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BILINGUAL BEHAVIOR AND SOCIAL CUES:

CASE STUDIES OF TWO BILINGUAL CHILDREN

by

Dr. Alvino E. Fantini
Department of Language Education
School for International Training
Brattleboro, Vermont 05301, U.S.A.

ABSTRACT

The present work examines one aspect of development sociolin-
guistics - social cues affecting the choice of language in the
speech of children bilingual in Spanish and English. The study
is based on data collected from the speech of two children,
from birth to age nine in the first case and from birth to five
in the second. Analysis focussed on the identification of
those social factors which the children considered in selecting
the appropriate code to use in each instance. Even though their
less dominant language (English) was slightly delayed in onset,
appropriate code selection was clearly manifest toward the end
of the second year in both cases. As the children matured and
as their social environment expanded, the factors which appeared
to influence choice - in terms of importance to the children -
were first of all the interlocutors, secondly the setting, and
next the function and form of the speech act. Each of these
areas was tempered by additional considerations as time went on.
Surprisingly, however, the topic of conversation was not a fac-
tor causing either child to favor one or the other of their
available codes. Through analysis of the data, it is possible
to identify not only the temporal order in which each social
factor became of importance, but also to specify a hierarchical
order of importance of these factors. From the very beginning
it became abundantly clear that the child   th linguist and
ethnographer, learning to attend to social cues while also ac-

quiring linguistic information. Both were essential since
the ability of bilingual children to communicate depends not
only on the acquisition of language, but also on the appropri-
ate choice of linguistic sets.

INTRODUCTION

Sociolinguists have done interesting research concerned with the interrelationship of linguistic choice and context among bilinguals. However, most work has focused on adult speakers. A relatively unexplored area is when and how bilinguals acquire their switching ability. As with many other questions about language, one must turn towards an examination of children. This report is one such investigation in this area.

THE STUDY: METHOD AND OBJECTIVES

This study is based on longitudinal case studies of two bilingual children (Spanish/English, with some knowledge of Italian) from birth to age 9 in the first case, and from birth to 5 in the second. Data were collected in diaries and through recorded tapes. Notations of both linguistic and contextual details permitted a sociolinguistic analysis.

Several questions were posed:

(1) how early can code switching occur in young children?

(2) what are the social factors which facilitate the differentiation of two systems and guide children in the use of each?

(3) do these factors follow a developmental sequence and/or hierarchical system of importance?

(4) if so, what evidence confirms the validity of such a system?

DESCRIPTION OF THE SUBJECTS

Both subjects of this study - Mario and Carla (Carlina) - are
the investigator's children and consequently were under continous
observation. From their birth on, Spanish was the only language
spoken to them by their parents. Consequently their contact with
English was initially much less. Their first prolongued and
intensive contact with English during the pre-school years
occurred after the second year when each child attended a nursery
school. As a result, English became a productive skill between
the second and third birthdays. Contact with English alternated
with periods of almost exclusive contact with Spanish during
occasional but lengthy stays in Bolivia and Mexico. Hence, ex-
posure to the two languages was somewhat uneven, until each child
entered school.

By his ninth year, Mario may be described as a fairly balanced
bilingual. He acquired each of his languages from separate speak-
ers and under quite separate circumstances. He reserves each lan-
guage for different situations and speaks each with an amazingly low
degree of mixing. Test results (and teachers' comments at five
and eight) confirm his control of Spanish and English at about the
same level as a monolingual child of comparable age. Carla, on
the other hand, at 5, is considerably more dominant in Spanish,
although her English is apparently adequate enough so as to have
gone unnoticed by her kindergarten teacher.

SOCIAL CUES AND LANGUAGE CHOICE

In reality, we know little about the development of styles - and
the types and ages at which these appear. Yet the bilingual child -
capable of switching from one language to another - provides clear
evidence of the capacity to modify and control linguistic output in
accordance with changing situations.

As with style shifts, the ability to switch codes presupposes
first of all knowledge of the linguistic variations possible
(which in the bilingual means differentiated language systems).
A second requirement is awareness of the social conditions which
call for the use of one system or the other. Mario uttered his
first words of Spanish at 1;4 and English at 2;6. Carlina began
both earlier - Spanish at 0;11 and English at 1;8. From the on-
set of the second tongue both children were faced with the task
of sorting linguistic sets for each situation. In order to
communicate, they had to make an appropriate language choice -
with the right persons, at the right time and place.

Let us consider Mario's case. The first signs of mixing (and
then switching) occurred within a few days of his first utterances
in English. This was a time of rapid lexical growth. New words
were acquired as needs arose within a specific context. Mario
often had no counterparts for many of the words learned in
specific instances. For example, once during a visit to relatives
in Philadelphia, Mario learned several new words for things not
already known in Spanish. In subsequent situations, he used these

words without alternation. As equivalents were learned in Spanish, a brief period followed in which he then used either English or Spanish words indiscriminately. He mixed words from both languages until he discerned that some interlocutors used only one set. Furthermore, when he chose a "wrong" word, he was met with no response, confusion, or sometimes amusement or laughter. Such reactions encouraged him to sort lexical items in relation to the persons addressed. At first he may have dome so on a trial and error basis, but later he paid more attention to the source of the language heard and possibly the phonological shape of words. (Parenthetically, even at the pre-speech stage both children distinguished Spanish-like sounds from non-Spanish sounds). In any case, by the end of his visit, he consistently used "milk, gum, dessert, apple, etc." with his grandparents, and "leche, chicle, etc." with his parents. The constraints were clear - of the ten to twelve people with whom he interacted in the same setting, some used certain words whereas his parents used others. For the moment, the choice of a word depended entirely on interlocutor.

English was subsequently furthered by attendance at a nursery. Even so, mixing of languages lasted for only two months - between 2;6 and 2;8. As he continued at the nursery, and as he progressed linguistically, mixing diminished. At this stage, the child's world consisted primarily of home and nursery. At home, Spanish was the medium; at the nursery, it was English. The division of language use was again quite clear, marked this time by place (or setting) in addition to interlocutor. At this time interference

occurred in only one direction - from English to Spanish. At
home, Mario used expressions learned at the nursery (See Appendix II-1)
but on the other hand he was never reported to have used Spanish
at the nursery. Only when the circumstances permitted, did Mario
draw upon all of his linguistic resources.

Carlina separated languages as early as 2;5; Mario by 2;8 - despite
the delayed onset of English in both children. (It would be inter-
esting to observe how much earlier separation might occur in a child
having equal exposure to two languages from birth). Examples of
early code separation are numerous in the diaries. While shopping,
for example, Mario (age 2;8) met a little girl of about the same
age. Given his limited English, he was able to say only: "Hey!
Look! Watch! Here! Come! and Water!" (while pointing to a near-
by fountain). Yet he judiciously avoided Spanish which he could
have used with so much more facility. This example is also a case
in which two variables (interlocutor and setting) intervened in
the choice of code, in contrast with the example from Philadelphia
where only interlocutor was a factor, the setting being constant.
This development is pictured in Chart I of the Appendix.
In Stage II, although interlocutor continues to be the primary
determinant, a public setting reinforced English as the required
choice. From 3;0 on, both children maintained clear and consistent
separation of the two codes.

Beyond 3;0, however, other factors became important. Even so, by
5;0, social factors influencing choice were still few. Interlocutor
and setting continued to be the principal determinants; and most

attributes of interlocutors identified by Ervin-Tripp in her study
of <u>adult</u> bilinguals (e.g., sex, age, status, occupation) exerted
no influence on the language choices of either child. (Fishman,/
1970: 192-211/<u>Readings in the Sociology of Language</u>). Two of
their attributes, however, did affect choice - physical character-
istics and language fluency. It is also worth noting that "topic,"
a variable which commonly affects code switching in adult bilin-
guals, had as yet no effect on the childrens' selection of a
particular language. All three considerations will be discussed
later.

*place as footnote below

Joshua A
Mouton, The Hague, 1970.

A review of the children's speech acts reveals the following
variables as most significant to language choice: participants,
setting, function, and the form. It also appears that this sequence
reflects their order of importance. Let us consider each variable
plus its relevant aspects:

1. Participant(s) or interlocutor(s) (i.e., other persons
   engaged in the speech event):

   a. whether known to the child or not,

   b. whether the interlocutor "looked" Spanish-
      speaking or not (as judged by the child),

   c. whether on an intimate or non-intimate relation-
      ship with the child,

   d. the degree of fluency and comprehension with
      which the person used the code,

   e. role, if relevant to the child (e.g., care-
      taker, babysitter).

   f. the languages known and used by the partici-
       pants (i.e., whether an English or Spanish
       monolingual, or a Spanish-English bilingual),

   g. the verbal behavior of the interlocutor (whether
       he or she used only one code or engaged in
       frequent switching), and

   h. the audience present.

2. The setting:

   a. whether an event took place in a predominantly
       Spanish-speaking locale (e.g., Bolivia or
       Mexico) or not,

   b. if an English-speaking setting, whether an event
       occurred in the home or in a public location,

   c. whether at a gathering of obvious Spanish-
       speakers.

3. Function (i.e., the purpose or intended outcome of the
   speech act:

   a. whether the act was one of "normal" communication
       (i.e., unmarked verbal behavior), or:

   b. to shock, amuse, or surprise the participants, or

   c. to exclude (or include) them,

   d. whether purely self-expression or private
       speech (the child to himself) or

   e. whether it was to underscore or replicate a
       previous statement.

4. Form (i.e., the message couched in a special form
   distinct from that used in normal conversation), such as:

11

a. narration,

b. roleplay,

c. quotation,

d. story telling,

e. play,

f. song,

g. jokes.

PARTICIPANTS

Arranged hierarchically, the participant(s) in a speech event assumed the primary importance. If the participant and the language he spoke were both known to the children, their choice of code was facilitated. And even in situations where speakers of both languages were present, the children switched codes easily and appropriately as they addressed each individual.

Switching was performed not only at the sentence level but even to the level of phonological detail where single word cognates were involved (Appendix II-2).

FURTHER ATTRIBUTES OF PARTICIPANTS

Known/unknown – When participants were unknown to the children and also the language they spoke, the children were/to make a choice.
                                                        forced
The choice was made easily when this occurred in a Spanish-speaking environment; the result was obviously Spanish. But when an event occurred in an English-speaking environment (whether in the home or in a public place) English was used only after the children had discounted the possibility that the interlocutor might be a Spanish-speaker, guided by physical cues.

<u>Physical Characteristics of the Speaker</u> - Therefore, the physical characteristics of the speakers contributed to language choice. If the speaker was a Latin type (in the children's perception), this fact overruled a choice prompted by setting alone. Before his third year Mario was already classifying people on the basis of looks. He singled out an Oriental-looking girl on the street as "japonesita;" he did the same with a playmate at his nursery (who turned out to be Chinese). He dubbed all Black children with the label "negro" by association with the word "negro" (meaning "black") in Spanish. "Latin" types he called "mexicanos," their most distinguishing characteristics being dark skin, eyes and hair, and sometimes moustaches. Within these stereotypes he included other races or nationalities as best they fit; e.g., an Afghan friend was considered "mexicano" which explains why he was addressed in Spanish until no response was obtained.

Another example of cueing on physical type is evident from an incident recorded at 6;6. Mario traveled to Caracas with his parents to visit his aunt. He was received at the door by the maid whom he greeted quite spontaneously in English. He had obviously made the assumption that the maid spoke English (rather than Spanish) simply because she was Black. Up to that point all of his experiences had led him to deduce that Blacks spoke English. He now found this not to be so and revised his thinking accordingly. Moments later, he went to the kitchen and without thinking, again addressed the maid in English. This time, however, he realized his error and immediately switched to Spanish.

Intimate/Non-Intimate - When the interlocutor was an English-speaker and on especially intimate terms with the children, they used English appropriately yet with an inclination - almost a desire - to switch intermittently to Spanish. Spanish was after all the language of their home and a language associated with persons of intimacy, and expressed a degree of unity and affection not yet felt through English. The children's frequent interjections in Spanish seemed an attempt to convey this to special people, and an excellent case where the medium conveyed more than its literal message.

Degree of Comprehension and Fluency - The interlocutor's degree of fluency also affected language choice. This implies a capacity to make judgments concerning fluency, accuracy and pronunciation. Indeed by about four years of age, both children seemed competent to render such judgments. For example, between his fourth and fifth years, Mario met several individuals who had achieved varying degrees of fluency through study. Yet because they did not speak Spanish convincingly, Mario went into English, despite their attempts to maintain conversation in Spanish. The same was noted in Mexico and Bolivia when people tried English with the children. The children responded only when the interlocutor's speech was fluent and natural.

Because of their own rigid separation of languages, both children were somewhat intolerant of language mixing. Mario was quite confounded by his Mexican-American peers in a Texas kindergarten. Although they mixed coded constantly, Mario spoke to them solely

in English. Beyond six, however, Mario showed increasing acceptance of this form of behavior. For example, at age 7;1 a Filipino friend came to visit. Although her Spanish was limited in vocabulary, her pronunciation and fluency were close to that of a native. Yet, she constantly mixed Spanish and English throughout her conversations. Mario followed the pattern she set and did likewise, accommodating his speech to hers. In general he took his cue from his interlocutor. A bilingual interlocutor who mixed codes, like this Filipino friend, provided a signal which allowed Mario to draw from both languages in a manner not normally done when speaking with his parents or with monolingual speakers.

Attempts to prime the children to speak a given language normally failed; the children clearly made their own choices as they deemed appropriate. For example, when Mario was 7;5, several students of Spanish were invited for a Bolivian meal, with the intent of having them practice Spanish. The children were coached to speak only Spanish to the students. When the first guest arrived, however, Mario looked him over and after only a few words of Spanish, decided that English was the only choice which made sense (Appendix II-3).

The children sometimes also articulated their linguistic judgments. (Most of the examples come from Mario's diary since such awareness became more acute beyond six). For example, at 7;2, Mario specifically commented on the limited English of the Mexican actor, Ricardo Montalbán advertising an automobile on T.V. (Appendix II-4).

Role - In general, the varying roles of interlocutors made no difference in language choice, but with one exception - a caretaker role. In this case, both children displayed a propensity to speak Spanish even with American girls who babysat, despite awareness that the babysitters spoke only English. This may have resulted from linguistic relationships established previously with all persons in a caretaker role. For over five years, the children had nursemaids from Latin America who spoke only Spanish. Consequently the children were inclined to use Spanish with a babysitter as well, given the role performed.

MORE ON SETTING

Speech events in a Spanish-speaking setting (Mexico or Bolivia), were always conducted in Spanish. In English-speaking environments (Texas, Philadelphia, Vermont), English was also the unequivocal choice outside the home, after discounting any special characteristics of speaker.

The children were clearly cognizant of "place" at a very early age. Frequent trips to the same locations helped to establish a concept of what was meant when one said "Vermont" or "Bolivia." Although the children may not have comprehended such terms with a sense of distance, time, directionality, nonetheless each term evoked responses which confirmed an appropriate image of the place in question. Several examples of responses elicited from Mario at age 2;10 to various places named were as illustrated in the Appendix (Appendix II-5). In each case, the words elicited were all properly associated with their setting.

Television, radio and telephone were also extensions of setting. Consequently it was to be expected that English or Spanish were heard through these media as determined by setting. However, when Spanish was heard on radio in Vermont, the children were quite surprised. Even a single word caused a reaction, as, for example, when a radio announcer describing a horserace, rattled off the names of the horses... "And here comes Lucky Lady, Red Sands, Amigo..." At that precise point, both children turned and said with surprise: "El dijo amigo." (He said "amigo.")

CODE CHOICES RELATED TO FUNCTION AND FORM

When the children had a special purpose in mind (such as to amuse, surprise or shock), then their language choice was often "marked" by being the reverse of what might be normal for a given situation. For example, when they wanted to amuse their parents, they jokingly spoke English; to tease their grandparents, they rattled off words in Spanish; to exclude an aunt, they persisted speaking Spanish in spite of her protests. When Mario was 8;1, two events occurred on the same day which illustrated his use of language both to include and exclude others (Appendix II-6).

When the children spoke primarily as a form of self-expression, the language chosen varied with their mood, thoughts, or feelings at the moment. However, in most cases of private speech (or thinking aloud), they used Spanish (Appendix II-7). Finally, English was sometimes used to emphasize or underscore something just said in Spanish; for example: Carla - "Ven, ven, papá; come!"

(Appendix II-8). However, this behavior was common only in the early years (between two to three) and decreased as the children grew older.

Aspects of Form - Language choice was also affected by the __form__ of the communicative act, such as a roleplay, quotation, play language, song or joke. For example, when the children recounted a past experience, this was often done in the language in which the experience occurred (or if told in translation, a high degree of interference was sometimes the result). Storytelling and quoting someone else were likewise preserved in the language of the original. Roleplays were usually performed in the language of the person being portrayed, whether a playmate, a teacher or Bionic Woman. Songs and jokes were also preserved in the original, assuming the interlocutors were capable of understanding either language. However, when interlocutors were monolinguals, their language caused the children to attempt a rendition in some cases in the interlocutor's language. This normally caused no problems except when translating jokes. Despite valiant attempts to convey humor through translation, Mario was often confounded by the lack of response. He sensed something was not quite right but was unable to understand exactly what went wrong or why. (See Appendix II-9, 10, 11 and 12).

ANALYSIS OF SIGNIFICANT VARIABLES
An analysis of the system which guided the children in their choice of code at age 5;0 is expressed in Chart III of the Appendix. Note that this chart incorporates only the two initial determinants,

namely, interlocutor and setting and characteristics of each.
As it stands, the chart is a predictive scheme reflecting the
children's expectations about language use under certain condi-
tions. The chart does not include instances of "marked" speech
nor "retrieved" speech such as when they articulated a past lin-
guistic experience. Hence, form and function are not accounted
for in this predictive scheme. The accuracy of this framework
is supported by the fact that the children react in some demon-
strable way when the language heard in a given situation is other
than what they perceive as "normal" for the circumstances (Appendix
II-13). In fact, the children adhere so strictly to this
scheme that Mario and Carla have become guardians of appropriate
language use, often reminding their parents when either spoke
English rather than Spanish, sometimes even when this came down
to the use of a "hi!" rather than "hola!" (Appendix II-14).

Finally, the lack of switching prompted by a particular topic
of speech was indeed surprising, especially since this is com-
monly reported by other sociolinguists studying adult bilinguals.
However, there was no evidence that either child related either
language to a specific topic of conversation. That is not to
say that topic had no effect upon speech. As one example, analy-
sis of interference (dealt with in a separate report) showed topic
to be indeed relevant. An increase in interference was definitely
associated with specific topical areas. This was particularly so
when discussion required "culturally bound" words, such as blue-
berries, kleenex, various school terms, and the like. As the
children's experiences increase (and education fosters specialized

.areas of knowledge, topic will probably become increasingly im-
portant as a determinant.

Presumably the interplay between social factors and linguistic
form in general, will become increasingly complex and the scheme
revised, as the children have additional experiences and acquire
increasing knowledge of their social and linguistic environment.
Their own changing social status and perceptions will most cer-
tainly affect future language use.

CONCLUSION AND SUMMARY

Let us now summarize some of the salient factors both present -
and absent - which contributed to Mario and Carla's distinctive
use of codes:

       (1) clear and consistently differentiated use of codes
           by the parents;

       (2) overt and covert insistence by their mother on the
           exclusive use of Spanish;

       (3) distinctive environments in which each code was used;

       (4) the fact that the children were isolated Spanish-
           speakers in an English-speaking milieu, again rein-
           forcing distinctiveness; and

       (5) the fact that Spanish was so closely associated with
           the family image and the children's identity.

At age 8;1 Mario mused for a moment about his distinctiveness
when he questioned philosophically: "Papá, ¿Y por qué yo nací
español?" (meaning: "Papá, how come I was born a Spanish-speaker?")

Absent from their experiences thus far was any incident reflecting negative social attitudes or prejudice. At no time had either child experienced a difficult or embarassing situation because they spoke one language or the other, nor had they ever reported such incidents. Quite to the contrary, many of the persons with whom they associated, valued an ability to speak two languages. This is not often the case for many other bilingual children. Mario and Carla's self-confidence, in fact - in either language, was so great that they spoke spontaneously and naturally in Spanish to their parents even when visited at school. The presence of their peers was certainly the acid test.

To summarize, code switching was a very early development, beginning only a few days after the introduction of English. The initial sorting of languages was done in relation to specific persons present within a limited social situation. As the children's linguistic abilities developed and, also as their world was enlarged, other social factors contributed to language differentiation. Setting was the next major factor; initially there was one clear-cut division - the home, and the world outside the home. This simple dichotomy gave way to other refinements as the children had additional experiences which forced them to consider still other factors in making language choices. Other factors relating to interlocutors were how well they were known, the degree of intimacy, their physical appearance, certain roles, their switching patterns, and the presence of audience. In all cases, however, the children made their own decisions as to whether a specific code met their own terms of appropriateness. A "wrong"

language - used in inappropriate circumstances - was "marked" and provoked comment or visible reactions.

The consistent language behavior displayed by the children in each situation, permits us to discern the system which reflects their language use under specific social conditions. This scheme is a predictive guide in that it depicts language expectations. It is substantiated by the children's reactions when their expectations are not met. The form and the function of a speech act often prevail over interlocutor and setting, resulting in a "marked" language choice.

Hence, code switching - i.e., bilingual behavior, and a most significant step toward differentiated speech styles - began as early as 2;5 despite delayed exposure to English. Within a few months, switching was fairly well established and executed. By the third year, the children were capable of appropriate language use, switching rapidly and naturally. By five both behaved like normal children (as perceived by others) - in either of two languages - with the appropriate people, and in the right time and place.

APPENDIX

Chart I   Initial Stages of Language Choice

Stage I   Stage II

Mario/Carla   Mario/Carla

        ↓   ↓

    Interlocutor   Interlocutor

Caretakers   Others   Caretakers   Others

    ↓   ↓   ↓   Home   Other Locales

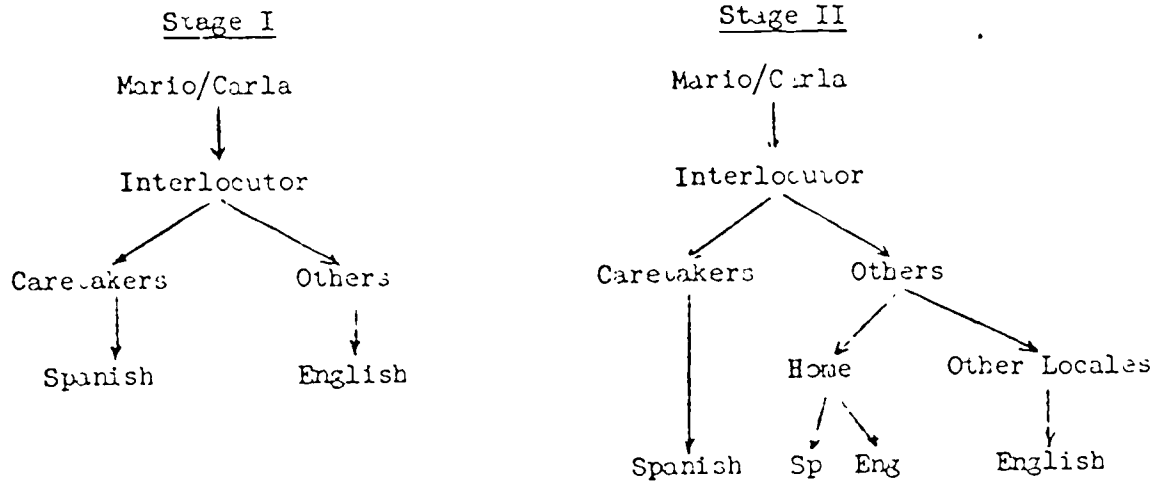Spanish   English   Spanish   Sp   Eng   English

Chart II : Excerpts from the Speech Diaries· Mario and Carla

Example 1.

Examples of English utterances used at home during the mixing phase.

   Mario/Age 2;7 Hi! Oh boy' So long' Bye bye!

              O.K. Thank you. Here it is! Yeh'

   Mario/Age 2;8 Move!

              Watch!

              See that!

   Mario/Age 2;9 O.K. Bye bye! Open!

   Carla/Age 3,2 Wow!

   Carla/Age 3;4 Ouch!

Example 2.

Code switching at the phonological level.

       A little boy was speaking to Carlina when her father interrupted.

Boy → Carlina:	What's your name?
Carlina → Boy:	Carlina (pronounced [karlina]).
Father → Carlina.	¿Qué le dijiste? (What did you say?)
Carlina → Father:	Carlina (pronounced [kaɾlina]).

- - - - -

       Mario calling his dog when his English-speaking cousin approached:

Mario (calling dog):	Pepito, Pepito ([pepíto]).
Lisa → Mario:	What do you call him?
Mario → Lisa:	His name Pepito ([pʰepʰítow])

Example 3.

Factors affecting language choice: (physical appearance of interlocutor and degree of fluency).

Mario was told by his mother to speak Spanish to guests who were arriving. The guests were students of Spanish whom she wanted to have conversation practice. The appearance of the first guest to arrive and his limited proficiency caused the child to insist on English as more appropriate.

Mario → Student:	Do you speak Spanish? (in disbelief)
Student → Mario:	Well...not very well.
Mamá → Mario:	(From the kitchen)
	Háblale en español, Mario. (Speak to him in Spanish, Mario.)
Mario → Mamá:	¡Tú me mentiste, mamá! (You lied to me, mamá!)

Example 4.

Examples of linguistic judgment in children.

Mario → Papa.	Ese señor habla español, pero poco inglés, ¿verdad, papa? (That man speaks Spanish but only a little English. Right, papá?)
Papá → Mario:	Sí, es cierto. (Yes, that's right.)

The following day Mario witnessed the same advertisement and added:

Mario → Papá:	Aquí está otra vez el señor que habla español... Habla mucho español y poco inglés, ¿verdad? (Here's that man again who speaks Spanish... He speaks a lot of Spanish and a little English. Right?)

At a later date (age 8;2), Mario returned home from school one day and reported the following:

Mario → Parents:	Un señor de mi escuela habla poquito español (A man in my school speaks some Spanish.)
Papá:	¿Cómo sabes? (How do you know?)

Mario → Papá:	¡Me habló! (He spoke to me!)
Papá → Mario.	¿Y tú, le hablaste en español? (And did you speak to him in Spanish?)
Mario:	No...
Papá:	¿Por qué? (How come?)
Mario:	No habla bien. (He doesn't speak well.)

Example 5.

Notion of "setting" in very young children.

The following appropriate responses were from Mario at age 2;10 upon naming each place listed below.

Vermont:	nieve (snow), skiis, tractor rojo (red tractor), Bimba (his dog), el kilto (the swing), snowsuit
Philadelphia:	grandmom or nonna, grandpop or nonno, Billy chiquito (his cousin), juguetes (toys)
La Paz (Bolivia):	abuelito (grandfather), abuelita (grandmother), Tinky (the dog), indios (Indians),
Oaxtepec (Mexico):	Blanca, piscina (swimming pool), la torre (the tower), los carritos que van en el cielo (the cars that go to the sky; i.e., funicular cars)
Texas:	el parque (the park), la bicicleta (the bicycle), Taco Bell, bichos (bugs), the bunny rabbit

Example 6.

Language used to exclude and include others.

Mario/Age 8;1 - Crossing a covered bridge in the car, Mario sees some bathers in the river below and yells at them in Spanish:

Mario → Bathers:	¡Cállense ustedes! (Keep quiet!)
Mamá → Mario:	(Surprised) ¡Alvino-Mario! ¡No se dice así a la gente! (Don't speak to people that way!)
Mario:	Ah, pero no entienden. No saben español... (But they don't understand. They don't know Spanish.)

Thinking about that for a while, he then adds:

	Mamá, así puedo hablarte mucho. Si veo un señor, puedo decir: Mamá, mira un señor gordo! (Mama, I can say lots of things to you like that. If I see a man, I can say: Mamá, look at that fat man!)
Mamá:	Ah, y en Bolivia puedes hablar inglés. (Ah, and in Bolivia you can speak English.)
Mario:	No, en Bolivia mucha gente sabe inglés. (No, in Bolivia too many people know English

Later the same day, Mario was in the kitchen where his mother and grandmother were preparing a meal. Mario began to address his mother in English. He was immediately corrected and told to speak Spanish. Mario protested by saying that he also wanted Grandmom to hear.

Example 7.

Language used as private speech.

> Mario/Age 6;1 - An English-speaking friend was visiting. Mario was showing her his book of drawings, pointing out various details:

Mario → Friend:	Here it is (pointing to a specific page). The one that you didn't saw (sic). His name is Shazam!
	(Then thinking aloud to himself, he says)
Mario → Self:	Algo 'sta mal. (Something's wrong.)
	(Turns again to the friend)
Mario → Friend:	Wait a minute.
Friend:	That's OK.

Example 8.

Code switching used to replicate a thought.

Mario → Mamá:	Mira...look, look!
Carla → Papá:	Ven, ven, papá; come!
Mario → Mamá:	Batís (Beatriz), ven aquí, come on!

Example 9.

Storytelling in Spanish, preserving principal features in Italian, the language of the original narration.

Mario is narrating Jack and the Bean Stalk to Carlina in Spanish which had been previously narrated to him in Italian.

Mario:

Había una vez, Giacomo era muy pobre.
Tenía tres fagiolinis mágicos ([májikos]).
Y crecieron y crecieron al cielo. Giacomo
([Jiakomo]) subio y vino un gigante ([Jigante])

(Once upon a time, Jack was very poor. He had three magic beans. And they grew and tl grew up to the sky. Jack climbeu up and a giant came along.)

Example 10.

Events recounted in Spanish, with examples of quotations preserved in the original.

Mario/Age 3;6 - Quoting a playmate:

Mario → Papá:

Cory (a friend) dice (says): "Come play my toys!"

Mario/Age 3;6 - Quoting his teacher at the nursery:

Mario → Papá:

"Come here, you no do dat no more! Mario, what you ao?
You don't no more!...bam, bam (spanking)."

Carlina/Age 4;6 - Carlina and her mother were awaiting guests. Carlina had just had a tooth extracted and was anticipating what everyone would say when they saw her:

Carlina → Mamá:

La gente que va a venir va a decir:
"Wha hapin ta ya tuf? It get out?
(The people who are coming are going to say "What happened to your tooth? Did it come out?

Example 11.

Language used for roleplays.

Mario/Age 3;6 - Dialog with an imaginary person:

You bad boy.
Nofing (nothing) du toys.
No toys for you.
No, you no play toys,...you baby. (No, you don't play with toys...you are a baby).
I no baby, I love you.

Mario/Age 3;7 - Mario instructed his father to pretend to be David;
            Mario assumed the role of Jerry. Both were friends
            from the nursery:

Mario → Papa: I'm Jerry. You David.

Papá: Oh, do you want to play?

Mario: Unhuh.

Papá: What do you have?

Mario: Motorcycle, boat.

Papá: Where are the toys?

Mario: In der (there) (pointing to other room).
                         Les (let's) go play.
                         David, for you, David (handing over a toy).

Mamá calls from the kitchen to announce that breakfast is ready:

Mario → Papá: Les go, David!

Mario → Mamá: Waita minute.

Entering kitchen Mario forgot the game.

Mario → Mamá: Mamá, cheyo (quiero) ese ceyal (cereal).
                         (Mamá, I want that cereal.)

Example 12.

Language used for jokes.

    Mario/Age 7;4:

    Mario → Parents: What did the bird say when his cage got broken?

                             Cheap, cheap.

Mario attempted to translate the joke for a Spanish-speaking friend with
the following result:

    Mario → Friend: ¿Qué dijo el pajarito cuando se le rompió su
                             jaula?...

                             Barato, barato......???

Example 13.

Children's comments when a language was used which was unexpected for a given
context.

> Carla/Age 4;7 - Carla and her parents were on a public bus in
> Albuquerque when she overheard two men speaking.

Carla ⟶ Papá: ¡Esos hombres están hablando en español!

Papá ⟶ Carla: Sí, hablan como tú.

> Mario/Age 4;9 - A friend whom Mario had met initially in Mexico was
> visiting. The visitor, although Greek, "looked" Latin.
> Mario was coming down the stairs and was surprised to
> hear his mother converse with the friend in English,
> rather than Spanish. He interrupted with the puzzled
> question:

Mario ⟶ Mamá: ¿Por qué hablas así, mamá? No hables así; no
                       blaka bla. Así como yo estoy hablando ahola
                       (ahora). (Why do you speak like that. mamá?
                       Don't speak like that; no "blaka bla." Like
                       this, like I'm speaking right now.)

> Mario/Age 5;6 - In a Mexican restaurant in Austin, the waiter took the
> order in Spanish. This surprised Mario who asked:

Mario ⟶ Papá: Papá, ¿por qué hablan como yo...español?
                       (Papá, how come they speak like me...Spanish)

> Mario/Age 5;7 - In a shopping center in Austin, Mario heard a child
> speaking Spanish with his mother. Greatly excited, he
> shouted across the parking lot to his father:

Mario ⟶ Papá: ¡Ven a ver, papá, cómo hablan...español!
                       ¡Como nosotros hablamos! (Come and see how
                       they speak, papá...Spanish! Just like we speak!)

Example 14.

Examples of the children's tenacious use of Spanish in certain circumstances.

> Carla/Age 3;11 and Mario/Age 8;3 - The family was having breakfast when
> Carla suddenly noticed her father speaking English to her
> mother. She protests:

Carla ⟶ Papá: ¡No hables en inglés a mamá! (Don't speak
                       English to mamá!)

Papá ⟶ Carla: ¿Por qué? (Why?)

Carla → Papá: Porque mamá no le gusta hablar en ...ep..
(Because mama doesn't like to speak Sp...)
(Looks to Mario for support)

Mario → All: ¡Español! A mamá le gusta hablar en español,
(Spanish! Mamá likes to speak in Spanish.)

Carla → Mamá: Papá está hablando en inglés a tí...
(Papá is speaking English to you...)

(Then she adds, jokingly):

Y yo le pego para que hable en español!!
(And I'll spank him so that he'll speak
Spanish!!)

Chart III: Interplay of Social Variables and the Choice of Code in Unmarked Exchanges

Mario/Carlina

Interlocutor

Known — Unknown

Known:
- Speaks Spanish
- Speaks English
  - Intimate
  - Non-Intimate

Unknown:
- Spanish Milieu
- English Milieu
  - Public Locale
  - Home
    - Looks Latin
      - Responds
      - No Response
    - Non-Latin

Speaks Spanish → Spanish
Intimate → Spanish English
Non-Intimate → English
Spanish Milieu → Spanish
Public Locale → English
Responds → Spanish
No Response → English
Non-Latin → English

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