully distinct (switching).

A distinction should here be made, first of all, between *CS*, *transfer* and *interference*. In a cognitive approach, transfer refers to a similarity in the structures and properties of La and Lb, which lead to a positive acquisitional effect, whereas *interference* is defined as the presence of dissimilar structures and properties where a negative effect is detected.

1.1. Modalities: oral vs written code-switching

Code-switching has two basic *modalities*: *oral* and *written*. Among the scholars who studied both modalities, Sebba *et al.* (2012: 6) define the traits of “conversational code-switching”.

It is *oral* (spoken), *interactive* (because it involves two or more speakers), *synchronous* and *sequential* (given the presence of the conversational turns).

I can personally add to this formulation that the code-switched conversation (oral speech, in general) is also *volatile*, in the sense that (unless recorded and/or transcribed) its “here and now” condition is ephemeral. Details of the properties of oral CS are given in the following sections of this dissertation and they represent the core focus of this work; however, a brief overview of the situation where an alternation of two or more languages inside a text is detected will also be provided.

More recently, in fact, scholars such as Babalowa & Taiwo (2009) published a descriptive study on CS in contemporary Nigerian Hip-Hop music (where most code-switching is done in three languages – English, Nigerian Pidgin and Yoruba, but Yoruba plays a prominent role). Songs can be considered an “in-between situation”, as they are written and sung orally and performed for a public which represents their major aim (Selvaggi 2012).

Sebba et al. (2012:1) have also shed light on the importance of CS as a written phenomenon, pointing out that:

a much smaller body of research has concerned itself with the phenomena of written multilingualism. [...] Undoubtedly, there is a monolingual bias in most industrialised societies – the regulatory tendency which validates only ‘pure’ language and regards language mixing, written or spoken, as illegitimate or simply ignores it. But in spite of that, there is a great variety of written data which involves more than one language within a text. There is data both old and new: from ancient and medieval times, from traditional genres such as medical texts and formal letters, from recent, still-developing genres such as advertising and email and from a range of text types in between.

“Text” should be intended in its broadest sense and thus analysed through different approaches according to its size (short and long texts), the time of its composition (ancient manuscripts or recent texts), the medium for conveying the message (printed, computer-mediated-communication (CMC) (see Plastina 2012, Plastina 2015a, Plastina 2015b), and its style (non-literary works and literary creations).

Even if written code-switching is permanent, asynchronous and continuously retrievable by readers in different times and places, this concept needs to be revisited as some written genres (mobile-phone text messages, some types of Internet chat) can be quite ephemeral.

Moreover, written code-switching is not simply a representation of oral speech practices in another mode. Part of these written corpora have been analysed with the Matrix Language Frame model (Myers-Scotton 1993), as in the case of the Spanish-English dialogues in prose fiction (Callahan 2004: 2). Spoken corpora can also be studied within this framework, as well as some other more conversation-like, interactive and sequential written genres, e.g. online chats due to the crucial role played by interlocutors’ responses within this approach (Sebba et al. 2012:5).

In the literary field, code-switching is employed as a stylistic or rhetorical device or to convey credibility, biculturalism/ethnicity and humor (Gonzales-Berry and Gynan 1989: 307). Switches may further be merely “metaphorical switches (Blom and Gumperz 1972) as they do not really add to the content of the message” (Mahootian in Sebba 2012:200), but they even can be “used to resist, challenge and transform power relations and domination [...] and, most importantly to reflect, construct and reconstruct a hybrid/third space identity, which is fluid and always in transition (Jonsson 2012:4). A case in point is that of Chicano plays or other circumstances to forge and reinforce unity

among young Latino-Americans who are asserting independence from the dominant English L2-C2 (culture 2), while also breaking away from the domination of their Spanish L1-C1 (Mahootian 2012:196).

In the past, CS in the US was stigmatized as it was thought to be connected with low linguistic competence; nowadays it has finally gained societal and literary legitimization (Montes-Alcalá in Sebba 2012: 84) because of new strategies of *naturalisation*. According to Fairclough (1989:76), “naturalization is a matter of degree, and the extent to which a discourse type is naturalized may change, in accordance with the shifting ‘balance of forces’ in social struggle”.

The intrinsic characteristic of the written text (dimension of fonts, colours, shape, illumination, special relationship with surrounding texts) can provide information about the “strength” and dominance of some languages over others, thus allowing for additional interpretations and data analysis. In some cases, an additional value of parallel multilingual or code-switched texts is their support in language learning. For instance, in the case where “different generations of readers from the same family could have different competencies in the two languages” (Sebba 2012:14-15).

2. Main approaches to CS

As CS phenomena can be described using different approaches, this literature review provides an overview of the four main research trends in the following sections: section 2.1 presents the *sociolinguistic approach* to CS, which is mostly employed in research studies focusing on social variables and bilingual communities; section 2.2 focuses on the *structural-grammatical approach*, which is rooted in the grammatical analysis of data extracted from corpora of actual bilingual conversations; section 2.3. deals with the

psycholinguistic approach, which is related to the inner variables of speakers and to the issue of code-switching in bilingual children; section 2.4 finally presents the new *lexicalist-minimalist theoretical framework*.

2.1. The Sociolinguistic Approach towards Bilingual Code-switching

The sociolinguistic approach assumes that the *speech community* must be the starting point of linguistic analysis, rather than the individual speaker of a language or the linguistic competence of individuals. A speech community is defined in functionalist terms as a system of organized diversity held together by common norms and aspirations (Gumperz 1982:24).

A central concept in sociolinguistics is the question of *variation*, which can be articulated on different axes. One is that of the diaphasic variation, which addresses the degree of formality of the interactions along a continuum from maximum formality to complete informality: each speaker, in fact, selects a linguistic register according to the addressed listener.

Another axis is that of the diastratic variation, which is, instead, related to speakers' personal conditions: their socioeconomic status (SES), age, sex or education, while the diachronic variation is connected to the passing of time; in addition, the diatopic variation occurs in the geographical space. On the other hand, the diamesic variation is related to the medium used to convey messages.

Gumperz (1982) explains the discourse strategies in real time face-to-face encounters of bilingual communities, highlighting how in the past structural linguists and also studies on CS were limited by the nature of the linguistic methodology employed. This

was particularly the case of unwritten languages, where according to Gumperz (1982:15-16):

students were able to achieve the insights they acquired only by severely restricting the data they considered. Natural speech spoken at normal speed proved too complex for detailed contrastive study. In the absence of modern electronic aids, data had to be collected sentence by sentence and the same utterance repeated many times.

In addition, the sociolinguistic situation in Asia and Africa was very far from the (presumed) homogeneity of America and Europe, and multilingualism of standard and dialect varieties was the norm with an overlap often found between the varieties (Gumperz 1982:16, 20). Attitudes toward CS were also studied by Gumperz (1982:66), who highlighted how:

only in relatively few interaction situations, such as for example in contact with older monolinguals, when talking to very small children, or for certain highly ritualized activities, is only one code appropriate. Elsewhere a variety of options occur, and as with conversations in general, interpretation of messages is in large part a matter of discourse context, social presuppositions and speakers' background knowledge.

In more recent studies, however, Gumperz's claim of monolingualism as a distinctive trait of elders has proven to be incorrect in some cases, although his basic assumption is substantially verifiable in several communities where language contact is rigidly ruled or highly discouraged.

In a previous paper Blom and Gumperz (1972) proposed *situational codeswitching* as one type of CS, which is linked to the social separation of activities and roles that

require the use of one of the codes spoken in a community: the use of a language in unconventional contexts is called *metaphorical codeswitching* because the unexpected variety is a metaphor for the social meanings the variety has come to symbolise.

Gumperz further (1982: 95) adds that:

to argue that code switching can be analyzed in terms of conversational implicature, is to assume that the usage conventions by which two speech varieties are categorized as “*we*” and “*they*” codes and become associated with *in-* ad *out-group* experiences have conversational functions that are equivalent to the relationship of words and referents. This implies that both message form and message content play a role in implicature. The parallel is of course only approximate. Basic referential meanings are shared by all speakers of a language regardless of social background. They are stable over time and can be preserved in dictionaries. Code usage, on the other hand, reflects conventions created through networks of interpersonal relationships subject to change with changing power relationships and socio-ecological environments, so that sharing of basic conventions cannot be taken for granted. This accounts for the fact that listeners in code-switching situations may understand the literal meaning of an utterance but differ in their interpretations of communicative intent.

Another sociolinguistic-structural approach can be traced in Clyne (1967, 1972), whose Australian work particularly dealt with German and Dutch immigrant communities, concentrating also on the issues of code-mixing, triggering, transference and convergence. Clyne proposed that self-assessed proximity between codes fosters code-switching. Moreover, the use of a word from another language may easily trigger other material from that language and in bilingual communities languages will tend to converge.

Labov's (1989:52) position is that of “sociolects” as the natural level or linguistic organization, claiming that “individual behavior can be understood only as a reflection of the grammar of the speech community”.

In the 1980s, a strong impact in CS studies was determined by Poplack (1980), who developed the concept of CS as the mixing of two or more languages in discourse by bilinguals (or multilinguals). Following a systematic examination of spontaneous speech, Poplack highlighted how speakers generally tended not to produce utterances that contained monolingual ungrammatical sentence fragments. These data were the basis for her notion of *equivalence constraint* which states that the switched sentences are made up of concatenated fragments of alternating languages, each of which is grammatical in the language of its provenance (see also Muysken 2000). The New York Puerto Rican community with its high degree of Spanish-English bilingualism, in fact, favours smooth intra-sentential CS. These "skilled" or fluent switches are characterised by an easy transition between L_A , and L_B elements, unmarked by false starts, hesitations or lengthy pause (Poplack 1987:54).

Unfortunately, the equivalence constraint has been verified as valid only in some circumstances in Spanish-English code-switching and it does not work on isolating and agglutinative languages. Isolating languages are codes with a very low morpheme per word ratio, which in some cases may lead to situations in which one word is made up of a single morpheme; in addition, isolating languages (Chinese, for instance) use little or no inflection to indicate grammatical relationships. Agglutinative languages, instead, are varieties (such as Turkish) where the morphology is based on agglutination, namely each word includes a concatenation of different morphemes: each of these morphemes remains unchanged after their union. To determine the meaning of a word, it is

sufficient to analyse the meaning of each morpheme. Thus, most recent works refer to Poplack's findings only for descriptive reasons and have proposed alternative principles.

However, Poplack agrees with Grosjean (2008) in that the smaller the switched constituent, and particularly at the level of the *lone* lexical item, the more difficult it is to resolve the question of whether we are dealing with a code-switch or a loanword. Unlike Grosjean, however, Poplack underlines that phonological integration may not provide a decisive clue if, for instance, the speaker pronounces all his English words with a Spanish accent, whether borrowed or not; morphology may also not count where there is no affixation (in singular nouns, for instance). Even the co-occurrence of forms from two languages may also be related to interference or incomplete second language acquisition.

For this reason, Poplack and Sankoff (1981) attempted to develop a number of indices measuring various aspects of the linguistic and social integration of borrowings, following the methodologies used by other scholars (e.g. Bloomfield 1933, Weinreich 1953, Mackey 1970, Hasselmo 1970), such as frequency of use, native language synonym displacement, morphophonological and/or syntactic integration and native speakers' acceptability (Poplack 1987:55). Nevertheless, Poplack (1980) affirms that in her corpus there is a severe restriction on morphological CS such as:

- 1) *Told le, le told, him dije, dije him.
'[I] told him, him told, him told, told him.'
- 2) *Estoy eat-iendo.
'[I] am eating.'

Poplack (1987:58) stated that Puerto Ricans were also fully cognizant of the prevalence of code-switching in their community and saw nothing wrong with it; their reason for switching was essentially because they "were bilingual" and this mode of discourse was appropriate to their dual identity (Attinasi 1979, Zentella 1982). Poplack (1993:277) distinguishes between nonce borrowing (used only once), idiosyncratic terms (used more than once but by a single speaker), recurrent switch (used more than 10 times) and widespread switches (used by more than 10 speakers).

Other scholars, like Gafaranga (2012:503-504), describe also the cases in which CS acts as a strategy of conversational repair. In other words, participants in a conversation use CS to clarify part or the whole message due to interlocutors' different language backgrounds.

Connected to both the sociolinguistic and to the language policy framework, studies on language revitalization also address the issue of CS from different perspectives. On one side, some scholars try to stress the importance of a variety of sources and devices, including CS, to revitalise heritage and minority languages. For instance, McLeod (2006) proposes Gaelic in Scotland; on the other, there is still a minority trend in language contact research which views CS as a threat for the survival of minority languages. Among others, this is the position taken by O' Giollagain (2007, 2014), who suggests that in the so-called *minority uni-directional bilingualism* (where only the members of a minority community are bilingual, while the majority group is basically monolingual), CS is potentially a danger and a first step towards language shift. In his view, only a multiple, consistent and varied input provided in social dense multiple networks (not just in parental input, but input belonging to a wide range of speakers) can help maintain the minority language in younger generations. O' Giollagain further

adds that the mere presence of native speakers and/or a network of L2 speakers of Irish inside a basically monolingual community does not represent societal bilingualism. Instead, and, unfortunately, only a few towns investigated in Ireland possess dense networks of Irish L1 speakers.

2.2. The Structural-grammatical Approach towards Bilingual Code-switching

The structural-grammatical approach to CS focuses mostly on the allowed and disallowed patterns of CS in sentences, phrases and words, and generally postulates the existence of systemic “rules” or specific points where CS is possible or more used, or even a “third grammar” CS-specific (Romaine 1995).

One of the strongest models in this theoretical framework is Myers-Scotton’s (1993) Matrix Language Frame Model (MLFM), which is also grounded in sociolinguistics. It had a deep impact in the first years after its publication, but now it holds mostly a descriptive value and cannot be judged a valid and general explanatory theory on the patterns of CS: in MacSwan’s (2014:4) words, in fact, while linguistic description is an important first step, it does not constitute a linguistic theory. MacSwan specifies (2014: 15) that the:

MLFM model differentiates the languages involved in CS, as other models have also done; one language is known as the matrix language, which defines the surface structure positions for content words and functional elements, the other is the embedded language. [...]The MLF model includes two basic components – The Morpheme Order Principle, which requires that morphemes within a bilingual constituent follow the order prescribed by the matrix language, and the System Morpheme Principle, which states that all “system morphemes” – defined as morphemes that have grammatical relations with other constituents outside their maximal projections – come from the matrix language in any CS utterance. Given [...] a lack of a formal definition of the languages in

interaction and several ambiguities, Jake, Myers-Scotton and Gross (2002) [...] clarify that the matrix language “may change across time, and even within a conversation and the matrix language may change within successive CPs, even within a multi-clausal sentence, but it does not change within a single bilingual CP” (2002:73).

Other scholars, such as Montes-Alcalá (in Sebba 2012:86), believe that the MLFM can also be explained in terms of polarities, where the unmarked linguistic choice is the more natural or expected one. Usually, CS constitutes the marked choice – to call attention, “giving rise to the implicature that the speaker is negotiating a normative position, the status quo” (Myers-Scotton 1983: 120)”, except in bilingual communities where CS is the norm. For instance, Myers-Scotton (in Heller 1988:161) provides the example of the security guard and visitor who first interact in Swahili and then, when their shared ethnic membership is known, in Luyia, while in another example two eastern Africans from the same ethnic group will chat about personal affairs in their shared mother tongue if they are making the unmarked choice for such an exchange. But if they are joined by a friend from another ethnic group, the exchange is no longer the same and they will switch to a neutral *lingua franca* if they are making the unmarked choice. This condition can be seen as similar to situational code-switching, but, as Myers-Scotton (1988) affirms, “situations do not determine choices”.

The concept of CS as a marked choice resembles the function of foregrounding in literature. In order to make the appropriate choice, Myers-Scotton (1982 cited in Heller 1988:4) explains that CS can be an “exploratory” strategy which permits interlocutors to discover to what degree they share understandings about the situation and their roles in it, from among the alternative framework available”.

The approaches so far focus on the social variables (social groups, bilingual communities, culture, education) or on the structural characteristic of CS patterns (position inside the sentence and allowed and disallowed patterns). Another approach, instead, tackles CS as influenced by the inner characteristics of the single speaker, thus considering psycholinguistic variables.

2.3. The Psycholinguistic Approach and Key Psycholinguistic Variables

The psycholinguistic approach considers crucial variables, such as motivation, neural and cognitive basis of language acquisition, processing, production, activation, lexical access and inhibition (Kroll 1994; Bialystok 2000), the speaker's age, attitudes towards language learning and many other. This work does not have the ambition of dealing with the wide range of variables, but focuses essentially on the key ones: *attitude* and *self-perception*, *acceptability*, *language mode*, *lexical access* and *visual vs. verbal stimulus in bilingual children* for the sake of its research purposes.

2.3.1. Attitude and Self-Perception

A central issue in psycholinguistic research on CS is attitude. *Language attitudes* can be defined as the feelings and emotions that speakers feel towards one or more language (Gardner 1985). They can be rationally motivated or not and can be influenced by other inner factors or by societal dynamics. Bourdieu (1992) showed, in fact, how also the 'linguistic capital', that is the respect for the authority of a speaker or for the prestige of a variety, is a part of social power relations. As these inner and societal variables may change over time, even language attitudes can be modified.

Moreover, bearing the concept of attitude as a subjective value, attitudes are strongly related to personal beliefs and judgements, which can be both reunited under the label of *self-perception* (see Plastina and Selvaggi 2016 forthcoming). This notion belongs to the psychological theory of self-perception (Bem 1972), which postulated that people's attitudes are determined by emotional, behavioral and cognitive components. Each of these components can express positivity or negativity; in the linguistic field, emotional components are speakers' reactions towards the varieties of their repertoire, while the behavioral component is connected to the actual practices and actions; the last component, the cognitive one, is composed of linguistic knowledge and competence. Iannàccaro (2001: 28) observed how each informant/speaker seems to "have [...] a theory about languages which is subjected to his/her answers and [...] a theory of linguistic research which leads him/her to unconsciously decide of what data the interviewer is in need of". Even if freely expressed, these answers will be strongly influenced by linguistic experiences and they have to be analysed according to their implicit or explicit nature (Plastina and Selvaggi 2016).

2.3.2. Acceptability and the optimality theory

Another major topic in psycholinguistic studies on CS refers to the explicit judgements that speakers are able to provide on language. In very basic and dichotomic terms, a phrase or sentence is *acceptable* to a speaker if it sounds familiar/usual (Sprouse 2007), whereas informants will rate it as unacceptable if it sounds strange or unusual. The issue of acceptability is thus one of the examples of *negative evidence*, generally available through *grammaticality judgement tasks* (MacSwan 2014:17). Thus, it is not just *positive evidence* (code-switches emerged from natural conversations

collections), which can be used to construct a generative theory of CS with the capability of generating all and only the well-formed cases (MacSwan 2014:17), but also examples of unacceptable CS must be taken into account. This research also argues that the question of *negative evidence* is of crucial importance for its theoretical and methodological implications. A study carried out by Timm (1975), for instance, provided examples of disallowed CS according to informants' judgements, such as:

a) switches between subject and object pronouns:

3) * *Yo went.*

'I went.'

4) * *Mira him.*

'Look at him.'

b) switches between auxiliary and main verb, or between main verb and an infinitive:

5) * *They want a venir*

'They want to come.'

6) * *Ha seen.*

'He has seen.'

Abandoning the neat acceptable-unacceptable and grammatical-ungrammatical dichotomy was also continued by the *Optimality Theory* (OT) (Grimshaw 1997; Prince & Smolensky 2003). Bhatt (2014:135-152) analysed the distribution of bilingual codeswitches in argument positions in different language pairs, making use of two mainly conflicting constraints, *Spec and Comp both violable under appropriate conditions". He highlighted that the gradience to mark subtle acceptability contrasts in the data is expressed by linguists with notations such as "?", "??", "?*". and the OT makes it possible to capture these subtle variations.

Bhatt (2014:147-148) specifies that “in OT, grammars (Ga, Gb...) are defined by constraint hierarchies. Universal Grammar in OT is expected to provide a finite set of potentially conflicting (violable) constraints on structural well-formedness. Languages differ from each other in terms of how their respective grammars rank the set of violable constraints and [...] the output that has the fewest violations (= 0, in the best-case scenario) is optimal-that is, grammatical.

Figure 1 summarises a description of the OT model. If a particular bilingual input has two competing codeswitched output candidates: *cand 1* and *cand 2*, where *Cand 1* violates the highest-ranking constraint {x}, which is lethal, Grammar A-B (the two languages in contact) selects *cand 2* straightforwardly as the optimal grammatical option. But whether another pair of languages, C-D, has the same three (universal) constraints, {x, y, z}, but with a different ordering, where constraint {y} dominates {x} dominates {z}, here the optimal output is *cand 1*, because in this grammar *cand 2* violates a higher-ranked constraint {y}.

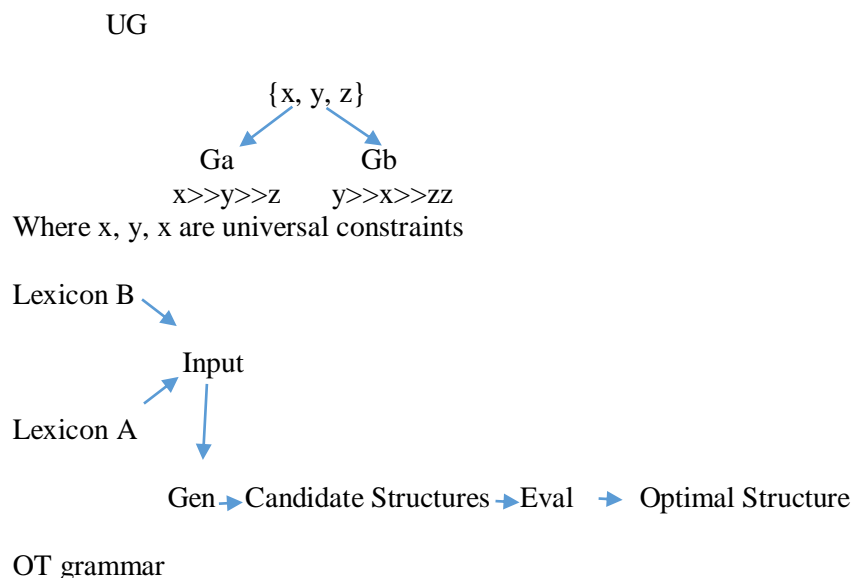


Figure 1. Illustration of the Optimality Theory. Taken from Bhatt (2014:147-148).

Related both to the questions of acceptability, grammaticality and gradience and to child bilingualism studies, the *Interface Hypothesis* proposed by Sorace (2003, 2011) and Sorace and Filiaci (2006) contrasts the representational deficit approaches by implying that “narrow” syntactic properties, including the uninterpretable formal features that drive syntactic movement, are ultimately completely acquirable in second language acquisition. Conversely, *interface properties* involving syntax and “another cognitive domain”, such as discourse conditions and/or pragmatic information structure, may not be fully acquirable. This proposal seeks to account for observed persistent *optionality* in the L2 end state, and one possible source of such optionality may be the inability to acquire interpretable features present in L2 but lacking in L1, relating syntactic structure to discourse/ pragmatic interpretation. Sorace and Serratrice (2009:197) explain how “the violation at the *syntax–pragmatics interface* typically lie on a *gradient of acceptability* (e.g. the ‘redundant’ use of an overt rather than a null pronoun to maintain reference in Italian), while some violations of *syntax–semantics interface* conditions give rise to *clear ungrammaticality* (e.g. focusing, namely the inversion and splitting of some phrasal syntactic constituents in order to pragmatically mark them in the sentence, as allowed in Greek and in several other languages).”

With regard to the first issue, Sorace and Serratrice (2009:201) conclude that:

the morphosyntactic choice of a null or an overt subject pronoun in null-subject languages like Italian and Spanish is governed by the discourse pragmatic requirement that null anaphors be used when there is no topic shift with its antecedent, and that overt pronouns be used when there is a shift of topic (Frascarelli, 2007). In contrast, in a non null-subject language like English, overt pronouns are used regardless of whether there is a shift of topic. The partial overlap between the inventories of pronominal forms in Italian and English will favor the activation of overt pronouns

in an English-dominant environment. This is not a problem for the processing of Italian pronominal anaphors in topic shift contexts. The difficulties arise in Italian when there is no shift of topic because there is competition between an Italian structure with a null anaphor and an English structure with an overt pronoun, on the assumption that the other language is always active to some extent even when it is not being used.

2.3.3. Lexical access in bilinguals and plurilinguals

The issue of acceptability is faced by psycholinguists, sociolinguists and scholars working in other research areas. A topic which is deeply rooted only in psycholinguistics, instead, is lexical access. A number of scholars (Costa and La Heij 2006; De Groot 2011) described it as the process of activation of a speaker's mental lexicon, a sort of "vocabulary" stored in every individual's mind by means of singular lexical units, in order to retrieve particular lexical entries. These are units with their phonetic, morphosyntactic and semantic information. Processes of activation and retrieval take place through various steps during which the speaker initially decides whether the item is a word or not. In monolinguals, this activity is quite simple, as only one lexicon is available, although different models have been developed to explain this mental process. According to the so-called *serial access models*, lexical access occurs sequentially with only one lexical entry accessed at a time (Forster 1976). On the other hand, *parallel access models* assume that various potential candidates can be activated at once, and the lexical item which shares the most features with the targeted stimulus is the one chosen (Marslen-Wilson 1987). These models do not appear suitable to describe the complexity of bilingual speakers' mental processes as they possess two lexicons. The presence of two lexicons does not, however, necessarily imply that both benefit the same value, strength of activation and connections (Selvaggi 2014). In other words, a

bilingual speaker accesses the conceptual level; then, on the basis of a phonetical stimulus, a specific lexicon (L1 or L2) is activated, and the L2 lexicon can be activated with or without L1 mediation (see Plastina 2014). At the lexicon level, several related words (semantically and phonetically), each one with a different degree of activation, are active and available for retrieval. The speaker then searches among these for the specific word needed to convey the required meaning. Hamers (1992) suggests two major hypotheses about the concrete working modalities of linguistic codes: the single-switch hypothesis and the two-switch one. The former implies the presence of two different psycholinguistic systems; the latter, proposed by McNamara (1967), describes one switch for input that is controlled by the context, and one independent uncontrolled switch for output. These two switches allow the bilingual speaker to code in one language while decoding in the other one.

Recent research, however, reports quite a different situation in the case of trilingual speakers. For example, Plastina (2012: 12) argues that trilingualism is not governed by similarity to bilingualism: “evidence that issues concerning the trilingual mental lexicon have still not been investigated using a psycholinguistic approach is supported by the fact that there are still no explicit trilingual mental lexicon models [...] and that research on trilingualism uses bilingual models by extension”.

In addition to this research void regarding trilingual speakers, another important issue, which has not yet been sufficiently investigated, concerns spontaneous code-switching and related lexical access timing in natural communicative contexts (Selvaggi 2014). In the framework of lexical access, a particular issue, which has been the object of several investigations, is latency. This refers to the time (usually measured in milliseconds) the speaker takes to respond to a stimulus (Kroll 1994, Kroll and De

Groot 2005; Grosjean 2008, Grosjean & Li 2013). In controlled experimental contexts, this stimulus can be provided in the form of a presentation of a visual, audio or written item; participants are asked to perform naming/description tasks, word/speaker recognition (listening) or reading/processing tasks. Conversely, in natural contexts the observer, who usually asks participants to name an object or to answer a question, may propel the stimulus; however, the stimulus can also be independent from the researcher and acted by the speakers themselves.

Table 1 summarises the properties of the Revised Hierarchical Model by Kroll (1994) and of the BIA (Bilingual Interactive Activation) Model by Dijkstra et al. (1998).

Revised Hierarchical Model	Bilingual Interactive Activation
Two distinct lexicons (L1 lexicon and L2 lexicon)	One composite lexicon (Lexicon 1 with L1 and L2)
Translation equivalents as level of interaction between L1 and L2	Interaction between L1 and L2 interaction occurs as a consequence of language activation at the phonetical and morphosyntactical level
L2 words processing is mediated mostly by L1 lexicon; only in later phases of acquisition, connections between L2 concepts and L2 lexicon strengthen and become direct	L1 words are accessed all the time to different degrees (the asymmetry is due to a higher activation level of L1 words on the basis of their frequency)

Table 1. Comparison between the Revised Hierarchical Model (Kroll 1994) and the BIA Model (Dijkstra et al. 1998).

2.3.4. The language mode concept

The previous models were integrated later on with the concept of *language mode* introduced by Grosjean (1985). The concept refers to the state of activation of a bilingual individual's languages and the mechanisms of the linguistic processes in a given time. This definition replaced the previous label of "*speech mode*", which did not include written language and sign languages (Grosjean 2008:38).

Bilingual communication is, in fact, characterised by a *continuum* of linguistic situations from an (almost) total monolingual state to a total bilingual one. According to Grosjean (2008), in the monolingual mode bilinguals deactivate one code, although never completely, whereas in the bilingual mode they chose a base language. At the same time, however, the other language is also activated and it can be retrieved when needed, by producing output as code-switches or borrowings. This may occur in the condition of conversing with other bilinguals/plurilinguals, when there is no specific language requirement, and interlocutors can choose one or the other language indifferently and can continuously switch from one to the other for various reasons, such as ease of expression, lack of a specific term, accommodation or willingness to facilitate interlocutors. In similar situations, a distinction is made between the *base* language in which most of the conversation takes place, and the *guest* language used for borrowing and code-switching (cf. Grosjean 2008). Grosjean states that the base language may change (inside a stable bilingual mode), or an individual may switch from bilingual to monolingual mode and viceversa by maintaining the same base language. Figure 2 provides a synthetic illustration of the concept of language mode.

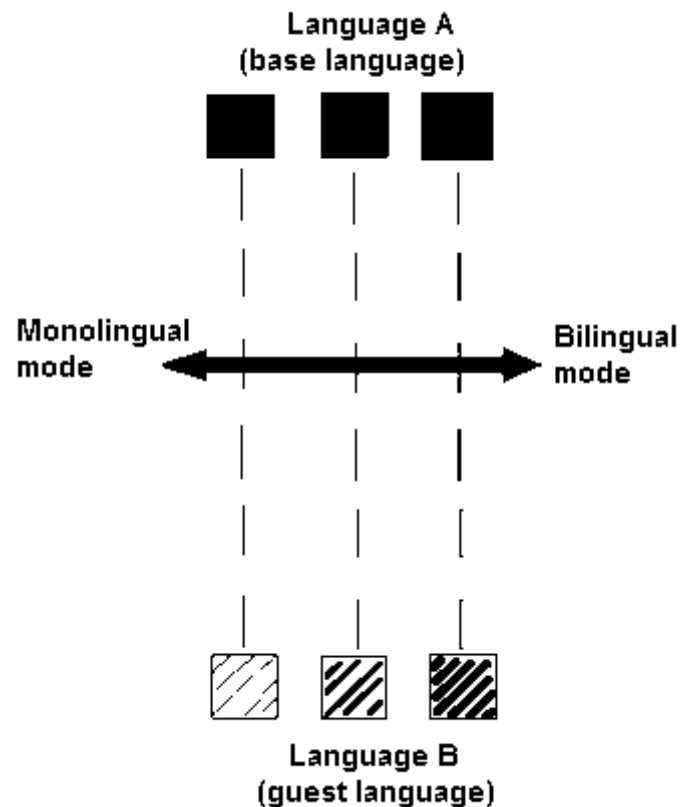


Figure 2. The *continuum* of the states of activation of languages (or language mode). Language B is highly used in the bilingual mode (the greater the thickness of the diagonal lines inside the squares the greater the use of language B), but, even if deactivated and temporarily inhibited, it can be recalled when needed (Grosjean, 2008: 40).

According to Grosjean (2001, 2008, 2013), code-switching differs from borrowing, which is a morpheme, word or phrase taken from the less activated code, and morphosyntactically and sometimes phonologically integrated in the forms of the base language as in the following example:

7) *Michelle a **crashé** la fenêtre.*

'Michella has broken the window.'

crashé is pronounced as a French word and it is morphologically adapted, thus it is a borrowing.

As it is often impossible to distinguish between borrowings and CS in short sentences, researchers must analyze long stretches of discourse and try to disambiguate the terms according to the context.

2.3.5. Visual vs. verbal stimulus

The grammatical tasks quoted in sections 2.3.1 and 2.3.2 were typically designed for adult informants or for people who generally have metalinguistic ability. But what about young children? Are they able to express similar grammatical judgements? The answer is generally yes, as children have an internal grammar (Chomsky 1995) which allows them both to pronounce sentences and express judgments on their well-formedness (even if the process of language acquisition still continues until puberty and adolescence) but here the main concern is attempting to set up tests which can elicit judgments in a more informal and suitable manner, correlated to children's age.

A possible technique is that of providing a visual stimulus (Nelson, Reed & McEvoy 1977), for instance, by means of *picture description tasks*, which have advantages over purely spontaneous tasks as they provide a standardized approach to language sampling (Cooper 1990), also allowing for performance comparison within and across groups (Mackenzie, Brady, Norrie, & Poedjianto 2007). The visual ability consists in the cognitive *identification* of a pictorial or photographic stimulus correctly (Zinkin 1968; Snodgrass & Vanderwart 1980), and in the associated ability to correctly name it (*encoding*) in one or more languages (Cermak & Craik 2014). It is considered a universal device and only one of the most basic abilities at young children's disposal, as it begins with the image, the appearance (Nelson & Brooks 1973), which is something considered superior to other kinds of stimuli. Psychologists define this condition a

picture superiority effect, which lies in the fact that: a) pictures *are dually encoded* (Paivio 1971, 1986), thus stimulating a representation of both verbal and image codes, whereas word stimuli only generate a verbal code; b) pictures are relatively *better distinct* from one another and their underlying *meaning is generally accessed more directly than words* and for this reason there is a higher possibility to retrieve them (*sensory semantic theory*, Nelson et al. 1976); c) pictures usually contain *more information* than voice/texts (Petrova 1999:742).

The presentation of a verbal stimulus, instead, is judged to be a further step in cognitive and linguistic abilities, as it also involves the processing of a sound and a different use of short term memory, where children are provided with direct acoustic stimuli and they are required to repeat a string of words or complete them: However, the status of precocious or later processing of meaning still remains controversial (Potter & Faulconer 1975).

Visual tasks can be submitted in their basic format (only the target stimulus provided) or in a more refined shape, where also a distractor is displayed, which young children are not required to name.

The tests in which the participants are free to take all the time they need to accomplish them are called *off-line studies* and they mostly concentrate on (explicit) metalinguistic and grammatical awareness, whereas *on-line researches* focus on the *time course of the participants' responses* and mostly investigate participants' implicit knowledge. For instance, in a verbal stimulus task, Rakowsky (1989) compared sentences where switching took place across phrase boundaries:

8) In the spring, *los árboles son verdes*.

9) In the spring, the *árboles* son green.

'In the spring, the trees are green.'

by displaying the whole sentence on screen, which disappeared when the fluent Spanish-English bilinguals “pressed a key to indicate their judgment of the sentence’s felicity”, as reported by Pérez-Leroux, O’ Rourke and Sunderman (in MacSwan 2014:294-295). Even if “the tested subjects had similar reaction times for switches at phrasal boundaries as for monolingual sentences, but slower reaction times for phrase-internal switches”, Pérez-Leroux, O’ Rourke and Sunderman (in MacSwan 2014:294-295) further object that “these results cannot evaluate online processing of specific switchpoints for two reasons. First, the phrase-internal switches involved at least two points of switching: the onset of the guest language and the return to the base language. Second, the whole sentence mode of presentation did not permit an online measuring delay at the specific moment of codeswitching”. This judgement suggest that a canonical off-line grammatical judgement task would have been preferable in this case.

2.4. The Lexicalist-Minimalist approach

A radical new approach to the study of CS is the neo-generativist/minimalist theoretical framework, which represents a quite strong departure from the earliest generative models. The concept of *poverty of the stimulus* (Chomsky 1980) highlights that the stimulus is too scarce and the acquisition too fast in children, so acquisition cannot be related to exposure alone. In the case of bilingual children, this concept can be reformulated as *Poverty of the Dual Stimulus* (Yip & Matthews 2007:30).

MacSwan (1999), one of the major scholars working in the field of the lexicalist minimalist approach on CS, based his minimalist theory on intrasentential code-switching on the minimalist framework (Chomsky 1995), where Language Faculty (LF) provides: (a) a set of features, valued or unvalued, (b) a set of principles for assembling

features into lexical items, and (c) a set of operations, namely Internal and External Merge.¹

The advantage of a fully lexicalized grammar, as Stabler and MacSwan (in MacSwan 2014:257) point out, is showing that “multilingualism should be a quite natural state, an idea that fits well with a conception according to which every adjustment in register or dialect for context is regarded as a kind of codeswitching, as is the use of various constructions by language learners who are entertaining several hypotheses about the language [...] without invoking any special mechanism to control the interaction among the languages”.

MacSwan and Colina (in MacSwan 2014:186) thus define a grammar *G* for a particular language *L*—that is, *G(L)*—as “a set of statements depicting exactly what properties *L* has, that is, what an individual has learned from a particular speech community, supplemented by innate principles”. As MacSwan (2014: 19) points out, Chomsky previously reformulated his original X⁰ Theory (Chomsky 1970) by:

effectively eliminating phrase structure grammar in favour of the view that structures are projected from lexical items. With a return to its derivational root, minimalist syntax reduced generation to the simplest possible form – free Merge (Chomsky 1995), building structures from the ground (the lexical string) up (the hierarchical phrase structure) based on the specifications of lexically encoded features [...] In the Minimalist Program (MP) there are two components of Grammar. *C_{HL}*, a computational system for human language, believed to be invariant across languages, and a lexicon, to which the idiosyncratic differences observed across languages are attributed. An operation called Select picks lexical items from the lexicon and introduces them into a Lexical Array (LA), a finite subset of the lexicon used to construct a derivation. Merge takes items from the LA and forms new, hierarchically arranged syntactic objects. Movement operations (Internal

¹ External Merge applies to two syntactic objects that have not been merged before; Internal Merge remerges a syntactic object that has already been merged in the derivation.

Merge) apply to syntactic objects formed by Merge to rearrange elements within a tree (Chomsky 1995, 2000). Phrase structure trees are thus built derivationally by the application of the operations Select and Merge, constrained by checking relationships established among lexically encoded features in the course of a derivation. Movements are driven by feature valuation and may be of two types. A head may undergo head movement and adjoin to another head, or a maximal projection may move to the specifier position of a head.

Figure 3 presents MacSwan’s (2014) reformulation of the minimalist theory to account for plurilingual lexicons, grammars and code-switching.

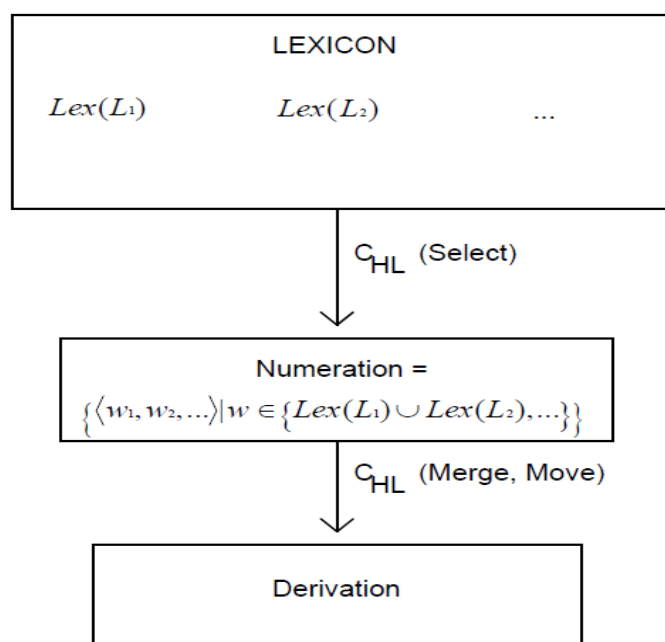


Figure 3. Code-switching in the minimalist framework. Taken from MacSwan 1999:179.

In this perspective, the properties attached to each word/lexeme are the crucial elements that determine the tree-structure building and, consequently, the more acceptable patterns of CS. MacSwan (2014:20) clarifies that “the relevant substructure is transferred to phonological and semantic components of the grammar with the result that each successive phase becomes inaccessible for further computation. The

phonological component maps the structure to Phonetic Form (PF) and the semantic component generates its Logical Form (LF)”.

In an extreme synthesis of Chomsky’s (1995) theory, given for instance, a verb, it can be basically transitive or intransitive and given a noun, it can have (or not) a grammatical gender and a number. The first step is constructing the phrasal structure to the right and left of the lexical unit; the second step is the tree-structure building; then, additional morphology (which can be monolingual or mixed/code-switched) is attached to the previously composed lexical forms.

Unlike this first version of the minimalist model, “where lexical items were placed in their base form and acquired morphological markings in the course of derivation (e.g. NP movement for Case Marking; verb movement for affixation), the innovation of the lexicalist model lies in the fact that lexical items are now selected from the lexicon fully endowed with their inflectional (or Case) features” (MacSwan 2014).²

As Paradis and Genesee (1997:100-101) explain, for instance:

if a language is one where the features are strong, the movement takes place before Spell-Out (overt movement), and if they are weak, the movement takes place at Logical Form (LF; covert movement). In English and French, N features in IP are strong, so subject DPs move to [Spec, IP] to check their features before Spell-Out. In contrast to subject raising, verb movement occurs at different stages in French and English syntax. In French, V features in IP are strong, so all finite verbs raise to IP to check these features before Spell-Out. In the case of auxiliary + participle constructions, the auxiliary raises to IP. In English, V features in IP are weak, thus main verbs do not raise before Spell-Out. However, the copula and auxiliaries *be* and *have* raise before Spell-Out. Chomsky (1992) suggested that they must move before LF because they are semantically vacuous.

² These features can be ϕ -features, Case features, and scopal feature, which must be checked or matched against the specifications on functional nodes (Toribio and González-Vilbazo in MacSwan 2014:105-106).

Another example of overt and covert movements can be seen in the Event Phrases (EP) with CS: Hita (in MacSwan 2014: 229) draws attention to the division of events into *telic* or *atelic* events. Telic events have an endpoint in time and that may therefore be accompanied by a prepositional phrase like “*in one day”, whereas atelic events do not have an endpoint in time. Telic events can be divided into accomplishments and achievements. Accomplishments have endpoints which can be measured along a scale, for example by adding the adverb *halfway*, while achievements have endpoints that cannot be measured along a scale. Nonevents or states [-eventive] may be either [+permanent] or [-permanent].

Among the functional categories are “determiners, complementizers, and auxiliary verbs, as well as other categories that do not necessarily have word-sized manifestations, such as *v*, tense or agreement features [...] In the Probe-Goal system, movement is separated from checking, and it is accomplished via a separate feature (Extended Projection Principle. EPP) on the Probe. The earlier distinction between strong and weak features, realized in terms of overt versus covert movement, can be expressed via the presence or absence of an EPP feature. An EPP feature on a head requires that the corresponding specifier be filled, and movement is one way to accomplish this” (Finer in MacSwan 2014:37-38).

The other semantic and phonetic features, collectively labelled as the G-features, must take place before Spell-Out, that is the point in the derivation where linguistic expressions are no longer subject to syntactic operations leading to the semantic interface, while they are subject to phonological operations leading to the phonetic interface.

MacSwan (2014: xv) very clearly expresses the basic conception of the grammar of CS by postulating that “a) nothing constraints code-switching apart from the requirements of the mixed grammars b) in the minimalist framework (Chomsky 1995a) lexically encoded parametric variation drives overt and covert movements under the direction of an invariant computational system (C_{HL}). MacSwan and Colina (in MacSwan 2014:187) effectively conclude that:

if an element e is a lexical item, then, in minimalist terms, it may be of two types: lexical, with substantive content, or functional, without substantive content. Each lexical item is a feature set, [...] namely:

- a. Categorical features (N, V, A, P, T, C, and other);
- b. Grammatical features (ϕ -features, and others relevant to syntactic derivations);
- c. Inherent semantic and syntactic features;
- d. A phonological feature matrix.

Given these premises, MacSwan (2014:2-3) comments on an example of CS taken from Belazi, Rubin and Toribio (1994):

10) The students *habían visto la película italiana*.

‘The students had seen the Italian movie.’

11) The students had *visto la película italiana*.

‘The students had seen the Italian movie.’

by stating that, “although the basic word-order requirements are the same here for both English and Spanish, b is judged to be ill formed. Regardless of what account we might

construct for the contrast, CS behaviour, like other linguistic behaviour, is constrained or rule governed.”

MacSwan (1999:179-180) states that CS “well-formedness depends on whether its features match, whether it is a monolingual or a bilingual expression. In addition, there is in principle no bound on the number of languages which may be mixed into a linguistic expression in this way”.

A previous model introduced by Belazi, Rubin and Toribio (1994) was the Functional Head Constraint, which postulated that a code switch may not occur between a functional head and its complement, given to “feature checking,” and to an additional language feature ([+Spanish] or [+English]) to be checked as well: if the features do not agree (a Spanish functional head with an English complement, or vice versa), then the code switch is blocked (MacSwan 1999:62-64), as already stated by Chomsky for monolingual constructions (1995a: 309. “Mismatch of features cancels the derivation”). Some researchers (MacSwan 1999) claimed that “considering language as a primitive in syntactic theory leads to an ordering paradox, because grammars are derivative in nature, not primitive constructs, since primitives are by definition part of universal grammar [...] But if we assume, for instance, [+English] to be a collection of formal features which define “English”, the ordering paradox disappears.

2.5. Other minimalist approaches and mixed approaches

As mentioned before, MacSwan ((2014:21) argued more deeply that:

the properties of morphophonology force bilinguals to separately encapsulate distinct lexicons. We therefore face two alternatives: (a) there is a single lexicon, and each lexical item is marked for a specific set of phonological and morphological rules that yield the appearance of one language or

another, or (b) the lexical items in a bilingual's repertoire are mentally compartmentalized in some way, with a specific set of phonological and morphological operations associated with each subset of lexical items. The second alternative appears more economical, since the morphophonology is associated with sets of elements rather than with individual members, and may be applied to novel items by monolinguals and bilinguals alike. Furthermore, the ban on mixing morphophonological systems has consequences for the syntax of CS, as it extends to head movement contexts, barring language switching in word-like units generally, including complex heads. The relevant condition is known as the PF Interface Condition. Conditions on well-formedness determine which derivations and derived objects are licit and interpretable at the interface levels, namely if a representation satisfies Full Interpretation, otherwise it crashes (PFIC, MacSwan 2009, 2013).

MacSwan's formulation especially fits plurilingual CS, provided that the original source of constraints on CS cannot be the original languages themselves (Spanish, Italian, English, Chinese for instance), given the complexity of the contact between multiple codes, but the lexical properties of a single item or class of lexical expressions *L*, as codified by a given grammar *G*. A third grammar for CS competence and performance is not necessary (Pfaff 1979:314). Poplack and Sankoff (1981:21) already assumed that the same principle as "the rules used to construct sentential constituents may be drawn at times from one monolingual grammar and at times from another". Clyne (2000:279) agreed with their statement: CS follows the same limitations found in monolingual conversations MacSwan (2014:4-5).

An approach similar to that of MacSwan is the Government Constraint proposed by Di Sciullo, Muysken and Singh (1986), which can be defined as a constraint-free approach, given that it supposes that CS is one of the various cases of actual language, and the language of a head determines the syntax of its maximal projection: two categories must belong to the same language if the government relation holds between

them. The constraint-free approach “is similarly not a particular theory about CS but a program for CS research. It gives rise to particular theories or proposals, each formulated with a commitment to tolerate no CS-specific device” (MacSwan 2014:25).

Muysken (2000) proposes another minimalist approach on CS, defined as *code-mixing*, thus using a slightly different terminology than that found in most literature on CS. This re-definition could cause both theoretical and methodological biases and misunderstandings among various scholars, being basically inappropriate.

Furthermore, Muysken’s (2000:4) claim that:

the distinction I make here between alternation and insertion corresponds to Auer’s distinction between code-switching and transfer (1995: 126). Some authors have used the term switching for language interaction between clauses, and ‘mixing’ for intra-clausal phenomena. This distinction [...] does not coincide with mine, since in my framework alternation often takes place within the clause as well.

This is not supported by numerous theoretical and research papers and it is also contradicted by a number of recent works (MacSwan 1999, 2014 among others), which also label the intrasentential alternations as code-switches.

However, Muysken later on (2000:16) quotes Nishimura’s (1986:126) statement that methodological as well as terminological differences among researches can be due to the language combinations studied: for instance, “typologically similar languages such as Spanish or German and English [push researchers] to adopt symmetrical models (involving alternation or congruent lexicalization)”, while “working on typologically dissimilar language pairs such as Marathi or Swahili and English [pushes them] to adopt asymmetrical, insertional, models”.

The basic assumption of Muysken's (2000:3) theory is the distinction between *insertion*, *alternation* and *congruent lexicalization*. Insertion is defined as the embedding of material (lexical items or entire constituents) from one language into a structure from the other language (hence similar to the concept of borrowing), while alternation between grammatical and lexical structures which occurs "between utterances in a turn or between turns" (Muysken 2000:5) resembles the definition of code-switching. The last phenomenon is probably the most important contribution made by Muysken to the theory of CS, even if its basic notions are questionable and not verified in many language combinations: the congruent lexicalization, in fact, consists of material taken from different lexical inventories and inserted into a shared grammatical structure as shown in the following examples:

12) *Weet jij [whaar] Jenny is?*

'Do you know where Jenny is?'

"*Whaar Jenny is*" could be English or Dutch, as "where" is close to Dutch *waar*, "*Jenny*" is a name in both languages, and *is* is homophonous. In this perspective, congruent lexicalization is akin to style or register shifting and monolingual linguistic variation" (Muysken 2000:5, 7).

Toribio (2001, 2004) tried to reconcile sociolinguistic factors with the minimalist framework and developed a theory of code-switching competence, modeled on her experience of Spanish-English code-switching. Part of her work is consistent with Woolford (1983, cited in Toribio et al. 2014), who proposes a generative model for English-Spanish bilingual codeswitching where:

the two component grammars of the bilingual remain separate, just as they do in monolingual speech, but when a bilingual generates a codeswitched utterance, each grammar contributes part of the sentence, thus [...] precluding word-internal switching, and both lexicons have access to terminal nodes in syntactic constructions common to both English and Spanish. In contrast, whenever a phrase structure rule unique to one language is used to expand a node, the terminal positions must be filled from the lexicon of that language, predicting the ill-formedness of codeswitching where the phrase structure of English and Spanish differ (e.g., as with the placement of attributive adjectives and clitic pronouns).

Bandi-Rao and Den Dikken (in MacSwan 2014:164) present a type of code-switch, the “*light switch*”, characterized by the addition of the particle *-ify*, which is called upon to avoid a collision between the Telugu verb and the English Infl. These kinds of alternations are called switches made at the “light v” stage, for inflectional purposes.

A category of CS that can certainly be classified as completely ill-formed, in accordance with Bandi-Rao & Den Dikken (in MacSwan 2014:172) is switching within phonological words that are morphosyntactic heads (X^0 s).

With regards to sentence prosody, MacSwan (1999:266-267) found that paused CS or CS with the copula contraction (“He’s”, for instance) are more accepted than unpaused and uncontracted CS.

A mixed post-generative and socio-cultural approach can be recognised in Mahootian (1996), who proposed a Head-Complement Principle in CS, which states that the language of a head determines the syntactic properties of its complements in both CS and monolingual contexts. In a previous (1993) work on a corpus of Farsi-English CS recorded in naturalistic observations, Mahootian proposed the Null Theory of CS within the theoretical background of Tree Adjoining Grammars (TAGS, introduced by Joshi 1985). This is slightly different from the canonical generative

grammar in that the lexical items encode partial tree structures, as lexical units are represented in the lexicon along with their projection (the complement branching direction is lexical specified).

3. Bilingualism and code-switching in childhood

Most studies have concentrated on adult CS phenomena, but CS also does occur in young children and it has peculiar properties. CS may, in fact, be a reflexion in output of examples provided by parental input, or it can be due to personal strategies performed by children or even to cases of incomplete language acquisition.

Other important variables connected to CS in bilingual children are the typology of family backgrounds, the educational methods and the children's inner characteristics.

As an in-depth analysis on this issue is of crucial importance, Section 3.1 presents the main typologies (profiles) of bilingual children (Houwer 2009), which determine different results in their CS practice; sections 3.2 and 3.3 consider the topic of parental input and related educational strategies which are intended to target a particular child's output (monolingual or bi-/plurilingual); finally, section 3.4 addresses the question of CS practice when it is not a high-competence device, but rather a symptom of incomplete acquisition or of rising attrition.

3.1. Bilingual children profiles

Recent studies have re-considered the theoretical categories and the basic terminology related to child bilingualism. Houwer (2009:2) defines *Bilingual First Language Acquisition* (BFLA) as the language acquisition in children exposed to two languages from birth. A distinction can be made between *early simultaneous bilinguals*,

where exposure to both languages occurs by the age of 2, and *early successive bilingual* with an exposure between the age of 2 and 4 (Meisel 2008). Another important distinction is between *late successive (or consecutive)* bilinguals with a native-like exposure from the age of 4 to usually the age of 7, and the so-called *child L2 learners (L2ers)* who are “non-native acquirers whose initial exposure to the target language is between the ages of 4 and 7” (Unsworth 2005: 7), or as early as age 3 (McLaughlin 1987; Lakshmanan 1995; Schwartz 2004; Meisel 2008; Lakshmanan 2009). Meisel (2008) places a stricter upper limit on Child L2 Acquisition, arguing that Adult L2 Acquisition begins at age eight.

Another category of bilingual children refers to the Specific Language Impaired (SLI) Children, who exhibit particular areas of linguistic deficit if compared to the Typically Developing Children (TDC), like different patterns of omission vs. commission errors, but they have not as so heavy disfluencies as aphasic or other children with specific pathologies.

Paradis (2004) classifies bilingual children according to their proficiency by identifying *balanced* bilinguals (children who speak both languages with equal proficiency, irrespective of degree of mastery) and *dominant* bilinguals (who speak one language better than the other due to context of acquisition, e.g. input).

Haznedar and Gavrusseva (2013:338) suppose that “this more fine-grained distinction [in bilingual children’s profiles] is suggested by findings that point to some interesting differences between early and late child L2 acquirers in error profiles (L1 transfer errors, in particular), degree of L1 influence, ultimate attainment and likelihood of fossilization (an L2 endstate that is non-convergent with that of native speakers in one or more particular domains) (Lardiere 2013:685).

In L1 acquisition, Universal Grammar (UG) is assumed to be the initial state of the child's knowledge of language (Chomsky 1981). In L2 acquisition, some scholars argue that the L2 learner is assumed to start off with UG and L1 grammatical representations, either *in toto* (Schwartz and Sprouse 1996) or in part (Vainikka and Young-Scholten 1994, 1996, 1998); other scholars claim that the initial interlanguage state is not a particular grammar but rather UG itself (e.g. Platzack 1996; Epstein, Flynn & Martohardjono 1996, 1998).

Code-switching in bilingual children is also linked to the principles of Mutual Exclusivity (ME) and to the Theory of Mind (TM). In monolingual children, in fact, the acquisition of new words is thought to be directed by ME or the assumption that new words tend to refer to new referents (Markman, Wachsler 1988), while bilingual children's acquisition of translation equivalents³ would seem to violate the ME. A more recent study (Byers-Heinein and Werker 2009) seems to show that while monolingual children show ME effects, bilingual children demonstrated a weaker reliance on ME and trilinguals did not use ME at all.

These results suggest that bilingual children have to acquire the ability to apply ME only within-language, but suspend it between languages and thus allowing also CS⁴.

Kovacs (2009:3) suggests that "bilinguals' experience with differing mental contents in language switch situations may give them an advantage in solving TM problems. [...] Particularly, crib bilinguals could show an advantage on ToM tasks due to their precociously developed inhibitory and selection processes, since these also appear important for false-belief inferences. Indeed, there is growing evidence that inhibitory

³ Words in each language that have the same referential meaning.

⁴ That, in turn, allows the possibility of terms in different languages inside the same conversation, and not only in the time course of language development and acquisition.

control is more efficient in bilingual adults (Bialystok, Craik, Klein & Viswanathan, 2004; Costa, Hernández & Sebastián-Gallés, 2008), and in preschool aged bilingual children (Bialystok, 1999)’’.

3.2. Parental input: educational strategies and children’s output

Lanza (2004:268) described five major strategies that parents/educators use when dealing with their children’s CS, namely:

- 1) *Minimal Grasp Strategy*: the parent explicitly expresses lack of comprehension of the utterance (*‘What did you say?’*);
- 2) *Expressed Guess strategy*: the parent reformulates the child’s utterance by guessing what s/he wants (*‘Is that what you mean?’*);
- 3) *Repetition*: the parent/educator reformulates the mixed utterance only in one language without CS;
- 4) *Move on*: the parent/educator continues the interaction without signalling/flagging that the child is switching;
- 5) *Code-switching*: the parent/educator changes the language of interaction by following the language introduced by the child’s CS.

Several studies directly observed CS and possess a high ecological and qualitative validity, but there is a strong need to reduce their inevitable reporting biases. Also quantitative research has been carried out: Nicoladis and Secco (2000), for instance, reported a case study of a bilingual family, where 10% of the father’s utterances and 2% of the mother’s utterances were mixed. Tare and Gelman (2011) investigated parent-

children English-Marathi conversation, observing about 20% of parental mixed utterances. Byers-Heinlein (2012:7-8) thus suggests that it is almost certain that a consistent part of parental input that children receive is code-switched. She believes that bilingual infants are able to discriminate between *sentences* from different languages, but she also judges single-word switching and switching below the sentential level, as well as high level of parental mixing, as a potential obstacle to children's future skills in separating the two languages.

Paradis and Genesee (1996: 2, 4, 18-19) provide examples of code-switching in French-English bilingual children, believing that judging code-mixing as a measure of a Unitary Language System is questionable; the authors further conclude that "the presence or absence of code-mixing in a bilingual's speech is governed by pragmatic or sociolinguistic competence, which should be distinguished from grammatical competence (De Houwer 1990; Meisel 1989,1994; Nicoladis 1994). This is, however, opposed by a number of studies (MacSwan 1999; Toribio 2001), which demonstrate that it is also possible to talk about a CS grammatical competence (cf. Paradis & Genesee 1996) for asymmetrical code-mixing at the level of pronominal subjects in English and French).

3.3. The role of input and educational method

It is widely acknowledged that bilingual children typically receive less input than monolinguals in each language, and that input can be more or less balanced.

Unsworth (2013:11) underlines that not only the amount of input and output is important, but its richness is also essential, namely, contact with native speakers, as well

as with near/non-native speakers and the presence of additional sources or media such as TV, radio and the Internet.

The traditional index of input, measured by subtracting the length of exposure from the chronological age has been revised by Unsworth et al. (2011), who proposes the new *cumulative index*, which includes *past and current exposure coupled with exposure type*. In minority contexts it is not only sufficient that both parents speak the minority language to their children (Portes & Hao 1998); other studies (Baker & Jones 1998) have shown that single parents using both languages were able to raise active bilingual children.

In the past, parents in bilingual settings had often been advised to use a *one person–one language* input condition, but the results of several studies (De Houwer 1995; Yamamoto, 2001; King & Fogle, 2006) show that this approach appears to be neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition. Instead, the principle of maximal engagement with the minority language (Yamamoto 2001:128) that is, the more the input in the minority language the more the minority language will be used by children, is a better explanation.

3.4. Code-switching in case of incomplete acquisition, attrition and ultimate attainment

Code-switching occurs also in heritage speakers, namely, individuals who emigrated in early childhood with their parents and other family members, or children of immigrants. Given their typical linguistic profile and the grammatical properties of the weaker language, it is important to define “incomplete” L1 acquisition and attrition first. Both are “processes and outcomes of language loss at the individual level rather

than at the society or group level” (Thomason 2001). Montrul (2013: 355-357, 367) intends to put the stress on an acquisition perspective, whereby:

incomplete acquisition implies that some grammatical aspect of the language did not reach age-appropriate levels when the bilingual child was still in the process of acquiring the family language, since adults are assumed to have reached their full linguistic development [...] Attrition, on the other hand, implies that a given property of the language reaches a stable endpoint of acquisition at a given age, but is subsequently lost, again due to reduced exposure to speakers of the language or written text in the language after the onset of schooling in the majority language. Minority language speakers receive early input at home in a naturalistic setting, but exposure to optimal input and uses of the language gradually decrease after a certain age in childhood [...], usually at the time of schooling, especially if education is delivered exclusively in the majority language.

Lardiere (2013: 670-671) develops this issue further by examining the *endstate* grammatical knowledge, or *ultimate attainment*, or *steady state* (Chomsky 1986), or *asymptote* (Birdsong 2009b) or *stable state* (Eubank and Gregg 1999) of adult second language learners. Ultimate attainment in any given domain in a second language may be nativelike or not. Unlike L1 ultimate attainment, which is widely presumed under normal circumstances to be eventually successful, there is no presumption of success or failure inherent in the term when used for L2 acquisition. Sorace (2011) suggests that advanced L2 learners, native bilinguals and L2 speakers undergoing L1 attrition should be unified and included under the more general label of “bilinguals”.

However, Lardiere (2013:670) also states that “the level of knowledge at a stabilized endpoint of development should be specified broadly (such as knowledge of the L2 phonology, morphology, syntax, etc.), or more narrowly (such as knowledge of final

obstruent devoicing or past-tense marking or restrictions on *wh*-movement)", by excluding "certain domains for which it would be strange or inappropriate to speak of ultimate attainment, such as the learning of new lexical items and idioms, which is ongoing throughout one's lifetime in both native and non-native languages" (Lardiere 2013:670). According to Birdsong (2009b: 401) and Sorace (2003), linguistic systems are dynamic because there is an ongoing process of mutual influence between L1 and L2. Schwartz (2014:121) proposes that child L2 acquisition is similar to adult L2 acquisition in the domain of syntax, but similar to L1 acquisition in the domain of inflectional morphology.

The second pattern deals with the use of structural case on subjects of predicates realized as bare (uninflected) lexical verbs in main clauses. In L1A research, uninflected predicates (in Wexler's 1994 terms, *optional infinitives*) were shown to exhibit a number of unique properties such as co-occurrence with null and non-nominative subjects (e.g. *Me eat this* = "I ate this" or \emptyset *fighting* = "He is fighting"). In the studies of child L2 English, the use of bare lexical predicates is widely reported (Gavruseva and Lardiere 1996; Armon-Lotem 1998; Kakazu and Lakshmanan 2000; Haznedar 2001; Mobaraki *et al.* 2008) with some divergent findings about the case forms of subjects. In Gavruseva and Lardiere (1996), Haznedar and Schwartz (1997) and Kakazu and Lakshmanan (2000), Haznedar (2001), an L1-Russian 8-year-old, an L1-Turkish 4-year-old and an L1-Japanese 5-year-old consistently produced nominative subjects with uninflected predicates (e.g. *He eating* = "He is eating"). To account for this prominent child L1/child L2 difference, transfer of the tense feature from the respective L1s was proposed (in the generative framework, T0 is assumed to check the structural case (Haznedar and Gavruseva 2013:343).

II - METHOD

1. Positive and negative aspects of the four main approaches on CS analysis

Each of the four approaches to plurilingual code-switching previously described have peculiar aspects, which may lead to positive and negative outcomes when it comes to data analysis.

The positive aspects of the sociolinguistic approach are the recognition of the importance of power dynamics between ethnolinguistic groups, which are reflected in different conversational *out-group* strategies according to the status of dominant or official or prestigious language, which can be identified in different CS patterns (intersentential, intrasentential). In addition, this approach focuses mostly on the speech community as a defined entity of analysis, even if its components may have personal characteristics (SES⁵, age, education, sex). From the perspective of CS analysis, scholars adopting this framework try to set up CS linguistic/structural constraints, very often depending on the languages in contact taken as a whole uniform system (e.g. patterns of Spanish-English code-switching have peculiar characteristics, which differ significantly from patterns of German-Italian code-switching). In general, the collection of corpora of actual conversations and the prevalence of naturalistic observation lead to a descriptive adequacy of the findings presented within this framework. This approach also takes speakers' self-perception, acceptability and attitudes and generally the allowed judgements into account so that the associated data analysis are based on multi-valued scales, reflecting societal variation.

⁵ Socioeconomic status.

On the other hand, the negative aspects can be traced in the absence of explicit models of plurilingual CS, as most models are developed just for bilingual CS. Moreover, there is an evident lack of attention to the language mode and issue of lexical access and many other speaker-specific variables, usually testable in specific experiments: this situation may push towards an excessive generalisation of findings which, by their nature, are not generalizable, provided the great and, in certain case, extreme variability within and between groups.

The psycholinguistic approach has other advantages, such as placing focus on the individual rather than on the social, which may allow researchers to conduct deeper analysis of code-switched conversations, taking into consideration also factors like motivation, anxiety, self-perception, competence, language mode. This analysis usually involves laboratory experiments, where participants or researchers can use fine-grained scales respectively for responses or analyses. Furthermore, this approach is able to provide an explanatory adequacy, and its findings on plurilingual CS can be checked and re-tested by other researchers. Negative aspects of the psycholinguistic approach are the scarce consideration of social dynamics, in particular the power dynamics between groups, the official vs. non-official status of varieties and the various speech communities.

On the other hand, the structural-grammatical approach takes inner variables into some consideration, but it is mostly rooted in actual corpora data with the scope of formulating linguistic constraints on CS, that is “rules” strongly depending on the language combinations and associated structures, similarly to the sociolinguistic approach. Even if some models (e.g. Myers-Scotton 1993) are also supported by social variables, generally the negative aspects are found in the lack of interest in the speech

community, in speakers' self-perception and attitudes, and a related lack of interest in the official and social status of varieties in contact. Moreover, the very little attention paid to building up formal experiments which consider variables such as lexical access and language modes and the excessive weight of dichotomic analysis, involve a mere descriptive adequacy of findings obtained by this approach.

The new lexical-minimalist approach has the great advantage of formulating lexical-specific constraints on CS, thus freeing the researchers from the need to seek specific language combinations rules and allowing them to potentially set up a CS theory in which there is in principle no limitation to the languages in contact. A related positive aspect is that this Universal lexicalised grammar is a mere collection of general principles⁶ and specific parameters⁷, valued or not plus a set of formal operations⁸. This precise formalism generates both descriptive and explanatory adequacy. Data are collected via a number of ways (naturalistic observation, existing corpora, tests/experiments), usually with multi-valued judgements and analyses, especially in the Optimality Theory. The negative aspects of this lexical approach lie in the lack of interest in the language mode and in more social variables like power dynamics between groups, the consideration of a speech community as a higher entity related to the individual speaker and to several inner factors.

Given these positive and negative aspects, the model proposed by Plastina-Selvaggi (2016 forthcoming and outlined in Section 4, paragraph 3) attempts to reconcile positive features of each approach in a new integrated theory of plurilingual CS.

⁶ A sentence must have necessarily one argument, generally a verb, for instance.

⁷ For instance, in Italian the pro-drop parameter related to the subject personal pronouns may be valued or not, by using an overt or null subject pronoun, while in English it must be always valued with an overt pronoun (Sorace 2006).

⁸ Merge and Move, basically (Chomsky 1995, MacSwan 1999, 2014).

In our analysis, in fact, we do consider sociolinguistic variables (SES, education, speech communities, power relations between ethnolinguistic groups and status of the codes in contact), but also focus on psycholinguistic factors (language mode, lexical access). We mostly concentrate on self-perception, attitudes and acceptability judgements provided by speakers, and data are collected via formal (experiments) and informal ways (interviews, naturalistic observations of CS conversation). When it comes to data analysis of CS stretches of utterances, we adopt MacSwan’s (1999, 2014) lexicalist-minimalist model, as our interest in plurilingual CS implies the formulation of lexical-driven patterns on CS rather than language-specific ones. As this new model has been tested on different communities with both formal and informal instruments, it intends to target an explanatory adequacy in addition to the descriptive adequacy. Table 2 summarises the basic properties of each theoretical framework previously discussed and those of the Plastina-Selvaggi (2016) model. In detail, the symbol “+” means that there is a presence of the factor in a certain approach, “++” means that there is a prevalence of a factor, “-” indicates that a factor is rare within the approach and “- -” means that the consideration of a factor is absent in the theoretical framework.

	S. A.	P. A.	S.-G. A.	L.-M. A.	S-P. M.
Theoretical models of plurilingual CS	-	-	-	+	++
Power dynamics between linguistic groups	+	-	- *	- -	+
Inner variables (motivation, anxiety, cognitive and neural basis of language learning/acquisition/processing/retrieval)	-	++	+	-	+
Speakers’ socioeconomic status (SES)	+	+	-	-	+
Speakers’ age	+	+	-	-	+
Speakers’ sex	+	+	-	-	-

Speakers' education	+	+	-	-	+
Language mode	-	++	-	-	+
Lexical access	-	++	-	-	+
Linguistic-structural constraints on CS	++	+	++	--	-
Universal Grammar and Lexicalised grammar principles and parameters on CS	--	-	-	++	++
Descriptive adequacy	++	+	++	+	+
Explanatory adequacy	-	+	-	+	++
Consideration of speakers' self-perception	+	+	-	+	++
Consideration of speech community	++	-	-*	-	+
Consideration of linguistic attitudes	+	++	-	+	++
Consideration of the issue of acceptability	+	++	+	++	++
Binary options in the speakers' linguistic judgments	-	-	++	-	1) -
Multi-valued scales in speakers' linguistic judgements	++	++	-	+	++
Reliance on actual corpora data	++	-	++	+	+
Reliance on naturalistic observation	++	-	+	+	+
Reliance on experiments and tests	-	++	-	+	+
Consideration of the official status and social prestige of languages in contact	+	-	-	-	+

Table 2. Factors taken into account in the sociolinguistic, psycholinguistic, structural-grammatical, lexicalist-minimalist and in the Plastina-Selvaggi (2016) model.

Key:

- S. A. = Sociolinguistic approach
- P. A. = Psycholinguistic approach
- S.-G. A. = Structural-Grammatical approach
- L.-M. A. = Lexicalist-minimalist approach
- P-S M. = Plastina-Selvaggi model

*MLFM (Myers-Scotton 1993) takes also power dynamics social factors into account.

2. Adopting non-polarised judgement/evaluation scales

It is well known that CS is strongly connected with the issue of individual and social variation which also occurs in monolingualism (registers and style shifts). Neat

judgements on the allowed and disallowed CS⁹ are thus pure abstractions, which do not have a concrete feedback in reality. For this reason, more attention should be paid to more used/accepted patterns, rather than to the “classical” issue of identifying grammatical or possible code-switches.

Speakers’ judgments, in fact, may be quite different if these informants live in a plurilingual community or have a monolingual background. Moreover, also education, SES and family background¹⁰ may push some speakers to rate certain categories of CS as completely ungrammatical, while to other ones the same categories may appear truly grammatical.

Together, all these variables may lead to significantly different outcomes and responses within and across groups. In addition, polarized judgments do not provide information on CS, particularly if these judgements are extremely variable within a group.

Thus, it is really important to set up tests with fine-graded scales, which put specific emphasis both on one’s own production (*output*) and on the evaluation of other’s utterances (*input*). In these tests, participants must fully understand the task(s) they are required to perform. As researchers need to implement in-depth analyses, a five-graded scale (Ambridge et al. 2008) is probably the best compromise between these demands. A three-graded scale would be the simplest form¹¹, whereas a seven-graded scale would provide the most accurate analyses.

In Tables 3 and 4, the position on the code-switched input/output may have five implications:

⁹ Namely, CS which speakers judge to be possible/grammatical/acceptable vs impossible/ungrammatical/inacceptable.

¹⁰ Living with monolingual parents and relatives or with bi-plurilingual parents or relatives.

¹¹ By excluding the binary scales.

1. a neat exclusion of the possibility of this code-switched form (*never heard/said and impossible*):
2. a mere recognition of its possibility (*maybe there is, but I never heard/said this mixed form*)
3. its identification in natural conversations (*I know there is because I have heard/said it sometimes*);
4. its frequent recognition in actual interactions (I know there is because I have heard/said it often);
5. its complete acceptability (I hear it/say it almost every day)

Option	Assigned value and related judgement
Never heard and impossible	0 (impossible, ungrammatical, unacceptable)
Never heard but possible	0,25 (controversial)
Heard a few times and quite strange	0,5 (grammatical and possible, but unusual)
Heard often and usual	0,75 (mostly acceptable)
Heard almost every day	1 (totally possible, grammatical and acceptable)

Table 3. Position on code-switched input.

Option	Assigned value and related judgement
Never said and impossible	0 (impossible, ungrammatical, unacceptable)
Never said but possible	0,25 (controversial)
Said a few times and quite strange	0,5 (grammatical and possible, but unusual)
Said often and usual	0,75 (mostly acceptable)
Said almost every day	1 (totally possible, grammatical and acceptable)

Table 4. Position on code-switched output.

3. Testing the model for comparative analyses

In order to test the Plastina-Selvaggi model, partly influenced by the issue of gradience¹² (Sorace ad Keller 2005), proposed in this work, in a variety of contexts, a

¹² Gradience is a concept borrowed from statistics, which implies that a given category allows a

common code has been chosen to allow us to perform comparative analysis. The rationale behind this choice lies in individuating common linguistic and methodologies properties. In fact, previous works were not comparable, given the excessive dissimilarity in both the analysed language pairs/combinations and methods/instruments used.

Therefore, the decision was to focus on standard Italian as a common language in contact with other nine varieties (Arbëreshë, Calabrese, Spanish, Occitan, Philipino, English, Istrovenetian, Croatian, Čakavski) in three different geographical and sociolinguistic areas (the Calabrese region of Italy, the Istra region in Croatia and Scotland in the United Kingdom). Even if some of these languages are spoken in very distant areas, all ten codes show a relative homogeneity in their properties.

First, they all have the basic Subject-Object-Verb syntactic order (even if in Philipino V-S-O sometimes prevails), and their morphology is flexive. Second, in terms of language genealogy, five codes (Italian, Calabrese, Spanish, Occitan and Istrovenetian) are Romance languages, two codes (Croatian and Čakavski) are Neo-Slavic languages, while one code (English) is a Germanic Language, one code (Philipino) is an Austronesian language and another code (Arbëreshë) has a controversial genealogy, but most scholars trace it to the Illyric group.

continuum of values across a scale. In their Gradience in Linguistic Data Hypothesis, Sorace and Keller (2005) hypothesise that “linguistic constraints come in two types: hard constraints whose violations trigger strong unacceptability, and soft constraints that lead to only mild unacceptability”. Sorace and Keller (2005:2) further highlight that “both minimalism and Optimality theory are incompatible with their gradience theory as these frameworks reject suboptimal candidates”. Correlated to the issue of gradience, the Magnitude Estimation procedure for linguistic acceptability is similar to the standard procedure used to elicit judgments for physical stimuli. Subjects are first exposed to a modulus item, to which they assign an arbitrary number, and then all other stimuli are rated proportional to the modulus, i.e., if a sentence is three times as acceptable as the modulus, it gets three times the modulus number, etc.

Even if Sorace and Keller (2005:5) recognise that there is still a lack of objective measurements of acceptability to compare linguistic judgments against, they conclude that “the validity of linguistic ME can be established by showing that ME data are consistent when elicited cross-modally: two groups of subjects judge the same stimuli in two different modalities and the correlation of the resulting data sets is determined”.

All the varieties (except English) share the valued pro-drop parameter (personal subject pronouns may be pronounced or not) and the presence of a grammatical gender (morphologically marked). In particular, 9 varieties possess masculine and feminine grammatical gender, whereas Arbëreshë, Croatian and Čakavski also include neuter gender in their grammars.

Italian, Occitan, Calabrese, Spanish, Istrovenetian and English have lost morphologically marked cases, while Arbëreshë, Philipino, Croatian and Čakavski still retain cases (a heritage of Old Indo-European and of some European linguistic families now).

Only English exhibits the “Wh- phrases” inversion and English again does not have a transparent writing system (usually, graphemes do not correspond to phonemes), while in the remaining nine varieties graphemes mostly correspond to phonemes.

Finally, two general common proprieties shared by all ten varieties are the possibility of constructing topicalised (*‘Sempre io vado al cinema’*, *‘It is Dan who spoke to Laura’*) and right-dislocated phrases (*‘Amanda è la donna che amo’*, *The man I love is Dan*). Table 5 summarises these features.

	Italian	Arbëreshë	Occitan	Calabrese	Spanish	Philipino	Istrovenetian	Croatian	Čakavski	English
Pro-drop parameter	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-
Grammatical gender	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
Masculine grammatical gender	+	+	++	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
Feminine grammatical gender	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
Neuter gender	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-
Morphologically marked Cases	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-

Wh- phases inversion	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
Transparency of the written modality (graphemes mostly correspond to phonemes)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
Allowed topicalization	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Allowed Right dislocation	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Table 5. Major properties of the ten varieties analysed in the study.

4. Data collection and analysis: materials, instruments and procedure

In addition to the theoretical and methodological issues outlined in sections 2.1-2.3, it is important to stress that the study adopts both qualitative and quantitative methods. Table 6 provides a general overview of the methods, materials and tools employed in each case study. Further details are discussed in the single sections devoted to the studies and shown in the Appendices.

	Case study 1: Calabrese minorities				Case study 2: Italoophone minority of Istra (Croatia)	Case study 3: Italian-English bilingual children (Scotland)
	Arbëreshës	Latino-Americans	Occitans	Phil.	Italians and “mixed” families	Italians and “mixed” families
Data analysis	Quantitative	Quantitative	Qualitative	Qual./Quant.	Qualitative and Quantitative	Qualitative and Quantitative
Materials	Questionnaire	Socio-pragmatic test	Open interviews	Questionnaire	Open interviews and recording of actual conversations for lexical access analysis	Face-to-face parental questionnaire, smileys/flag test and picture description task for children
N° of informants	68	18	16	40	54	17
Period	January - March 2013	April - June 2013	July - September 2014	Oct. 2014 - Jan. 2015	October 2013 - April 2014	February 2015 - May 2015

Table 6. Overview of the case-studies and related methods and tools employed.

Here, it is worth pointing out that the first case study was the most articulated as it investigated the historical and new Calabrese minorities of Arbëreshës, Latino-American Students, Occitans and Philipinos as follows:

- a) 68 Arbëreshës were submitted an online and printed questionnaire on Italian-Calabrese-Arbëreshë CS (see Section 3, Case study 1, Chapter 1 on results and Appendix 1) and data was subjected to quantitative analysis;
- b) 18 Latino-American students enrolled in Bachelor and Master Degrees at the University of Calabria were involved in a socio-pragmatic test published on the Internet on the perception of implicatures in CS utterances (see Section 3, Case study 1, Chapter 2 on results and Appendix 2). Data were analysed quantitatively;
- c) 16 Occitans in the town of Guardia Piemontese (Cosenza) were interviewed on Italian-Occitan-Calabrese code-switching (see Section 3, Case study 1, Chapter 3 on results and Appendix 3). Interviews were recorded, transcribed and analysed qualitatively;
- d) 40 Philipinos residing in Cosenza were administered a questionnaire on self-perception of plurilingual competence, linguistic attitudes and code-switching acceptability (see Section 3, Case study 1, Chapter 4 on results and Appendix 4) followed by qualitative and quantitative data analysis.

The second case study concentrated, instead, on the Italophone minority of the Istra region of Croatia belonging to both “mono-ethnolinguistic” and “mixed” Italo-Croatian families. Overall, 54 informants were met in several towns and villages (Pula, Bale, Vodjnan, Buje among the various ones) and they were both interviewed on CS attitudes

and acceptability, and tested on their lexical access in spontaneous conversations. Interviews (see Section 3, Case study 2, Chapter 1 and Appendices 5-6) were recorded, transcribed and analysed qualitatively, while the actual conversation were recorded, transcribed, tagged and analysed both qualitatively and quantitatively.

The third and last case study focused on Italian-English bilingual children in Scotland in both families with Italian parents and “mixed” Italo-Scottish Families. Parents whose children participated in the study were interviewed using the Utrecht Bilingual Language Exposure Calculator questionnaire (UBiLEC) (Unsworth 2013) to provide detailed information about their children’s language input/exposure. 15 children performed off-line smileys/flags tests on code-switched dialogues recorded in 16 cartoons and an off-line picture description task on a cartoon freely among the 16 cartoons made available in the previous tasks (see Section 3, Case study 3, Chapter 1 and Appendices 7-8-9).

Two additional parental questionnaires and two more bilingual children living in a mixed Italo-Scottish family were tested in the city of Cosenza. The original aim was to set up a comparative analysis between qualified informants in Scotland and Calabria, based on the changing status of standard Italian (dominant language in Calabria and just one of the various immigrant languages in Scotland). Unfortunately, the majority of the families contacted dropped out from the study and this comparison was no longer possible.

III - THE CASE STUDIES

1. Case study 1: Calabrese Minorities

Alongside the issue of gradience, the comparative analysis is driven by the choice of Italian as a standard variety in contact with the other nine varieties considered across the three case studies. Hence, before presenting the results of each study, an overview of some basic properties of contemporary spoken standard Italian is provided in this section.

Berruto (1987:23) described two main contemporary varieties of Italian, which emerged with the processes of “re-normativisation” and “re-standardisation”, causing a “progressive approaching of written and oral modality and the insertion of sub-standard traits inside the standard code”. The first variety is “standard literary Italian”: it must not be intended as the code of literary works, but as the language which draws resources from literary practices and which is codified in grammar manuals, without any specific diatopic or societal markedness. Almost absent in speakers’ repertoires, it is slightly marked diastratically as it is recognizable only among some intellectual élites in specific professional groups.

The second variety is that of “new standard Italian”, which is influenced diatopically and which corresponds to a “cultivated middle regional Italian”. Other peripheral varieties of contemporary Italian are the so-called “popular Italian” and the “informal spoken Italian”: this last variety is used by all social classes indifferently (Berruto 1987:138); Albrecht (1979) proposes the concept of “non-aulic unitary Italian”, a kind of colloquial variety that is located above the regional Italians. Todisco (1984:7)

explains that over these last decades a very fast change of Standard Italian is indisputable, a process which is similar to that experienced by other European languages, but significantly faster (as the European languages changed themselves over many centuries). Moreover, the sociolinguistic situation in Italy is nowadays defined as a widespread majority bilingualism (and/or diglossia) with a minority of true Italian monolinguals (whereas in past the majority condition was that of dialectal monolingualism).

From the phonetical point of view, Galli de' Paratesi (1984:57, 72, 73) labels the present standard Italian as a "revised Florentine", whose extreme local traits are cancelled and whose "new pole of standardization is Milan" (1984:207). If we assume this position, as Berruto (1987:58-59, 96) points out, "the interesting consequence is that in Italy nobody speaks standard Italian as his/her mother tongue" and, furthermore, "any regional pronunciation has succeeded in becoming the real national canon".

The concrete parametric characteristics of the New Standard of spoken Italian are traceable as follows:

- a) a general simplification of structures and reduction of irregularities;
- b) an acceptance of regional or even local-marked terms and structures;
- c) topicalisations and cleft sentences;
- d) the multipurpose "c'è" ('there is');
- e) an extension of the use of the imperfect tense, of the construction "stare ('stay'/'be') + gerund" and of the Tuscan "si (reflexive) + 3rd person singular;
- f) the use of "lei" (she), "lui" (he) and "loro" (they) also as subject pronouns in addition to the original use as object pronouns.

According to the 2011 Census, in the region of Calabria (Italy) almost 7% of its population ($N=130,903$) belongs to a historical or new minority. The new immigrants (Philipinos among the others) are about 66,000 people (3.3% of the regional population), with an increase of +265,3% from 2001 to 2011.

In contrast, the Calabrese population showed a variation of -5% with a population of 1,828,147 residents. A historical minority which is not investigated in this study is the Greek community living in the province of Reggio Calabria (21.335 people) as it is restricted to the northern province of Cosenza. The Occitan community of Guardia Piemontese is the smallest minority in Calabria, being composed of 300-600 speakers (according to various estimates), while the Italo-Albanian community represents the largest minority (about 40.000 people).

UNESCO¹³ elaborated a 5-grade scale of socio/ethnolinguistic vitality of varieties: extinct language, critically endangered language, severely endangered language, definitely endangered language and vulnerable language. Also Ethnologue¹⁴, which contains information on more than 7,000 known languages, uses a quite similar scale.

According to Ethnologue, however, the status of Greek is shifting, because it is used more and more rarely only by elderly people, whereas UNESCO estimates that it is severely endangered. No data are found for Calabrese Occitan, while Arbëreshë is threatened (Ethnologue) or “definitely endangered” (Unesco).

¹³ <http://www.unesco.org/culture/languages-atlas/en/atlasmap/language-id-1339.html>

¹⁴ <https://www.ethnologue.com/>

1.1. Case study 1A. CS in Italian-Arbëreshë-Calabrese.

The Arbëreshë communities in the Province of Cosenza (Figure 4) are mostly located in the upper and lower border of river Crati and near Pollino massif and are: Acquaformosa (*Firmoza*), Castoregio (*Kastërnexhi*), Cavallerizzo (*Kajverici*), Cerzeto (*Qana*), Civita (*Çivëti*), Eianina (*Purçilli*), Falconara Albanese (*Falkunara*), Farneta (*Farneta*), Firmo (*Ferma*), Frascineto (*Frasnita*), Lungro (*Ungra*), Macchia Albanese (*Maqi*), Marri (*Allimarri*), Plataci (*Pllatëni*), San Basile (*Shën Vasili*), San Benedetto Ullano (*Shën Benedhiti*), San Cosmo Albanese (*Strigàri*), San Demetrio Corone (*Shën Mitri*), San Giacomo di Cerzeto (*Sënd Japku*), San Giorgio Albanese (*Mbuzati*), San Martino di Finita (*Shën Mërtiri*), Santa Caterina Albanese (*Picilia*), Santa Sofia d'Epiro (*Shën Sofia*), Spezzano Albanese (*Spixana*), Vaccarizzo Albanese (*Vakarici*).



Figure 4. The arbëreshë communities of the province of Cosenza in Calabria (Italy), represented by the brown circles in the map. Taken from albanologia.unical.it.

The birth of arbëreshë towns can be traced back to the 15th and 18th century, after the Ottoman conquest of Albania.

Arbëreshë language is not an autonomous variety from Albanian, but it is rather a collection of oral idioms with marginal differences in the various communities (Altimari and Savoia 1994) due to their original different areas of provenance and to their year of immigration.

These idioms are mostly derived from the Tosk variety (on which also most standard Albanian is based), but they also contain some borrowings from Gheg, old Greek and literary Albanian of northern Albania writers of the 16th-18th century.

Moreover, Arbëreshë can be considered a “non-covered dialect” (Altimari 2002), given the fact that its speakers generally do not know the literary or standard Albanian variety. This situation pushes Arbëreshë idioms to a situation of linguistic regression and of strong influence of the surrounding latinophone communities and of standard Italian.

Even if official protected (482/1999 national act on minority languages and 15/2003 regional act on minority languages), this status has not significantly affected the sociolinguistic prestige or the number of speakers, as figures in Table 7 show.

	Arbëreshë	Calabrese dialect	Italian
Ethnologue classification	Threatened	Safe	Safe
Official Status	Yes	No	Yes
Social Status	Strong	Strong, but subaltern to Italian/Arbëreshë	Dominant
Prestige	Medium	Medium	High
Kind of contact	Unidirectional plurilingualism (Arbëreshë are all plurilinguals, non-Arbëreshë are just bilingual in Calabrese dialect and Italian)		

Table 7. Sociolinguistic situation of Arbëreshë-Calabrese-Italian plurilingualism.

1.2. Research Questions

The two main research questions of this case study are:

- 1) What are the explicit and implicit attitudes towards the Arbëreshë-Calabrese-Italian code-switching?

The explicit attitudes are extracted from participants' answers to general statements on CS, whereas implicit attitudes are related to the findings' in the Likert Scale Tests.

- 2) What is the prevalent language mode (bilingual or trilingual) in the Arbëreshë community?

The dominant language mode is detected by analyzing informants' answers on linguistic biography and language use.

1.3. Survey method, materials and participants

A micro-sociolinguistic survey was conducted in 2013 on the Arbëreshë communities of *Frascineto/Frasnita* (2.255 residents in 2011) and *Civita/Çifti/Çivët* (956 residents), near the Calabria-Basilicata regional border through a questionnaire, submitted in Italian via social networks, email and face-to-face. The questionnaire was composed of 36 multiple-choice questions, divided into four parts: linguistic biography, code-switching, borders, culture/identity/language policy (Appendix 1).

The sample of informants was composed of 68 Italo-Albanians (29 males; 39 females), whose age distribution and educational level is shown in Tables 8 and 9.

Age	Frequency	Percentage
0-14	12	17.65%
15-29	28	41.18%
30-44	13	19.12%
45-59	5	7.35%
60-74	6	8.82%
75-89	4	5.88%
	68	100%

Table 8. Age distribution of Arbëreshë informants.

	Frequency	Percentage
Primary School	1	1%
Middle School	16	24%
High School	19	28%
Bachelor Degree	10	15%
Master Degree	19	28%
PhD	3	4%
	68	100%

Table 9. Educational level of Arbëreshë informants.

1.4. Data findings

Findings on the claimed use of language and attitudes on code-switching, as well as on self-perception of borders, culture, identity, education and language policy are provided in the following sections.

1.4.1. Findings on claimed use of languages and attitudes on code-switching

Data findings in this section refer to informants' linguistic biography, language use, their claimed and implicit attitudes on CS, and eventually their perception of borders and culture.

Figure 5 reports for the languages spoken and understood by informants. Italian and Arbëreshë dominate neatly (spoken by 66 and 51 informants respectively), while the

nearby Calabrese dialect is spoken by less than a half of the participants (26 individuals) and standard Albanian just by a fifth (13 informants).

In this respect and in very general terms, a *bilingual mode* (Arbëreshë + Italian) seems to prevail over the trilingual one, which includes the Calabrese dialect, and the quadrilingual mode, which includes Standard Albanian.

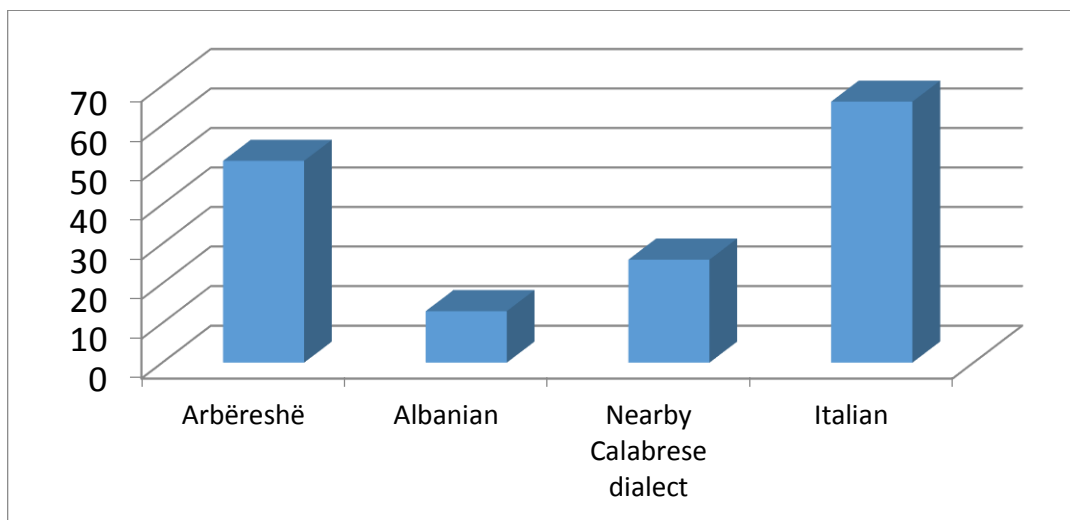


Figure 5. Languages spoken by the Arbëreshë informants.

Assuming Arbëreshë as the mother tongue, Italian as L2, Calabrese dialect as L3 and Albanian as L4, data on the domains of use confirm the prevalence of a bilingual mode, where Arbëreshë and Italian dominate together in all the six domains taken into consideration (see table 10 and 11).

Work	School	Family	Entertainment	Friends	Travels	Other
31	35	44	28	48	28	1

Table 10. Claimed domains of use of Arbëreshë.

Work	School	Family	Entertainment	Friends	Travels	Other
27	19	37	27	40	27	0

Table 11. Claimed domains of use of Italian.

The first item on CS investigates the explicit perception of the prevalent language mode: for the great majority (76% of the informants) the language use is “mixed” (thus using a bilingual mode with CS), while 24% of the participants claims to separate languages by using a monolingual mode (Figure 6).

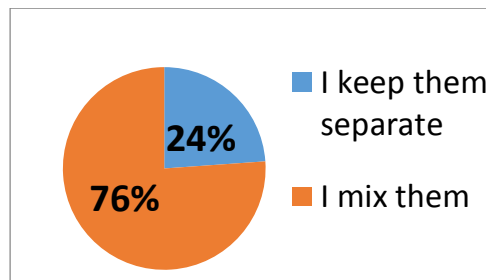


Figure 6. Explicit perception of monolingual vs bilingual mode.

The following 3 items study the claimed frequency, causes and interlocutors of CS conversations (Tables 12-14).

Always	Often	Rarely	Never	
5	29	30	4	68
7%	43%	44%	6%	(100%)

Table 12. Claimed frequency of CS.

Whenever I don't remember a word/expression	Whenever does not exist a word/expression	Whenever I want to repeat or reinforce a concept	No	Depends on the speaker	
24	17	22	1	1	65
37%	26%	34%	1.5%	1.5%	100%

Table 13. Claimed causes of CS.

Only with bilinguals/plurilinguals	Only with monolinguals	
63	2	65
97%	3%	100%

Table 14. Claimed interlocutors of code-switched conversations.

The answers on the claimed frequency on CS reveal that high frequencies of CS (always and often) are detected in a half (50%) of the informants, while the other half declare to code-switch rarely or never.

There is no neat prevalence of a particular cause of CS among the other two ones, while, with regard to the interlocutors of code-switched conversation, almost everyone (97%) claims to code-switch only with other bilinguals or plurilinguals.

Then, 3 items (see tables 15-17) tested the explicit attitudes on CS and broken language of foreigners.

Conscious	Unconscious	
38	26	64
59%	41%	110

Table 15. Claimed processing and production of CS.

It is normal	It is interesting	It is something anomalous/to avoid	It is something to repress/fight	
19	34	9	4	66
29%	52%	14%	6%	100%

Table 16. Explicit attitude towards CS practice.

I avoid speaking to them until they learn Italian or Arbëreshë	I speak to them in a very simple way	I speak in Italian, without taking care if they understand me or not	Other
3	57	2	5
4%	85%	3%	8%

Table 17. Claimed interlocutors of CS.

The majority of informants perceives their processing and output of code-switched utterances as something conscious, thus implying a kind of self-control on this cognitive process.

The explicit attitude on CS is in great majority positive (81% of judgments of “normal” and “interesting”) and these ratings are confirmed by the claimed attitudes

towards foreigners' broken language: the great majority (85%) of informants declares to speak to informants with very low competence in a very simple way.

At this point of the analysis, 4 items were inserted to investigate the implicit attitudes on CS, by presenting four utterances, two monolingual ones in Arbëreshë and two with Arbëreshë base language and Italian guest language, transcribed in standard Albanian orthography, which are examples of real conversations (taken from Selvaggi 2012). By means of a five-graded Likert scale informants had to rate these sentences according to their self-perception of the “goodness” and “badness” of speaker output. Values were attributed as follows: 1 = “He/she speaks very badly”, 2 = “He/she speaks badly”, 3 = “He/she speaks in an understandable way”, 4 = “He/she speaks well” and 5 = “He/she speaks very well (see table 18-21).

The submitted monolingual Arbëreshë sentences with borrowings from Italian/Calabrese dialect are presented below:

- 1) *E jo...pasten... një çik past. Është moti i mirë.*
 ‘And no...pasta...a few pasta... There will be a nice weather.’

5 - He/She speaks very well	4 - He/She speaks well	3 - He/She makes him/her understand	2 - He/She speaks badly	1 - He/She speaks very badly	
8	29	15	11	3	66
12%	44%	23%	17%	5%	100%

Table 18. Rating on monolingual sentence n. 1.

- 2) *E ljiqjte shkallen? Mhh me k'e ljiqite?*
 ‘Did you clean the stairs? With what [product/instrument] did you clean them?’

5 - He/She speaks very well	4 - He/She speaks well	3 - He/She makes him/her understand	2 - He/She speaks badly	1 - He/She speaks very badly	
15	34	11	4	2	66
23%	52%	17%	6%	3%	100%

Table 19. Rating on monolingual sentence n. 2.

Then, two code-switched sentences were submitted to informants:

- 3) *Tu e më një çik...versu le cinque e mezza...kshtu. Jo ma per il fine settimana than është bel tempo.*

[You with a little...at about 5.30 pm...like this. No, but this weekend there will be a nice weather].

5 - He/She speaks very well	4 - He/She speaks well	3 - He/She makes him/her understand	2 - He/She speaks badly	1 - He/She speaks very badly	
1	14	28	19	4	66
2%	21%	42%	29%	6%	100%

Table 20. Rating on code-switched sentence n. 1.

- 4) (Matteo) *L'esame të doktoraturës kur e ke?*
 ‘When will the exam for the PhD admission be?’

(Anna) *Ka dalë ndërkohë publikazione titoli. Te italiani...është në datë 27-28 tetor orale e scritto. Të shikoj puntexhin. Ur kur të thërrasin emrin duan carta d'identità...eh të shikojnë kështu, të marrin kartën e të shikojnë, eh, ti vedono carta d'identità, metti una firma, po kur të vejë në orale ajo pastaj? Unë të vete në skrito e pastaj? Cos'è? Scritto? Orale?*

[‘In the meanwhile there is the publication of the qualifications merit ranking. To the Italians...The 27th-28th October there is the oral and written exam. To give a score. As soon as they call your name on the identity card...eh...they see this way, they take your card and they look at it, eh, they look at the identity card, you put a signature, but once put on the oral and then? I am at the written one and then? What is it? Written? Oral?]

5 - He/She speaks very well	4 - He/She speaks well	3 - He/She makes him/her understand	2 - He/She speaks bad	1 - He/She speaks very bad	
2	14	33	13	4	66
3%	21%	50%	20%	6%	100%

Table 21. Rating on code-switched sentence n. 2.

The ratings assigned by informants reveal a neat preference for monolingual sentences over the code-switched sentence and dialogue. In the first monolingual sentence, positive (5+4) ratings are 37 (56%), while negative ratings (2-1) are 14

(22%); in the second monolingual sentence, 49 informants (75%) assigned the highest ratings, while 6 participants (9%) ascribed the lowest 2-1 scores.

Quite the opposite, code-switched sentences are implicitly rejected by participants, as a relative preference for the intermediate 3 value emerges both in the first sentence (28 informants-42%) and in the code-switched dialogue (33 informants-50%). Moreover, negative scores (2-1) are assigned by 23 informants (35%) in the first code-switched sentence and by 17 participants (26%) in the code-switched dialogue, thus exceeding the positive ratings (5+4) which are only given by 15 (23%) and 16 (24%) informants respectively.

1.4.2. Findings on self-perception of borders, culture, identity, education and language policy

The opinion about administrative borders is generally positive (78% of informants judges them correct), but there is no agreement about the fact that they influenced the construction of Arbëreshë identity. Also the consequences of living in enclaves are controversial conflicting. The Arbëreshë culture for the majority is abandoned, fought, discriminated or ignored (32 informants – 52%), even if a strong minority (39%) thinks that it is valued. This is probably due to the fact that they identify legal recognition with valorization. Language, traditions and religion are the most important cultural traits. Only for a minority (9 informants) the old myths of the Albanian Diaspora, the fights against the Ottomans, the political issues of Italian “Risorgimento” and the creation of an Albanian State are important.

The majority of informants (51 – 81%) claims to be bicultural and considers Arbëreshë culture (36 – 57%) as the most important one. On the whole, their present culture is perceived basically as the same of the first settlers (the ancestors escaped

from Albania at the end of Middle Ages), in the sense that in-group cultural traits have not changed substantially even if a continuous linguistic and cultural contact with the surrounding latinophone communities has been observed. Moreover, a strong majority (58 informants – 93%) believes that cultural integration of non-Arbëreshë people and assimilation of non-Arbëreshë cultural traits are needed. 60% of the informants knows Arbëreshë authors, but only 36% can indicate Albanian artists.

1.5. Discussion

Even if theoretically positive attitudes towards code-switching (only 19% thinks it should be avoided or repressed) and broken communication (only 8% avoids speaking with foreigners who don't know Italian) are claimed, the results of the implicit Likert Scale test demonstrate **a neater positive assessment of monolingual interactions with borrowings from Italian/Calabrese. Moreover, both the presented intrasentential and the intersentential code-switches are implicitly rejected, as positive rankings are assigned only by a small minority of the informants, although a high part of them recognise that these conversations are comprehensible.**

In addition, while almost all Arbëreshës and new immigrants speak Italian (the “they-code”, used in out-group relations and formal situations; Gumperz 1976), only a few latinophones know Arbëreshë. Moreover, the number of people speaking or understanding standard Albanian is small.

In informants' perception, the language “lived” and acquired in an informal environment is the same that should be taught at school. In addition, even though the use of the local Italo-Albanian variety is perceived as decreasing, Arbëreshë is still used even from most youngsters and we may infer that there is no need in 21th-century

Calabria to drop the minority language to be accepted from outsiders of the mainstream cultural background. Unfortunately, language drop was almost an obligated choice to most Arbëreshë people until Second World War (being their variety considered as a low prestige one and as a potential obstacle against linguistic and cultural homogenisation of Italian citizens, especially targeted during the Fascist period).

Code-switching does encompass identity connotations in borderlands and it is more a sign of advanced biculturalism than of language impairment, even if higher scores assigned to monolingual conversations may imply a hope to preserve “purity” and homogenization inside the minority community.

In the end, a positive attitude as historical minority towards other new minorities is observed, as 60% of the participants affirms to be in favour of extending the laws protecting minority languages to new immigrants.

Further research is strongly needed on this topic in order to check if this kind of unidirectional plurilingualism still negatively influences the perception of code-switched dialogues and pushes towards a higher valuing of monolingual input/output.

2. Case study 1B. Italian-Spanish CS.

2.1. Introduction

Over the last thirty years, studies in conversational pragmatics (Leech 1983) have shown how utterances must satisfy additional “rules” besides mere grammaticality and meaningfulness in order to constitute valid and appropriate speech acts (Searle 1976). Indeed, they also ought to fit the linguistic and extra- linguistic or social context (Harlow 1990; Wierzbicka 1991; Bettoni 2006; Caffi 2009).

Grice’s (1969, 1975) theories dealt with semantics and the nature of meaning. His major contribution in pragmatics can be identified in his theory of “implicatures” (Grice 1981) and in highlighting the fact that meaning in a conversation is the *speaker’s intended meaning* and not the apparent sense; in other words, meaning has to do with what the speaker has intention of saying even in the cases in which the linguistic form of the utterance seems to convey something else or when the ambiguous formulation of an utterance suggests alternative interpretations. Implicature denotes, in fact:

either (i) the act of meaning, implying, or suggesting one thing by saying something else, or (ii) the object of that act. Implicatures can be part of sentence meaning or dependent on conversational context, and can be conventional (in different senses) or unconventional. Conversational implicatures have become one of the principal subjects of pragmatics. Figures of speech such as metaphor, irony, and understatement provide familiar examples (Grice 1969:160-161).

On the other hand, a conversational maxim is any of four rules proposed by Grice (1975), which are part of the cooperative principle: each speaker should (ideally) follow these maxims and his/her conversation should be:

- a) adequately but not overly informative (quantity maxim);
- b) true, as the speaker does not believe it to be false and for which he/she has adequate evidence (quality maxim);
- c) relevant (maxim of relation or relevance);
- d) clear, unambiguous, brief, and orderly (maxim of manner).

Conversely, Austin's (1962) theory of speech acts implies that languages not only assert but also "do things" (*performative utterances*). Searle (1976) took some of the concepts developed by Austin and extended the notions of propositional context and illocutionary force. By changing the linguistic form of a speech act in order to express the same meaning, the propositional content will remain identical, but the illocutionary force will change according to the fact that the speaker pronounces an act such as a question, an order, an assertion or a desire.

Wierzbicka (1991) continued these studies by opposing the principles of the "logic of politeness" (Lakoff 1973) or the universality of the maxims of conversation (Grice 1975), as world reality is not as homogeneous as Lakoff and Grice seemed to imply. As a matter of fact, millions of people cross every year both countries and linguistic borders: as these individuals possess cultural backgrounds which can be very different from the landing countries ones, the conversational maxims application may be quite challenging. By presenting data from a wide range of languages, Wierzbicka argues that the different cultural scripts can be clearly described by teachers and other educators by using a semantic metalanguage based on a set of universal human concepts.

On the basis of these assumptions and agreed that bilingualism is the major condition of the world's population (Grosjean 2008, 2013), a monolingual-centred analysis in

pragmatics seem to be no longer appropriate to describe this global complexity. Also biculturalism and pluriculturalism, where two or more cultures cohabit inside an individual, postulate that a bi- and pluricultural person owns a set of habits, values and beliefs that mutually interact, but each one with a proper kind of sociopragmatic appropriate behaviour.

Among plurilingual and pluricultural contexts, the University of Calabria (Italy) is featured by linguistic diversity as foreign students are a constantly growing presence.

Spanish is one of the languages used by international students, even if it is not an autochthonous variety and an official status has not been recognised. Its high prestige is due to the fact that Spanish is one of the most spoken languages in the world and also the language of music, telenovelas and films. Consequently, its inner and outer status is strong, as shown in Table 22.

	Spanish	Calabrese dialect	Italian
Official Status	No	No	Yes
Social Status	Strong	Strong	Dominant
Prestige	High	Medium	High
Kind of contact	Unidirectional bilingualism (Latino-American students are all bilinguals in Italian and Spanish, while Calabrese students are bilingual in Italian and Calabrese dialect, with Spanish used usually as second foreign language)		

Table 22. Sociolinguistic status of Spanish, Calabrese dialect and Italian in the university context.

2.2. Research Questions

The two main research questions are:

- 1) Does the length of the mixed unit produce different responses in the recognition of implicatures?
- 2) Is there any difference in the responses between Italian monolinguals and Spanish-Italian bilinguals?

Code-switching can somewhat affect the perception of implicatures in Italian as L2/additional language (Ellis 2011), as mixed utterances could be misinterpreted by the bilingual listener/reader, who cannot not grasp the comprehension of the intended meaning hidden in the surface form.

2.3. Survey method, materials and participants

Not many studies, at least to the best of knowledge, have focused on the recognition of implicatures (Grice 1975; Sbisà 2007) in mixed utterances in bilinguals. Previous research concentrated on children's conversational understanding to determine, for instance, Slovenian-Italian bilingual children's ability to identify responses to questions as violations of Gricean maxims (Siegal, Iozzi & Surian 2009).

This work, instead, focuses on Spanish-Italian bilinguals, aiming to trace a connection between language mode (Grosjean 2008; Grosjean & Li 2013) and sociopragmatic and pragmalinguistic competence in implicatures (Lakoff 1973; Kasper 1990; De Marco 2010).

The study is based on a questionnaire written in Italian and submitted both online (<https://qtrial.qualtrics.com/WRQualtricsControlPanel/>, via email, Facebook and Twitter private messages) and in paper version to a target group of 18 Spanish-Italian bilinguals and a control group of 18 Italian monolinguals. In order to attain a level of homogeneity with regard to participants' provenance and education, mostly South

America students (speaking similar varieties of Spanish) have been involved in the study.

The 24 multiple-choice items in the questionnaire (Appendix 2) were grouped into four sections:

- a) linguistic biography;
- b) claimed use and attitude towards code-switching;
- c) implicatures;
- d) open-ended task.

After the linguistic biography section, the informants were asked in section b to explicitly declare their mode of use of code-switching by choosing between various non-graded choices and, afterwards, between graded choices in an Agreement test (on a scale from 1 to 4, where 1 stood for “I strongly disagree” and 4 to “I strongly agree”) where they asserted whether they agreed or not with the following three statements: *“The languages I speak are kept separate”, “From a grammatical point of view, code-switching is an error”* and *“It is not difficult to understand people using more than one language in a conversation”*

In section c, informants firstly were required to select between a set of options the real intended meaning (and not the mere surface sense) conveyed in:

- a) 4 interactions in Italian;
- b) 3 interactions with Italian as the base language and code-switches and borrowings in Spanish.

The correct choice (the true hidden meaning) received a score of one point, while totally incorrect answers (in other words, the options that did not match the hidden meaning at

all) and the partially acceptable answers (a pragmatic or linguistic meaning similar to the hidden meaning) were assigned a 0-point score.

Secondly, participants were invited to read two fictional mini-dialogues (inspired by everyday life communicative situations) in-depth. They were explained that the goal of the exercise was to choose from a cluster of options what answer of the character(s) they judged to be sociopragmatically and pragmalinguistically appropriate in hiding the character(s)' real intention (in a scale from 1 to 4, where 1 stood for "he/she misbehaved a lot/he/she wasn't able to hide his/her real intention", 2 for "he/she misbehaved", 3 for "he/she acted well" and 4 for "he/she acted very well/he was totally able to hide his/her real intention"), by ignoring if a behaviour was bad or good in the moral sense.

Moreover, the morphosyntactic and lexical complexity of the 9 interactions was kept to a medium level, in order to let the bilingual Spanish group attain the comprehension of their general sense: in fact, the competence in Italian of Spanish-Italian bilinguals reached the intermediate B2 CEFR level.

The last section d contained two written tasks, in which informants were required to produce the following short texts (from one to four lines) in Italian:

- a) *Ask your boss a day off at work without revealing the true reason.*
- b) *It is Laura's birthday, but you forgot to call her. Act a phone call to Laura and justify your behaviour.*

Data on informants' provenance reveal that 89% of the target group came from South American countries, while only 11% were born in Spain or in the Philippines, as shown in Table 23.

	Frequency	Percentage
Argentina	1	5,5%
Chile	1	5,5%
Colombia	1	5,5%
Ecuador	6	33%
Guatemala	3	17%
Paraguay	3	17%
Philippines	1	5,5%
Spain	2	11%
	18	100%

Table 23. Nationalities of informants in the target group.

Informants of the target group were aged from 21 to 38 years old (see Table 24) and the average age was 27 years.

Age	Frequency	Percentage
24	1	5,6%
25	2	11,1%
26	1	5,6%
27	3	16,7%
28	2	11,1%
29	1	5,6%
31	1	5,6%
33	4	22,2%
38	1	5,6%
Not specified	2	11,1%
	18	100%

Table 24. Age distribution of informants in the target group.

With regard to the educational level of Spanish-Italian bilinguals, a half held a Bachelor Degree, one third a Master Degree, while only a small minority were PhD students (Table 25).

	Frequency	Percentage
Bachelor Degree	9	50%
Master Degree	6	33,5%
Phd	1	5,5%
Other	2	11
TOTAL	18	100%

Table 25. Educational level of the Spanish-Italian bilinguals.

Responses to the questions about the age of language acquisition reveal that almost all bilinguals had acquired Spanish in their childhood, while only 22% had an early acquisition of Italian. On the other hand, 100% of Italians acquired Italian when they were children; with regards to their L2, Spanish was acquired by a half of them in their childhood and by the other half in their adulthood, as in Tables 26 and 27.

	Bilinguals (Spanish)	Monolinguals (Italian)
Childhood	17 (94%)	18 (100)%
Adulthood	1 (6%)	-
TOTAL	18 (100%)	18 100%

Table 26. Age of L1 acquisition.

	Bilinguals (Italian)	Monolinguals (Spanish)
Childhood	4 (22%)	9 (50%)
Adulthood	14 (78%)	9 (50%)
TOTAL	18 (100%)	18 (100%)

Table 27. Age of L2 acquisition.

As for the context of language acquisition, data in Tables 28 and 29 show that the context of L1 acquisition is generally the family, while the L2 is learned formally at school with slight differences across the two groups.

	Bilinguals (Spanish)	Monolinguals (Italian)
Family	18 (100%)	16 (89%)
School	-	2 (11%)
TOTAL	18 (100%)	18 (100%)

Table 28. Context of L1 acquisition.

	Bilinguals (Italian)	Monolinguals (Spanish)
Family	1 (6%)	-
School	17 (94%)	18 (100%)
TOTAL	18 (100%)	18 (100%)

Table 29. Context of L2 acquisition.

2.4. Data Findings

In the first part of this section, results from the four multiple-choice questions referring to the *claimed use of code-switching* are discussed. The first question was related to the claimed frequency of CS and the options were: always, often, rarely and never. Most bilinguals declared that they code-switch often or rarely; on the contrary, 83% of the Italian monolinguals affirmed that code-switching occurs always or often (see Table 30).

	Bilinguals	Monolinguals
Always	2 (11%)	14 (78%)
Often	8 (44,5%)	1 (5%)
Rarely	8 (44,5%)	3 (17%)
TOTAL	18 (100%)	18 (100%)

Table 30. Claimed frequency of code-switching.

The second question investigated the causes and functions of code-switching. Bilinguals claimed that they code-switch mostly whenever they want to repeat or reinforce a concept (50%), or whenever they do not remember a word or expression (33%), while Italian monolinguals declared to CS particularly whenever a word or expression does not exist (44%), as shown in Table 31.

	Bilinguals	Monolinguals
Lacking of a word/term	3 (17%)	8 (44%)
Forgetting of a word/term	6 (33%)	5 (28%)
Repeating/reinforcing a concept	9 (50%)	4 (22%)
Other	-	1 (6%)
TOTAL	18 (100%)	18 (100%)

Table 31. Claimed causes and functions of code-switching.

Moreover, the great majority of both bilinguals (67%) and monolinguals (94%) self-perceived CS as a conscious practice and 100% of the informants judged it to occur only in conversations with bilinguals/plurilinguals.

Following an Agreement Index Test taken by informants, results in Table 32 show their *claimed grammatical attitudes towards code-switching*.

	Statement n.1 <i>I can keep my languages separate</i>		Statement n. 2 <i>Grammatically, code-switching is an error</i>		Statement n. 3 <i>It is not difficult to understand bilingual conversations</i>	
	Bil.	Ital.	Bil.	Ital. M.	Bil.	Ital. M.
1- I strongly disagree	1	2	1	1	-	-
2- I tend to disagree	7	10	2	9	4	6
3- I agree	7	4	7	4	5	11
4- I strongly agree	3	2	8	4	9	1

Table 32. Agreement test results on the grammatical attitude towards code-switching.

The first statement had a neuter connotation, the second a negative connotation and the third one a positive connotation. Italian monolinguals tended to show a stronger

disagreement in both the first and the second statements, thus signalling an overall positive grammatical attitude towards CS, whereas bilinguals self-perceive CS as an “error” from the grammatical point of view (7 agreements and 8 strong agreements).

The third statement triggered a strong difference between the two groups in the grade of agreement: 11 Italian monolinguals agree, while 9 bilinguals strongly agree as shown in Table 32. This implies a stronger recognition of the easiness in understating mixed conversation in bilinguals, and this is justifiable as they know both languages quite well, while, understandably, Italian monolinguals tended to show an inferior agreement, given their limited proficiency in Spanish as a foreign language.

Subsequently, informants were administered a task on *implicatures* (Grice 1981). Firstly, they were required to choose from a range of given options the *actual meaning* (beyond the mere surface meaning) hidden in code-switched phrases. The first four conversations were monolingual:

5) Tra amici. (*Between friends*)

MASSIMO: Ma poi hai sentito Laura?

(*But then have you spoken to Laura?*)

BENITO: Quella strega non risponde al telefono!

(*That witch does not answer the phone*)

OPTIONS: 1 (*Laura is a witch*), 2 (*Laura is not at home*), 3 **CORRECT** (*Laura had words with Benito*), 4 (*Other*).

6) Sull’altare (*On the altar*).

MINISTER: Vuoi prendere Laura come tua sposa?

(*Do you want to take Laura as your wife?*)

GROOM: E secondo te perché sono qua?

(*And in your opinion, why am I here?*)

OPTIONS: 1 (*The groom is in a hurry*), 2 (*The groom is annoyed*), 3 **CORRECT** (*The groom is hilarious*), 4 (*The groom lost his memory and asks the minister why he is on the altar*), 5 (*Other*).

7) Tra colleghi di lavoro (*Between coworkers*).

URSULA: Grazie davvero per il regalo! Ma chi l'ha preso?

(Thank you very much for the gift! But who did buy it?)

GIADA: Temevo non ti piacesse.

(I feared you would not like it)

OPTIONS: 1 (*Giada feared that Ursula would not appreciate the present*), 2 **CORRECT** (*It is Giada the person who bought the present for Ursula*), 3 (*Other*).

8) In ascensore. Tra sconosciuti (*In the elevator. Between strangers*).

PERSON A: Visto che brutto tempo oggi.

(What a bad weather today)

PERSON B: Eh sì. Dicono che durerà per tutta la settimana.

(Oh yeah. Somebody said that it will last all the week long.)

OPTIONS: 1 (*the two people are worried about the weather*), 2 **CORRECT** (*the two people are seeking a pretext to start a conversation*), 3 (*Other*).

In the first dialogue the correct choice is that Laura had words with Benito (as she was defined as a witch, “strega” in Italian), but also “Laura is not at home” could be a semi-acceptable answer (probably she was not at home, so she could not answer the phone). In these interactions no strong difference between bilinguals and Italian monolinguals was found.

In the second mini-dialogue “the groom is hilarious” is the correct option and Italian monolinguals tended to show an excellent performance (16 correct answers – 89%), while Spanish-Italian bilinguals answered less correctly (only 9 – 50%).

In the third interaction the correct choice is “Giada is the person who bought the present for Ursula”, but the majority of both bilinguals (11) and monolinguals (11) were wrong, as they individuated the semi-acceptable answer (option n. 2) that only matches the linguistic meaning (and not the real implicature).

In the fourth monolingual dialogue the correct answer was that the strangers were seeking an excuse to start a conversation (talking about the bad weather conditions, that they assume to last all the week long, is not the true main purpose of the conversation).

In this interaction we cannot find any strong difference between the bilinguals (15 correct answers) and the Italian monolinguals (16 correct answers), who both show an excellent performance. All test results are reported in Figures 7-10.

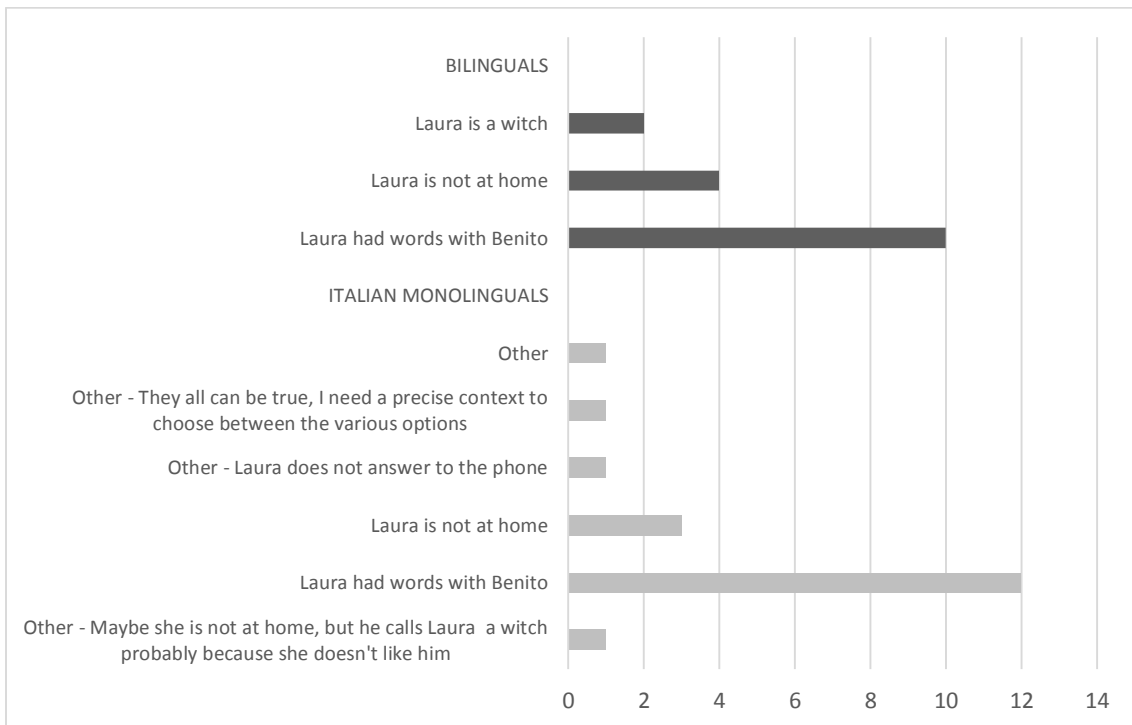


Figure 7. Implicature test on monolingual dialogue n.1.

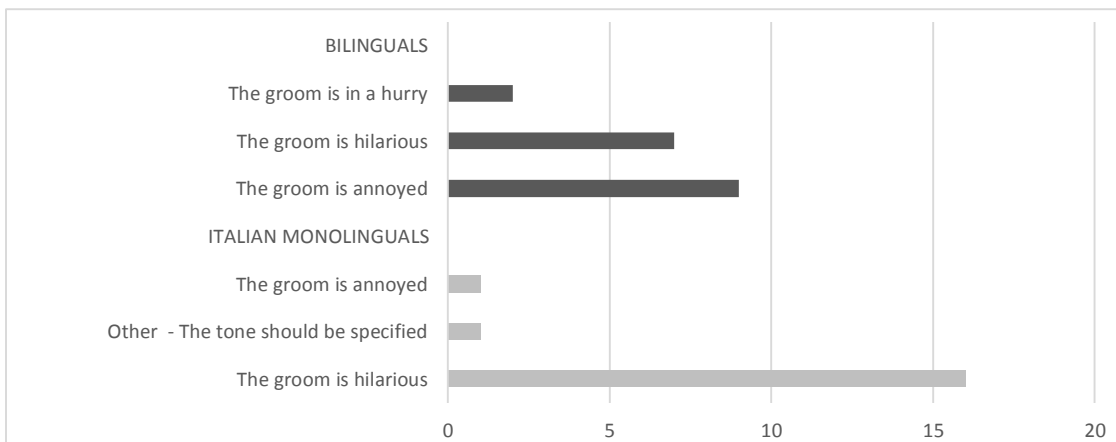


Figure 8. Implicature test on monolingual dialogue n.2.

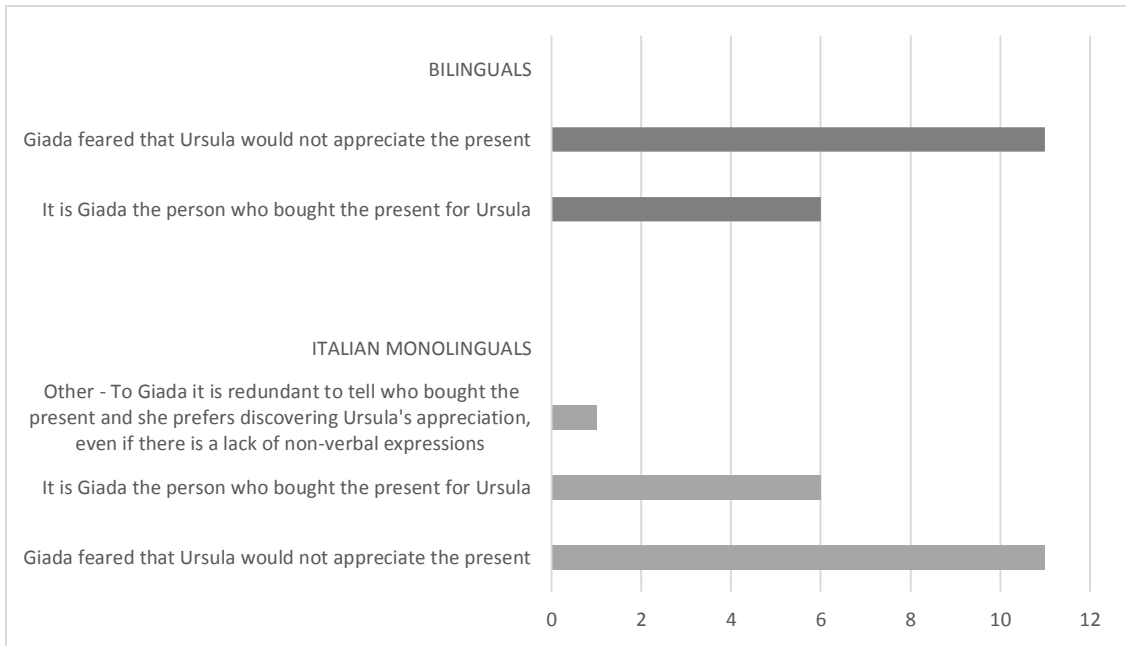


Figure 9. Implicature test on monolingual dialogue n.3.

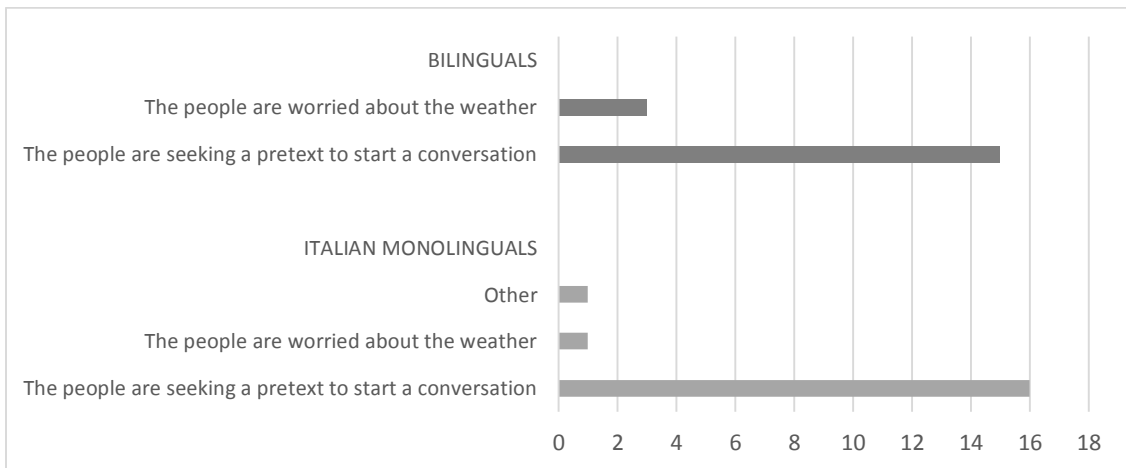


Figure 10. Implicature test on monolingual dialogue n.4.

The other three conversations contained code-switched passages.

9) Sull'autobus (*On the bus*).

OLD MAN: Mi faresti sedere?

(*Could I sit down?*)

BOY: *Lo siento*. Manca poco alla fermata.

(*I am sorry. It lacks very little to my stop.*)

OPTIONS: 1 (*The boy is very sorry for the old man*), 2 **CORRECT** (*The boy will get off at the next stop*), 3 (*The boy is in a hurry*), 4 (*Other*).

10) A casa (*At home*).

WIFE: Apri la porta per favore!

(Please, open the door!)

HUSBAND: Sto *duchandome*.

(I'm having a shower).

OPTIONS: 1 (The husband is eating sweets), 2 CORRECT (The husband cannot open the door), 3 (The husband tells his wife he is having a shower to invite her to follow him), 4 (Other).

11) Tra fratelli (*Between brothers*).

JORGE: *Que lindo!* Ma perché? Avrai speso un botto!

(How cute! But why? You must have spent too much!)

ENRIQUE: Oh sì, *en efecto he tenido que hacer* un mutuo *para comprartelo*.

(Oh yes, I had to ask a bank loan to buy it, indeed.)

OPTIONS: 1 (Enrique asked a bank loan to buy the present), 2 (Enrique will ask a loan to buy the present), 3 (Enrique spent a lot to buy the present), 4 CORRECT (Enrique is joking), 5 (Other).

The first bilingual interaction chat was the hardest to understand, as it lacked detailed contextual and visual cues. We read that an old man asks a boy the favour to have his seat and the boy replies that he is sorry (“*Lo siento*”), as he will get off soon at the next stop. Even if the boy’s reply sounds contradictory, actually the sentence formulation is intentionally ambiguous: maybe the bus is overcrowded and the boy was not able to make way for the old man (probably because he could not move or because of other impediments). In this respect, by saying “*lo siento*”, the boy means that at this moment he cannot do this favour, but in a few seconds he will leave his seat as he will get off at the next stop.

Numbers in Figure 11 reveal that bilinguals scored higher than monolinguals: 13 bilinguals answered correctly (*the boy will get off at the next stop*) versus 9 monolinguals.

In the second bilingual conversation, option n.2 (*The husband cannot open the door*) is the correct choice: Italian monolinguals had an excellent (16 correct answers – 89%) and bilinguals showed a very good performance (14 correct answers) as well (see Figure 12).

In this third mixed utterance, Italian monolinguals individuated the actual meaning much better than the bilinguals (10 versus 6), because the correct answer is “Enrique is joking”, as he has neither asked a bank loan (*un mutuo*) nor spent too much on buying the present really (Figure 13).

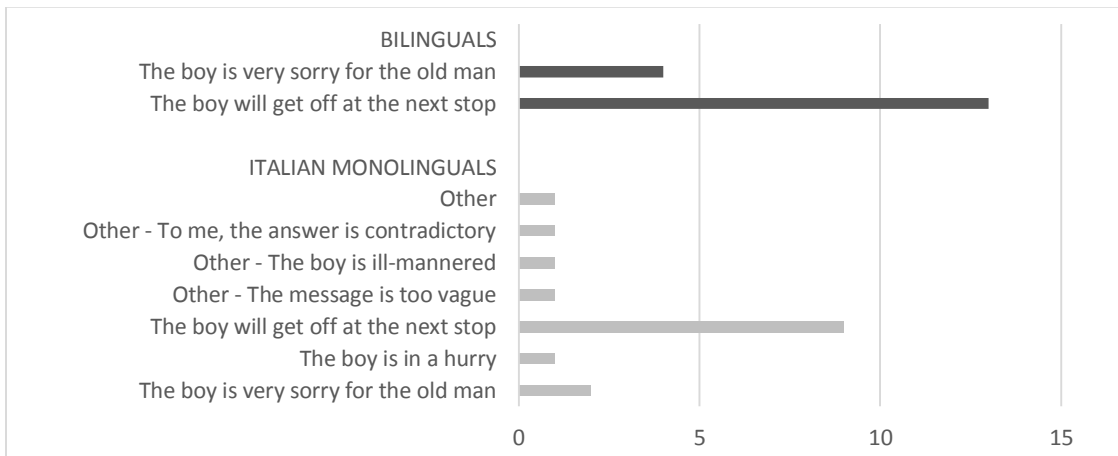


Figure 11. Implicature test on bilingual conversation n.1.

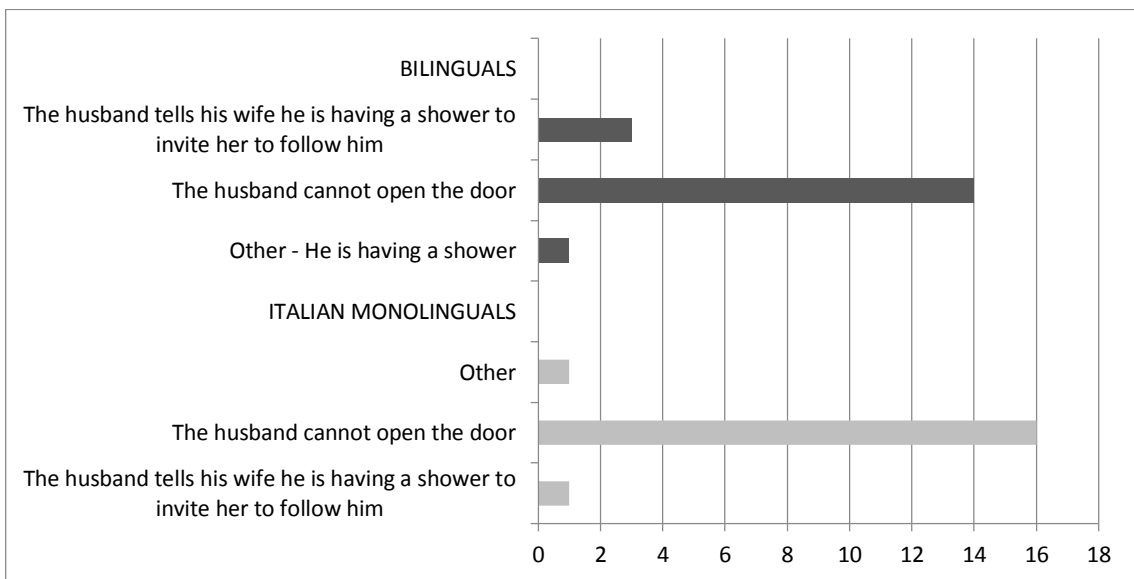


Figure 12. Implicature test on bilingual conversation n.2.

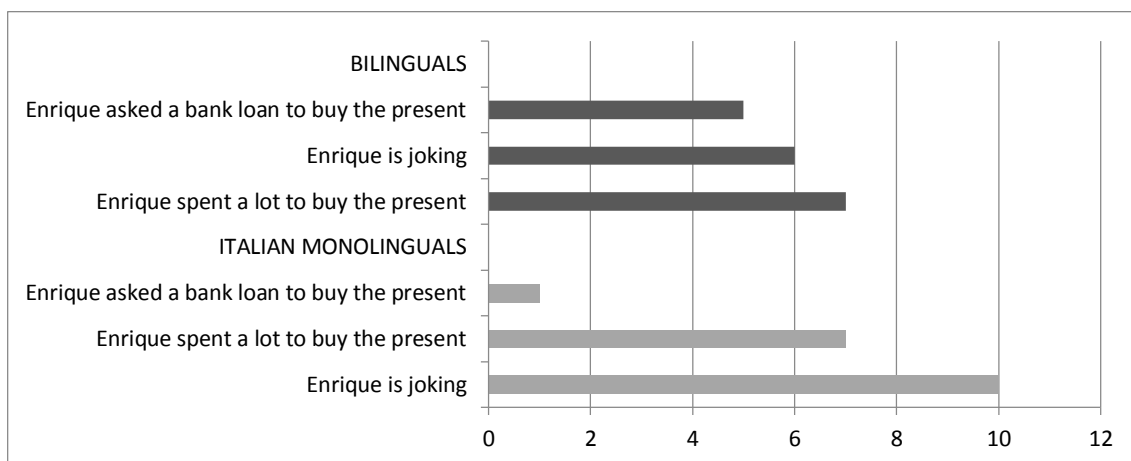


Figure 13. Implicature test on bilingual conversation n.3.

The overall results of the implicature test demonstrate **a clear impact of the length of the code-switched unit** (mixed utterances with longer code-switched units are harder to understand for bilinguals) **and a significant difference between Spanish-Italian bilinguals and Italian monolinguals**. In fact, bilingual tended to perform worse in both the monolingual and the bilingual utterances with only two exceptions: monolingual dialogue 4, where the Spanish-Italian bilinguals score was 16 and the Italian monolinguals score reached 15, and the bilingual dialogue 1 (which contained the sole code-switch *lo siento*, where bilinguals reached the score of 13 (and monolinguals only collected 9 points) (Table 33).

	Length of the code-switches	Bilinguals	Monolinguals	Difference bilinguals/plurilingual
Monolingual dialogue 1		10	12	-2 (-17%)
Monolingual dialogue 2		14	16	-2 (-12,5%)
Monolingual dialogue 3		6	6	-
Monolingual dialogue 4		16	15	+1 (+6%)
TOTAL SCORE		46	49	-3 (-9,4%)

Bilingual dialogue 1	Short	13	9	+44%
Bilingual dialogue 2	Short	14	16	-12,5%
Bilingual dialogue 3	Long	6	10	-40%
TOTAL SCORE		33	35	-2 (-5,7%)

Table 33. Overall scores in the implicature test.

Two items (one monolingual and one bilingual) in the questionnaire then tested informants' skills in evaluating the effectiveness of implicature competence in some fictional characters. Participants were required to rate the characters' effectiveness in saying something when they really meant something else, by choosing among four options: 1 stood for "he/she misbehaved a lot" (he/she was not able to hide his/her real intended meaning at all), 2 for "he/she misbehaved", 3 for "he/she acted well" and 4 for "he/she acted very well" (he/she was totally able to hide his/her real intended meaning).

12) A casa. Gemma ha rubato 50 Euro alla madre. (*At home. Gemma has stolen 50 Euros to her mother.*)

MOTHER: Chi mi ha preso 50 Euro dalla borsetta?

(*Who did take 50 euros from my bag?*)

GEMMA: Io sono appena rientrata.

(*I have just come back*)

13) Antonio chiama Luis, un collega di lavoro, per andare a mangiare una pizza.

(*Antonio phones Luis, a colleague, to go out for a pizza*)

ANTONIO: **Hola** Luis, che facciamo allora? **Vamos a comer** una pizza?

(*Hi Luis, so, what are we going to do? Are we going to eat a pizza?*)

LUIGI: No, non ho molta voglia di uscire con te.

(*No, I haven't much desire to go out with you.*)

In the first monolingual dialogue, Giada has stolen 50 Euros from her mother, but her answer "I have just arrived" is pragmatically appropriate to hide her "crime", because it means that she could not have stolen anything since she was not at home. Only 3 bilinguals and 4 Italian monolinguals chose option 3 (he/she acted well) and 4 (he/she

acted very well), while the majority (15 bilinguals and 14 monolinguals) selected the wrong options 1 (he/she misbehaved) and 2 (he/she misbehaved a lot).

In the second code-switched dialogue, both bilinguals (13 judgements of “misbehaving” and 2 of “misbehaving a lot”) and Italian monolinguals (10 judgements of “misbehaving” and 5 of “misbehaving a lot”) were right and were not influenced by the potential Spanish distracters *Hola* and *Vamos a comer*.

In other words, Luigi’s reaction to Antonio’s proposal about going to the pizzeria is not sociopragmatically appropriate (Luigi should have answered in a more polite way and should have given an excuse or something. Figures 14-15).

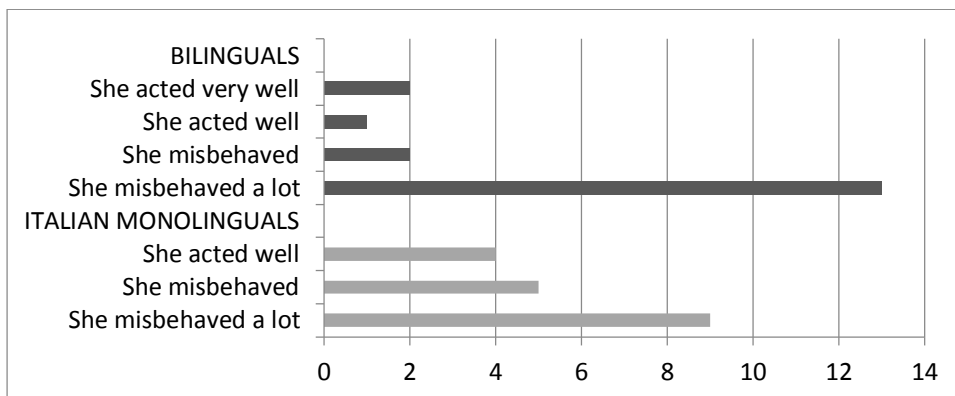


Figure 14. Test on the effectiveness of pragmatic behaviour in a monolingual conversation.

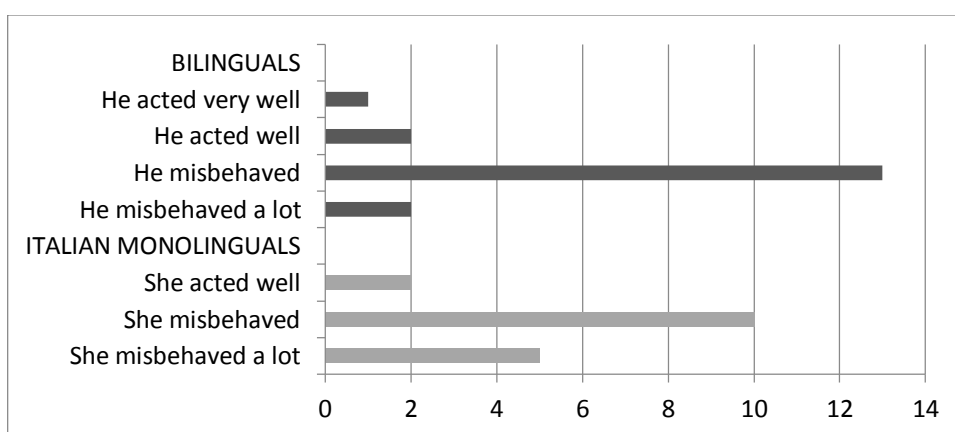


Figure 15. Test on the effectiveness of pragmatic behaviour in a bilingual conversation.

Thus, informants were able to correctly evaluate only the sociopragmatic behaviour of the second bilingual conversation, while they misinterpreted the first monolingual conversation.

In the last part of the questionnaire participants performed two written tasks: they had to write a justification for two situations in an indirect and sociopragmatically appropriate way by composing no more than four lines:

1) Domani è lunedì e dovresti essere a lavoro. Tuttavia hai un colloquio di lavoro presso un'importante azienda. In quattro righe devi chiedere un giorno di permesso senza dire o far capire al tuo capo il vero motivo della tua assenza.

(Tomorrow is Monday and you should be at work. Unfortunately, you have a job interview in an important company. In four lines ask a day off without saying or letting your boss know the true reason of your absence.)

2) Oggi è il compleanno di Laura. Ti sei dimenticato di comprarle un regalo e non l'hai ancora chiamata. Simula una telefonata, trovando giustificazioni al tuo comportamento.

(Today is Laura's birthday. You forgot to buy her a present and you haven't call her yet. Act a phone call justifying your behaviour.)

In this production task, bilinguals made several grammatical and stylistic mistakes (shown in bold below), but they were generally as sociopragmatically effective as the Italian monolingual control group, as their simulations shown below confirm.

Bilinguals:

- 1- Salve capo, **poseso** parlare con **Leí** un attimo. Grazie. Volevo **chiederla** se domani posso prendermi il giorno libero. **La cosa** è che devo andare alla laurea della mia cara nipote... E purtroppo sarà **domani presto** di mattina. E lei sa che queste cose dopo vengono accompagnate da un rinfresco e **dopo un pranzo**. **Quindi**, vorrei **chiederla** gentilmente questo permesso. Che ne pensa?

[Hello boss, can I speak to you for a while? Thanks. I would like to ask a day off for tomorrow. The thing is that I must go to my dear nephew graduation ceremony. And unfortunately it will be tomorrow in the early morning. You know, these things are later on accompanied by a buffet and after that by a lunch. So, I would like to ask this licence, please. What do you think about it?]

- 2- Volevo **chiedere permesso** per **asentarme lunedì perche** devo **acompañare** mia madre a una visita specialistica.

[I would like to ask a day off for this Monday because I must take my mother to a doctor's appointment.]

- 3- Con il suo permesso chiedo **excusa** per essere assente **prossimo Lunedì per ragione personali**. Grazie per la sua comprensione.
[With your permission I am sorry for being absent next Monday for personal reason. Thanks for your comprehension.]
- 4- Sig. Antonio, **chiedo permesso** per domani, visto che devo andare a prendere mia mamma **al aeropoto** e qua non conosce nessuno. Spero **non ci sia** troppo disturbo per lei, visto che **stiamo con questo grande progetto**.
[Mr. Anthony, I want to ask a day off for tomorrow, as I must take my mother at the airport and she doesn't know anybody here. I hope there isn't so much inconvenience for you, given that we are carrying out this big project.]
- 5- Mi dispiace **pero** questa mattina ho un sacco di problemi con la mia macchina e anche **con il mio** marito, lui è un po' malato **per quello doviamo andarci al dottore**, ma non so **si** è una cosa senza importanza o veramente grave **perchè** tutta la notte ha sentito questo dolore pesante, ringrazio per la sua comprensione e ritorno **temprano** domani mattina grazie.
[I am sorry, but this morning I have lots of problems with my car and also with my husband: he is a bit ill, for this reason we must go to the doctor, but I don't know if this is a thing of little importance or really serious, because all the night long he felt a heavy pain. Thank you for your comprehension and I will return soon tomorrow morning. Thanks.]
- 6- Buon giorno, vorrei **chiederle permesso** per domani **lunedì il motivo, e che debo** andare a un controllo medico **justo como** la azienda me lo chiede **le reingrazio per la atencione**.
[Good morning, I would like to ask a licence for tomorrow (Monday). The reason is that I must go to a medical check-up, as the company requires. Thank you for your attention.]
- 7- Salve capo, non posso andare a lavoro **il lunedì**, devo andare al mio paese per una situazione **famigliare** troppo complicata, chiedo scusa per la mia assenza. Grazie.
[Hello boss, I can't go to work this Monday, I must go to my town because of a very complicated family situation. I am sorry for my absence. Thanks.]
- 8- Vorrei fare qualcosa di importante domani, non posso andare **al ufficio**.
[I would like to do something important tomorrow, I can't go to the office.]
- 9- Buon giorno, **Domani**, purtroppo non **potrei** essere **al** lavoro. Chiedo scusa per la mia **mancanza** e farò **tutto possibile per ricuperare** il giorno perso. Distinti saluti.
[Good morning. Unfortunately, tomorrow I could not be at work. I am sorry for my absence and I will do all that I can to regain the lost day. Best regards.]
- 10- Gentile Dott. X. Mi **serberebbe** un giorno di permesso **per attendere assunti personali**. La ringrazio in anticipo per la disponibilità.
[Dear Doct. X, I need a day off to handle with personal businesses. Thank you in advance for your availability.]
- 11- Buongiorno. Vorrei **chiedere permesso** per assentarmi **lunedì** mattina dato che ce ho una emergenza personale.
[Good morning. I would like to ask a day off for Monday morning, as I have a personal emergency.]
- 12- Domani non verrò a lavorare, **perche** ho una visita medica.
[Tomorrow I won't be at work, because I have a doctor's appointment.]
- 13- **Non posso andare Dominica**.
[I can't go on Sunday.]
- 14- Gentile Laura (incaricata di RRHH), per motivi di forza maggiore domani non **potro` assistire l'ufficio**. **Faro`** uso del giorno di permesso che mi mancava quest'anno. Ti ringrazio per l'attenzione.
[Dear Laura (representative of RRHH), because of reasons of force majeure, tomorrow I can't be in the office. I will use the last remaining day off of this year. Thank you for your attention.]

- 15- Gentile direttore, Le scrivo questa mail per chiederLe un giorno di permesso dato che ho bisogno di un giorno per fare cose **personale**.
[Dear manager, I write this mail to ask you a day off, as I need a day to deal with personal businesses.]

Italian monolinguals:

- 1- Gentile Sig. X, cause maggiori di natura personale mi spingono a chiedere un giorno di permesso per lunedì prossimo. Spero che possiate considerare positivamente la mia richiesta, pervenuta con il dovuto anticipo. Grazie.
[Dear Mr. X., force majeure causes of personal nature push me to ask you a day off for next Monday. I hope that you can consider positively my request, as it has been sent in great advance. Thanks.]
- 2- Le chiedo gentilmente un giorno di permesso per un impegno improrogabile.
[I kindly ask you a day off for an undelayable commitment.]
- 3- Gentilissimo Direttore, le scrivo per comunicarLe che domani, Lunedì 8 Aprile, non potrò essere in ufficio per urgenti questioni personali. Chiedo pertanto a Lei un giorno di permesso. Distinti saluti.
[Dear Manager, I write to you to communicate that tomorrow Monday 8th April I can't be in the office for urgent personal businesses. For this reason, I ask you a day off. Best regards.]
- 4- Mi avevano programmato una visita medica per domani e mi sono dimenticato di **chiederla** prima dato che ero preso dal lavoro. Mi auguro possa concedermi un giorno di permesso.
[I had been scheduled a doctor's appointment for tomorrow and I forgot to ask it before, as I was totally captivated by my work. I hope you can allow me to get a day off.]
- 5- Gentile direttore, mi scuso se non l'ho avvisata prima ma oggi sarò costretto ad assentarmi. Ho avuto un terribile problema, ma le spiegherò i dettagli in seguito.
[Dear Chied Executive, I am sorry for not informing you before, but today I am obliged to be absent. I have had a terrible problem, but I will explain you all the details afterwards.]
- 6- Salve, **Volevo dovrei** parlarLe. Mi servirebbe un giorno di permesso per domani mattina, dovrei sbrigare alcune commissioni importanti che non posso rimandare. E' possibile?
[Hello, I would, I have to talk to you. I need a day off for tomorrow morning, I have to handle some important businesses that I can't postpone. Is it possible?]
- 7- È da qualche giorno che soffro di improvvisi capogiri pertanto necessito di un giorno di permesso per un controllo preventivo.
[Since some days I am suffering of sudden dizzinesses, so I need a day off for a medical check-up.]
- 8- Gentilissimo Direttore, Le scrivo per chiederle se era possibile domani avere il giorno libero **essendo che** ho un appuntamento col medico ed è di molta importanza. La ringrazio in anticipo.
[Dearest Chief Executive, I am writing to you to ask you whether it could be possible to have a day off for tomorrow, as I have a doctor's appointment and it is very important. Thanks in advance.]
- 9- Direttore chiedo un giorno di permesso per motivi personali.
[Chief Executive, I ask a day off for personal reasons.]
- 10- Perdonais si os pregunto con tan poco anticipo un dia de permiso mañana. Pero es por problemas de salvo.
[You will excuse me if I am asking a day off for tomorrow with so little advance. But it is because of health problems.]
- 11- Buongiorno. Vorrei chiederle un giorno di permesso per domani per motivi di famiglia, dovrei accompagnare mia madre per una visita. La ringrazierei per la sua disponibilità.
[Good Morning. I would like to ask you a day off for tomottow for family reasons, I have to take my mother to a doctors' appointment. I would thank you for your availability.]

- 12- Gentile "Pizzi". Le chiedo un giorno di permesso per domani. La mia assenza dal posto di lavoro durerà solo un giorno e le sarei grato se lei accettasse. Cordialmente.
[Dear "Pizzi". I ask you a day off for tomorrow. My absence from the workplace will last only one day and I would be grateful if you could accept it. Best regards.]
- 13- Vorrei gentilmente chiederle un permesso per lunedì. Ho urgenza di andare dal dentista, rischio un ascesso.
[I would kindly ask a day off for Monday. I urge to go to the dentist, as I am risking an abscess.]
- 14- Al sig. Direttore. Il/la sottoscritto/a L.F., dipendente dell'Azienda UzU, con la presente chiede di poter usufruire di n°1 giorni di permesso, dal giorno 03/05/2012, per motivi personali. Resto in attesa di un vs positivo riscontro. Distinti saluti.
[Chief Executive. The undersigned, L.F., employee of the company UzU, hereby asks one day of licence for the day 3rd may 2012 for personal reasons. I am waiting your positive reply. Best regards.]
- 15- Egregio..., sono... mi sento proprio debole, domani non riuscirò proprio a venire al lavoro. Mi scuso per il disagio che le causo.
[Dear..., I am...I feel myself very weak, tomorrow I won't be able to come at work. I am sorry for the inconvenience caused.]
- 16- Gentile capo-settore, causa questione familiare di una certa rilevanza, necessiterei un giorno di permesso per assentarmi dall'ufficio nella data di domani. Mi scuso enormemente per non aver potuto avvertire con anticipo, ma il problema è appena sopraggiunto. Cordiali saluti.
[Dear Department Head, because of a family issue of some relevance, I need a day off for tomorrow. I am terribly sorry for having not informed you in advance, but the problem is just appeared. Best regards.]

2.5. Discussion

This pilot study reveals some interesting findings. As far as the first research question is concerned, that is whether the length of code-switching can affect the perception of implicatures in Italian, data from the implicature test seem to suggest a positive answer. Indeed, bilinguals performed better in dialogues with short code-switches and had a very low performance in the dialogues with longer code-switches. With regard to the second research question, a significant difference can be traced among the bilingual group and the Italian monolingual group, as bilinguals' performance rate was in average -5,7% than the monolinguals' one in the mixed dialogues and -9,4% in monolingual interactions.

Thus, these results seem to suggest that **code-switched utterances foster the comprehension of implicatures only when just one or two words are switched**, while long-switched passages produce a misleading or misinterpreting effect.

Moreover, the comprehension of monolingual dialogues is generally much lower than the Italian monolinguals one, probably because of a significantly inferior level of linguistic, pragmatic and sociopragmatic competence (since bilinguals were native speakers in Spanish and B2 level in Italian as their L2, while Italian monolinguals had a native competence in Italian and a B2 level in Spanish as their foreign language).

In addition, as both groups were able to identify the effectiveness of sociopragmatic behaviour only in the bilingual dialogue, it can be hypothesised that they misunderstood the whole task, as they tended to identify as misbehavior a bad way of acting instead of recognising the fictional characters' effectiveness in hiding their real intention.

The conclusion which can be drawn is that Spanish-Italian bilinguals in this particular context should be trained not only by enhancing their linguistic competence, but also their pragmalinguistic and inferencing knowledge with supplementary consolidating exercises to correct instances of interference and interlanguage, such as phonetic and morphosyntactic errors. Nevertheless, this preliminary study makes an interdisciplinary contribution to teaching and learning implicatures. However, additional tests on different language pairs and typologies and with a wider range of both sociopragmatic and psychological tests are strongly advisable.

3. Case study 1C. The Italian-Occitan-Calabrese CS

3.1. Introduction

Occitan is a collection of Romance varieties originally used in Southern France, (where most of its speakers live). Nowadays it is also spoken in some areas in Italy, Spain and Monaco (Bec 1963, 1973). The term Occitan derives from *lenga d'òc* as opposed to the *langue d'oïl* spoken in Central and Northern France and the widespread use of this term is even found in some major works of the early Italian literature, such as the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* by Dante Aligheri (1303-1304).

A florid literature in Occitan (*troubadours/trovadores*) was developed in France in the late Middle Age and deeply influenced other rising European literatures (Distilo, Costantino and Viel 2010), but the written modality of Occitan rapidly decreased after the 16th century, when the central political power in Paris gradually excluded the active written and oral use of all the other French regional varieties in the public sphere (Nettle and Romaine 2001).

Occitan has also been known for a long time as *Provençal*, but this last label is now used to indicate only the variety spoken in the Provence region of France.

Lacking a standard writing system (Formica 1999, Kunert 1993), the variety named *Guardiolo*, which is spoken in Guardia Piemontese (Calabria-Italy) is probably a mix of several Piedmontese Occitan dialects spoken in Val Pellice and Bobbio Pellice, with a few borrowings inserted from Calabrese dialect. This hypothesis was further confirmed by the analysis of family surnames, which seem to indicate that the origin of the founders of Guardia Piemontese could be traced to other Piedmontese valleys (Germanasca and Chisone), to the Cuneo province, to the area of Saluzzo and to the Queyras as well (Stancati 2008:88-89).

According to Stancati (2008:282), Occitan was also spoken in several Calabrese towns (Montalto, San Sisto, Fuscaldo and even in some parts of the city of Cosenza) until the 16th century (Genre 1986). The dramatic turning point which caused a massive decline in the Occitan-speaking area was the open devotion of Guardia Piemontese citizens to the Waldesian religion. Waldism was declared a heresy by the Catholic church on several occasions since XIIIth century, but a true legal and physical persecution increased in the XVIth and XVIIth centuries as a result of the Counter-Reformation (*Controriforma*) by the Roman Church against the spread of Protestantism in Europe.

Waldism was secretly professed throughout the Middle Ages but, as Occitans started to profess their religion openly since XVIth century, a terrible persecution of both Piedmontese and Calabrese Occitans began. Most of them were exterminated in a few days in 1561 in Guardia Piemontese and in the nearby villages, and others were imprisoned or died in the next decades (Scaramella 1999).

The use of the Occitan language was explicitly forbidden to the survivors since 1592 (Stancati 2008:282) and another act passed by the Roman Catholic Church *Sant'Ufficio* in July 1638 prohibited the use of Occitan again

both in public and in private. [...] Those who will dare to speak the “*ultramontano*” language will be inflicted a penalty of six ducats (Stancati 2008:311).

The consequence of these acts and physical persecutions was that Occitan was completely lost everywhere in Calabria except for the town of Guardia Piemontese/La Gàrdia, where people disobeyed the law and parents secretly transmitted Occitan to their children (Stancati 2008).

Guardia Piemontese people were successful in doing so for a concurrence of different causes: a) an extreme isolation of the town (see Figure 16) from the surrounding Calabrese-speaking villages, which resulted in very limited contacts with non-Occitan speakers; b) a lack of schooling; and c) the great phonetic and lexical distance between Calabrese dialect and Occitan which, in turn, also prevented an effective control of religious authorities on the meetings of Occitans (Rohlf 1956, Stancati 2008:282, 317).



Figure 16. The Occitan community of Guardia Piemontese/La Gàrdia (the red area in the map).

In XXVIII and XXVIX centuries, the Catholic Church and the Kingdom of Naples, gradually ceased to persecute Occitans and in 1888 the philologist Giuseppe Morosi found that Occitan was particularly vigorous in Guardia Piemontese (Stancati 2008:366) and Gerard Rohlf observed the same phenomena four decades later (Stancati 2008:386-387).

In several elders, a situation of unbalanced bilingualism was detected, given the fact that usually they understood Italian, but answered back in Occitan (Stancati 2008:389).

Nowadays, estimates on the number of Occitan speakers in Guardia Piemontese range from a minimum of 300 people (mostly in the old part of Guardia) to 500-600

people (Stancati 2008:420-421). Unfortunately, Occitan does not belong to a network of minority communities (attested in the albanophone communities, instead) and it represents a small-sized ethnolinguistic “island” surrounded by very much larger non-Occitan areas. Moreover, given the increasing influence and use of both Italian and Calabrese dialect and a decrease of the inter-generational transmission, the social status of the Guardia Piemontese variety is menaced in young generations and the survival of this language is seriously endangered (see table 34).

	Occitan	Calabrese dialect	Italian
Ethnologue classification	-	Safe	Safe
Official Status	Yes	No	Yes
Social Status	Weak in younger generations and mixed families, strong in monoethnolinguistic families	Strong	Dominant
Prestige	Medium	Medium	High
Kind of contact	Unidirectional plurilingualism (Occitans are all plurilinguals, non-Occitans are just bilingual in Calabrese dialect and Italian)		

Table 34. Sociolinguistic situation of Occitan-Calabrese-Italian plurilingualism.

3.2. Research questions

The two main research questions are:

- 1) What are the explicit and implicit attitudes on plurilingualism and Occitan-Calabrese-Italian code-switching?
- 2) What are the patterns of code-switching acceptability emerging in the Occitan community?

3.3. Survey method, materials and participants

16 Informants (11 females and 5 males) were involved in an open interview (Appendix 3) on the attitudes towards code-switching which took place in the old part of Guardia Piemontese (in a private house, in a cultural association and in the municipal linguistic office) in three sessions for an overall length of 2 hours, 34 minutes and 36 seconds.

The rationale behind this choice was the small number of virtually available speakers (about 300 people) which implied that a qualitative analysis, where informants could be free to express their judgements and potentially provide the research a richer amount of information, would have been more appropriate than a limited set of allowed options.

3.4. Data findings

The first part of the interview dealt with personal biographic information and the languages spoken. Table 35 shows the age distribution of the informants, while Table 36 and Table 37 indicate their place of birth and residence respectively.

	Frequency	Percentage
Children (0-10)	1	6.25%
Adolescents (11-17)	2	12.5%
Young Adults (18-40)	3	18.75%
Adults (41-64)	5	31.25%
Elders (65+)	5	31.25%
	16	100%

Table 35. Age distribution of the Occitan informants.

	Frequency	Percentage
Guardia Piemontese	9	56.25%
Cosenza	2	12.5%
Paola	1	6.25%
Cetraro	1	6.25%
Belvedere	1	6.25%
Nuremberg (Germany)	1	6.25%
United States of America	1	6.25%
	16	100%

Table 36. Place of birth of the Occitan informants.

	Frequency	Percentage
Guardia Piemontese	15	93.75%
Acquappesa	1	6.25%
	16	100%

Table 37. Place of residence of the Occitan informants.

Data reveal that most of the informants are adults or elders ($N=10$), thus confirming previous studies on the high mean age of the Calabrese Occitan speakers. All of them live in Guardia Piemontese, except one.

As for the educational level, 6 informants have achieved the High School diploma and 2 informants a Master Degree, while another half has only been granted a Middle School diploma (4) or a Primary School Licence (4), as in Table 38.

	Frequency	Percentage
Primary School	4	25%
Middle school	4	25%
High School	6	37.5%
Master Degree	2	12.5%
	16	100%

Table 38. Educational level of the Occitan informants.

Moreover, one third (5) of the informants were pensioners, 3 students, while one informant was unemployed.

Among the other job positions, we have a housewife, a physiotherapist, a thermalist, a farmer, a janitor, an employee at the linguistic office and a private teacher/translator, as shown in table 39.

	Frequency	Percentage
Unemployed	1	6.25%
Pensioner	5	31.25%
Student	3	18.75%
Housewife	1	6.25%
Physiotherapist	1	6.25%
Thermal health service	1	6.25%
Farmer	1	6.25%
Janitor	1	6.25%
Municipal Linguistic Office	1	6.25%
Private teacher and translator	1	6.25%
	16	100%

Table 39. Employments of the Occitan informants.

The declared L1(s) is Occitan (11 informants) and Occitan and Italian (5 informants), as in table 40 below.

	Frequency	Percentage
Occitan	11	68.75%
Occitan, Italian	5	31.25%
	16	100%

Table 40. L1(s) of the Occitan informants.

The age of acquisition was childhood for all informants, while the age of additional language acquisition was childhood/during schooling for 12 (75%) informants and not

specified for 4 (25% informants). Table 41 below shows the additional languages asserted by the informants.

	Frequency	Percentage
Italian	6	37.50%
Italian, French	1	6.25%
Calabrese, Italian	1	6.25%
English, Spanish	1	6.25%
Italian, English	1	6.25%
Italian, dialect of Fuscaldo	1	6.25%
None	5	31.25%
	16	100%

Table 41. Additional languages spoken by the Occitan informants.

In the second part of the interview, informants spontaneously discussed whether they were able to understand other varieties, their actual frequency and domains of use of languages, the language of “thought” and the language of emotions.

8 informants claimed they understand other Romance varieties, such as Calabrese, English, French, Spanish, Sardinian, Friulan and the dialect of Trento, while 8 informants did not mention any other language (see Table 42 below).

	Frequency	Percentage
Calabrese	3	18.75%
Calabrese, English, French	2	12.50%
English, French	1	6.25%
English, French, Spanish	1	6.25%
English, Calabrese, Sardinian, Friulan, dialect of Trento	1	6.25%
None	8	50%
	16	100%

Table 42. Other varieties understood by Occitan informants.

The domains of use of Occitan are mostly the family, friends and *in-group* conversations in the old part of Guardia Piemontese (13 informants, Table 43), while the other languages are mostly used in communicative contexts outside the town of Guardia Piemontese (see table 44).

	Frequency	Percentage
Old Guardia Piemontese, family and friends	13	81.25%
Cultural association, at home with my mother	1	6.25%
Everywhere	1	6.25%
Family, friends and sometimes (unconsciously) with strangers	1	6.25%
	16	100%

Table 43. Domains of use of Occitan.

	Frequency	Percentage
Italian outside Guardia Piemontese	7	43.75%
Italian outside Guardia Piemontese and at home with my husband	1	6.25%
Italian at the University, School	2	12.25%
Not specified	6	37.50%
	16	100%

Table 44. Domains of use of the other languages.

As far as the frequency of use is concerned, more than one third (6) of the informants declared that Occitan and Italian are the most used languages, followed by Occitan alone (5 informants), Italian (2 informants), English and Occitan (2 informants), while one informant does not specify any language (Table 45).

	Frequency	Percentage
Occitan and Italian	6	37.50%
Occitan	5	31.25%
Italian	2	12.50%
English, Occitan	2	12.50%
Not specified	1	6.25%
	16	100%

Table 45. Self-perception of the languages that are used more frequently.

An *unbalanced trilingual repertoire*, with Occitan prevailing in Guardia Piemontese and Italian and Calabrese mainly used outside the community, seems to emerge from the interviews. This is also shown by data on the self-perception of the languages used more frequently within the family (table 46). Occitan, in fact, is the most used language in family (14 informants), while only 2 informants state an equal use of Occitan and Italian.

	Frequency	Percentage
Occitan	14	87.50%
Occitan and Italian	2	12.50%
	16	100%

Table 46. Self-perception of the languages that are used more frequently in family.

From the inner point of view, table 47 explains how according to 12 informants Occitan is the language through which they express themselves more comfortably; quite the opposite, other 2 informants mention Italian and other 2 mention English and Occitan, respectively.

	Frequency	Percentage
Occitan	12	75%
Italian	2	12.50%
English, Occitan	2	12.50%
	16	100%

Table 47. Languages in which informants are more comfortable in expressing themselves.

In addition, the self-perceived language of thought is Occitan and Italian (12 informants), while other 4 informants mention other varieties, as in table 48. On the other hand, the sole language of strong negative emotions such as rage and anger is Occitan for the great majority of the informants (14): as a result, only one informant indicates Italian for rage and anger and another affirms that he uses Italian for these negatives emotions in general, but Occitan as well whenever he does not want to be understood (table 49).

	Frequency	Percentage
Occitan and Italian	12	75%
Occitan, German	1	6.25%
Italian	1	6.25%
English, Occitan	2	12.50%
	16	100%

Table 48. Language of “thought”.

	Frequency	Percentage
Occitan	14	87.50%
Italian, Occitan whenever I don't want to be understood	1	6.25%
Italian	1	6.25%
	16	100%

Table 49. Language of strong negative emotions: rage and anger.

The third part of the interview intended to assess speakers' self-perception of their code-switching practice, competence and attitudes.

When speaking, 10 informants (62,50%) on the whole declared to code-switch, whereas 6 informants claimed they use only one code at a time (37,50%) (table 50).

		Frequency	Percentage
Code-switching	I usually mix languages	3	18.75%
	I mix languages by inserting a few Italian words in Occitan sentences	1	6.25%
	I mix languages by inserting a few Occitan words in Italian sentences	1	6.25%
	I mix languages both intrasententially and intersententially	1	6.25%
	I mix languages deliberately with children at school	1	6.25%
	I just mix for specific terms (English borrowings for instance)	1	6.25%
	I only mix from Occitan to Italian, often by repeating the same Occitan sentence in Italian	1	6.25%
	I usually mix from Occitan to Calabrese	1	6.25%
One code at a time	I usually separate languages	1	6.25%
	I always separate languages	5	31.25%
		16	100%

Table 50. Code-switching practice vs language separation.

In particular, informants self-perceive their code-switching practice as something occurring mostly at the intrasentential word level (11 informants – 68.75%), while 2 Occitans identify CS as a frequent phenomenon in children and other 2 in young people. Finally, one informant believes that CS is frequent in mixed families (table 51).

	Frequency	Percentage
Sometimes/just for a few words	11	68.75%
Frequent in children	2	12.50%
Frequent in young people	2	12.50%
Frequent in mixed families	1	6.25%
	16	100%

Table 51. Self-perceived frequency of CS.

Nobody declared a similar phenomenon in writing, thus considering their CS practice as belonging to the oral modality exclusively. Moreover, all informants state that, even if CS occurs mostly in conversations with other plurilinguals, code-switched stretches of discourse sometimes (and, often, unconsciously) appear also when talking to Italian/Calabrese monolinguals.

With particular reference to CS with non-Occitans, the informants were questioned about the appropriateness or inappropriateness of this behaviour. Almost everyone (15) affirmed that CS should be avoided in presence of monolinguals, while just one informant believes that CS can be performed also in their presence (table 52).

	Frequency	Percentage
Mixing should be avoided in presence of monolinguals	8	50.00%
Mixing should be avoided in presence of monolinguals for a matter of education and to not exclude outsiders	4	25%
Mixing should be avoided or code-switched forms should be at least explained to non-Occitans	1	6.25%
Mixing should be avoided, but sometimes it is used deliberately to not make oneself understood	2	12.50%
Languages can be mixed in presence of monolinguals	1	6.25%
	16	100%

Table 52. Attitudes on CS in presence of monolinguals.

Later on the informants were given a sentence and a dialogue and they had to judge the way of speaking of the speaker(s) by assigning a value from 1 (he/she speaks very badly/I can't understand him/her) to 5 (he/she speaks very well).

The first sentence was completely monolingual in Occitan:

La lenga occitana deu son nom a la particèla afirmativa òc, derivaa dal latin hoc est.
 ('The Occitan language owes its name to the affirmative particle òc, derived from the latin term *hoc est.*').

The second dialogue was written in Italian with two intrasentential switches in Occitan.

a) *PERSON A: Come si chiama il tuo paese? Guardia? La Gàrdia?*

'What is the name of your town? Guardia? La Gàrdia?'

PERSON B: Sì. Il mio paese, la comuna de La Gàrdia en província de Cosença, è molto bello e ricco di storia.

'Yes. My town, the municipality of La Gàrdia in the province of Cosenza, is very beautiful and full of story''

Half of the informants on the whole rated the Occitan sentence with judgments from 5 to 3, while the other half low-rated the monolingual sentence, as in table 53.

	5 - He/She speaks very well	4 - He/She speaks well	3 - He/She makes him/her understand	2 - He/She speaks badly	1 - He/She speaks very badly	
Occitan sentence	2 (12.50%)	1 (6.25%)	5 (31.25%)	3 (18.75%)	5 (31.25%)	16 (100%)

Table 53. Results of the Likert test on the evaluation of an Occitan sentence.

With regard to the code-switched dialogue, informants seemed to prefer the intrasentential code-switching performed by the first speaker (75% of the maximum score of 5 and 93.75% of positive judgments on the whole), whereas the intersentential switch pronounced by the second speaker receives a maximum score only by 25% of the informants. However, on the whole, the positive judgments are 93.75% also in this code-switched dialogue, as for the previous speaker (see table 54).

		5 - He/She speaks very well	4 - He/She speaks well	3 - He/She makes him/her understand	2 - He/She speaks badly	1 - He/She speaks very badly	
Occitan-Italian dialogue	Person A	12 (75%)	2 (12.50%)	1 (6.25%)	-	1 (6.25%)	16 (100%)
	Person B	4 (25%)	7 (43.75%)	4 (25%)	-	1 (6.25%)	16 (100%)

Table 54. Results of the Likert test on the evaluation of an Italian-Occitan sentence.

Another question given to the interviewees was related to the kind of effect that these mixed conversations can potentially have on listeners, if bilinguals or monolinguals. The majority of the informants (9) self-perceived these conversations as comprehensible, but a wide part of them (6) rated CS as strange/unusual and another informant judged it as ill-formed (see table 55).

	Frequency	Percentage
Strange/Unusual	6	37.50%
Ill-formed	1	6.25%
Comprehensible	9	56.25%
	16	100%

Table 55. Presumed effect of code-switched conversation on listeners.

The last question in the section on CS asked informants whether in a bilingual community the “purity” of each language should be preserved or whether language contact and mixing are rather something to be accepted. There is a general positive attitude towards contact, as data in table 56 confirm.

	Frequency	Percentage
Contact and openness to new speakers	9	56.25%
Contact with people, but language separation	2	12.50%
Careful contact	3	18.75%
Purity inside the community, contact with other communities	1	6.25%
Theoretically the purity is fair , but mixing and change are unavoidable and also the passing of the time has an impact	1	6.25%
	16	100%

Table 56. Attitudes towards language contact.

The last section of the interview dealt with the issues of education and language planning/policy. Three questions elicited the informants’ evaluation of parental educational strategies. In particular, whether bilingual education would be advisable for children and why/why not, what strategies parents should adopt with regard to the time course of children’s language acquisition (for instance, *should the child be educated in one language first and after a certain time in the second one?*, or, *the sooner the child is exposed to the two languages, the better he will learn them?*) and if it would be preferable the *one-parent-one-language* strategy or the *both-languages-at-home* method.

Almost everyone (15 informants) is in favour of bilingual education (table 57), while a half of them prefers successive bilingual education, and only 4 informants (25%) push

for simultaneous bilingual education. Only one informant declares himself against bilingual education (table 58).

As for the educational method, there is a great evidence of the self-perceived necessity of a one-parent-one-language strategy (14 informants), while one informant affirms that the education in family should be monolingual in Occitan and another interviewee that it should be monolingual in Italian (see table 59).

	Frequency	Percentage
In favour of bilingual education in Occitan and Italian	13	81.25%
In favour of bilingual education and in early foreign language education	1	6.25%
In favour of successive bilingual education (Occitan first, Italian later on)	1	6.25%
Against bilingual education	1	6.25%
	16	100%

Table 57. Attitudes towards bilingual education.

	Frequency	Percentage
In favour of simultaneous bilingual education	4	25%
In favour of successive bilingual education (Occitan first, Italian later on)	4	25%
In favour of successive bilingual education (Italian/Calabrese first, Occitan later on)	3	18.75%
In favour of successive bilingual education	1	6.25%
Against bilingual education (only Occitan should be used by parents)	1	6.25%
Not specified	3	18.75%
	16	100%

Table 58. Attitudes towards early vs successive bilingual education.

	Frequency	Percentage
In favour of one-parent-one-language method	14	87.50%
In favour of monolingual education in Italian	1	6.25%
In favour of monolingual education in Occitan	1	6.25%
	16	100%

Table 59. Attitudes towards one-parent-one-language vs both-languages-at-home vs monolingual educational method in “mixed” families.

Then, three questions addressed the topic of legal protection of minority communities and languages.

All informants declared to be aware of the existence of laws protecting minority communities and their languages, but, when asked about the usefulness of these acts and whether other instruments would be necessary their answers were more varied.

In fact, they stressed the importance of involving true experts in the Occitan language (2 informants), the necessity of increasing funding (1 informant), a better mode of operation in the linguistic office (one informant) and many others (table 60).

	Frequency	Percentage
These acts are useful	5	37.25%
These acts are useful, even if true experts in the Occitan language are strongly needed	2	12.50%
These acts are useful, but they need concrete and strong funding	1	6.25%
These acts are useful only in theory to grant a symbolic recognition and to stimulate Occitan pride and awareness of our diversity. Unfortunately, they have been passed too late and now they proved to be ineffective in the survival of Occitan. Also, problems in establishing and learning the writing system are detected	3	18.75%
These acts don't work well. The linguistic office should support other municipal offices. Several alliances have been created with Piedmontese Occitans, very few with Calabrese minorities	1	6.25%
I don't know	4	25%
	16	100%

Table 60. Evaluation of the usefulness of laws protecting minority communities.

Another item tested informants' attitude towards the extension of the laws protecting minority communities also to the new minorities (immigrants). 14 informants (87,50%) declared themselves against the hypothesis of granting linguistic rights to the new minorities (table 61).

	Frequency	Percentage
No, these laws cannot be extended to the new migrants	14	87.50%
Yes, these laws can be extended to the new migrants	1	6.25%
Yes, these laws can be extended to the new migrants only in school	1	6.25%
	16	100%

Table 61. Attitudes towards the extension of laws protecting minority communities to the new migrants.

Eventually, all informants affirmed that they were in favour of the use of Occitan variety in the media but, unfortunately, only 7 informants (43,75%) on the whole know authors or literary works in Occitan (see table 62).

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes, I know Mistral, Silvana Primavera, Domenico Iacovo	2	12.50%
Yes, I know Mistral, Arnaut Daniel, Guglielmo di Poitiers, Domenico Iacovo	1	6.25%
Yes, I know local authors	1	6.25%
Yes, I know songs and poems	2	12.25%
Yes, I know songs	1	6.25%
No	9	56.25%
	16	100%

Table 62. Knowledge of authors or literary works in Occitan.

3.5. Discussion

The Occitan variety spoken in Guardia Piemontese is still in the XXIth century the *in-group* variety and the code of family communication, usually acquired within the family during childhood. Moreover, it is self-perceived as the most frequently used language (alone or together with Italian) and as the language in which informants express themselves more comfortably as well. In addition, Occitan prevails in emotional communication, whereas Italian (and/or Calabrese dialect) represents the code of *out-group* communicative exchanges. Thus, this kind of plurilingualism implies a precise separation of the domains of use of each variety, even though in mixed families and young generations this distinction is less noticeable and influenced also by inner psycholinguistic factors.

The majority of informants declared to practice code-switching, thus suggesting their awareness of this phenomenon, and only 5 (31.25%) claimed to use only one language at a time. We can undoubtedly argue that this phenomenon belongs only to oral communication, as informants did not mention throughout the interview borrowings or insertions of terms of other languages in the written modality.

As for the self-comparison between one's own practice (*production/output*) of CS and that of others' CS (*input*), the interviewed Occitans judge their own CS mostly an *intrasentential alternation*, particularly for a few words, while substantial *intersentential switches occur mostly in children, young people and in mixed families as a consequence of limited input in Occitan*. The directionality of CS (from Occitan to Italian or *viceversa*) and the intersentential CS does not seem to play a significant role in these informants.

Code-switches are self-evaluated as conscious phenomena, even if in some circumstances they do occur involuntarily too. For a matter of respect, several informants affirm that CS should be avoided in front of non-Occitan speakers or, at least, the context of code-switched forms should be explained to them and this claim is confirmed by the potential reaction of non-Occitan speaker: 43.75% of the informants declare that outsiders may judge these forms as strange or ill-formed.

Sometimes, CS acts as a deliberate exclusion of out-group people, whenever members of the Occitan minority community do not want to be understood.

The psycholinguistic test, which is an adaptation of the Likert (1932) Scale, shows that the evaluation of the Occitan sentence receives judgments ranging from 3 (he/she makes him/her understand) to 5 (he/she speaks very well) by half of the informants, while the other half evaluates the speaker as somebody who speaks badly or very badly.

Ratings on the CS dialogue are positive (from 3 to 5) in 15 of the 16 informants (93.75%), while the remaining informant assigns the minimum score (1 - he speaks very badly).

Therefore, *implicit attitudes* towards CS seem to be *positive* and the *intrasentential switch* receives higher ratings, thus confirming previous explicit data.

Also the answers about attitudes toward language contact seem to confirm an openness towards language contact, seen as something inevitable and theoretically positive, particularly if it occurs at the interpersonal level, while an indiscriminate contact at the linguistic level is perceived as something negative by 43.50% of the informants. Conversely, laws protecting Occitan are perceived as useful in theory, but their late approval determined an ineffectiveness in maintaining the number of speakers and intergenerational transmission. For this reason, another self-perceived possible

threat is the extension of these acts to new migrants, because informants believe that the scarce resources must be directed only to the historical-linguistic minorities: new immigrants are numerically much more consistent than Occitans and an inappropriate protection of new minorities could menace their rights and even their survival as historical ethnolinguistic community.

Among the other socio-psycholinguistic factors which may influence CS, the age of acquisition and the educational method are the most prominent. 87.50% of the interviewed Occitans are in favour of bilingual education; 6.25% is also in favour of precocious foreign language education but the factor of age of exposure to both languages implies diversified answers, even if informants generally seem to prefer successive bilingual education. The best self-perceived educational method is the *one-parent-one-language strategy*, probably due to an increasing incidence of mixed families in the young generations in Guardia Piemontese.

Further studies on the Occitan community of Guardia Piemontese are thus strongly needed to investigate and confirm whether a) code-switching practice and acceptability is mostly located at the intrasentential level b) the different educational methods actually also determine different patterns in CS practice both in adults and children.

4. Case study 1D. The Italian-Philipino-English CS.

4.1. Introduction

The strong migration flows caused by recent socio-economical transformations have determined a reorganisation of the traditional situation of Italian plurilingualism, which is characterised by historical linguistic minorities, regional dialects and Standard Italian.

This phenomenon has generated “additional dynamics if compared to migration contexts of previous ages” (Vedovelli 2013:428) and has given birth to *Italian neoplurilingualism* (Vedovelli 2014). In fact, the migrants’ linguistic repertoire “is already complex on their arrival [in Italy] and it gets further complicated when it inserts itself on the local repertoire composed by Italian and dialect” (Guerini 2002: 77).

At the sociolinguistic level, this neoplurilingualism creates a *linguistic superdiversity* (Barni & Vedovelli 2009), which implies a strong diversity among the various migrant groups, on the basis of factors such as nationality, ethnic group and language (Blommaert & Rampton 2011). Pala (2005: 103) points out that “the migrant builds up a new linguistic entity”, seen as a *multiple competence* which allows both combinations and alternations of various kind and the use of bilingual forms of speech as well (Coste et al. 2009: 11-12).

In this respect, neoplurilingualism should not be intended as a fragmented linguistic competence, but as a collection of *partial competences*, which go beyond the normative concept of balance between L1 and L2 (Council of Europe 2001). In this perspective, bilingualism constitutes a partial competence inside plurilingualism and it is no longer a superordinate concept for linguistic research, as recent studies on plurilingualism seem to suggest (Cenoz et al. 2003; Cenoz & Jessner 2009; Plastina 2012; Selvaggi 2014).

This case study thus aims at investigating neoplurilingualism within a small Filipino community in the city of Cosenza (Italy) through informants' self-perception.

Acting as observers of their own behaviour, speakers are stimulated to infer their own linguistic attitudes and express linguistic acceptability judgements. The concept of self-perception arises from the psychological theory of self-perception (Bem 1972), which considers people's attitudes with regard to the affective, behavioural and cognitive components. Each of these components expresses positivity or negativity. In the linguistic field, these components can assume the meaning of the neoplurilingual speaker's emotional reactions towards the varieties of his/her repertoire (*affective component*), tendencies to the action and intentions towards languages (*behavioural component*) and linguistic knowledge and competence (*cognitive component*).

Self-perception should be judged as a valid instrument if one presupposes that the "overall self-perception is no more than linguistic competence" (Titone 1999: 112). In this view, Ciccone (2010: 33) underlines how "the speaker, [...] far away from being neutral, sets up his/her own interpretation of his/her linguistic space as he/she perceives it, by evaluating its elements by virtue of his/her belonging to this space". Even Iannàccaro (2001:28) observes that the informant "seems to have [...] a linguistic theory which is subjected to his/her answers and [...] a linguistic research theory which leads him/her unconsciously to 'decide' of *what* data the interviewer is in need of" [original emphasis]. Although freely expressed, these answers will be further highly influenced by linguistic experiences and they should be analysed according to their implicit or explicit nature.

In addition, the speaker's ability in expressing linguistic acceptability judgements on a linguistic stimulus (Bard et. al. 1996) concerns the judgment, usually binary, of

accepting a sentence as comprehensible or rejecting it as incomprehensible (Sprouse et al. 2013). These judgments allow the researcher to shed light on both the neoplurilingual speaker's grammatical competence and communicative competence.

This angle permits not only an in-depth research on neoplurilingualism, but it contributes to demystifying the absolute value traditionally assigned to monolingualism and to the native speaker, seen as an ideal subject, as well (Piccardo 2014).

According to a recent estimate, Italy is the second hosting European country for Philipinos (172,148 immigrants), after the United Kingdom (218,777).¹⁵ The growing request of domestic servants has witnessed the establishment of a Philipino community also in the Southern Italy region of Calabria since the early '90s. The ISTAT 2011 Census shows that the Philipino community reaches 3.4% of the whole foreign population of Calabria.

The context of the analysis is Cosenza, the fourth Calabrese city (for population) where 21.2% of Philipinos lives, thus being the second city foreign minority after Romanians and before Ukrainians.

The plurilingual repertoire of Philipinos is generally quite complex at their arrival in Calabria, since it is composed mostly of Philipino (Tagalog), English, *Taglish* and *Englog*, and also includes the regional Iloko and Kapampangan varieties (Ang 1978).

Philipino is an Austronesian language and it is the official language in the Philippines; it is spoken as an L1 by 25% of Philipinos and as an L2 by the majority; English is the other official language, whereas *Taglish* springs from the alternation of Philipino-English, where Philipino plays a dominant role; *Englog* is based on the

¹⁵ Commission on Philipinos Overseas (2012). Stock Estimate of Overseas Philipinos As of December 2012. <www.cfo.gov.ph/images/stories/pdf/StockEstimate2012.pdf>.

alternation of English-Philipino (with English in the dominant position). Other regional varieties add up themselves to this linguistic diversity, depending on the area of speakers' provenance. In the Calabrese context, the immigrants create a new linguistic entity as soon as they arrive, by including also Standard Italian and local Calabrese dialect in their repertoire, therefore expanding it to a neoplurilingual one. The local variety, however, is mostly used with a passive competence

Consequently, all the three standard varieties hold a strong status, as in table 63.

	Philipino	English	Italian	Calabrese dialect
Official Status	No	No	Yes	No
Social Status	Strong	Strong	Dominant	Strong
Prestige	High	High	High	Medium
Kind of contact	Unidirectional neoplurilingualism: Philipinos (former plurilinguals in Philipino, English and regional varieties) become neoplurilingual in Calabria as they include the active use of Italian and the passive use of Calabrese dialect. Calabrese people, instead, are bilingual in Italian and Calabrese dialect, with no competence in Philipino and with usually a competence in English as their first foreign language			

Table 63. Sociolinguistic status of Philipino, English, Italian and Calabrese dialect in the Philipino community of Cosenza.

4.2. Research questions

The three research questions of this study are:

1. How do Philipinos self-perceive their neoplurilingual active and passive competence?
2. What implicit or explicit attitudes do they show towards this competence?
3. What attitudes do they exhibit towards code-switching between languages of their repertoire and what do their acceptability judgements suggest?

The first research question is framed by Berruto's (1998: 39) view about active and passive competences:

it is obvious that speakers, as members of a linguistic community, access (as for the passive competence) and own (as for their active competence) the range of varieties in a well differentiated way. The intervening factors are many, but the main ones are obviously to be traced to social stratification, in first place the educational level, the kind of job and 'social aspirations'.

The second research question analyses the subjective attitudes towards neoplurilingual competence in its affective, cognitive and behavioral aspects, whereas the third one extends the study on code-switching and acceptability beyond mere grammatical shape and bilingualism.

4.3. Survey method, materials and participants

The main goal of this research is to investigate Philipinos' self-perception of their neoplurilingual competence, linguistic attitudes and linguistic acceptability judgements.

A mixed method was adopted to allow an integrated use of both quantitative and qualitative methods with the aim of more precise data coding and analysis. Data were collected through a semi-structured 19-item questionnaire in English (Appendix 4) in order to facilitate informants' understanding.

The random sample of informants is composed of 40 Philipinos living in Cosenza (28 females, 11 males; one informant did not answer about his/her gender). Except one, all informants are first-generation migrants aged 13-61 (see table 64).

	Frequency	Percentage
13-17	6	15%
18-25	9	23%
26-40	12	30%
41-50	11	28%
51-61	2	5%
	40	100%

Table 64. Age distribution of the Philipino informants.

Further data on informants' linguistic biographies show a relatively homogenous neoplurilingual repertoire. All declared that: a) their L1 is Philipino (Tagalog), a language syntactically structured mostly with the SVO order as English and Italian; b) the L2 in their country of provenance was English. On the other side, 30 Philipinos have changed their L2 because of the new social context in which they live and now they flexibly alternate English and Italian as their L2 or L3. Along with these three high prestige standard languages (Philipino, English and Italian), informants also use *Taglish*, whereas 2 Philipinos speak Ilocano and Kapampangan (middle-low prestige varieties with a regional distribution in Philippines) as well.

Calabrese dialect covers an irrelevant status given that, although understood, it is almost never spoken by the informants. In addition, foreign languages studied at school in the Philippines by the participants (41% achieved a high school diploma and 51.3% holds a Bachelor or Master Degree) were Spanish, Korean, Japanese and French. However, these codes do not belong to the neoplurilingual repertoire as the investigated subjects claimed that they never use them.

4.4. Data Findings

Informants' *active* bilingual competence in English and Philipino is very advanced if compared to their trilingual competence, where Italian is positioned at an intermediate level (Table 65). In fact, all informants utter *articulated and complex conversations* in Philipino, 82.5% in English and 90% elaborate *simple conversations* in Italian. Quite the opposite 77.5% can use just a few words of Calabrese dialect (table 65).

<i>Informants</i> (N=40)	1. (very low) Just a few words	2. (low) Some basic words	3. (intermediate) Simple conversations	4. (advanced) Elaborated conversations	5. (proficiency) Articulated and complex conversations
Language					
Philipino L1	==	==	==	==	40
English L2	==	==	==	7	33
Italian L3	2	1	36	1	==
Dialect L4	31	9	==	==	==

Table 65. Informants' self-perception of their *active* neoplurilingual competence.

Table 66 presents the results on informants' self-perception of their passive competence according to the graded scale used for data collection.

<i>Informants</i> (N=40)	1. (very low) Just a few words	2. (low) Some basic words	3. (intermediate) Simple conversations	4. (advanced) Elaborated conversations	5. (proficiency) Articulated and complex conversations
Language					
Philipino L1	==	==	==	==	40
English L2	==	==	5	7	28
Italian L3	2	5	27	6	1
Dialect L4	29	6	3	2	==

Table 66. Informants' self-perception of their neoplurilingual *passive* competence.

All informants self-rate their passive competence in Philipino (L1) as *very advanced* (proficiency as native speakers); overall, 87.5% of the Philipinos evaluate their passive competence in English (L2/L3 and second official language in the Philippines) as *advanced* or *proficiency-like*. 67.5% self-attributes an *intermediate* passive competence in Italian, whereas 72.5% declares a very low passive competence in Calabrese dialect.

In other words, most informants are able to *understand articulated and complex conversations* in Philipino and English and *simpler conversations* in Italian, whereas they understand only a few words in Calabrese dialect. According to Hammarberg (2001), this multiple competence is determined by the following variables:

- precocious age of Philipino and English acquisition;
- bilingual social context in the Philippines;
- kind of job (domestic servants in middle-high class families) with a strong motivation in understanding Italian;
- discrimination towards the local dialect (implicit attitude derived from its low social prestige);
- discrimination towards *Taglish* and *Englog* (not mentioned by the informants): this implicit attitude is due to their high educational level.

Beyond linguistic competence, communicative competence in daily domains (Williams & Hammarberg 1998) is the first key variable which allows informants to perceive their linguistic behaviour. The six detected domains are shown in Table 67.

Language	Communicative domains					
	1. Family/ Friends	2. Work	3. Education	4. Entertainment	5. Written media (newspapers /Internet)	6. Oral media
Philipino	92.5%	==	32.5%	==	==	85%
English	==	==		55	47.5%	
Italian	==	72.5%	==	==	==	

Table 67. Self-perception of the languages used in the various domains.

This language distribution within domains of use outlines a working *pattern* of neoplurilingual competence characterised by:

- *an active monolingual mode*: one language at a time is used. Philipino prevails in the family and friends domain, Italian in the working context and English in entertainment and in written media;
- *an active bilingual mode*: Philipino and English are used at the same time by young informants in the educational context;
- *passive trilingual mode*: the three languages are used passively in consecutive close-up times. For instance, after listening to television programmes in English with Italian subtitles, informants listen to them in Philipino with English subtitles. Lexical access will be parallel and *non-selective* (Plastina 2014) through auditory and visual semiotic systems.

Table 68 shows findings on informants' self-perception of the frequency of use of their languages.

Languages	Frequency of use				
	<i>Daily</i>	<i>Often</i>	<i>Sometimes</i>	<i>never</i>	
Philipino	27 (67.5%)	9 (22.5%)	4 (10%)	0	40 (100%)
English	11 (27.5%)	5 (12.5%)	24 (60%)	0	40 (100%)
Italian	22 (55%)	11 (27.5%)	7 (17.5%)	0	40 (100%)
Calabrese dialect	0	3 (7,5%)	8 (20%)	29 (72.5%)	40 (100%)

Table 68. Informants' self-perception of the frequency of use of their languages.

If on one side, 90% of the informants use L1 daily or often, consistently with findings on the family and friends domain (Table 68), on the other English, their initial L2, is now used with a neatly lower frequency (40%) than Philipino (*daily* and *often*-50%). These data indicate a scarce use of English in the entertainment and written media domains, suggesting that informants' attitudes are more influenced by positive intentions than by a concrete frequent use of English (see Table 68). On the contrary, Italian as official language of the surrounding social environment is understandably used with a higher frequency (82.5%; + 42.5%). Furthermore, the limited use of the local Calabrese dialect (used *often* and *sometimes* only by 27.5% of the informants) is consistent with the very low competence perceived by 77.5% of the informants.

As for linguistic attitudes towards *code-switching*, data analysis has taken into account that this phenomenon is widespread in the Philippines between Philipino and English both at individual and societal levels (Martin 2006) and therefore, informants are implicitly and explicitly aware of it. The results have stressed that all Philipinos have a positive attitude towards *code-switching* as a personal experience, by further individuating a directional *pattern* characterised by actual intrasentential code-switching between two varieties rather than by an alternation of separate codes (*intersentential code-switching*), as shown in Table 69.

Direction	Frequency and percentage	Position	Attitude
1. From Philipino to English	19 (48.7%)	Intrasentential	Tendency in using both codes
2. From English to Philipino	3 (7.8%)	Intrasentential	Tendency in using both codes
3. From Italian to Philipino	7 (17.9%)	Intrasentential	Linguistic deficit
4. From Philipino to Italian/Calabrese	7 (17.9%)	Intrasentential	Tendency in using both codes

Table 69. Self-perceived direction of *code-switching*.

The highest percentage is recorded for Philipino-English alternation (48.7%) along with English-Philipino code-switching, reaching an overall percentage of 56.5% and representing a *former habit in using both codes*; quite the opposite, Italian-Philipino code-switching is self-perceived as a *linguistic deficit* in Italian by 17.9% of the informants and Philipino-Italian/Calabrese CS is mentioned by 17.9%.

Findings on *inner self-perception* were later on compared with the other people's judgment (*outer perception*) by means of a Likert scale (Table 70) applied to two utterances (one assuming a negative connotation ; the other a positive connotation).

Items	<i>I strongly agree</i>	<i>I agree</i>	<i>I disagree</i>	<i>I strongly disagree</i>
1. <i>When I mix languages, other people think I am stupid.</i>	==	10 (27%)	16 (43.3%)	8 (22.2%)
2. <i>Code-switching reveals what I really am.</i>	11 (30.6%)	20 (55.5%)	3 (8.4%)	2 (5.5%)

Table 70. Self-evaluation of outer perception of *code-switching*.

Here, the majority of informants evaluates other peoples' attitudes towards *code-switching* positively: on the whole, 75.5% disagrees or strongly disagrees with the negatively connoted item and 86.1% (+10.6%) agrees or strongly agrees with the

positively connoted item, thus implying that this phenomenon effectively reflects the sociolinguistic identity of the members of the Philipino community.

Table 71 presents the values recorded on the Likert scale for attitudes towards the linguistic and socio-educational value of *code-switching* in three negatively (items a) and three positively (items b) polarised items.

Items	<i>I strongly agree</i>	<i>I agree</i>	<i>I disagree</i>	<i>I strongly disagree</i>
1. Social Value				
a. <i>Code-switching should be avoided as a social practice</i> (- polarity)	3 (9.1%)	12 (36.4%)	12 (36.4%)	6 (18.2%)
b. <i>Code-switching helps in interpersonal communication</i> (+ polarity)	9 (25.7%)	20 (57.1%)	3 (8.6%)	3 (8.6%)
2. Educational Value				
a. <i>People who code-switch cannot speak well</i> (- polarity)	1 (2.8%)	11 (30.6%)	19 (52.8%)	5 (13.9%)
b. <i>People who code-switch can speak well</i> (+ polarity)	12 (34.3%)	17 (48.6%)	5 (14.3%)	1 (2.9%)
3. Linguistic Value				
a. <i>Mixing leads to the loss of Philipino</i> (- polarity)	2 (5.5%)	5 (13.9%)	21 (58.4%)	8 (22.2%)
b. <i>Mixing helps in maintaining Philipino</i> (+ polarity)	12 (32.3%)	15 (41.7%)	8 (22.2%)	1 (2.8%)

Table 71. Attitudes towards the socio-educational value of *code-switching*.

A positive attitude emerges towards code-switching as helpful in facilitating interpersonal communication (82.8% of agreement and strong agreement judgments), in recognising the ability of speaking well (82,8% of agreement and strong agreement ratings) and in maintaining the L1 (74% agrees or strongly agrees).

Judgments on attitudes towards the social practice of code-switching are instead equally distributed between agreement (36.4%) and disagreement (36.4%), thus pushing towards their correlation with linguistic acceptability data.

With regards to this issue, informants were required to rate three intrasentential code-switched utterances (Bautista 1980). The first sentence stimulated acceptability

judgments related to the speaker’s character, whereas the second and the third sentences referred to the level of understandability. Results show that 61.7% of the informants assign a positive characterial evaluation to the speaker of the first sentence, who is described mostly as an educated (41.1%), polite (11.8%) and intelligent (8.8%) person (Table 72).

<i>We'll still discuss ito pong mga detalye</i> [We'll still discuss of these details, Sir]		
Parameters	Frequency	Percentage
a. polite	4	11.8%
b. impolite	2	5.9%
c. intelligent	3	8.8%
d. stupid	2	5.9%
e. pleasant	-	0%
f. irritating	7	20.6%
g. educated	14	41.1%
h. ill-mannered	2	5.9%

Table 72. Acceptability judgements based on the evaluation of speaker’s character.

The second statement presented in Table 73 contains the intrasentential lexical borrowing *kandila* (‘candle’), which was rated as highly acceptable (83.8% of totally comprehensible and mostly comprehensible judgments).

<i>Humanap ako ng KANDILA</i> ‘I am seeking a candle’	
Parameters	Frequency and percentage
1. <i>Totally comprehensible</i>	27 (73)%
2. <i>Mostly comprehensible</i>	4 (10.8%)
3. <i>Somewhat comprehensible</i>	1 (2.7%)
4. <i>Mostly incomprehensible</i>	1 (2.7%)
5. <i>Totally incomprehensible</i>	4 (10.8%)

Table 73. Acceptability judgments on *code-switching* in *Taglish*.

Conversely, the particle *mga* ('the') inside the English sentence shown in Table 74 is judged as totally or mostly acceptable only by 29.8% of the evaluators.

<i>The boys ate all of the MGA chocolate donut</i>	
<i>'The boys ate all of the chocolate donuts'</i>	
Parameters	Frequency and percentage
1. <i>Totally comprehensible</i>	7 (18.9%)
2. <i>Mostly comprehensible</i>	4 (10.9%)
3. <i>Somewhat comprehensible</i>	9 (24.3%)
4. <i>Mostly incomprehensible</i>	6 (16.2%)
5. <i>Totally incomprehensible</i>	11 (29.7%)

Table 74. Acceptability judgement on *code-switching* in *Englog*.

These acceptability judgments are implicitly connected to the code-switching practice, which occurs mostly between Filipino and English (*Taglish*). The informants perceive *Taglish* as a high-prestige variety spoken both in the Philippines and in similar bilingual communities all over the world. These findings are consistent with Bautista (1980), whereas the evaluation does not match with Bautista in the case of switching in *Englog*.

4.5. Discussion

This study reveals some interesting attitudes towards neoplurilingul competence, code-switching and linguistic acceptability judgements. In spite of the small number of informants, which is the major limitation of this case study, some peculiar aspects do emerge in the analysis of neoplurilingualism in the Filipino community under scrutiny.

As for the first and second research questions, informants' kind of neoplurilingualism arises from precious bilingualism which later on evolves into

endogenous plurilingualism. This phenomenon occurs as soon as Italian, the official language in the new environment, is added to the Philipinos' repertoire. Moreover, neoplurilingual competence is a complex system gathering both passive multiple competences (mostly related to the speaker's sociolinguistic identities) and active competences highly linked to individual variables such as personal attitudes, age of acquisition, awareness of the social prestige of varieties and frequency of use, and to some social variables, such as the territorial context of language acquisition, kind of job and domains of use. In this respect, a salient factor emerging from this research is the three recorded language modes (Grosjean 2001): active monolingual mode, active bilingual mode and passive trilingual mode.

With regard to the third research question, the meta-reflexions on code-switching revealed *positive attitudes towards the outer perception and the inner perception of the phenomenon*. As a former habit acquired in the Philippines, almost every informant underlined also the *sociolinguistic and educational value of intrasentential code-switching*. Explicit attitudes pushed towards positive judgments in the characterial evaluation of the speaker as well: the intrasentential lexical borrowing in *Taglish* was more accepted, in fact, than the *switching* in *Englog*.

III - THE CASE STUDIES

CASE STUDY 2: Italoophone Minority of the Istra Region of Croatia

The Istra region is a peninsula in the northern Adriatic Sea, which is currently politically assigned to three States: Italy, Slovenia and (the greatest area) Croatia.

This territory of ancient and widespread plurilingualism has witnessed continuous political and social changes: former part of the Roman Empire, it followed in Xth century Venice Republic, which was mostly interested in the coastal cities and villages because of its marine trades (Simcic 2012).

Among the major historical events, the innermost territory of Istra became a part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire until 1919. After World War I, the Kingdom of Italy obtained all the Istran territories and kept them under its rule until the end of World War II.

In 1948 most of the region was assigned to the Federalist Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia, whereas Italy preserved a small area surrounding the city of Trieste. This allocation was further and definitively confirmed by the Osimo treaty of 1975 (Simcic 2012).

Another dramatic event, the Civil War in ex-Yugoslavia (1991-1995), fortunately did not take place in Istra. However, two brand new states, Slovenia and Croatia, shared the Istra Region and since the 1990s a consistent recovery of both the Italian ethnic group and the Italophony was detected in this area.

Even though continuous political changes affected Istra, a constant factor throughout the last three centuries is the strong influence of the Veneto and Friuli-Venezia Giulia

Italian regions, together with the influence of the autochthonous Slavic ethnic group (Simcic 2012).

1. The Italian-Istrovenetian-Čakavski-Croatian-CS.

The mass emigration (*the Istran Exodus*) of 150-250.000 Italians from Istria mainly occurred in post-World War II due to ethnic hatred because of the previous Fascist era and the rise of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, in which the Italian ethnic component was long seen with suspicion (Simcic 2012). This emigration determined a new *sociolinguistic situation of plurilingualism with diglossia* (Ferguson 1959) in the western Adriatic seaside cities and villages. Istran innermost villages were and still are, in fact, predominantly croatophone or dialectophone in Čakavski (Filipi 1996). Based on the last Census conducted in 2011, the autochthonous Italian national minority in the whole country of Croatia, including the Istra region, Quarnerian, Dalmatia and even not-former italophone areas, is less than 7% of the Istran population and 0.4% of the Croatian population. Compared to data recorded in 2001, there is thus a decrease of approximately 2,000 people with 13,000 Italians in the Italian community of Istra. The other languages spoken in this area are Serbian, Slovene, Istriot, Bosnian, Istro-Romanian, Montenegrin and Albanian (Filipi 1996).

As a result, the different varieties are now distinguished mainly on the basis of their linguistic prestige and domains of use (Blagoni 2001). From a former situation of dominant Italophone monolingualism (or Istrovenetian dialectophony), standard Italian is currently a standard, or “middle” or “neo-standard” (Berruto 1987) variety reduced to a lower prestigious minority language with a small number of domains of use (see Blagoni 2001; Milani-Kruljac 1990, 2001, 2003; Scotti-Iurić & Ambrosi-Randić 2010;

Simcic 2012). In 2001, the approved Statute of Istra declared this Croatian region as officially bilingual with its two *national autochthonous communities* of Croatians and Italians, while other minorities are just mentioned as “ethnic groups”, although there is no real balance between the two languages. Nevertheless, approximately 25,000 people in the region claim to belong to the Istran ethnic group, thus being part of both Croatian and Italian cultures and identities.

2a VERUDELA - VIDIKOVAC - ŠIJANA

h	PON - PET. LUN - VEN MON - FRI	SUBOTA SATURDAY SAT	NED. - BLAG. DOM - FEST SUN - HOL
05	37	37	
06	7 37 57	7 37 57	37
07	17 37 57	17 37 57	7 37
08	17 37 57	17 37 57	7 37 57
09	17 37 57	17 37 57	17 37 57
10	17 37 57	17 37 57	17 37 57
11	17 37 57	17 37 57	17 37 57
12	17 37 57	17 37 57	17 37 57
13	17 37 57	17 37 57	17 37
14	17 37 57	17 37 57	7 37
15	17 37 57	17 37 57	7 37
16	17 37 57	17 37	7 37
17	17 37 57	7 37	7 37
18	17 37 57	7 37	17 57
19	17 37	7 37	37
20	17 57	17 57	17 57
21	37	37	37
22	17	17	17

SHEMA LINIJE VERUDELA

RIB. KOLIBA	RIB. KOLIBA
ZLATNE STIJENE	ZLATNE STIJENE
VERUDA 2	PREK. BRIGADA
VERUDA 1	PALISINA 2
TOMASINIJEVA	PAKISINA 1
MORN. BOLNICA	VIDIKOVAC
MORN. TRG	MONT. PARADIS
ARSENALSKA	VOLTICEVA
GIARDINI	RIZZIJEVA
GIARDINI-CENTAR	KRANJČEVIJEVA
BRAD. KNJIŽNICA	NAZOROVA
SPLITSKA	TR. REP. CENTAR
BUS KOLODVOR	STANKOVIJEVA 1
	STANKOVIJEVA 2
	KOPARSKA
	J. ŽAKNA
	VALTURSKA
	VALICA
	ŠIJAN. ŠUMA

PREMANTURA - PISCANOVATA - PULA

h	PON - PET. LUN - VEN MON - FRI	SUBOTA SATURDAY SAT	NED. - BLAG. DOM - FEST SUN - HOL
17			
30	40	32	
12		27	27

SHEMA LINIJE PREMANTURA

PREMANTURA G	PREMANTURA G
ŠCUZA	ŠCUZA
POMER	VINKURAN RAS.
BANJOLE	VINKURAN
KAMIK	VINKURAN SKOL
VINKURAN RASK.	KAMENOLOM
VINKURAN	

Photo 1. Example of Italian-Croatian bilingual bus stop timetable in Pula (Croatia).



Photo 2. Example of street name in Pula (Croatia) with bilingual label of “street” (“ulica” in Croatian” and “via” in Italian) and the street name in Croatian.



Photo 3. Example of completely Croatian-Italian bilingual street name in the town of Fažana/Fasana (Croatia).



Photo 4. Example of Croatian-Italian bilingual opening times notice of a dentist medical practice in Pula (Croatia).

Moreover, a significant number of Croatian citizens are able to speak basic Italian as their L2 or possess a passive competence in the language. Besides the regional law, 19 town and villages also declared themselves as officially bilingual in Croatian and Italian: Buje/Buie, Novigrad/Cittanova, Vodnjan/Dignano, Poreč/Parenzo, Pula/Pola, Rovinj/Rovigno, Umag/Umago, Bale/Valle, Brtonigla/Verteneglio, Fažana/Fasana, Grožnjan/Grisignana, Kaštelir-Labinci/Castellier, Sveta Nedelja/Santa Domenica, Ližnjan/Lisignano, Motovun/Montona, Oprtalj/Portole, Višnjan/Visignano, Vižinada /Visinada and Vrsar/Orsera (see Figures 17-18).



Figure 17. Map of Croatia.

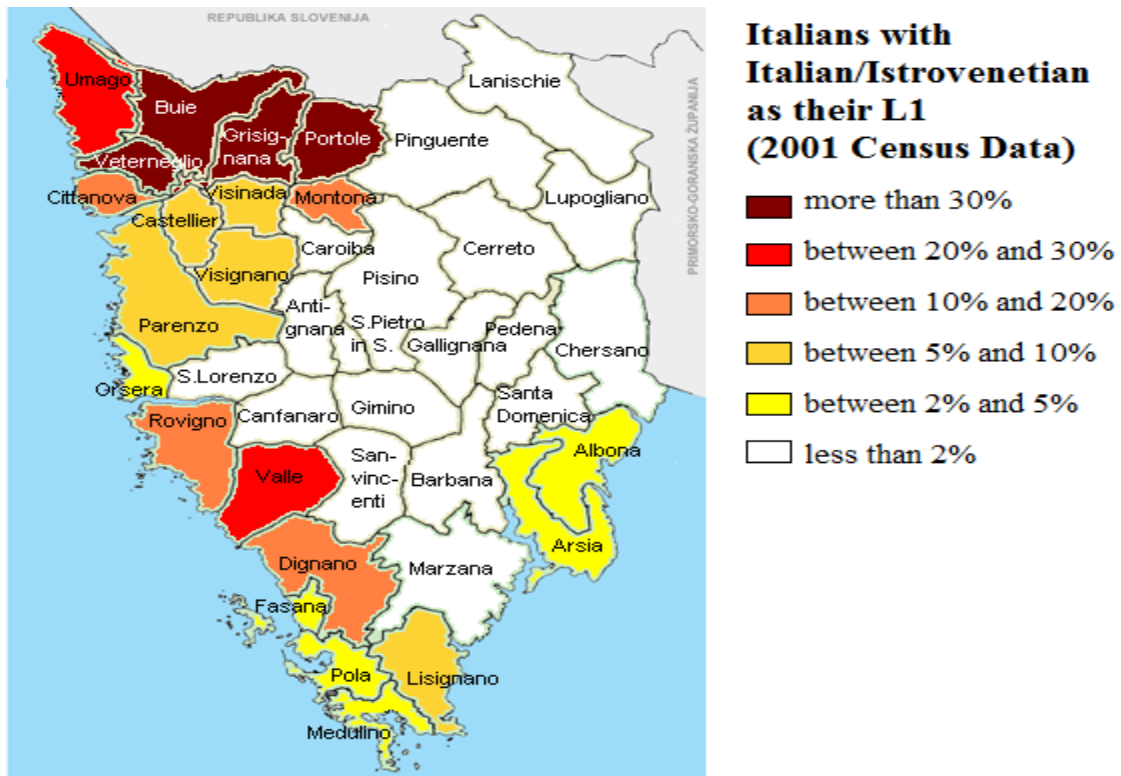


Figure 18. People having Italian as their L1 in Istra (Croatia). Italophony reaches its top in town and villages next to the Slovene border and it decreases to percentages between 2% and 20% in the western seaside Adriatic towns and villages. Central and Eastern Istra is almost completely Croatophone. Taken from D'Alfonso (2007) elaboration of Croatian 2001 Census data.

On the other hand, the Istrovenetian dialect has not been granted any official status in the region (Blagoni 2001, 2012, Scotti-Jurić and Ambrosi-Randić 2010), even if it is the real variety of in-group communicative exchanges within the Italian community and of Italophones and functions as a kind of regional *koiné* (Filipi 1996). The other variety, the Čakavski dialect, is also not officially recognised and is mostly used in out-group communicative exchanges or in mixed Italo-Croatian families. Thus, four languages, two with official status (Standard Croatian and Standard Italian) and two with no official status (Istrovenetian dialect and Čakavski dialect), share the communicative domains and contribute to a situation of widespread tri-/quadrilingualism (see table 75).

	Istrovenetian Dialect	Italian	Čakavski Dialect	Croatian
Ethnologue classification	Developing ¹⁶	Threatened	Safe	Safe
Official Status	No	Yes	No	Yes
Social Status	Very strong in monoethnolinguistic families and Italian elders, weaker in younger generations and mixed Italo-Croatian families	Very weak	Strong	Dominant
Prestige	High	Medium	High	High
Kind of contact	Pluridirectional plurilingualism (both the members of the Italian Community and the members of the majority Croatian group are all plurilinguals, speaking from three to four of the above mentioned varieties, and with a passive knowledge of all the four varieties in contact)			

Table 75. Sociolinguistic situation of Istrovenetian-Italian-Čakavski-Croatian plurilingualism.

Milani-Kruljac (1989) believes that Italophony in Istra can be seen as a *discontinuous archipelago*, as this minority language is spoken in peppered small areas. In particular, the Istrovenetian variety is a *non-covered dialect* (D'Agostino 2007), without any communication (or with a mere passive exchange) with Standard Italian and without any force of expansion outside the minority group.

Istra has witnessed a sociolinguistic situation in which Italian lacked a diatopic variation (absence of regional Istran Italian standards), unlike Italy (Berruto 1987).

However, a socio-phonetic variation is attested, namely the presence of an Italoophone group in which Italian or Istrovenetian dialect is the L1 and the presence of a

¹⁶ Ethnologue classifies as “developing” a language which is in vigorous use, with its literature in a standardized form being used by some people though this is not yet widespread or sustainable.

Croatoophone group in which Croatian or Čakavski¹⁷ dialect is the L1 (Jernej 1977, 1986; Sočanac 2004 ; Županović 2012).

The distinction between Italoophone and Croatophones has not to be intended as a neat one: mixed marriages are very frequent: according to Petrović (1986:229-239) throughout the '80s they reached a percentage of about 80% in Istra, while in the '90s they showed a significant decrease (Bergnach & Radin 1993). Given these premises, a precise differentiation among Italophones and Croatophones in these families is not always possible.

Moreover, Croatian contributes in introducing additional variation, because it has its own phonological (Jernej 1977, 1986; Sočanac 2004; Županović 2012) and morpho-syntactic characteristics (Milani-Kruljac 1990, 2003).

Milani-Kruljac (1990:79) points out that Italoophone children usually acquire Istrovenetian in family and in the neighbourhood, whereas they formally learn Italian at school, even if it is also passively heard in several situations, such as radio and television programmes. For example, TeleCapodistria in 1971 was one of the first bilingual TV stations, which also provided a model of standard Italian lacking in social interactions both in Slovenia and Croatia.

An active use of standard Italian outside school and formal situations is, in fact, almost never required (Filipi 1989).

As for the educational context, the majority of schools use Croatian as the only vehicular language and Italian is a compulsory subject in primary schools and an optional foreign language in secondary schools. On the other hand, a minority of

¹⁷ The other two main Croatian dialectal varieties are Štokavski, mostly spoken in Dalmatia and in several areas in Serbia, Montenegro and Bosnia, and Kajkavski, mostly spoken in Slavonia, in the region surrounding the capital city Zagreb and in Slovenia. All the three varieties owe their names from the interrogative form “What?” (*što, kaj, ča*) (Pirjevec 1995).

schools are Italians and are attended not only by the Italian minority, but also by Croatophones. Only in these latter, Italian is the sole language of instruction for all subjects.

In some Departments of the University “Juraj Dobrila” of Pula/Pola, Italian is the only compulsory vehicular language for all basic and specialised oral instruction (Scotti-Jurić and Ambrosi-Randić 2010). The academic staff and the students are all at least trilingual speakers (Italian, Croatian and Istrovenetian or Čakavski dialect), while the number of plurilinguists among the administrative/technical staff is lower (Selvaggi 2016:231).

As people in plurilingual contexts tend to adjust their speech to accommodate their interlocutor(s) (Giles et al 1991; Turner & West 2010), according to the principles of Communication Accommodation, code-switches are just one of the devices used to meet their communicative demands. In this view, code-switching can also “be considered a valuable communicative strategy to lower language barriers when there is a discrepancy between the speaker’s and interlocutor’s language competence. [...]. Thus, if a conversation is started in a language which is not shared by the speaker’s interlocutor(s), code-switching helps re-negotiate (Myers-Scotton in Heller 1988:169) and re-set the linguistic framework according to the communicative intent and formal or informal interactional context” (Selvaggi 2016:228).

2. Research questions

As described in the method section, this second case study balances qualitative and quantitative method, by aiming at addressing the following four research questions:

1. What are the explicit and implicit attitudes towards trilingual and quadrilingual code-switching in the Istra region?

2. Does the time course of lexical access in code-switched units of spontaneous conversation differ significantly from the monolingual units in the same conversations?
3. Is there a higher switching cost in trilinguals' switching choices (L1-L2/L3, L2-L1/L3; L3-L1/L2)?
4. Is latency in lexical access predominantly affected by psycholinguistic or social factors?

3.1. Explicit and implicit attitudes: survey method, materials and participants

Explicit and implicit attitudes towards plurilingual code-switching were elicited through the survey method of open interviews (Appendix 5).

54 informants were interviewed in a number of sessions for an overall length of 12 hours, 49 minutes and 54 seconds in the cultural associations *Comunità degli Italiani/Zajednica Talijana*, representative of the Italian minority and also at the University of Pula.

The rationale behind open-ended interview was the attempt to avoid replication of large scale quantitative studies already conducted on the topic of Italophony and plurilingualism in Istra (Scotti-Jurić & Ambrosi-Randić 2010). Moreover, interviews were meant to encourage informants to freely express themselves about code-switching, without providing a set of limited options.

The first part of the interview focused on personal biographic information and the languages spoken. Table 76 shows the age distribution of the informants. The majority (33 – 59.26%) is aged under 44, while older adults (aged 45-59) and elders (aged 60+) are 22 (40.74%).

Age	Frequency	Percentage
0-14	1	1.9%
15-29	18	31.5%
30-44	14	25.9%
45-59	7	12.7%
60-74	13	25.9%
75-89	1	1.9%
	54	100%

Table 76. Age distribution of Italo-Croatian informants.

As for the place of birth, the majority of informants (36 - 66.7%) was born in the Istra region (comprising Croatian, Slovene and Italian Istra), whereas 15 (27.8%) was born in the adjacent *Primorsko-Goranska županija/Regione Litoraneo-Montana* ('Coastal-Mountain Region'), namely the region of the city of Rijeka/Fiume; just a small minority (3 informants – 5,5%) was born in the region of the capital city Zagreb (Table 77).

	Frequency	Percentage
Pula/Pola	24	44.15%
Labin/Albona	7	13%
Rijeka/Fiume	5	9.15%
Koper/Capodistria (Slovenia)	4	7.40%
Mošćenička Draga /Draga di Moschiena	3	5.60%
Buje/Buie	2	3.70%
Rovinj/Rovigno	2	3.70%
Zabok	1	1.90%
Zagreb/Zagabria	1	1.90%
Čakovec	1	1.90%
Bale/Valle	1	1.90%
Salvore/Savudrija	1	1.90%
Umag/Umago	1	1.90%
Trieste/Trst	1	1.90%
	54	100%

Table 77. Place of birth of the Italo-Croatian informants.

With regard to the place of residence, 41 informants (75.9%) live in the Istra region, whereas 13 Italo-Croatians (24.1%) live in the Coastal-Mountain region (table 78).

Age	Frequency	Percentage
Pula/Pola	10	18.5%
Brtonigla/Verteneglio	8	14.8%
Labin/Albona	7	13.0%
Rovinj/Rovigno	7	13.0%
Vodnjan/Dignano	6	11.1%
Galižana/Gallesano	5	9.3%
Mošćenička Draga/Druga di Moschiena	5	9.3%
Bale/Valle	3	5.6%
Buje/Buie	2	3.7%
Rabac	1	1.9%
	54	100%

Table 78. Place of residence of the Italo-Croatian informants.

As for their educational level, the majority of informants (35 – 64.8%) has achieved tertiary education, whereas 19 informants (19 – 35.2%) hold lower school diplomas (table 79).

	Frequency	Percentage
Primary School	1	1.9%
Middle School	6	11.1%
High School	12	22.2%
Bachelor Degree	15	27.8%
Master Degree	18	33.2%
PhD	2	3.8%
	54	100%

Table 79. Educational level of the Italo-Croatian informants.

In addition to the educational level, another important variable considered was the type of schools attended by the Italo-Croatian informants. As children can choose to attend majority schools, where Croatian is the vehicular language, or minority schools run by the Italian Union with the support of the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs,

where Italian is the vehicular language, 34 informants (62.9%) attended Italian Schools, 9 informants (16.7%) attended Italian and Croatian schools, whereas 11 informants attended Croatian schools (table 80).

	Frequency	Percentage
Italian Schools	34	62.9%
Croatian Schools	11	20.4%
Italian and Croatian Schools	9	16.7%
	54	100%

Table 80. Type of schools attended by the Italo-Croatian informants.

One informant (aged 27) from the city of Rovinj, however, further specified that *“young people, when hearing people speaking Istrovenetian, often replied in Istrovenetian too. Now in most schools only standard Croatian or a bad version of standard Italian is spoken. Moreover, people in Zagreb sometimes realised that I was Italian because of my inferior richness of expression in Croatian”*.

3.2. Interviews. Data findings

In this section, data referring to informants’ linguistic repertoire are reported. The prevalent L1 is Istrovenetian alone (18 informants – 33.3%) or along with Italian (9 – 16.7%), Italian and Croatian (3 – 5.6%), Istriot and Italian (3 – 5.6%), Čakavski (2 – 3.7%), Istriot (2 – 3.7%) or Italian, Čakavski and Croatian (1 – 1.9%). Croatian is claimed to be the L1 by 5 (9.3%) informants, whereas Italian is the L1 for 4 (7.4%) informants. Both standard languages (Italian and Croatian) are mentioned by 4 (7.4%) informants as their L1s, while Čakavski and Croatian are mentioned by another informant and Čakavski also by another informant (Table 81).

	Frequency	Percentage
Istrovenetian	18	33.3%
Istrovenetian, Italian	9	16.7%
Croatian	5	9.3%
Italian	4	7.4%
Italian, Croatian	4	7.4%
Istrovenetian, Istriot, Italian	3	5.6%
Istrovenetian, Italian, Croatian	3	5.6%
Istrovenetian, Čakavski	2	3.7%
Istrovenetian, Croatian	2	3.7%
Istrovenetian, Istriot	1	1.9%
Istrovenetian, Italian, Čakavski, Croatian	1	1.9%
Čakavski	1	1.9%
Croatian, Čakavski	1	1.9%
	54	100%

Table 81. L1(s) of the Italo-Croatian informants.

In addition to the L1(s), informants were questioned about their other spoken languages, the languages in which they had a mere passive competence and the languages used within family. Informants' answers were quite varied (Tables 82-84).

	Frequency	Percentage
None	13	24.1%
English	6	11.1%
English, German	4	7.4%
German	4	7.4%
Spanish, English	4	7.4%
Čakavski, English, German	3	5.6%
German, Čakavski	2	3.7%
Serbian	1	1.9%
Istriot, Čakavski, English, Spanish, German	1	1.9%
English, French, Spanish, German	1	1.9%
English, German, Kajkavski	1	1.9%
German, Spanish	1	1.9%
Čakavski, German, French, English	1	1.9%
English, French, German	1	1.9%
English, German, Croatian, Kajkavski	1	1.9%
Istrovenetian, English, Spanish, German	1	1.9%

English, German, French, Venetian, Italian	1	1.9%
Macedonian, Spanish, English	1	1.9%
Croatian, Italian, English, Čakavski, Istrovenetian	1	1.9%
Čakavski, Istriot	1	1.9%
Čakavski, English	1	1.9%
German, Spanish, English	1	1.9%
French, English	1	1.9%
Friulan, Slovene, Dalmatian	1	1.9%
French	1	1.9%
None	13	24.1%
	54	100%

Table 82. Other languages spoken by the Italo-Croatians informants.

	Frequency	Percentage
None	25	46.3%
Istriot	5	9.3%
English	2	3.7%
German	2	3.7%
Slovene	2	3.7%
Spanish, German	2	3.7%
Čakavski, Trieste dialect	1	1.9%
Čakavski, German, French, English	1	1.9%
Čakavski, Kajkavski	1	1.9%
Croatian dialects, Northern Italy dialects	1	1.9%
French, German, Greek	1	1.9%
German, Austrian dialect, Spanish, English	1	1.9%
German, English	1	1.9%
German, French	1	1.9%
Istrovenetian, Catalan	1	1.9%
Portuguese	1	1.9%
Portuguese, Istrovenetian	1	1.9%
Slovene, Kajkavski	1	1.9%
Slovene, Čakavski	1	1.9%
Spanish, Croatian dialects	1	1.9%
Spanish, English, German	1	1.9%
Spanish, Slovene	1	1.9%
	54	100%

Table 83. Other languages understood by the Italo-Croatian informants.

	Frequency	Percentage
Istrovenetian, Italian, Croatian	15	27.8%
Italian, Istrovenetian	11	20.4%
Istrovenetian, Čakavski, Croatian	7	13.0%
Istrovenetian, Croatian	7	13.0%
Istrovenetian	2	3.7%
Italian, Croatian	2	3.7%
Croatian	2	3.7%
Italian, Istrovenetian, Istriot	1	1.9%
Istrovenetian, Istriot, Italian, Croatian	1	1.9%
Istrovenetian, Čakavski	1	1.9%
Istrovenetian, Italian, Čakavski, Croatian	1	1.9%
Čakavski, Croatian	1	1.9%
Čakavski	1	1.9%
Kajkavski	1	1.9%
Croatian, English	1	1.9%
	54	100%

Table 84. Languages used within family.

However, the *trilingual and bilingual modes* seem to be the dominant ones in conversations within family, even if monolingual and quadrilingual modes are also attested in a few informants.

Furthermore, four questions addressed the issues of age and context of acquisition of the two standard varieties. Informants were not asked about age and context of acquisition of their dialectal varieties, as from their previous answers it can be assumed that they were acquired at home in childhood.

Data in Tables 85-86 show similar patterns of acquisition in both languages. Essentially, almost all informants (52 – 96.2%) declared that they had acquired them during childhood. Moreover, the prevalent context of acquisition was educational (29 informants – 53.7% in the case of Italian and 35 informants – 64.8% in the case of Croatian), thus implying a formal way of acquisition. Conversely, the informal strategies (acquisition at home, via the media or after a mixed marriage) are only

mentioned by a minority of informants (25 – 46.3% in the case of Italian and 19 – 35.2% in the case of Croatian).

	Frequency	Percentage
Childhood	52	96.2%
Adolescence	1	1.9%
Maturity	1	1.9%
	54	100%

Table 85. Age of acquisition of Italian.

	Frequency	Percentage
Childhood	52	96.2%
Adolescence	2	3.8%
Maturity	-	-
	54	100%

Table 86. Age of acquisition of Croatian.

	Frequency	Percentage
School	29	53.7%
Home	17	31.5%
Media	7	12.9%
After marriage (mixed family)	1	1.9%
	54	100%

Table 87. Context of acquisition of Italian.

	Frequency	Percentage
School	35	64.8%
Home	15	27.8%
Media	4	7.4%
After marriage (mixed family)	-	-
	54	100%

Table 88. Context of acquisition of Croatian.

In this respect, a female informant living in Labin/Albona (aged 79) expressed her difficulties in pronouncing some Croatian terms: *“I could not say ‘srce’ (‘heart’), I said ‘surce’, but after years of speaking with croatian monolinguals, in court for instance, I have learned also this difficult words. Still I cannot speak the Croatian dialect, I only speak standard Croatian learned in school”*.

Another informant (aged 27) underlined her experience of bilingual education: *‘my parents showed me an object and they used to say, for instance: ‘sedia’-‘stolica’ (‘chair’), namely the term in both languages’*.

In addition, the issue of mixed marriages is perceived by several informants as a crucial variable in both acquisition and maintenance of Italian. An informant living in Bale/Valle (aged 66) claimed that *‘in mixed marriages each parent should speak his/her own tongue. In fact, as also Croatian students are enrolled in Italian Schools, there is a risk of accelerate the assimilation of the Italian minority group, as a few Croatophones show willingness to speak Italian’*. This statement is partly confirmed by another informant (aged 44) who pointed out that *‘in mixed marriages each parent should speak his/her tongue, but if his/her child has no interest or he/she is not aware of the importance of being a plurilingual, he/she will drop one of these languages. I don’t like the term ‘minority’, I say that I am an Italian of Istra, without further specifications: underlining the fact of being part of a minority had a sense in the ex-Yugoslavia, but now the risk is of ghettoization of our group, so it is important that Italians open themselves both to Croatians and to relationships with Italy’*.

However, another informant (aged 66) highlighted that in this particular historical moment *‘a process of assimilation is inevitable. Italophones should avoid toghettoise themselves and should be open to contacts with Croatophones in order to attempt to*

extend Italophony. However, language acquisition is both a matter of education and territorial context. In mixed marriages often a refusal of Italian is observed, especially if a man marries a Croatian women'.

Two informants living in Rovinj/Rovigno indicated that also TV played a significant role in the acquisition of Italian: a young female informant (aged 23) stated that *'laws should provide for a programme in Italian in the national Croatian TV, as lots of citizens haven't the means for watching Italian televisions'*, whereas another girl claimed that *'dubbing should be cancelled from Italian series broadcasted in Croatian TVs in order to foster language acquisition; when my mother arrived in Istra from Serbia, she could not say a word in Italian; thanks to the Italian child programme 'Bim Bum Bam' broadcasted in Italian she has learned Italian'*. In addition, another informant living in Buje/Buie (aged 50) mentioned the case of *'the deputy Furio Radin, representative of the Italian minority in the Croatian Parliament, who writes bilingual Croatian-Italian articles in the Italian journal 'La Voce del Popolo'. Also several radio stations (such as Radio Umago) have the opening greetings in both languages, such as 'Dobar dan, come stai?' ('Good morning, how are you?'). The problem is that Croatian newspapers, especially outside Istra, do not publish any news about the Italian Communities'*.

In the second part of the interviews, data on informants' self-perception of frequency and domains of use of languages were collected. In Table 89, formal domains/situations indicated by the informants are represented on the left, whereas informal ones are placed on the right. Both Italian and Croatian seem to prevail in formal communicative domains: Italian is mostly spoken at the meetings of the Italian Communities (21 – 38.9%), at university (9 – 16.7%), at work (9 – 16.7%) and at school (2 – 3.7%);

informal communicative situations (family and friends) were mentioned by only 13 informants (24%). Conversely, Croatian is mostly spoken at work (20 – 37%) and in public administration and shops (20 – 37%), whereas conversations with strangers, with friends or within families are cited by 14 informants (26%).

	Italian	Croatian
University	9 (16.7%)	-
School	2 (3.7%)	-
Work	9 (16.7%)	20 (37%)
Public administration, shops	-	20 (37%)
Meetings of the Italian community	21 (38.9%)	-
Strangers	-	6 (11.1%)
Family, Friends	13 (24%)	8 (14.9%)
	54 (100%)	54 (100%)

Table 89. Domains of use of the two standard varieties.

At this point, four questions intended to investigate informants' self-perception of frequency of use of their varieties and the language preferred for daily conversations and familial conversations.

	Language used more frequently	Preferred language in daily communication	Preferred language in domestic communication	Language preferred in outside communication
Italian	-	-	-	-
Croatian	8 (14.8%)	8 (14.8%)	5 (9.3%)	49 (90.7%)
Italian,	-	2 (3.7%)	-	1 (1.9%)
Istrovenetian	32 (59.3%)	41 (75.9%)	41 (75.9%)	1 (1.9%)
Čakavski	2 (3.7%)		2 (3.7%)	
Čakavski,	-	1 (1.9%)	3 (5.6%)	1 (1.9%)
Kaikavski	-	2 (3.7%)	2 (3.7%)	1 (1.9%)
Kajkavski,	3 (5.6%)	-	-	1 (1.9%)
Kajkavski,	-	-	1 (1.9%)	-
Italian,	1 (1.9%)	-	-	-
Italian,	9 (14.8%)	-	-	-
	54 (100%)	54 (100%)	54 (100%)	54 (100%)

Table 90. Self-perception of the language(s) used more frequently and of the preferred language(s) in daily, domestic and social communication.

The majority of informants (32 – 59.3%) claimed they use Istrovenetian more frequently than other varieties. Istrovenetian again is the preferred language for both daily (41 informants – 75.9%) and domestic communication (41 – 75.9%).

A strong majority of informants (49 – 90.7%) preferred Croatian for social communication, thus suggesting its dominant role as the language of the social environment. Overall, these data show that the plurilingual repertoire of the Italo-Croatian informants appears to be quite unbalanced.

Table 91 presents informants’ self-perception of the language of “thought” and of the variety used in emotional communication.

	Language of “thought”	Language of rage
It depends/none in particular	27 (50.0%)	14 (25.9%)
Istrovenetian	4 (7.4%)	4 (7.4%)
Istrovenetian, Italian	3 (5.6%)	2 (3.7%)
Italian	15 (27.8%)	18 (33.4%)
Croatian	4 (7.4%)	5 (9.3%)
Italian, Croatian	1 (1.9%)	8 (14.9%)
Italian, Kajkavski	-	1 (1.9%)
Croatian, Čakavski	-	1 (1.9%)
Croatian, Istrovenetian, Italian	-	1 (1.9%)
	54 (100%)	54 (100%)

Table 91. Self-perception of the language(s) of “thought” and rage.

One half of the informants did not declare any particular language of “thought”, while the other half showed a relative preference for Italian (15 – 27.8%), confirmed by answers to the last question of this section of the interview (Appendix 5), in which all informants stated that they liked speaking in Italian.

As for the language of rage, Italian alone (18 – 33.4%) or along with Croatian (8 – 14.9%), Istrovenetian (2 – 3.7%), Kajkavski (1 – 1.9%) and Croatian and Istrovenetian (1 – 1.9%) is the prevalent variety.

The third and last section of the interview specifically focused on code-switching. The first item tested informants' explicit awareness of code-switching and almost every Italo-Croatian (50 – 92.6%) declared that plurilinguals usually alternate languages within their conversations, while only 2 informants (3.8%) claimed that plurilinguals use only one language at a time and other 2 informants affirmed that code-switching or language separation depends on the interlocutor(s) (Table 92).

	Frequency	Percentage
Code-switching	50	92.6%
One language at a time	2	3.7%
It depends on the interlocutor	2	3.7%
	54	100%

Table 92. Code-switching practice versus language separation.

The second question attempted to elicit informants' self-perceived frequency of code-switching. As answers were quite diversified, no particular pattern of frequency was detected, as Table 93 highlighted.

	Frequency	Percentage
I don't know	24	44.4%
Often	11	20.4%
It depends on the interlocutor	5	9.3%
Sometimes	5	9.3%
Often in young people	4	7.4%
50% of the entire conversation	1	1.9%
Always	1	1.9%
Too much	1	1.9%
Frequent in members of the Italian community	1	1.9%
Frequent in plurilinguals	1	1.9%
	54	100%

Table 93. Self-perceived frequency of code-switching.

As for the interlocutor(s) of code-switched conversation, 26 informants (48.1%) affirmed that they code-switch only with other bilinguals/plurilinguists.

Other informants, even if they claimed they code-switch with other bilinguals/plurilinguists, further specify the circumstances in which code-switching occurs (Table 94).

	Frequency	Percentage
Bilinguals/plurilinguists	26	48.1%
I don't know	18	33.3%
Bilinguals, whenever a term/expression lacks	2	3.7%
Known people	1	1.9%
Bilinguals, when talking about frivolous topics	1	1.9%
Bilinguals for non official matters, sayings and whenever a	1	1.9%
Bilinguals, to "play" with languages	1	1.9%
Bilinguals when one speaks very quickly	1	1.9%
Italians code-switch for Croatian specialistic/technical terms	1	1.9%
With Italian friends	1	1.9%
With bilinguals, switching from Croatian to Italian	1	1.9%
	54	100%

Table 94. Interlocutors of code-switched conversations.

Furthermore, there is no general agreement about the consciousness or unconsciousness of the phenomenon of CS, as informants' answers were quite varied, as shown in Table 95.

	Frequency	Percentage
I don't know	30	55.6%
Unconscious	10	18.4%
Conscious and unconscious	9	16.7%
Conscious	5	9.3%
	54	100%

Table 95. Consciousness vs unconsciousness of the phenomenon of code-switching.

For two further items the informants were required to express their personal judgment on the Istrovenetian-Croatian sample code-switched sentence *Mi go finì la scola italiana...da, u Puli* ('I have finished the Italian school...yes, in Pula); they were also required to hypothesise the potential reaction of other plurilinguals and of monolingual people when hearing this sentence.

35 informants (64.8%) expressed positive judgements on the code-switched sentence and 33 Italo-Croatians (61.1%) hypothesised positive reactions also from plurilinguals. When it comes to the potential effect of the code-switched sentence on monolinguals, judgments were quite different, as positive reactions are only mentioned by 12 informants (22.2%), as shown in Table 96.

	Personal judgment	Potential effect on plurilinguals	Potential effect on monolinguals
Interesting	-	8 (14.8%)	6 (11%)
Positive	-	8 (14.8%)	3 (5.6%)
Natural and creative	6 (11.1%)	8 (14.8%)	-
Funny	6 (11.1%)	2 (3.7%)	3 (5.6%)
Polite	4 (7.4%)	-	-
Normal and daily hearable	5 (9.3%)	5 (9.3%)	-
Normal in Istra	10 (18.5%)	2 (3.7%)	-
Typical of Pula	2 (3.7%)	-	-
Typical of Croatian students	1 (1.9%)	-	-
Common in Rijeka	1 (1.9%)	-	-
Common in Italians who	-	1 (1.9%)	-
Understandable	-	2 (3.7%)	3 (5.6%)
Surprising	-	3 (5.6%)	3 (5.6%)
Strange to immigrants	-	-	3 (5.6%)
Strange	2 (3.7%)	-	-
Difficult to understand for	-	-	5 (9.1%)
Never heard	2 (3.7%)	-	-
Ridiculous	-	-	4 (7.3%)
Negative	-	1 (1.9%)	7 (12.9%)
Monolingual negatively	-	-	1 (1.9%)
They disturb monolinguals	-	-	1 (1.9%)
Criticised by monolinguals	-	-	1 (1.9%)
Decades ago they were	-	-	1 (1.9%)

Disturbing to nationalists	-	-	1 (1.9%)
Croatians have no intention	-	-	1 (1.9%)
Impossible to understand	-	-	1 (1.9%)
Horrible	1 (1.9%)		-
It depends on the	4 (7.4%)	4 (7.4%)	-
I don't know	10 (18.4%)	10 (18.4%)	10 (18.4)
	54 (100%)	100%	54 (100%)

Table 96. Personal attitude towards code-switching vs potential presumed effect of code-switching on plurilinguists and monolinguals.

One male informant from Rovinj/Rovigno (aged 37) provided an important personal experience by saying that *“I married a Croatian woman and my brother married a Slovak woman; we are attempting to teach my sister-in-law Italian, but sometimes I am quite bored and I spoke to her in Istrovenetian, hoping that she will be able to understand me. In addition, some Croatian words are shorter than Italian ones and this is why in several occasion we code-switch from Istrovenetian/Italian to Croatian. Until the early ‘90s in Rovinj there were only autochthonous Istran Croatians; later on several refugees from other parts of ex-Yugoslavia came to Istria and some of them asked me why I spoke Italian in Croatia. Nationalism was incomprehensible to us, as we were accustomed to avoiding discriminations on the basis of ethnic groups or religions. So I answered the newcomers that I spoke Italian because I have always been speaking it and because we Italians have survived, even if we have changed in a century four or five States”*.

A female informant from Buje/Buie (aged 57), instead, helped to shed light on the activities of the local Italian Community: *‘we usually code-switch, as our meetings start in Italian but soon enough we code-switch to Istrovenetian. This is very important, as both italophony and dialectophony are menaced by other Neoslavic varieties, which lead to a decrease of both italoPHONE speakers and of our lexical richness. Young*

people code-switch the most, as they are all plurilinguals and very often raised in mixed families. On the contrary, my parents died without knowing standard Croatian and also my friends are almost all Italians.'

Another female informant from Brtonigla/Verteneglio (aged 45) highlighted that also in her case CS is an accepted practice: *"Lots of annoying or ultranationalist people point out negatively at this mixing. Quite the opposite, as members of the minority community we are willing to accept the majority children, because we now that if they do some activities with our children, once grown up they won't be nationalists. In the town council each member expresses himself/herself as he/she wants to, because we know that everyone knows Italian. But after the oral discussion, the written minutes arrives in Croatian first and then the translator has to translate it in Italian'.*

In a following question, informants were asked about their preference for language "purity" or code-switching as members of a plurilingual community. Data in Table 97 show a relative preference for code-switching (24 – 44.4%).

	Frequency	Percentage
Code-switching	24	44.4%
I don't know	20	37%
Language "purity"	7	13%
Both code-switching and language "purity", as they are affected by the interlocutor(s) and kind of contact	3	5.6%
	54	100%

Table 97. Communicative strategies to be used in a plurilingual environment: language "purity" vs code-switching.

While "purity" is basically an abstraction, uncontrolled switching is perceived as a potential danger, as a university student of Pula (aged 23) stated: *"in my opinion there*

isn't any language which has kept its original shape. However, a danger could be represented by a continuous mixing of more than two languages, pushing people to speak badly both Croatian and Italian, for instance”.

A man informant from Bale/Valle (aged 66) confirmed this student's claim, by adding that *‘in our age finding a ‘pure’ language is difficult, as only mixed and ‘desordered’ varieties can be observed, because of multiculturalism and multilingualism’.*

The Deputy of the Italian minority at the Croatian Parliament (Sabor), Furio Radin, effectively resumed the Istran socio-political and linguistic situation, by claiming that: *“Istran territories were central ones in Europe at the age of the Austro-Hungaric empire. Nowadays, even if Istra has lost its central status, our region is judged to be a different place, a territory with a good standard of living and to which several citizens from other parts of Croatia are attracted to immigrate. As for our educational system, there isn't at the moment any private Italian school and any private donation: public schools are almost exclusively supported by Italy Foreign Affairs, with a small funding provided also by the Croatian Department of Education. For the future I think the scenario is uncertain. From the political point of view, our seat in Parliament is very important, as members of other ethnic groups enrolled in Croatian political parties are obliged to follow the politics decided by their party, whereas we are free to secure alliances with every party which agrees with our needs. However, three main phases have been witnessed in the relationships between the Italian community and the Croatian Parliament. In the first period of “flowing back” in the early ‘90s (the Tudjman era, after Civil War in ex-Yugoslavia), all minority rights were quite challenged as nationalists held a strong majority in Parliament: however, our voice was*

not silenced and it was important because minorities were granted some rights and influence also in politics. After 2000 with the democratic turn represented by the left wing government, a period of highs and lows emerged, which continued throughout the decade. We are now living in the third phase, where some right wing movements (such as those fighting for a referendum about the use of Cyrillic in some areas near the Serbian border) are attempting to create problems between minorities and majority, but fortunately this issues have until now no support in right wing parties.

In Istra, the Democratic Istran Diet Party has obtained the majority in several towns and villages and it has approved the extension of official bilingualism, far beyond the two or three municipalities where Italian population is above 30% (which, according to the regional laws, gives right to claim for official Italian-Croatian bilingualism). Istran people are generally supportive each other and minority rights are quite respected. The situation in the Rijeka region is quite different: there, the socialdemocratic government is somewhat ambiguous on minority rights and official bilingualism is almost completely absent. In the last area of historic autochthonous italian presence, Dalmatia, no official right is granted to the few Italians still remained at all: fortunately, a private Italian kindergarten opened in 2014 in Zadar/Zara, so something is about to change’.

Finally, the last two items of the interview elicited informants’ perception of other possible additional variables which may influence the frequency of code-switching, such as educational level and type of plurilingualism (precocious or late, mixed family/environment, territorial plurilingualism). Informants’ answers mentioned different factors, but no particular decisive variable influencing CS could be identified (Table 98).

	Frequency	Percentage
There isn't any particular variable influencing CS	15	27.7%
People with a high level of education code-switch less	8	14.7%
Young people code-switch more	6	11.1%
There is a connection between educational level and CS	5	9.2%
Children code-switch more	3	5.5%
CS is influenced by social environment	3	5.5%
I don't know	3	5.5%
People with a high level of education code-switch more	2	3.7%
Language contact leads to CS	1	1.9%
Culture influences CS	1	1.9%
Members of Italian Community code-switch less	1	1.9%
Italophone families and children code-switch less, while adolescents and university students code-switch the most	1	1.9%
CS is influenced by social environment and globalisation	1	1.9%
Children's CS is different than the adult one	1	1.9%
Adults code-switch more	1	1.9%
Age and territory influence CS	1	1.9%
Family influences CS	1	1.9%
	54	100%

Table 98. Other variables influencing code-switching.

Nevertheless, data from actual conversations seem to provide a clue that in University students in Pula (thus, people with a high educational level) a continuous intrasentential and intersentential switching is a common practice (Example 1).

- 1) STUDENT A: *Dobro. Koji su tvoji materinji jezici? Ili koji je tvoj materinji jezik?*
[Well. What is your mother tongue? Or what are your mother tongues?]

STUDENT B: *Aha. Ma... Talijanski. Comunque, cioè...*
[Aha. But....Italian....However, you know...]

STUDENT A: *Ok.*
[Ok.]

STUDENT B: *Talijanski... dialetto italiano ehmm ...boh, il Croato non proprio.*
[Italian...italian dialect eh.,. I don't know, Croatian not exactly.]

STUDENT A: *Non proprio.*
[Not exactly.]

STUDENT B: *Ne , ne baš. [...]*
[No, not exactly.]

This sample conversation shows how a continuous alternation between standard Italian and standard Croatian takes place, making it almost impossible to detect the base language. On the one hand, the transition from one language to the other one takes place at the level of a single lexeme (*Talijanski*), while on the other, bigger units are used (*non proprio, Ne, ne baš*). The sample shows informants' implicit willingness to adjust their speech to accommodate other interlocutors (Turner & West 2010). Speaker A associates herself to speaker B's way of speaking, while speaker B further clarifies and repeats some concepts in Croatian to speaker A (Selvaggi 2016:239).

With regard to this issue of accommodation, a man informant from Bale/Valle (aged 66) stressed the fact that *'usually for a matter of politeness and intelligence we speak in the language which the interlocutor(s) understand the most, by avoiding almost completely to code-switch. In informal environments and in group chats, we speak with lots of code-switches, instead.'*

A female informant from Brtonigla/Verteneglio (aged 18) expresses another point of view on CS, by affirming that *'when speaking quickly in Italian, several people code-switch to dialect if an expression in dialect suddenly comes to their minds'*, while, yet another male informant from Galizana/Gallesano (aged 26) claimed that *"he produces several interferences in agreements and cases in Croatian. Elders can speak only their mother tongue and they are not able to code-switch, while young people code-switch a lot as they are continuously exposed to contacts with different varieties. However, code-switching should be practiced only when language acquisition is finished"*.

Another female informant from Galizana/Gallesano (aged 26) pointed out that *"both Italians and Croatians ask us why we speak in this way; in Zagreb italophony is not particularly appreciated"*, whereas another female informant (aged 22) presented an

opposite point of view, as in her opinion “*code-switching occurs too much frequently, plurilinguals should attempt to speak only one language at a time*”.

An important opinion was provided by a former exiled (aged 73), now returned to Istra: he believed that “*Italians who did not escape from Istra after Second World War have integrated themselves in a multicultural environment and this is positive, so they code-switch a lot. In my opinion, code-switching is to be accepted only if it leads to a gradual change, whereas I don't like borrowings from foreign languages such as English*”.

Another male informant (aged 72) from Labin/Albona observed how in plurilinguals mostly “*interferences and single-word borrowings occur. For instance, I have heard people saying ‘a Pula’, ‘a Labin’ (‘in Pula’, ‘in Labin’), instead of using an entirely Italian or Croatian expression*”.

A male informant from Rovinj/Rovigno (aged 38) concluded that “*people belonging to my generation of ‘75 are all able to speak Italian, generally acquired in school. Now I perceive a decrease in the study of Italian in schools, also due to the exposure of young people to different media. Moreover, I personally know several children raised in Italian families who neither know Italian nor speak it at home. Istra is very different from other Croatian regions; my brother and I always spoke Istrovenetian, until we went out to practice some sport. My brother spoke Croatian very badly; once the teacher asked him ‘Where have you been on Saturday?’, and he answered her back ‘Kupiti **pantalone**’ (‘To buy trousers’), a middle way between Croatian and Italian, or he simply used a bare form, such as ‘Trst’ ([in] Trieste). In my case, I used to add the Croatian ending ‘ić’ to Italian words to attempt to speak in Croatian, for instance, ‘Albero - * **alberić**’ (‘tree’). Code-switching also occurred whenever I was unconscious,*

*even if in some circumstances speaking in Croatian was almost an obligated choice, as I was a goalkeeper in a team with players from every part of the ex-Yugoslavia. Still I use Croatian for some specific terms, for instance ‘vado a fare l’**uputnica**’ (‘I am going to collect the National Health service autorisation’).*

3.3. Lexical access study. Method, materials and participants

In addition to the interviews, also a micro-quantitative study on lexical access (Selvaggi 2014) was carried out.

A small-scaled corpus of 23 spontaneous trilingual conversations was collected (November 2013-March 2014).

This corpus can be defined as a trilingual synchronic spoken corpus (cf. Schmidt and Wörner 2012), as it is based on audiorecordings collected over the same period of time in different natural contexts of use. The tokens of spontaneous speech are recorded for a length of 52 minutes and 18 seconds, and are made up of a total of 1450 words (excerpts of these conversations are provided in Appendix 6).

Previous researches (Blagoni 2001, Scotti-Jurić & Ambrosi-Randić 2010) highlighted the risk of fossilization of standard Italian in restricted communicative domains (such as Italian schools and public administration).

Hence, on the basis of explicit suggestions and invitations from these studies to adopt a wider angle, the decision was to analyze the concrete production of trilinguals that could represent a true sample of spontaneous discourse.

This micro-sample of trilingual discourse was collected according to informants’ daily communicative frequency of use, that is, including formal and informal situations, both in cities such as Pula and in small villages, and both in educational contexts

(university), official/administrative milieus (Italian communities) and working/traveling environments, which included people shopping in the *Tržnica* (market) of Pula, in a *Mesnica* (butcher shop) or in a *Kopiranje* (bookshop), travelling on a local bus, students chatting at the Department of Humanities of the University of Pula, male workers having a coffee break at a local bar in the village of Bale (Valle).

Following the BADIP Model (Banca Dati dell’Italiano Parlato)¹⁸, fifteen of these conversations belong to type A, namely, bi-directional communicative exchange with free face-to-face conversational turns, while eight belong to type B, namely, bi-directional communicative exchange with free distant conversation turns (phone-call conversations), and thus not face-to-face ones.

All informants were contacted in various social contexts in different Croatian towns, which are officially bilingual.

Some informants were met in the Italian communities of Rovinj/Rovigno, Buje/Buie, Poreč/Parenzo and Mošćenička Draga /Draga di Moschiena within cultural associations representative of the Italian minority group, others in the context of their daily activities, whereas phone conversations included people at a pizzeria in Pula and members of the Italian communities of Novigrad/Cittanova and Cres/Cherso (see transcript excerpts in the Appendix 6).

The stimulus for the conversation started from the observer in most cases (N = 14), and can thus be defined as *observer-driven* (structured-participated observation). Regardless of the interlocutors, the interaction was always started in Italian, except for some Croatian routine forms, such as the greeting: “*Dobar Dan*” (Good morning). In a few (N = 9) conversations the researcher acted as an external observer (natural

¹⁸ <http://badip.uni-graz.at/>

observation) as the speakers themselves stimulated interactions spontaneously. All conversations were audio-recorded by the observer using a Smartphone device.

Once the raw conversational samples were collected, the first analytical step was to filter long monolingual dialogues, which were discarded as not an essential part of the code-switched corpus.

After re-editing, recordings of code-switched units and conversational monolingual turns that immediately precede and follow these, were converted into mp3 and wave format for analysis. Samples were then transcribed in normal orthography following the BADIP model (cf. note 18), and stored as simple text files.

Annotation of language units (monolingual versus code-switched) and of the communicative functions of utterances was subsequently performed. For this purpose, ten criteria were introduced, based on Auer's model (1998) as follows: 1. Reported speech and quoting; 2. Requesting/questioning; 3. Clarifying/explaining; 4. Reiteration/repetition/confirmation; 5. Translation and request of translation; Untranslatability; 6. Accomodation and broken language strategies; 7. First available expression and TOT phenomenon; 8. Refinement/exoticism; 9. Mimicking; 10. Tag/fillers/no function.

In addition, lexical access time at the level of the conversational turn (T) was calculated by applying the following formula: $T = MI + CS + M2$, where *MI* is the monolingual passage that precedes the code-switched unit and *M2* the monolingual passage that follows the code-switched passage (*CS*). Praat software¹⁹ was used to calculate lexical access timing at this level.

¹⁹ <http://www.fon.hum.uva.nl/praat/> .

Furthermore, the switching cost was determined by subtracting the mean response latency in no switched (monolingual) passages from the mean response latency in switches to L1 or L2/L3, based on Meuter's (2005) methodology.

Finally, it is important to point out that natural conversation is often made up of overlapping, interruptions, hesitations and long pauses between the interlocutors. In similar cases amounting to 139 overlaps and interruptions among speakers and 28 hesitations and long pauses, it appeared difficult to calculate lexical access time, although these particular occurrences of code-switches were analyzed in their functional and psychological aspects. Code-switched and monolingual passages that were simply incomprehensible due to background noise, low voice tone, were discarded.

While most researchers concerned with lexical access have dealt with bilinguals' comprehension and recognition in experimental laboratory contexts, this study focuses on the phenomenon of code-switching practised by trilinguals in the Istroquarnerian region of Croatia. Moving beyond traditional methodological divides, the study adopts a psycho-sociolinguistic approach to investigate the time course of lexical access in code-switched units of spontaneous conversation, the switching cost, and the psycholinguistic and/or social factors affecting latency in lexical access. The disadvantages of a pure sociolinguistic approach can further be seen as underestimating some important psychological variables, such as:

1. the "tip of the tongue" (TOP) phenomenon, in which the speaker cannot temporarily remember a term he definitely knows (Grosjean & Li 2013);
2. the ease of expression, that is, speaking in the other language can better convey the desired meaning with the desired pragmatic force, and the will to better convey some

intimate emotions and feelings (Walters 2005; Kecskés and Albertazzi 2007; De Groot 2011);

3. the time course of lexical access in code-switching compared to the monolingual mode. Grosjean and Soares (1984), for example, report that access to code-switches is slower when compared to access to the words in the base language in their study on English-Portuguese bilinguals involved in the Phoneme Triggered Lexical Decision task. In a study conducted by Meuter & Allport (1999) bilinguals are found to take longer to access code-switched words in bilingual speech mode and in switching from L2 to L1.

The participants were 39 mixed trilingual speakers (19 males and 20 females; aged from 23 to 75, mean age: 46 years), living in the Istra and Quarnerian Regions of Croatia, where, as seen in previous paragraphs, monolingualism is a rare exception. All participants had not acquired any further new languages for at least 10 years before the research study was conducted, as face-to-face short interviews on their language biography (language repertoire and acquisition, language use, type of bilingual education) conducted after the registrations have highlighted (cf. Table 80, Tables 85-88).

All participants were highly proficient in all the three languages of their repertoire. According to the configuration of their trilingual linguistic repertoire, and for the purpose of the present research, participants were divided into Italophones and Croatophones, although this classification is not straightforward due to the high number of mixed marriages (cf. Milani-Kruljac and Orbančić 1989). The 23 Italophones use the Istrovenetian dialect as their L1, standard Italian as their L2, and standard Croatian (and sometimes Čakavski dialect) as their L3. On the other hand, the 16 Croatophones use

the Čakavski dialect (a dialect of the Serbo-Croatian language) as their L1, standard Croatian as L2, and standard Italian as L3.

Participants thus use their dialectal varieties (Čakavski or Istrovenetian) together with standard Croatian in natural contexts, ranging from informal communicative situations (friends, family), semiformal (entertainment, shopping, phone calls, tourism, transportations) to formal ones (public administration, banking, university). Foreign languages used only occasionally are not considered as a significant part of informants' linguistic repertoire.

Furthermore, all participants had received a bilingual education (both in Croatian schools and in the Italian schools) since their childhood, and regularly use the three languages in everyday life. As for their qualifications, 7 informants hold a compulsory school diploma, 13 a high school diploma, 17 a bachelor degree and 2 a PhD. In terms of their social background, the informants were selected to cover a significant range of social roles: 9 informants were university students attending the University of Pula, 3 university professors and high and elementary-school teachers, 4 workers, 2 restaurant managers, 6 shopkeepers, 6 civil servants, 7 pensioners and 2 politicians.

Results presented in the next paragraph are reported for two phenomena. The first one, the latency effect, is the response latency time after the end of the interlocutor's conversational turn. The second one, the switching cost, can be identified in the difference in the response latency between switched passages and monolingual turns. These findings in lexical access are extracted at the overall level and at a more detailed stage (namely the psychological and social dependent variables previously mentioned in this paragraph) as well.

The analysed passages are 159 monolingual conversational turns, 29 switches from L2 to L1 , 30 from L1 to L2, 3 from L1 to L3, 1 from L2 to L3. Table 99 reports number and length of conversations (grouped per context/communicative situation) and their percentage above the total number of conversations and above the whole length of registrations.

Context/ communicative situation	Number of conversations	Percentage (above the total number of conversations)	Length	Percentage (above the whole length of registrations)
Shopping	6	26%	10'44''	21%
University	1	4%	9' 59''	19%
Phone calls	6	26%	18'30''	35%
Traveling (on a bus)	2	9%	5' 10''	10%
Bar	1	5%	2' 40''	5%
	7	30%	5' 04''	
TOTAL	23	100%	52' 18''	100%

Table 99. Composition of the trilingual synchronic spoken corpus.

3.4. Lexical access data findings

Response latency times were first calculated at the overall level, distinguishing between monolingual passages versus code-switches from L2 to L1, from L1 to L2, from L1 to L3 and from L2 to L3, as shown in Table 100.

	Monolingual turns	Switches from L1 to L2	Switches from L1 to L3	Switches from L2 to L1	Switches from L2 to L3
Min value	80	121	889	100	124
Max Value	4804	2800	2371	2027	124
Latency range	4724	2679	1482	1927	0
Mode	560	362	889	675	124
Mean frequency	626	609	889	467	124
MRL*	805	892	1383	602	-

* Mean Response Latency.

Table 100. Overall response latency (in milliseconds) in monolingual versus code-switched passages.

Data show a mean response latency (MRL) of 805 milliseconds (ms) in monolingual passages, 602 ms in switching from L2 to L1, 892 ms in switching from L1 to L2 and 1383 ms in switching from L1 to L3. No statistical analysis could be made on switching from L2 to L3 as there is only one switch available (with a latency time of 124 ms).

When compared to their monolingual counterparts, higher or shorter switching costs in trilingual switching choices were obtained according to Meuter's (2005) methodology.

Data demonstrate a overall significantly higher switching cost in switching from L1 to L3 and a shorter cost in that from L1 to L2. On the contrary, switches from L2 to L1 proved to be the fastest ones; surprisingly, they reveal an absence of a switching cost, being even faster than monolingual turns.

The fourth and last research question of this case study was to discover which psycholinguistics or sociolinguistics factors tend to mostly affect trilingual lexical access. Latency in lexical access as the dependent variable was manipulated by the

psycholinguistic factor of the composition of the language repertoire (Italophone vs. Croatophone group), and by social class, context of utterances and communicative function of code-switches as the main social factors.

The Croatophones showed a MRL of 717 ms in L2-L1 switches and of 1290 ms in L1-L2 switches. Consequently, the switching cost was determined in 440 ms in switching from L1 to L2, while no switching cost was found in switching from L2 to L1. In sum, they follow the overall trend as their switches from L2 to L1 have a shorter latency time than their monolingual passages. No code-switched units from L1 or L2 to L3 and vice versa were coded.

Among the Italophones, MLR reaches 572 ms in L2-L1 switches, 747 ms in L1-L2 switches and 1383 ms in L1-L3 switches. Therefore, the switching cost appears to be of 604 milliseconds in switching from L1 to L3, while no switching cost was found for both switching from L2 to L1 (-206 ms) and from L1 to L2 (-31 ms). In other words, inside this group, no switching cost arises in switching from L2 to L1 as a negative value was recorded.

Even response latency in L1-L2 switching was faster when compared to the monolingual passages (778 ms).

On the whole, Croatophones showed higher latency time and higher switching cost in all the three switching combinations (and radically higher in switching from L1 to L2) than the Italophone group, whose L2-L1 and L1-L2 switching costs were respectively 75 and 471 ms. These results suggest an impact of language repertoire on latency.

Informants' social class also appeared to influence trilingual lexical access as shown in Table 101.

	Monolingual turns	Switches from L2 to L1	Switches from L1 to L2	Switches from L1 to L3	Switches from L2 to L3
University students and professors	699	500	855	-	-
Shopkeepers and restaurant managers	1009	718	1466		
Politicians	844	562	677	889	
Pensioners	1061	-	-	-	
Workers and civil servants	598	754	406		

Table 101. Mean response latency (in milliseconds) per social class.

Table 101 indicates that the lowest mean response latency in monolingual turns was found among workers and civil servants (598 milliseconds). Also university students and professors' latency time is below the mean overall value (805 milliseconds). The other social categories show a considerably higher response latency.

As for code-switched passages, the fastest switches from L2 to L1 were performed by university students and professors (500 ms) and politicians (562 ms), whose latency time was shorter than the overall mean value (602 ms). On the contrary, shopkeepers, workers and civil servants' response latency was higher than the overall mean value.

In switches from L1 to L2, the categories whose latency time was below the mean value (892 ms) were workers and civil servant, politicians, university students and professors. Shopkeepers and restaurant managers distanced themselves very much from the mean value. Politicians were the only social group for which a mean response latency analysis in switches from L1 to L3 was possible: their value (889 ms) was almost the same as the mean value (892 ms).

MRL could not be calculated in University professors and students' switching from L1 to L3 and L2 to L3 as only one code-switched unit from L1 to L3 and from L2 to L3 was recorded. Moreover, among pensioners there were monolingual passages only and thus even in this case MRL could not be calculated.

Given these results, in switches from L2 to L1 the cost was negative among university students and professors (-199 ms), shopkeepers (-291 ms) and politicians (-282 ms). In other words, switching from L2 to L1 was faster than speaking monolingually, and their switching cost values were not very distant from the mean value (-203 ms). In switching from L1 to L2, workers, civil servants and politicians shared the lowest switching costs (-192 and -167 ms), thus placing themselves in a reverse trend if compared to the overall mean value (87 ms). Conversely, university students, professors and shopkeepers follow the general trend, having a positive value (respectively 156 and 46 ms). It was only possible to calculate the switching cost from L1 to L3 for politicians (45 ms), and not for pensioners, whose performance was monolingual.

Furthermore, results for the second social factor, namely, context of utterances, are indicated in Table 102.

	Monolingual passages	Switches from L2 to L1	Switches from L1 to L2	Switches from L1 to L3	Switches from L2 to L3
Shopping	974	701	1191		
University	663	504	903	-	
Phone calls	701	713	1069		
Traveling	2180	-	-	-	-
Italian communities	963	504	626	889	-
Bar	752	-	-	-	

Table 102. Mean response latency (in milliseconds) in social settings.

As for mean response latency, monolingual units coded at university (663 ms), in phone calls (701 ms) and bar conversations (752 ms) exhibit a lower latency time than the mean value. In switches from L2 to L1, a 504 milliseconds-latency in university and Italian-community conversations is the lowest value. Shopping (701 ms) and phone-call conversations (713 ms) were slightly higher than the mean value.

In the university context, the response latency in switching from L1 to L3 could not be calculated as there is only one switch from L1 to L3. The same can be said for the Italian communities and bar milieus, where only one switch was found from L2 to L3 and from L1 to L2, respectively. Lastly, the response latency could not be calculated in the traveling communicative context as there were only monolingual passages.

In L1-L2 switches, the highest cost was found in shopping and phone-call contexts (significantly distant from the mean value of 892 ms). University conversations had almost the same latency time as the mean value, while in Italian communities, it was much lower (626 ms). The latter were the only situational settings with L1-L3 switches, revealing a much lower value (889 ms) than the overall mean (1383 ms).

The switching cost from L2 to L1 in shopping (-272 ms) and in Italian communities (-459 ms) were lower than the mean value (-203); in switching from L1 to L2, instead, the cost was higher than the mean value (87 ms) in shopping (218 ms), university conversations (239 ms) and phone calls (368 ms), while interactions in Italian communities showed a negative value (337 ms).

The last factor considered was the communicative function of the code-switched passages. Results reported in Table 103 indicate that the lowest response latencies were found in tag, mimicking, refinement, reiteration, first available expression, reported speech and translation switches: all these kind of switches have a mean response time

below the overall monolingual value (805 ms). On the other hand, the highest response latencies were identified in switches about accommodation, requesting and clarifying.

Reported speech and quoting	739
Requesting/questioning	859
Clarifying/explaining	857
Reiteration/repetition/confirmation	495
Translation, request of translation and untranslatability	763
Accommodation and broken language strategies	1036
First available expression and TOT phenomenon	674
Refinement/exoticism	494
Mimicking	297
Tag/fillers/no function	263
MONOLINGUAL MEAN RESPONSE LATENCY	805

Table 103. Mean response latency (in milliseconds) of code-switched passages classified according to their communicative function, based on Auer (1998).

Thus, the switching cost appears to be higher in the three aforementioned categories (230, 54 and 50 ms, respectively).

3.5. Discussion

This case study in the Italo-Croatian milieu of Croatian Istra revealed some interesting findings.

Unlike the previous case study on Calabrese minorities, this is the first attested context of *pluridirectional plurilingualism*, where not only the minority Italoophone group, but also the Croatophone majority is almost always plurilingual and the common

situation is that of trilingualism or even quadrilingualism.

More in details, conversations within family are held mostly in a bilingual or trilingual mode, where dialectal and standard varieties are dynamically alternated.

Quite the opposite, the two standard varieties (Italian and Croatian) are usually formally acquired at school and they seem to prevail in formal communicative situations. However, only Croatian (and almost never Italian) is preferred in social communication, given its dominant role as the prevalent language of the social environment.

Almost every informant declared to be aware of code-switching as both an individual and societal practice.

As for the first research question on the explicit and implicit attitudes towards trilingual and quadrilingual code-switching in the Istra region, the majority of informants showed a positive attitude towards plurilingual code-switching, recognizing both their personal acceptance of this phenomenon and the acceptance of other plurilinguals. However, they were conscious of the prevalent negative opinion of monolinguals about the code-switching practice and even about plurilingualism in general.

Most informants intended to stress the fact that a cautious alternation is the best solution, in order to preserve language maintenance and to allow only gradual linguistic changes in language structures.

There is a general agreement that a high frequency of code-switches, interferences and borrowings is observable in young people and in mixed families. Moreover, a high number of informants believes that code-switching is slightly more frequent in Italophones than in Croatophones.

On the contrary, there was no general agreement among informants neither on the influence of the educational level, nor about consciousness or unconsciousness of code-switching practice and frequency. Thus, additional studies on this issue are strongly needed.

As for lexical access, study findings in natural contexts present a different situation from those in experimental contexts (Meuter & Allport 1999). On the whole, the first unexpected result is that trilinguals do not take longer to access code-switched words in switching from L2 to L1, whereas, they do have a higher mean response time in switching from L1 to L2 and much higher latency in accessing their L3.

The corresponding absence of a switching cost between L2 and L1 can be explained in terms of an (almost) similar state of activation of L1 and L2 lexicons in the trilingual mode. Moreover, as proficient trilingual speakers, informants may present a flexible interplay between languages both in observer-stimulated and in free conversational contexts.

Conversely, the L3 lexicon is accessed only through L1 and L2 mediation, regardless of language proficiency and language repertoire. It can be hypothesised that Croatophones' higher latency time and switching costs in all three switching combinations, and especially in switching from L1 to L2, was due to their social status of belonging to the majority group. They were found, in fact, to code-switch less and slower when compared to the Italophones, who, as a minority necessarily code-switch on a daily basis from Italian or Istrovenetian dialect to Croatian.

As for the social factors, informants with a higher level of education share the fastest lexical access (and a negative switching cost) in switching from L2 to L1. They are totally aware of their switching mechanisms and accept, value and practise them

regularly (often consciously) because of their work, individual interests and family background. Other social classes were found to take longer to switch from their L2 to L1, and are also less aware of the phenomenon.

In switches from L1 to L2, shopkeepers and restaurant managers mostly use accommodation and broken language strategies, and are slower than the other ones. Switches from L1 to L3 were very rare and were essentially performed by politicians with the same latency time as the mean value.

Situational settings consistently demonstrated that the lowest latencies in switching from L2 to L1 occurred in the university context and in Italian communities. It was only in the latter that switches from L1 to L3 were recorded.

Finally, the communicative function showed high latencies for accommodation, requesting and clarifying. Conversely, mimicking, refinement, reiteration, first available expression, reported speech and translation switches pertained to immediate/semi-automatic procedures that guarantee shorter lexical-access time. This suggests that when the conversational focus is on the other(s) speaker(s), code-switches are significantly slower. Other trilingual studies, besides longitudinal studies are, however, needed to further investigate the phenomenon of lexica access in code-switched conversations in different natural contexts.

III - THE CASE STUDIES

Case study 3: Italian-English Bilingual Children

An independent Kingdom of Scotland lasted from the Early Middle Ages and continued until 1707, when Scotland entered into a political union with England, giving birth to the new Kingdom of Great Britain and to a unique Parliament.

In 1997 the Labour government passed the Devolution Reform, in which a Scottish Parliament was re-created and it was devolved authority over many internal affairs. In spite of this large degree of autonomy, a number of citizens advanced the claim for complete independence, which was fully supported by the Scottish National Party, leading to the 2014 referendum on Scotland independence. Nevertheless, the majority of Scottish citizens (55%) voted against national independence although the Scottish National Party gained all Scottish seats in the UK Parliament following the political elections in 2015.

From the linguistic point of view, Gaelic (a Celtic language probably introduced by Irish settlers prior to Roman conquest) was the native and dominant language until XI century; then, English, until that age a minority language confined to the Lowlands next to the England border, started to spread northwards and westwards and pushed Gaelic to a progressive decline (Withers 1984). This is confirmed by the last Census²⁰ (2011), which witnessed that only 1.1% of the Scottish population (57,375 people) is able to speak Gaelic, while overall 87,056 people have some passive or active competence in this variety.

²⁰ <http://www.scotlandscensus.gov.uk/>

Nowadays the three official languages of the country are English, Scots, and Scottish Gaelic. In this context Italian is not an autochthonous language, but just one of the new migrants' varieties. In any case, the Italian community in Scotland is estimated to reach about 50,000 people, mostly concentrated in the Glasgow and Edinburgh areas, whereas about 210,000 Italians are estimated to reside in the UK²¹.

In this context, the current case study focuses on two high prestige varieties- Italian and English- of which just one (English) is the language of outside communication, while Italian is only spoken within family or with other members of the Italian community (the area under scrutiny is shown in Figure 19). This situation determines *unidirectional bilingualism* as only the minority community is bilingual in Italian and English, whereas the Scottish majority is monolingual in English or bilingual in other varieties (mostly English and Scots or English and Gaelic. Table 104).

	Italian	English
Ethnologue classification	-	Safe
Official Status	No	Yes
Social Status	Strong in in-group conversations, very weak in out-group communication	Dominant
Prestige	High	High
Kind of contact	Unidirectional bilingualism (Italian-English bilingual children are all bilinguals, whereas majority Scottish children are monolingual in English or bilingual in English and Scots or English and Gaelic)	

Table 104. Sociolinguistic situation of Italian-English bilingualism in Scotland.

²¹ <http://www.scotlandscensus.gov.uk/>

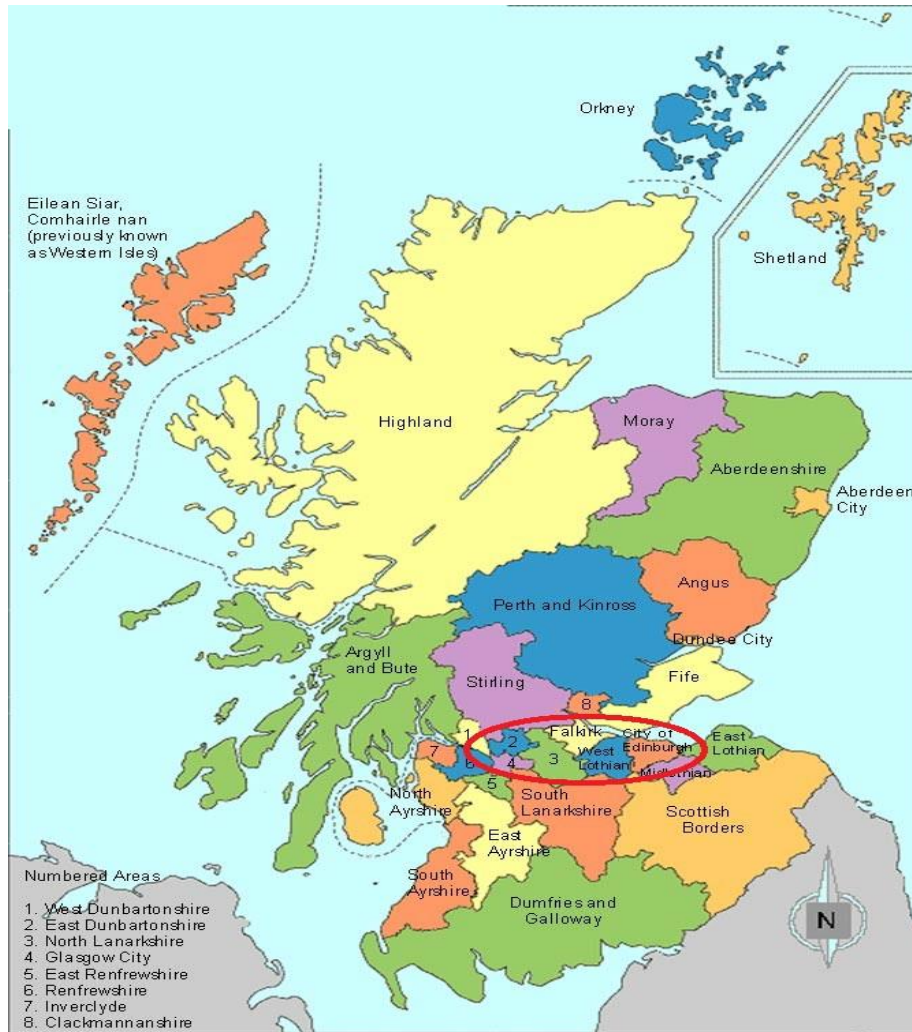


Figure 19. Map of Scotland (the area under scrutiny is circled in red).

1. Code-switching in Italian-English Bilingual Children

This research focuses on child bilingualism and was carried out in Scotland. It assumes the importance of eliciting data also from very young informants as previous studies have mostly involved adult people. It also considers that bilingual families have their own intra-familial language with varying patterns of parental input and children's language use in the household context (cf. De Houwer 2007). Thus, the intention was to set up an exploratory study on acceptability judgments and actual practice of code-switches by studying both the comprehension (grammaticality/ungrammaticality

judgements and language preferences) and the production of Italian-English code-switching.

2. Research questions

Therefore, the two main research questions were basically the followings:

- 1) Does the amount of input in each language and/or the one-parent-one-language education method determine different patterns and frequency of code-switching acceptability judgements among bilingual children groups?

Several code-switching variables, such as the amount and type of parental language input, type of education, simultaneous vs. successive acquisition, children's output and the cumulative length of exposure, do need to be taken into consideration (cf. Romaine 1999; Pearson, 2007; Sorace & Serratrice 2009; Unsworth 2013).

- 2) Is code-switching an actual device in conversations among children (peers) and between children and adults (parents, teachers, relatives)?

A number of studies (Meisel 2004) have proven that children show sensitivity to their familial linguistic environment, for example, in the early practice of code-switching, supporting the hypothesis of early grammatical differentiation.

3. Survey method, materials and participants

While most studies focus on code-switched strings under the acceptable-unacceptable categories, in reality “a significant number of sentences fall somewhere in between in a grey area of partial acceptability” (Sprouse 2007: 118).

The research was framed by a mixed methodology drawing on psycholinguistics (Nelson et al. 1976; Grosjean 2001), developmental linguistics (Sorace et al. 2009) and the lexicalist-minimalist approach to code-switching (MacSwan 1999).

The experimental study was conducted with a group of Scottish-Italian participants ($N=17$, aged 5-11), selected by means of a snowball sampling under the condition of their regular daily use (Grosjean 2001) of Italian and English and no known history of language impairment. The number of qualified participants thus ensured an adequate description of acceptability²².

The research was conducted in Scotland with 12 selected bilingual families in their homes in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Falkirk, Loanhead, Newtongrange, Bargeddie and Paisley (see the area circled in red in Figure 8). One additional Italian-Scottish family was met in Cosenza (Italy): the original goal was to implement a comparative analysis between qualified informants in Scotland and Calabria, based on the changing status of standard Italian (dominant language in Calabria and just one of the various immigrant languages in Scotland). As the majority of the Calabrese families contacted dropped out from the study, this comparison was no longer possible; data belonging to this family are shown for descriptive reasons anyway.

On the other hand, data gathered from two children had to be discarded due to children's misunderstanding of the tasks (Table 106).

The study was carried out in four different phases: the first three involved the bilingual children in the completion of three main tasks, namely, the *smileys task*, the *flags task* and the *picture description task*. In the last phase, *interviews* were carried out

²² Cowart (1997) indicates eight or more informants for a minimum reasonable experiment.

with the parents of the children involved about their age of onset/exposure and parental input.

The pilot test was performed in a bilingual family in Edinburgh in April 2015. Children underwent a training/warm up procedure of variable length: they could freely choose to hear/see the instructions in English and Italian as many times as they needed; as soon as they showed that they had understood the task, they started the trial.

After verifying the test validity (namely, after having obtained consistent data and thus feedback of children's understanding), the research continued with the other 11 families.

Children were presented 16 hearable short offline dialogues on a laptop screen to reduce formal negative attitudes towards code-switching (Aguirre 1985) and for more natural decision tasks. The dialogues were recorded by two male and two female voices (two native speakers and two non-native successive high proficient bilinguals) and the speaker pairs were randomly mixed. An audio mp3/wave file with a new order of the conversations was created with the software Anime Studio Debut 10 and inserted in a mp4/wmv file containing all 16 cartoons. The resulting dialogues (see Appendix 8) contained code-switches in Italian and/or English, which were constructed by adapting some examples from Toribio (2001) for a English-Spanish code-switching acceptability task, given the typological and parametrical proximity of Spanish and Italian).

Italian-English bilingual children rated the code-switched dialogues with a five-graded smileys scale (Ambridge 2008) as symbolic cues of acceptability. Essentially, the tasks required informants to:

- a) decide if the dialogue was *very strange/never heard before* (and thus showing the researcher the saddest red smiley), *strange/heard a few times* (choosing a

less sad red face), *quite strange/so so* (selecting a face which was painted half in red and half in green), *often heard* (thus showing a happy green smiley) or *heard almost every day* (by choosing the happiest green face);

- b) decide if the conversation seemed to them completely English, mostly English or neither.

Children were instructed to ignore the phonetic form (native versus non-native accent) and concentrate only on the frequency on which these dialogues were heard in their everyday life.

A simpler binary judgement had also been prepared, but was not used as almost all the children were able to perform the five-graded rating. Only a very young child used the binary scale, choosing only between the *strange/never heard before* and *often heard* options and between the English/Italian ones. Her data were, however, discarded from the analysis, as she expressed the same judgment to all the conditions.

The tested code-switches could be considered all grammatical ones in the sense that they were all possible, acceptable and attested constructions (obviously along a scale of gradience of acceptability). Unlike previous studies, even if some of the presented code-switches may seem strange or unusual, they cannot be truly considered as ungrammatical or unacceptable. Thus, it is necessary to move beyond the neat acceptable-unacceptable dichotomy as a number of recent studies (MacSwan 2014) have re-considered some patterns of unacceptability, explaining how a variety of code-switches rated or judged as unacceptable are simple rare or marked forms. These are not very much used by native speakers, but all the same possible and even attested in natural occurring speech both in bilingual communities and/or in bilingual families.

In particular, according to MacSwan (2014), the bilingual language faculty allows the construction of well-formed code-switches, which are not limited by *a-priori* syntactical constraints valid for all languages (Poplack 1980, Myers-Scotton 1993). Such constraints proved to be reliable only in descriptive terms.

Quite the opposite, the properties and parameters of the lexical item itself determines the allowed patterns of switches, that can occur in different positions at the intrasentential level, and obviously, at the intersentential level, with different degrees of markedness/acceptability related to the position of the switch and category of the lexical and syntactical switched element.

In this study, **eight conditions**, which represent a balanced sample of both intersentential and intrasentential switches (real examples of actual conversations shown in previous studies: Toribio 2001; MacSwan 1999, 2014), **were tested** (see Appendix 8):

condition A: single-word and tag switches;

condition B: switches between subject and predicate (intrasentential);

condition C: switches between verb and complements (intrasentential);

condition D: switches between noun and relative clause (intrasentential);

condition E: reported speech switches (intersentential);

condition F: coordinate intersentential code-switch;

condition G: subordinate intersentential code-switch;

condition H: fixed and formulaic phrases and repetition switches (intersentential).

Bilingual children also performed a **picture description game** (see Cantone 2007), by choosing one of the previous pictures/animations shown in the acceptability task. These pictorial stimuli were used to record children's potential use of code-switching.

The researcher, the parents and the other people that were present at the moment of the meeting tried to set up a bilingual mode (Grosjean 2001) by posing the questions/prompts in both languages, or at least by speaking the two languages (English and Italian) throughout the test (even on a one-person-one language basis).

However, it was decided not to force a bilingual status at any cost in order to set up the most natural interaction possible. For this reason, each child was free to choose to speak both languages or just one. All the interactions between the interviewer, the parents and the children throughout the task and the parental interview were audiorecorded.

Usually, at the end of the tasks one parent per family was interviewed about his/her children's age of onset and years of exposure to the various language, the estimated amount of input in each language and the daily time of usage of the different codes in the various contexts and communicative domains, supported by the Utrecht Bilingual Language Exposure Calculator questionnaire (UBILEC. Unsworth 2013) questionnaire (Appendix 7).

Data from the parental questionnaire (Table 105) highlight that two children were (late) successive bilinguals, LSB, namely, the second language was acquired at the age of four or later, three were early successive bilinguals (ESB, the second language was acquired between the age of two and four), while most children ($N=10$) were simultaneous bilinguals SB, as they acquired the two languages at the same time, or no later than the age of two. Children's age was indicated in years and months (Table 105).

Moreover, as for the educational method, two children were educated through the one-parent-one-language (OPOL) method, six children were educated with both languages (BL) at home and seven children were exposed at home only to the minority (Italian) language (ML).

Participant	Age	Age of acquisition	Type of parental input/educational method
Calabria Family 1 - Child 1	7;0	Early Simultaneous Bilingual	Both languages at home
Calabria Family 2 - Child 2	9;5	Early Simultaneous Bilingual	Both languages at home
Family 1 - Child 1	9;8	Early Successive Bilingual	Both languages at home
Family 2 - Child 3	11;8	Early Simultaneous Bilingual	Both languages at home
Family 2 - Child 4	7;8	Early Simultaneous Bilingual	Both languages at home
Family 3 - Child 5	11;0	Early Simultaneous Bilingual	Both languages at home
Family 5 - Child 7	6;0	Early Successive Bilingual	Minority (Italian) language at home
Family 6 - Child 8	11;10	Early Simultaneous Bilingual	Minority (Italian) language at home
Family 6 - Child 9	8;0	Early Simultaneous Bilingual	Minority (Italian) language at home
Family 7 - Child 10	7;6	Early Simultaneous Bilingual	One-parent-one-language
Family 8 - Child 11	8;11	Early Simultaneous Bilingual	One-parent-one-language
Family 9 - Child 12	6;3	Early Successive Bilingual	Minority (Italian) language at home
Family 10 - Child 13	5;10	Early Simultaneous Bilingual	Minority (Italian) language at home
Family 11 - Child 14	7;8	Successive Bilingual	Minority (Italian) language at home
Family 12. Child 15	9;0	Successive Bilingual	Minority (Italian) language at home

Table 105. Sample of Italian-English participants: age, age of acquisition and type of parental input/educational method.

Participant	Age	Age of acquisition	Type of parental input/educational method
Family 1 - Child 2*	4;10	Early Simultaneous Bilingual	Both languages at home
Family 4 - Child 6**	8;6	Early Simultaneous Bilingual	Both languages at home

Table 106. Discarded data in the Italian-English bilingual children study.

* Data belonging to both the smileys and flags task discarded due to task misunderstandings.

** Data belonging to the smileys task discarded due to the fact that the child gave the same answers under all the conditions.

4. Data findings

With regards to the **first research question**, before the data collection we predicted a possible division of the bilingual children into two main subsets was predicted. One subset, individuated on the basis of the **variable of the age of acquisition**, was composed of the early simultaneous bilinguals and the successive bilinguals. The second subset was founded on the **educational method**, namely, the one-parent-one-language educated children and the other mixed-language educated ones.

After data collection, this issue had to be reconsidered, as parental interviews data led to a further division of successive bilinguals into early (ESB, aged 2-4) and late (LSB, aged 4 onwards) successive bilinguals. Moreover, as far as the educational method/parental input was concerned, three groups were identified: the first one included children educated through both languages at home; the second one those educated according to the one-parent-one-language method; the last one grouped children educated through the minority (Italian) language at home.

Table 107 shows the raw frequencies (child by child) of acceptability ratings in the smileys task. First, we will present data relating the variable of the age of acquisition. Ratings valued 0,5+ imply that code-switches are judged as acceptable, whereas the ratings with a value equal or less than 0.5 are considered scarcely acceptable.

	Cond. A	Cond. B	Cond. C	Cond. D	Cond. E	Cond. F	Cond. G	Cond. H
Late successive bilingual children	0.375	0.5	0.675	0.675	0.675	0.5	0.5	0.375
	0.5	0.5	0.875	0.675	0.675	0.5	1	0.375
Early successive bilingual children	0.5	0.375	0.125	0.675	0.375	0.375	0.875	0.675
	0.75	0.675	1	0.875	1	0.75	0.875	0.875
	0.5	0.125	0.25	0.5	0.375	0.125	0.5	0.5
Simultaneous bilingual children	0.25	0.375	0.5	0.375	0.25	0.5	0.125	0.375
	0.675	0.375	0.75	0.5	0.375	0.675	0.625	0.875
	0.125	0.375	0.375	0.375	0.25	0.675	0.375	0.675
	0.375	0.675	0.375	0.5	0.375	0.5	0.75	0.5
	0.5	0.5	0.375	0.375	0.375	0.675	0.675	0.675
	0.675	0.675	0.5	0.675	0.5	0.675	0.5	0.875
	0.875	0.75	0.675	0.75	0.75	0.75	0.75	0.75
	0.375	0.675	0.5	0.375	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.375
	0.875	0.875	0.75	1	0.675	1	0.5	0.675
0.875	0.75	0.75	0.875	0.675	0.75	0.75	0.675	
One-parent-one language	0.675	0.675	0.5	0.675	0.5	0.675	0.5	0.875
	0.875	0.75	0.675	0.75	0.75	0.75	0.75	0.75
Both languages at home	0.5	0.375	0.125	0.675	0.375	0.375	0.875	0.675
	0.25	0.375	0.5	0.375	0.25	0.5	0.125	0.375
	0.675	0.375	0.75	0.5	0.375	0.675	0.625	0.875
	0.125	0.375	0.375	0.375	0.25	0.675	0.375	0.675
	0.875	0.875	0.75	1	0.675	1	0.5	0.675
0.875	0.75	0.75	0.875	0.675	0.75	0.75	0.675	
Minority language at home	0.375	0.5	0.675	0.675	0.675	0.5	0.5	0.375
	0.5	0.5	0.875	0.675	0.675	0.5	1	0.375
	0.75	0.675	1	0.875	1	0.75	0.875	0.875
	0.5	0.125	0.25	0.5	0.375	0.125	0.5	0.5
	0.375	0.675	0.375	0.5	0.375	0.5	0.75	0.5
	0.5	0.5	0.375	0.375	0.375	0.675	0.675	0.675
0.375	0.675	0.5	0.375	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.375	

Table 107. Acceptability ratings: raw frequencies per single child.

On the whole (see Table 108), conditions with a degree of acceptability >0.5 among all three groups were conditions D and G: in fact, in the simultaneous bilingual the mean rating was 0.58 and inside the (late) successive bilinguals and early successive bilinguals it reached 0.67 and 0.68.

	Cond. A	Cond. B	Cond. C	Cond. D	Cond. E	Cond. F	Cond. G	Cond. H
Late successive bilingual children	0.44	0.5	0.78	0.67	0.67	0.5	0.75	0.37
Early successive bilingual children	0.58	0.39	0.46	0.68	0.58	0.42	0.75	0.68
Simultaneous bilingual children	0.56	0.60	0.56	0.58	0.47	0.67	0.56	0.64
One-parent-one language	0.78	0.71	0.59	0.71	0.62	0.71	0.62	0.81
Both languages at home	0.55	0.52	0.54	0.63	0.43	0.66	0.54	0.66
Minority language at home	0.48	0.52	0.58	0.57	0.57	0.51	0.69	0.53

Table 108. Acceptability ratings: Mean frequencies per the bilingual children group.

Thus, all three groups agreed that switches between a noun and its relative clause and reported speech switches were largely acceptable. This implied that these alternations are recognised by children as something they have heard quite often.

Conversely, ratings >0.5 in late successive (0.78) and simultaneous bilingual children (0.56) were assigned to condition C (switches between verb and complement), while the same happened in late successive (0.67) and early successive bilinguals (0.58) with condition E (reported speech switches).

Values >0.5 between early successive bilinguals (0.58 and 0.68) and simultaneous bilinguals (0.56 and 0.64) were observed in condition A and condition H. These two groups believed that single-word switches and fixed/formulaic phrases/repetition switches were largely acceptable, while simultaneous bilinguals rated these conditions with a relatively low value (0.44 and 0.375 respectively).

An identical value (0.75) among successive and early successive bilinguals emerged in condition G, while simultaneous bilinguals rated these code-switches with the lower value of 0.55. Therefore, subordinate intersentential switches were very much acceptable for both successive bilingual children groups. Simultaneous bilinguals

declared to experience these kind of switches less frequently and the pattern of acceptability, although inferior to the successive bilinguals one, is positive anyway.

The range of variability was relatively smaller among simultaneous bilinguals (ratings from 0.47 to 0.67) compared to late (0.37-0.77) and early successive bilinguals (0.39-0.75).

Conditions with the lowest value were condition H (0.37) and A (0.44) in late successive bilinguals, condition B (0.39), F (0.42) and C (0.46) in early successive bilinguals and condition E (0.47) in simultaneous bilinguals. Those with the highest value were condition C (0.77) and G (0.75) in late successive bilinguals, condition G (0.75), C and H (0.68) in early successive bilinguals and condition F (0.67) and H (0.64) in simultaneous bilinguals.

As far as the educational method was concerned (Table 108), the three groups shared a rating of 0.5+ for conditions B, C, D, G and H, respectively referring to three intrasentential switches (between noun and predicate, between verb and complement and between noun and relative clause) and two intersentential switches (subordinate and fixed/formulaic phrases/repetitions).

OPOL children gave a rating of 0.5+ to all the conditions, while BL children and ML children did the same, with the exception of condition E (rated 0.5-) and condition A respectively.

The range of variability was smaller in BL children (0.43-0.66) and ML children (0.48-0.69) compared to OPOL children (0.59-0.81).

Similar values in all three groups were observed for condition C (0.59 in OPOL, 0.54 in BL and 0.58 in ML), while an identical value (0.52) was detected for condition B in BL and ML children.

Conditions which were rated lower were condition C in OPOL children (0.59), condition E in BL children (0.43) and condition A (0.48) and F (0.50) in ML children. Those with the highest ratings were condition G (0.81) and A (0.77) in OPOL children, condition D (0.57), F (0.51) and H (0.52) in BL children and condition G (0.69) in ML children.

Data about the flags task are not presented in details all children were able to identify the mostly English or mostly Italian monolingual dialogues, as well as the code-switched ones.

As for the picture description task, the number of utterances recorded was limited as they were collected during one single testing session. However, these data were included for descriptive reasons and preliminary hypothesis (possibly to be tested in future studies). Tables 109-110 refer to data on the: Total Number of Words (TNW), Number of Different Words (NDW), Mean Length of Utterance (MLU), Mean Total Number of Words (MTNW), Mean Number of Different Words (MNDW), Mean Mean Length of Utterance (MMLU), Number of Borrowings (NB), Number of Errors and Interferences (NEI), Number of Code-switches and Borrowings (NCSB), Percentage of Code-switches and Borrowings above the Total Number of Words (PCSB), Mean Length of Code-switches in Words (MEANLCS) and Maximum Length of Code-switches in Words (MAXLCS). All data were calculated using SALT Clinical 2012 version 4.10 software, which allows a precise and fast data analysis of children's expressive richness.

The highest TNW and NDW values were surprisingly found in a 5;10 year-old child, very young if compared to the 11-year olds who exhibited markedly lower values. Instead, the highest MLUs were observed in an early and in a late successive bilingual.

		TNW	NDW	MLU	MTNW	MNDW	MMLU
Successive bilinguals	Minority language at home Child 14 age 7;8	22	20	5.5	39	29.5	8.35
	Minority language at home Child 15 age 9;0	56	39	11.2			
Early successive bilinguals	Both languages at home Child 1 age 9;8	61	38	12.2	54.33	33.33	7.83
	Minority language at home Child 7 age 6;0	83	45	9.2			
	Minority language at home Child 12 age 6;3	19	17	2.1			
Simultaneous bilinguals	Both languages at home Child 2* age 4;10	21	14	3	65.75	38.5	5.82
	Both languages at home Child 3 age 11;8	35	12	4.4			
	Both languages at home Child 4 age 7;8	28	20	3.5			
	Both languages at home Child 5 age 11;0	59	36	9.8			
	Both languages at home Child 6* age 8;6	51	38	3			
	Minority language at home Child 8 age 11;10	69	47	7.7			
	Minority language at home Child 9 age 8;0	62	40	5.6			
	One-parent-one-language Child 10 age 7;6	40	37	4.4			
	One-parent-one-language Child 11 age 8;11	47	41	6.7			
	Minority language at home Child 13 age 5;10	229	95	8.8			
	Both languages at home Calabria Child 1 age 7;00	81	43	6.2			
	Both languages at home Calabria Child 2 age 9;5	67	39	6.7			

Table 109. Picture description task data. Expressive richness and code-switches per child.

		NB	NEI	NCSB *1	PCSB	MEAN LCS	MAX LCS
Successive bilinguals	Minority language at home Child 14	0	0	0	0%	0	0
	Minority language at home Child 15	0	0	0	0%	0	0
Early successive bilinguals	Both languages at home Child 1	0	0	0	0%	0	0
	Minority language at home Child 7	0	0	0	0%	0	0
	Minority language at home Child 12	0	0	0	0%	0	0
Simultaneous bilinguals	Both languages at home Child 2 *	0	0	7	33%	1	1
	Both languages at home Child 3	0	0	0	0%	0	0
	Both languages at home Child 4	0	2	3	8,6%	1	1

Both languages at home Child 5	0	0	1 * ²	1.7%	1	1
Both languages at home Child 6*	0	1	0	0%	0	0
Minority language at home Child 8	0	3	2	2.9%	1.5	2
Minority language at home Child 9	0	2	1 * ³	1.6%	1	1
One-parent-one-language Child 10	0	6	2	5%	1	1
One-parent-one-language Child 11	0	1	0	0%	0	0
Minority language at home Child 13	0	1	5	2.2%	5.5	8
Both languages at home Calabria Child 1	0	0	0	0%	0	0
Both languages at home Calabria Child 2	0	0	0	0%	0	0

Table 110. Picture description task data. Expressive richness and code-switches per children profile.

*¹ = all code-switches and borrowing were from Italian to English, except two from Italian to Spanish

*² = Italian-Spanish

*³ = Italian-Spanish

Code-switches were attested only in the simultaneous bilingual children group, particularly in seven children, and the direction of the switching was only from Italian to English. Warm-up procedures and dialogues eliciting semi-spontaneous talk (drawing on Cantone (2007) and Gatt et al. 2015) were used. Auer's (1998) method about the "canonical" socio-pragmatic and conversational functions of code-switching could not be used, giving the size of this corpus. In fact, every switch can be due to a lack or preference of a translation equivalent reason. Even a detailed analysis of intrasentential code-switches could not be performed as their number was very limited. Probably higher stretches of utterances could have provided additional examples of the different conversational functions of code-switches.

The mean length of code-switches varied from 1 to 1.5 (several switches are just one-word isolated switches); it reached the value of 5.5 only in a child (with 8 being the maximum length of code-switch).

In the aforementioned 7 simultaneous bilingual children, the percentage of code-switches and borrowings above the total number of words varied from 1.6% to 33%.

Table 111 presents data about the position of code-switches pronounced by bilingual children. All code-switches were intrasentential ones, almost equally divided into isolated single-word switches and longer intrasentential switches.

		Isolated switch	Intrasentential
Simultaneous bilinguals	Both languages at home Child 2 *	1	4
	Both languages at home Child 4	3	
	Both languages at home Child 5	2	
	Minority language at home Child 8	1	1
	Minority language at home Child 9		1
	One-parent-one-language Child 10	2	
	Minority language at home Child 13		5

**Picture description task data included, but child discarded from the smileys/flag test analysis*

Table 111. Position of children’s code-switches within the sentence.

As far as interferences are concerned, the corpus shows that some children expressed themselves using the Italian “gerundio semplice” (simple gerund), for instance: “*giocando*” (‘Ø playing’), “*un pesce nuotando*” (‘a fish swimming’), “*facendo*” (‘Ø doing’) in place of the required “gerundio composto” (composite gerund), for instance “*stanno giocando*” (‘are playing’), “*sta nuotando*” (‘is swimming’). This developmental pattern (the null and non-nominative subject stage) was studied in Wexler (1994) and it often appears along with the uninflected predicates or optional infinitives.

With regard to inflectional and agreement errors, the forms recorded in the corpus were: “*ce sono*” (instead of “*ci sono*” – ‘there are’), “*cassette*” (instead of “*cassetti*” – ‘drawers’), “*per coprire*” (instead of “*per coprirsi*” – ‘to cover’).

Some unusual (but not completely incorrect) expressions or phrases perceived as emphatic or pragmatically inappropriate by an Italian native speaker were further coded: “*la sua mamma*” (‘his mum’), “*il suo fratello*” (‘his brother’) “*cosa lui sta facendo*” (‘what he is doing’). The overuse of overt subject pronouns has been widely analysed in Sorace (2009): in all the Italian utterances in which no topic shift is detected, speakers should drop the subject. Other errors found in the data are: “*ma però*” (‘but but’) where only “*ma*” or “*però*” can be used in Italian, “*cresciono*” (‘grow’) instead of “*crescono*”, “*si sgonfia*” (‘it is deflated’) instead of “*si gonfia*” (‘it is inflated’), *ombrello* (‘umbrella’) instead of “*ombrellone*” (‘beach umbrella’).

5. Discussion

The prediction related to the **first research question** was that the reduced and/or attrited input (especially in Italian) would produce a higher acceptance of intrasentential code-switches, while a higher and varied input would produce a preference for borrow-like (single-switched unit) and intersentential switches.

On the one hand, late successive bilinguals high-rated only a limited set of intrasentential switches (conditions C and D) and intersentential ones (E and G). On the other, early successive bilinguals enhanced the range of acceptability by overall including single-word switches (condition A), the intrasentential switches (D and G) and intersentential ones (E) and (H).

Simultaneous bilingual children exhibited the widest patterns of acceptability as they included the intersentential conditions B, C, D, F and H and the single-word (condition A) and intersentential switches (condition G) as well. Consequently, there is a **clear**

impact of the age of acquisition on code-switching acceptability ratings in these three profiles of bilingual children.

One-parent-one-language children showed a clear acceptability of all eight conditions and their ratings were neatly higher in all the conditions than those of the other two groups. Exception is given for condition G where the rating was higher in the Minority Language at Home-educated children.

As expected, the status of ML children predisposed participants to lower ratings of acceptability of code-switched dialogues. This is explained by the evident fact that the majority language is used at home occasionally and therefore, also code-switches are less frequent.

The status of both languages at home children can be seen as an intermediate stage, with a variable input in both Italian and English that is clearly reflected in the participants' judgements. Their ratings are higher than those of ML children , but significantly lower than those of OPOL children.

With regards to the **second research question**, the prediction was that the switching direction would be a symmetrical one.

In particular, both Italian-English and English-Italian switches should have appeared in families using both languages, regardless of the use of the OPOL education or of the BL method.

Instead, an Italian-English code-switching dominant pattern should be found in families using only Italian at home. However, due to the dominant use of English in the highest number of communicative situations/domains outside home, especially among school-aged children, varied patterns were expected to emerge according to the children's age and years of schooling.

Although limited, **data from the picture description task** seem to contradict expectations: **code-switches were attested only in the simultaneous bilingual children group**, particularly in seven children, and the direction of the switching was only from Italian to English (see Appendix 9 for detailed analysis). Thus, **the status of simultaneous bilinguals seems to foster code-switching practice**, while the status of successive bilingualism probably implies a more conscious separation of the languages within the conversation.

On the contrary, **the parental educational method does not seem to impact on the actual alternation of the two languages** (Appendix 9).

Interpretation of these findings must be considered cautiously, given the small size of the corpus. However, simultaneous bilinguals outperformed the other two groups in their Mean Total Number of Words (MTNW) and Mean Number of Different Words (MNDW). In contrast, Mean Mean Length of Utterance (MMLU) is higher in early and late successive bilinguals.

Thus, **the age of acquisition/exposure was found to impact more on the children's vocabulary expressive size than the parental educational method.**

IV – DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

1. **Plurilingual code-switching in standard vs local varieties: crucial socio-psycholinguistic variables**

This dissertation investigated **plurilingual code-switching** with the aim of setting up a **comparison of actual practices, attitudes and acceptability in three areas: Calabria (Italy), Istra (Croatia) and Scotland (United Kingdom).**

These contexts, characterised by **standard varieties in contact with other standard varieties or local varieties**, have peculiar characteristics and very diverse historical, societal and economical backgrounds (Ang 1978 ; Whitters 1984 ; Altimari 1994 ; Stancati 2008 ; Simcic 2012). This study has attempted to overcome these differences through standard Italian, which is spoken in each of these areas and whose status dynamically changes according to individual and socio-territorial variables.

For this comparative study, it was necessary to collect a considerable amount of data, for the purpose of not limiting research to a single case study or context which could possibly impede generalisation of findings. Moreover, a comparative study could provide an original perspective of data collection and analysis.

The most salient **socio-psycholinguistic variables** pinpointed in this study were:

- 1) *Sociolinguistic status of Italian;*
- 2) *Sociolinguistic status of minority variety/varieties;*
- 3) *Official recognition of minority variety/varieties;*
- 4) *Kind of language contact;*
- 5) *Prevailing language mode.*

In the first case study (Calabrese minorities), Italian is the dominant language (Berruto 1987). However, both the local varieties (Arbëreshë, Calabrese and Occitan)

and the standard languages (Spanish, Philipino and English) have a strong in-group status (Gumperz 1982), except for Occitan in mixed families and young children. Two local varieties, Arbëreshë and Occitan, are officially recognised since 1999, whereas Spanish, English, Philipino and Calabrese have no official status in Calabria (Table 112). In the second case study, the situation of standard Italian is reversed: even if officially recognised, an equal bilingualism between Standard Croatian and Italian is very far from being established in Istra (Croatia). Italian is restricted mostly to official and formal communicative domains (Blagoni 2012), and thus holds a very weak status and also its future status is uncertain. On the contrary, the local dialect, Istrovenetian, which has no legal recognition to date, is very strong in monoethnolinguistic Italophone families and in Italian elders as the language of in-group communicative exchanges (Table 112). However, its status is problematic in younger generations and in mixed Italo-Croatian families as a consequence of its variable input and output and its scarce or null force of expansion outside the mixed group (Milani-Kruljac 1989). In the third case study Italian is not official recognised, being just a language spoken in Italian or mixed Scottish-Italian families as a consequence of immigration of Italians to Scotland. For this reason its status is strong in in-group exchanges, but very weak in out-group interactions (being absent as language of the social environment, in which mostly English is spoken) (Table 112).

Both in Calabrese minorities and in Italian-English bilingual children the *kind of attested contact* is **uni-directional plurilingualism/bilingualism**; actually, only the minority group is plurilingual in the dominant language and in the minority language(s), whereas members of the majority group are just monolinguals or bi- /plurilinguals in other varieties, thus **language contact occurs asymmetrically** only in one direction

(from the minority group to the majority one). The Istra environment of Croatia, the second case study, is the only situation in which **pluridirectional plurilingualism** is observed: even with dynamic and changing individual linguistic repertoires, both the members of the minority Italoophone group and the members of the majority Croatian group have at least one standard or local code in common (Filipi 1996) and therefore, a balanced bi-/pluridirectional contact is assured (Table 112).

In addition to the sociolinguistic variables, individual *psycholinguistic variables* also influenced actual CS practice. In particular, a prevalent *bilingual mode* (Grosjean 2001) is detected on the whole in speakers of three Calabrese minorities (Arbëreshë + Italian, Spanish + Italian, Occitan + Italian and Italian + English) and in the Italo-Scottish minority (Italian+English), even if their repertoire is basically trilingual or even quadrilingual. On the other side, speakers of the Philipino minority in Calabria and speakers' of the Italo-Croatian minority in Istra (Croatia) exhibit a wider range of language modes, of which no one is neatly prevalent.

In a case, Philipinos are used to switch from an *active monolingual mode* (Philipino), which is they appropriate device in intimate domains or in in-group exchanges, to an *active bilingual mode* (Philipino + English or Philipino + Italian), which arises in situation of language contact with members of the majority group or for work/travel reasons.

However, they are also able to use a passive trilingual mode (English + Philipino + Italian), which is particularly observed in media and entertainment (Plastina and Selvaggi 2016).

	Case study 1				Case study 2	Case study 3
	Arbëreshë-Calabrese-Italian CS	Spanish-Italian CS	Occitan-Calabrese-Italian CS	Filipino-English-Italian CS	Istrovenetian-Italian-Čakavski-Croatian CS	Italian-English CS (bilingual children)
Status of Italian	Dominant	Dominant	Dominant	Dominant	Very weak	Strong in in-group exchanges, very weak in out-group interactions
Status of minority variety/ varieties	Strong	Strong	Occitan is weak in younger generations and mixed families, strong in mono-ethnolinguistic families	Strong	Italian is very weak outside formal domains, whereas Istrovenetian is very strong in mono-ethnolinguistic families and Italian elders, but it is weaker in younger generations and mixed Italo-Croatian families	Strong in in-group exchanges, very weak in out-group interactions
Official recognition of minority variety/ varieties	Yes, except for Calabrese	No	Yes, except for Calabrese	No	Italian is recognised, Istrovenetian is not	No
Kind of contact	Uni-directional plurilingualism	Uni-directional bilingualism	Uni-directional plurilingualism	Uni-directional neo-plurilingualism	Pluri-directional plurilingualism	Uni-directional bilingualism
Prevailing language mode(s)	<i>Bilingual mode</i> (Arbëreshë + Italian)	<i>Bilingual mode</i> (Spanish+ Italian)	<i>Bilingual mode</i> (Occitan+ Italian)	<i>Active monolingual mode</i> (Filipino), <i>active bilingual mode</i> (Filipino +English or Filipino+ Italian) mode and <i>passive trilingual mode</i> (English+ Filipino+ Italian)	<i>Bilingual and Trilingual mode</i> (mostly Istrovenetian+ Italian+Croatian/Čakavski)	<i>Bilingual mode</i> (Italian+English)

Table 112. General sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic variables influencing CS in the three case studies.

Conversely, Italo-Croatians speak most of their time in *bilingual or trilingual mode*, switching mode dynamically according to their inner communicative needs (Grosjean 2008), to the actual interlocutor(s), to the communicative context (Giles et al. 1991) or even to the geographical setting (Myers-Scotton 1993), by alternating mostly four varieties (Istrovenetian + Italian + Croatian + Chavaski), but less frequently they insert also other romance (Istriot) or neoslavic varieties (Table 112).

2. General findings. Attitudes, patterns and acceptability

Original findings emerged in terms of *attitudes, actual patterns* and *acceptability* of plurilingual code-switching in the three case studies (Table 113).

In each context, plurilingual code-switching practice is generally claimed to be frequent or very frequent and this statement was also implicitly tested in informants' actual conversations. *The crucial variable is the family context*, as code-switching frequency is deeply related to the presence of a parent of the other ethnolinguistic group (Milani-Kruljac 1989). Another important factor is judged to be the circle of friends and workplace, as young people are exposed mostly to the dominant language outside the family. Besides out-group exchanges or family composition, *predominant switching directionality* is another major variable: *intrasentential switches are the most attested and claimed patterns* by far in every case study, whereas *intersentential alternation is both self-perceived as rarer and also scarcely actually observed* (Table 113).

In the case of bilingual children, the limited testing sessions hinder generalized findings, as larger scale studies are strongly needed. Parents declared a frequent code-switching practice within family, but transcripts of the picture description task recorded

CS only in early simultaneous bilinguals. As expected, the initial parental input in both languages seems to violate the Mutual Exclusivity principle, but in this study CS proved to neither impede nor foster language acquisition. After a certain stage of language acquisition, children have, in fact, acquired their own metalinguistic ability and thus they are aware of the existence of different expressive entities (languages) and no longer self-perceive input and produce output as undifferentiated mixing. Data collected in this study demonstrate that, even if the family environment is favourable to code-switching, children are perfectly able to separate languages when needed, when they want to, or when they are asked to. Therefore, children's code-switched output seems to respond to parental examples (repetition, imitation or reformulation of patterns, schemes and routines), to their own communicative competences and needs, and also to a creativity principle (just for the "fun of playing" with languages).

As for **attitudes**, there is a **general agreement in that they are positive (case study 1 and 3) or extremely positive (case study 2)** both towards the inner practice (output) and towards' other's conversations (input) (Table 113). In particular, among the Philipino community in Cosenza, not only former bi-/trilingualism, but also their neo-plurilingualism accept CS as both an individual and societal practice. This explicit claim is actually confirmed by major positive characterial judgments of a virtual speaker using CS (Plastina and Selvaggi 2016).

Another context of endemic plurilingualism is Istra, in which extremely positive attitudes towards CS were observed.

Moreover, lexical access, a typical psycholinguistic phenomenon, is also conditioned by social habits in spontaneous conversations: it proved to be very fast, in fact, in

switching from the L2 to the L1, slower in switching from the L1 to the L2 and very slow in switching from the L1 to the L3.

	Case study 1				Case study 2	Case study 3
	Arbëreshë-Calabrese-Italian CS	Spanish-Italian CS	Occitan-Calabrese-Italian CS	Filipino-English-Italian CS	Istrovenetian-Italian-Čakavski-Croatian CS	Italian-English CS (bilingual children)
Actual and claimed overall practice pattern(s)	Frequent in out-group exchanges	Frequent in out-group exchanges	Frequent in out-group exchanges and in mixed families as intrasentential switches	Frequent in-group and out-group interactions, mostly from Philipino to English	Very frequent, especially in mixed families and mostly as intrasentential switches	Claimed to be frequent within family and in-group speeches. Actual CS practice (picture description task) recorded only in simultaneous bilinguals
Explicit claimed attitudes towards inner CS (output)	Mostly positive	Mostly positive	Mostly positive	Mostly positive	Almost totally positive	Mostly positive
Explicit claimed attitudes towards outer CS (input)	Mostly positive	Mostly positive	Mostly positive	Mostly positive	Almost totally positive	Mostly positive
CS acceptability	Neuter or negative in both intrasentential and intersentential CS	Positive for short intrasentential switches (with positive effect extended in implicatures recognition)	Neuter in intrasentential alternation, positive in intersentential alternation	Mostly positive for intrasentential alternation from Philipino to English, controversial/scarcely acceptable from Philipino to Italian, mostly unacceptable intersentential alternation and alternation from English to Philipino	High acceptability of cautious or limited intrasentential alternation; frequent intersentential alternation somewhat accepted only in mixed families and young children	Strong impact of age of acquisition: late successive bilinguals high-rated only 2 intrasentential and 2 intersentential switches, early successive bilinguals accepted also single-word switches, whereas simultaneous bilingual children showed the widest acceptability. One-parent-one-language children highly accepted all eight conditions

Table 113. General research findings. Actual and claimed practice, explicit attitudes and acceptability of CS in the three case studies.

In particular, fast communicative functions (Auer 1998) of CS mostly found for the sample speaker(s) were imitation or repetition (of other speakers' schemes or of one's own ones), refining, reported speech and translation, whereas slow communicative functions of CS were accommodation and broken language, which focus on the listener(s)/interlocutor(s), instead.

The last variable investigated was **acceptability judgements**, which showed how **intrasentential CS is overall accepted, widely accepted or (almost) totally accepted**. **Diversified patterns**, however, emerged in each single case study.

In Calabrese minorities, the only group that (surprisingly) expressed neuter or negative acceptability judgments in both intersentential and intrasentential CS were Arbëreshës, probably suggesting that they misinterpret CS as a threat to language competence and do not fully recognise its pragmatic and grammatical value in enhancing speakers' expressive possibilities.

Spanish-Italian bilingual students implicitly showed a positive evaluation of short intrasentential switches, as a positive effect was detected in the recognition of implicatures in code-switched utterances and, generally, in enhancing socio-pragmatic (De Marco 2010) abilities. It is necessary to stress that only short intrasentential switches created this positive impact, as long Spanish-Italian CS seemed to disturb the comprehension of speakers' intended meaning (Grice 1981).

Even if in speakers' self-perception it was judged to be at serious risk of language shifting, the linguistic island of Occitans in Guardia Piemontese/La Gàrdia expressed positive acceptability judgments on intrasentential CS and neuter judgments on intersentential alternation, but a consistent part of the informants (43.75%) believes that outer perception (on behalf of monolinguals) of CS could be virtually difficult.

In Philipinos, the preference for intrasentential alternation was further distinguished in three sub-components according to direction possibilities: CS from Philipino to English (*Taglish*) was extremely acceptable, CS from Philipino to Italian was controversial/scarcely acceptable, and intersentential alternation and CS from English to Philipino (*Englog*) was mostly unacceptable, as counterpart of previous sociolinguistic habits performed in Philippines (Ang 1978 ; Bautista 1980).

A high acceptability of cautious or limited intrasentential alternation was observed in the second case study, Italo-Croatians; frequent intersentential alternation was somewhat accepted only in mixed families and young children.

Italo-Croatian informants recognised the inevitability of this CS practice as expression of plurilingualism and multiculturalism. However, they are also vigilant (at least in their declared intentions) in trying to avoid continuous intersentential alternation.

Italo-Croatians, in fact, seemed to point to a somewhat “ordered” kind of code-switching, to which also young children, in later stages of language acquisition, should adapt. A too much pushed mixing was perceived as something to avoid, instead.

In the last case study, involving only schoolage children, acceptability judgments were strongly influenced by age of acquisition: the more precocious and simultaneous the better the acceptability. Simultaneous bilingual children, in fact, showed the widest acceptability ratings, followed by early successive bilinguals. Late successive bilinguals, instead, high-rated only two intrasentential and two intersentential switches.

The educational method was also used as another way of profiling children. This allowed to determine that one-parent-one-language children highly accepted all eight conditions, whereas Minority Language at Home-educated children expressed lower

ratings of acceptability of code-switched dialogues, because of the occasional use of majority language at home and of the less frequent CS practice. The intermediate stage of both languages at home children, characterised by a variable input in both Italian and English, exhibit higher ratings than those of ML children but significantly lower acceptability judgements than those of OPOL children.

3. Conclusions and outline of the proposed model of plurilingual CS

This research proved to be almost totally consistent with sociolinguistic studies (Gumperz 1982, Auer 1998), psycholinguistic works (Grosjean 2001, Grosjean 2008), in that sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic variables were found to play a crucial role in all CS practices, attitudes and acceptability judgements.

Findings are in part consistent also with the lexicalist-minimalist approach (MacSwan 1999, 2014), as intrasentential alternation acceptability can be partly influenced by properties of the lexical item. This was particularly evident for patterns of intrasentential preference in Spanish-Italian bilinguals, Occitan-Calabrese-Italian trilinguals, Philipinos-Italian-English neo-plurilinguals and in Italian-English bilingual children.

Results differ, however, from those of MacSwan as informants self-perceived *code-switching directionality* as something critic for acceptability judgements.

In MacSwan's (1999, 2014) theory, instead, critic values and properties are attached just to the lexical item itself, rather than to the involved language pairs/triplets/quartets.

The stress placed on the importance of switching directionality in this dissertation should not be intended as wanting to re-introduce former structuralist theoretical constructs, the concept of 'language' seen as an unique entity or as a general "frame" in

which to insert embedded items from other languages (as in Myers-Scotton 1993). It rather recognises speakers' replication of sociolinguistic or even psycholinguistic habits in acceptability judgements. For instance, Philipinos switching from Philipino to Italian or from English to Philipino is not perceived as the same as switching from Philipino to English. This is due to the high value granted to the hybrid mixed Taglish variety in the Philippines, whereas Englog is perceived as less prestigious and this, in turn, influences code-switching acceptability. However, Philipinos' claimed attitude of could not be verified in real practice in this study as informants were just administered a questionnaire and actual conversations were not recorded.

Given the small sample size of natural conversations collected in the dissertation corpus, most aspects of the structuralist approach on CS (Myers-Scotton 1993) could not be directly tested; other aspects more related to sociolinguist issues, such as the negotiation of discourse via CS in some environments, do were observed (see Appendix 6).

Finally, the fourth and last research question addressed in this dissertation regarding the implications of the current research findings for a mixed socio-psycholinguistic-grammatical theory of plurilingual code-switching has led to the proposed Integrated Model of Plurilingual Code-Switching (IMPCS. Figure XX).

The model is grounded in a dynamic interplay between socio-psycholinguistic and lexicalist variables and is organised on the basis of the identification of:

- 1) a "common language", namely a standard or local variety in contact in different (near or even remote) areas. The rationale behind this choice is to create the basis for a valid comparison, which is also grounded on additional languages/dialects sharing similar properties (see Section 2, Paragraph 3);

- 2) the official and societal status of the common language;
- 3) the languages/dialects in contact, which are usually three or more, although bilingual contact can be also investigated;
- 4) the official and societal status of languages/dialects in contact;
- 5) the kind of contact (symmetrical-asymmetrical – unidirectional or bi-/pluridirectional);
- 6) the prevailing language mode;
- 7) actual CS practices (positive CS evidence), which are usually collected from real conversations in natural situations or elicited and recorded in controlled environments;
- 8) implicit and explicit attitudes on inner and outer CS coded via questionnaires, tests and interviews based on five-graded scales;
- 9) acceptability judgments (negative CS evidence) on inner and outer CS measured by means of questionnaires, tests and interviews based on five-graded scales.

Components n. 6-9 embed psycholinguistic and lexicalist variables, plurilingual competence and plurilingual self-perception.

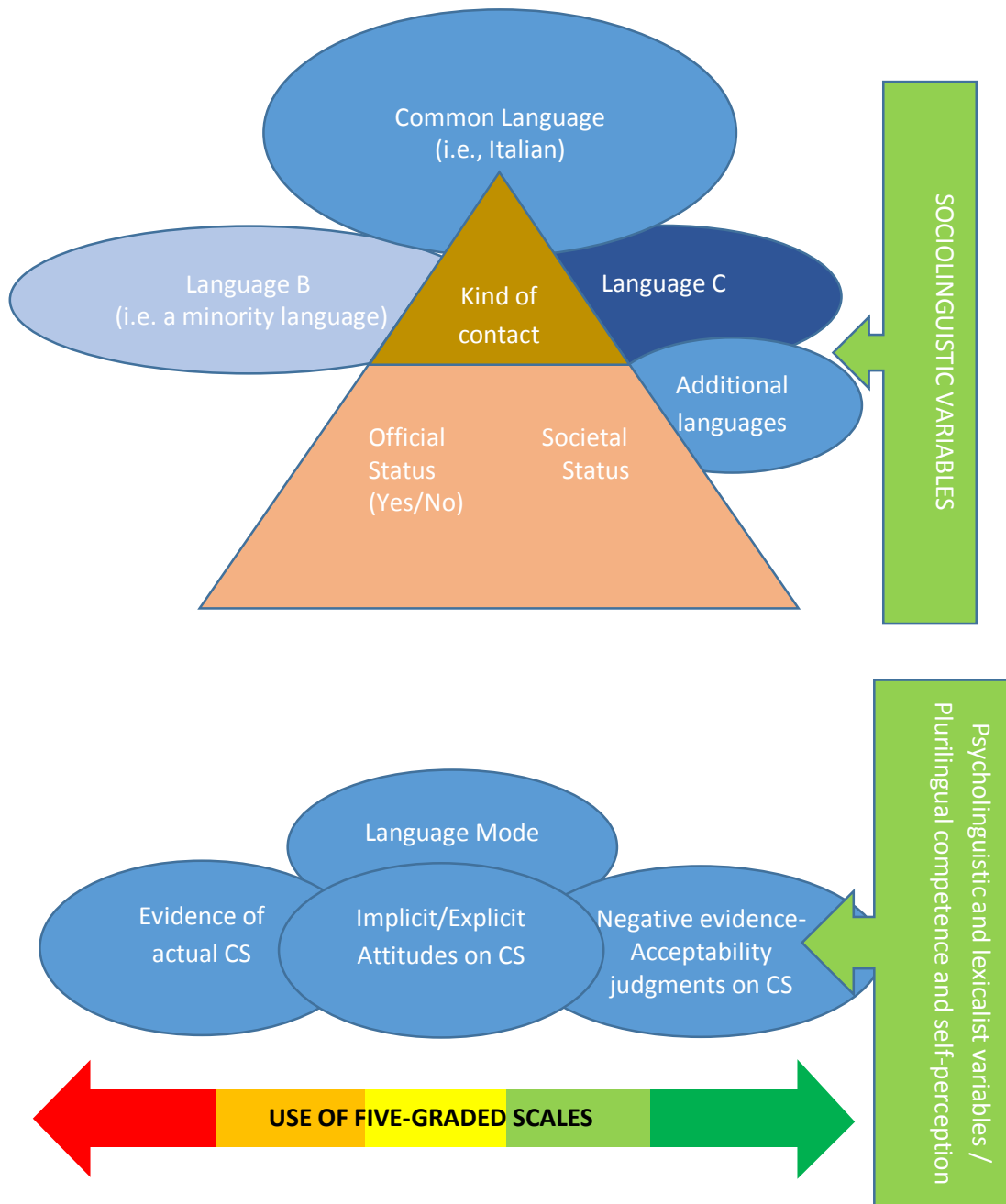


Figure 20. The Integrated Model of Plurilingual Code-Switching (IMPCS) elaborated by Plastina & Selvaggi (2016 forthcoming).

The overall results emerged in the three case studies of this comparative research show that all together such variables lead to a preference/stronger

acceptability of intrasentential CS, even with slight differences observed in some minority groups.

Although based on judgements of 212 informants collected over a 3-year period across a wide territorial range, this work obviously presents some limitations. One major limitation is the fact that, currently, the applicability of the proposed model cannot be predicted to languages in contact with very different inherent properties. The IMPCS was, in fact, elaborated and tested on SVO languages which shared many common properties and diverged only for a few aspects. To overcome this virtual weakness, it is thus urgent that other scholars test and verify the model in other environments, for instance, in migratory contexts where languages which are very different genealogically and typologically come into contact (for instance, Chinese-English CS in USA, or Arabic-French CS in Europe and so on).

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APPENDIX 1

CASE STUDY 1A-CALABRIA – QUESTIONNAIRE FOR ARBËRËSHES

FIRST PART

- 1) Sex: M F
- 2) Age _____
- 3) Education :
 - Primary School
 - Middle School
 - High School
 - Bachelor Degree
 - Master Degree
 - PhD
- 4) What language(s) can you speak?
 - Arbëreshë
 - Albanian
 - Calabrese dialect
 - Italian
 - Other _____
- 5) What language(s) can you understand?
 - Arbëreshë
 - Albanian
 - Calabrese dialect
 - Italian
 - Other _____

SECOND PART

- 6) When you speak, do you feel your languages separate or do they mix each other?
 - I feel my languages separate
 - They mix each other
- 7) Where/in what situations/with what people do you speak your first language?
 - Work
 - School
 - Family
 - Leisure
 - Friends
 - Travels
 - Other _____

8) Where/in what situations/with what people do you speak your other language(s)?

- Work
- School
- Family
- Leisure
- Friends
- Travels
- Other _____

9) If you meet foreigners who can speak just a few words in Italian, what do you do?

- I avoid speaking to them unless they learn a better Italian or Arbëreshë
- I speak to them in a simpler way
- I speak in Italian without caring if they understand or not
- Other _____

10) Do you go back and forth between your languages within a conversation?

- Always
- Often
- Rarely
- Never

11) When do you change language inside a conversation?

- Whenever I don't remember a word/expression in the language of the conversation
- Whenever a word/expression doesn't exist in the language of the conversation
- Whenever I want to repeat or reinforce a concept by using also the second language
- Other _____

12) With what people do you change language inside a conversation?

- Only with other bilinguals/plurilinguals
- Only with monolinguals

13) Do you change languages consciously or unconsciously?

- Consciously
- Unconsciously

14) Alternating languages or mixing them is something:

- Normal
- Beautiful/stimulating/interesting
- Anomalous/to be avoided
- To repress/fight

15) Judge the way of speaking of the following people by giving them a value in a scale from 1 to 5.

- Tu e më një çik...versu le cinque e mezza..kshtu. Jo ma per il fine settimana than është bel tempo.

- 5 - He/she speaks very well
- 4 - He/she speaks well
- 3 - He/she speaks in an understandable way
- 2 - He/she speaks badly
- 1 - He/she speaks very badly

- E jo...pasten... një çik past. Është moti i mirë.

- 5 - He/she speaks very well
- 4 - He/she speaks well
- 3 - He/she speaks in an understandable way
- 2 - He/she speaks badly
- 1 - He/she speaks very badly

- E ljiajte shkallen? Mhh me k'e ljiajte?

- 5 - He/she speaks very well
- 4 - He/she speaks well
- 3 - He/she speaks in an understandable way
- 2 - He/she speaks badly
- 1 - He/she speaks very badly

- (Matteo) L'esame të doktoraturës kur e ke?

(Anna) Ka dalë ndërkohë pubblicazione titoli. Te italiani...është në datë 27-28 tetor orale e scritto. Të shikoj puntexhin. Ur kur të thërrasin emrin duan carta d'identità...eh të shikojnë kështu, të marrin kartën e të shikojnë, eh, ti vedono carta d'identità, metti una firma, po kur të vejë në orale ajo pastaj? Unë të vete në skrito e pastaj? Cos'è? Scritto? Orale?

- 5 - He/she speaks very well
- 4 - He/she speaks well
- 3 - He/she speaks in an understandable way
- 2 - He/she speaks badly
- 1 - He/she speaks very badly

THIRD PART

- 16) Are the geographical and administrative borders of your town correct?
- Yes and they include all the original arbëreshë speakers
 - Yes, but they go beyond the arbëreshë community and they include also non-arbëreshë speakers
 - No. They include only a part of the early arbëreshë community
 - Other _____
- 17) How do you judge the fact that arbëreshë towns are surrounded by non-albanophone towns?
- A unique compact territory would have been a better situation
 - It was right to scatter arbëreshë populations little by little, on the basis of Kings' land concessions
 - It is something irrelevant
 - It has represented a threat to the Italo-Albanians survival
 - It has made the contacts with the Latin-Catholic populations easier
 - Other _____
- 18) Have the geographical and administrative borders influenced the arbëreshë identity?
- No
 - Yes, in a crucial way because they identify the arbëreshë minority
 - Yes, along with other causes
 - Other _____

FOURTH PART

- 19) The arbëreshë culture in the 21st century is:
- Discriminated
 - Foughted
 - Tolerated
 - Object of indifference
 - Valorised
 - Other _____
- 20) What are the factor/s that constitute the arbëreshë cultural identity?
- Language
 - Traditions
 - Religion
 - Territory/environment
 - Fights against Ottomans/Turks
 - Abandon of Albania and diaspora
 - Fight for the birth of the Albanian State
 - Participation into the Risorgimento and the birth of the Italian State
 - Other _____

21) What tradition/s do you think is/are the most important/s?

- Marriage with Bizantine rite
- Agriculture and farming
- Houses, buildings and Italo-albanian architecture
- Vallja, Kaminezit e Maj
- Traditional dresses for celebrations
- Market
- Other _____

22) Is it right that also non-arbëreshë people can integrate themselves into the arbëreshë culture?

- Yes. It is necessary both to accept outsiders and to adjust ourselves to some aspects of other people's ways of life
- No. It is better neither accept outsiders nor be influenced by them
- Other _____

23) You feel yourself a member of:

- One culture, the Arbëreshë one
- Two cultures, Arbëreshë and Italian/Calabrese. The Arbëreshë culture is more important
- Two cultures, Arbëreshë and Italian/Calabrese. The Italian culture is more important
- More than two cultures, _____
- Any culture, because _____

24) Is your culture the same of your ancestors or has it changed?

- It is the same of my ancestor and it is a positive thing
- It is the same of my ancestor, but it is a negative thing
- It has changed, because _____ and it is a positive thing
- It has changed, because _____ and it is a negative thing

25) What has influenced the cultural evolution?

- Political ideologies
- Religious ideologies
- Emigration
- Immigration
- Mixed marriages
- Economic development
- Other _____

26) Whenever you are not able to do an all-arbëreshë conversation, the other language you uses is :

- Albanian
- Italian
- Calabrese dialect
- Other _____

27) In Italo-Albanian towns should the local Arbëreshë or standard Albanian be taught?

- Local Arbëreshë
- Standard Albanian

28) Have you ever attended Albanian language courses?

- Yes, I think they are useful to improve the knowledge of the standard language
- No, to me knowing arbëreshë is enough
- No, but I'd like to attend them

29) From what age have you attended Albanian language courses?

- Childhood
- Adolescence
- Maturity
- I have not attended them yet

30) The use of the arbëreshë language is:

- Decreasing
- Increasing
- The use of the arbëreshë language is decreasing, but it is balanced by the increase of the use of Albanian
- Stable

31) Do you know non-arbëreshë people who have learned Albanian or Arbëreshë or both?

- Yes, I know non-arbëreshë people who have learned Albanian
- Yes, I know non-arbëreshë people who have learned Arbëreshë
- Yes, I know non-arbëreshë people who have learned both Albanian and Arbëreshë
- No

32) Are you aware of the existence of minority communities and languages?

- Yes
- No

33) Do you think these acts are useful?

- Yes, but they should be reinforced with higher financial resources, instruments and workers
- Yes, and they are ok as they are
- No

34) Do you think these laws should be extended also to the new minorities (immigrants)?

- Yes, because all minority languages must be protected
- Yes, because if we don't protect minority languages the immigrants won't be able to integrate themselves
- No, because only historic-linguistic minorities must be protected
- No, because immigrants should learn Italian quickly
- Yes, because _____
- No, because _____

35) Do you know any Arbëreshë author or any literary work in Arbëreshë?

- Yes _____
- No

36) Do you know any Albanian author or any literary work in Albanian?

- Yes _____
- No

APPENDIX 2

CASE STUDY 1B-CALABRIA SOCIOPRAGMATIC TEST ON SPANISH-ITALIAN BILINGUALS

FIRST PART

- 1) Age: _____
- 2) Sex F M
- 3) Country of birth _____
- 4) Education:
 - Primary School
 - Middle School
 - High School
 - Bachelor Degree
 - Master Degree
 - PhD
- 5) When did you learn Spanish?
 - childhood
 - adolescence
 - maturity
- 6) When did you learn Italian?
 - childhood
 - adolescence
 - maturity
- 7) Where did you learn Spanish?
 - family
 - school
- 8) Where did you learn Italian?
 - family
 - school

SECOND PART

- 9) How often do you change language inside one single conversation?
 - Always
 - Often
 - Rarely
 - Never

- 10) When do you change language inside a conversation?
- Whenever I don't remember a word/expression in the language of the conversation
 - Whenever a word/expression doesn't exist in the language of the conversation
 - Whenever I want to repeat or reinforce a concept by using also the second language
 - Other _____
- 11) With what people do you change language inside a conversation?
- Only with other bilinguals/plurilinguals
 - Only with monolinguals
- 12) Do you change languages consciously or unconsciously?
- Consciously
 - Unconsciously
- 13) When I speak, I can keep separate each language.
- I totally agree
 - I agree
 - I don't agree
 - I don't agree at all
- 14) Alternating languages or mixing them is a grammatical error.
- I totally agree
 - I agree
 - I don't agree
 - I don't agree at all
- 15) It is not difficult to understand people who use more than one language at once inside a conversation.
- I totally agree
 - I agree
 - I don't agree
 - I don't agree at all

THIRD PART

➤ In your opinion, what is the true meaning of these conversations?

16) (*Between friends*) / (*Tra amici*)

Massimo: But have you spoken to Laura then? / Ma poi hai sentito Laura?

Benito: That witch did not answer the phone! / Quella strega non ha risposto al telefono!

- Laura is a witch
- Laura is not at home
- Laura had words with Benito
- Other

17) *(On the bus) / (Sull'autobus)*

OLD MAN: Could I sit down? / Posso sedermi?

BOY: I am sorry. It lacks very little to my stop. / Lo siento. Manca poco alla fermata.

- The boy is sorry for the old man
- The boy will get off at the next stop
- The boy is in a hurry
- Other

18) *(On the altar) / (Sull'altare)*

MINISTER: Do you want to take Laura as your wife? / Vuoi tu prendere Laura come tua sposa?

GROOM: And in your opinion, why am I here? / E secondo te perché sono qua?

- The groom is in a hurry
- The groom is annoyed
- The groom is hilarious
- The groom lost his memory and asks the minister why he is on the altar
- Other_____

19) *(At home) / (A casa)*

WIFE: Open the door, please! / Apri la porta per favore!

HUSBAND: I am taking a shower / Sto duchandome.

- The husband is eating sweets
- The husband cannot open the door
- The husband tells his wife he is in the shower to invite her to follow him
- Other

20) *(Between colleagues) / (Tra colleghi di lavoro)*

URSULA: Thank you very much for the gift! But who did buy it? /

Grazie davvero per il regalo! Ma chi l'ha preso?

GIADA: I feared you would not like it / Temevo non ti piacesse.

- Giada feared that Ursula would not appreciate the present
- It is Giada the person who bought the present for Ursula
- Other

21) *(In the elevator. Between strangers) / (In ascensore. Tra sconosciuti)*

PERSON A: What a bad weather today! / Visto che brutto tempo oggi?

PERSON B: Oh yeah. Somebody said that it will last all the week long. /

Sì. Dicono che durerà tutta la settimana

- The two people are worried about the weather
- The two people are seeking a pretext to start a conversation
- Other

22) (*Between brothers*) / (*Tra fratelli*)

JORGE: How cute! But why? You must have spent too much /

Que lindo! Ma perché? Avrai speso un botto!

ENRIQUE: Oh yes, I had to ask a bank loan to buy it, indeed. /

Oh sì, en efecto he tenido que hacer un mutuo para comprartelo.

- Enrique will ask a loan to buy the present
- Enrique spent a lot to buy the present
- Enrique is joking
- Other

- These people must imply something by actually saying something else. Evaluate the second person's behaviour, by choosing 1 if he/she behaved very badly, 2 if he/she behaved badly, 3 if he/she behaved well or 4 if he/she behaved very well.

23) (*At home*) / (*a casa*)

Gemma has stolen 50 Euros to her mother.

MOTHER: Who did he/she take 50 euros from my bag? /

Chi ha preso 50 Euro dalla mia borsetta?

GEMMA: I have just came back / Io sono appena rientrata

- 4 – She behaved very well
- 3 – She behaved well
- 2 – She misbehaved
- 1 – She misbehaved a lot

24) Antonio is ringing Luis, a colleague, to go out for a pizza / Antonio chiama Luis, un collega di lavoro, per andare a mangiare una pizza.

ANTONIO: Hi Luis, what are we going to do? Are we going to eat a pizza? /
Hola Luis, che facciamo allora? Vamos a comer una pizza?

LUIS: No, I haven't much desire to go out with you /
No, non ho molta voglia di uscire con te

- 4 – He behaved very well
- 3 – He behaved well
- 2 – He misbehaved
- 1 – He misbehaved a lot

PRODUCTION TASK

25) Tomorrow it is Monday and you should be at work, but you have an interview in an important company. In four lines ask your boss a day off without saying or revealing the true reason.

26) Today it is Laura's birthday. You forgot to buy her a present and to call her. Act a phone call, by justifying your behaviour.

APPENDIX 3

CASE STUDY 1C-CALABRIA - INTERVIEW TO OCCITANS

A. LINGUISTIC BIOGRAPHY

- 1) Sex: M F
- 2) Age _____
- 3) Where were you born? _____
- 4) Where do you live? _____
- 5) Education (primary school, high school, bachelor degree, master degree, Phd)
- 6) What is your job? _____
- 7) What is (are) your first language(s)? _____
- 8) When was (were) this (these) language(s) acquired/learned?
- 9) What other language(s) can you speak?
- 10) When was (were) this (these) language(s) acquired/learned?

B. LANGUAGE USE

- 1) Can you use other languages/dialects? If so, which?
- 2) Where/in what situations/with what people do you speak your first language?
- 3) Where/in what situations/with what people do you speak your other language(s)?
- 4) In what language do you believe to express yourself more frequently?
- 5) In what language do you express yourself at your highest ease?
- 6) When thinking, in what language(s) do you “express” yourself usually?
- 7) In what language do use best express your emotions?
- 8) What languages/dialects do you use more with your family?

C. CODE-SWITCHING

- 1) In conversation, do you usually mix languages/dialects or keep them separate?
- 2) When writing, do you observe a similar phenomenon? Do you put words from other languages inside a phrase sometimes? Or do you adapt, translate or recreate them in your language?

- 3) On the basis of your personal experience, do you observe that bilinguals switch from a language to another often or rarely?
- 4) Do you alternate languages when speaking to other bilinguals or also with monolinguals?
- 5) In your opinion, should bilingual speakers avoid to alternate languages in presence of monolinguals?
- 6) Judge the way of speaking of these people by assigning a value from 1 (he/she speaks very badly/I can't understand him/her) to 5 (he/she speaks very well).
 - b) *La lenga occitana deu son nom a la particèla afirmativa òc, derivaa dal latin hoc est.*
 - c) *PERSON A: Come si chiama il tuo paese? Guardia? La Gàrdia?*
PERSON B: Sì. Il mio paese, la comuna de La Gàrdia en província de Cosença, è molto bello e ricco di storia.
- 7) What kind of effect do you think they have on the listeners (bilinguals and monolinguals)?
- 8) In a bilingual community should the “purity” of each languages be preserved or language contact and mixing are something to be accepted?

D. EDUCATION AND LANGUAGE PLANNING/POLICY

- 1) In your opinion, is a bilingual education advisable for children? Why/why not?
- 2) In case of a family providing a bilingual education, should the child be educated in one language first and after a certain time in the second one, or the sooner the child is exposed to the two language, the better he will learn them?
- 3) In case of parents speaking different L1s, should the mother and the father speak to their children only in her/his first language or should they speak both their L1 and L2?
- 4) Are you aware of the existence of minority communities and languages?
- 5) Do you think these acts are useful to protect minorities and why or other instruments are necessary?
- 6) Do you think these laws should be extended also to the new minorities (immigrants)?
- 7) What is your opinion about the use of _____ language in the media?
- 8) Do you know any author or literary work in _____ language?

APPENDIX 4

CASE STUDY 1D-CALABRIA - QUESTIONNAIRE FOR PHILIPINOS

Dear participant,

many thanks for accepting to be a part of this study. This survey is anonymous and the collected data will be used only for scientific purposes.

The questionnaire is composed by three parts. In the first section some biographic information (place of birth, age, education, languages spoken) will be asked. In the second part the questions are about the concrete language use. In the third section you will be questioned about changing languages.

FIRST PART – LANGUAGE BIOGRAPHY

- 1) What is your place of birth? _____
- 2) Age: _____ years
- 3) Gender M F
- 4) Education:
 - None
 - Primary School
 - High School
 - Bachelor Degree
 - Master Degree
 - PhD
- 5) What is/are your mother tongue/s?
 - English
 - Italian
 - Filipino
 - Other _____
- 6) Can you speak other languages?
 - No
 - English
 - Italian
 - Filipino
 - Calabrese dialect
 - Other _____
- 7) Can you understand other languages?
 - No
 - English
 - Italian
 - Filipino
 - Calabrese dialect
 - Other _____

SECOND PART – LANGUAGE USE

Please circle what you believe to be your personal skills in the following languages, in a scale from 1 (very few words) to 7 (very high-native proficiency).

8) How proficient are you in understanding English?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

9) How proficient are you in understanding Filipino?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

10) How proficient are you in understanding Italian?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

11) How proficient are you in understanding other languages (specify _____)?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

12) How proficient are you in speaking English?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

13) How proficient are you in speaking Filipino?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

14) How proficient are you in speaking Italian?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

15) How proficient are you in speaking other languages (specify _____)?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

16) Fill in the table below with the language/s used in the following situations.

Family	
Friends	
Work	
Traveling	
School	
Reading and Internet	

TV and radio	

17) How much time do you speak in these languages? (circle or put a X)

Filipino

Never	Sometimes	Often	Every day
-------	-----------	-------	-----------

Italian

Never	Sometimes	Often	Every day
-------	-----------	-------	-----------

English

Never	Sometimes	Often	Every day
-------	-----------	-------	-----------

Calabrese

Never	Sometimes	Often	Every day
-------	-----------	-------	-----------

Other

Never	Sometimes	Often	Every day
-------	-----------	-------	-----------

THIRD PART – CODE-SWITCHING

You have to indicate whether do you agree or not with the following statements. You can choose each scaled judgement (strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree) only one time.

18) People who speak several languages are able to go back and forth from a language to another one without any problems.

I strongly agree I agree I disagree I strongly disagree

19) People who speak Filipino and English should avoid mixing them within the same conversation.

I strongly agree I agree I disagree I strongly disagree

20) People who mix languages cannot speak any single language very well.

I strongly agree I agree I disagree I strongly disagree

21) Alternating languages is a proof of great oral skills

I strongly agree I agree I disagree I strongly disagree

- 22) In my opinion, the mixing of English and Filipino helps maintain Filipino.
 I strongly agree I agree I disagree I strongly disagree
- 23) The mixture of English and Filipino reflects who I am.
 I strongly agree I agree I disagree I strongly disagree
- 24) In my opinion, the mixing of Filipino and Italian leads to the loss of Filipino.
 I strongly agree I agree I disagree I strongly disagree
- 25) When I mix languages, other people think I am stupid.
 I strongly agree I agree I disagree I strongly disagree

Please choose an option.

- 26) When I pass from a language to the other, the direction is:
- from Filipino to English
 - from English to Filipino
 - from Italian/Calabrese to Filipino
 - from Filipino to Italian/Calabrese
 - from/to all the languages I spoke
 - other
- 27) *The boys ate all of the mga chocolate donut.*
- I have heard sentences like this and it is wholly understandable
 - I have heard sentences like this and the general sense is understandable
 - I have heard sentences like this, but I think it is quite strange
 - I have heard sentences like this, but it is very difficult to understand
 - I have never heard sentences like this and it is very difficult to understand
 - I have never heard sentences like this and it is certainly incorrect/incomprehensible
- 28) *Humanap ako ng kandila.*
- I have heard sentences like this and it is wholly understandable
 - I have heard sentences like this and the general sense is understandable
 - I have heard sentences like this, but I think it is quite strange
 - I have heard sentences like this, but it is very difficult to understand
 - I have never heard sentences like this and it is very difficult to understand
 - I have never heard sentences like this and it is wholly incorrect/incomprehensible
- 29) *We'll still discuss ito pong mga detalye.* The man/woman who pronounces this sentences is:
- Intelligent Educated Polite Impolite Ill-mannered Stupid Irritating

30) Do you think the sentence *ito pong the merits and demerits of the case is*

- English
- Philipino
- Neither

31) Do you think the sentence *gusto na ko mo-eat mommy. I'm gutom now is*

- English
- Philipino
- Neither

APPENDIX 5

CASE STUDY 2 – ISTRA (CROATIA) - INTERVIEW FORMAT

Dear informant,

many thanks for accepting to be a part of this study. This survey is audiorecorded: to protect privacy, you can indicate your first surname and name letters or you may even use fantasy names.

The questionnaire is composed by three parts. In the first section some biographic The collected data will be used only for scientific purposes. Thanks for your cooperation.

LINGUISTIC BIOGRAPHY

Sex M / F

- 1) Age: _____ years
- 2) What is your place of birth?
- 3) Where do you live?
- 4) What schools did you attend?
- 5) What is/are your/s mother tongue/s?
- 6) When and where did you learn Italian?
- 7) When and where did you learn Croatian?
- 8) What language or languages do your parents and brothers/sisters speak within family?
- 9) Can you speak other languages/dialects?
- 10) Can you understand other languages/dialects?

SELF-PERCEPTION OF LANGUAGE USE

- 11) Where/in what situations/with what people do you speak Italian?
- 12) Where/in what situations/with what people do you speak Croatian?
- 13) What language/dialect do you use more frequently?
- 14) What language/dialect do you prefer in daily communication?
- 15) In what language/dialect do you express yourself at your highest ease at home?
- 16) In what language/dialect do you express yourself at your highest ease outside home?
- 17) When thinking, in what language(s) are you accustomed to “express” yourself ?
- 18) When angry, in what language do you swear or cry?
- 19) Do you like speaking in Italian?

CODE-SWITCHING

- 20) Are languages kept separate or mixed each other in people speaking several languages?
- 21) How much frequent is the alternation of different languages within a conversation?
- 22) When and with what people do you think this alternation occur?
- 23) Is code-switching something conscious or unconscious?
- 24) What judgement(s) do you pass on sentences with languages alternation like "*Mi go finì la scola italiana....da, u Puli*"?
- 25) What kind of effect(s) do you think these conversations have on bilingual and on monolingual listeners?
- 26) In a bilingual community should language "purity" be preserved or should contact and language mixing be accepted instead?
- 27) Is there any relationship between code-switching frequency and educational level?
- 28) Is there any relationship between code-switching, age (child vs adult bilingualism), social or territorial context?

APPENDIX 6

CASE STUDY 2 – ISTRRA (CROATIA)

TRANSCRIPTS OF ACTUAL CONVERSATIONS OF ITALO-CROATIAN PLURILINGUALS (code-switches/borrowings in the first and second guest language are shown in blue and red respectively)

CONVERSATION 1 (Coffee shop in Bale/Valle – 26-02-2014)

CUSTOMER A: Za jednoga lako ajde.

'It is easy to one, come on.'

CUSTOMER B: Una magnada.

'A binge.'

CUSTOMER C: [...] i ga portado via.

'[...] and he has taken away.'

CUSTOMER D: Scalogne.

'Rotten lucks.'

CUSTOMER A: **Parsciuto.**

'Ham.'

CUSTOMER E: Daj daj, ti to.

'Come on, come on, you this one.'

CUSTOMER C: Novembre, dicembre, febbraio, gennaio.

'November, December, February, January.'

CUSTOMER D: Tien i conti a sua insaputa... a sua insaputa.

'[He] keeps accounts unbeknownst to him.'

CUSTOMER B: Porta via.

'[He] takes away.'

CUSTOMER C: Esatto.

'Exactly.'

CUSTOMER E: Kao prst.

'As the finger.'

CUSTOMER B: Vidiš.

'Look at.'

CONVERSATION 2 (Fruit stand in downtown Pula/Pola – 27-01-2014)

FRUIT SELLER: La vol che ghe meto mi? **Grazie. Molto gentile.**
'Do you want that I put it inside? Thanks. Very kind.'

CUSTOMER A: Je ona borša iza vas.
'This is a bag for you.'

FRUIT SELLER: **Sì. Mille grazie. Molto gentile.**
'Yes. Many thanks. Very kind.'

CUSTOMER 2: Jednu kilu mi dajte...klementine.
'Give me one kilo...clementines.'

FRUIT SELLER: Jednu kilu klementine.
'One kilo [of] clementines.'

CUSTOMER 3: Facciamo anche un...limone...due.
'Let's have also one...lemon...two.'

CUSTOMER 2: Facciamo un mezzo chilo di...un chilo. **Cio' anche un limon...due.**
'Let's have a half kilo of...one kilo. Take also a lemon...two.'

CONVERSATION 3 (Italian Community in Mošćenička Draga/Draga di Moschiena – 08-03-2014)

MAN A: Sada zajno zajno hitno.
'Now, soon soon, quickly.'

MAN B: Mi tu sidimo.
'We have a seat here.'

MAN A: Hitno.
'Quickly.'

MAN B: I čekamo e...
'And we are waiting and...'

MAN A: Ala pa ću te ja ću ti ja z auton zapejat doma ajde.
'Come on, then I will take you back home by car, come on.'

MAN C: Ako ćeš ajde ajde (parola incomprendibile).
'If you want to, come on, come on.'

MAN D: Ciao.
'Bye.'

MAN A: **Verrà una signora tra cinque minuti, ecco.**
'A lady will come in five minutes, that is.'

MAN E: Ah perfetto, perfetto.
'Ah, perfect, perfect.'

CONVERSATION 4 (Italian Community in Mošćenička Draga/Druga di Moschiena – 08-03-2014)

MAN A: Parole Croate e italiane. Quando parlano “guarda quella **daska** come fa **plavat**.”
‘Croatian and Italian words. When they speak...look how this surfboard swims.’

WOMAN A: Guarda come la **daska** fa **plavat**.
‘Look how this surfboard swims.’

MAN B: Dasca....
‘Surfboard...’

MAN A: La daska e’ la tavola e plavat e’ nuotare. Manca la parola, no.
‘The ‘daska’ is the [surf]board and ‘plavat’ is/means to swim. The word lacks, no.’

CONVERSATION 5 (Department of Humanities, University of Pula/Pola-28-11-13)

STUDENT A: Sa svima nama...Polako polako.
‘With everyone of us...Slowly, slowly.’

STUDENT B: Znači baš **freccette**...
‘Just the small arrows...’

STUDENT A: Ivana znaš da te nisam zapisala na ovom papiru...
‘Ivana, you know that I haven’t write you down on this paper...’

STUDENT B: Baš **freccette mescolanza ti ga**...
‘Just the small arrows...mixing you have...’

CONVERSATION 6 (Department of Humanities, University of Pula/Pola-28-11-13)

STUDENT A: Ciacavo.
‘Chakavski.’

STUDENT B: Una domanda...come si scrive ciacavo...**al’ ozbiljno**.
‘One question...how is ‘ciacavo’ written? Seriously.’

STUDENT C: /c/ .
‘Ch.’

STUDENT D AND E: /C/ /i/ /a/ /c/ /a/ /v/ /o/.
‘Chakavski.’

STUDENT F: Č.
‘/Ch/.’

STUDENT D: Ciacavo.
‘Chakavski.’

STUDENT F: To je na talijanskom.
'This is in Italian.'

STUDENT E: To je na hrvatskom.
'This [other one] is in Croatian.'

STUDENT D: C i a c a v o.
'Chakavski.'

STUDENT F: Al' na ta talijanskom.
'But in Italian.'

CONVERSATION 7 (Department of Humanities, University of Pula/Pola-28-11-13)

STUDENT A: Na izlazu.
'At the exit.'

STUDENT B: Chi lo sa, forse...e quanto dobbiamo pagare?
'Who knows, maybe...and how much do we have to pay?'

STUDENT A: A kad se ide.
'And when are we going?'

STUDENT B: **Sedamnaestog.**
'On the 17th.'

STUDENT A: Za dva'ešest osoba...nas ima petnaest.
'For twenty-seven people...we are fifteen [people].'

STUDENT B: Pa dobro ići će.
'And, well, [he/she] will go.'

CONVERSATION 8 (Department of Humanities, University of Pula/Pola-28-11-13)

STUDENT A: Iz marginale.
'From marginal [literature].'

STUDENT B: Letteratura marginale.
'Marginal literature.'

STUDENT A: Su ti rekli.
'They told you.'

STUDENT B: **Ona nema.**
'She hasn't.'

STUDENT C: Rossana sa.
'Rossana knows.'

STUDENT A: *La Amanda parla in terza persona.*
'Amanda speaks in third person [singular].'

STUDENT B: Tu ćemo staviti *dieci freccette*.
'Here we will put ten little arrows.'

STUDENT D: *Mescolanza.*
'Mixing.'

STUDENT A: *Sì mescolanza, abbiamo fatto qui mescolanza tantissima...it.- ciac. Giulia con tutti...anche in Inglese...in Istroveneto anche...'*Ko ide u Veronu?
'Yes, mixing, we have mixed a lot here...it.-ciac. Giulia with everyone... also in English...and in Istrovenetian as well...Who is going to Verona?'

CONVERSATION 9 (Department of Humanities, University of Pula/Pola-28-11-13)

STUDENT A: *Mogli bi ju pitat jedino da nam sposta' ovaj za gennaio no.*
'The only thing we could ask her is to put off this [exam] for January, right?'

STUDENT B: *Diciotto.*
'Eighteen.'

STUDENT A: *Do kada su predavanja.*
'How long will the lessons last?'

STUDENT B: *Ma nee.*
'But no.'

STUDENT A: *Devetnaestog.*
'On the 19th.'

STUDENT B: *Šta stvarno.*
'Really?'

STUDENT A: *Siii.*
'Yes.'

STUDENT B: *Osamnaesti je srijeda.*
'The 18th is Wednesday.'

CONVERSATION 10 (Department of Humanities, University of Pula/Pola-28-11-13)

STUDENT A: *Croato.*
'Croatian.'

STUDENT B: *Giovanna con loro in Italiano...*
'Giovanna with them in Italian.'

STUDENT A: **Koju riječ na talijanskom.**

'Some words in Italian.'

STUDENT B: Lei parla con te in Italiano e lei parla con te in croato. Super.

*'She speaks to her in Italian and she speaks to you in Croatian.
Wonderful.'*

STUDENT A: **Pennarelle colorate** za.

'Coloured markers to.'

STUDENT B: Samantha non ha detto niente.

'Samantha did not say a word.'

STUDENT C: Da.

'Yes.'

STUDENT D: Šta da?

'Really?'

STUDENT C: I šta sad.

'And what are we going to do now?'

STUDENT E: Non lo so.

'I don't know.'

STUDENT B: Come parli a casa?

'How do you speak at home?'

STUDENT E: Anche noi parliamo in croato o in ciacavo anche, con la nonna.

'We too talk in Croatian and also in Chakavski, with granny.'

STUDENT B: **Cos' ti vol mangiar?**

'What do you want to eat?'

CONVERSATION 11 (Department of Humanities, University of Pula/Pola-28-11-13)

STUDENT A: No Rossana e Rita niente, anch'io.

'No, Rossana and Rita nothing, me too.'

STUDENT B: Rossana je mene na talijanskom mene ispravljala je pričala sa Evom.

'Rossana corrected me in Italian, she spoke to Eva.'

STUDENT C: Vjerojatno na hrvatskom.

'Probably in Croatian.'

STUDENT D: E Eleonora e Neala sì.

'And Eleonor and Neala yes.'

CONVERSATION 12(Department of Humanities, University of Pula/Pola-28-11-13)

STUDENT A: Anna con me in Croato.

'Anna with me in Croatian.'

STUDENT B: Stvarno.

'Really.'

STUDENT C: Ma da, je.

'But yes, it is.'

STUDENT B: Se radi code-switching.

'Code-switching is practiced'.

STUDENT C: Trebale smo zapisivat riječi koje bi rekle kad biš pričala jedan jezik, na primjer sad pričaš na hrvatskom i onda kažeš jednu riječ na talijanskom.

'We should have written down the words which we would have said when we spoke a language, for instance, now you speak Croatian and then you say a word in Italian.'

CONVERSATION 13(Department of Humanities, University of Pula/Pola-28-11-13)

STUDENT A: Tutti...tutti facciamo la mescolanza.

'Everyone...Everyone of us mixes [languages].'

STUDENT B: Quasi tutti...non proprio tutti, in Croato. Rossana in Croato, sempre in Croato, adesso in Italiano.

'Almost everyone...not exactly everyone, in Croatian. Rossana in Croatian, always in Croatian, now in Italian.'

STUDENT C: Ga deto Rossana in Croato.

'She said: Rossana in Croatian.'

STUDENT D: Sempre.

'Always.'

STUDENT E: Nije to tako.

'It is not this way.'

STUDENT F: Al' to nije to tako jer ti si nju pitala na talijanski a inače biš pitala na hrvatski šta nije tako. sad baš previše glumimo.

'But it is not this way because you asked her in Italian but usually you would ask her in Croatian. Isn't it this way? Now we are acting too much.'

CONVERSATION 14(Department of Humanities, University of Pula/Pola-28-11-13)

STUDENT A: Dobro, da možemo u srijedu joj reći.

'Fine, we can say her for Wednesday'.

STUDENT B: Da nam stavi.
'That she sets it.'

STUDENT C: Da, da, nam pomakne.
'Yes, yes, (we hope) that she put it off.'

STUDENT B: Može u srijedu.
'Wednesday is ok.'

STUDENT C: Da.
'Yes.'

STUDENT A: Ecco "code-switching" eccoti "codeswitching".
'Here it is code-switching, here it is code-switching.'

STUDENT B: Ma meglio, meglio da tako pričaš na hrvatski.
'But better, it is better that you speak in Croatian this way.'

STUDENT A: Moramo je upitati sljedeći put da nam stavi za srijedu.
'We have to ask her that next time she will set it for Wednesday.'

CONVERSATION 15(Department of Humanities, University of Pula/Pola-28-11-13)

STUDENT A: Ko je glavna zvijezda?
'Who is the main star?'

STUDENT B: Giovanna, Jovanna, per gli amici Jo, Io.
'Giovanna, Jovanna, Jo, Io for friends.'

CONVERSATION 16(Department of Humanities, University of Pula/Pola-28-11-13)

STUDENT A: Ti imaš Rossana iz marginale firmu ili iz d'Annunzia?
'Rossana, do you have the signature [for attending the course of] marginal [literature] or [for attending the course of] D'Annunzio?'

STUDENT B: Rossana fa tutto ona je sve pet u jedan...faccio tutto io non c'e' problema.
'Rossana does everything, it is all five in one...I will do everything, there is no problem.'

STUDENT A: Kad nema Rossane "di je Rossana?" Danas je pitao Luigi "dov'e' Rossana?"
'When Rossana is not here: "where is Rossana?" Today Luigi asked us "where is Rossana?"'

STUDENT B: Nije znaš je je donio ove casse ali...
'No, I haven't [done this], you know, however he brought these cases.'

CONVERSATION 17(Department of Humanities,University of Pula/Pola-28-11-13)

STUDENT A: Je bilo kao onaj **incendio** ili tako nešto.

'It was like that fire or something.'

STUDENT B: Cijela avantura.

'One whole adventure.'

STUDENT A: **Bravaaa! Mamma mia!** Fala Bogu, slušaj... **traumatizzata dagli animali del bosco**, znači da...

'Good! Goodness! Thank God, listen...traumatised by the animals of the wood, it means that...'

STUDENT C: Sì, sì, sì.

'Yes, yes, yes.'

STUDENT B: Bježali od svega u šumici ... ljudi i životinja.

'They escaped from everything in the little wood...[from] men and animals.'

STUDENT A: Puška i ...od lovca.

'From the rifle and...from the hunter.'

STUDENT C: **Imaš Google?**

'Do you have Google?'

STUDENT A: Ajde nađi na Googleu.

'Come on, search on Google.'

STUDENT B: Kako se zove.

'How is it called?'

STUDENT C: "Gli animali del bosco".

'The animals of the wood.'

STUDENT B: Ne, napiši...

'No, write...'

STUDENT A: "Youtube soundtrack".

'Youtube soundtrack.'

STUDENT B: Napiši "soundtrack" ili nešto...napiši "traile"r ili nešto.

'Write "soundtrack" or something...write "trailer" or something.'

STUDENT C: Gli animali del bosco.

'The animals of the wood.'

STUDENT D: A Sailor Moon.

'And Sailor Moon.'

STUDENT C: **Ja sam plakala kad je bila Sailor Moon.**
'I used to cry when Sailor Moon was broadcasted.'

STUDENT B: Zašto je **Marzo** bježao.
'Because March is flown away.'

STUDENT D: **Marzooo.**
'March.'

STUDENT C: Gli animali del bosco piccolo.
'The animals of the little wood.'

STUDENT D: Stavi ... **tasso, tasso.**
'Put... "badger", "badger".'

CONVERSATION 18(Department of Humanities, University of Pula/Pola-28-11-13)

STUDENT A: Traumatizzata **ovdje...**
'Traumatised here...'

STUDENT B: Stavi vještice.
'Put on 'Charmed' (TV show).'

CONVERSATION 19(Department of Humanities, University of Pula/Pola-28-11-13)

STUDENT A: **Streghe...** ste gledali "**Streghe**".
'Streghe". Did you use to watch 'Streghe' ("Charmed" TV show)?'

STUDENT B: Ajde stavi ...da čujemo...
'Come on, put it..so we can hear [it].'

STUDENT A: To su one tri.
'These are the three ones.'

STUDENT B: Alyssa Milano i one.
'Alyssa Milano and the other [two ones].'

STUDENT A: Super.
'Perfect.'

STUDENT B: Tamo je i ova što glumi ...
'There is even the one who is acting...'

STUDENT A: Glumi u...
'Acting in...'

STUDENT B: Se sjećaš?
'Do you remember?'

STUDENT A: **Streghe** serija.
“Streghe” (“Charmed”) TV show.’

STUDENT C: **Streghe** jedan...
“Streghe” (“Charmed”)’ one.’

STUDENT D: A Terry e Maggie.
‘E Terry e Maggie.’

STUDENT A: **Teletrasporto**.
‘Teletransport.’

CONVERSATION 20(Department of Humanities,University of Pula/Pola-28-11-13)

WOMAN A: Dobro. I na faxu jelda?
‘Ok. And in faculty?’

WOMAN B: **Da, da, više manje...** bom, magari dipendi, magari forse non con tutti, magari comincio a parlar, magari il Croato, pero’ poi ala fine finiso col Talian.
‘Yes, yes, more or less...well, it depends, well, maybe not with everyone, maybe I start to speak in Croatian but at the end I finish with Italian.’

WOMAN A: **No ma pensavo**, mislila sam kada si...kada na satu govoriš.
‘No, but I thought, I thought when....when you are speaking.’

WOMAN B: Quindi anche se magari sempre tendo magari al dialetto, però comunque dipendi anche dalle persone,quindi, comunque, se xe qualchedun proprio Talian Talian comunque **ono** parlo senza problemi, senza paura, eco dizemo...
‘So, even if maybe always I tend [to speak] dialect, maybe, however it depends also on people, therefore, however, if there is someone...really Italian, Italian, however, I speak that one without any problem, without any fear, here it is, let’s say...’

WOMAN A: Na Hrvatskom.
‘In Croatian.’

WOMAN B: No, sì, in Croato piu’ che altro mi go’ sempre problemi con i padeži, quindi, comunque, **ono** tipo **ono**, sempre **xe kavi, kava, Pula, Puli, tako da ono više manje**, forse in Croato xe un po’ piu’ de... ma non paura nel senso..., tipo non so conoso gente tipo che andava con me in osnovna, che tipo proprio gaveva tipo ono in classe quando gaveino l’ora de croato gaveva, non so, paura de leggi, paura...
‘No, yes, in Croatian mostly I have always problems with cases; so, that one, tipo, that one, always it is coffee, coffee, Pula, Pula, this is more or less the way, maybe in Croatian it is a little more...but not fear in the sense that.., as, I don’t know, I know people that attended Primary School with me who really had...like one in class...when they had the lesson of Croatian he had, I don’t know, fear to read, fear...’

WOMAN A: Stvarno?
'Really?'

WOMAN B: **Da stvarno meni je uvijek bilo to** tipo mi non la go mai **ono fata shvatit**
ono veramente ono cusì grave invece iera tipo una mula.
'Yes, really, it has always been this way to me, but I have never
understand that one, really the one so serious was a girl, instead.'

WOMAN A: **Quindi portoghese come lingua, da quanto** koliko se sad mogu sjetit i **e**
allora l'Istroveneto.
'So Portuguese as language, as long as I can remember and then
Istrovenetian.'

WOMAN A: **Con gli altri invece ciacavo ...ecco...quindi ecco sia nelle...**kako
bi..rekla..u situacijama znači službenim na faksu a i dakle tako s nekim
ljudima ovako iz privatnog života.
'With the other ones Chakavski, instead...so...so...so...both in...how I
can say... in situations, I mean, official [situations] in Faculty and then
also with some people, like in their private lives.'

WOMAN A: **Mi ricordo in primo semestre..quando avevamo....**ma znaš kad smo imali
ono sa Ritom .. da...**didattica della lingua...presentazione con la frutta ed**
ha portato vera e propria frutta e sono venuta da lei.. la conoscevo
pochissimo...sono venuta da lei e le ho chiesto: "se posso avere una frutta,
un frutto?", e lei mi ha detto, "da, da, naravno..evo oćeš kruška?" E questa
era la prima volta che io ho notato che infatti c'è qualcuno che non
conosce i padeži....
'I recall when in the first semester...when we had, you know when you had
it with that Rita..yes...foreign language learning...a presentation with
fruits and she really bringed some fruits and I came to her...I knew her
very little...I came to her and I asked her if I could have one fruit, one
fruit, and she said me "yes, yes, certainly, here it is, do you want the
pear?" And this was the first time in which I realized that in truth there
was someone who did not the cases.'

WOMAN B: Evo zbog toga ste se pustili...zbog prvi maj, autoput. Una delle cause, vedi?
'Here's why you have to leave ... because of May Day, the highway. One
of the causes, isn't it?'

WOMAN A: Zato što je bio kretan.
'Because he was an idiot.'

WOMAN B: A bom.
'And ok. '

CONVERSATION 21(Italian Community of Poreč/Parenzo, 12-02-14)

MAN A: No, me pare. Perché...ma non s'è sicuro...perché là scrivi...eh...comitat...ehg
...no...questo s'è un comitat...noi lo ciamemo comitato di amministrazione,
però questo in croato s'è... come se ciama. **Vijeće, no?**

'No, I guess. Because...but it's not sure...because there you write...eh...board...ehm...no...this is a board...we call it board of directors, but this in Croatian is...what is its name? Council, no?'

MAN B: Upravno vijeće.
'Board of directors'.

MAN A: **Upravno vijeće**; no, s'è un pochettin diverso, no, insomma, ci siamo ai limiti
per...

'Board of directors; no, it is slightly different, no, we are on the borderline to'.

CONVERSATION 22(Bookshop in Pula/Pola, 20-01-14)

CUSTOMER : Questo se possiamo fare... 15 copie.

'This one...if we can do....15 copies.'

BOOKSHOP SELLER A: **Como** se kaze.... **la**...klama...aaah.

'How is it called....the...staple...aaah.'

BOOKSHOP SELLER A: Qui...Colleghiamo subito?

'Here..Do we have to connect them immediately?'

CUSTOMER: Ah, si, si.

'Ah, yes, yes.'

BOOKSHOP SELLER B: **Si**, da.

'Yes, yes.'

BOOKSHOP SELLER A: Come si dice in...non viene alla mente!

'How is it called in....It don't come to mind!'

CUSTOMER: Spillatrice.

'Stapler.'

BOOKSHOP SELLER A: Sì.

'Yes.'

CUSTOMER: In Croato come si dice?

'How do you call it in Croatian?'

BOOKSHOP WOMAN A: **Klamati**.

'To staple'.

BOOKSHOP WOMAN B: **Klamati**.

'To staple'.

CONVERSATION 23(Phone call to a pizzeria in Pula/Pola, 01-02-14)

CUSTOMER: **Dobra večer**, salve, volevo ordinare una pizza.
'Good evening, hello, I would like to order a pizza.'

PIZZERIA MANAGER A: Ehhh..No parlar Italiano.
'Eehm..I don't speak Italian.'

PIZZERIA MANAGER A (to the other manager): **Taljianski**.
'Italian man.'

PIZZERIA MANAGER A (to the customer): Ecco....Uno momento...
'Here...One moment, please.'

CUSTOMER: Si.Ok.
'Yes. Ok.'

RESTAURANT MANAGER B: Pronto?
'Hello?'

APPENDIX 7

CASE STUDY 3 – SCOTLAND (UNITED KINGDOM) –

UBILEC PARENTAL QUESTIONNAIRE (by courtesy of Sharon Unsworth)

- 1) What is your child's name?
- 2) In which country was your child born?
- 3) What is your child's age in years and months?
- 4) When did your child arrive in the UK?
- 5) Does your child have any sisters or brothers?
- 6) What are their names and how old are they?
- 7) What is your current occupation?
- 8) What is the highest level of education you have completed?
- 9) What is your partner's current occupation?
- 10) What is the highest level of education s/he has completed?
- 11) How did your child first come into contact with Italian? (parents, siblings, grandpas, babysitters)
- 12) When did your child start receiving consistent and significant exposure to TL?
- 13) In a scale from 0 to 5, how well does your child speak TL?
- 14) In a scale from 0 to 5, how well does your child understand TL?
- 15) How did your child first come into contact with English? (parents, siblings, grandpas, babysitters)
- 16) When did your child start receiving consistent and significant exposure to English?
- 17) In a scale from 0 to 5, how well does your child speak English?
- 18) In a scale from 0 to 5, how well does your child understand English?
- 19) Is there any other language your child has contact with? (*if yes, repeat questions 11-14*)
- 20) Think about the people who have regular contact with your child at home. In a scale from 0 to 5, how often do each of these people speak Italian to your child?
- 21) In a scale from 0 to 5, how well do each of these people speak Italian?
- 22) In a scale from 0 to 5, how well do each of these people understand Italian?
- 23) Roughly how old was each person when they first came into contact with Italian?

- 24) In a scale from 0 to 5, how often does your child speak Italian to you, his/her father, sister, etc?
- 25) Does your child attend daycare/school?
- 26) What is the language of instruction used by the present teacher?
- 27) Overall, which language(s) do the children use with each other there?
- 28) In a scale from 0 to 5, how well does your child's teacher(s) speak English?
- 29) In a scale from 0 to 5, how well does your child's teacher(s) understand English?
- 30) In a scale from 0 to 5, how well (on average) do the other children at the daycare speak English?
- 31) In a scale from 0 to 5, how well (on average) do the other children at daycare understand English?
- 32) Does your child attend out-of-school care?
- 33) How many weeks per year is your child on holiday from daycare?
- 34) Think about when your child is on holiday from daycare/school. In a scale from 0 to 5, how much contact does your child have with Italian during the holidays?
- 35) In a scale from 0 to 5, how much of your child's contact with Italian during the holidays is from native speakers?
- 36) Think about an average day in the week. I'm going to ask you, from the waking up until the going to bed, about who spends time with your child at home and when they do this, and about when your child goes to daycare/school.
- 37) Now think about an average day at the weekend. Who spends time with the child?
- 38) So far, I have mostly been asking you about your child's language exposure from family members and daycare or school. Now, I'm going to ask you about other possible sources of language input, such as TV or friends. How many hours per week on average does your child spend on extra-curricular activities such as sports and clubs?
- 39) In general, which language(s) does your child use during such activities?
- 40) In a scale from 0 to 5, how well do the other people taking part in this activity speak Italian?
- 41) How many hours per week on average does your child spend with friends outside school (excluding extra curricular activities such as sports and clubs)?

- 42) How many hours per week on average does your child spend watching TV (including watching DVDs and films)?
- 43) How many hours per week on average does your child spend reading books for leisure (if your child is old enough to read) and/or being read to?
- 44) How many hours per week on average does your child spend playing computer games (which use language), chatting, surfing the internet?
- 45) Does your child participate in any other language-related activities (e.g., listening to audio books, etc.) which you think might be relevant?
- 46) I'm now going to ask you about (your child's language exposure in) the past. Did your child have any kind of preschool care before the age of 4? For about how many days per week?
- 47) Overall, which language or languages were used there?
- 48) Think about your child's schooling. Has your child always attended the same school? Overall, how much Italian/English was spoken there?
- 49) Whilst at school, has your child ever regularly attended any out-of-school care?
- 50) For about how many hours per week?
- 51) Overall, which language or languages were used there?
- 52) Now think about your own language use, your partner language use and your children language use with your child in the past. About how often did you speak Italian to your children from birth to age 2, age 2 to age 4, etc.?
- 53) Have any other adults lived at home? If so, what is their relationship to your child? About how often did he/she speak Italian to your children from birth to age 2, age 2 to age 4, etc.?
- 54) During this period, how much contact did your child have with Italian during the holidays?

APPENDIX 8

**CASE STUDY 3 – SCOTLAND (UNITED KINGDOM) –
SMILEYS AND FLAGS TEST: MATERIALS AND DIALOGUES USED**

Five-graded smileys scale (by courtesy of Ben Ambridge)



Five-graded flag scale



Simplified binary scale for young children (by courtesy of Ben Ambridge)



Simplified binary flag scale for young children



Condition A: single-word and tag switches

DIALOGUE 1

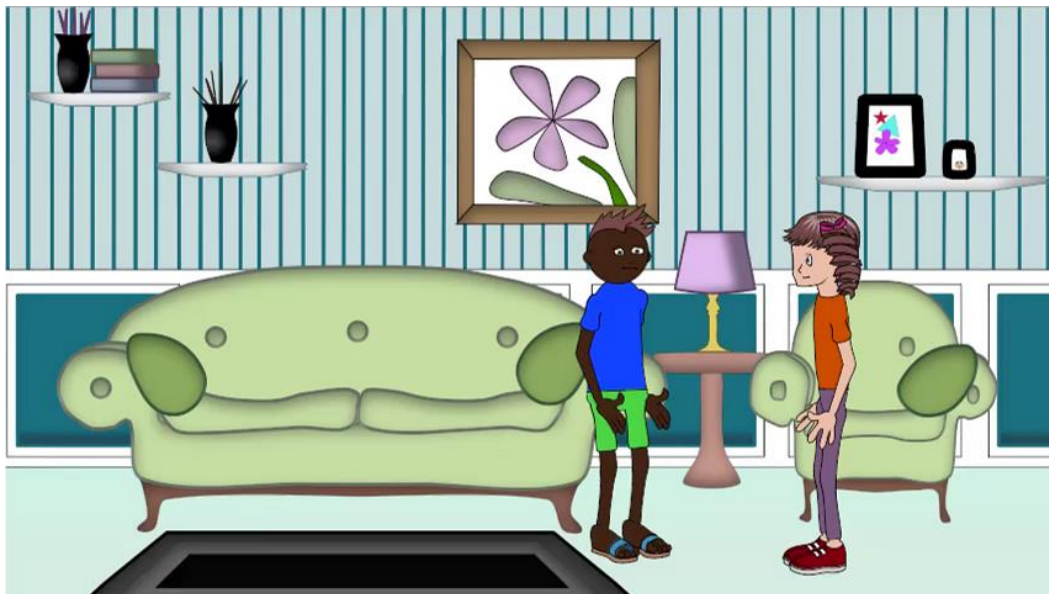


A: Il gatto di Andrea si chiama Matisse, you know, un nome importante per un gatto.

B: Perché papà?

A: I mean, Matisse era un importante pittore francese.

DIALOGUE 2



A: Ieri Angela spoke with her cousin.

B: Davvero? And what did she say?

A: She invited her to her birthday.

Condition B: switches between subject and predicate

DIALOGUE 3



A: I signori Smith have bought a new car.

B: What car?

A: I don't know the name. However, Mike dice che è molto bella e veloce.

DIALOGUE 4



A: The soccer player...indossa una maglietta blu e pantaloncini bianchi.

B: E l'arbitro invece... wears a green shirt and black shorts.

Condition C: Switches between verb and complements

DIALOGUE 5

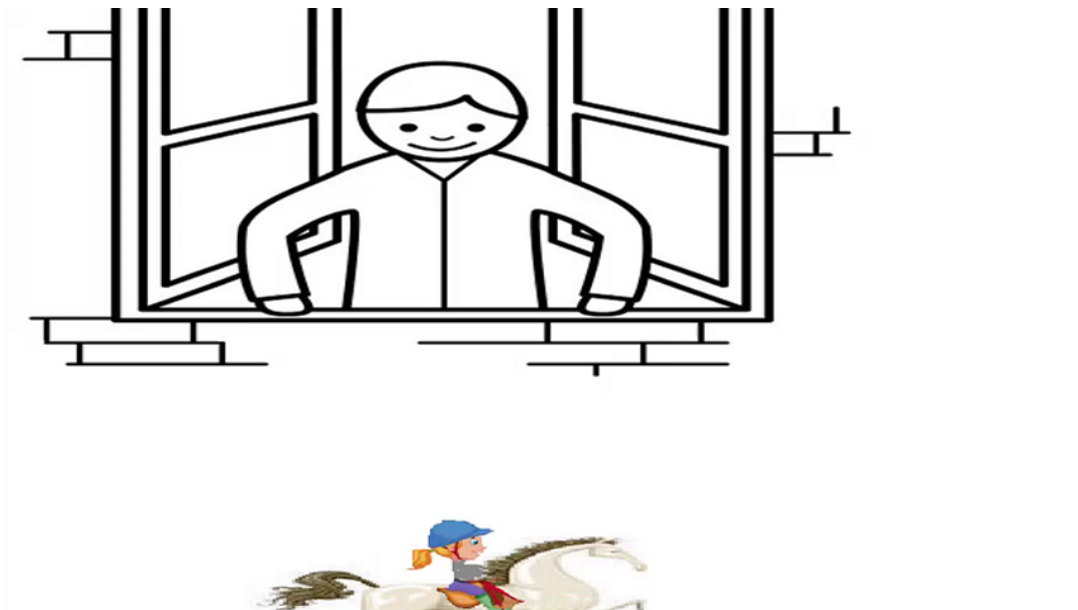


A: Erika alla fine ha deciso to go back to her home.

B: Oh! She probably had qualcosa da fare.

A: Sì, sì, she said che era molto impegnata.

DIALOGUE 6



A: Owen si è affacciato alla finestra to see the white horse.

B: The white horse? Who is riding il cavallo bianco?

A: Una ragazza bionda. Lo cavalca with joy and elegance.

Condition D: Switches between noun and relative clause

DIALOGUE 7

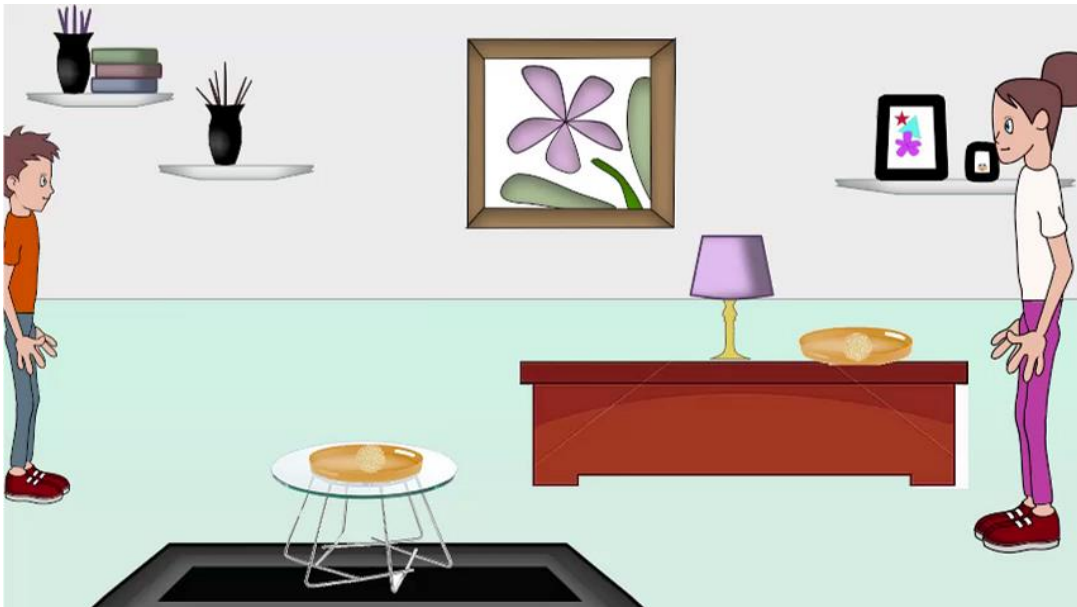


A: Andarono sulla montagna where the black bear lived.

B: Oh! Ma non è stato pericoloso?

C: No, per niente. L'orso nero della montagna è un animale that is shy and peaceful.

DIALOGUE 8



A: Take the biscuit che è sul vassoio giallo.

B: Su questo vassoio?

A: No, non sul vassoio which is on the table, search on the other one above the desk.

Condition E: Reported speech switches

DIALOGUE 9

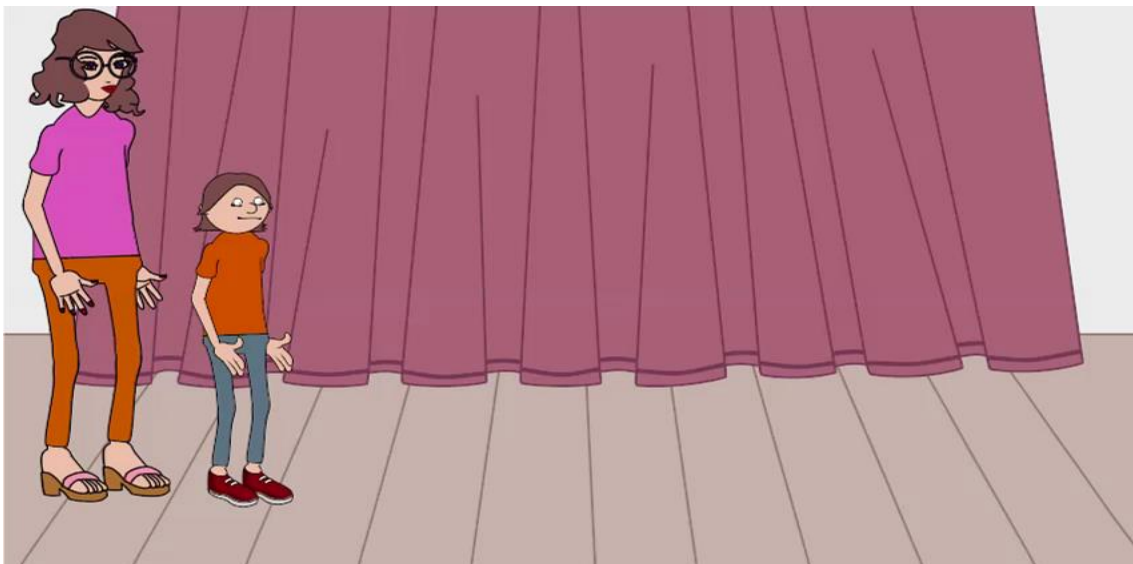


A: Ieri ho incontrato Eva. Mi ha detto: “Johanne, where are you going?”

B: E tu cosa le hai risposto?

A: Le ho risposto: “I am going to have a trip to London”.

DIALOGUE 10



A: “You are such a good kid”, disse la mamma a Pierino.

B: “Mummy, I love you”, rispose Pierino alla mamma.

A: “Ora andiamo a casa, papà ci aspetta”, the mum said to her good kid.

Condition F: Coordinate intersentential code-switches

DIALOGUE 11



A: Andare al mare è bello and you can play on the sand and swim in the water.

B: Yes, I like going to the sea, too, però a me piace più prendere il sole.

A: A me no, I always get burned.

DIALOGUE 12



A: What is it?

B: It's a lasagna. It's italian pasta, è molto buona e la mangio sempre.

A: Can I have a bit of it? It seems very good e ho davvero molta fame.

Condition G: Subordinate intersentential code-switch

DIALOGUE 13



A: When Callum was in Italy, si è divertito molto.

B: Perché? Che cosa ha fatto?

A: E' andato a trovare i nonni a Firenze.

DIALOGUE 14



A: A Maria piace andare a scuola because she wants to learn a lot.

B: No, I don't think so. I think she goes to school just perché deve farlo.

A: Forse è come dici tu. In fondo non la conosco bene.

Condition H: Fixed and formulaic phrases and repetition switches

DIALOGUE 15

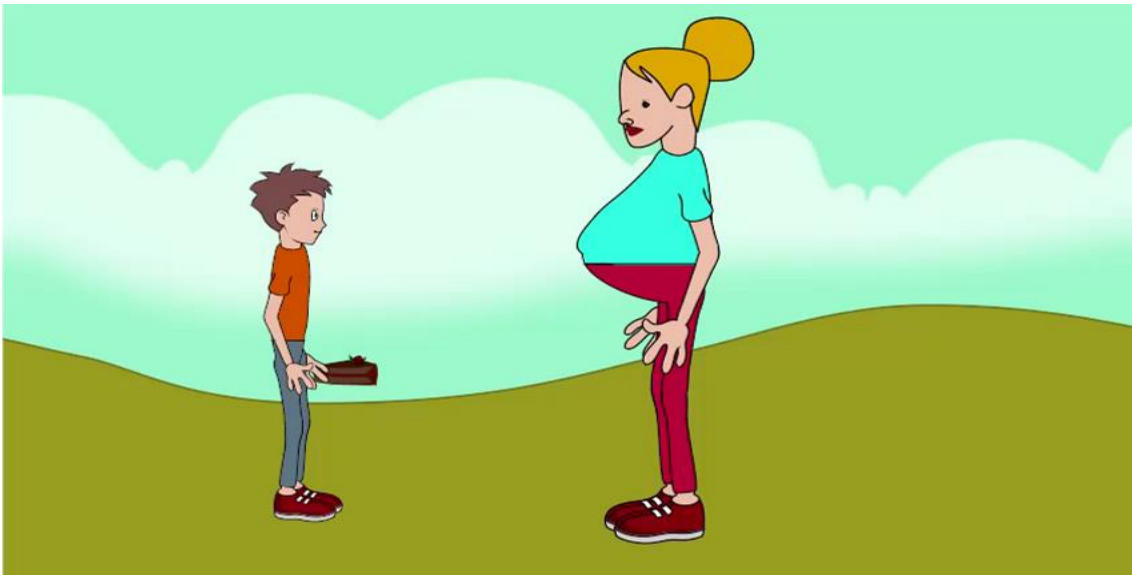


A: Che cosa è successo dopo mamma?

B: Vissero tutti felici e contenti Tom, they all lived happily ever after.

A: Che bello! How beautiful!

DIALOGUE 16



A: Mrs Nicholson, thanks for the cake.

B: You are welcome Jack, prego.

A: Buona giornata! Have a nice day!

B: Buona giornata! Have a nice day you too!

APPENDIX 9

CASE STUDY 3 – SCOTLAND (UNITED KINGDOM) –

PICTURE DESCRIPTION TASK TRANSCRIPTS

The third and last part of the testing session for each child consisted of a semi-spontaneous conversation: the researcher asked the child to choose his/her favourite cartoon. Then, by seeing the scene again, the child described the picture (characters, setting and what was going on in it). Each child was free to choose the language of interaction, its length and to code-switch from one language to another. Sometimes the parent intervened in the conversation to repeat/clarify what was required from the child.

Transcription of all conversations, word-by-word translation with morphological division, grammatical analysis and translation of the sentence (performed only on the switched conversations) were carried out following MacSwan 1999 and MacSwan 2014 conventions.

*The switches are shown in **red**, the borrowings are displayed in **blue**, whereas errors and/or interferences are shown in **bold black**.*

Children who used code-switching

Simultaneous bilingual - Both languages at home - Child 2²³ - age 4;10 - 25-04-15 – 2 min 24 sec

MOTHER: Quella dell'orso ti è piaciuto cos'è successo? Cos'è successo? Lo vediamo? Secondo me quella dell'orso ti è piaciuta, vero?

CHILD 2: Quella del mare.

Quell-a di il mar-e.
That one/FEM SING of the sea/MAL SING
'That one (talking) about the sea'

MOTHER: Ah, quella del mare. Ok.

RES: Ah bene. Deve essere la penultima. Vabbè, questo non ci interessa.

MOTHER: Ok

RES: Cosa fanno i personaggi?

CHILD 2: Eehm. Stanno giocando.

st-anno gioc-ando

23 We include the transcript and analysis of the picture description task, but data of the smileys/flags test belonging to this child have been discarded.

Are/3RD PLUR PRES playing/GER
'Eehm. They are playing'.

RES: Mmh. Dove sono? Quindi Abbiamo detto al mare?

MOTHER: Che giochi fanno?

RES: Che giorni stanno facendo?

CHILD 2: *Inaudibile*

MOTHER: Vuole sapere se tu hai capito cosa c'è qui.

RES: Puoi dirlo anche in Inglese, come vuoi.

MOTHER: Che cosa c'è sulla spiaggia Rosa, dimmelo tu.

CHILD 2: **Sand**. [ISOLATED SWITCH 1] [FUNCTION: LACK OR PREFERENCE OF A TRANSLATION EQUIVALENT]

sand
sand/SG
'Sand.'

RES: Sand.

MOTH: Sand...Poi? Cosa?

RES: Mmh?

MOTHER: Giochi per terra? E che giochi sono? Lo conosci questo? E come si chiama?

CHILD 2: *Inaudibile*

MOTHER: Se lo dico io non vale!

RES: Questo bambino qua che è tutto contento cosa sta facendo?

CHILD 2: Sta giocando a **football**.

[INTRASENTENTIAL SWITCH 2] [FUNCTION: LACK OR PREFERENCE OF A TRANSLATION EQUIVALENT]

St-a gioc-ando a football
is/3RD SG PRES playing/GER to football/SG
'He is playing football.'

RES: A football. Questo animale qua brutto che cos'è?

CHILD 2: Un **crab**.

[INTRASENTENTIAL SWITCH 3] [FUNCTION: LACK OR PREFERENCE OF A TRANSLATION EQUIVALENT]

Un crab
a/MAL SG crab/SG
'A crab.'

MOTHER Un crab.

RES: Ah, il crab.

MOTHER: E lui cosa fa? Mmh?

CHILD 2: *Inaudibile*

MOTHER: Ah ho sbagliato! E' una lei! Giusto? E lei cosa fa?

CHILD 2: *Inaudibile*... Sta giocando con il **boy**.

[INTRASENTENTIAL SWITCH 4] [FUNCTION: LACK OR PREFERENCE OF A TRANSLATION EQUIVALENT]

st-a gioc-ando con il boy
is/3RD SG PRES playing/GER with the/MAL SG boy/SG
'He is playing with the boy.'

MOTHER: Nella sabbia con il boy.

RES: E quest'altra bambina cosa sta facendo?

CHILD 2: Sta giocando con l'altro **boy** a **football**.

[INTRASENTENTIAL SWITCHES 5-6] [FUNCTION: LACK OR PREFERENCE OF A TRANSLATION EQUIVALENT]

St-a gioc-ando con l-o altr-o boy
a football
is/3RD SG PRES playing/GER with the/MAL SG other/MAL SG
boy/SG to football/SG
'He is playing football with the other boy.'

RES: Ah, sempre a football. E qui in fondo cosa c'è?

CHILD: Un **boat**.

[INTRASENTENTIAL SWITCH 7] [FUNCTION: LACK OR PREFERENCE OF A TRANSLATION EQUIVALENT]

un boat
a/MAL SG boat/SG
'A boat.'

MOTHER Un boat.

RES: Ah ok, un boat. Ok. Va bene.

**Simultaneous bilingual - Both languages at home - Child 4 - age 7;8 - 29-04-15
- 1 min 27 sec**

RES: Ok. Ultima cosa. Quale ti è piaciuta tra queste scenette?

MOTHER: Quale ti è piaciuta di più?

CHILD 4: Quella del mare.

quell-a di il mar-e
that one/FEM SG of the/MAL SG sea/MAL SG
'That one of the sea'

RES: Quella del mare...A tutti...a tutti quanti piace quella del mare.

MOTHER: Forse perché associano...

RES: Aspetta che torniamo indietro così mi dici cosa stanno...eh mamma mia.

MOTHER: Anche Alex ha scelto quella del mare?

RES: Sì, sì. Cosa stanno facendo al mare questi bambini?

CHILD 4: Giocano con il pallone. **Facendo** il...sta mettendo la sabbia sopra il bambino.

gioc-ano con il pallon-e fa-cendo il...
play/3RD PLUR PRES with the/MAL SG balloon/MAL SG doing/GER the/MAL
SG

st-a mett-endo l-a sabbi-a sopra il
bambin-o
is/ 3RD SG PRES putting/GER the/FEM SG sand/FEM SG above
the/MAL SG child/MAL SG

'They play with the balloon. They are doing the...she is putting some sand above the child.'

RES: E quest'altra bambina che fa?

CHILD 4: **Giocando.**

gioc-ando
playing/GER
'(She is) playing.'

RES: Mmh.

CHILD 4: ...con il bambino che c'ha la palla.

con il bambin-o che ci h-a l-a
pall-a
with the/MAL SG child/MAL SG who there/SG CLIT has/3RD SG PRES the/FEM
SG ball/FEM SG

'With the child who has (got) the ball.'

RES: Ok... E poi ci sono pure due animali, mi sembra.

CHILD 4: Un pesce...e...

un pesc-e e
one/MAL SG fish/MAL SG and
'One fish and...'

RES: A meno che non l'ho visto male io.

CHILD 4: *Inaudible*...Mmh...*Inaudible*

RES: Eehm. Lì lo devi dire in quello in cui ti viene.

CHILD 4: **Turtle**. [ISOLATED SWITCH 1] [FUNCTION: LACK OR PREFERENCE OF A
TRANSLATION EQUIVALENT]

turtle/SG
'Turtle.'

RES: Un turtle.

MOTHER E questo lo cosa... qui ti ricordi che cos'è?

CHILD 4: **Starfish**. [ISOLATED SWITCH 2][FUNCTION: LACK OR PREFERENCE OF A
TRANSLATION EQUIVALENT]

starfish/SG
'Starfish.'

RES: Starfish.

MOTHER: Te lo ricordi come lo diciamo in?

CHILD 4: **Crab**. [ISOLATED SWITCH 3] [FUNCTION: LACK OR PREFERENCE OF A
TRANSLATION EQUIVALENT]

crab/SG
'Crab'

RES: Un crab.

MOTHER: Come si dice in italiano te lo ricordi?

**Simultaneous bilingual – Both languages at home – Child 5 age 11;0 – 02-05-15 –
1 min 19 sec**

RES: Ok, e adesso dobbiamo scegliere una scenetta di quella che ti è piaciuta di più.

CHILD 5: Quella del mare.

Quell-a	di	il	mar-e
that one/FEM SG	of	the/MAL SG	sea/MAL SG
'That one about the sea.'			

RES: Quella del mare...Ok. A tutti i bambini piace quella del mare ok...dobbiamo andare un po' indietro. Allora quindi cosa stanno facendo qua questi bambini?

CHILD 5: Stanno costruendo un castello di sabbia, stanno giocando con la palla, stanno prendendo il sole, eehm...stanno nella spiaggia.

st-anno	costru-endo	un	castell-o	di	sabbi-a
are/3RD PLUR PRES	building/GER	a/MAL SG	castle/MAL SG	of	sand/FEM SG

st-anno	gioc-ando	con	l-a	pall-a
are/ 3RD PLUR PRES	playing/GER	with	the/FEM SG	ball/FEM SG

st-anno	prend-endo	il	sol-e	st-anno	in	l-
a	spiaggi-a					
are/3RD PLUR PRES	taking/GER	the/MAL SG	sun/MAL SG	are/3RD PLUR PRES	in	
the/FEM SG	beach/FEM SG					

'They are building a sandcastle, they are playing with the ball, they are sunbathing, they are staying on the beach.'

RES: Mmh. E poi cos'altro si vede nella... oltre ai bambini? Chi c'è?

CHILD 5: Eehm. Una barca, un pesce, un granchio, una **tortuga**, no? Si dice? Si dice **tortuga**? No? [ISOLATED SWITCH 1-2] [FUNCTION: LACK OR PREFERENCE OF A TRANSLATION EQUIVALENT]

un-a	barc-a	un	pesc-e	un	granchi-o	un-a
tortug-a	no					
a/FEM SG	boat/FEM SG	a/MAL SG	fish/MAL SG	a/MAL SG	crab/MAL SG	a/FEM SG
turtle/FEM SG	no					

si dic-e si dic-e tortug-a no
si/REFLEX say/3RD SG PRES si/REFLEX say/3RD SG PRES turtle/FEM SG no
'A boat, a fish, a crab, a turtle, no? Is it said so? Is it said tortuga? No?'

RES: Questa? Tartaruga sî.

CHILD 5: Tartaruga. Una stella marina, un ciambellone con la giraffa...

Tartarug-a un-a stell-a marin-a un ciambell-on-e con
l-a giraff-a

Turtle/FEM SG a/FEM SG star/FEM SG sea/FEM SG a/MAL SG floater/AUG MAL SG with
the/FEM SG giraffe/FEM SG

'Turtle. A starfish, a floater with the giraffe...'

RES: Mmh.

CHILD 5: Un ombrellone, il sole, nuvole, il cielo, il mare, la sabbia, eeh. Mmh...Le
piante...

un ombrell-on-e il sol-e nuvol-e
a/MAL SG umbrella/AUG MAL SG the/MAL SG sun/MALE SG clouds/FEM
PLUR

il ciel-o il mar-e l-a sabbi-a l-e
piant-e
the/MAL SG sky/MAL SG the/MAL SG sea/MAL SG the/FEM SG sand/FEM SG the/FEM
PLUR plants/FEM PLUR

'A beach umbrella, the sun, clouds, the sea, the sand, eehm. Mmh. The plants...'

RES: Sî

CHILD 5: Eehm.

RES: C'è una barca in fondo, mmh.

CHILD 5: Eehm...le conchiglie.

L-e conchigli-e
The/FEM PLUR sea shells/FEM PLUR
'The sea shells.'

RES: Le conchiglie ok.

**Simultaneous bilingual – Minority language at home – Child 8-age 11;10-07-05-15
– 1 min 26 sec**

RES: Quale ti è piaciuta di queste scene? ... Non dire nessuna perché sennò... Allora,
all'inizio avevamo questa...ti faccio rivedere un attimo. Questi che vanno a

scuola...vabbè il volume possiamo toglierlo...poi ci sono il cane con questi due mostriciattoli...poi il bambino con il dolce...qui i bambini che parlano a casa...qua la mamma con il figlio che sta prendendo il biscotto, qui il papà con la figlia ed il gatto di Andrea, qua ci sono i due bambini che parlano di questa macchina...qua il coniglio e il cane...qua la mamma e il bambino che stanno tornando a casa...qua parlavano dell'orso della montagna...qua la mamma e il bambino parlavano dell'arbitro e del soccer player, del calciatore.....qui i bambini stanno parlando del piatto di lasagna,...qui c'è Owen alla finestra che guarda il cavallo bianco...qua la mamma che legge la favoletta al bambino...qua i bambini che giocano sulla spiaggia e poi qua i bambini che passeggiano nel parco...

CHILD 8: Penso quella...quelli nella spiaggia.

pens-o	quell-a	quell-i	in	l-a
spiaggi-a				
think/1ST SG PRES	that one/FEM SG	those/MAL PLUR	on	the/FEM SG
beach/FEM SG				

'I think that one...those on the beach.'

RES: Quelli nella spiaggia. Infatti è in genere quella che preferiscono...Ok...Allora, quindi cosa...aspetta che vado indietro...quindi cosa si vede...aspetta che te la avvicino...un po'...in questa...

CHILD 8: Stanno tutti giocando in spiaggia, c'è il sole, c'è sono barche dietro, c'è un'isola, c'è **sono** il pesce nell'acqua, eh stanno giocando con la sabbia, con la palla, c'è un granchio, ci sono due maschi e due femmine.

st-anno	tutt-i	gioc-ando	in	
spiaggi-a				
are/3RD PLUR PRES	everybody/MAL PLUR	playing/GER	in	
beach/FEM SING				
ci	è	il	sol-e	ci
s-ono				
there/SG CLIT	is/3RD SG PRES	the/MAL SG	sun/MAL SG	there/SG CLIT
are/3RD PLUR PRES	boats/FEM PLUR			
dietro	ci	è	una	isol-a
s-ono				
behind	there/SG CLIT	is/3RD SG PRES	an/FEM SG	island/FEM SG
are/3RD PLUR PRES				there/SG CLIT
il	pesc-e	in	la	acqu-a
gioc-ando				
the/MAL SG	fish/MAL SG	in	the/FEM SG	water/SG FEM
playing/GER				are/3RD PLUR PRES

con l-a sabbi-a con l-a pall-a ci
 è
 with the/SG FEM sand/FEM SG with the/FEM SG ball/FEM SG there/ SG CLIT
 is/3RD SG PRES

un granchi-o ci s-ono due masch-i e due
 femmin-e
 a/MAL SG crab/MAL SG there/SG CLIT are/3RD PLUR PRES two males/MAL PLUR and
 two females/FEM PLUR

'Everybody is playing on the beach, there is the sun, there are some boats behind, there is an island, there are the fishes in the water, ehm, they are playing with the sand, with the ball, there is a crab, there are two males and two females.'

RES: Guarda che c'è pure un cane, accanto a questo qua...un altro animale, no?

CHILD 8: Un granchio.

Un granchi-o
 a/MAL SG crab/MAL SG
 'A crab.'

RES: Un granchio pure sì, mmh.

CHILD 8: Un ombrello per coprire dal sole...

un ombrell-o per copr-ire da il sol-e
 an/MAL SG umbrella/MAL SG to shelter/INF from the/MAL SG sun/MAL SG
 'An umbrella to shelter from the sun.'

RES: Mmmh.

CHILD 8: Un paio di stelle nella spiaggia.

Un pai-o di stell-e in la spiaggi-a
 a/MAL SG couple/MAL SG of stars/FEM PLUR in the/FEM SG beach/FEM SG
 'A couple of stars on the beach.'

RES: Sì, queste qua, queste due.

CHILD 8: Conchiglie...una turtle...

[INTRASENTENTIAL SWITCH 1] [FUNCTION: LACK OR PREFERENCE OF A TRANSLATION EQUIVALENT]

Conchigli-e un-a turtle
 sea shells/FEM PLUR a/FEM SG turtle/SG
 'Sea shells...a turtle...'

RES: Mmmh, una tartaruga sì, turtle.

CHILD 8: Green floaters. [ISOLATED SWITCH 2] [FUNCTION: LACK OR PREFERENCE OF A TRANSLATION EQ.]

Green floater-s
green floaters/PLUR
'Salvagenti verdi.'

RES: Un floater?

CHILD 8: Poi il mare, e le nuvole.

poi il mar-e e l-e nuvol-e
then the/MAL SG sea/MAL SG and the/FEM PLUR clouds/FEM PL
'Then the sea and the clouds'.

RES: E le nuvole.

CHILD 8: E il cielo.

e il ciel-o
and the/MAL SG sky/MAL SG
'And the sky'.

RES: Va bene. Ok.

**Simultaneous bilingual – Minority language at home – Child 9 –age 8;0 – 07-05-15
– 2 min 18 sec**

RES: Di queste scenette quale ti è piaciuta di più? Oppure se te ne è piaciuta più di una?
Di quale vogliamo parlare.

CHILD 9: Mmmh... quella del mare

quell-a di il mar-e
that one/FEM SING of the sea/MAL SING
'Mmmh...That one (talking) about the sea'

RES: Quella del mare...aspetta...no, non era questa...quella prima...ok. Allora, quindi cosa stanno facendo questi bambini nel mare.

CHILD 9: Ehm...Una sta giocando nella sabbia... con un'altra bambina, poic'è un bambino che **sa** lanciando una palla...e poi c'è una bambina che è felice.

Un-a st-a gioc-ando in la sabbi-a...
one/FEM SG is/3RD SG PRES playing/GER in the/FEM SG sand/FEM SG

con un-a altr-a bambin-a poi ci è un
bambin-o
with another/FEM SG child/FEM SG then there/SG CLIT is/3RD SG PRES a/MAL
SG child/MAL SG

che sa lanci-ando un-a pall-a e poi

who is/3D SG PRES throwing/GER a/FEM SG ball/FEM SG and then

ci è un-a bambin-a che è
felic-e
there/SG CLIT is/3RD SG PRES a/FEM SG child/FEM SG who is/3RD SG PRES
happy/SG

'Ehm. A child is playing on the sand...with another child, then...there is a child who is throwing a ball...and then there is a child who is happy.'

RES: Mmmh.

CHILD 9: Ehm...c'è un granchio.

ci è un granchi-o
there/SG CLIT is/3RD SG PRES a/MAL SG crab/MAL SG
'There is a crab.'

RES: Un granchio sì.

CHILD 9: Ehm.
'Ehm'.

RES: Nell'acqua invece, cosa c'è...nel mare?

CHILD 9: Un pesce...poi una di quelle barche.

Uno pesc-e poi un-a di quell-e barch-e
a/MAL SG fish/MAL SG then one/FEM SG of those/FEM PLUR boats/FEM
PLUR
'A fish...then one of those boats.'

RES: Mmmh...Sì...Cosa si vede poi in fondo... qui?

CHILD 9: Un'isola.

Una isol-a
an/FEM SG island/FEM SG
'An island.'

RES: Un'isoletta. Mmh.

CHILD 9: Poi...
poi
'Then...'

RES: Che altri giochi ci sono sulla sabbia?

CHILD 9: Ci sono le conchiglie...poi c'è quella cosa che si **sgonfia** nel mare.

ci s-ono l-e conchigli-e poi ci
 è
 there/SG CLIT are/3RD PLUR PRES the/FEM PLUR sea shells/FEM PLUR then there/SG
 CLIT is/3D SG PRES

quell-a cos-a che si sgonfi-a in il
 mar-e
 that/FEM SG thing/FEM SG that si/REFLEX deflate/3RD SG PRES in the/MAL SG
 sea/MAL SEA

'There are the sea shells...then, there is that thing that is deflated in the sea.'

MOTHER: Che si gonfia?

CHILD 9: Sì
 Sì.
 'Yes.'

MOTHER: A cosa serve?

CHILD 9: Si **sgonfia** e poi vai nel mare.

si sgonfi-a e poi va-i in il
 mar-e
 si/REFL deflate/3RD SG PRES and then go/2ND SG PRES in the/MAL SG
 sea/MAL SG

'It is deflated and then you go in the sea.'

MOTHER: Il salvagente.

RES: Sì ok ...vediamo se c'è qualcos'altro...quello forse sembra un cane, nemmeno riesco a capire se è un animale o un giocattolo...questo qua mi sembra più un cane...mmh...e qui...quest'ultima?

CHILD 9: Questa è una... **tortuga**.

[INTRASENTENTIAL SWITCH 1] [FUNCTION: LACK OR PREFERENCE OF A TRANSLATION EQUIVALENT]

quest-a è un-a tortug-a
 this/FEM SG is/3RD SG PRES a/FEM SG turtle/FEM SG

'This (one) is a turtle.'

RES: Mmhh... Tartaruga sì.

CHILD 9: Sì.
 sì
 'Yes.'

RES: Ok abbiamo parlato di tutto, credo.

**Simultaneous bilingual – One-parent-one-language – Child 10 – age 7;6 – 08-05-15
– 2 min 1 sec**

RES: Allora, quale ti è piaciuta tra...tra queste scene? Scegliamone una che...

CHILD 10: Quella di calcio.

quell-a di calci-o
The one/FEM SG of football/MAL SG
'The one about football.'

RES: Quella di calcio...chissà qual era...vado.

CHILD 10: Perché mi piace **calcio**.

perché mi piac-e calci-o
because I/1ST SG CLIT love/3RD SG PRES football/MAL SG
'Because I love football.'

RES: Ti piace il calcio...Vediamo un attimo...Non mi ricordo l'ordine...No...qua c'è...ah, eccola qua. Quindi che cosa si vede qua? Cosa stanno facendo?

CHILD 10: Eh, **giocando** a calcio...ehh...non so cosa **lui** sta facendo

gioc-ando a calci-o non s-o cos-a lui st-a
fac-endo
playing/GER to football/MAL SG not know/1ST SG PRES what/FEM SG he is/3RD SG
PRES doing/GER
'Ehm, playing football...eehh...I don't know what the is doing.'

RES: L'arbitro? Ha il fischetto. Il ...come si dice in inglese... Sta fischiando forse un fallo? Non lo so...Ha la bandierina...Aspetta che andiamo indietro. Perché si vede meglio mi sa. Ah. Eccolo qua, qua si vede già meglio.

MOTHER: Un cartellino di colore è?

CHILD 10: Rosso?

ross-o
red/MAL SG
'Red?'

MOTHER: Che cosa vuol dire?

CHILD 10: **He has tackled.**

[ISOLATED SWITCH 1] [FUNCTION: LACK OR PREFERENCE OF A TRANSLATION
EQUIVALENT]

he ha-s tackle-d
 he has/3RD SG PRES tackled/PAST PART
 ‘He has tackled.’

MOTHER: Si però con il cartellino rosso cosa si fa a calcio? Lo sai?

CHILD 10: Ehm. **Gets a penalty and he gets sent off...**

[ISOLATED SWITCH 2] [FUNCTION: LACK OR PREFERENCE OF A TRANSLATION EQUIVALENT]

get-s a penalt-y and he get-s sen-t
 off
 get/3RD SG PRES a/SG penalty/SG and he gets/3RD SG PRES sent/PAST
 off
 ‘Ehm. Get a penalty and he get sent off.’

RES: Ammonizione sì.

MOTHER: Ah sì, ah sì.

RES: E questi due chi sono? Chi potrebbero essere? Questi due...

CHILD 10: **La sua** mamma e **il suo** fratello.

l-a su-a mamm-a e il su-o
 fratell-o
 the/FEM SG his/FEM SG mum/FEM SG and the/MAL SG his/MAL SG
 brother/MAL SG
 ‘His mum and his brother.’

RES: Che guardano insomma la partita di football, di calcio.

CHILD 10: Ehm... **Ma però** perché ha la...ehm...Perché è da solo?

ma però perché h-a l-a perché è
 da sol-o
 but but why has/3RD SG PRES the/FEM SG why is/3RD SG PRES
 alone/SG MAL
 ‘But why has he the....why is he alone?’

RES: Chi? Lui?

CHILD 10: Sì.

sì
 ‘Yes.’

RES: Ah. Forse l’inquadratura.

MOTHER: Gli altri si saranno spaventati.

RES: Ci saranno. Gli altri li ha superati nel campo...li ha lasciati indietro... Ok. Va bene.

**Simultaneous bilingual – Minority language at home – Child 13-age 5;10-09-05-15
– 4 min 3 sec**

RES: Adesso dobbiamo scegliere una scenetta che ti è piaciuta e mi devi dire che cosa combinano questi bambini. Quale ti era piaciuta di queste?

CHILD 13: Quella del mare.

quell-a di il mar-e
that one/FEM SG of the/MAL SG sea/MAL SG
'That one about the sea.'

RES: Quella del mare...infatti è la più.

MOTHER: La più popolare.

RES: La più gettonata...ok...eccola qua.

CHILD 13: Mi piace ...perché... adesso so nuotare con la testa sott'acqua.

mi piac-e perché adesso s-o nuot-
are
I/1ST SG CLIT like/3RD SG PRES because now can/1ST SG PRES
swim/INF

con la test-a sotto acqu-a
with the/FEM SG head/FEM SG below water/FEM SG
'I like it...because...now I can swim with my head below the water.'

RES: Mmh.

CHILD 13: E...so... e pure perché Clarissa mi aiuta a fare un castello di sabbia e a volte usiamo i castelli di sabbia e poi ci mettiamo le conchiglie sopra che troviamo dentro al mare.

e s-o e pure perché Clarissa mi aiut-
a a f-are
and know/1ST SG PRES and also because Clarissa I/1ST SG CLIT help/3RD
SG PRES to do/INF

un castell-o di sabbi-a e a volte us-iamo i
castell-i
a/MAL SG castle/MAL SG of sand/FEM SG and sometimes use/1ST PLUR PRES
the/MAL SG castle/MAL SG

di sabbi-a e poi ci mett-iamo l-e
 conchigli-e sopra
 of sand/FEM SG and then we/1ST PLUR CLIT put/1ST PLUR PRES the/FEM PLUR sea
 shells/FEM PLUR above

che trov-iamo dentro a il mar-e
 that find/1ST PLUR PRES inside to the/MAL SG Sea/MAL SG
 ‘And...I can...and also because Clarissa helps me to build a sandcastle and sometimes
 we use the sandcastles and we put sea shells that we find inside the sea on top of them.’

RES: Mmh.

CHILD 13: E poi perché si possono...si scavano i buchi molto profondi con
 l’acqua...con la sabbia ...bagnata...e lo puoi anche scavare fino in fondo che arrivi al
 bagnato.

e poi perché si p-ossano si scav-ano i
 buch-i
 and then because si/REFLEX can/3RD PLUR SG si/REFLEX dig/3RD PLUR PRES the/MAL
 SG holes/MAL PLUR

molto profond-i con l-a acqu-a con l-a
 sabbi-a bagnat-a
 very deep/MAL PLUR with the/FEM SG water/FEM SG with the/FEM SG
 sand/FEM SG wet/FEM SG

e l-o p-uoi anche scav-are fino
 and it/MAL SG CLIT can/2ND SG PRES also dig/INF until

in fond-o che arriv-i a il
 bagnat-o
 the bottom/MAL SG that arrive/2ND SG PRES to the/MAL SG wet/MAL
 SG

‘And then because you can...very deep holes with the water...with the...wet sand...and
 you can dig it until the bottom until you arrive to the wet (sand).’

MOTHER: Insomma ti fa pensare a quando te vai al mare?

RES: Mmh, e cosa sta facendo questa bambina a questo bambino? Che è un po’ vittima.

CHILD 13: Sta...dentro un buco...mi pare.

st-a dentro un buc-o mi par-e
 stay/3RD SG PRES inside a/MAL SG hole/MAL SG I/1ST SG CLIT guess/3RD SG
 PRES

‘He...stays inside a hole...I guess’.

RES: Sì, un buco, sì, gli hanno buttato la sabbia addosso. E poi che si vede? Che cosa stanno facendo questa bambina ...questo bambino? Gli altri due.

CHILD 13: E...Il bambino sta giocando con la palla. La bambina sta...camminando nella sabbia...

e il bambin-o st-a gioc-ando con l-a
pall-a
and the/MAL SG child/MAL SG is/3RD SG PRES playing/GER with the/FEM SG
ball/FEM SG
l-a bambin-a st-a cammin-ando in la
sabbi-a
the/FEM SG child/FEM SG is/3RD SG PRES walk/GER in the/FEM SG
sand/FEM SG
'And...the child is playing with the ball. The child is...walking in the sand...'

RES: Mmh.

CHILD 13: L'altra bambina sta coprendo il bambino con...

l-a altr-a bambin-a st-a copr-endo il
bambin-o con
the/FEM SG other/FEM SG child/FEM SG is/3RD SG PRES cover/GER the/MAL SG
child/MAL SG with
'The other child is covering the child up with...'

RES: Mmh.

CHILD 13: con...con la sabbia...e ci sono pure... dei...

con con l-a sabbi-a e ci s-ono
pure dei
with with the/FEM SG sand/FEM SG and there/PLUR CLIT are/3RD PLUR PRES
also some/MAL SG
'With...with the sand...and there are also...some...'

RES: Dei giochi sì.

CHILD 13: Tre conchiglie.

tre conchigli-e
three sea shells/FEM PLUR
'Three sea shells.'

RES: Ah.

CHILD 13: ... e due stelle di mare...

e due stell-e di mar-e
and two stars/FEM PLUR of sea/MAL SG
'...and two starfishs.'

RES: Mmh.

MOTHER: Mmh.

CHILD 13: E una...una cosa a forma di lumaca che tiene i bambini piccoli a galla e un ombrello bianco e rosso.

e un-a un-a cos-a a form-a di lumac-a che t-
iene i
and a/FEM SG a/FEM SG thing/FEM SG with shape/FEM SG of snail/FEM SG that holds/3RD
SG PRES the/MAL PL

bambin-i piccolo-i a galla e un ombrell-o bianc-o
e ross-o
children/MAL PLUR little/MAL PLUR floating and an/MAL SG umbrella/MAL SG white/MAL
SG and red/MAL SG
'And a...a thing snail shaped that keeps the young children floating and a white and red
umbrella'.

MOTHER: Una ciambella.

RES: E nel mare là che si sta vedendo?

CHILD 13: Un pesce, una barca con una...una bandiera...

un pesc-e un-a barc-a con un-a un-a
bandier-a
a/MAL SG fish/MAL SG a/FEM SG boat/FEM SG with a/FEM SG a/FEM SG
flag/FEM SG
'A fish, a boat with a...a flag...'

RES: Mmh. Si c'è una bandiera sulla...

CHILD 13: Una bandiera viola e una blu.

un-a bandier-a viola e un-a blu
a/FEM SG flag/FEM SG violet/FEM SG and a/one/FEM SG blu
'A violet flag and a blu one.'

MOTHER: La vela.

RES: Ah. La vela, No pensavo che si riferisse a questa.

MOTHER: Anch'io all'inizio.

CHILD 13: La vela.

l-a vel-a
the/FEM SG sail/FEM SG
'The sail.'

RES: E qui in fondo sulla sinistra l'ultima cosa che non abbiamo detto?

CHILD 13: Ci sta un... **island** e due...e due...e due alberi che sono solo alberi che **crescono** dove è caldo. [INTRASENTENTIAL SWITCH 1] [FUNCTION: LACK OR PREFERENCE OF A TRANSLATION EQUIVALENT]

ci st-a un island e due e due e due
 alber-i che
 there/SG CLIT is/3RD SG PRES a/MAL SG island and two and two and two
 tree/MAL PLUR that

s-ono solo alber-i che cresc-ono dove è
 cald-o
 are/3RD PLUR PRES just tree/MAL PLUR that grow/3RD PLUR PRES where is/3RD SG
 PRES hot/MAL SG
 ‘There is an...island and two...and two...and two trees which are just trees that grow
 where it is hot.’

RES: Che si chiamano palme.

CHILD 13: Palme.

palm-e
 palm/FEM PLUR
 ‘Palms.’

RES: Questi alberi... così.

CHILD 13: E il sole e le nuvole e il cielo.

e il sol-e e le nuvol-e e il
 ciel-o
 and the/MAL SG sun/MAL SG and the/FEM PLUR cloud/FEM PLUR and
 the/MAL SG sky/MAL SG
 ‘And the sun and the clouds and the sky.’

RES: Sì.

CHILD 13: C'è una cosa ...rotonda dietro il sole? Forse è la luna?

ci è un-a cos-a rotond-a
 there/CLIT SG is/3RD SG PRES a/FEM SG thing/FEM SG round/FEM SG
 dietro il sol-e forse è l-a lun-
 a
 behind the/MAL SG sun/MAL SG maybe is/3RD SG PRES the/FEM SG
 moon/FEM SG

‘There is a round...thing behind the sun? Maybe (it is) the moon?’

MOTHER: E' l'alone del...del...della luce solare.

RES: Sì.

MOTHER: Credo.

CHILD 13: Sì sì. Sì. Penso che sono nuvole e sole ...non...non vedo altro.
 sì sì sì pens-o che s-ono nuvol-e

yes yes yes think/1ST SG PRES that are/3RD PLUR PRES cloud/FEM PLUR
 e sole non non ved-o altr-o
 and sun/MAL SG not not see/1ST SG PRES other/MAL SG
 ‘Yeah yeah. Yes. I think that they are clouds and sun...I don’t...I don’t see nothing more.’

MOTHER: Sì, ora tutta la descrizione...

RES: Va bene.

CHILD 13: E una tartaruga.

e un-a tartarug-a
 and a/FEM SG turtle/FEM SG
 ‘And a turtle.’

RES: Ah. C’eravamo dimenticati della tartaruga. Sì. Ah c’è pure un altro animale che c’eravamo dimenticati.

CHILD 13: Un **crab**.

[INTRASENTENTIAL SWITCH 2] [FUNCTION: LACK OR PREFERENCE OF A TRANSLATION EQUIVALENT]

un crab
 a/MAL SG crab/MAL SG
 ‘A crab.’

RES: Un crab.

CHILD 13: Un **crab**. Rosso con, con questi così lunghi...poi occhi.

[INTRASENTENTIAL SWITCH 3] [FUNCTION: LACK OR PREFERENCE OF A TRANSLATION EQUIVALENT]

un crab ross-o con quest-i cos-i lungh-i
 poi occh-i
 a/MAL SG crab/MAL SG red/MAL SG with these/MAL PLUR thing/MAL PLUR long/MAL PLU then eye/MAL PL
 ‘A crab. Red with, with these long things...then eyes.’

RES: Con gli occhi di fuori.

CHILD 13: E poi ...quel...poi quel... le zampette...e poi gli **hand**...e quelle mani che fanno così...pitch. [INTRASENTENTIAL SWITCH 4-5] [FUNCTION: LACK OR PREFERENCE OF A TRANSLATION EQUIVALENT]

e poi quel poi quel l-e zamp-ett-e e poi
 and then that then that the/FEM PLUR claw/DIMIN FEM PLUR and then
 gli hand e quell-e man-i che f-anno
 così pitch
 the/MAL PLUR hand/SG and those/FEM PLUR hand/FEM PLUR that do/3RD PLUR PRES
 this way pitch/SG

‘And then...that...then that...the little claws...and then the hands...and those hands that do this way...pitch.’

MOTHER: Pitch...

RES: Ok.

MOTHER: Le chele...le chele del granchio.

CHILD 13: Le chele del granchio.

l-e	chel-e	di	il	granchi-o
the/FEM PLUR	chelae/claws/FEM PLUR	of	the/MAL SG	crab/MAL SG

‘The chelae/claws of the crab’.

RES: Va bene.

Children who did not use code-switching

Successive bilingual – Minority language at home – Child 14 – age 7;8 – 09-05-15 – 57 sec

RES: Quale ti è piaciuta tra queste scene di più?

CHILD 14: Quella dei bambini.

RES: Allora, aspetta che vado indietro. Quindi ...questa qua?

CHILD 14: Mmh, mmh.

RES: Quindi cosa si vede? Cosa stanno facendo? Cosa dicevano?

CHILD 14: Camminavano...Eh...Stavano parlando del bambino quando era in Italia.

RES: Quando era in Italia? E dove sono qua? Dove stanno camminando?

CHILD 14: Nei boschi.

RES: Nei boschi. E cosa indossano?

CHILD 14: Magliette a maniche corte, jeans e delle scarpe da ginnastica.

RES: Delle scarpe da ginnastica. Ok. Perfetto.

Successive bilingual – Minority language at home – Child 15 -age 9;0 – 12-05-15 – 3 min 34 sec

RES: Dobbiamo scegliere una scenetta di quelle che ti è piaciuta e mi devi dire giusto cosa succede. Quale ti è piaciuta tra... queste qua?

CHILD 15: Mmh... mmhh.

RES: Te le ricordi o vuoi vedere un attimo?

CHILD 15: Le veglio rivedere ...erano tante.

RES: Allora...La prima...c' erano queste che andavano a scuola...poi c'erano ...c'erano questi...aspetta che vado avanti...poi questi qua...aspetta che devo andare avanti così sennò non mi ricordo dove arrivano...poi questi che parlavano a casa...poi questi sempre a casa...poi questi che sono fuori con il gatto...questi qua che parlavano della macchina dei signori Smith...questi qua che parlavano di Johanne...qua che sono fuori dal cinema, dal teatro, non lo so....Qui in montagna dove c'è l'orso....poi c'era questa dello stadio di calcio...poi questa che parlavano della lasagna...qua che parlavano della ragazza sul cavallo bianco...qua la mamma che legge la favoletta...ah...qua i bambini al mare...e l'ultima qua che passeggiavano nel parco...

CHILD 15: Mmmh...Quella del mare.

RES: Ah quella del mare...è sempre la più scelta...ormai possiamo fare una statistica.

MOTHER: Ci mancava troppo.

RES: Quindi cosa si vede qua in questa scenetta?

CHILD 15: Dei bambini che giocano... la spiaggia, l'ombrellone, le conchiglie, un salvagente, un castello di sabbia...un'isoletta...una palla...un granchio, una tartaruga, un pesce, una barca.

RES: C'è il pesce.

CHILD 15: Le conchiglie...E un ombrellone, le bambine e due ba...e due maschi.

RES: E questo bambino cosa sta facendo? Anzi questi due bambini.

CHILD 15: Stanno facendo un castello di sabbia, mi pare. E gli altri stanno giocando con la palla.

RES: Stanno giocando con la palla. Ok.

**Early successive bilingual – Both languages at home - Child 1 – Age 9;8 – 25-04-15
– 1 min 6 sec**

INT Quale di questa vuoi?

CHILD 1: Eeehmm.

'Eeehmm'

INT Quale di è piaciuta di più ...come scena? O anche come parlavano, non so...

CHILD 1: Mmmmh. I due bambini che camminano a scuola.

MMmhh . I due bambin-i che cammin-ano a scuol-a.

The/ PLUR two children/ MAL PLUR that walk/ 3PL PRES to school/FEM SING

‘The two children who walk to school.’

RES: Allora quindi andiamo alla prima. Ok, quindi cosa...cosa si vede in questa scenetta?

CHILD 1: In questa scena ci sono i due bambini che stanno camminando a scuola.

In quest-a scen-a ci sono i due

In this/SING scene/FEM SING there/PLUR CLIT are/3PL PRES the/MAL PLUR two

bambin-i che st-anno cammin-ando a scuol-a
children/MAL PLUR who are/3PL PRES walking/GER to school/FEM SING

‘In this scene there are the two children who are walking to school’

RES: Mmmmh.

CHILD 1: Eh, stanno parlando, vabbé, hanno...avevano parlato di ...di una bambina...eh... se gli piace scuola, che gli piace scuola e l'altra persona crede che... non gli piace.

Eeh, st-anno parl-ando, vabbé, h-anno... avev-ano parl-ato
Eeh, are/3PL PRES talking/GER well have/3PL PRES had/3PL PAST talked/PARTICIP

di... di un-a bambin-a... eh...se gli piac-e scuol-a,
about about one/FEM SING child/FEM SING eh if she likes/ 3SG PRES school/FEM SING

che gli piac-e scuol-a e l' altr-a
person-a
that she likes/3D SING PRES school and the/ FEM SING other/ FEM SING person/ FEM SING

cred-e che non gli piac-e
believes/3RD SING PRES that not she likes

‘Eeh, they are talking, well, they have...had talked about...about one child...eh...if she likes going to school, if she likes going to school and the other person believes that...she doesn't like

RES: Che invece non gli piace. E quindi che cosa fanno? Si stanno tenendo per mano...e hanno..

CHILD 1: Ehhh...lo zaino di scuola, eh ...stanno sorridendo.

Ehh l-o zain-o di scuol-a eh st-anno
sorr-id-endo

Eeh the/MAL SING suit/MAL SING of school/FEM SING eh are/3D SING PRES
laughing/ GER

'Eeh, the schoolbag, eh..they are laughing.'

RES: Mhh, mmh.

CHILD 1: E la ragazzina c'ha l'orsetto sullo zaino e stanno camminando a scuola.

E l-a ragazz-in-a c' h-a l'ors-ett-o sull-o zain-o e st-anno
cammin-ando a scuol-a

Eeh the/FEM SING little girl/FEM SING DIMIN there/CLIT of school/FEM SING eh
are/3D SING PRES laughing/ GER

'Eeh, the schoolbag, eh..they are laughing.'

RES: Mmmh Perfetto. Ok

**Early successive bilingual – Minority language at home – Child 7 age 6;0 –07-05-15
– 1 min 45 sec**

RES: Quale ti è piaciuta tra queste scenette di più?

CHILD 7: Quella...l'ultima?

RES: Questa qui? Dove c'è il bambino che... dove ci sono i due bambini che
camminano...Aspetta un attimo...Sono andato troppo indietro...Aspetta...Comunque è
questa ...è l'ultima.

CHILD 7: No, no, quella del coniglio, ho sbagliato...Quella.

RES: Allora la dobbiamo cercare, aspetta un attimo...qua c'è il gatto...Ah, ecco qua...

CHILD 7: Ok.

RES: Quindi che cosa succede in questa scenetta, cosa c'è? Cosa vediamo?

CHILD 7: Un coniglio che è andato e ha chiesto al...cane...ha chiesto al cane...aspetta
cosa ha chiesto?

RES: Gli ha chiesto di...che aveva incontrato Johanne, insomma.

CHILD 7: Mmmh.

RES: Quindi si è avvicinato insomma al cane...

CHILD 7: Sì.

RES: Mmmh. Poi che cos'altro si vede nella...?

CHILD 7: Si vede che ha fatto...il coniglio ha fatto un piccolo passeggio...è andato a passeggio un po'....e ...io penso che sta prendendo il... e sta chiedendo qualcosa.

RES: Mmmh.

CHILD 7: E la cosa che mi piaceva di più di questo...questa scena che ...che s...che mi piace tantissimo il cane e il getto dello sfondo, lo sfondo.

RES: Sì, sì.

CHILD 7: Sì.

RES: Sono fuori probabilmente qua a un negozio, un bar.

CHILD 7: Sì, mi piace tanto.

Early successive bilingual – Minority language at home-Child 12 age 6;3-09-05-15-1 min 28 sec

RES: Quale ti è piaciuta tra queste scenette? Così facciamo solo la descrizione e abbiamo...

MOTHER: Ce n'è una che ti ricordi?

RES: Così parliamo un pochettino.

MOTHER: Te ne ricordi una?

CHILD 12: Una parola?

MOTHER: Una delle scenette...Te la ricordi una scenetta?

RES: Quale ti è piaciuta?

CHILD 12: L'ultima.

RES: L'ultima...Quindi questa qui dove passeggiano nel parco?

CHILD 12: Sì, quella.

RES: E cosa si vede qui? Cosa stanno facendo quindi? Cosa c'è in questa scena?

CHILD 12: Stanno facendo una passeggiata

RES: E chi sono? Sono due ragazzini....

CHILD 12: Una ragazza e un ragazzo.

RES: Una ragazza e un ragazzo.

MOTHER: Cosa dici? Sono italiani quei ragazzi là? Cosa pensi?

CHILD 12: Italiani.

MOTHER: Sono Italiani? Ma sono alti, magri, grassi, bassi?

CHILD 12: Magri

MOTHER: Magri. Son tutti magri.

RES: E cosa indossano questi bambini.

CHILD 12: Magliette.

RES: Magliette. Hanno il pantalone dello stesso colore. Si sono vestiti quasi uguali.

MOTHER: Infatti.

RES: E le scarpe? Che scarpe sono?

CHILD 12: Le stesse.

RES: Pure le stesse. Ok. Va bene, ok.

**Simultaneous bilingual - Both languages at home - Child 3 - age 11;8- 29-04-15 –
1 min 8 sec**

RES: Quale ti è piaciuta di più tra questi....

CHILD 3: Mmmh. Il quindicesimo...

RES: Quindi quello di prima...Dobbiamo fare solo...Mi devi dire solo cosa succede a queste persone. Aspetta che vedo se è questo...Ok...Quindi what is going on? Cosa succede in questa...Cosa stanno facendo?

CHILD 3: Stanno giocando a pallone.

RES: Mmh.

CHILD 3: C'è la barca dietro.

RES: Mmh.

CHILD 3: Eeh... stanno giocando con la sabbia.... I secchielli...Eeh..Ci sono...dei...degli ombrelli...c'è un ombrellone....

RES: Mmh.

CHILD 3: Eeh... si stanno divertendo.

RES: Mmh.

CHILD 3: Boh....

RES: Quest'altro bambino cosa sta facendo? No, questi due giocano con la paletta, con la sabbia.

CHILD 3: E lei sta per prendere la palla...

RES: Che hanno...

CHILD 3: ...che hanno lanciato all'altro.

RES: Perfetto. Ok.

Simultaneous bilingual – Both languages at home – Child 6* age 8;6 – 02-05-15 – 1 min 38 sec

RES: Dobbiamo scegliere una scenetta di queste... Quale ti è piaciuta di più? Di queste qua. A parte che sono tutti strani, però qual è, quale ti è piaciuta di più?

CHILD 6: Eeh, l'ultima...No, la seconda l'ultima quella là...che andavano in spiaggia.

RES: Aspetta che andiamo qua mi sembra...Ok e quindi dobbiamo vedere cosa stanno facendo qua questi bambini che parlano sempre strani, però cosa stanno facendo?

CHILD 6: Una sta facendo... due stanno facendo il castello di sabbia.

RES: Eeh...questi due.

CHILD 6: Eeh...questo è un pesce?

RES: Sì, questo è un pesce.

CHILD 6: Un pesce **nuotando**.

RES: Mmh.

CHILD 6: E stanno giocando con...stanno passando la palla.

RES: Mmh... Questo bambino qua.

CHILD 6: E poi...

RES: E poi che cosa ci sono sulla sabbia qua vicino a questo bambino...

CHILD 6: Mmh...Una...

RES: Questo?

CHILD 6: No.

RES: Questo qua?

CHILD 6: Quello.

RES: Questo qua...diciamo salvagente dove si....

CHILD 6: Salvagente di bambini.

RES: Salvagente di bambini.

CHILD 6: Eeh tartaruga eeh noo...

RES: Sì sì, questa è una tartaruga, sì.

CHILD 6: Ehh...ombrello...

RES: Mmh.

CHILD 6: Una palla eh.

RES: Dai, questo è il sole con le nuvole ovviamente.

CHILD 6: Sì.

RES: E in fondo qua che cosa si vede?

CHILD 6: Un'isola?

RES: Un'isola sì.

CHILD 6: Con gli alberi.

RES: Con gli alberi. Ok. Va bene.

CHILD 6: E una barca.

RES: E una barca sull'acqua. Ok.

**Simultaneous bilingual – One-parent-one-language – Child 11 – age 8;11-08-05-15
– 2 min 12 sec**

CHILD 11: Questo qua mi piace di più...quello della lasagna.

RES: Ah quello della lasagna... mi sembra che era verso la fine forse...o no?...Parto da qua...non mi ricordo l'ordine...no...qua c'è l'orso.....no....i giocatori....mmhhh, ok abbiamo beccato forse... qua c'è l'inquadratura troppostretta, andiamo più indietro. Mhh, quindi cosa si vede in questa scenetta?

CHILD 11: Un frigo, un ragazzo, una ragazza, la lasagna, un tavolo, due sedie, il microonde... no.

RES: Sì, il forno penso normale sì.

CHILD 11: Eeh.

RES: E quindi cosa dicevamo? Ti ricordi? Cosa stavano...

CHILD 11: Hanno detto “*che cos’è quel*”...eh, era la lasagna e poi hanno detto “*posso averne un po’?*”.

RES: Ok, ehm, abbiamo descritto tutto...mmmh, ok penso che ci siamo , ah e qui dietro cosa si vedono dietro i due bambini? Quindi vabbè là c’era il forno? Dietro qua, invece da quest’altra parte?

CHILD 11: C’è un tappeto...mmmh.

RES: Qui diciamo il lavello insomma dove si lavano le stoviglie i piatti.

CHILD 11: Mmmh. Non mi ricordo il nome.

RES: E qui sopra, più sopra, ci sono, c’è un altro mobile.

CHILD 11: Eeh...delle....**cassette**?

RES: Mmh... Sì dei cassetti della...ok va bene. Ti era piaciuta qualcun’altra o era solo questa?

CHILD 11: Solo quella.

RES: Solo quella. Ok. Va bene

Simultaneous bilingual - Both languages at home - Calabria Child 1-age 07;00-02-06-15–1 min 36 sec

RES: Cosa vediamo in questa?

CALABRIA CHILD 1: Vediamo... due bambine e due bambini e una palla ...e una barca, un pesce...una stella marina e quella sembra uno... uno ...uno...che ha un giocattolo.

RES: Mmh.

CALABRIA CHILD 1: E una conchiglia.

RES: Mmh.

CALABRIA CHILD 1: Un’altra conchiglia.

RES: Mmh.

CALABRIA CHILD 1: Una tartaruga...come si chiama?

RES: Questo? Questo “salvagente”.

CALABRIA CHILD 1: Salvagente...ehm.

RES: Più in fondo? Dietro la bambina?

CALABRIA CHILD 1: Un albero.

RES: Mmh.

CALABRIA CHILD 1: Come si dice?

RES: Granchio o crab.

CALABRIA CHILD 1: Granchio...Sole ...E la nuvola...E l’acqua.

RES: E l’acqua. Ok.

CALABRIA CHILD 1: E...un altro giocattolo.

RES: E un altro giocattolo. Va bene. Era tutto qua.

CALABRIA CHILD 1: E la paletta.

RES: E la paletta. Ah, ehm, sì l'abbiamo detto.

CALABRIA CHILD 1: Anche la sabbia.

RES: Mmh, sì, quindi abbiamo... proprio cosa stanno facendo? Facciamo una differenza: questi due bambini qua...

CALABRIA CHILD 1: Stanno facendo un castello. Loro stanno facendo un castello e loro due stanno giocando a palla.

RES: Mmh.

CALABRIA CHILD 1: e... il granchio sta andando in...in acqua.

CALABRIA CHILD 1: ...e il pesce sta saltando.

RES: Sta saltando nell'acqua. Sì, non lo vedevo bene, ma effettivamente sì, ok, va bene.

Simultaneous bilingual – Both languages at home – Calabria Child 2 – age 9;5 – 02-06-15 – 1 min

RES: Allora, quindi cosa vediamo?

CALABRIA CHILD 2: Devo dire delle cose?

RES: Prima chi c'è nella scena...

CALABRIA CHILD 2: Ci sono...i...i quattro bambini.

RES: Mmh.

CALABRIA CHILD 2: Ehm...poi...mmh...c'è il granchio, la palla, l'ombrello.

RES: Sì.

CALABRIA CHILD 2: La marina, la tartaruga, il castello di sabbia, l'isola e la barca e il sole.

RES: Mmh, ok e cosa stanno facendo...questi due bambini qua prima?

CALABRIA CHILD 2: Prima... lei sta aiutando il bambino a costruire il castello di sabbia.

RES: Mmh.

CALABRIA CHILD 2: E... lui gioca con la palla e lei lo deve...giocano tutti e due a palla.

RES: Aah, lo stanno aiutando.

CALABRIA CHILD 2: Sì.

RES: Ok. E in fondo qua cosa vediamo? Prima qua.

CALABRIA CHILD 2: Un pesciolino.

RES: Che è nell'acqua.

CALABRIA CHILD 2: Sì.

RES: E qui in fondo invece?

CALABRIA CHILD 2: L'isola e poi c'è la barca che sta navigando.

RES: Che sta nell'oceano, ok. Va bene.