Thèse de Doctorat

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The language borrowers

A study of how French-English
bilingual children borrow phrases from
musical, audio-visual, poetic, and narrative input

VOLUME I

JURY

Once upon a time there was

Loïc

and then Meriel

shortly followed by Owen

and a little while later, Léonie

I dedicate this thesis to them
because they made it possible.

And to Mum, who loved language, literature, and puzzles.

Abstract

Title: The language borrowers. A study of how French-English bilingual children borrow phrases from musical, audio-visual, poetic, and narrative input.

This dissertation reports on a longitudinal case study of four children's simultaneous acquisition of two first languages (French and English) in the home. Specifically, it examines their use of phrases from songs, stories, and audio-visual media, a phenomenon which we have labelled borrowing. We propose a new definition of borrowing as a linguistic phenomenon which can occur within languages as well as across languages. A "verbatim borrowing" is an exact repetition of a source phrase inserted into discourse. A "rephrased borrowing" contains elements which have been adapted to suit its use in a new context. We also distinguish between "referential borrowing" and "non-referential borrowing." Three types of linguistic or discursive triggers can cause borrowing to occur: a preceding utterance, an ongoing conversational routine, or the general context can trigger a memory of a phrase from a source text. Thanks to repeated and interactive shared experience of these linguistically and culturally rich source texts, children memorise fixed formulas and learn to identify variable slots in constructions. When borrowing phrases they not only demonstrate the mapping of semantic and pragmatic meanings onto phrases, but also the ability to perform the syntactic operations required for the production of their own creative variations of source texts. This study highlights the beneficial role that songs, stories and audio-visual media can play in the acquisition and maintenance of the minority language in a context of child bilingualism.

Keywords: bilingual first language acquisition, input, borrowing, child language, constructions, form-meaning-function mapping, formulaic language, linguistic and discursive triggers, memory, narrative, orality, songs, stories, syntactic creativity

Resumé

Titre en français : Les emprunteurs du langage ou comment les enfants bilingues français-anglais empruntent des séquences de récits, comptines et supports audiovisuels.

Cette étude de cas longitudinale porte sur les productions langagières de quatre enfants dans un contexte d'acquisition bilingue (français-anglais) simultanée en famille, et plus particulièrement leur utilisation des séquences tirées des récits, comptines, et supports audiovisuels. Le phénomène observé est défini en tant qu'emprunt ; nous proposons une conceptualisation de l'emprunt comme phénomène langagier susceptible d'avoir lieu au sein d'une même langue, et non seulement entre deux langues différentes. Un « emprunt verbatim » est une séquence empruntée mot pour mot et insérée dans le discours. Un « emprunt adapté » est une séquence dont quelques éléments du texte source ont été changés de manière à l'adapter à sa nouvelle utilisation. On distingue aussi entre « emprunt référentiel » et « emprunt non-référentiel ». Trois types d'éléments discursifs ou linguistiques peuvent déclencher un emprunt : un énoncé antérieur, une conversation, ou le contexte général rappellent une séquence ou un texte source. Grâce à l'expérience répétitive et interactive du partage des textes sources, l'enfant mémorise des séquences fixes et apprend à identifier et à manipuler les éléments variables des constructions. Il établit des liens sémantiques et pragmatiques entre les séquences des récits et chansons et des situations de communication réelles. Cette étude souligne le rôle avantageux que peuvent jouer des récits, des chansons, et des supports audiovisuels pour l'acquisition et le maintien de la langue minoritaire en situation d'acquisition bilingue.

Mots-clès : acquisition bilingue simultanée, appariement forme-signification-fonction, chansons, constructions, créativité syntaxique, éléments discursifs ou linguistiques déclencheur d'emprunt, input, langage enfantin, mémoire, narration, oralité, récits, séquences préfabriquées

Résumé long

Titre en français : Les emprunteurs du langage ou comment les enfants bilingues empruntent des séquences de récits, comptines et supports audiovisuels.

Des études ont montré un lien entre le langage que les enfants entendent et leur acquisition du langage (Clark, 1999, 2002, 2007, 2010 ; Hart & Risely, 2003 ; Lieven, 1994 ; Lieven *et al*, 2003 ; Snow, 1995 ; Weizman & Snow, 2001). Également, des recherches en psychologie, en neuro-cognition, et en linguistique suggèrent que l'interaction entre les enfants et les personnes de leur entourage contribue au développement des compétences langagières et sociales des enfants (Clark & Wong, 2002 ; Papoušek 2007 ; Trevarthen, 1999, 2010 ; Weizman and Snow 2001). Des travaux convergent vers le postulat que l'input et l'interaction jouent des rôles fondamentaux dans la construction du savoir discursif et sémantique et les recherches dans ces domaines essaient de saisir les mécanismes d'apprentissage et de cognition qui participent à cette construction. Les recherches sur l'acquisition simultanée de deux langues tendent vers le même constat et, de plus, révèlent l'impact sur l'acquisition de chaque langue de la quantité et de la qualité de l'input et de l'interaction dans chaque langue (De Houwer, 2009 ; Grosjean, 1982, 2008 ; Wong Fillmore 1991, 2000). La recherche a également montré que les enfants qui sont exposés à deux langues depuis la naissance développent des savoirs langagiers qui dépendent directement de la nature de l'environnement socio-linguistique (De Houwer, 2009 ; Hélot, 2007 ; Lanza, 2001, 2005, 2007). Si, dans l'environnement, une langue est plus présente que l'autre, l'enfant développera plus de compétences à s'exprimer dans cette langue. Aussi, l'enfant qui évolue dans un environnement où les deux langues sont utilisées de manière distincte selon des contextes d'usage différents, ou des locuteurs différents, apprendra à différencier les savoirs langagiers propres à chaque langue et l'utilisation des deux langues selon les locuteurs et les contextes.

C'est dans ce contexte que nous avons inscrit notre travail doctoral. Cette étude de cas longitudinale a été conduite dans un environnement naturel, la vie familiale de la chercheuse anglophone, de son époux francophone et de leurs quatre enfants bilingues pendant une durée totale de onze années. Dans un contexte d'acquisition bilingue simultanée, nous avons pu observer les productions langagières des enfants et leurs comportements discursifs dans les deux langues depuis les premiers actes communicatifs. Dans un premier temps nos observations portaient sur l'aspect bilingue du développement linguistique des enfants. Cependant, très tôt nous avons remarqué avec intérêt que les deux aînés utilisaient, dans leurs

productions langagières, des séquences tirées d'une source d'input spécifique et identifiable. Il s'agit des récits, comptines, et supports audiovisuels. Après la naissance du troisième enfant, nous avons décidé de centrer l'étude sur ce phénomène.

La méthode choisie pour le recueil de données était celle du journal parental, méthode privilégiée dans les études de cas d'acquisition du langage menées par des parents-chercheurs. Cette démarche a été complétée par des enregistrements vidéos dont certains extraits ont été transcrits pour permettre une analyse plus détaillée. L'observation en milieu naturel permet au chercheur de noter des énoncés cibles, d'identifier les textes sources, et d'apporter des informations supplémentaires concernant le contexte dans lequel l'échange a eu lieu ou l'énoncé a été produit. Il est ainsi possible pour le parent-chercheur d'établir le lien entre l'input, l'interaction et la production du langage enfantin. Cette démarche rejoignent diverses théories sur la conceptualisation du savoir lexical et grammatical tel que le corpus mental, les séquences préfabriquées, la grammaire des constructions et la grammaire émergente. Des théories de l'analyse du discours apportent également des éclairages sur les répétitions. Enfin, la réflexion sur la production d'énoncés tirés de textes sources est nourrie par des études sur le discours bilingue, et plus particulièrement le phénomène de l'emprunt.

Suite à notre observation, nous avons essayé de répondre à sept questions :

1. Comment définir le phénomène observé ?
2. Quelles formes les enfants donnent-ils aux séquences empruntées ?
3. Pourquoi les enfants empruntent-ils ces séquences?
   a) Quel élément du discours incite les enfants à emprunter des séquences?
   b) Quelle est la fonction discursive de l'emprunt de séquences?
4. Comment le phénomène d'emprunt de séquences contribue à notre compréhension de l'acquisition du langage ?
   a) Quelle est la fonction développementale de l'emprunt de séquences?
   b) Quel aspect du développement cognitif peut expliquer l'emprunt de séquences?
5. De quelle nature sont les séquences empruntées?
6. Quelles sont les particularités des récits, comptines et supports audiovisuels en tant que source d'input langagier?

Afin de faciliter notre discussion des textes sources de types récits, comptines et supports audiovisuels nous avons élaboré l'acronyme MAPNI pour «*Musical, Audio-visual, Poetic, and Narrative Input,*» soit « input musical, audiovisuel, poétique et narratif ». Nous avons défini le phénomène observé en tant qu'emprunt. À cet effet, il a fallu élargir la définition usuelle de ce terme car en recherche sur le bilinguisme il s'agit de l'insertion d'un mot, d'une séquence, ou d'une phrase en langue A dans un énoncé en langue B. Ici, nous proposons une conceptualisation de l'emprunt comme phénomène langagier susceptible

d'avoir lieu au sein d'une même langue, et non seulement entre deux langues différentes. Dans cette perspective, un locuteur monolingue peut emprunter un mot ou une séquence qui a été précédemment énoncée par un autre locuteur ou qui a été produite dans un texte source écrit par une autre personne. Un locuteur bilingue peut faire de même avec, en plus, la possibilité d'emprunter depuis des énoncés ou des textes en deux langues sources au lieu d'une, en passant (ou non) par la traduction. Dans le cas du bilinguisme simultané nous parlons de langue A et de langue Alpha afin de ne pas donner plus d'importance terminologique à l'une ou l'autre langue. Le jeune bilingue simultané peut emprunter une séquence tirée d'un texte source en langue A et l'insérer dans un énoncé en langue Alpha sans traduire la séquence empruntée en langue Alpha (ici il s'agit du phénomène d'emprunt selon la définition usuelle). La nouveauté de notre approche nous permet d'ajouter que le jeune bilingue simultané peut emprunter une séquence tirée d'un texte source en langue A et l'insérer dans un énoncé en langue A. Le même terme « emprunt » est appliqué si le jeune bilingue simultané emprunte une séquence d'un texte source en langue Alpha et l'insère dans un énoncé en langue A en passant par la traduction de la séquence vers la langue de l'énoncé.

Un premier objectif de notre recherche était d'identifier les formes et les fonctions des emprunts de séquences tirées de MAPNI. Nous avons d'abord classifié les emprunts selon leurs caractéristiques formelles. Un « emprunt verbatim » est une séquence empruntée mot pour mot et insérée telle quelle dans le discours. Un « emprunt adapté » est une séquence dont quelques éléments du texte source ont été changés de manière à l'adapter à sa nouvelle utilisation. Nous avons identifié trois éléments discursifs ou linguistiques déclencheurs d'emprunt. Un emprunt peut être déclenché par un énoncé antérieur qui a une ressemblance phonologique ou sémantique à la séquence source. Un emprunt peut être déclenché par une conversation qui rappelle au locuteur une conversation similaire dans le texte source ; dans ce cas la séquence est empruntée car le locuteur l'identifie comme étant appropriée pour la conversation en cours. Parfois, le contexte général rappelle au locuteur une séquence ou un texte source entier ; il l'énonce soit parce que la séquence semble bien appropriée au contexte, soit parce qu'il a tout simplement envie de le dire, sans but communicatif particulier. C'est le cas de nombreux exemples d'emprunt de séquences ou de textes entiers tirés des comptines. Dans l'exemple suivant, l'emprunt verbatim de Meriel est déclenché par l'énoncé antérieur qui a une ressemblance phonologique avec un mot clé du texte source (« boutons » et « moutons ») :

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18/02/09	Meriel (3;8,5)
Lo: *Papa, tu connais « La guerre des boutons » ?* Me: **Il pleut, il pleut bergère, rentre tes blancs moutons, etc.** com: chanté	Source: comptine « Il pleut bergère » texte source: « *Il pleut, il pleut bergère, rentre tes blancs moutons* »

Voici un exemple d'emprunt adapté qui a été déclenché par le contexte (un objet est tombé par terre) et son utilisation est appropriée :

05/03/08		Meriel (2;8,21)
Me: Oops a daisy, **pick** it up.	source: livre cartonné pour bébés *Time for dinner.* texte source: "Oops a daisy, mop it up."	
Opération simple SUBSTITUTION *pick*	[[oops a daisy] + VERBE + it up]	Approprié

Nous voyons dans cet exemple que l'adaptation du texte source peut être le résultat d'une opération syntaxique simple dite de « substitution ». Ici, il s'agit de substituer un verbe pour un autre : « *pick* » remplace « *mop* ». Meriel a pu effectuer une substitution car elle a identifié l'élément adaptable (le verbe) dans la construction source. La construction contient aussi un idiome (« oops a daisy ») que Meriel emprunte sans l'adapter car il s'agit d'une séquence préfabriquée fixe. La production d'emprunts adaptés peut aussi comporter des opérations multiples comme dans l'exemple suivant où Loïc opère une réduction, en omettant la préposition, et une substitution du nom:

Jan 2005		Loïc (1;9)
Lo: Do you like ketchup your **yoghurt**?	Source: Livre *Ketchup on your cornflakes*. texte source: "Do you like ketchup on/in your cornflakes/chips/cereal, etc."	
opérations multiples RÉDUCTION *in/on* et SUBSTITUTION *yoghurt*	[Do you like ketchup [...] your + NOM?]	Approprié

Apprendre à faire des opérations syntaxiques de ce genre est peut-être une des fonctions du phénomène d'emprunt chez l'enfant en stade d'acquisition du langage. Grâce à l'exposition aux constructions fixes et adaptables dans les sources textes MAPNI, l'enfant mémorise des séquences fixes et apprend à identifier et à manipuler les éléments adaptables des constructions. Un aspect important de cet apprentissage est de savoir si telle phrase convient à tel contexte. Les exemples d'emprunt que nous avons analysés nous montrent comment les enfants établissent des liens sémantiques et pragmatiques entre les séquences rencontrées dans MAPNI et des situations de communication réelles. Quelques exemples sont présentés ci-

dessous. Souvent des correspondances sont appropriées :

Acte de parole ou contexte conversationnel	Séquence que l'enfant associe au contexte
Quelque chose ne fonctionne pas	That can't be right
Remercier quelqu'un pour un repas	Thank you for my nice dinner
Dire que cela lui servira de leçon	That'll teach him a lesson
Dire que quelqu'un doit ramasser un objet	Oops a daisy pick it up
Quelqu'un t'a fait peur	You gave me the fright of my life!
Quelqu'un a menti	Liar, liar, your bum's on fire!
Exprimer la surprise	Good heavens!
Répondre à une plainte	Some people are never satisfied!

Mais parfois les correspondances ne conviennent pas :

Acte de parole ou concept exprimé	Séquence associée
Il pleut beaucoup	It's pouring
Travail d'équipe	Two friends sharing a shell

Dans le cas de « *it's pouring* » l'enfant a associé la séquence d'une comptine à l'évènement de forte pluie car dans le texte source elle suit la séquence « *it's raining* » (il pleut) et elle porte le sens de forte pluie. Pourtant, ce n'est pas la manière idiomatique d'exprimer cette notion ; les locuteurs natifs diraient plutôt « *it's pouring down* » ou « *it's tipping down* ». Dans l'exemple de « *two friends sharing a shell* » l'enfant a associé cette séquence à l'idée de travail d'équipe grâce au récit du texte source. Pourtant, ce n'est pas du tout une manière habituelle d'exprimer cette notion. Un locuteur natif qui n'a pas connaissance du texte source ne comprendrait pas le sens de cet énoncé.

La fonction discursive de l'emprunt de séquence tirées de MAPNI est parfois difficile à identifier, du moins avec certitude, quand il s'agit d'un emprunt produit par une tierce personne. Souvent, quand il s'agit d'exemples d'emprunts produits par les enfants étudiés nous ne pouvons que spéculer sur leur motivation grâce à l'intuition parentale. Néanmoins, nous envisageons plusieurs possibilités qui sont en rapport avec la conscience et la référence. Autrement dit, l'emprunteur de séquence peut être conscient qu'il est en train d'emprunter et le faire pour des raisons précises. On peut distinguer entre « emprunt référentiel » et « emprunt non-référentiel. » On dit qu'un locuteur produit un « emprunt référentiel » quand il souhaite faire référence au texte source, par exemple pour rappeler à son interlocuteur le texte source ou une expérience antéieur de partage de ce texte. C'est un moyen de créer un terrain de connaissance partagée qui facilitera la communication et le sentiment d'empathie entre les

locuteurs. Un « emprunt non-référentiel » peut être produit consciemment, sans l'intention de partager la référence au texte source, ou inconsciemment, soit par accident, soit parce que le lien avec le texte source a été oublié. Nous avons un exemple d'emprunt inconsciemment non-référentiel qui a été produit par la chercheuse et dont nous pouvons être certain de sa catégorisation en tant que tel. Ici Catrin produit un emprunt adapté inconscient, ce qui déclenche la production par Meriel d'un emprunt verbatim référentiel :

31/05/13	Catrin (37;10,7)	
Situation: le manteau de Lé est par terre, Me marche dessus. Ca: Don't just **step on** it! Don't just **step on** it! Me: Don't just grab it!	Source: Album *Chocolate Mousse for Greedy Goose.* texte source: " 'Don't just grab it,' says angry rabbit."	
opération simple SUBSTITUTION *step on*	[Don't just + VERBE + it]	Approprié

Les résultats de cette étude soutiennent la théorie que l'acquisition du langage comporte des processus de mémorisation d'énoncés et d'abstraction des constructions sous-jacentes à ces énoncés, et suggèrent que MAPNI peut être une source important d'input linguistique à cette fin. L'analyse des exemples recueillis en situation naturelle de bilinguisme simultané soutient des théories qui mettent en avant l'influence des pratiques de parentalité en famille bilingue. Elle souligne également le rôle avantageux que peut jouer MAPNI en tant que source d'input langagier dans chacune des langues concernées, mais aussi pour soutenir l'acquisition et le maintien de la langue minoritaire. En didactique des langues, les praticiens utilisent déjà des supports de type MAPNI. Nos résultats nous permettent de mieux comprendre l'intérêt pour l'apprentissage des langues secondes de ces supports tellement riches en contenu linguistique, culturel et artistique. La lecture, l'interprétation, et le partage des récits, des comptines et des supports audiovisuels participent à la construction des relations humaines, autant au sein d'une famille que dans des communautés linguistiques et culturelles, facilitant la transmission du langage, des pratiques artistiques, et des connaissances partagées de la société.

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List of acronyms, abbreviations, and transcription conventions

MAPNI	Musical, Audio-visual, Poetic, and Narrative Input
BFLA	Bilingual First Language Acquisition
Language A	Fully explained on p32
Language Alpha	Fully explained on p32
FLA	First Language Acquisition
SLA	Second Language Acquisition
OPOL	One Person One Language
IPA	International Phonetic Alphabet
MEU	Morpheme Equivalent Unit
CHAT	Codes for the Human Analysis of Transcripts
CLAN	Computerized Language ANalysis
ELAN	Eudico Linguistic Annotator
VR	Verbatim Referential Borrowing
RR	Rephrased Referential Borrowing
VN	Verbatim Non-referential Borrowing
RN	Rephrased Non-referential Borrowing
T1	Trigger 1: Preceding utterance
T2	Trigger 2: Conversational routine or script
T3	Trigger 3: Thematic context
Ca	Catrin
Er	Eric
Gp	Grandpa
Gn	Granny
Ma	*Mamie*
Lo	Loïc
Me	Meriel
Ow	Owen
Lé	Léonie
(3;10,5)	age of speaker in years; months, days
situation	situation at the time of the utterance
bck	background information
[= word]	target utterance
eng	English translation of French words
exp	explanation of the speech event
act	accompanying action

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Introduction

One September evening, I proudly served up homemade soup to my children Loïc and Meriel. Unfortunately, they did not like it and they could see that I was disappointed. By way of compensation, Loïc (5;5,12) thanked me very politely. Meriel (3;3,3) then did the same. Loïc said, "Thank you for my nice dinner. It was very nice." Meriel added, "Thank you for my nice dinner. I'd better go now," upon which she left the table. It is possible that most people would notice nothing remarkable in this scene, other than slightly surprising politeness in such young children. I, however, was not duped and recognised what they had done (and quickly made a note of it). It is a charming example of a phenomenon I have noticed many times in the children's speech, that is the borrowing of phrases from stories, songs, rhymes and children's television. On this occasion, the children borrowed phrases from one of their favourite storybooks*,* and used those phrases in a manner which suited their predicament and enabled them to get out of it in the best way possible (flattery, in this case).

The phrases were borrowed from the illustrated storybook *The Tiger Who Came to Tea* by Judith Kerr. In the story, after eating and drinking everything in the house, the tiger excuses himself politely saying, "Thank you for my nice tea. I think I'd better go now." Loïc borrowed the tiger's first phrase, rephrasing it to suit the context: *tea* became *dinner*. Perhaps his borrowing of the phrase was triggered by the association of the phrase with a script which is suitable for excusing oneself after a meal. In this case, it was the conversational context which triggered the memory and use of the phrase. Meriel's borrowing was clearly triggered by Loïc's previous utterance, and she went on to add a simplified version of the tiger's second phrase. Loïc's borrowing may, or may not, have been with intentional reference to the source text. When I heard him say it, I did not at first think of the source text at all. It was only when Meriel added "I'd better go now" that I realised that she was borrowing from the story. It is possible that Loïc was not actually borrowing, but that he was just using a fairly unremarkable politeness formula that he had picked up, having overheard it. However, the similarity to the source text, and the fact that it triggered Meriel's memory of that text, indicate that there is indeed a link between his utterance and the source text.

Loïc and Meriel, like their brother Owen and sister Léonie, were born and live in France, in Southern Brittany. Being a native English speaker from Wales, and experienced teacher of English as a foreign language, including a brief period in a bilingual school for young children, there was never any question in my mind that I would bring my children up to be bilingual in French and English. All four children have, therefore, acquired two first languages, or in other words, they have experienced bilingual first language acquisition, while

living in a community where French is the majority language. This means that most of the time I speak to the children in English, while their Breton father, and almost everyone else they know, speaks to them in French. To help me in my task, and to provide them with access to English-language culture, I have always made a point of reading stories, singing songs and rhymes, and watching television with them in English. They have a vast collection of books and DVDs, including many classics like *The Tiger Who Came to Tea*. Bearing in mind this bilingual context and regarding this first example, the fact that Loïc does not get much exposure to other people speaking English, exposure which might have provided the opportunity to overhear someone using the polite formula he used to flatter me, points to a direct relationship between the story input and his use of the phrase.

The study of the acquisition of two languages from birth can reveal many things about how children learn language, and the role that input plays in the acquisition and use of language. In this paper I will discuss the direct and observable relationship between the language that children hear, and as they get older, read, and the language that they produce. The keystone upon which this study was built is the observation of four siblings' simultaneous acquisition of French and English, as documented by a parental case study undertaken over a period of eleven years. What began as an enquiry into the process of bilingual first language acquisition evolved into an **examination of the way the children borrow phrases they have encountered in Musical, Audio-visual, Poetic, and Narrative Input (or MAPNI)**. In this statement, the term **borrow** is used in a specific way which requires definition, as does the categorisation of songs, nursery rhymes, stories, and children's film and television as a specific source of input, referred to as **MAPNI**.

In studies of bilingualism, the term *borrowing* is used to refer to the act of using words or phrases from one language in an utterance or speech event in another language. This process has been labelled language borrowing, speech borrowing, codemixing, and codeswitching, and can occur on a societal or an individual level. I suggest we refer to this process as **inter-language borrowing**. This is in order to distinguish it from what I refer to as **intra-language borrowing**: the act of using words or phrases which have been previously spoken (or written) by someone else; no change of language is involved. The process of intra-language borrowing is central to this study, directing the observation of the subjects and forming the basis for the analysis of the data. The examples of borrowed phrases have been classified in terms of their discursive and developmental functions.

To facilitate the discussion of songs, nursery rhymes, stories, and children's film and

television as a specific source of input from which phrases are borrowed, I created the acronym MAPNI based on a categorisation of the input sources as **Musical, Audio-visual, Poetic, and Narrative Input**. Musical input refers to songs and melodic nursery rhymes; Narrative input refers to fictional narrative in the form of storybooks written for children or stories told to children; Poetic input overlaps the two previous categories since song and rhyme lyrics can have poetic features and children's narratives are sometimes in poetic form. Audio-visual input refers to films and television programmes for children (mainly fictional in this study) which can be viewed via television channels, on videos or DVDs, and on the internet. The definition of Input is fully discussed in Chapter 1. Its presence in the acronym MAPNI is related to the objectives of this study, which are to understand how and why the children produce phrases that they have heard or read. For convenience, I also use the acronym MAPNI to refer to the artefacts which contain, and through which are transmitted, linguistic and cultural information, for example books, songs, rhymes, or films.

I chose to focus on MAPNI for three reasons: first, I was struck by the way the children borrowed from these sources and I wanted to understand their reasons for doing so; second, I felt that the children's borrowing may have something to do with the nature of the input that gave it special status causing it to stand out from other forms of input; third, focusing on MAPNI was a way to delimit the scope of investigation into the link between input, intake and production mostly for pratical reasons. I could thereby justify the selective collection of data, rather than try to collect data pertaining to a wider range of subjects.

I have observed that MAPNI has a special place in bilingual family life, in terms of the context of MAPNI-based interaction, the specific characteristics of this form of input which distinguish it from other forms of input, and the role it can play in supporting bilingual first language acquisition. While interacting daily with the children, I hear them using phrases from songs, rhymes, stories, and television or film script. These phrases are noticeable; they stand out from the rest of the children's speech. I am instantly able to recognise them as coming from a MAPNI source. Why are phrases from MAPNI recognisable and susceptible to borrowing and blending in future speech production? It could be related to the fact that most MAPNI (particularly when it is aimed at young audiences) is designed to be performed, so when a person wants to perform she will naturally draw upon these resources. Performing in this way might be a fundamentally human thing to do, reflecting some basic human need or desire. It is also likely that I recognise when the children borrow phrases from MAPNI because I shared the sources with them so I am familiar with the language in those sources. This is because, more generally, MAPNI is often something parents and children share; it is a

focus for common ground and provides the basis of shared information that can be taken as given, referred to and recognised in future communication.

I am able to recognise borrowed phrases from MAPNI because sharing these sources is a frequently repeated activity. Parents and their children read the same books, sing the same songs, and watch the same DVDs over and over again. This repeated exposure leads to memorization and the texts and melodies become familiar; they enter a person's mental corpus and may stay there for a very long time. Another reason why some phrases are identifiable and memorable is related to the nature of the source texts and the nature of the phrases themselves. MAPNI has specific characteristics which distinguish it from ordinary speech. The analysis of these characteristics reveals the language of MAPNI to be particularly appropriate to language learning and language-culture transmission. MAPNI texts are often structured in cognitively salient ways, employing patterned, sometimes rhythmic structure and formulaic, idiomatic phrases and constructions that stand out from more regular language, making them noticeable and memorable. Some musical motives or formulaic turns of phrase can embed themselves in a person's mind and stay there for a long time, even after hearing them only once. This might be related to the creative nature of such melodies and texts which trigger some part of our artistic sensibilities, inducing an emotional reaction which effects us deeply in some memorable way.

Often borrowed phrases are identifiable because of the bilingual context of our family life. English-language (Language Alpha) MAPNI represents a relatively high proportion of input, compared to French-language (Language A) MAPNI. In addition, English-language MAPNI represents a significantly higher proportion of the total English-language input for the children studied here than it probably does for children living in a dominantly English-language environment. This is because children living in a dominantly English-language environment will also hear the English language spoken throughout the day by a variety of speakers in a variety of contexts. On the other hand, on an average day, the children in this study get their English input from their mother and from MAPNI. All other language they are exposed to is in French. In my role as Language Alpha input provider and interaction partner in a bilingual first language acquisition context, I use MAPNI as a supporting linguistic resource. Perhaps one result of this is that the children in this study are more likely to reuse linguistic resources from these sources than they would in Language A. This is only conjecture, however, and another plausible explanation for the children's borrowings from MAPNI may be related to our particular family habits. Perhaps ours is a family in which

borrowing from (L Alpha) MAPNI is a regular and accepted linguistic act; other families may not do this as much, or at all. Perhaps I recognise when the children do this because I do it myself, so I am prepared to hear others do it too. Another possibility is that the children remember and use the language of MAPNI as part of a more general, and probably unconscious, language learning agenda. Perhaps I encourage them to do this through the strategies I employ when singing and reading with them in order to help them learn their L Alpha. Maybe I notice them doing this because, as a linguist who is interested in language acquisition, I am on the look out for such behaviour and I am interested in identifying the ways in which children use their linguistic resources to develop their knowledge of language.

To sum up, MAPNI might constitute a memorable and reusable linguistic resource because of the **context** in which MAPNI is performed and shared generally, and specifically because of the bilingual first language acquisition context in which it is shared in our family, and because the **form** of MAPNI makes it susceptible to memorization, borrowing, and blending. Therefore, bilingual first language acquisition retains a central place in the study since it defines the context in which the data was collected. Bilingual studies have also provided some key concepts and terminology, in particular the notion of borrowing.

I began this study by asking myself the following questions which have since become the main areas of inquiry:

1. What is the nature of the phrases the children borrow?
2. How and why do they borrow these phrases in discourse?
3. What does the borrowing of phrases phenomenon contribute to our understanding of bilingual language acquisition?
4. What is special about MAPNI as an input source?

An example to illustrate the methodological approach

E.g. (a) 17/11/12	Loïc (9;7,13)	*Loïc and Léonie are coming down the stairs. Loïc starts to go back up.* Ca: Loïc! Stay with her. She's only got tights on; she'll slip. Lo: Don't worry Mum. Everything's hunky dory! (laughs) What does hunky dory mean? Ca: It means it's OK. Lo: Read the translation. OK, this is good. Hunky dory! (laughs)

In example (a) Loïc borrows an idiomatic phrase that he has recently learned from the film *Bugsy Malone*. He is aware that he is borrowing a phrase from a film that we have watched together, so he knows that I will recognise the phrase. After this utterance, he goes on to borrow from the film further, taking pleasure in his act as he finds the new phrase funny. This is an example of the borrowing of a phrase with explicit reference to the source of input from which the phrase has been taken, and in full awareness that the addressee shares the common knowledge to which that phrase and its source text refer. Loïc's use of the phrase is possibly prompted by the context and a desire to produce a humourous effect. I believe he decides to use a phrase from MAPNI here because he likes the sound of it, he thinks it is funny, and he thinks it is appropriate for the discourse aim of reassuring me by using a phrase which I had previously told him means "it's OK."

Example (a) comes from the film *Bugsy Malone*, directed by Alan Parker in 1976. The singing and dancing, spoof gangland story, complete with splurge guns and pedal cars, in which the entire cast are children, was a childhood favourite of mine which I had seen a couple of times on the television. My children were given a DVD of the film for Christmas in 2011. They have watched it several times since then and in the week or so preceding example (a), it was a particular favourite. Not only did the children watch it three or four times, they also sang along to the songs with the karaoke-style sing-along bonus section. Meriel even painstakingly copied down the words to her favourite song, advancing the film frame by frame to see each line as it appeared on the screen.

"Everything's hunky dory" is an exact repetition of a phrase from the original script. I instantly recognised the phrase as a borrowing from MAPNI thanks to a few clues. The first clue was the different voice, or accent, that Loïc adopted when saying it. It was phonologically marked out as different from normal speech. The interesting thing is that Loïc adopted the accent of the character Knuckles when saying the phrase even though that character did not actually say it in the film. In fact, the phrase appears in a subtitle which I read out loud so that all the children could understand what was writtten on the screen and follow the action in the film, since understanding the subtitle was essential to understanding the dialogue. The second clue was the unusual nature of the expression itself. Loïc lives in France and doesn't have much contact with English speakers other than myself, his siblings, and a couple of friends. An expression like "everything's hunky dory" is noticeably *not* part of our shared repertoire and I had not heard him use it before, even though I, as an adult native speaker of English, recognised it as being idiomatic and nativelike. I have probably used it

myself many times during my life, and probably with the children now and then, although I am fairly confident in asserting that it is not part of my regular usage with them. For these reasons, the phrase jumped out at me when I heard it. The last clue as to the phrase's status as borrowed from MAPNI came when Loïc followed his borrowing with another from the same scene in the film. We had watched it the day before and this is what had happened then:

16/11/12 Watching *Bugsy Malone.* (Meriel aged 7;5 and Loïc aged 9;7)

Fat Sam and Knuckles are in Fat Sam's office. Sam receives a phone call informing him that all the other gang members have been splurged.

Fat Sam	That leaves just you and me, Knuckles. We're on our own.
Knuckles	(Cracks his knuckles) What we gonna do, Boss?
Fat Sam	(Throws newspaper at Knuckles) Don't do that! How many times I gonna have to tell ya? Do nothing. Act like everything is normal. (Speaks Italian)
Knuckles	What does that mean, boss?
Fat Sam	Don't you speak Italian?
Knuckles	No, boss. I'm Jewish.
Fat Sam	Well, read the translation. (Points to the bottom of the screen.)
Catrin	(Subtitles appear on the screen and I read them out) Everything's hunky dory.
Knuckles	(Looking down as if reading the subtitles.) Oh, oh, well this is good.
Meriel	What does 'hunky dory' mean?
Catrin	It means it's OK.
Loïc	Hunky dory! (laughs)
Meriel	(laughs)

And here is the full version of the diary extract from which example (a) was taken:

17/11/12 We watched *Bugsy Malon*e in the morning. Later, I am cleaning and Loïc (9;7,13) is coming down the stairs with Léonie (1;10,23). Loïc starts to go back up.

Catrin	Loïc! Stay with her. She's only got tights on; she'll slip.
Loïc	Don't worry Mum. Everything's hunky dory! (laughs) What does hunky dory mean?
Catrin	It means it's OK.
Loïc	Read the translation. OK, this is good. Hunky dory! (laughs)

Example (a) is an excellent illustration of the methodological importance of reproducing the whole dialogue extract and taking into account the family's previous shared experience of

the phrase when documenting and analysing an instance of borrowing from MAPNI. By doing this, we are able to take into consideration the interactional nature of the borrowing phenomenon as well as situate it on a time-scale with reference to the input experience. In the analysis of the data presented in this thesis, whenever possible, each example from the corpus will be accompanied by information about the context of the borrowing event, and the child's or family's previous experience of the original input source.

The example is also interesting because the parent-child interaction during the MAPNI sharing event (watching and commenting on a film together) plays a key role in the children's exposure to a new phrase and learning about its meaning. This is common of most MAPNI-sharing events where an adult is often the provider of input and the children are active participants in the meaning-making and meaning-sharing experience. Example (a) is also a lovely illustration of the complexity of the process of language-culture transmission through MAPNI and parent-child interaction. This process can be conscious or unconcious, explicit or implicit. That is, the children also pick up on new phrases when listening to stories, songs, and films in a more passive way as well as in the active way described above. Example (a) demonstrates what can be considered as active acquisition of a phrase since the children ask for a definition of an unfamiliar term, and then repeat the term. The process then involves going on to use phrases, either with conscious reference to the source, or not. A particular expression may be thereafter linked in the speaker's or hearer's mind to the source from which it was originally borrowed. On the other hand, it may take on an independent 'life' of its own, leaving far behind its long-forgotten source. It might be changed, added to, or otherwise adapted to suit particular situations. Someone else might notice it, and like the sound of it, or the original ideas it conveys in a particular setting, and they in turn may borrow and reuse it, with maybe the same, maybe new, connotations. The film from which the phrase "hunky dory" is borrowed resonates back to my own childhood, as does the phrase itself, although I cannot now identify the time or the context when I first heard "hunky dory." My own children encountered many interesting and novel phrases while watching this particular film, and I was sometimes able to help them understand unusual ones such as this while I watched the film with them. Perhaps Loïc will pass on "(everything's) hunky dory" to his children by using the phrase in conversation with them, or with others while they are listening. Whether he will fleetingly and silently think of *Bugsy Malone* when he does so, whether he will watch the film with his own children and comment on the phrase with them, is anybody's guess. What is probable, however, is that the phrase will become part of his lexicon, or his mental corpus (cf Taylor, 2012) retaining, perhaps somewhere deep in his unconcious, its link with the film, or

perhaps even the scene in which it occurred, in which he first encountered it. Once the phrase has been stored, it is available for retrieval and reuse without explicit reference to the source. What is of interest to us here, is the possibility that the earliest stages of this appropriation process can be observed and documented, and it is the observation and description of this phenomenon that forms the primary focus of this dissertation and the case study it reports on. Examples of the borrowing of phrases from MAPNI will be presented and analysed in Chapter 3.

Example (a) is also particularly illustrative of the questions discussed in this dissertation because it demonstrates the children's encounter with an idiomatic phrase. I argue for the important, and not peripheral, place of idioms and other formulas in language. The examples from my corpus lend force to the claim that MAPNI can play a significant role in the transmission of idioms and formulas and thereby contribute to the development of idiomaticity in speakers' production. Noticing and analysing examples of the children's borrowing of such phrases is one way of documenting a phenomenon which, I believe, concerns all forms of language use, not just MAPNI, and goes on throughout life, well beyond intial language acquisition in childhood. Example (a) refers to another important aspect of this study, bilingualism. The character Fat Sam first expresses himself with an Italian idiom. When Knuckles doesn't understand because of his lack of knowledge of Italian, a translation is provided. The children reported on here are familiar with bilingual language behaviour such as borrowing in its bilingual discourse sense, (as demonstrated by Fat Sam) and the need to provide translations in certain situations or with certain speakers. The fact that the children are bilingual is relevant for several reasons, and it is necessary at this point to describe the context in which I have been able to carry out this research as well as the course my life has taken so far which has lead me to study this phenomenon.

From singing in Cardiff to studying in Nantes: How I came to study bilingualism and MAPNI

I was born and raised in Wales, a country in which two languages, Welsh and English have cohabited for many centuries. Over the last fifty years or so, bilingualism has become the aim of a growing part of the population and is now the official aim of Welsh Assembly language policy. I grew up in Cardiff as a monolingual speaker of English, which was, and still is, the norm in most of the country. However, because of my father's interest in Welsh politics and culture, I was always aware of the struggle to revive and maintain the Welsh

language, and the idea that being bilingual was something to be desired was imprinted on my mind from a young age. My parents nearly sent me to a Welsh language immersion school, but as none of my older siblings had been able to benefit from a bilingual education, they decided against it. Due to a temporary lack of Welsh language teacher, I missed out on learning Welsh at high school, much to my great disappointment. I was taught French and Spanish instead although I could not at the time see the use for such languages in Wales. In fact, I continued to study French up to and including my first year at University, and I was able to benefit from a year in France as an Erasmus student. Not only did I wish to enjoy the experience of living in another country, I was also determined to become bilingual. This was the way I saw it: not just to improve my knowledge of classroom French, but to *become bilingual*. I felt like I had missed out on Welsh-English bilingualism, just as most of my generation and my parents' generation had been "deprived" of their "mother tongue." At least this is the version of events I had been brought up with. Also, during my second year as an undergraduate student of history at the University of Liverpool, I shared a flat with three bilingual girls. One, a schoolfriend from Cardiff, was a French-English bilingual, the second, from Gibraltar, was a Spanish-English bilingual, and the third, from Nottingham, was a Mandarin-English bilingual. Also, my boyfriend at the time was an Italian-English bilingual from Cardiff. How unfair it was, I felt, to be the only monolingual of the household! I set my heart on 'joining the club' and applied for a place on the Erasmus scheme. I only intended to stay in France for a year...

Two years after graduating from Liverpool, I was working as the English-language teacher in a bilingual nursery school in Nantes. I was amazed and delighted to observe two- and three-year-old children, almost exclusively from French-speaking homes, apparently understanding me and sometimes communicating with me in English. When the school closed two years later, I returned to University, this time in Nantes, with the aim of learning more about childhood bilingualism. As I defended my part one master's dissertation on the subject of a bilingual child's language choice, my first child was already on the way. Amina Mettouchi, my linguistics lecturer and dissertation supervisor, told me that day that I would soon be marvelling at bilingual language acquisition first hand. She was right, and I have not once since ceased to be amazed by the experience. When I was ready to return to my studies, after the birth of my third child, the opportunity of conducting a case study of my own children's acquisition of English and French was an exciting one that I was keen to make the most of. Added to this opportunity was my curiosity about the phenomenon I was observing. I wanted to know and understand everything about bilingualism, about the acquisition of two

languages and the way those languages were stored and accessed in the bilingual child's mind. More particularly, I had noticed the way the children picked up on expressions they had heard in stories, songs, rhymes, and children's television programmes, and reused them when talking to me or in the monologues which sometimes accompanied their play. I wanted to know why they were doing this and whether or not it had something to do with language acquisition and use in general.

It is probably not a coincidence that my investigation has focused on literature, music and film, as all of these forms of linguistic and cultural media held an important place in the home of my childhood; literature and music are also highly esteemed in traditional Welsh culture. My mother studied and taught English literature, and loved the English language; my father studied, and raved about, the Humanities. Music and song were prevalent both at home and at school. While choral singing was a daily school activity, and on Sundays we sang in church, it was (and still is) also completely normal for my father to break into song, or to recite a poem, at any time. He would even sing while walking down the street, much to my embarrassment! (The funny thing is, that I now find myself displaying the same tendencies. The children do not yet find it embarrassing; in fact, they usually join in!) In addition to the reading and singing, the whole family were telly addicts and film fans. It seems only natural, then, that fascination for language, the desirability of bilingualism, and a love of stories, songs, television and film, should culminate in this thesis. Also, the underlying belief that language and culture should be passed on, from each generation to the next, and that this process of transmission can and should be monitored and guided, was woven into my Welsh upbringing. The possibility that such transmission might not occur as a matter of course, and the belief that each generation is both custodian and vector, reflects my experience of the struggle to maintain the Welsh language and promote Welsh culture[1]. These beliefs have also influenced the thinking behind my bilingual – bicultural parenting and the present thesis.

While the original impetus for the case study was to deepen my understanding of bilingual acquisition, and the framework which studying bilingual children has provided is relevant to the methodology of the study as well as to the findings, the bilingual aspect of the study ceased to be the main focus. It remains essential, however, when discussing examples from the corpus, to take into account the bilingual context in which they occurred. What is more, the observation of bilingual acquisition is worthy of attention in its own right, and many examples (presented in Chapter 3.1) illustrate some of the key issues in the field of bilingual

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[1]   I also studied language shift and linguistic policy in Wales and Ireland as an undergraduate.

acquisition research. However, the theoretical approaches adopted in the analysis of the data, address questions about language and language use beyond the field of bilingualism. It is therefore not surprising that the resulting analyses should lead to speculations about language and language use in general. It is also necessary to keep in mind that my initial academic curiosity about bilingual acquisition was sparked by my teaching experience. The possibility of applying whatever can be learned from this case study to the teaching of English to speakers of other languages has always been an important motivation. Equally, research in the theory and methods of teaching languages, a particularly creative and necessarily pragmatic field of applied linguistics, has been a rich source of information and inspiration for my work.

How this study fits into bilingual first language acquisition research

Studies in bilingualism and bilingual acquisition have developed over the last hundred years from the first diary based case studies (Ronjat, Pavlovitch, Leopold) to the present day range of approaches and rigourous methodological framework. There has always been, and probably always will be, a close link between studies of bilingualism and studies of language in general, with research in one field contributing to research in the other. Nevertheless, researchers of bilingualism (e.g. Baker, De Houwer, Grosjean, and others) have established the value of studying bilingualism in its own right, and have developed specific methodology in order to do so as effectively and scientifically as possible. The fact that bilingualism can be considered a natural and common form of human linguistic experience, is largely thanks to research which has developed new descriptions for what was, not so long ago, seen (by monolingual societies) as an exceptional form of behaviour, and possibly a dangerous and unnatural one. The effect of such a turnaround on the daily lives of many people can be far reaching. Instead of recommending to parents that they only speak one language to their child, (which in the case of mixed couples has as a result that one of the parents does not transmit their own native language), education and health professionals can now make use of recent research to help children and their parents fully benefit from living with two (or more) languages. Unfortunately, there is sometimes a discrepancy between what is advocated and recommended in theory and what actually occurs. One of the important roles of bilingualism research remains to readdress this imbalance and to provide evidence which refutes some of the widely held myths about bilingualism, myths which can have dramatic results for families and, sometimes, whole communities.

In order to study bilingual behaviour and the acquisition of more than one language,

linguists such as Grosjean, De Houwer, and Lanza, have developed methodologies which take into account the specificities of bilingual contexts and individuals. From a socio-linguistic perspective, work into bilingual discourse and social behaviour has identified strategies and developed tools for analysing them. From a cognitive linguistics perspective, much work has been undertaken to examine the organisation of two languages in the mind and the influences each language has on the other. For research into bilingual acquisition, it has become essential to distinguish the process of the simultaneous acquisition of more than one language from that of monolingual acquisition, even if research in both fields may be of mutual interest. Bilingualism research has contributed to the development of theories of linguistic relativity and models of language grammar. If we consider bilingualism, and the relationship between an individual's two languages, to be in a constantly evolving and fluctuating state, then we can study with interest the many different stages of developing bilinguals. This brings us to the field of second language acquisition, where much work has been carried out on theories and methods of language learning and teaching at different levels and in different contexts, some of which have bilingualism as their aim and result.

The present study fits into and builds upon previous bilingual acquisition research, as well as the encompassing field of language acquisition research. In carrying out a diary-style documentation of my own children's language development, I am following, in a very modest way, in the footsteps of the pioneers of the diarist approach to language acquisition research. Most diary studies of language acquisition examine only one child at a time. Morgenstern's (2009) review of the earliest case studies of child language development, however, also include William and Clara Stern's (1907) study of their three children. According to Morgenstern, the Stern's study of siblings was rare in that it enabled them to compare the development of their first-born child with that of their two younger children (Morgenstern 2009:46). Seven other early studies of more than one child are listed by Morgenstern; the other studies reported on concern only one child.

Early diarists also documented the acquisition of two languages: Ronjat, who published a study of his son's acquisition of German and French a hundred years ago in 1913, Pavlovitch, who wrote about his son's acquisition of French and Serbian in 1920, and Leopold whose study of the acquisition of German and English by his daughter was first published between 1939 and 1949. Other studies of authors' own children acquiring two languages have followed since then, including, more recently, the work of Volterra and Taeschner (1978), Saunders (1982, 1988), Caldas and Caron-Caldas (2000), Deuchar & Quay (2000), Caldas

(2006), Namba (2008), and Barron-Hauwaert (2004, 2010).

Bilingual case studies seem to be the exception to the single-child rule, then, as studies that document the bilingual acquisition and development of two or more children in the same family are more frequent than monolingual sibling studies. By examining the bilingual acquisition of four siblings, I am, therefore, undertaking work in line with this tendency. The task is more complicated than the study of a single child, and some of the methods of conversation and interaction analysis need to allow for complex situations involving up to six speakers at the same time. However, by looking at all the children not only do I hope to provide a picture of the reality of life in a bilingual family such as ours, but I am also able to collect data from children of different ages, sometimes in relation to the same input source. Also, the longitudinal, diary style of my study reflects the fluctuating nature of family life and the impact of experience on parental language strategies. The hope is that my approach will result in a broad overview of bilingual language development and usage within a large family and over a long period of time.

How this study contributes to the field

One important way in which this study diverges from other bilingual language acquisition research is the attention paid to the borrowing of phrases from MAPNI, a phenomenon which has not been looked into before. The extension of the meaning of *borrowing* is also new. Borrowing, in bilingual or language contact situations, usually refers to the act of borrowing a word or phrase from one language and inserting it into speech in another language. This notion, which could be called *inter-language borrowing*, or borrowing between different languages, is extended in this thesis to the act of borrowing phrases within one language, act which I have labelled *intra-language borrowing*. The suggestion that intra-language borrowing is as possible and as frequent as inter-language borrowing is also new, as is the theory of the way it participates in the acquisition of linguistic knowledge. The basic assumption underlying the extension of the notion of inter-language borrowing to intra-language borrowing is that, since bilinguals borrow language from both their lexicons, or from a lexicon in which linguistic items of both languages are stored together, there is no logical reason why the borrowing process should not be applicable to all the linguistic items in the lexicon, either within or between languages. This involves applying the notion of borrowing beyond uniquely bilingual contexts and considering it as a process of language use in general. In other words, we can view borrowing as a process of language use that is available to speakers of one or more languages, where a speaker of one language can only

practice intra-language borrowing, whereas a speaker of more than one language can also practice inter-language borrowing. Inter-language borrowing is a process that is available to a speaker, or a linguistic community, who has access to two linguistic stores, but not necessarily *the result of* the existence of two linguistic stores.

Another important way in which this study diverges from other bilingual acquisition case studies is the focus on MAPNI. The focus on MAPNI arose from observations of the children's use of phrases from these specific sources of input. These observations led me to question the reasons for such behaviour and to identify eventual links with the more general language acquisition process. In this sense, the study presented here is truly data-driven. To my knowledge, no other research has specifically isolated these sources of input, grouped together in this way, from other forms of input, or examined their role in acquisition in the way I do here. Many studies in child language, both monolingual and bilingual, refer to reading, for example, as one possible context in which linguistic data is collected (for example Weizman & Snow's 2001 study in vocabulary acquisition or Vedder, Kook & Muysken's 1996 study 'Language choice and functional differentiation of languages in bilingual parent-child reading'). Sometimes book reading is the main focus of a linguistic study as in Reese and Cox's 1999 assessment of the "relative benefits of three styles of adult book reading for preschoolers' emergent literacy." Book-reading has also been identified as a social interactional routine which promotes lexical acquisition (Ninio, 1980, 1983; Ninio and Bruner, 1978, cited in Weizman and Snow, 2001: 266).

In studies of bilingual language, information is sometimes provided on bilingual behaviour in the home including the language(s) used for reading to children or in which the children watch television. Molly F. Collins (2010) used storybook reading in a bilingual school as the basis for her study into the acquisition of rare vocabulary in the second language, while also collecting information about book-reading practices in the subjects' homes. Some studies have looked into the possible extent of learning from television (for example, Roseberry *et al,* 2009; Singer & Singer, 1998), and the popular media run stories on this subject, (for example, '*Comment la télé va rendre les enfants bilingues*' in *TV Magazine* 23/09/07 and 'Keep minds alert with an early-years TV buffer zone' in *The Western Mail* 08/02/08). And certain advertising campaigns would have us believe that our children can become bilingual with only ten minutes viewing, or internet gaming, a day (for example, the internet site www.speakyplanet.fr which claims that children can become bilingual in English

with ten minutes play a day)[2]. The analyses of both academic, and not so academic, articles on the subject tend to present a rather negative view of the effect of television viewing, particularly on young children, and often look at behaviour in general with no specific focus on language development, other than to refute the claim that TV can make children bilingual. In the field of discourse analysis, however, interesting work has been carried out on the analysis of intertextual quotation from film and television in a bilingual family (Beers Fägersten 2012), and the social appropriation of media discourse (Spitulnik 1997). In her (2010) linguistic analysis of fictional television series Bednarek argues that "the dialogue featured in fictional television series can have a significant influence on learners of English in non-English speaking countries" (Bednarek 2010: 10). Bednarek also mentions Quaglio's (2008) argument for the analysis and use of television dialogue in ESL classrooms. As for song, it is frequently proposed as a language learning tool, both for parents and teachers (for example, the Welsh Assembly website which provides advice for parents; the Council of Europe's Common European Framework of Reference for Language, 2001) and much work has been done on using songs in the language classroom (cf. Volume 4 of *Langues Modernes*, 2008), but I have not yet come across any research on the role of song in cases of bilingual first language acquisition. On the other hand, some recent work into the relationship between language and music has produced some fascinating results and hypotheses which, although they do not specifically mention bilingual acquisition, are sometimes applicable to my area of investigation (Mithin 2006, Patel 2008, Trehub, 2003, Trevarthen, 1999, 2010).

The main ways in which my study builds upon and distinguishes itself from all such previous research are the grouping together of these forms of input, the focus on phrases rather than single-word vocabulary items, and most particularly on the borrowing of phrases phenomenon. So far, I have not identified any studies which focus on these aspects in this way or with similar aims. By doing so I hope to provide a meaningful contribution to our understanding of the role of input and interaction in language acquisition, development, and use within a bilingual context.

Constructing the theoretical framework

Taking my observations as the starting point I set out first to learn more about bilingualism, specifically the acquisition of two languages from birth and bilingual behaviour in children. I quickly realised that I would also benefit from reading about other kinds of work

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[2]   See also www.gymglish.fr who propose ten minutes a day of business English learning tools for adults via internet.

in language acquisition, including monolingual first language research, cross-linguistic first language research, and second language acquisition research. I then went on to try to identify the pertinent features of the phrases that the children were borrowing. This led me to learn about Formulaic Language and then Construction Grammar. Parallel to the investigation into these theoretical fields, I also set out to learn more about the nature of the input sources, in the belief that clues about the children's borrowing would be found in the sources themselves. This was an excellent opportunity to learn about the fascinating relationship between language and music, and to explore the fields of children's literature and media studies. A brief foray into the field of Discourse Analysis led me to adopt some of the methods and terminology of conversation analysis in the analysis of my data. Through Discourse Analysis I also discovered Emergent Grammar and realised that it fits in with Formulaic Language and Construction Grammar theories. All of the above is directly applicable and relevant to second language teaching, and I have tried to follow recent developments in this field in the belief that whatever I learn from this study will be useful in my teaching career, and the hope that it may be of interest to other teachers also. Throughout the whole, I have continued to be fascinated by the question of the transmission of culture(s), and have attempted to gain at least a basic knowledge of work in this field also. The result, presented in this dissertation, is a study which applies a very interdisciplinary approach to a very specific situation. The main justification and explanation for such a wide scope, both in content and in theory, is that, from the outset, I have sought to understand and explain naturally occurring linguistic behaviour observed in a real, and therefore complex, family context.

Plan of thesis

The dissertation is organised as follows.

Chapter One presents the theoretical framework adopted and the key notions are presented in six sections. In section 1.1, the social and linguistic environment is discussed, with particular attention to the bilingual environment. In section 1.2, the notion of input is defined and examined in terms of the quantity and quality of input addressed to children and the place of input in bilingual environments and bilingualism research. We look at interaction in bilingual settings, including bilingual families in section 1.3. Section 1.4 presents some research on imitiation and repetition in discourse and development. In section 1.5, we suggest that formulaic language and construction grammar descriptions of language can help to explain the borrowability of phrases. Finally, in section 1.6, I discuss the context of MAPNI-

based interaction, the characteristics of MAPNI which distinguish it from other forms of input, and the rôle of MAPNI in children's social, musical, and linguistic development.

Chapter Two presents the methodology of data collection and analysis. Section 2.1 reviews methods for studying bilingualism. 2.2 looks more closely at parental case studies and discusses the advantages, disadvantages, and ethical issues related to studying one's own children. Section 2.3 is a description of the subjects, their linguistic soundscapes and socialising environments. In section 2.4, data collection and transcription methods are described. In section 2.5 I restate the research questions in more specific terms and I present the categorisation of the data with definitions of the categories developed. In Section 2.6, I illustrate the categories with examples from the data. Section 2.7 describes the methods used to present the data in Chapter 3.

Chapter Three presents the data in four thematic sections. In Part 3.1, I provide examples from the corpus which illustrate several key aspects of Bilingual First Language Acquisition and bilingual family interaction. Section 3.1.1 presents and discusses examples pertaining to borrowing, codemixing, codeswitching, and language choice. Section 3.1.2 discusses examples which appear to be instances of crosslinguistic influence. Section 3.1.3 looks at examples of translation. Section 3.1.4 presents an example of the complexity of bilingual multiparty interaction. The aim of Part 3.1 is to provide examples which illustrate the bilingual first language acquisition of the children and the evolving nature of bilingual family interaction in order to better situate the examples of borrowing from MAPNI in the wider context. Part 3.2 presents examples relating to MAPNI experiences and MAPNI-based interaction. In Section 3.2.1 we look at examples of the children joining in with MAPNI, and in Section 3.2.2 talking about MAPNI. Section 3.2.3 discusses examples of the children performing MAPNI and Section 3.2.4 comprises examples of the children translating MAPNI. In Part 3.3 I present and discuss examples of borrowing from MAPNI. The examples are presented in four sections which group together examples that have been classified as having the same function. Section 3.3.1 shows how the children borrow phrases from MAPNI in order to perform; Section 3.3.2 looks at examples of them borrowing phrases when role-playing; in Section 3.3.3 are examples of the children borrowing phrases which they appear to have associated with an event; in Section 3.3.4 I examine the ways in which the children adapt such phrases to new events.

In **Chapter Four** I answer the research questions with further discussion of the data presented in Chapter Three. I propose a wider definition of borrowing than that habitually

used in bilingualism studies, a definition which sees both inter- and intra-language borrowing as part of the same process. I also discuss in more detail some of the categories and concepts I developed while analysing the data.

In the **Conclusion**, a summary of the main points of the dissertation addresses the questions of how MAPNI is used in bilingual first language acquisition and why speakers, particularly the children and parents in this bilingual family context, borrow linguistic sequences from MAPNI. These results then form the basis for key questions to be investigated in future research.

Chapter 1
Literature review and theoretical framework

The word in language is half someone else's.
It becomes 'one's own' only when the speaker populates it
with his own intention, his own accent,
when he appropriates the word,
adapting it to his own semantic and expressive intention.
Mikhail Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination*. 1981, p.293

Chapter 1 Literature review and theoretical framework

The study of language, and the many forms in which it is manifest, is necessarily interdisciplinary. The study of child language development and use is no exception to this general consideration. The study of bilingualism and bilingual child language development are arguably even more interdisciplinary since they include a political and ideological element that is not often taken into consideration in studies of one language in a monolingual environment. Taking an observational, case study approach to language acquisition means that it is possible to collect naturalistic data that represents real language in use. The advantages and disadvantages of this method are discussed in Chapter Two. Here, the focus is on the variety of different perspectives from which one can approach the study of bilingual children's use of phrases from input, perspectives that are interrelated and each provide an important and relevant analytical approach. In this way, the interdisciplinary nature of language development and use, particularly bilingual language development and use, is reflected in the interdisciplinary analysis of the data. Such an approach can encompass many of the features of the data, avoiding an emphasis on only one aspect or type of feature, and account for them within a range of attested methodological and theoretical frameworks. Rather than have a separate section devoted to bilingualism, it will be the central thread that runs through the literature review. Each time a notion is presented and discussed, it will be done with reference to bilingualism and bilingualism research. This approach will highlight both the relevance of all these research domains to our study and the interdisciplinary nature of bilingualism studies. In this chapter, I present the main notions which form the theoretical approach of the thesis, with reference to research from several subfields of linguistics:

1. The role of the social and linguistic environment as a fundamental determining factor in the acquisition, development and use of language, with particular reference to bilingual environments.

2. Input in acquisition and development, with a focus on the quantity and quality of bilingual input.

3. Interaction: Features of interaction in general, and bilingual interaction in particular, and what children learn from them.

4. Imitation and Repetition.

5. Formulaicity and Construction Grammmar.

1.1 The social and linguistic environment

1.1.1 Why do we use language? Why do infants acquire language?

Although it has been claimed that before trying to answer the question of 'why' we should begin by describing the 'how' of (bilingual) language use[3], I begin here by doing the opposite. This is because I prefer to pass relatively quickly over the possible explanations of 'why' and to devote more time to exploring in depth the 'how.' Human beings, human babies especially, need to learn how to exercise influence over others in order to satisfy their needs and desires. When a baby is born, and for the first years of life, she[4] is totally dependent on others for nourishment and protection. She is also totally dependent on others in order to learn about herself and the environment she has been born into. Older children and adults are also dependent on others, but this dependency takes different forms as they progress through life and learn to do more and more for themselves. Without communication, the expression of needs and desires is difficult, and relies on others' guessing or assuming what another person's needs and desires are as well as the best way to satisfy them. Language plays this role very early in human communication and continues to do so throughout life.

Another important impetus behind learning how to communicate with others is the need and desire to establish and maintain relationships. Forming relationships with others is a fundamental feature of human behaviour, upon which our growth and development depend. Language is a powerful tool when establishing and maintaining relationships, it is a basic feature of this form of social behaviour. We could argue that language, or languaging, to use Becker's term for language production (Becker 1984b in Tannen 2007: 49), *is* the social behaviour itself, of which the forming of relationships is one result. We will look more closely at languaging later.

The relationships that an infant establishes are at first limited to a small number of people with whom she has regular contact: parents, siblings, possibly extended family members. She rapidly takes her place in the community into which she has been born. The family can be seen as the first community of practice in which a child holds membership and to this end learns the code(s) necessary to function within that community. The ways she learns to behave and to communicate will directly reflect the behaviour and communication of the other members of the community, in the first instance the family. The family is itself part of a wider community of practice, or in the case of a bilingual and bicultural family, it may be part of two communities of

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[3]Elizabeth Lanza refers to Li Wei (1998) when she writes, "we need to address the 'how' questions before we can address the 'why' questions (Lanza, 2005).

[4] I will use the generic "she" throughout this paper.

practice. The behavioural and communicative norms of these communities will reach the infant through the filter of the family, and in this way she is also in contact with the wider community(ies) early on. This contact most frequently takes the form of parenting practices, including the way parents speak to their infants, as well as the transmission of shared cultural 'artefacts' such as lullabies, rhymes, and stories that can be shared with even very young infants.

Becoming a member of a community of practice involves appropriating the norms employed in that community, in other words, learning how to communicate and behave like other people, or aligning oneself with others. While alignment enables membership and communication, relationships are negotiated through the interactions that both enable and create/maintain them. In linguistic terms, this means identifying, appropriating and using oneself the words and phrases used by others to designate needs, desires, the environment, and experiences. Imitation and repetition are important elements of this learning process which continues throughout life as we constantly re-negotiate our relationships. However, an important additional element of human nature is the coexistance of a desire to express oneself as a member of a community and be identified as such by the other members of that community, and the desire to express one's individuality. The creative potential of language takes on its importance here. By inventing new ways of saying the same thing, new ways to say new things, of talking about shared experiences in an individual way, a person can single herself out from others and be noticed. Originality, shining out on a backdrop of the familiar, has the stamp of identity, both shared (by elaborating on the existing, suggesting a new combination of previously expressed ideas) and personal (by adding an entirely new element or perspective). In Tannen's words, "the unexpected, like a starred sentence in syntax, is noticed" (Tannen 2007: 55). Language enables us to do this because this is the way that language itself works.

1.1.2 The social and linguistic environment

The natural human capacity for language (in normally functioning infants) will only lead to the development of linguistic competence if the infant interacts with other communicating individuals. Examples of non-acquisition, such as the '*enfant sauvage d'Aveyron,*' have provided accounts of how a lack of such contact can hinder the language acquisition process in far-reaching and irreversible ways. The environment of the infant's early years most often comprises the family, both immediate and extended, and other caregivers, such as a childminder and her family, or the employees of a crèche. The family's social network of friends, and maybe colleagues, may also form an influential element of the child's social environment, although the extent of their influence will depend on the frequency and the nature of contact with them.

Towards the outer edge of the child's social environment is situated the local community, in the form of contact with neighbours, shop assistants, doctors, and so on. At the periphery (geographically, perhaps, although not necessarily in terms of quantity of exposure) is the wider community, both national and international, present and past, with which the child may be in contact through various media forms. The child learns to interact with her environment by taking from it the resources necessary for that interaction. Language is one of these necessary features of social interaction.

The importance of taking into account the environment in which children develop is particularly marked when studying bilingual children and bilingual behaviour in general. Specific features of the bilingual environment need to be taken into account when examining all aspects of bilingualism. It is probably for this reason that researchers in bilingualism, such as Grosjean, De Houwer, and Lanza, have developed specific methodologies and solid arguments for providing detailed descriptions of environmental factors in studies of bilingual acquisition and language use. A most useful notion provided by De Houwer for the description of the linguistic environment, particularly the bilingual environment, is 'linguistic soundscape':

> "The totality of the spoken language use that children encounter constitutes their personal 'linguistic soundscape'...The concept...includes children's social networks... audio-media of all kinds and speech overheard from people who are not part of children's social networks" (De Houwer 2009:97).

De Houwer adapts the notions of 'soundscape' as used by Finnegan (2005) which refers to all sounds that a particular person can hear at a particular time, and 'linguistic landscape' which has been used to refer to the written language that people meet up with on signs in public spaces (e.g. Gorter, 2006). She specifies that "for children who cannot yet read, this written language is not yet relevant: they are limited to what they can hear" (*ibid*). I believe that the linguistic landscape can be relevant to non-literate children insofar as they can be exposed to written language in public spaces by having it read aloud by other people around them, (older siblings are particularly prone to read signs out loud and comment on them or ask questions about them), and of course, they are exposed to written language through having books read to them. Usually, even a very young child will pay attention to the visual aspect of language since they will usually look at a book while it is being read to them. Even if this attention is peripheral, the written word still constitutes an element of the shared book-reading experience. Sometimes, readers may have to explicitly draw young children's attention to the written text, for example if the child is blocking the reader's view of it. De Houwer does not exclude this possibility and states that "songs, books being read aloud, puppet theatre shows and the like are all part of developing

young children's linguistic soundscapes" (De Houwer 2009:99). I will adopt the term 'linguistic soundscape' to refer to purely oral linguistic experience, and I will use the encompassing term 'linguistic environment' to refer to language encountered both orally and in a textual form. In addition, it is sometimes necessary to differentiate between text encountered by children who cannot read and text read by children themselves. Clearly, a child's overall linguistic experience moves onto a different level once he or she learns to read alone. The leap into literacy is one of relevance to this study and will be discussed in more detail in Section1.6.

1.1.3 Environmentally-based, or domain-based definitions of bilingualism

The importance for language acquisition of the linguistic environment is clearly revealed through studies of bilingual acquisition. The fundamental role of the linguistic environment becomes more visible in bilingualism studies than in studies of monolingual acquisition thanks to the different domains of language use within which a bilingual child develops her linguistic competence. This is because, according to Grosjean's complementarity principle, "bilinguals usually acquire and use their languages for different purposes, in different domains of life, with different people. Different aspects of life often require different languages" (Grosjean 2008:23). The complementarity principle encompasses the notions of dominance and balance often referred to in bilingualism studies. The complementarity principle can also account for what Grosjean terms 'language restructuring.' That is to say, a bilingual's language configuration may change over time in response to changes in that person's situation, interlocutors, and language functions (Grosjean 2008:26-27). In Grosjean's description of the factors leading to the acquisition, development, and maintenance of another language in children, the *need* to use the language is paramount and interacts with amount and type of input, the role of the family, school, and community, and those other people's attitudes towards the language, its culture, and bilingualism itself (Grosjean 2010:172-177).

Evidence for such a claim comes from studies of children who have acquired and then lost one of their languages. Grosjean (1982: 177-178) gives the example of Burling's (1978) case study of his son, Stephen, who became fluent in Garo during the two years he spent living in India. At the age of three, when the family left the Garo hills, Stephen was bilingual in Garo and English with Garo as the dominant language. Only six months after the family's return to the United States, Stephen had almost entirely lost his ability to speak and understand Garo. Grosjean points to this example as evidence of how "children will become bilingual when psychosocial factors create a need for communication in two languages…and how they will revert back to monolingualism just as quickly when such factors disappear or are no longer

considered important," (Grosjean 1982: 179). Ronowicz's (1999) study of language attrition in a Polish-English bilingual child, Zuza, makes a direct link between exposure to each language and competence, which he measures with reference to the subject's lexicon. Whilst mostly confined to the Polish home environment, Polish was Zuza's dominant language. Ronowicz specifies that "Zuza's exposure to Polish was restricted to the domain of home and Polish speaking friends as well as bed-time stories read to her by the parents" (Ronowicz 1999: 109). However, as she had more and more contact with the English-speaking community, including growing exposure to English language television, she gradually became more dominant in English. Lily Wong Fillmore's explanation for Kai's loss of Cantonese was that the need for English was greater, since it was perceived by Kai as the only way to become American, and to be accepted by his peers (Wong Fillmore 2000). Indeed, Wong Fillmore puts so much emphasis on the influence of the sociolinguistic environment that she claims it can lead to complete loss of the primary language in the case of minority language children receiving pre-school education in a second language (Wong Fillmore 1991, 2000).

The model offered by Grosjean's complementarity principle describes the relationship between societal factors and individual bilingualism on a pragmatic level. Thanks to this model it is possible to account for differences in bilingualism among members of the same community. The model is also useful for describing community bilingualism or situations of language contact, (official, frontier, or immigrant). In such cases each language may be used in a different domain and with fluctuating degrees of competence, for example Language A at home and in the local community, Language B at work and for government business. Official bilingualism is usually explicitly fostered by the state through bilingual education programmes as in Wales, Catalonia, and Canada, for example. In some cases, national governments have been obliged to take into account the linguistic history and bilingual reality of certain geographical areas of a country, where communities living in areas where two languages have coexisted for several generations, or communities living near geographical and linguistic frontiers may require more widespread bilingual education than elsewhere, as is the case, for example, in the Breton and Alsace regions of France. Such programmes often lead to bilingual language use within clearly defined domain boudaries, for example Language A at home and in the playground, Language B in the classroom.

The bilingualism of immigrants, when it is recognised as such, is sometimes reinforced through school and/or community education. Hélot (2007) discusses the possible reasons why the French National Education system generally fails to recognise and incorporate into classroom

practice the bilingualism of immigrant children or the children of immigrant parents, while in other countries, such as the United Kingdom, Canada, or the United States, research and practice have been addressing this question for several decades. In the case of immigrant bilingualism, language contact is not necessarily limited to particular geographical areas but is a phenomenon which increasingly affects society as a whole. The rapid and recent increase in global population movement has lead to a situation of multicultural and multilingual society which is reflected in classrooms. For example, according to Anderson, Anderson, Lynch and Sapiro,

> "in Vancouver more than 50% of school children speak a language other than English at home. In some classrooms, more than a dozen linguistic and cultural groups are represented. According to Laframboise and Wynn (1994), 23 of the 25 largest school districts in the United States have a majority of students with limited proficiency in English" (Anderson, Anderson, Lynch and Sapiro 2008: 195).

Situations such as these are becoming widespread in many of the world's countries. Student exchange programmes are one of the causes of population movement which can lead to mixed couples bringing up bilingual children. The number of babies born to couples who met during an Erasmus exchange programme has been estimated at one million (Le Figaro 22/10/12).[5]

Of course, within such societal language contact situations, there are always a variety of possible individual configurations and so the study of community or societal bilingualism cannot ignore the individual experience, just as the individual must always be studied with the wider context in mind, particularly if the analysis of the data is context-related. Each individual is subject to a specific and fluctuating set of societal forces, and will present a unique language configuration with regard to both linguistic and functional competence. No two individuals then, even within the same family, experience and develop bilingualism in the same way.

1.1.4 The family as a sociolinguistic environment

The family is the first and most important sociolinguistic environment for the infant. This status is highlighted in studies of bilingual acquisition, since the linguistic environment of a bilingual child's family largely determines the nature of the child's bilingualism, at least initially. According to De Houwer, "the family is the primary socializing agent for the development of Bilingual First Language Acquisition" (De Houwer 2009: 7). This is because "BFLA is defined in terms of a particular learning context" (De Houwer 2009: 4). De Houwer's definition of BFLA is based on the notion of an infant's linguistic soundscape, or in other words, the languages she hears from birth. We can thus distinguish between bilingual children who hear two languages

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[5]I mention this because our subjects fit into this category and are therefore representative of this European trend.

simultaneously from birth from children who begin to hear a second language some time later. De Houwer refers to a BFLA child's two languages as Language A and Language Alpha and thereby avoids the possible reference to order of acquisition of two languages labelled L1 and L2, or the possible assumption that a language labelled LA is "stronger", or more dominant, than one labelled LB. She carefully distinguishes between Bilingual First Language Acquisition (BFLA) and other possible configurations of language acquisition:

> "Monolingual First Language Acquisition (MFLA) when children hear just one language from birth (their Language 1), and Early Second Language Acquisition (ESLA), where monolingual children's language environments change in such a way that they start to hear a second language (Language 2), with some regularity over and above their Language 1. Often this happens through day-care or preschool" (*ibid*).

De Houwer is also careful to point out that it is not because a child hears two languages, either from birth or in early childhood, that she will actually learn to speak both of them.

Wong Fillmore also emphasizes the importance of the family's socializing role in her research on children's loss of the primary language in immigrant families. She argues that families must provide children with "the basic elements for successful functioning. These include: a sense of belonging; knowledge of who one is and where one comes from; an understanding of how one is connected to important others and events in one's life; the ability to deal with adversity; and knowing one's responsibility to self, family, community" (Wong Fillmore 2000: 206). According to Wong Fillmore, the most negative result of primary language loss in a child is that the family is no longer able to provide this "curriculum of the home."

Lanza approaches the study of infant bilingualism, or bilingual first language acquistion, from a sociolinguistic perspective which takes the family as the basic unit in which language socialization occurs. She quotes the sociolinguist Corsaro (1997: 88) to highlight "the utility of conceptualizing families as local cultures in which young children actively participate, contribute to their own social development, and affect the participation of all other family members" (Lanza 2005: 24). Lanza proposes an approach to the language socialization of infant bilinguals that considers the family as a community of practice and provides the following definition by Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1999: 186): "an aggregate of people who, united by common enterprise, develop and share ways of doing things, ways of talking, beliefs, and values – in short, practices" (*ibid*).

1.1.5 Attitudes towards bilingualism and language in the wider community

Language socialization takes place in the family first and foremost, then, but this does not mean we can forget the potentially determinant role of the wider community. Support for the

development of bilingualism from the environment is crucial, argues De Houwer (De Houwer 2009: 92). Hélot also mentions this factor, with particular reference to the attitude of educational institutions towards bilingualism and towards the status of different languages. Hélot noted that the positive status of French had an impact on the way the bilingual families she studied in Dublin were perceived in the community, by teachers, neighbours and friends. (Hélot 2007: 72). Indeed, the attitudes of the wider community towards the languages concerned, and towards bilingualism itself, can have far-reaching effects on the way a bilingual child perceives herself, her languages and her identity. Yamamoto also mentions that the prestige of the languages involved can play a role, meaning that bilingualism concerning high status languages is more readily accepted by monolingual communities (cited in Lanza 2007: 50). If a child's bilingualism is not noticed, nurtured and positively valued by the community, she may decide she no longer needs two languages to belong, to be an accepted member of that community. We can only hope that as the world's children continue to reflect the increasingly multilingual and multicultural nature of humanity, bilingualism and multilingualism will become so much the norm that such negative societal pressures will eventually disappear.

1.2 Input

The linguistic environment can be envisaged in terms of the input children hear and the language others use to interact with them. We will first turn our attention to the role of input in acquisition before then looking at the role of interaction. Studies of input in acquistion at first focused on the form of the input children hear and how it affects the acquisition of language. Research then began to address the questions of the quantity and quality of input, looking at the effect of the frequency and content of input on the acquisition and use of language.

1.2.1 Definitions of input, intake and learning / acquisition

In this section, the term *input* refers to the everyday, face-to-face language that children hear addressed to them and to others within their hearing. This includes the language of ordinary conversation and directive language which communicates instructions, orders, sanctions, and so on. Musical, audio-visual, poetic, and narrative input (MAPNI) will be the focus of Section 1.6. Some overlap between these forms of input exists, such as when conversation involves telling a story of a past event, or describing an imagined desired event, which can be seen as forms of narration. The narrative, even fictional, nature of much of human language use is discussed more fully in Section 1.6. In the following review we focus on more "ordinary" everyday, here and now, input.

"To understand how children acquire a language we must know something about the language they hear - both in terms of specific utterances and in terms of the constructions these instantiate" (Tomasello 2005: 11). Although it is possible to distinguish between the language that children hear and the language that is addressed directly to them, we must never forget the importance of the linguistic environment as a whole, as mentioned above. Many studies of language acquisition focus on the language that is addressed to children, although some studies have revealed that children also acquire knowledge about language and language use through observing the speech and interaction of others.

Many studies in second language acquisition refer to intake as well as to input. The *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Applied Linguistics* defines intake as

> "that part of input which the learner accommodates to or utilizes as part of the process of internalizing new language. It is possible to view second language acquisition in terms of the three variables – input, intake and output; see Ellis (1994 : 349) for a more complex statement of this. In this formulation, a major issue is how parts of input are converted into intake" (Johnson and Johnson 1999).

The authors refer to second language acquisition but we can suppose that the same variables are also present in monolingual and bilingual acquisition, although first language, second language and bilingual first language acquisition research may not define them in the same way. According to Ellis (1995), intake is language that has been acquired. It is also the middle link between input and output. Reinders proposes the following definition of intake:

> Intake is a subset of the detected input (comprehended or not), held in short-term memory from which connections with long-term memory are potentially created or strengthened. (Reinders 2012: 28).

Language learning or acquisition, then, is the process of transforming elements present in the input into knowledge about language which can be held in either short or long-term memory and then either enable the comprehension of future input or be expressed in output.

It is extremely difficult to measure with precision the influence of different kinds of language input on the acquisition of a language, as can be seen by the lack of correlation in the results of several studies that looked for links between the nature of CDS and children's language development (Gallaway & Richards 1994). Nevertheless, child language research generally concurs that input is a determining feature of language acquisition, both monolingual and bilingual. As Lieven argues, child language research needs to focus on "the central issue to be explained: how do children learn to talk from what they hear?" (Lieven 1994: 73).

I would like to add to these considerations of input as the language that children hear, the possibility that older children (and adults) also learn language from reading. Here, we can talk of

written input. In his discussion of how foreign language students learn vocabulary from input, Ellis (1995) distinguishes between implicit learning and explicit learning. He argues that each type of learning plays a different yet complementary role in vocabulary learning. He defines them as follows:

> *Implicit* learning is acquisition of knowledge about the underlying structure of a complex stimulus environment by a process which takes place naturally, simply and without conscious operations. *Explicit* learning is a more conscious operation where the individual makes and tests hypotheses in a search for structure. Knowledge attainment can thus take place implicitly (a nonconscious and automatic abstraction of the structural nature of the material arrived at from experience of instances), explicitly through selective learning (the learner searching for information and building then testing hypotheses), or, because we can communicate using language, explicitly via given rules (assimilation following explicit instruction) (Ellis 1995: 6).

It is plausible that all three types of vocabulary learning are present in first language acquisition also especially since, as we will see below, adults offer children explicit and implicit information about the meanings of words and how to use them.

1.2.2 Input-based definitions of bilingualism

De Houwer's definition of Bilingual First Language Acquisition (BFLA) is grounded in the belief that quantity of input plays a key role in language acquisition. De Houwer emphasizes the role of input by defining BFLA as "the development of language in children who hear two languages spoken to them from birth" (De Houwer 2009:2). It is this attention to the fundamental role of input that distinguishes De Houwer's definition from other, more functionally-based definitions of bilingualism. De Houwer's definition is different because it is specifically designed to describe the acquisition of two languages from birth, whereas other definitions may be focused on the use of two languages throughout the lifespan.

1.2.3 The input that is addressed to children

Motherese, Infant Directed Speech (IDS), and Child Directed Speech (CDS) are all terms that are used to describe the language that is addressed to babies, infants, and children. Research has sought to identify the characteristics of such speech and to determine its role in language acquisition. According to Snow, much research was carried out on the nature of child directed speech (CDS) in reaction to Chomsky's (1965) contention that "input was ill-formed, incoherent, and complex" so "the poverty of the input had to be compensated for by the innate structure available to the language learner" (Snow 1995:180). Those studies supported the notion that "the speech directed to young children (child directed speech, CDS), whether by adults or

older siblings, differs from speech among peers on a variety of dimensions. It is syntactically simpler, more limited in vocabulary and in propositional complexity, more correct, and more fluent...such speech can be seen as a simpler, cleaner corpus from which to learn a language" (Snow 1995:180). Different features of IDS/CDS are conducive to acquisition at different ages and in different contexts, and the nature of IDS evolves with the age of the child to whom it is addressed. Mothers finetune their speech, including prosody, to the infant's current linguistic level.

Mithin provides a detailed description of the phonological aspects of IDS in his 2006 study of the evolution of language. IDS has higher overall pitch, wider range of pitch, longer hyperarticulated vowels and pauses, shorter phrases, and greater repetition than speech to older children and adults (Mithin, 2006: 69). According to Mithin, adults and older children talk like this when addressing infants because the reaction of infants shows that they are sensitive to "the rhythms, tempo and melodies of speech long before they are able to understand the meanings of words" (*ibid*). The exaggerated prosodic element of IDS helps children acquire the syntax of language by making pauses reliable cues that enable the segmentation of the speech stream. Another function of exaggerated prosody is to help children learn about turn taking. Studies by Fernald (1989, 1991, 1992) and Fernald, Taeschner, Dunn, Papousek, de Boysson-Bardies, and Fukui (1989) have demonstrated that IDS is a more powerful medium than adult directed speech for communicating intent to young children (cited in Mithin, 2006: 71). The melodies and rhythms of speech help the child learn to appreciate the other speakers' feelings and intentions, enabling her to develop theory of mind, the ability to attribute mental states to oneself and to others. Finally, significant crosslinguistic similarities in the use of prosody indicate that there may be some universals within IDS. There are also some language specific variations, for example in tonal languages the meaning of words can vary according to their pitch, whereas in stress languages pitch can indicate the importance of a word within a particular utterance.

In her 1999 article 'Acquisition in the course of conversation', Clark points out that most of the studies into child-directed speech carried out in the 1980s and 1990s focused on the form of adult speech to children, but provided little information about the content of such speech. These early studies provided information about the rate of speech in CDS, the prosody of CDS, and the vocabulary used in CDS. According to Clark, in the course of conversation with young children, adults also provide pragmatic directions about language use in general and about word-use in particular. They offer new words, information for distinguishing terms in the same domain, and information that relates one term to another in meaning (Clark 1999). It would seem

that adults not only offer children exposure to input which makes implicit learning possible, but also "train" children in explicit learning.

Seigal and Peterson, in their study of children's understanding of questions about lies and mistakes, point out that learning about conversational intentions is also dependent on the nature of the input which is addressed to them:

> "[Children's] early conversational habits are in tune with the speech input of caregivers who, for the most part, have not set aside conversational rules. In many societies, when caregivers speak to young children, they generally shorten their utterances and do not say more or less than is necessary to sustain conversation; they are clear, relevant, and informative in referring to objects and events in the here and now, and they are keen to correct truth value in the child's speech rather than errors of syntax (Brown & Hanlon, 1970; De Villiers & De Villiers, 1978, pp. 192-198; Ferguson, 1977)" (Siegal & Peterson 1996: 322).

It is not only the form of CDS that matters, then. The style with which adults or older children address children can be more or less child-centred. A child-centred style involves expanding upon child utterances to involve the child in conversation-like exchanges. The topic-expanding style has been frequently associated, in the literature, with successful language development. However, Lieven warns that this style seems to be adopted particularly by middle class highly educated parents, and we must be cautious about making strong claims for the importance of such a style (Lieven 1994: 67).

1.2.4 Input that is not directly addressed to children

Studies have shown that children can learn language by overhearing speech addressed to other people. We know this from studies of bilingual communities where only one language is used to address children. For example, in the Papua New Guinean village of Gapun, very young infants are not spoken to at all. When adults do start talking to them, it is in only one of the village's two languages. The children of Gapun all understand both languages, but only speak one of them (De Houwer 2009:101-2). Lieven (1994) reviews studies of the many different sociolinguistic environments in which children learn to speak around the world. She describes communities in which pre-linguistic infants are not spoken to or are not explicitly taught how to speak and compares them with the more mainstream environment in which many studies of language acquisition typically occur, that is middle class, educated parents in urban, technological settings. She also notes that it is often the case that in cultures where speech is not addressed to pre-linguistic infants, the baby is always present in the social space, often in a sling, and therefore in a position to overhear language being spoken to and by third parties. In the more frequently studied language learning environments of advanced industrial societies, this may not be the case at all since mothers often raise their children alone and do not keep babies with them

all the time, but put them down to sleep and play (Lieven 1994:61). Lieven concludes that

> "in order to learn to speak the particular language of their community, children need to be able to (1) register distributional features of the language and (2) construct utterance-meaning pairs. The child-centered style of speaking to children may be one way of enabling them to do this but it is clearly not essential. Other ways of talking to and around children also seem well adapted to generate the kind of language from which the child can learn" (Lieven 1994: 72)

Further evidence for the learning of language from overheard speech, comes from the acquisition of personal pronouns, which the child has to work out by observing referential shifts in conversation among third parties (De Houwer 2009: 103). On the other hand, this is not always the case. For example, the Kaluli technique of eliciting child imitation of adult-modeled utterances means that "the complex system of shift of reference in Kaluli is directly modeled" (Lieven 1994: 71). Children learn from overhearing and from a variety of child-centred interaction styles; the environment in which the child is socialized into language clearly influences the kind of input addressed to and overheard by the child.

1.2.5 Quantity of input

The importance of early communication for the development of language and cognition, and the transmitting role played by the family, was highlighted in Hart and Risely's 1995 study, *The Early Catastrophe*. Their longitudinal research into the causes of learning differences among children entering the American school system, sought answers in children's pre-school home experience. Hart and Risely discovered that the major variable accounting for the wide gap in learning abilities was the number of words, and also to some extent the variety of words, addressed to a child. According to Hart and Risely, infants all learn to become "socially appropriate members of their families" (Hart & Risely 2003: 6), however the differences in the quantity of linguistic input, which can vary from the average child on welfare hearing 616 words per hour to the average child in a professional family hearing 2153 words per hour, result in very different cumulative experiences of vocabulary acquisition. The authors extrapolated the averages in the observational data and calculated that before the age of three, the average welfare child would have heard 3.2 million words, the average working-class child 6.5 million words, and the average child in a professional family 11.2 million words. Hart and Risely show that such wide differences in the family input are directly correlated to children's vocabulary development and that the developmental trajectory of the children's vocabulary growth curves presented an ever-widening gap between children from different socio-economic backgrounds. This gap is, they claim, impossible to overcome, even when intensive pre-school programmes are put in place, and the children maintain their differences in levels of achievement right

through to age ten (and, one assumes, beyond, although the study does not mention any later age group) (Hart & Risely 2003: 4-9). However, Nation claims that Hart and Risely's study is methodologically flawed, since "a cumulative count of types is not a measure of vocabulary size." According to Nation, this methodological problem means that we can not "equate less interaction with lower vocabulary size"[6].

"Children, it has been argued, must on average acquire some 10 new words a day from age two to age six, if they are to attain the 14,000-word-level estimate established for this age (e.g., Carey 1978, Clark 1993, Angli 1993). Where do they get all these words? Under what circumstances do they add new words to their lexical store in memory?" (Clark 2007: 158). In accordance with Hart and Risely's claim, Weizman and Snow (2001), state that the variability in total vocabulary acquisition across children of the same age can be explained by differences in the amount of input to which children are exposed during their early years so that greater lexical input leads to a larger vocabulary (Weizman and Snow 2001: 266).

In his 1995 study of the psychology of second language vocabulary acquisition, Ellis quotes Sternberg (1985) and Jensen (1980) who both argue that, although much vocabulary is learned from context during reading, simple exposure to vocabulary is not enough to ensure the acquisition of that vocabulary. Both researchers point to differences in knowledge acquisition and ability to educe the meaning of words as having more impact on vocabulary learning than exposure. As Sternberg argues, "what seems to be critical is not sheer amount of experience but rather what one has been able to learn from and do with that experience" (Sternberg 1985: 307, in Ellis 1995: 10). Jensen argues the same point: "The crucial variable in vocabulary size is not exposure per se, but conceptual need and inference of meaning from context, which are forms of eduction" (Jensen 1980: 146-7, in Ellis 1995: 10). We can conclude from the studies referred to so far that learning vocabulary is related to both the quantity of exposure to input and the development of metalinguistic learning strategies which can lead to the tranformation of input into intake and thereby the long-term retention of vocabulary. Although Sternberg, Jensen and Ellis are all discussing the learning of vocabulary from reading, I believe a case could be made for applying their arguments to learning from spoken language also. This is because, as Clark has demonstrated many times (e.g., 1999, 2002, 2007, 2010), adults provide children with metalinguistic information about words and encourage the development of explicit vocabulary learning strategies.

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[6]   Article accessed on 19/02/15 at: http://www.victoria.ac.nz/lals/about/staff/publications/paul-nation/Hart_and_Risley_critique.pdf

1.2.6 Quality of input

"A language can be learned only if there is input of the proper sort" asserted Wong Fillmore in 1979, (p.204) but what is the proper sort of input? After looking at the quantity of language addressed to children, Hart and Risely turned their attention to the quality of that language. They looked at the number of encouragements and discouragements, affirmatives and prohibitions, and noted that the parents who talked the most to their children also used more encouraging and positive language, while the parents who talked the least to their children used more negative and discouraging language than encouraging language (Hart and Risely 2003: 5). According to Hoff-Ginsberg and Tardif, higher socio-economic status mothers, compared with lower socio-economic status mothers, "talk more, provide more object labels, sustain conversation topics longer, respond more contingently to their children's speech and elicit more talk from their children" (Hoff-Ginsberg and Tardif 1995). In other words, while all parents use 'caretaker language' with their children, that is directive language that is designed to get things done, those children who heard the highest amount of language also heard a different sort of language in addition to caretaker language. Parents who provide more than caretaker language also encourage their children to participate in conversations, ask them to give their opinions or to talk about experiences they have had, spend regular time in shared book reading, engage in word play, and talk to their children while playing with them. In short, they give positive feedback and engage children in child-centred interaction using complex language. We will look more closely at the kinds of language children hear and use when reading, singing, and rhyming in Section 1.6.

1.2.7 The Bilingual input setting

Just as there are huge differences in the quantity and quality of language heard by children learning one language, so too may BFLA children be exposed to a wide variety of input settings. The amount of time spent hearing and interacting in each of their two languages will vary greatly from one child to the next. Variation can depend on such things as the amount of time spent sleeping, as well as the amount of time spent talking to or playing with speakers of each language. De Houwer points out that "the total amount of input in a language depends primarily on the combination of the amount of time available for interaction and the overall speaking rates of the people interacting with the child, rather than on the number of languages a child hears" (De Houwer 2009:119-21). A child growing up in a bilingual input setting, who doesn't take naps and who spends a lot of time verbally interacting with both parents, might hear more of each of her two languages than a child

growing up in a monolingual setting who sleeps a lot and who doesn't spend a lot of time engaged in verbal interaction.

The amount of language addressed to a child may also vary in quantity and complexity depending on the age of the child and the position they hold in the family. The figures for the number of words addressed to an infant and a toddler in one German Dutch bilingual family (Van de Weijer, 2000, cited in De Houwer 2009: 121-3), indicate that parents speak more to toddlers than to infants; the utterances they use with toddlers are also longer. These findings correspond to the Hart and Risely figures for monolingual children. De Houwer's analysis of Allen et al.'s (2002) study of child-caregiver interactions in English-Inukitut families in Inuit villages reveals a correlation between the amount of adult speech and the amount of child speech. Again, the figures for the bilingual children here reflect those for monolingual children in Hart and Risely's study (De Houwer 2009: 124). When looking at absolute frequency of linguistic input, then, the bilingual input setting seems to have a similar effect on language development as the monolingual input setting.

In a bilingual input setting, children may hear more of one language than of the other. In such cases, it is possible to look at the relative frequency of input in each language. Differences in the overall frequency with which children hear each of their languages may account for the fact that some BFLA children have a stronger and a weaker language (De Houwer 2009: 295-6). There is a correlation between the amount of speech heard in each language and the amount produced by the child in each language. The same correlation may exist for mixed utterances and is linked to the interlocutor's own relative use of mixed utterances (De Houwer 2009: 124-5). Bilingual language behaviour in the input such as borrowing, mixing, switching, translating, and cross-linguistic transfer probably leads to the same kinds of behaviour in children's production, however the links between such input and child production can be complex. For example, some BFLA children will produce mixes even when they do not hear them in the input (there are examples of this in my own data). De Houwer claims that

> "BFLA children's mixed utterances...mainly involve insertions of a single word from the other language. As Cantone (2007) has recently argued, you don't need complicated constraints to explain young BFLA children's mixed utterances. Yet most of their mixed utterances are similar to many adult utterances that combine words from two languages. The very complicated code switching used by some adult bilinguals, however, is not a feature of young BFLA children's speech" (De Houwer 2009: 297).

An exception to this may be found in communities where two languages are in close contact resulting in mixed language dialects, for example the English-Spanish language mix,

Llanito, spoken in Gibraltar. In places like this, children learn the codeswitching norms of the community. However, I know one case of a child, Joshua, brought up by Llanito-speaking parents who has never spoken either Llanito or Spanish himself. The reasons for Joshua's non-acquisition of the bilingual language behaviour of his parents is probably related to frequency factors at a crucial stage of language development. Between the ages of one and four years old Joshua lived in England and spent a lot of time in the care of an English-speaking childminder since both of his parents worked full time. Upon his return to Gibraltar and entering school, his English-only language habit had been so firmly established that Joshua has never spoken Llanito, despite living in a Llanito-speaking environment ever since. This can be explained because in Gibraltar it is possible to function normally in the community speaking only English, English is the official and high status language there, and finally, since the arrival of satellite television, Gibraltarian children are no longer exposed to Spanish-language television as was the case when Joshua's parents were children. The complexity of the relationship between the quality and quantity of exposure to input languages can not alone explain the development of a BFLA child's language. The interactions which the child observes and in which the child participates are also a major factor to which we now turn our attention.

1.3 Interaction

The Oxford Dictionary defines interaction broadly as "reciprocal action or influence". Macmillan Dictionary goes further: "the activity of being with and talking to other people, and the way that people react to each other; the process by which different things affect each other or change each other." From these definitions we can see that interaction is frequently related to discourse and includes an element of joint action and mutual influence. When looking at interaction in terms of the role it plays in the acquisition of two languages, it is necessary to retain a broad definition which includes pre-verbal infant interaction with others while maintaining the discursive notion inherent in "talk." We can consider that pre-verbal interaction, or protoconversation, is a kind of prelude to discursive interaction through language. Interaction, then, necessarily involves at least two people who may act together and influence each other, and this with or without verbal communication. The term "communication" is too narrow to describe the multi-dimensional nature of interaction, of which communication is a part. Papoušek provides a definition of communication which does not include the reciprocal action or influence element of interaction which interests us here but which, places emphasis on the multimodal nature of communication:

"What does it mean to communicate? In its broadest sense, communication between two or

more individuals means to transmit or share information of any kind by means of verbal or nonverbal behavior. In this respect, any behavior – alone or in concert with behaviors from other domains – may function as a means of communication" (M. Papoušek 2007:258).

The notion that the two participants in an interaction can mutually influence each other is a very important one in the domain of language acquisition. It is too frequently assumed that only the adult influences, or even teaches, the child. Even though the adult is seen to react to the child and adapt to her needs and abilities, the adult is nevertheless often given the more influential role of language model and input provider, or language-culture information transmitter. However, Trevarthen emphasizes that infants do not need to be taught language or even social behaviour. It is enough that they spend time with other people of all ages in order to become members of the community[7]. According to Trevarthen, infants'

> "intelligence is prepared to grow and be educated by sharing the *meaning* of intentions and feelings with other humans by means of many expressive forms of body movement that may be perceived in several modalities" (Trevarthen 2010: 3).

Trevarthen emphasizes the role infants themselves play in the process. In protoconversations "Mother and infants are highly cooperative in creating the turn-taking of vocalisations and visible and tangible expressions, like experienced musicians and dancers improvising" (Trevarthen 1999: 178).

Lanza argues that when looking at language socialization, we must not see the child as a passive receiver of the socialization process whereby she is molded into the communicative norms of the community. Rather, children are active agents in the socialization process and can have an effect on that process and on the way other members of the community behave with them (Lanza 2005: 24-5).

> "As Corsaro (1997) points out, the term "socialization" itself has an individualistic and forward-looking connotation that is inescapable; it gives the idea of training and preparing the individual child for the future. Children, however, are active, creative social agents who produce their own unique children's cultures while at the same time they contribute to the production of adult society" (Lanza 2005: 25).

From this perspective, the dialogic nature of interaction gives rise to socialization (Lanza 2007: 47).

During the first few months of life, infants and their caregivers learn to interact with each other through synchronized routines. Interactional synchrony involves infants and caregivers connecting and disconnecting with each other through eye contact, touch, and vocalisations in a way which establishes trust and security and enables infants to learn how to control their

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[7]http://www.educationscotland.gov.uk/video/p/video_tcm4637499.asp

emotions. Tronick describes this wordless dialogue as a kind of dance between parent and child which is characteristic of most interactions[8] and claims this first form of interaction is essential to babies' growth. If these initial emotional dialogues are successful, the infant will develop a secure attachment which will enable her to use the caregiver as a secure base from which to go out and explore and to which to retreat in a situation of perceived threat. Tronick's still face paradigm, (in which infants are filmed interacting normally with their mother who then stops interacting with the infant for a few minutes), shows how important social interaction is for babies' development. Attentive, responsive parents are able to scaffold their child's development. With an experiment involving infants being played a recording of their mother interacting with them in a previous video link protoconversation, Trevarthen and his colleagues demonstrated that infants need interaction to be live otherwise they lose "anticipatory control of the contact" and he concludes that the experiment "proves that it is the precise interplay of address and reply in shared time that keeps the mutual happy engagement going" (Trevarthen 1999: 196).

Vocalised interactions between mothers and infants as young as six weeks have been analysed by Trevarthen and colleagues, who have demonstrated the rhythmical, musical, and dialogic qualities of these interactions. According to Trevarthen, infants learn the rhythmic, musical and synchronic elements of conversation and the emotions they communicate before they learn the meaning of individual words or phrases. He claims that "momentary emotions are communicated with infants... transformed into "emotional narratives" in which meaningful memories can crystallise, and ... those "narratives" contribute to the development of structures in language and thought" (Trevarthen 1999: 195).

So interaction is an important element in children's emotional development right from early infancy and it is also necessary for the acquisition of language and thought, as part of the overall development of the child. It seems that many of the interactional routines that parents instinctively repeat with their children are particularly conducive to this scaffolded development:

> "Early vocabulary development has been linked to participation in social interactional routines, in particular book-reading (Ninio, 1980, 1983; Ninio & Bruner, 1978) and to routinized games between mother and young child (Bruner, 1975, 1983; Ratner & Bruner, 1978) in which the child has predictable expectations and interpretable contexts in which to use new lexical items. Scaffolded social and personal instruction within the child's zone of proximal development can contribute critically to a child's vocabulary acquisition (Vygostky 1978)" (Weizman and Snow 2001 :266).

In addition to interaction games and routines, everyday conversation also plays a key role. Eve V. Clark has conducted a great deal of research into the way children learn about language

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[8]   https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dEziPGohFqI&noredirect=1

and how to use it through parent-child conversation:

> "To communicate with language, children need to master the conventional meanings of the terms in use around them. For this, they must acquire a good number of the stock of conventional words and word meanings in use in the community in which they are growing up.... much of this acquisition takes place in conversation." (Clark 1999:1)

According to Clark and Wong (2002), during conversation, children infer the meanings of words and adults provide pragmatic directions about language use. Their interactional approach to meaning acquisition required Clark and Wong to move the focus of research on child-directed speech away from an analysis of the form of adult speech to young children, and to look more closely instead at the content of adult speech to young children in everyday situations.

> "Research on child-directed speech up to now has focused almost exclusively on the FORMS of speech addressed to young children. Studies have documented the highly grammatical nature of adult utterances in child-directed-speech, the rather short mean length of utterances, the extended pitch range, and the formulaic nature of certain utterance "frames" produced by adults who are talking to children aged one to three years old (Snow & Ferguson 1977; Gallaway & Richards 1994)" (Clark and Wong 2002:183).

In their 2002 study, Clark and Wong discuss what children need from conversations in order to learn about word meanings and they identify in the content of CDS different forms of metalanguage directions that parents provide.

> "First, as in any conversation, we assume that certain basic pragmatic conditions apply – that the speaker and addressee share a joint focus of attention, that they make use of physical co-presence, and that they make use of conversational co-presence, as they arrive at a mutually agreed-on interpretation of what the speaker intended to convey" (Clark and Wong 2002: 183-4).

In order to associate word-forms with meanings, one- and two-year-olds need to know

> "what the conventional word-form *is* for an intended meaning, what distinguishing information can be used to keep that form-meaning combination DISTINCT from any neighboring meanings; and how each conventional word-form is RELATED in meaning to its neighbors" (Clark and Wong 2002: 184).

Adults provide some of this information in the form of direct offers and indirect offers. Direct offers of unfamiliar words can be embedded in frames such as *What is/what's …?*, *This is...*, *That is/that's...*, and *This is/that's called...* Offers can also be made as repairs to a child's term made by the adult speaker, usually as explicit corrections of the child's term along with an offer of the conventional adult term (e.g., No, it's not X, it's Y). Implicit repairs can also be embedded in the next adult conversational turn. Young children show that they are attentive to these offers and often acknowledge them by repeating the adult offer. Clark and Wong demonstrate that parents show consistency in the types of offers they favour, and the types of offer shift with the age of the child-addressee in a way that suggests an evolving, scaffolding, approach to word learning in interaction (*ibid*). In addition to the information directly or indirectly provided by their adult interlocutors, children must be able to make pragmatic inferences about possible meanings. Children learn word meanings from tracking adult usage in conversation, and their

hypotheses about possible word meanings are built from inferences licensed by the contexts of use (Clark and Wong, 2002: 181). Lieven and colleagues (2003) have demonstrated that there is a direct link between the linguistic structures produced by a mother and the use of those linguistic structures by her child. They conclude:

> "All we can say on the basis of the present study is that many of Annie's novel utterances are closely related to utterances that have been said previously, that these previous utterances are highly frequent, and have the appearance of containing variable slots" (Lieven *et al*., 2003: 366).

Before we take a closer look at this issue which is of central relevance to the present study, we will review some of the specific characteristics of bilingual interaction.

1.3.1 Bilingual interaction

A bilingual context can profoundly influence the nature and form of interaction. Bilingual interaction comprises elements that are absent from monolingual interaction, such as crosslinguistic influence, borrowing, codemixing, codeswitching, translating and interpreting, and language choice. One of the advantages of bilingual approaches to the study of parent-child interaction is that the bilingual context reveals ways in which the participants both play a determining role, particularly concerning language choice and codeswitching. Discourse or interaction analysis is well suited to identifying the complexity of mutual influence or discourse negotiation which can characterize bilingual interaction.

Many definitions of bilingualism are based on notions of competence in two languages, ranging from perfectionist or maximalist views of bilinguals as speakers who know two languages with the "same degree of perfection as unilingual speakers of those languages" (Christopherson, 1984: 4 cited in Hoffmann, 1991: 21) to minimalist views of the bilingual as a person who has only a minimal degree of competence in another language. We have already discussed Grosjean's functional definition of bilingualism and De Houwer's input and environment-based definition of bilingual first language acquisition. Definitions of bilingualism can also be based on interaction styles. For example, Weinreich's definition of bilingualism as "the practice of alternatively using two languages" (Weinreich, 1968: 1) or Mackey's "alternate use of two or more languages by the same individual" (Mackey, 1970: 555). It is also possible to look at the domains of bilingual language use in terms of "an interpretation of the factors of the speech event in terms of motive or purpose" (Fishman, 1964: 41). An interaction-based approach to bilingualism focuses on the way bilinguals move between their two languages, how they switch from one to the other, whether and how they mix them. Within such an approach one may choose to focus on the varying degrees of competence in each language, on the various functions each language performs, or on the different forms that codeswitching and mixing might take

during discourse. One can also look closely at the negotiation of language choice among bilingual participants and the factors that effect language choice. One example of the study of bilingual interaction, or the way bilinguals interact with other speakers, is Kecskes' (2003) notion of intercultural pragmatics. This refers to knowing how to behave and communicate with people who have more than one linguistic/cultural background, or inversely knowing how to communicate with people who have only one linguistic/cultural background when that is not the case for oneself.

The idea that a bilingual's two languages can mutually influence each other in the bilingual mind or memory, with the result that a bilingual's language production and comprehension are affected by knowledge of both languages, has been referred to as crosslinguistic interference, influence, or transfer. In the bilingual research literature, these notions and definitions of them have evolved over the years in relation to the evolution in beliefs about what is 'acceptable' bilingual behaviour. The term *interference* has been replaced by *transfer* or *influence* since *interference* has negative connotations which stem from the belief that a 'good' bilingual keeps her languages separate. These notions are also directly linked to cognitive linguistic theories about the workings of the bilingual mind and lexicon, most particularly to the question of whether bilinguals have separate or combined cognitive representations of their two languages. "The question of 'two systems or one' resurfaces at each level of analysis of bilingual language behaviour" (Obler and Gjerlow 1999: 128).

1.3.2 Codemixing

Crosslinguistic influence can occur at the phonological level, at the morphological level, and at the syntactic level. Phonological influence usually takes the form of a foreign accent, either in all speech or in the pronunciation of particular words. Morphological influence, also referred to as *codemixing*, can be the transfer of a word from one language to the other, and its adaptation to the rules of the language to which it does not belong, for example taking the French verb *grimper* and adding an English verb inflection, while retaining the original pronunciation of the verb stem, to give *grimp*ING. Toribio and Brown (1995) give the example of a German verb stem and an English inflectional ending, *Pfeifft*ING, meaning "whistling", under the heading "mixing grammatical morphemes" (Toribio and Brown, 1995: 630). Words can also slip into the other langauge without any changes being made other than in the pronunciation. Another kind of mixing identified by Toribio and Brown is 'semantic mixing.' They give the example of "you want to open the lights?" where a lexical item is imported, via translation, from a suitable

construction in one language into another language in which the use of that lexical item is not idiomatic (*ibid*). De Houwer states that "mixed utterances...contain morphological material from two langauges" (De Houwer 1998: 255) and she claims that "mixed utterances always represent a minority of BFLA children's total language repertoire" (De Houwer 2009:288). She states:

> "Crosslinguistic influence is in evidence if children's unilingual sentences in Language Alpha use a structure from Language A that does not exist in the version of Language Alpha that children are hearing. Sentences with such crosslinguistic influence are not adult-like. Clear examples of crosslinguistic influence in young BFLA children are very hard to find... In fact, then, BFLA children's sentences are usually modeled upon sentences they are hearing around them" (*ibid*).

Lanza defines mixing as "the child's use of both languages in discourse. This may be through the use of mixed utterances or through the use of utterances in the other language within the discourse" (Lanza, 2001: 207). The reason for this additional, within discourse, perspective is that Lanza "presents a sequential analysis of the child's language mixing in interaction with each parent" so mixing is seen within the broader interactional framework, as well as an element of one individual's behaviour (Lanza 2007: 55). For Grosjean, language mixing in bilingual children can be accounted for in terms of language modes and children's need to learn how to "control their movement along the monolingual-bilingual continuum as well as their bilingual speech" (Grosjean 2010: 198). According to Grosjean, if language choice and codeswitching mechanisms are not under control then "slippage can take place...hence mixing" (*ibid*). Grosjean also refers to Gasser's (2000) study and Jaccard and Cividin's (2001) study in support of his complementarity principle. Both studies examined adult bilinguals' abilities to talk about different topics in different languages and present language mixing as a result of insufficient vocabulary knowledge related to specific topics in each language (Grosjean 2008: 25-6). Nicoladis and Secco (2000) also see codemixing as a way in which bilingual children compensate for lack of proficiency in their non-dominant language. Their results suggest that the bilingual children they studied "borrowed words from their dominant language to fill gaps in their weaker, non-dominant language" (Nicoladis and Secco 2000: 526). In this last statement, we see that the term *borrowing* is also sometimes used to refer to this kind of crosslinguistic influence.

1.3.3 Borrowing

When describing individual bilingual discourse, borrowing can refer to the insertion of a word from one of a bilingual's languages into an utterance in their other language. Field defines borrowing as "the processes by which forms (i.e., form-meaning sets) from a lexical donor language, language Y, are imported and integrated into a recipient language, X – X being the

original language spoken by a speech community" (Field 2002: 2). This definition describes borrowing as a societal phenomenon, as a result of language contact between communities of speakers. Language contact can also be defined on an individual level, in the context of individual members of a bilingual community. According to Field, when Weinreich defined language contact in this way, he gave new prominence to the role that individual speakers can play in language contact phenomena, such as borrowing, and "as a consequence the focus shifts to the mental processes (or "interferences") that can be inferred to operate" (Field 2002: 10).

Grosjean distinguishes between individual borrowing and community-wide borrowing by assigning a different label to each. *Speech borrowing* is the term he uses to describe the bilingual speaker's spontaneous use of a form from another language and *language borrowing* describes the borrowing of a term from another language by many or all monolingual speakers of a recipient language (Grosjean 1982). The words borrowed in language borrowing are sometimes referred to as loan words and may hold a special status in the recipient language, becoming part of the shared repertoire for all speakers of the recipient language, even if they have no other knowledge of the donor language from which the loan words were originally borrowed. Some examples of loan words, borrowed from French into English, are *bureau*, *rendez-vous*, and *R.S.V.P.* Field builds upon Haugen's claim that "every loan starts as an innovation" (Haugen 1950:212 in Field 2002:9) to argue for a progression from speech borrowing to language borrowing whereby loan words evolve from "isolated, one-time usage of a copied form into normal bilingual speech to its complete acceptance and integration into the recipient system" (Field 2002:9). The fact that speech borrowing can lead to language borrowing illustrates the potentially influential role of the borrowing process in language change.

The use of the term 'normal' to describe the speech borrowing act is not without attitudinal implications, since borrowing is sometimes regarded negatively, as a sign of language confusion in young bilinguals, for example. For some bilinguals, keeping one's two languages separate is of great importance whereas others might freely and consciously borrow words or phrases, particularly while speaking with other bilinguals. Borrowing might, in this sense, be distinguished from morphological transfer or influence, if we consider borrowing to be conscious and controlled where transfer is not. The end result may be the same, however, with varying degrees of language mixing or codeswitching, which are also regarded with varying degrees of approbation. Borrowing is sometimes distinguished from codeswitching because it occurs at the morphological level, rather then between whole phrases or sentences (inter-sentential codeswitching). In this case, it is sometimes referred to as intra-sentential codeswitching. It is

possible that borrowing is also distinguished from codeswitching because it is viewed in terms of the linguistic function of borrowing in order to fill a lexical gap or as a sign of crosslinguistic influence. However, borrowing may be motivated by communicative, pragmatic or even stylistic reasons. Fields provides a list of social factors which may lead to speech borrowing in societal language contact situations:

> "as a result of cultural dominance of the donor language; to be associated with speakers of the dominant language and gain socially from its prestige; to fill lexical gaps in a recessive language well along in the process of shift; to facilitate understanding with younger speakers who are no longer familiar with original forms of the recessive language; for affect or convenience; for the individual because the word does not exist in the other language or the speaker chooses the most available word" Fields (2002: 4-5).

According to Muysken,

> "one of the primary motivations for lexical borrowing is to extend the referential potential of a language. Since reference is established primarily through nouns, these are the elements borrowed most easily. More generally, content words such as adjectives, nouns, verbs may be borrowed more easily than function words (articles, pronouns, conjunctions) since the former have a clear link to cultural content and the latter do not" (Muysken 1999: 231-2).

Linguistic factors such as frequency and formal equivalence play promoting and inhibiting roles in borrowing (Fields 2002:5).

1.3.4 Codeswitching

It is difficult to identify a distinction between codemixing, codeswitching, and borrowing that is agreed upon by the many researchers investigating these aspects of bilingual interaction. The terms are not always clearly defined in the literature or, if they are defined, are given slightly different meanings by different researchers. Codeswitching is often used to refer to (what appears to be considered as) a conscious change of language code within and/or between utterances or as the practice of alternating between languages in bilingual discourse. In other words, switching from using Language A to using Language Alpha or vice versa. In her (1995) study of code negotiation in bilingual families, Alexander Pan distinguishes between codemixing and codeswitching: "a distinction is drawn between shifts that occur at utterance boundaries (*codeswitches*), and those that occur within utterance boundaries (*codemixes*)" (Alexander Pan 1995: 318).

The reasons for and functions of codeswitching are various. Codeswitching often corresponds to a conscious language choice regarding the preferred language of the interlocutor(s). This is most obviously the case when a bilingual is addressing a monolingual and chooses to speak in the monolingual's language, or when two bilinguals find themselves in monolingual company and choose to communicate in the common language of all present

out of politeness. When two bilinguals are talking to each other, various language choice paradigms are possible and usually depend on the linguistic habits of the speakers and the context in which they are speaking. Language choice can be determined by interlocutors, environment, subject of conversation, personal language preference, language strategy, or available linguistic resources. Codeswitching may occur if the speakers change environment, subject of conversation, or interlocutor. If two bilinguals talking together are in the habit of using both their languages with each other, they may also switch languages because the word, phrase, or concept under discussion triggers speech in one language more rapidly than in the other. This phenomenon is related to memory and recency effects. According to De Houwer, "The very complicated code switching used by some adult bilinguals, however, is not a feature of young BFLA children's speech" (De Houwer 2009: 297). Lanza (2001) cites Auer's (1984, 1995, 1998) approach to codeswitching, also termed language alternation, which distinguishes between participant-related switching and discourse-related switching. In the first instance, codeswitching is related to language negotiation. Lanza explains that Auer's work built on that of Gumperz's (1982) contribution to "a discourse analytic approach to codeswitching or language alternation in the application of conversation analytic principles to bilingual interaction" (Lanza, 2001: 204). In this approach, it is considered necessary to carry out a sequential analysis of language alternation as it is the only way to "unveil the situated meaning of the alternation" (*ibid*).

1.3.5 Bilingual cognitive organisation

The focus on individual mental processes underlying all the bilingual phenomena described above has lead to speculation about the bilingual lexicon and the different possible ways in which two languages are stored and accessed in the bilingual mind. Distinctions have been made between *compound bilingualism* (a single cognitive representation for each translation equivalent), *coordinate bilingualism* (a separate cognitive representation for each translation equivalent) (Hamers and Blanc 1989: 8-10) and *subordinate bilingualism* (the words in one language derive their meaning from their translation equivalents (Obler and Gjerlow 1999:129). According to Hamers and Blanc, different kinds of bilingualism can be placed on a compound/coordinate continuum and a bilingual can be at the same time more compound for certain concepts and more coordinate for others. Compound bilingualism is sometimes said to be the bilingualism acquired by a child who "grows up in a home where two languages are spoken more or less interchangeably by the same people and in the same situations" (Fishman 1964:40). Coordinate or bicultural bilinguals learn their languages in distinct contexts resulting in fully

distinct representations corresponding to their two languages (Pavlenko 2005:8). Proponents of the independent development hypothesis (e.g. Lindholm and Padilla 1978, Bergman 1976, Ronjat 1913) argued that the bilingual child develops "two differentiated language systems from very early on in the acquisition process" (de Houwer 1990:48). De Houwer proposes the 'separate development hypothesis', according to which the bilingual child, exposed to two languages from birth, is seen as developing two distinct morphosyntactic systems which have no effect on each other, (de Houwer 1990:66).

> "Because of the bilingual situation, the bilingual child has more options than the monolingual one: from very early on, the bilingual child makes contextually sensitive linguistic choices that draw on a developing knowledge of two separate language systems. Bilingual children's earliest use of morphosyntax appears to be language-specific from the start, and already at a very young age bilingual children are skilled conversationalists who easily switch language according to interlocutor" (de Houwer 1995: 248-9).

According to Baker, recent research goes against the single or unitary language system hypothesis (Baker 2006:100). He cites Genessee, "it is now generally accepted that bilingual children can use their developing languages differentially and appropriately from the one word stage onward, and certainly from the age when there is evidence of syntax in their spoken language" (Genessee 2002: 173 in Baker 2006: 100).

One of the assumptions behind descriptions of codemixing, borrowing, and codeswitching is that different languages and their lexicons are distinct from each other. Simonović challenges "the traditional concept that languages in contact are separate (or separable) entities" (Simonović 2014: 1). He proposes an alternative model, based on agential realism:

> "The central concept is that of inter-language mappings, the correspondences between structures of languages which get stabilised in the contact speakers' community and make whole subsets of the source language lexicon in principle borrowable and potentially already borrowed. Importantly, the inter-language mappings cannot be properly assigned to any of the languages in contact and they enforce a profound rethinking of the way the most important processes of language contact - borrowing and code-switching - are conceptualised (Simonović 2014: 1).

Simonović argues for a synchronic, I-Language grammar of contact which conceptualises borrowing as a phenomenon inherent in bilingualism since contact speakers already have experience of the structures of both their languages. In this sense, then, the term 'borrow' becomes problematic since how does one borrow from oneself? The language contact concepts of borrowing, mixing, and codeswitching are dependent on perceiving the speaker's two languages as separate entities from which one can take an item and transfer it to another place, into another form of possession, so to speak. What Simonović claims is that this conceptualisation needs to be turned on its head: "rather than saying that languages A and B have contact, we are saying that contact has languages A and B" (Simonović 2014:2).

This conceptualisation of language contact and inter-language mappings, challenges the

traditionally perceived boundaries between languages, and aligns itself well with the notion of polyglossia, of multiple dialects or repertoires, where language is seen "as a simultaneous multiplicity, an ever entangled state of mutually constituting languages, which have a relentless potential for on-going differing" (Simonović 2014:3). From here, only one further step is required to reconceptualise borrowing as something that speakers do with their language(s), regardless of linguistic boundaries, registers, dialects, and so on. As Simonović says, "it could be that inter-language mappings are actually better termed intra-language mappings, because they operate on the inherent polyglossia that language is" (Simonović 2014:12). Contact speakers know how to borrow and mix and switch not necessarily because these phenomenon are inherent to bilingualism, but because they are inherent to human language use. The inter/intra-language mapping conceptualisation means that we can cease to distinguish between borrowing and codeswitching thanks to "the insight that words are never simply inserted from the source lexicon into either the recipient language discourse (codeswitching) or the recipient lexicon (borrowing), but that this insertion is always partially mediated by what is already known" (Simonović 2014:10). If the speaker has inter-language mappings available to her, because of exposure to them in the environment in which she lives and communicates, then she will be able to draw upon these bilingual resources. If the speaker is not exposed to more than one distinct language, she is probably still exposed to different registers or dialectal details, or simply different ways of saying things in particular contexts, and therefore has the use of intra-language mappings when constructing her discourse. Here again, the role of the environment is paramount.

1.3.6 Impact Belief, Language Ideology, and Parental Language Strategies

One of the implications of the important role played by the linguistic environment in a child's development of language is that the degree to which this importance is understood by a child's caretakers could have an impact on the child's linguistic development. De Houwer's (2009: 95-96) notion of 'impact belief' refers to the understanding, usually by a child's parents, that bilingualism develops from the child's environment, more specifically as a function of the quantity and quality of input and interaction in both languages. According to Hélot, parents adopt language strategies in order to ensure the coexistence of both languages and to avoid language mixing. Without specific measures, without decisions regarding the distribution of the two languages within family language use, it is normal for the language of the environment to occupy an increasingly important role in family communication, a situation which can eventually compromise the transmission of the other language. Therefore in families, as in society, different

languages can only coexist if each one is assigned different functions. By choosing a strategy, parents ensure sufficient exposure to the other language (my translation from Hélot 2007:71-2)

The belief that, when addressing other bilinguals, speakers can choose which of their two languages to express themselves in, has also influenced language ideology and the development of purposeful parental language strategies. This is because the notion of language choice, and various techniques that parents can use to manipulate a young child's language choice, are usually an important part of a language strategy. Hélot notes that Deprez (1994) uses the terms "*politiques linguistiques familiales*" or "*planification*" and Pakir's (1994) study of bilingualism in Singapour, describes parents as "invisible planners." Hélot used the term "family language planning" in her thesis, but came to prefer "family language policy" believing it better conveys the notion of putting into practice a strategy that has been decided upon and for which it is necessary to abide by certain rules. It is possible for the strategy and the rules to evolve over time as the children grow up and as a result of the family's experience, including successes or failures concerning the transmission of the minority language (Hélot 2007: 72-73). The key word here is 'rules' since, generally in family life it is the parent(s) who decide on the rules, not the children. For me, such an approach does not sufficiently take into account the role that children themselves may play in bilingual family discourse, or at least assumes that rules about language choice should fall within the parental remit. This approach also appears to imply that the aim of a family language policy is the successful transmission of the minority language, rather than the well-being of the child. De Houwer (2013) presents the notion of harmonious bilingual development as a response to the need for researchers, practitioners and parents to look at bilingual development within the context of the general development of the child.

Lanza (2001) presents Schiffrin's (1984) argument that there are two possible interpretations of the term *strategy*. The first is related to the way a person receives, organises and processes information and operates below the level of awareness. The second refers to strategies as plans of action toward the achievement of particular goals (Lanza 2001: 208). Parental language strategies in the bilingual family context usually refer to the second type of strategy. Interestingly, Lanza also discusses the implications of the first interpretation. Studies of adult conversational codeswitching have revealed that speakers are not always aware of the language they are using because they are so focused on the content of the interaction. Therefore, it is possible that parents are not always consciously employing a particular strategy, or not always putting into practice a strategy that may have been previously decided upon. Although Lanza claims that the "child's response to these strategies may indicate the child's perception of

the context" which is, one supposes a conscious perception, it seems logical to assume that children are also prone to discourse strategies that "at times operate below the level of consciousness" (Lanza 2001: 208). This is a most interesting point since it means we can also speculate on the level of consciousness at which other aspects of bilingual communication take place, such as borrowing. It is also interesting that Lanza places the child in the role of language negotation opener, thereby confirming the child's active role.

There are clearly many possible variations on the way languages will be spoken in bilingual families. De Houwer presents the three main patterns, based on the number of languages parents use with their children (P = Person, L = Language) (De Houwer 2009: 110):

1P/1L: Each parent addresses the children in mainly one language which is different from the language used by the other parent.

1P/2L: Both parents speak both languages to the children.

1P/1L & 1P/2L: One parent speaks only one language to the children, the other parent speaks to them in both languages.

Hélot (2007) reviews several studies which look into the different practices adopted by parents and the possible effect they have on the child's bilingualism. De Houwer (2009) does the same. Both conclude that there generally seems to be a higher chance that a child will speak the minority language if both parents speak it in the home. In other words, the more a child hears the minority language, and the more opportunities they have to interact in that language, the higher the probability that they will become speakers of that language. Hélot refers to Deprez's (1994) claim that the level of transmission in families where both parents speak the minority language is 80% compared to 25% when only one parent speaks that language (Helot 2007: 50). De Houwer makes similar claims. In her 2007 study of parental language input patterns and children's bilingual use she showed that in families where the children heard both parents speaking the minority language at home, 93.42% of the children spoke both languages (De Houwer 2009: 113). Hélot (2007) and De Houwer (2009) both point out that the most common practice is by far the use of both minority and majority languages in the bilingual home (as opposed to, for example, only actively speaking the minority language in the home, even though all family members could potentially speak both).

Language practices are not necessarily the result of a conscious language strategy, however this is often the case. When a strategy has been decided on it then remains to implement and enforce that strategy in terms of parental reactions to child language choice since children living in a majority language community will tend to prefer the majority language, particularly as they grow older and have more contact with the wider community. Hélot's doctoral study of 31

families in Dublin showed that three quarters of the families declared using the One Person One Language (OPOL) strategy, which means that both languages were present in the home although separately. However, some parents did not hesitate to admit that it was sometimes difficult to keep the two languages apart. In the few families which did not have a specific strategy, both languages were used, in an mixed and unequal manner; but in these cases, the language of the environment took on an increasingly important role (Hélot 2007: 67). Focusing more on the way strategies are implemented in interaction, Varro (2004) and Lanza (2001) both place parental language strategies on a continuum. Varro refers to parental attitudes to child language choice and ranges from freedom to speak either language to prohibition to speak one of the languages concerned (in Hélot 2007: 69). Lanza focuses on parental reactions to child mixing and ranges from Minimal Grasp to Codeswitching.

Lanza (2001, 2005, 2007) puts the analysis of interaction and discourse at the forefront of the study of bilingual language socialisation and language choice. She describes in detail the way that each speaker in a bilingual parent-child interaction reacts and adjusts their speech according to the speech of their partner. Lanza refers to Auer's (1998: 9) schematization of a language negotiation sequence which illustrates convergent and divergent language choices (Lanza, 2001: 205). Looking at language choice in the context of codemixing and switching or language alternation highlights the complex negotiation that can go on between conversation partners concerning which language the conversation will be carried out in. Lanza applies this approach to bilingual parent-child interaction and child language choice in order to develop a categorisation of "parental discourse strategies that can serve to propose a more or less monolingual or bilingual context once a language negotiation sequence is initiated" (Lanza, 2001: 208):

Parental discourse strategies towards child language mixing

1. Minimal Grasp Strategy (Ochs 1988): Adult indicates no comprehension of the child's language choice.

2. Expressed Guess Strategy (Ochs 1988): Adult asks a yes-no question using the other language.

3. Adult Repetition of the content of the child's utterance, using the other language.

4. Move On Strategy: the conversation merely continues.

5. Adult Code Switches

Lanza (1997/2004) and Döpke (1992) have contributed in-depth studies into

conversational interaction in the bilingual family which refer to the effects of parental language strategies on the bilingual child's linguistic and pragmatic development. Dopke's study, reported on by Lanza (2007) revealed that a child-centred mode of interaction, particularly engaging the child in play- and talk-oriented interactions, is more likely to result in the child's use of the minority language. It also illustrates the complexity of the One Person One Language stategy, the role of various societal role constructions, and the importance of individual personality in bilingual family interaction (Lanza, 2007: 54).

All sorts of factors are involved in family choices concerning language use, not just affective and personal. In her study of bilingual families in Dublin, Hélot demonstrated that the existence of a French school in Dublin also represented an additional choice in terms of the language of formal education (Hélot 2007: 72). When no such additional support is present, the task of raising children able to speak two languages can represent a considerable effort for parents, particularly for the parent who speaks the minority language. Okita's (2001) and Yamamoto's (2001) studies of Japanese-British families point to the emotional and societal pressures which can make minority language maintenance difficult for parents. Okita (2001) insists on the importance of the "invisible work" carried out by Japanese mothers who try to transmit Japanese to their children living in England. She claims that this important work often leads to feelings of isolation and lack of support, even within the family, as the effort they need to make is not visible and not therefore not recognised. Yamamoto emphasizes the role of the prestige of languages in contributing to children's language choice and the success or failure of parental strategies (Yamamoto 2001: 129). According to Yamamoto, two major promoting factors for the child's use of the minority language were attendance at an English-medium school and not having siblings (Yamamoto 2001: 127-128).

The concept of partner-specific referential pacts can be usefully applied to an analysis of child language choice in bilingual interaction. Matthews, Lieven and Tomasello's (2010) article *What's in a Manner of Speaking? Children's Sensitivity to Partner-Specific Referential Precedents* deals with monolingual speakers, mostly children, although they also conducted an experimental investigation of adult sensitivity to referential pacts. The notion could be usefully applied to explaining some of the ways in which children and adults might build up language choice expectations and react to language choices which deviate from these expectations. Positioning bilingual language choice within this conceptualisation of language use may help us to see these reactions and expectations as not necessarily dependent on the bilingual context. Previous research has shown that reaction times slow down when an experimental partner uses a

new expression for a previously mentioned object, but not when a new partner does so. One explanation that is given is that this reflects sensitivity to referential pacts. A referential pact is "an agreement made between two people to take a given perspective on an object, where this agreement is believed by both interlocutors to be mutual and its maintenance is understood to be cooperative" (Matthews, Lieven and Tomasello 2010: 749). The authors also refer to another, cue-based explanation for reactions to violations of referential pacts, that is that

> "people remember the context in which terms are uttered and part of their memory includes information about who has used which terms in the past with reference to which objects. When an individual is talking about the same objects with the same people in the future, the previously used terms become highly cued and effectively preempt the use of other terms. When the individual is talking about the same objects with different people in the future, no term is especially cued and the comprehension of new expressions is easier as they have not been preempted by an alternative" (Matthews, Lieven and Tomasello 2010: 749-50).

Another possibility is that "previously used terms are likely to be cued (and to preempt others) no matter whom an individual is talking to in the future" (Matthews, Lieven and Tomasello 2010: 750). What is interesting here is the idea that previous linguistic experience can create expectations for the use of particular linguistic items as well as codes. As Matthews, Lieven and Tomasello state, "children's early sensitivity to referential pacts is based on a socially rich memory of recent interactions and a strong expectation that people will in general use the same term for the same objects" (Matthews, Lieven and Tomasello 2010: 756. It could be that bilingual children, having become accustomed from birth to the possibility that there are always at least two terms for each object or event, and that the choice of term usually depends on the person who is speaking and/or the context in which they are speaking, may early on develop referential expectations about language choice and/or the notion that such referential expectations are open to variation depending on who is speaking. Their sensitivity could also be a result of accumulated experiences:

> "It is possible that bilingual children, who are exposed to alternative means of referring to the same things early on, might be more adultlike for this very reason. Substantial evidence shows that exposure to more than one language does indeed shape pragmatic development (Au & Glusman, 1990; Byers-Heinlein & Werker, 2009; Cummins, 1978; Davidson & Tell, 2005; Diesendruck, 2005; Rosenblum & Pinker, 1983; Siegal, Iozzi, & Surian, 2009). We thus expect that bilinguals may process referential pacts differently as a consequence of their linguistic experience" (Matthews, Lieven and Tomasello 2010: 756).

According to Matthews, Lieven and Tomasello, "studies in which the alternative naming paradigm has been used suggest that 3-year-olds do not realize that what one person might correctly call and think of as a rabbit, another person might correctly call and think of as a bunny", while other studies have suggested that "children younger than 4 might have no problem accepting that two different terms may apply to a referent equally felicitously" (Matthews, Lieven and Tomasello 2010: 750). A similar distinction among bilingual infants could be seen as

unecessary since the data in this study attests to infants as young as 1;4 using alternative terms (translation equivalents) depending on who they are speaking to. Are bilingual children advantaged then, over monolingual children in that they develop such knowledge so much earlier, or are we simply witnessing a capacity possessed by all infants, but made visible because of the bilingual context? How can we know whether the bilingual infant does this because she has two lexicons and associates each one with a particular speaker, or because each individual term is associated with the speaker of that term in accordance with a referential pact established through previous shared linguistic experience?

Language strategies imposed by parents and children's reactions to them can be seen as negotiations of the referential pact. Since the referential pact seems to be presented in psycholinguistic research as some form of default language development, the establishing of language choice rules may be seen as an artificial manipulation of a natural language process. Since discourse studies of parent-child role negotiation seem to assume that parents are usually the holders of role negotiation power, this artificiality may be the reason why such practices can sometimes lead to breakdown in communication or emotional suffering since the notion of language choice is not a free one, or a reciprocal one, at all. In fact 'choice' may be completely absent as well as incompatible with natural processes. Another, related reason for breakdown in communication in such situations is that it fails to respect that communication between parents and children is normally, naturally, contingent upon the rhythmic responses between partners and the ability to anticipate or predict a partner's responses. "It is the precise interplay of address and reply in shared time that keeps the mutual happy engagement going" (Trevarthen 1999: 197).

When a parent reformulates a child's Language A utterance into a Language Alpha utterance, the metalanguage direction is clearly that the child's initial language choice is inappropriate and needs to be adjusted in the ongoing conversation.

> "Philosophers of language such as Grice (1975) have pointed out that adult conversation is characterized by rules or maxims that direct speakers to "say no more or no less than is required (which can be termed the *Maxim of Quantity)*. Try to say the truth and avoid falsehood *(Maxim of Quality)*. Be relevant and informative *(Maxim of Relation* or *Relevance)*. Avoid ambiguity and obscurity *(Maxim of Manner)*" (p. 45). In communication between adults, it is usually mutually understood that the rules may be broken to communicate implications in conversation. Adults know that speakers may be uninformative and state the obvious for purposes of irony or that they may speak more or less than is required out of politeness or scientific curiosity. But children who are inexperienced in conversation may not share the purpose underlying such departures from conversational rules and may be unfamiliar with the referents of certain words and forms of language" (Siegal & Peterson 1996: 322).

Bilingual children need to learn the conversational rules in two separate codes when

communciating in monolingual mode, and the conversational rules of bilingual interaction when in bilingual mode. The conversational rules of bilingual interaction may depart from 'normal' conversational rules if a rigid language strategy is insisted upon and may be highly variable from one bilingual context to another depending on the bilingual ideology adhered to (e.g. codemixing is 'bad').

Another way in which bilingual interaction can greatly differ from monolingual interaction, then, is that parental responses to child language can be consciously chosen and manipulated, rather than purely intuition-based, if the parents have an impact belief and wish to enforce a language strategy. For example, a language strategy which involves insisting on only using one language in communication between a specific pair or group of speakers may lead to irregular interactional behavior such as a parent pretending to not understand a child when they speak a particular language even when all evidence points to the parent's ability to understand that language when other people speak it; refusing to accept a child's contribution to the conversation on the basis of the language in which it is expressed; insisting on the language to be used by the child. The result can be a breakdown in communication if one of the speakers refuses to comply with the conversational rules put in place by the other speaker and this in turn can lead to breakdown in 'ordinary' relationships (see Abdelilah-Bauer's example of a French-German bilingual child who stopped talking to her mother about French-medium school because the mother insisted on the child only speaking in German, Abdelilah-Bauer 2012: 82).

1.3.7 Bilingual sibling interaction and individual differences

Parental control over children's language choice may be considerably weakened or even nonexistant when there is more than one child in the bilingual family. Barron-Hauwaert claims that the language(s) siblings choose to use between themselves is their own choice and that researchers and parents comment that, no matter what strategy the parents put in place, they will not be able to decide which language siblings will use among themselves. The common language the siblings use together is referred to as the 'preferred sibling language' and it may change over time and across contexts. "The parents might have some influence in which language becomes the preferred one, but in the long term, it is the *children* who choose" (Barron-Hauwaert 2011: 55).

The majority language is often the preferred sibling language, but not always. If the language strategy in the home places high importance on the use of the minority language, some children may take this very seriously and sanction the use of the 'wrong' language by

other siblings. Or if a preferred sibling language pattern is 'threatened' when one child begins to introduce the other language into conversation, this can lead to language friction and conflict between siblings. Caldas describes a case like this when John, the older sibling, started at an English-language high school and was influenced by school and the peer group environment to use more English at home. His twin sisters, who were used to speaking to him in French, became angry and even violent in reaction to this change in their established language use pattern (Caldas 2006: 63). Such moments of evolution in language use can lead to family discussions about the individual's freedom (or not) to choose which language to speak and perhaps to the renegotiation of family language practice and strategy. On a more positive note, older siblings may be called upon to help younger siblings learn and use the minority language by talking, singing, reading and playing with them in that language. For some children, taking on a caring or pedagogical role in this way may boost their own sense of being accepted speakers of that language, perhaps even providing them with the status of 'language expert' compared to the younger sibling. Such an approach can have benefits for all siblings in terms of the contact with the language and their attitudes towards it. However, while even children as young as three can understand a parental request to speak a particular language to a younger sibling, they may nevertheless develop their own preference later on, especially after the children start to attend school in the majority language. Hoffmann describes a case like this:

> "In our case the older sibling contributed to her young brother's development of German **and** English: when Pascual was born I asked Christina to speak to him in German so that he would hear this language from two different members of the family – a point which she fully understood even at that early age (she was 3 then). Until Pascual started going to school full-time this agreement was adhered to. Even though her German was not perfect the fact that he heard German from another child who understood him, played with him in this language and shared his interests must, I feel, have contributed a great deal to his development of German" (Hoffmann 1985: 492).

Eve Gregory's two studies (1998, 2001) of Bangladeshi children in London describes the way older siblings played an important role in helping younger family members practice their English literacy skills at home. They did this through reading to the younger siblings, asking questions about the text, and eliciting repeats of what had just been read. Gregory also extols the benefits of 'playing school' for all the children in these families. In the school role-play older children practiced being the teacher, often repeating almost exactly what they had heard at school, while younger children could practise being pupils without the same risks and stress as in the real situation (Gregory 1998, 2001).

Birth order can also affect the amount of interaction children receive in a particular

language from their parents. According to De Houwer, "Older siblings usually take up more language space in the family" and mothers talk more to first born children than to second born children (De Houwer 2009: 126). This is probably also the case in bilingual families and may result in a second born child receiving less Language Alpha interaction than an older sibling in the same family, simply because of birth order. However, it is important to remember that

> "Children acquire language patterns both from their parents and society. While the parent-infant relationship can be seen as the primary one, and perhaps the sibling relationship as the next most important, they are by no means the only one upon which developing children will depend for stimulation and moments of shared experience and meaning. The peer group can have a strong effect" (Barron-Hauwaert 2011: 125).

This is not surprising if we remember that humans of all ages are motivated by the forming of relationships and belonging to a community and in order to do so they will align themselves to others by adopting similar behaviour.

1.4 Imitation and Repetition

Crystal provides the following, very relevant, definition of imitiation:

> "imitation (n.) An application of the general sense of this term to language acquisition, where it refers to children's behaviour in copying the language they hear around them. The importance of the notion is twofold. First, it has been shown that imitation cannot by itself account for the facts of language development (despite a popular view to the contrary – that children learn language by imitating their parents): forms such as *mouses and *wented, and sentences such as *Me not like that, show that some internal process of construction is taking place. Second, the skills children show when they are actually imitating are often different, in important aspects, from those they display in spontaneous speech production, or in comprehension. The relationship between imitation, production and comprehension has been a major focus of experimental and descriptive interest in acquisition studies" (Crystal 2009: 237).

One of the first ways in which infants begin to form relationships with the people around them and become members of a community appears to be through imitation. Newborns' ability for vocal mirroring and imitation of the facial expressions and gestures of caregivers may be explained by the existence of mirror neuron systems in the human brain. These neurobiological systems are currently discussed as the basis for "human empathy, affective resonance, understanding attention and intentions, observational learning and language acquisition" (M. Papoušek 2007: 260). According to Trevarthen's psychobiological approach, "infant human beings imitate other humans, not just to act like them, but to enter into a communicative and cooperative relationship with them by some transfer of the feeling of body action" (Trevarthen 2010: 8). Imitation is not only a cognitive process, but also an emotional one whereby intersubjective emotional relatedness (Stern, 2004), primary intersubjectivity (Trevarthen, 1979), affective sharing (Stern, Hofer, Haft, & Dore, 1985) or early dyadic states of shared meaning (Tronick, 2003) can take place (M. Papoušek 2007: 260). Imitation can also be seen as the way individuals 'reflect' each other's intentions and

feelings in order to share experiences (Trevarthen 1999: 165). In Trevarthen's opinion, imitation is a reflection of the physical basis of human communication, the innate 'musicality' of the human mind. He believes that this unique characteristic of human moving is "rooted in the peculiar way we, as an intensly social species, walk about in the world, manipulate it and express our selective will and imagination in polyrhythmic narratives of bodily mime while we share person-person-object awareness" (*ibid*).

Papoušek and colleagues at the Prague Research Center for the Care of Mother and Child have documented that "learning processes are slow and strenuous in the first two months after birth and crucially depend on an alert waking state and salient stimuli that are provided contingently on the infant's behavior, in slow tempo, with many repetitions" (M. Papoušek 2007: 259). According to Papoušek, "early preverbal communication as an arena of intersubjective learning is considered to promote and serve multiple adaptive functions in paving the ground for social cognition, new levels of intersubjectivitiy, intentional communication, and attachment toward the end of the first year, and for self-recognition, empathy as well as symbolic and verbal integration beginning around the middle of the second year" (M. Papoušek 2007: 260). Verbal integration requires vocal learning, the "capacity to reproduce by means of the voice that which has been heard by ear" (Merker, 2009; cited in Trevarthen 2010: 9). This capacity to make and imitate significant sounds is one necessary foundation ability for the evolution of spoken language (*ibid*). Vocal learning requires the *hearing* of vocalizations, one of the means by which "the brain of an infant a few weeks old, with very immature cerebral cortex, can engage in a precisely regulated rhythmic exchange of interests and feelings with the adult brain" the others being "*sight* of head and face movements, with eye-to-eye contact, and hand gestures...and touches between the hands. (Trevarthen, 2001b, 2004)" (Trevarthen 2010:10).

When infants start to produce speech-like vocalisations, it is not always easy to determine the word or utterance they are aiming at. De Houwer wonders if this is a result of a localised imitative approach to learning: "There is quite a lot of variation in how different adults speak, even in only one language. Perhaps children are at first trying to talk like specific people in their environment, and try to adjust to individual differences between them?" (De Houwer 2009: 179). In her (1994) study of crosslinguistic and crosscultural aspects of language addressed to children, Lieven writes about imitation and rote learning:

> "It is clear that the extensive use of elicited imitation results in a considerable amount of intial rote-learning of forms which are only subsequently analyzed. It is also the case that the prompting of sequences...result in a lot of early grammatical parallelism, where most of the marking of forms in the adult's speech can be largely copied by the child in its own subsequent

utterance with only minimal changes" (Lieven 1994: 72)

This does not mean that children only learn in this way; they also bring a "formidable range of interactive, processing, and generative skills" to language learning (*ibid*). The interactive skills they bring include the ability to imitate what they hear.

> "It is interesting that the Trackton children [in a community which does not believe children can be taught, but that they have to learn for themselves] spend such a lot of their early language development imitating, and that adults in so many cultures demand echoic imitations from their children. The imitation itself will ensure some sort of passive registration of distribution within the language, while the elicitation of imitations within interactional contexts may help the child to register utterance-meaning pairs" (Lieven 1994: 73).

Keenan Ochs points out that in child language:

> "all repetitions are not imitations and all imitations are not repetitions...In order to establish that an imitation has taken place, the investigator must somehow contend with the communicative intentions of the child. This is not to say that for an imitation to have taken place the child must have the conscious intention to reproduce a prior utterance. There may be degrees to which the child is aware of his own behaviour. It is only to say that the presence or absence of the intention to imitate must be reckoned with." (Keenan Ochs 1977:128)

For Keenan Ochs, child repetition can serve the purpose of imitiation, but not only. In counterclaims and matching claims, for example, it is clear that an utterance that replicates another in form does not replicate it in meaning. "The utterances differ in meaning precisely because they differ in context" (Keenan Ochs 1977: 132). Children repeat in order to satisfy some communicative obligation which may include imitation, as well as to comment, to agree, to self-inform, and to query. Indeed, such repetition is part of learning how to communicate: "to query, comment, confirm, match a claim and counterclaim, answer a question, respond to a demand, and so on. In short, he is learning the human uses of language, what Dell Hymes has called "communicative competence" (Keenan Ochs 1977: 133). Repetition in child language also serves to move utterances into common ground or shared knowledge. "New information is transformed into old information through repetition, yielding topics for subsequent discourse. One positive role of repetition in discourse is, then, to establish topic candidates" (Keenan Ochs 1977: 136). Discourse history enables the separation of new information from old information and children rely on discourse, not syntax, to make that distinction. Communication checks, ratification of a word or phrase, for example, are all discursive strategies for the negotiation of shared knowledge. Importantly, "the kind of repetition described here is quite characteristic of adult speakers as well" (Keenan Ochs 1977: 132).

Clark identifies children's repeats of adult offers of words and phrases in conversation. She calls this form of repetition "uptake" and proposes that it "acknowledges and ratifies the expression offered" or in other words the child's repetition indicates that he "has attended to the adult's terms" (Clark 2007: 158). Clark studies "the role of repetition in signaling attention to

new words and their initial uptake in conversation." According to Clark, children use repetition to show the following: " (i) that they have recognized the adult's *X* as a new term or expression; (ii) that they are ratifying the adult's use of *X* on this occasion; and (iii) that they are adding this use of *X* to common ground" (Clark 2007: 158). She suggests that "the most explicit evidence that young children are attending to a new term...comes from their REPETITIONS of the new words or expressions, because these pick out the specific forms the adult has used" (Clark 2007: 160) Clark argues that we should "notice that what has been called imitation in adult-child conversational exchanges...would not be called imitation in an exchange between adults...Because when adults repeat something someone else has said, one reason they do so is to ACKNOWLEDGE the other's use of some term of expression and thereby place it in common ground (as given) on that occasion (e.g., Schegloff 1997)" (Clark 2007: 161). Clark suggests that children repeat adult terms in order to: transform the information from new to given, adding the information to common ground; acknowledge the use of a new term or expression; ratify, or accept, the term or expression just offered. "Repeats of words and expressions that are unfamiliar to them could therefore provide evidence of initial uptake, by children, of new terms" (Clark 2007: 161). "Repetition, then, could have at least two functions from the child's point of view: first, to connote ratification and acceptance of an adult term for X; and second, to offer the opportunity to try to produce the target term in a recognizable fashion and thus practise the production of an as yet unfamiliar term" (Clark 2007: 162). There is variation in the amount of child imitation and repetition of adult terms which seems to depend on their willingness to imitate or repeat, their phonological skills, and their knowledge about the structure and content of converstional turns. It would seem, also, that practice makes perfect.

Imitiation, then, plays a fundamental role in human expression and relationships from the very beginning of life and during the first stages of speech production. Clark was not mistaken when she wrote that imitation in adult speech would not be called imitation. Second language acquisition research refers to 'repetition' as does the analysis of adult discourse. In his 1995 article *The Psychology of Foreign Language Vocabulary Acquisition*, Ellis claims that Input/Output lexicons are acquired through implicit learning mechanisms which "induce statistical or systematic regularities in this input environment" (Ellis 1995: 7). He goes on to quote Seibert: "The golden rule of sensori-motor learning is much repetition" (Seibert, 1927, p. 309) (Ellis 1995: 8). Ellis & Sinclair found that repetition in the form of rehearsal has been shown to lead to improved ability in "a) comprehension and translation, b) explicit metalinguistic knowledge of the detailed content of grammatical regularities, c) acquisition of the foreign language forms of words and phrases, d) accuracy in pronunciation, e) some aspects of

productive, but not receptive, grammatical fluency and accuracy" (Ellis and Sinclair (1996) in Reinder 2012: 22).

It is possible that one of the explanations for the positive effect of rehearsal is related to a process which Swain (2006) refers to as 'languaging.' In her research into second language acquisition, languaging is presented by Swain (2006) as a psychological tool for language learning. She defines languaging as "the process of making meaning and shaping knowledge and experience through language" (Swain 2006: 98). Referring to action-research in which classroom practice with advanced language learners involving the process of 'talking-it-through,' Swain convincingly argues that languaging enables learners to construct their thoughts about, and reconstruct their understanding of, concrete examples of written language (stories) that they have themselves created. She gives an example of a student who "made use of prior knowledge, but also created new knowledge – for himself – in the process" (Swain 2006: 101). Swain bases her argument on the writings of Vygotsky who argued that

> "higher mental processes find their source in interaction between an individual, others and the artefacts they create, and that the process of interaction is mediated by psychological tools, of which language is one of the most important. Speaking and writing, Vygotsky argued, do much more than convey a message. They serve as tools of the mind, mediating the cognition and re-cognition of experience and knowledge" (Swain 2006: 106).

She also refers to a study which demonstrates the same positive effect of providing explanations to the self for students of the biological sciences (Swain 2006: 97). Are the imitation and repetition of speech linked to languaging here because both processes involve speaking out loud? According to Asher, self-talk is helpful in problem solving because the conversation is between both sides of the brain. By talking out loud, the right hemisphere can 'hear' thoughts generated in the left hemisphere (Asher 2003: 70-71).

Tannen's study of adult discourse demonstrates that the process she calls 'repetition' continues throughout the lifespan. She cites Freud by way of explanation for the human drive to repeat: "Repetition, the re-experiencing of something identical, is clearly in itself a source of pleasure" (in Tannen 2007: 98). According to Tannen, fixity is perhaps associated with emotion, and the familiar with pleasure; but ultimately, the purpose of the drive to imitate and repeat is "the fundamental human purpose of learning" (*ibid*). Tannen identifies the rhythmic and musical qualities of what she terms "a poetics of talk" and claims that strategies of repetition in discourse are culturally patterned. She also states that repetition is a resource for creativity (Tannen 2007: 76). However, her analysis is mostly focused on online discourse: "when fishing for words, speakers cast a net in the immediately surrounding waters of conversation" (Tannen 2007: 83). Despite the narrow context of the main data set upon which

her initial analysis is based (adult conversation during a shared meal), she claims that "repetition is at the heart not only of how a particular discourse is created, but how discourse itself is created" (Tannen 2007: 2-3). She moves beyond the boundaries of immediate conversation when she refers to Allen's (2005) notion of 'intertextuality': "the insight that meaning in language results from a complex of relationships linking items within a discourse and linking current to prior instances of language" (Tannen 2007:9). Becker's term for prior instances of language is prior texts. Tannen quotes Becker, (1984) who examines reduplication and repetition as variants of a repetitive strategy at different levels in an episode from a *wayang* (Javanese shadow play). According to Tannen,

> "Becker sees such discourse strategies as constituting the grammar of a language: not abstract patterns but actual bits of text which are remembered, more or less, and then retrieved to be reshaped to new contexts. And so, by a process of repetition, "The actual a-priori of any language event – the real deep structure – is an accumulation of remembered prior texts"; thus, "our real language competence is access, via memory, to this accumulation of prior text" (Becker 1984b:435)" (Tannen 2007:49).
>
> Becker calls language production 'languaging.'

Languaging, then, is both the process whereby thoughts are given symbolic form enabling them to be shaped, organised, learned, and shared, and the production of language as a combination of the repetition of prior speech and the creation of new speech which takes prior speech as its starting point. Languaging, or the production of language in live interaction, involves the online shaping of thoughts into audible or visible artefacts enabling the sharing of experiences and feelings about them with others. Since discourse involves more than one person, it also involves the live negotiation of language and the thoughts and experiences it symbolizes with another person. In order for experiences and feelings to be shared, speakers often need to refer to shared experience and shared knowledge, thereby establishing common ground. Clark (1996: 92) refers to common ground as the "sina qua non for everything we do with others". What linguistic strategies do speakers employ in order to create and maintain common ground, to refer to shared experience or knowledge and to produce the lingusitic forms that enable them to do this in live interaction?

Intratextual, or synchronic, repetition is the repetition of one's own or another's previous utterances within the same discourse. Phonologically, repetition can have a musical effect, establishing the rhythmic patterns, the rhythmic synchrony, which characterise fluid conversation. Intertextual, or diachronic, repetition of prior texts which are known to both or all participants in an interaction can be the basis for common ground by referring to shared experience or knowledge. One form of diachronic repetition is repeating words from a discourse

distant in time, frequently referred to as 'reported speech.' Tannen argues that even when dialogue is presented as a 'direct quotation' it is really 'constructed dialogue,' that is "primarily the creation of the speaker rather than the party quoted" (Tannen, 2007: 103). In other words, "the construction of the dialogue represents an active, creative, transforming move which expresses the relationship not between the quoted party and the topic of talk but rather the quoting party and the audience to whom the quotation is delivered" (Tannen, 2007: 111). This is particularly the case when the dialogue that is quoted originally took place in a language other than that in which it is reported.

According to Becker, social groups are "bound together by a shared repertoire of prior texts" (Becker 1994: 165 in Beers Fägersten 2012: 81) and so successful participation in interaction can depend on the ability to identify and understand prior texts or references to prior texts. Beers Fägersten examines a specific form of intertextual repetition which she labels 'intertextual quotation': "the repeating of a media text in a communicative event subsequent to the intake of the media text...not the repetition of an utterance issued by an active interlocutor, but of an utterance featured in a media text." (Beers Fägersten, 2012: 82). She investigates the meaningfulness of intertextual quotations in Swedish-English bilingual family interaction. According to Beers Fägersten, intertextual repetition "can only be identified or recognized with knowledge of the prior or source texts" and therefore "necessarily presupposes a shared history among interaction participants" (Beers Fägersten, 2012: 81). It is also necessary for participants to believe that they have such shared knowledge. Intertextual repetition functions "as a means of binding people together" (Gordon 2009: 9 in Beers Fägersten 2012: 81). The co-construction of conversations, through repetition, contributes to interlocutors' sense of coherence and connectedness (Gordon 2009: 10 in Beers Fägersten 2012: 81). Beers Fägersten demonstrates the way participants who share common knowledge of a source text can signal joint recognition of the common ground by repeating one participant's intertextual quote. When the source text is not known to all participants, those who share common knowledge of it can use intertextual quotation to create distance from the participants who do not. Intertextual quotation can thus bind participants who share knowledge of the source and be used as a strategy for alignment and team-building. The function of repetition can also simply be participation "showing listenership and acceptance" (Tannen 1987: 577). When participants join in with intertextual quotation, "conversational duetting (Falk 1979) similar to choral performance, signals the participants' desire to be involved and take an active role in the conversation" (Beers Fägersten 2012: 92). Intertextual quotation occurs in and creates play frames, humour, and shared laughter which in turn can contribute to conflict resolution.

Beers Fägersten shows that intertextual quotation is triggered by lexical, syntactic and thematic triggers. A lexical trigger may involve the presence of a word in a preceding utterance which triggers the memory of a prior text leading to quotation. A syntactic trigger takes the form of a preceding utterance which structurally resembles the source text and so leads to its quotation. A thematic repetition in conversation can also trigger an intertextual quotation. By thematic repetition, Beers Fägersten is very specifically referring to recurring events or topics of conversation which trigger the use of a quotation which has already been associated with commenting on the need to repeat oneself. She also demonstrates that intertextual quotation can function as interactive alignment with co-speakers and sometimes with the speaker himself. Interactive alignment can occur simultaneoulsy on the lexical, phonological, structural and semantic levels. It "serves to maintain and further the conversation in a scaffolding manner, building on previously employed lexical items or syntactic structures, which trigger a memory of prior talk from a media source" (Beers Fägersten 2012: 91). The members of Beers Fägersten's case study family "were shown to appropriate bits of media texts through the process of intertextual quotation for the purpose of assuming an evaluative stance, showing interactive alignment or supportive alignment, or for rekeying or reframing interactions" (Beers Fägersten 2012: 101). Her study reveals the "process of active intake of media and creative application in subsequent interaction, suggesting that families (and, by extension, perhaps other social constellations) can trade on media as common ground for communcative and social purposes" (Beers Fägersten 2012: 102). Repetition in the source texts seems to make certain phrases memorable and therefore more likely to be quoted; they become "kernel phrases" (Tannen 1987) and so achieve discursive prominence (Beers Fägersten 2012: 101).

1.5 Formulaicity and Construction Grammar

Exposure to frequently repeated phrases, or sequences of linguistic items, plays a significant role in our accumulation of linguistic knowledge and the way we learn to communicate. Pawley and Syder describe the linguistic sequence as having dual status in the language: as a grammatical string (predicted by rules of syntax and semantics) and as a lexical item (the standard expression for a culturally authorised concept) (Pawley and Syder 1983: 216). The study of phrases, multiword units, or linguistic sequences, as opposed to single words, can be approached from two complementary perspectives which take this dual status into account: Formulaicity and Construction Grammar. Linguists generally agree that formulaicity is a feature of language, although opinions differ on what proportion of language can be described using this term. Formulaic language has been named and defined in various ways,

including prepatterning, prefabricated sequences, chunks, and sentence stems, with definitions often reflecting the theoretical assumptions and research aims of their authors. According to Crystal, formulaic language is a term used "to refer to utterances which lack normal syntactic or morphological characteristics" (Crystal 2009: 169). The following terms have all been used in the literature to describe such utterances: fossilized, bound, fixed, frozen, set, prefabricated, routine, or stereotyped expressions. When formulaicity applies to larger spoken or written events it is called formulaic discourse: "any fixed form of words which serves a particular social purpose, such as greeting exchanges, skipping rhymes, or the words of a marriage ceremony" (Crystal 2009: 7). Wray defines the formulaic sequence as:

> "a sequence, continuous or discontinous, of words or other elements, which is, or appears to be, prefabricated: that is, stored and retrieved whole from memory at the time of use, rather than being subject to generation or analysis by the language grammar" (Wray 2002: 9).

This definition is coloured by Wray's theoretical stance regarding the nature of formulaic sequences and the position they hold in the lexicon. Memorised prefabricated sequences are juxtaposed to fully generated novel sequences in this definition but the two are not considered mutually exclusive. Wray argues that the lexicon is heteromorphic, containing elements of varying size and complexity allowing for both prefabricated and generated language production and understanding. Indeed, Wray claims that "the heteromorphic lexicon neutralizes the distinction between holistic and analytic processing" (Wray 2008: 33) since the combination of units of any size, whether they be morphemes or whole phrases, will always be a form of novel composition. In this model, the more relevant distinction is not between novel or prefabricated sequences but between atomic or heteromorphic lexicons.

According to Tomasello, "from a construction grammar perspective, the most basic phenomenon of language is people making whole utterances to one another on particular occasions of use, using concrete pieces of language" (Tomasello 2006a: 2-3). It is the repetition over time of these concrete pieces of language used in similar situations with similar meanings that leads to the emergence of patterns of language use and the schematisation and abstraction of linguistic categories and constructions (Tomasello 2006a: 3). Tomasello defines the linguistic construction as "a unit of language that comprises multiple linguistic elements used together for a relatively coherent communicative function, with sub-functions being performed by the elements as well" (Tomasello 2006b: 8).

1.5.1 From prefabricated to novel

Formulaic language and construction grammar are both usage-based descriptions of

language which place form-meaning units of varying sizes and complexity along a continuum ranging from the fixed to the variable, from the concrete to the abstract. At one end of the continuum we can place fixed expressions or multiword chunks which contain no variable elements and whose meaning derives from the whole expression and not from the sum of its parts. At the other end of the continuum are abstract schemas or constructions. Along the middle we find what have been named formulaic frames with variable slots, lexicalised strings, or sentence stems.

The idea that the language stored, understood, and produced by speakers can be either prefabricated or novel is claimed by Becker (1975), Bolinger (1976), Pawley and Syder (1983), Wray (2002, 2008), Tannen (2007), and Taylor (2012). The ratio of memorised sequences to novel, generated language is impossible to ascertain with certainty and any attempt to quantify these two forms of linguistic item will be biased by the definitions used to decide whether or not a particular item is memorised as a whole or generated from its individual parts. As Bolinger (1976) puts it, is it invention or inventory? Becker and Bolinger both claim for equal weighting: "Phrase-adaption and generative gap-filling are very roughly equally important in language production" (Becker 1975: 28). "The human mind is less remarkable for its creativity than for the fact that it remembers everything… speakers do at least as much remembering as they do putting together" (Bolinger 1976: 2). Tannen links Becker's notion of languaging to theories about pre-patterning and formulaicity. This is because these features of language can contribute to an understanding of repetition in discourse, of the way prior texts are reused not only to refer to previous experiences but also to create new meanings. In Tannen's view, it is not a question of whether language is prepatterned or not, but rather that there is a "range of prepatterning by which one may say that language is not either prepatterned or novel but more or less prepatterned" (Tannen 2007: 50). She claims that "prepatterning (or idiomaticity, or formulaicity) is a resource for creativity. It is the play between fixity and novelty that makes possible the creation of meaning." (Tannen 2007:49). Taylor (2012) takes a similar view, arguing that while creativity is

> "undeniably a feature of language use...its footprint may be somewhat smaller than often claimed...quite a lot of our linguistic activity consists in stitching together 'bits of sentences' that we have learned or that novel sentences are created by filling in the slots made available by phrasal or sentence patterns that we have picked up" (Taylor 2012: 22).

According to Pawley and Syder, "the minority of spoken clauses are entirely novel creations" (Pawley and Syder 1983: 205). Becker claims that "we probably know more whole phrases than we know words" (Becker 1975: 29). Where Taylor writes of learning and picking up, and Becker refers to knowing, Tomasello uses the terms mastery and control:

> "a major part of human linguistic competence – much more than previously believed - involves the mastery of all kinds of routine formulas, fixed and semi-fixed expressions, idioms, and frozen collocations. Indeed one of the distinguishing characteristics of native speakers of a language is their control of these semi-fixed expressions as fluent units with somewhat unpredictable meanings" (Tomasello 2006b: 9).

But what does it mean to *learn* or to *know* or to *master* a formula or an expression? Does it mean to have heard it before, to know when and how to use it, to have memorised it? Is it related to memory or to abstract knowledge or both? What is the difference between *remembering* and *knowing* different linguistic items?

Taylor argues for the fundamental role of memory in learning a language. He believes that we have an important capacity for remembering the details of specific events that occurred in the past. Although these memories are not always conscious, he argues that every experience, including linguistic experiences, lays down a trace in the memory which contributes to the accumulation of linguistic knowledge. In this sense, then, "our knowledge of a language...is in large part constituted by (mostly implicit) memories of past linguistic experiences" (Taylor 2012: 2). Becker proposes "a kind of grammar, based on a different perspective on language, one involving time and memory; or, in terms of contextual relations, a set of prior texts that one accumulates throughout one's lifetime, from simple social exchanges to long, semi-memorized recitations" (Becker 1984: 138 in Tannen, 2007: 99). Bolinger also refers to memory traces when he argues that, although it is possible that we regenerate a phrase each time we use it, "its having been used before is a spur to its regeneration, from some trace in our minds" (Bolinger 1976: 7). Bolinger also claims that we do not generate certain phrases that should logically exist (according to grammatical rules) "because we have not heard it done. We have no memory of it" (Bolinger 1976: 4). When Lieven points to "the interplay in language production between strings registered in memory and categorical knowledge" (Lieven et al., 2003: 334), she seems to be echoing Bolinger's claim made over thirty years earlier: "There are many degrees of interplay between remembering and remaking; but memory is not to be denied its effect" (Bolinger 1976: 8).

In their 2010 article 'Incidental verbatim memory for language' Gurevich, Johnson, and Goldberg "revisit the long-standing issue of whether verbatim memory for language is above chance in naturalistic contexts of language use: when speakers are not warned that they will receive a memory test and when sentences are presented as part of coherent texts and are not interactive or emotion-laden" (Gurevich, Johnson, and Goldberg 2010: 48). They investigate verbatim memory in both *recognition* and *recall* of texts. In a final study they demonstrate how hearing a story version once affects the retelling of the story after a six-day delay, when

participants are not asked to explicitly recall the story. "This study is a rare investigation into *incidental recall*: the tendency to use the same clauses that had been witnessed previously, without explicit direction to do so" (Gurevich, Johnson, and Goldberg 2010: 49); for this reason it is particularly relevant to the subject under discussion in this thesis.

Memorised fixed formulas can be seen as a form of concrete knowledge, whereas categories and patterns are a form of abstract knowledge. Patterns also need to be memorised in order to be recognised and recalled, so the difference between memorised fixed strings and memorised abstract patterns is perhaps related to the level of variability within each item. In order to identify the existence of a pattern, some sort of analysis is required, and analysis is also required to identify that there is no pattern, only fixedness. Perhaps the pattern is represented as much in pragmatic terms as it is in structural terms. So, for instance, we need to compare and contrast phrases in the input in order to establish which ones are always the same and which ones can be different and if so what are the elements of the pragmatic, communicative requirements which can account for either fixity or variability?

So what, then, is stored in the lexicon? An atomic lexicon would contain the smallest possible lexical items which are combined according to a large and complex set of grammatical rules. The atomic lexicon contains only lexical information and is separate from the grammatical knowledge required to combine lexical items into meaningful sequences. However, if the lexicon is envisaged as containing larger and more internally complex items, which carry both semantic and grammatical meaning, then less rules are required to combine them and maybe a separate grammatical knowledge base is not necessary at all. Formulaic language and construction grammar approaches see linguistic knowledge as built upon the accumulation of form-meaning pairings of varying length and complexity, rather than the combination of small lexical items, which carry semantic information, according to complex rules, which carry gramatical information.

Within the broad category of formulaic, prepatterned or prefabricated language, several subsets are identifiable. "Memorized sentences and phrases are the normal building blocks of fluent spoken discourse" (Pawley and Syder 1983: 208). The speaker is capable of assembling or analysing them but most of the time they are able to recall them whole. The most easily identifiable as memorized, fixed formulas are idioms since they often carry meaning as a whole unit which is distinct from the meaning of the individual parts they are made up of. Humour is often based on juxtaposing the literal and idiomatic meanings of well-known idioms because speakers are not used to analysing the separate parts of these multiword phrases. Punch lines to

jokes and lines from stories are examples of the wide range of types of formula that we all know absolutely verbatim. Other examples of long memorized formulas include song lyrics, nursery rhymes, poems, quotations, proverbs, sayings, slogans, titles, word games, children's folklore such as counting out rhymes, and some routinised situational utterances (Becker 1975: 25-6). Wray lists some of the sequences in a language, such as the days of the week and times tables, that are remembered for their own sake. The fact that such sequences are learned with a rhythm facilitates their memorisation and recall. Rhythmical rote learning of this kind can transform the nature of the activity, for example making learning the times table a linguistic, rather than an arithmetical, activity. This is one example of how deliberatey memorised strings can save on processing (Wray 2002: 70-71).

Performative texts, such as "I promise" or "I now pronounce you man and wife" are recited verbatim in specific situations. A word string and the specific act it is routinely employed to perform may become so strongly associated with each other that any changes to the wording may change the nature of the act perfomed (Wray 2008: 118). Situational utterances are similar to performatives in that the wording may be closely linked to the function or usage of the phrase, for example particular ritualised greeting forms. The types of formula listed so far are often linguistically and/or sematically unusual when compared to "ordinary" language and will stand out within a larger speech event. However, this does not mean that all formulaic language is remarkable; as Becker points out, "most of the lexical phrases that we actually use in speaking or writing are so humble and uninteresting that they would never appear on a list devoted to picturesque expressions" (Becker 1975: 32). One example of an unremarkable category of formulaic language is fillers or functors, memorised sequences that serve to pad out speech while the speaker prepares what to say next. Collocations, or preferred word pairings, can be more or less fixed and seem to be memorised as a result of frequent usage in the speech community, thereby making them particularly difficult for foreign language learners, whereas they are most unremarkable to the native ear precisely because of the regularity with which they are used by all speakers. Lexical priming is a way of explaining collocational patterns (Hoey 2005). Lexical priming is based on exposure to particular forms of word pairings and the priming is linked to form not semantics. On the matter of collocations, Taylor quotes Firth's description of collocation as a matter of "mutual expectancy" (Firth 1968 [1957]: 181), of "the company [that a word] keeps" (Taylor 2012: 179). Very often the use of a word or expression generates expectations as to the surrounding words in the discourse.

Another kind of formulaic sequence that has been the object of much research is the

lexicalised string or formulaic frame with variable gaps. Such frames can have varying degrees of fixity and the choice of possible items to fill a particular gap may be very small or very large. Such formulas contain slots with phrasal constraints whereby "one word dominates and constrains the selection of other words in the phrase" (Becker 1975: 24). These constraints might be explained by lexical priming or they could be the result of an underlying grammar. Pawley and Syder claim that "fluent and idiomatic control of language rests to a considerable extent on knowledge of a body of 'sentence stems' which are 'institutionalized' or 'lexicalized' "(Pawley and Syder 1983: 191). They define the lexicalised sentence stem as "a unit of clause length or longer whose fixed elements form a standard label for a culturally recognized concept...expressions for a wide range of familiar concepts and speech acts, and the speaker is able to retrieve these as whole or as automatic chains from the long-term memory" (Pawley and Syder 1983: 191-2).

Pawley and Syder claim that the stock of form-meaning pairings includes hundreds of thousands; in this stock they distinguish between memorised sequences and lexicalised sequences. Memorised sequences are related to performance, lexicalised sequences to competence. A lexicalised sequence has a meaning that is not predictable from its form, it behaves as a minimal unit, and above all it is a social institution, that is, it enjoys some degree of social recognition within the speech community as the standard label for a concept. There are degrees of lexicalisation: a form-meaning pairing may be more or less arbitrary, more or less standardised, more or less of an institution. According to Pawley and Syder's definition, a sentence stem is lexicalised if it is a standard concept in the speech community, is recognised to be the standard expression for the meaning in question, and if it is an arbitrary choice in terms of lexical structure (Pawley and Syder 1983: 210-211). Pawley and Syder point out that lexicalised sentence stems are the main building blocks of fluent spoken language and that written text is not representative of spoken language. (Pawley and Syder 1983: 214).

Processing constraints during discourse can account for speakers' preference for pre-existing sequences. The need to retain fluency and hold the floor, to sustain output while planning what to say next, will result in the use of holistically stored strings. Some formulaic sequences serve as discursive padding, filling in gaps while the speaker prepares what to say next. Other sequences provide prepared ways of expressing a particular notion or opinion which are easily retrievable by the speaker and easily understood by the listener. The use of such shared sequences can influence the way a speaker is perceived by others and so can be used by the speaker to manipulate the hearer. According to Wray, the overriding priority

behind these functions of formulaic sequences is the speaker's promotion of self (Wray 2002: 101). She suggests that two main aims are served: to refer and to manipulate, in addition to a third minor aim: to access information. The relative balance between the need to produce a novel expression and the advantage of reducing processing effort for speaker and hearer will determine the level of fixedness in the language produced (*ibid*). Thanks to the ease of describing familiar experiences with familiar phrases, the speaker can pay more attention to "matching the timing, tone and rhythm of his utterance to his conversational purpose...produce a slightly novel, unexpected variation on familiar usage... construct larger pieces of discourse by expanding on or combining ready-made constructions" (Pawley and Syder 1983: 208). Wray claims that "formulaic language is a linguistic solution to a non-linguistic problem – namely our need to promote and protect ourselves in relation to others (Wray 2002b: 101)" (Wray 2008:4). She also proposes four main functions for children's use of formulaic sequences:

> "(a) getting things done (meeting physical, mental and emotional needs through the agency of another person), (b) expressing individuality (being noticed and taken seriously), (c) social integration (feeling part of the group), and (d) gaining control of processing (language acquisition)" (Wray & Namba 2003:36).

1.5.2 Group versus individual knowledge of language

According to Wray we "need to distinguish between something that is formulaic 'in the language' and something that is formulaic for just a particular individual or group; and also to distinguish between what is formulaic for a given speaker and for a given hearer" (Wray 2008: 11). She uses two different terms to make this distinction. A formulaic sequence is one that is recognised and used as such by the speech community, whereas a string which is formulaic for the individual she calls a Morpheme Equivalent Unit (or MEU). Wray is careful to point out that the distinction between formulaic in the language and formulaic for the individual may depend on the nature of the linguistic approach used to analyse data:

> "the notion that the language itself contains formulaic material is inevitable in corpus-driven accounts, where one examines large quantities of text without particular attention to who produced it, and looks for recurrences.... However, within a psycholinguistically driven account there is less value in attributing formulaicity to strings in 'the language', for formulaicity is viewed as the property of a particular string as it is handled by a particular individual....even an account based on the individual's knowledge will recognize that many word strings are likely to be formulaic for most native speakers – that is what it means to know the same language" (Wray 2008: 11).

If the lexicon contains larger linguistic sequences that have been memorised following exposure to them in the input, then perhaps it is indeed a form of inventory, or repertoire, of sequences, albeit of varying length and complexity. Taylor (2012) refers to this repertoire as the mental corpus. As stated earlier, Becker (1975) argues that the shared repertoire of prior texts is what binds social groups together. And as stated above, Wray argues that sharing language is the same

thing as sharing a repertoire of formulas. All these conceptualisations echo Bakhtin's (1981) notion of heteroglossia and its three dimensions of social discourse, individual voice, and linguistic code, (described in Busch, 2014). Here the linguistic repertoire of both the individual and the group draws on earlier voices in a process which leads inevitably to "the presence of other's words in one's own utterances" or, in Bakhtian terms, "dialogism" (Busch 2014: 24). According to Busch, the notion of linguistic repertoire has recently achieved new significance as a result of global mobility and the multilingual discourse spaces which it creates (*ibid*: 21). One of the results for speakers of the same speech and cultural community of sharing a store of verbal material is that everyone will understand not only the meanings of memorised or lexicalised sequences but also the "significance of the allusion... everyone, that is, except the poor foreigner, who has spent years reading grammars, dictionaries, and phrase-books, but who does not share the cultural background that supports the allusions" (Becker 1975: 24).

According to Dąbrowska (2012) individual differences in linguistic knowledge are the norm. In other words, even if the external language as encountered in the world (E-language) is shared, each person's internal language which resides in speakers' brains (I-language) is different. This claim counters that of generative grammar whereby all learners and speakers of a same language are seen as having convergent grammars even if exposed to differences in E-language. Dąbrowska looks closely at individual differences in the knowledge and mastery of particular constructions, such as genitive endings in Polish or English passives and universal quantifiers. She claims that not all speakers of the same language learn such constructions to the same degree of mastery and these differences can be accounted for by differences in levels of linguistic exposure in the home and different levels of formal education. According to Dąbrowska, the language encountered in the environment does not suffice in playing a triggering role for the acquisition of grammatical knowledge. Although it has been assumed that first language learning is mostly implicit, it may actually be the case that explicit instruction does benefit *some* first language learners, much in the way it benefits second language learners, but not all first language learners receive such instruction and therefore do not acquire full knowledge of their language.

1.5.3 How we learn constructions and formulas

Dąbrowska's claim about individual grammars also raises the question of how we understand each other. It is possible to understand each other without having exactly the same grammatical or even semantic knowledge because humans are good at guessing each other's communicative intentions. Also, the same sentence can be produced and interpreted using different, perhaps overlapping, sequences. Indeed, speakers approximate each other's behaviour

using different underlying grammars (Dąbrowska 2008b). The ability to read other people's communicative intentions has been identified as a playing a key role in language acquisition. Tomasello's (2006a & 2006b) explanations of children's acquisition of Construction Grammar is that children learn both the regular, rule-based constructions and the more idiosyncratic and arbitrary constructions in the same way, through an accumulation of experience and the identification of patterns in the input. This learning process is not the result of an innate language faculty, but much like any other learning process which falls into two basic cognitive categories:

> "(1) intention-reading (joint attention, understanding communicative intentions, cultural learning), by which they attempt to understand the communicative significance of an utterance; and (2) pattern-finding (categorization, schema formation, statistical learning, analogy), by which they create the more abstract dimensions of linguistic competence. (Tomasello 2006a: 8)

What Tomasello calls cognitive processes, Trevarthen calls "narrative functioning":

> "[The infant in this study] teaches us that humans are born with an intrinsic sense of behavioural and experiential time adapted for sympathetic motivation in imagination, for "mirroring" or "echoing" the motives in another's song. This would appear to be a fundamental aptitude integrating both action and consciousness, and leading to thought and language, as well as what is currently called "executive functioning" and "working memory". This might be more appropriately seen as a "narrative" functioning, which is concerned with imagination and its intersubjective transmission as much as with a single subject's cognitive execution, perceptual learning and problem solving." (Trevarthen 1999: 193)

Peters (1993) proposes that young children attend to phonological elements of sound streams, such as intonational patterns of rhythm and stress, in order to identify meaningful strings. These articulatory cues may then enable the language acquiring child to segment unanalysed sequences and the identification of boundaries will arise out of hearing repeated fragments of utterances. Wray proposes that we only segment and analyse sequences in the input if there is a specific reason to do so. She claims that this Needs Only Analysis is the default strategy, for both children and adults, for learning from input (Wray 2002, 2008).

The basic premises of Construction Grammar are that the basic units of grammar are constructions, that is, form-meaning pairings which can be simple or complex, concrete or abstract. Constructions have meaning and have to be learned in a piecemeal fashion. While the number of constructions that need to be learned are probably in the hundreds or thousands, young children are helped in the task by the fact that caregivers tend to use a relatively small number of highly repetitive item-based frames that children experience many many times a day. More complex constructions are usually based on one such well-practised item-based frame (Tomasello 2006a:13). Generalisations are possible across constructions, even those of varying complexity, thanks to inheritance relations. This means that a construction will inherit the properties of one or more dominating constructions. Inheritance allows information to be stored efficiently and easily modified. According to Clark, adults offer new words by relying on "a

small number of fixed syntactic frames" (Clark 2007:162). In this way, children are provided with scaffolded experience of linguistic items embedded in constructions which, because they are form-meaning pairings, provide children with semantic and grammatical information which they can use to infer the meanings of further constructions and the items within them. This syntactic bootstrapping is made possible precisely because of the inheritance relations between constructions. Constructions form a network and through frequent exposure to related constructions, the patterns that different constructions have in common will emerge, thereby forming grammatical knowledge.

Since the construction or schema or frame defines the nature of the item which can be inserted into a slot, not only can patterns of correct usage emerge, but childish creative insertions can be accounted for:

> "For example, under communicative pressure a child might say "I'm juicing it", as she pours juice onto something, or "Where's the swimming?", as she looks for a picture of a swimming activity in a book. This process of "functional coercion" is perhaps the major source of syntactic creativity in the language of one and two-year-old children." (Tomasello 2006b: 22-3)

Lieven *et al* also suggest that "the relatively high degree of creativity in early English child language could be at least partially based upon entrenched schemas and a small number of simple operations to modify them" (Lieven *et al* 2003: 333). Indeed, according to Dąbrowska[9] much of adult language can also be accounted for in this way. She claims that recycling chunks is the basic mode of sentence production, it is what people normally do. In this we are reminded of Taylor's notion of "stitching together" mentioned above, or the notion of blending which we will discuss further below. According to Hopper's (1987) theory of Emergent Grammar, grammar is what emerges when formulas are rearranged and reassembled. Since recombining formulas or constructions in this way is the default language production mode, language learning must continue throughout life as each person's repertoire of communicative contexts and social experiences expands and feeds into their personal knowledge network.

So learning a language is partly a process of learning the way members of the speech community commonly talk about particular things, learning the particular form-meaning pairings used by the community, learning the shared repetoire and shared references to shared experiences (E-language), and partly the emergence over time and throughout life of the individual grammar (I-language) which is generalised and abstracted as a result of exposure to, and use of, form-meaning pairings in communicative exchanges. So having idiomatic, native-like knowledge and command of a language is related to one's knowledge of and ability to use formulaic language and constructions in the same way as other members of the speech community. In other words,

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[9]   Construction Grammar Seminar, Cardiff University, 19/07/12)

the same sequence of lexical items can carry the same meaning for a large group of people, thereby enabling shared meaning, connectedness, and empathy among them. However, it is important to bear in mind that each individual has a unique experience of the world, and that includes the linguistic input to which they are exposed and in the creation of which they participate through conversation. The result of individual differences of experience is that while some lexical items may truly have the same meaning for some pairs of individuals or groups of people, chances are that most people will develop their own unique set of references for meanings, meanings which may converge to varying degrees. If this were not the case, there would never be any problems of misunderstanding during communication between speakers of the same language. Pawley and Syder claim that there is no sharp boundary between nativelike and non-nativelike utterances, but rather degrees of naturalness which are dependent on context and familiarity (Pawley and Syder 1983: 199). Frequency effects can account for why certain formulations will 'sound' right. If you hear something said, and say it yourself, in a particular way enough times it will become the default way to say it for you too. However, "nativelike sentences are not confined to those which have been heard before. The syntactic patterns, and certain other details may be familiar but in many cases the lexical combinations will be novel" (Pawley and Syder 1983: 199). In answer to the question "what makes a speaker's language native-like?" István Kecskés lists knowing the preferred ways of saying things and the preferred ways of thinking about things and this is, he claims, not simply a question of exposure to input but a question of intake (plenary talk, LAUD Symposium 2010).

According to Wray, each individual's "inventory of holistically stored sequences is heavily influenced by current patterns of usage in the speech community" (Wray 2002: 74). The relationship between the individual's and the community's corpora of sequences is therefore closely related to and dependent on usage. Sequences are remembered because they have shared meaning and function among speakers and because they have been heard frequently enough to be recognised as established ways of saying particular things. The shared inventory of formulaic sequences is constantly renewed as "individuals both imitate the preferred forms of others and also contribute to the pool of idiomatic material from which others draw" (Wray 2002: 92). In Hoey's (2005) lexical priming theory, second language learners need to acquire, and produce as often as possible, primings in accordance with native speakers' priming patterns. This is arguably also the case for first language monolingual and bilingual learners. Indeed, Dąbrowska notes that some studies show that the differences between first language and second language attainment may be more quantitative than qualitative "or, if they are qualitative, the split is not between native and non-native speakers but along some other

dimension" (Dąbrowska 2012: 248).

Learning the language of the speech community, then, involves a considerable amount of memorisation as well as abstraction. As mentioned in the introduction to this section, it is difficult to determine with any certainty the relative amount of concrete (exemplar-based) versus abstract (schema-based) utterances that are stored by any one individual, or indeed, whether the two types are actually different. What Dąbrowska (2012) particularly warns against is the tendency to assume that what tests reveal certain groups (both child and adult) to know about language can be applied to other groups, since individual differences in experience of language will inevitably lead to individual differences in knowledge of language.

1.5.4 Creativity and blending

Individual differences must also account for the fact that, despite the role of memorised sequences and construction schemas, we do not all go about saying and understanding the same things in the same way. Individual creativity with language is one important way we distinguish ourselves from others as well as one reason for linguistic change over time. Constructionist theories of child language acquistion have sought to chart, through dense longitudinal corpora, "the emergence of creative linguistic competence from children's analyses of the utterances in their usage history and from their abstractions of regularities within them (Goldberg, 2006; Tomasello, 1998, 2003)" (Robinson & Ellis 2008: 5). In this sense, the word *creative* may be used to refer to the way children can produce utterances they have never previously heard. However, we can apply the same word to that process in adult language too. According to Pawley and Syder "memorized phrases provide models for the creation of many (partly) new sequences which are memorable and in their turn they enter the stock of familiar usages" (Pawley and Syder 1983: 208).

Lieven, Behrens, Speares, and Tomasello (2003) studied the early syntactic creativity of Annie, aged 2;1,11. The authors analysed Annie's multi-word utterances from an hour-long recorded session with her mother and from a high-density database consisting of five hours of recordings per week and a maternal diary for the previous six weeks. Target novel utterances produced during the hour-long session were matched with utterances that the child had previously produced, and Lieven *et al* identified ways in which the new utterances differed from the previously produced matches. 74% of the examples required a single syntactic operation and 26% required multiple operations. The operations were classified as follows: SUBSTITUTE: the substitution of a new word into the slot of an established utterance schema; ADD-ON: the addition

of a word or previously existing phrase to an utterance or schema; DROP: words are dropped in the target utterance by contrast with its closest match; INSERT: utterances differ through insertions between words which had always occurred together before; REARRANGE: the difference involves a rearrangement of items that were in both utterances but in a different order (Lieven, Behrens, Speares, and Tomasello, 2003: 341-2).

Creativity based on constructions that have been heard in the input can also be explained in terms of linguistic blending. Blending is used by Fauconnier and Turner to describe a conceptual process based on mental spaces (Fauconnier 1998; Fauconnier and Turner 1998, in Taylor 2012). Fauconnier (1998) provides the following definition of mental spaces:

> Mental spaces are small conceptual packets constructed as we think and talk, for purposes of local understanding and action. They are very partial assemblies containing elements, and structured by frames and cognitive models. They are interconnected and can be modified as thought and discourse unfold (Fauconnier, 1998: 252-3).

Conceptual integration is the cognitive process which "consists in setting up networks of mental spaces that map onto each other and blend into new spaces in various ways" (Fauconnier, 1998: 269). He describes the basic conceptual integration network as follows:

> A basic conceptual integration network contains four mental spaces. Two of these are called the input spaces, and a cross-space mapping is established between them. The cross-space mapping creates, or reflects, more schematic structure common to the inputs. This structure is constructed in a third space, called the generic. A fourth space, called the blend, arises by selective projection from the inputs. It develops emergent structure in various ways and can project structure back to the rest of the network (Fauconnier, 1998: 270).

The network is illustrated in Figure 1 below.

Fauconnier insists on the important place of mental spaces in "behind the scenes cognitive processes" and claims that

> "language is neither a representation of such processes, nor a representation of meaning. Rather, it serves as a powerful and directed, but vastly underspecified, set of prompts for triggering the dynamic processing itself, and the corresponding construction of meaning" (Fauconnier, 1998: 277).

One of the ways in which language provides triggering prompts in the creation and integration of mental spaces is through expressions called "space builders":

> "a number of expressions function as space builders, that is, as explicit instructions to the hearer to open up the appropriate mental space. Examples include *if only, what if, suppose, in my dream, in this film, twenty years ago*, and *once upon a time*. Blending involves the creation of a new space (the blend) by drawing on elements of two (or more) input spaces" (Taylor 2012: 264).
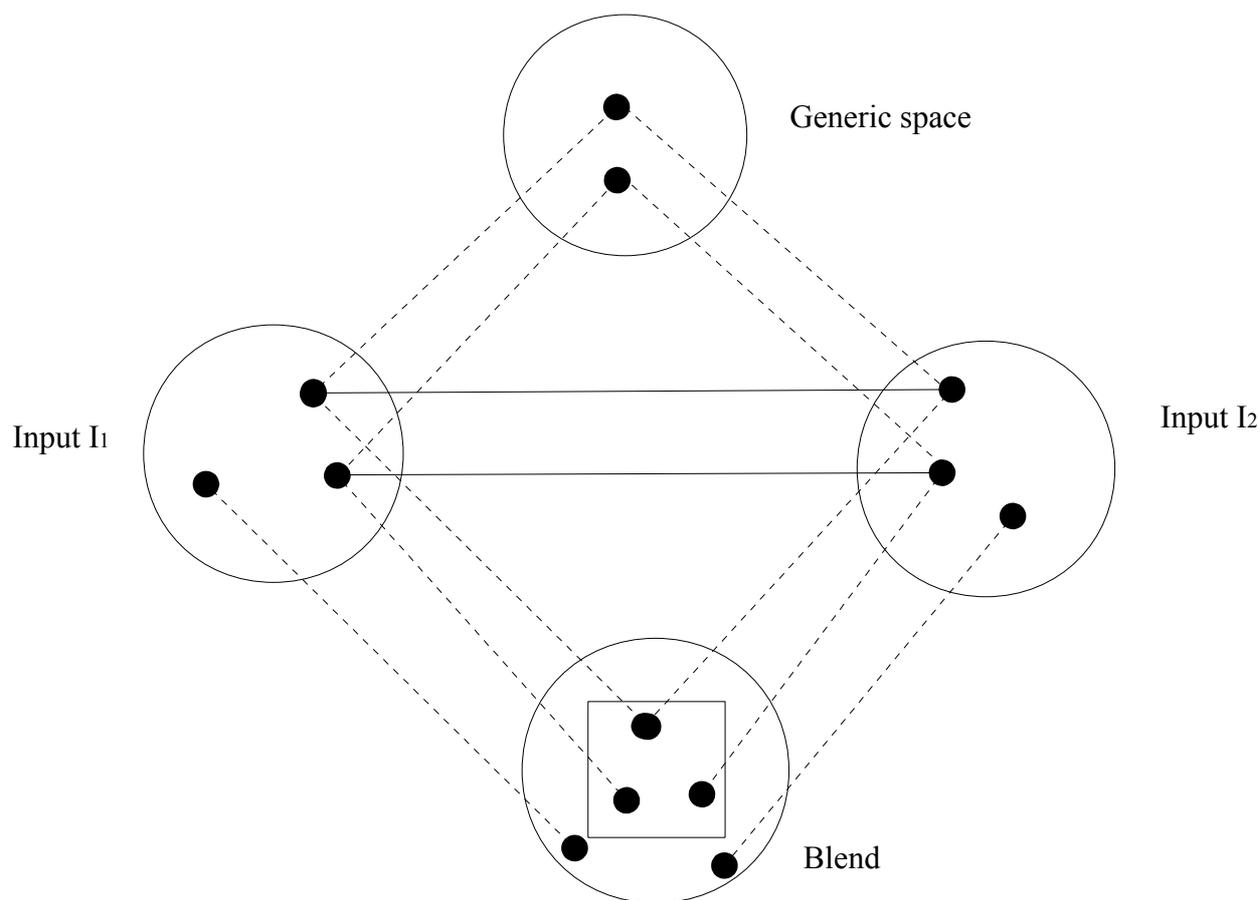
Figure 1. Diagram of basic conceptual integration network (Fauconnier, 1998: 270)

Taylor points out that the term *blend* had been used to describe a process of word formation long before Fauconnier and Turner developed their theory regarding conceptual blends. Creative blends of multiword units or creativity at the boundaries between elements within multiword units that are usually processed holistically can be intentional or unintentional (Wray 2008: 27-8). "Deliberate blends are easy to explain in terms of Needs Only Analysis – they are created in response to a new need: the desire to say something novel or play with words for comic effect" (Wray 2008: 28).Whether or not such creativity is perceived as such, rather than as an unintentional error, may depend on previous exposure to such variation as well as on the hearer's perception of the speaker's level of linguistic competence. Creativity which may have initially been unintentional can be perceived as message-carrying and be integrated into another person's lexicon and from there passed on to a wider audience. According to Hoey (2005) lexical priming accounts for linguistic creativity and the creativity found in humour, ambiguity, and literary language is a result of deliberate deviations from dominant primings of a lexical item.

Another form of such blending used in written language is called phraseological substitution or modification (cf. Jaki 2014). Derrida observed in *Dissemination* that "to write means to graft"; he also uses the term splicing (Wortham 2010: 69). Derrida's notion of graft in writing appears similar to Bakhtin's double voicing. In all these approaches we find the common element of building upon previously encountered ways of saying things: borrowing and rearranging them in a new way as a source of creativity.

In language contact situations, when translating for example, it may be possible to find a similar memorised and institutionally accepted sequence in the target language. On the other hand, it may be necessary to generate a new, non-lexicalised sequence. This shows that contact between languages can lead to new, creative ways of saying things which are not familiar to one of the speech communities, but the moment someone has translated it and communicated that translation to another person, the new form will take on a life of its own within the host language community. In this way, individual creativity can influence language change. In Tannen's account of reported speech as constructed dialogue, she refers to a cross-linguistic telling of a English-language narrative:

> "another level on which this dialogue could not have been spoken as it is represented here is that of language: The teller of this story is a native of a Spanish-speaking country, so anything his mother said to him when he was a boy was said in Spanish" (Tannen 2007:113).

It is possible that seemingly inconsequential cross-linguistic speech events such as this are actually the result of complex creative conceptual blending which may also result in linguistic blending if the bilingual speaker draws upon elements from both her languages in the creation of a new way to tell the story.

1.6 Muscial Audio-visual Poetic and Narrative Input

Musical, Audio-visual, Poetic, and Narrative Input are also the result and expression of human communication and shared experience, but in many significant ways they are distinguishable from everyday talk. We now turn our attention to this particular category of linguistic and cultural input.

1.6.1 MAPNI in the research literature

While some work has been carried out into individual types of MAPNI in relation to language development, such as storybooks or television programmes, I have so far been unable to identify any studies which group together musical, audio-visual, poetic and narrative input in the way I do here. Much research has been carried out in all of these domains, although not necessarily in relation to the acquisition of language. Language

acquisition research and child development research has looked at television viewing (Roseberry, Hirsh-Pasek, Parish-Morris & Golinkoff, 2009) and book reading (Hoff, 2010; Ninio, 1980, 1983; Ninio & Bruner, 1978; Reese & Cox, 1999; Van Kleeck, Stahl, & Bauer 2008, Weizman & Snow, 2001). The acquisition of musical competence has been studied (Deliège & Sloboda, 1996 ; Sloboda, 1985; Trehub, 2003) as has the link between language and music (Bustarret, 1998, 1999; Mithin, 2006; Patel, 2008; Trevarthen, 1999). Book-reading studies sometimes refer to bilingualism (Barrera and Bauer 2008), bilingualism studies sometimes refer to book reading (Collins 2010). Second language pedagogy research has looked at the role of music in language teaching (Cornaz, Henrich & Vallée, 2010) as well as the use of film (Berk, 2009). Film and television dialogue analysis has suggested that these input sources could benefit second language learners (Bednarek, 2010) and discourse analysis of bilingual interaction has demonstrated that film and television can be sources of lexical and cultural material available for use in future discourse (Beers Fägersten, 2012). Developmental psychology has identified the fundamental place of narration and storying in human thought and communication (Trevarthen 1999), and research into children's literature has also developed these notions (Hardy 1977, Meek, Warlow and Barton 1977). Anthropology research has looked at the role of poetics and performance in language and social life (Bauman & Briggs 1990). Children's folklore research has demonstrated that poetics and performance also play an important role in the social life of children (McDowell 1979). The study of the oral poetic tradition has lead to insights into formulaicity (Lord, 2000 cited by Wray 2008) and studies of formulaic language discuss oral poetic traditions, music, and the differences between spoken and written language (MacKenzie, 2000; Wray, 2008). Some fascinating research has resulted from cross-disciplinary approaches which apply notions from cognitive science, particularly cognitive linguistics, to studies of literature (Dancygier 2012), and music (Zbikowski 2002, 2006), or systemic functional linguistics and visual semiotics in children's picture books (Moya Guijarro 2014). My own examination of borrowing from MAPNI, takes a similar cross-disciplinary approach which combines notions from cognitive and developmental linguistics with the study of literature, music, children's folklore, and audio-visual media. I have come to realise the potential significance of the fact that most of the source texts in my data are fictional, and the interesting cross-domain blending that occurs when the children use fictional language in non-fictional discursive situations. In this section I will attempt to draw on research related to music, narrative, poetics, children's folklore, and audio-visual media to describe the functions, contexts, and forms of MAPNI.

1.6.2 The functions and contexts of MAPNI experiences and interaction

In some of the more general comments made in this discussion, musical, poetic, narrative and audio-visual input are reduced to singing and storytelling because these are the basic (and original) functions of such input sources which often combine elements of song and story in multimodal ways. Here, I have chosen to focus on song, rather than music making and sharing in general, since that is what interests us in this study. Much of what is said about song is also applicable to music more generally.

So why do we sing and tell stories? According to Buskarren, Huron, Levitin, Mithin, and others, singing is a basic element of human behaviour which goes back as far as humankind itself. The origins of music may be related to group living and the social and communication needs that arose from it. Singing might have been the first form of human communication and the survival advantages it provided became interwoven with human evolution in such a way that neuroscience is now able to identify hormone-based benefits of singing for modern man's physical and emotional well-being (Levitin, 2008). Singing can create and maintain group identity and cohesion by inducing feelings of well-being that bind people together in a unique way which cannot be replicated by simply talking to each other. Singing can soothe and reassure during moments of stress and unhappiness. The benefits are felt by both singer and listener, as has been shown, for example, when mothers sing lullabies to their babies (Levitin, 2008: 127; Trehub, 2003: 13). "Maternal singing is likely to strengthen the emotional ties between mother and infant just as singing in other contexts reduces the psychological distance between singer and listener. Indeed, maternal singing may set the stage for the subsequent role of music in group bonding" (Trehub, 2003: 13). Singing can also be a way of transmitting information, in a similar manner to storytelling, with the additional effects of melody and rhythm adding to the emotional impact and memorability of the information being transmitted through song.

Singing is such a fundamental and ancient kind of human communication that it probably influenced speech in profound ways: talk has been analysed as having important musical qualities, what Tannen calls "the musical basis of talk" (Tannen 2007: 32). Indeed, the intonation contours of speech have been analysed in terms of musical contours which are particularly salient to the infant ear and brain and which therefore play an important role in the acquisition of linguistic and discursive knowledge and competence (e.g. Fernald 1984, 1989 in Papousek 2007). In her study of Minh's early gestalt language production, Peters (1977) categorises some of his utterances as TUNES, that is, phrases approximated by their

melodies, and the process she labelled as 'learning the tune before the words' (Peters 1974). By this, Peters is referring to the way Minh would approximate whole phrases by their intonation contours. Minh's approximations of target phrases were considered as tunes, even if the adult target was not tunelike in the traditional sense of the word, but she also comments on his ability to produce approximations of recited sequences, such as the alphabet, and songs, for example, "Davy Crockett" at age 22 months. Peters suggests a relationship between Minh's love of music and singing and his gestalt language learning strategy, arguing that these are related to the development of his minor hemisphere, whereas a more analytic strategy is related to major-hemisphere development (Peters 1977: 572). Peters claims that, at the time she wrote her article, research into children's babbling considered it "a commonplace that children seem to pick up and produce intonational patterns before they control other aspects of speech". She gives the examples of Engel (1973) who found the equivalent of Minh's Tunes in her son's early speech (Peters 1977: 568).

According to Trevarthen, humans are endowed, from birth, with an innate musicality intimately bound up with rhythmic qualities that are related to physical functioning such as breathing, heart beat, and human movement. Trevarthen writes, "dialogues with two-month-olds exhibit the rhythmic steps, affective melodies and narrative envelopes of energy cycles that are the dynamic characteristic of human body movement, thought and language" (Trevarthen 2010: 12). This innate musicality forms the basis for human intersubjectivity and imagination, making cognition, social relations, and communication possible. Musical intonation contours are not only vital in language acquisition, they continue to influence our understanding and co-construction of spoken discourse throughout life. According to Tannen, "by means of the sound and music of language, hearers and readers are rhythmically involved; at the same time they are involved in participating in the making of meaning" (Tannen 2007: 2). For Tannen, "rhythm is as basic to conversation as it is to musical performance" (Tannen 2007: 32). Rhythmic synchrony can result in conversations which can be set to a metronome, but only if speakers and listeners share the same cultural background (Tannen 2007: 33).

When a mother cradles her baby and sings a lullaby, the rhythms and rocking of the lullaby remind the baby of the movements she experienced in the womb; the close physical contact, shared breathing, and vibrations of the voice reassure and calm the baby. Lullabies are also used to replace the physical presence of the mother. When the baby is placed in a cradle, so that her mother can work; mother maintains contact with baby through vocalisations, including song. If the mother is absent, another person can take on the same role, singing the same songs that mother sings, thereby establishing a sense of continuity, and

a reassurance that the child is not alone. According to Bustarret, civilisations which favour carrying babies on one's back have less need for lullabies and prefer improvised songs related to whatever is happening at the time. This, she argues, demonstrates that body contact does not require words, whereas separation creates song (Bustarret 1999: 7). This idea echoes the theory presented by Mithin, whereby language evolved, through song, partly in response to prehistoric mothers' need to put babies down in order to work. From here it is easy to imagine how songs and stories became associated with pleasure, since the evolutionary benefits offered by succeeding in calming and amusing infants reinforced this form of behaviour. "Language is an essential part of the organisation of play, and also a plaything. Parents offer children stories and nursery rhymes as they give them toys" (Meek, Warlow & Barton 1977: 8-9).

The cognitive processes behind the production and understanding of songs are the same as those operating behind non-musical linguistic experience. Songs can be part of complex conceptual integration networks in which elements from song spaces can blend with elements from input spaces from other domains to create new meanings for singers and listeners (Zbikowski, 2002, 2006). One form of cross-domain mapping common in song is text painting. Text painting is a compositional technique whereby some aspect of the text is represented through music and the music 'paints' the image summoned by the text, for example an ascending pitch in parallel with a lexical item invoking movement upwards (Zbikowski, 2002: 124).

Storytelling, with or without music, is also a basic feature of human behaviour, although its origins may not go as far back as singing in the evolution of our species. We narrate to ourselves and to others about all aspects of life, telling the stories of how we feel, what we have experienced and what we imagine will occur in the future (Meek, Warlow & Barton 1977: 8). The mental spaces that we create and invoke when thinking and communicating about every aspect of ourselves and our lives form the bases of thoughts and our expression, interpretation, and understanding of them, whether they be our own or someone else's. When telling a story, we create narrative spaces (Dancygier, 2012) that may, or may not, be rooted in reality and which are often blends of real and fictional mental spaces. These narrative spaces can be crafted and structured to influence and interact with the representations and existing frames available to listeners, readers, and viewers resulting in the emergence of the narrative (Dancygier, 2012: 195). We tell stories to entertain, influence, and inform others, as well as to create a sense of cohesion or communion, similar to the effect of singing. We listen to and watch stories together as a way of bonding since our attention is focused on the same

narrative at the same time as someone else. In both singing and storytelling, the mental spaces we are invited to access or create will be unique to each individual, reflecting his or her own experience and representations. Because of this, no two people will experience the same song or story in exactly the same way, even if they experience it together. Nevertheless, sharing songs and stories can be a powerful source of cohesion, sometimes creating strong feelings of togetherness and empathy which are essential to our sense of well-being, the sharing and exchanging of thoughts and feelings which makes one feel one is part of something bigger. In this way MAPNI contributes to human intersubjectivity.

So both performance and sharing are often integral to the singing and storytelling experience; children experience songs and stories performed or told by others and can also learn to perform, recite, and tell them themselves, either alone or with other people. When songs and stories are part of a shared experience, they are often the main focal point of that experience, the focus of joint or shared attention in a participatory event or interaction. To talk of *exposure* to songs and stories somewhat fails to encapsulate the interactive, sensory nature of many such sharing events. Imagine a parent reading a book to a child. Or rather, *sharing* a book *with* a child. Most book-sharing events of this nature involve close physical proximity with the child sitting on the parent's lap or right up next to them; the text is transmitted through the oral channel with accompanying vocal modulations of intonation, rhythm, and stress; the parent may add facial expressions, gestures and even movements to the storytelling; the parent and child might take turns to say parts of the text; parent and child will discuss the events in the story, and possibly also the language used to tell it; they will look at the illustrations together, perhaps touch them, and may discuss them too. The whole experience involves touching, moving, listening, looking, speaking, and often laughing. Singing an action song or reciting an action rhyme also involves physical movement, often requiring more than one person; it is more fun to sing and perform action songs together than on one's own.

The participatory element is possible and frequent in all such MAPNI events but it is not obligatory. It is, of course, possible to experience MAPNI alone. We could, nevertheless, argue for a sort of interaction between the reader, listener, or viewer, and the MAPNI artefact or its channel of transmission. The reader holds and touches the book, turns its pages, looks at the text and pictures; readers of all ages are not insensitive to the smell of a book; very young "readers" might also taste a book! Viewers may interact with a character on screen if a character asks it of them, as is sometimes the case in children's television programmes. Some DVDs or online audio-visual material require viewers to perform physical movements, press

buttons, tap a screen, type text, draw pictures, sing, or speak. There is a distinction to be made between MAPNI that can be experienced alone, at any age or stage of development, and MAPNI that requires certain skills in order to be experienced alone. The most obvious distinction here is between the non-literate and the literate reader. The young, non-literate "reader" has two options which are dependent on the fact that books for this audience are always illustrated. If the book is new to her, she can appreciate the visual elements and probably infer some of the events in the narrative from them. She may use her imagination and invent a story to go with the pictures. If the book has been shared with a literate reader on a previous occasion, the pre-literate child can rely on her memory of that experience to recreate the accompanying text. Similarly, a pre-literate child can enjoy listening to a CD of songs alone, even for the first time, perhaps with the additional support of an illustrated book. On a subsequent occasion the same book can be enjoyed without the CD because it will help the child to recall the accompanying songs. Songs can be accompanied by visual media in the form of music videos or static picture slide shows, which a child can watch alone or with another person, on a television, computer, or tablet screen. One form of solitary MAPNI experience which immediately springs to mind is watching TV. Here the pre-literate child is at no disadvantage and can experience the input alone. This does not mean, however, that such input can *only* be experienced alone. Indeed, children often watch TV with other children and with adults, sometimes with the same kind of physical proximity they enjoy while sharing a book. While it is possible to discuss what is happening on the screen, to do so may disrupt viewing. Nevertheless, interaction can occur during and/or after viewing.

Sharing MAPNI creates a whole, rich, store of common ground and shared experience that can be referred to and taken as a given in future exchanges. Of course, this will be the case for people who shared MAPNI together at the same time and in the same place. However, it is also possible to share knowledge of MAPNI with someone else even if it has not been experienced together. Two people may read the same book, listen to the same song, watch the same film at different times, and in different places and then refer to it in a conversation as shared knowledge. To take this one step further, some items of MAPNI are part of the larger culture-wide shared experience that everyone assumes is known by everyone else in the same speech community. Gratier and Trevarthen describe well infants' predisposition to the processes of transmitting, creating, and sharing:

The cooperative cultural experience of a meaningful world depends, in every human community, upon skills of interest, of initiative in action and of emotional evaluation that have been created by past generations in the 'history-making' of their world (Turner and Bruner, 1986). Children, even very young infants, appear to communicate with an artful imagination ready to pick up new

expressive tricks (Dissanayake, 2000). They try to move with others to learn how to live in fictional, meaningful, historical ways, using cooperatively invented conventions of moving with their complex 'extravagantly mobile' bodies. Their behaviours are negotiated in exchange of purposes and states of creative activity, sharing 'vitality dynamics' (Stern, 1985, 1999) with other persons with what Stein Bråten felicitously calls 'felt immediacy' (Bråten, 1988), acting in collaborative negotiations that eventually contribute to the rituals, stories and fabrications or 'habitus' of a *culture* (Gratier and Trevarthen, 2008).

Linguistic/cultural communities may differ in the ways MAPNI is shared. Some societies accord greater or lesser importance to storytelling, for example. Or within one speech community speakers may assume that all other speakers (of a certain age) are aware of the same television programme. Considering each family as a community of practice, great variation in the experiencing of MAPNI is also possible from one family to the next, and each family, even within the same neighbourhood, may have very different opinions about the value and the place of MAPNI in everyday life. Experiencing MAPNI is a frequent and common event in most people's lives at all ages, both alone and in interaction with others. Whatever the context of exposure to MAPNI, it is generally part of most people's linguisitic sound- and landscape, and features in many interactional settings.

Another important thing we have noted about the context of MAPNI experiences is their routine and repetitive nature. Repetitive because MAPNI is part of our daily ritual: we might listen to, and even sing along to, songs on the radio or CD player on the way to school or work; a child will usually hear a story and/or poem at school, listen to and learn to join in reciting a rhyme or singing a song; at home after a day's work what better way to relax than sharing a story or a film, or listening to music together? And of course, how can a child fall asleep and enjoy dreams worthy of that name if she has not shared a bedtime story? And this routine may occur day after day after day, night after night after night... Indeed, the bedtime story habit, once adopted, is extremely difficult to break: some rituals are sacred! MAPNI is also repetitive, and memorable, in the sense that the same book, song, or film may be experienced and shared over and over again, as any participant in the bedtime story ritual will tell you. It is likely that the form of MAPNI also plays a role in its memorability. According to Trevarthen "the link between melody and memory must explain one key function of musicality, or poetics – they make sharable and retrievable meanings" (Trevarthen 1999: 189).

1.6.3 The form and content of MAPNI

The original text of MAPNI represents mostly static sources of linguistic experience which do not involve the participatory, spontaneous, co-creation of language, or languaging, that is inherent in ordinary speech. Oral storytelling is crafted and preprepared, even if the

storyteller embellishes or varies certain elements when they are actually telling the story, they are not usually making it up as they go along. At least, this is the case for professional storytellers. From my own personal experience, I know that it is possible to make up a story as you tell it, because this is the kind of oral storytelling I occasionally do for my children, and I am sure many other parents do the same. Some children's books and storytelling websites are designed to support invented storying based on illustrations with no text, for example, the website storybird.com which provides a large database of illustrations for the production of online digital books.

Another form of oral storytelling is present in children's folklore. This term is used to describe the repertoire of traditional speech genres such as stories, jokes, riddles, and ditties that are enjoyed and used by the shoolchild who, "in his primitive community, conducts his business with his fellows by ritual declaration. His affadivits, promisory notes, claims, deeds of conveyance, receipts, and notices of resignation are verbal, and are sealed by the utterance of ancient words which are recognized and considered binding by the whole community" (Opie and Opie, 1959: 17 in McDowell, 1979: 12). The community in question is that of schoolchildren and is one in which traditions are passed on orally and are shortlived. An important distinction can be made between folklore that is designed to be performed by adults for children, also called *nursery lore* (Opie and Opie, 1959) and folklore that is designed to be performed by children for other children, called *children's folklore* or *child lore* (Arleo, 2006: 126). McDowell states that "a hard and fast definition of folklore is probably neither possible nor desirable" but it is nevertheless useful to "characterize verbal folklore as the result of the intersection of tradition and circumstance" (McDowell, 1979: 13). Tradition is here used to mean "a pre-existing store of techniques, skills, and wisdom, selectively manifest in the competencies of individuals" while circumstance is "a particular socially and culturally delimited event calling that pre-existing knowledge into play" (*ibid*: 13-14).

Whether the tradition is short-lived or long-lived, it is essentially that of a shared knowledge within a given community. This shared knowledge may take the form of a pattern that is recognisable in form and content even if the wording is new, as is the case with proverbs. It is the capacity to form appropriately and to recognize appropriately formed items of this kind which is traditional: "proverb competence is itself a kind of shared knowledge carried through time" (McDowell, 1979: 14). The same can be said of other formulaic kinds of folklore such as riddles and jokes. The riddle may be identified by a space builder such as "I riddle, I riddle, I riddle", the knock-knock joke will be recognised by the space builder

which introduces a particular kind of interaction requiring a formulaically constructed question and response frame. According to McDowell, the performances of this genre are different from written literature because "the manner or style of presentation, the verbal register...tends to be palapable or readily accessible" and in this they exhibit "an accessible rhetoric" (McDowell, 1979: 15). The oral nature of the genre is one of the reasons for this accessible rhetoric since the spoken word is transient and leaves only a trace in the mind, the "library of spoken messages" (McDowell, 1979: 16). The result is a rhetoric which relies on "patterns of metre and rhyme, framing devices, and limited referential universes" which "contribute to the establishment of a predictable frame facilitating communication in the oral-aural network" (*ibid*). Children's folklore, then, is a wonderful example of the combination of traditional knowledge, sometimes in fixed form and content (for example, "finders keepers, losers weepers") and the competencies required for the transmission, understanding, and creation of versions of traditional speech act frames or routines. In his analysis of riddles, McDowell notes that the typical riddling session opens with "the performance of the stock of traditional items known to the children" and then moves on to what McDowell calls "descriptive routines, routines evolving from riddling competence but freshly devised on the spot" (McDowell, 1979: 134). In this context, "form and content provided in the initial traditional material serve as a stimulus for the production of numerous reformulations and transformations" (McDowell, 1979: 135).

Arleo (1997, 2006) suggests that there are universal metrical patterns in children's rhymes which tend toward symmetry. His Hypothesis of Metrical Symmetry states that the number of beats in a given metrical unit and the number of lines in stanzas tends to be a power of 2 (Arleo, 2006: 131). In this approach "the beat is viewed as a mental event that is shared between players or performers, which allows the synchronization of body movements, such as hand-clapping, but also phonetic gestures, such as syllable attacks" (Arleo, 2006: 132). While children's rhymes usually have several levels of beat, the basic beat level is described by Lerdahl and Jakendoff as *tactus*, "the foot-tapping, hand-clapping or finger-snapping level" (*ibid*). Children are not born with the ability to mark regular beat but learn it gradually through observation and practice. Perhaps such rhymes and their accompanying action games help children to acquire and perfect this ability. Hand-clapping and multiparty rope-skipping require more than one performer to synchronize movement patterns and contribute, perhaps, to the development of the capacity for communicative synchrony that has been observed in the poetics of talk (Tannen, 2007 [1989]). The simplicity of the metrical patterns of the accompanying rhymes helps players to achieve this, as well as adding to the

memorability of the whole play routine, including its wording. The regular patterns form a basis upon which children can create a multitude of variations and transformations, in the tradition of oral lore. According to Brailoiu (1984 [1956]) "children's rhythms are based on a restricted number of extremely simple principles" which are "constantly concealed by the resources (almost unlimited here) of variation" (Brailoiu, 1984 [1956]: 209 in Arleo, 2006: 126). The study of children's rhymes can be seen as part of a branch of poetics since, "although the verbal art of the child and of the adult are different, they form a continuum" (Jakobson and Waugh, 1980: 264-268, in Arleo, 2006: 126).

Some forms of children's folklore tend toward patterning and even symmetry, then. Perhaps they contribute to more generalisable linguistic abilities, in addition to being fun and creative and worthy of attention for those reasons alone. There is probably a continuum of oral folklore, both for children and adults which ranges from highly patterned, rhythmic, and formulaic to less patterned and freer forms of storying and the latter are perhaps the closest MAPNI gets to spontaneous spoken languaging. If the storytelling involves interacting with the listeners and giving them answer-providing, decision-making, or opinion-forming roles in the storytelling, or if the invention of the narrative is a collaborative act, it is even closer to conversational speech. The metric beat, synchrony, and repetition that is conspicuous in some highly regular poetic forms is probably still present in most forms of discourse, as demonstrated by Tannen (2007).

Often the form and content of MAPNI is fixed and stable in a way which clearly distinguishes it from on-line, co-constructed, discourse, and which probably adds to its memorization through repetition. The traditional bias in linguistics to study the written word (even when claiming not to), epitomized by the sentence, has had major impact on theories of language. Over the last few decades, linguistics has turned its attention to the study of real spoken language in use. Hopper reminds us that the spoken-written dichotomy is criss-crossed with a complex interplay of genres, styles, and registers (Hopper 1987, 2014). In this study the data collected *is* that of real spoken language in use; the examples analysed are of the speech of children, typically during interaction. However, a certain complexity arises from the fact that the examples of borrowed phrases which are isolated for analysis are phrases borrowed from sources that were *not* real spoken language in their original manifestations. Although MAPNI is often transmitted through the oral channel and might therefore be considered as a manifestation of spoken language, there are two ways in which MAPNI is not *real* spoken language. Firstly, MAPNI is not *real* in the factual sense because, most of the

time, it is fiction**.** Secondly, MAPNI is not *real* in the sense of spontaneous speech, because most of the time it is crafted; it is a perfect example of prefabrication. We can distinguish, therefore, between the reality of spoken, conversational, speech and the fiction of MAPNI and between the unprepared, online production of spontaneous speech in conversation and the prepared, crafted, drafted and perhaps oft-repeated language of MAPNI. Clearly, the language in books is written and crafted in advance. The language in fictional film and television, most often in the form of dialogue, is scripted (Bednarek, 2010). Although much spontaneous languaging goes on in discussion of these artefacts, during and maybe after having shared them, the borrowed phrases that have drawn our attention in this study do not come from such exchanges, they come from the actual text of the original MAPNI artefact.

Wray's discussion of the difference between written and spoken language emphasizes the important notion of autonomy and lists Pawley and Syder's (1983) differences between conversational and autonomous discourse (Wray, 2008: 52-3). These differences include multi-channel features that are inherent in face-to-face discourse, such as gestures and conversational signals but that are absent from autonomous discourse. When Pawley and Syder claim that autonomous discourse is single channel, using only words to signal meaning, they are forgetting about the important role of illustrations, particularly in books for young children. Wray points out that the writer's need to be understood by the reader is dependent on many factors that are revealed in the spoken-written distinction but not necessarily a result of it. Different levels of autonomy exist in different kinds of text because of the varying relationships and degrees of shared knowledge between writer and reader, and the varying functions of different written texts. The level of formulaicity in different texts is related to these communication requirements. "Thus, the question of how formulaic sequences appear in a text is simply one aspect of the more general question of how reference is effectively made in texts" (Wray, 2008: 58).

Text is not ephemeral like speech, but has a potentially permanent, physical manifestation. For this reason, written language is different from spoken language because writers are not subject to the same production constraints as speakers in on-line interaction. A text can be drafted and reworked many times until the author is satisfied that the optimum way of presenting the intended meaning or effect has been found. A reader can refer back to earlier parts of a text in order to remind herself of an earlier event, clarify a point, or modify her understanding of a concept in terms of its relationship with earlier stated concepts. For the writer, production constraints related to fluency and holding the floor are absent, as are

processing demands, such as managing the flow of language. Writers can use more complex constructions than speakers because the time constraint and working memory constraint of on-line reception processing are not limiting factors. A reader can go back and re-read a complex sentence as many times as she likes.

An author of books for young children will take into account the amount and type of knowledge she believes is shared with the young reader, depending on the reader's age. She will also be sensitive to the developing cognitive abilities of her readers. She can then choose how best to formulate the narrative in the most appropriate manner for her readers. Importantly, authors for young children rely heavily on illustrations to support meaning construction in their books. Words and images contribute differently to the overall organisation of the story, giving complementary and essential information for understanding (Moya Guijarro, 2011, 2014). Authors of children's books can adapt their linguistic structure to the age of their readers and are also in a position to set up and play with whole text structure with specific narrative aims, such as the creation of tension or surprise. An example of such text crafting, using grammatical parallelism repeatedly then breaking the structural pattern to introduce a surprise element, can be seen in Rod Campbell's *Dear Zoo*. Julia Donaldson is a popular author for children who is famous for her rhyming and rhythmic narratives, such as *The Gruffalo* and *Chocolate Mousse for Greedy Goose,* which are often based on even metrical and rhyming patterns that are particularly phonologically attractive and memorable. Indeed, according to *The Gruffalo* website, the Gruffalo ended up looking the way he does because of the author's desire to make the text rhyme.[10] It is certainly no accident that *The Gruffalo* won the Blue Peter Best Book to Read Aloud award. Texts such as these are fully appreciated and brought to life through reading aloud, indeed, that is what they were intended for. Ollie Heath has put the text and pictures of *The Gruffalo* to music in a way that perfectly illustrates the regular, even, beat of this children's classic.[11] And Michael Rosen demonstrates the gestured rhythmic chanting and sound-effect-packed way to read his award-winning book *We're Going on a Bear Hunt*.[12] Although he performs brilliantly, one cannot help wanting to add the repetition of each line as in the sung version of this favourite, participatory chanted story.[13]

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[10]   Www.gruffalo.com/world-of/the-story/
[11]   www.youtube.com/watch?v=ThZqDoJi5S0

[12]   Www.youtube.com/watch?v=0gyl6kDwds

[13]   Www.youtube.com/watch?v=E9IWk13HAvc

According to Tannen, repetition is an important feature of poetry and literature. She states that literary scholars consider recurrent patterns of sound (alliteration, assonance, rhyme), words, phrases or sentences, and larger chunks of discourse as basic to literature (Tannen, 2007: 34). MacKenzie claims that literature is "a great store of transformed formulas and lexical phrases" which speakers and writers alike can drawn upon (MacKenzie, 2000: 178). In his argument, which refers to the formulaic nature of Homeric epic poetry and Roland Barthes' description of speech and literature as "consisting entirely of transformations of words that have already been set in order by someone else," MacKenzie suggests that literature, like speech, contains a great deal of formulaic language, particularly semi-fixed phrases. The creative transformations of such phrases produced by literary writers then become part of the shared store upon which future speakers and writers can base their own new creative transformations, in a process reminiscent of Bakhtin's double voicing and the cognitive and linguistic processes of blending.

Creativity is also possible when reading books aloud. While some readers will stick rigidly to the text printed on the page, others will enjoy altering the odd word or even item of content. Some books are designed to produce different versions of a story with each reading, for example books which allow the reader to make decisions and choose which page to turn to next. The book-sharing experience will probably be different with each reading since the participation and comments can change each time. The language of nursery rhymes and songs for children may be transmited orally and possibly not scripted or prepared in the same sense as story text or television dialogue, but it is nevertheless pre-prepared. Many songs and rhymes originated and were transmitted in purely oral form before being written down, and the versions that concern us in this study have often been transcribed and printed at some point. (For me, access to the wide range of L Alpha nursery lore usually involved, at least initally, a printed or recorded version because my own memorised store of songs and rhymes was fairly limited.) Most of the time it is not the singer or rhymer who invents the lyrics. However, some songs and rhymes invite participation, ranging from inventing new items to fit slots or whole lines of lyrics to fit the melody and match the overall theme of the song. There is considerable scope for the variation and invention of lyrics within this genre, variation which builds upon the rhythmic and melodic structure already in place and which plays an important role in teaching children about linguistic and musical creativity. As with the other forms of MAPNI already discussed, it seems that for songs and nursery rhymes, creativity can result from learning how to vary, embellish, and blend formulas from a shared repertoire.

Lullabies are often inspired by the sounds of the environment, bells ringing, hymns, dances,

and so on (Bustarret 1999: 8). Lullabies transmit ancient knowledge which protects against ancient fears. Day will follow night; parents will protect their children from monsters, wolves, the dangers of the outside world; the home is safe; absent family members will return; the child will grow up. These songs are transmitted orally over generations, each new generation, each singer adding a new variation, perhaps by making references to the world as they know it, as their child knows it, making an old version more relevant. Sometimes the source of the reference or shared cultural knowledge originally embedded in children's songs is forgotten. Indeed, when it comes to songs in general, the meaning of the words often remains secondary to the melody and the rhythm, to the emotional and social experience of singing together or being sung to; it frequently does not matter if singers or listeners do not understand the lyrics. Trevarthen also makes this point. This is clearly the case with traditional Breton songs at *Fest Noz* (Breton dance meetings where the public joins in traditional dances, accompanied by musicians and singers). Fanny Chauffin[14], a *Fest Noz* singer, claims that most of the people who go to dance at *Fest Noz* don't understand the Breton language and so do not know what the songs are about. She says that she likes to tell the dancers what the songs mean and most of the time they appreciate learning about the songs and the stories they tell. Bustarret claims that, "singing in foreign or regional languages procures a pleasure based more on sound than on meaning. Before the words have taken on meaning, the baby has already savoured their flavour" (Bustarret 1999: 8, my translation). The same can also be said of children listening to, and trying to sing along to, songs in their first language(s). Who has not heard a child singing a popular song with their own approximate version of the lyrics, completely and blissfully ignorant that they are not singing the "right" words?

Lullabies also have formulaic melodic patterns, designed for calming, which grab attention and then decrease arousal (Levitin, 2008: 127). MacKenzie draws insightful parallels between the formulaicity of language and the formulaicity of two other kinds of musical performance: traditional Irish music and Jazz improvisation. According to MacKenzie, traditional Irish music involves embellishing and varying elements of a semi-fixed frame based on knowledge of a repertoire of tunes and the "acceptable improvisational possibilities they permit" (MacKenzie, 2000: 175). The complexity of Jazz improvisation can range from producing variations on a pre-existing theme to developing an entirely new melodic sequence based on the underlying harmonic base of a theme (MacKenzie, 2000: 177). This range of possibilities is similar to that of formulaic and thematic modes of oral poetic composition. MacKenzie argues that it is not because poetry, music, or literature are partly formulaic and contain

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[14]teacher at the Breton immersion Diwan high school in Careil, Phd student at the University of Rennes 2; at the Pluri-L conference at the University of Nantes on 12th June 2014, she talked about creativity in Diwan schools.

variations on formulaic frames and sequences that they do not also display creativity. In both spontaneous and pre-prepared language production, fixed formulas, such as idioms, proverbs, and situation-bound utterances, are less likely to undergo creative transformations than semi-fixed formulas and therefore carry shared knowledge in a more stable way.

There is sometimes scope for variation even within the most apparently fixed literary formulas. A good example of this can be found in the creative adaptation of the seemingly fixed formula "Once upon a time" in two instances of children's literature known to the author (it is probable that other, similar creative variations exist elsewhere). In Janet and Allan Ahlberg's illustrated storybook *The Jolly Postman* (1999) the formula becomes "Once upon a bicycle" and David Melling writes "Once upon a Tuesday" in *The Kiss that Missed* (2011). A quick Google search reveals that *Once Upon a Tuesday* is also the name of a Seattle Rock and Roll band who have been writing and performing music for nearly a decade.[15] Could this be a coincidence, or is David Melling a fan? *Once upon a bicycle* seems to have become even more a part of the shared repertoire, and features, for example, in a journalistic headline[16] in a 2012 *Guardian* article and as the title of a book, a facebook page, and a blog. The semantic logic of *Once upon a bicycle* may account for this wider usage of the variation: even though *bicycle* is not from the same semantic field as *time,* it is possible to be *upon* a bicycle. Google also reveals the following variations: once upon a blue Monday, once upon a Wednesday, once upon a Friday, Once upon a Saturday, Once upon a sundae, Once upon a sunny day, Once upon a Christmas, Once upon a child, and a (2011) book title *Once upon a sign: using American sign language to Engage, Entertain, and Teach all children*.

The language used in fiction, particularly dialogue, appears to be based on the language used in naturally-occurring discourse. However, formulas may play different roles in each context. Fillers and hedging formulas, and such like, will only be present in pre-prepared text if the author chooses to include them for stylistic reasons. According to Bednarek, television script writers tend to avoid them as they do not advance the narrative. Script writers also avoid false starts, overlaps, interruptions, vague words and phrases (like "thing" or "stuff"), abrupt topic shifts and other such sources of unintelligibility which can feature in naturally occurring dialogue. Fictional television dialogue consists of a relatively even distribution of short turns, a higher frequency of emotional, emphatic, and informal language, and aesthetic devices such as rhythm, repetition and surprise (Bednarek, 2010: 64). Bednarek includes the use of "certain stock lines" in her study of the features of fictional television dialogue, which

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[15]   http://www.onceuponatuesday.net/#!bio/c1mfb
[16]   http://www.theguardian.com/environment/bike-blog/2012/jan/24/first-bike-memories

points to the existence of a specific repertoire of formulas for this kind of crafted speech (Bednarek, 2010: 64). The different genres of fictional television may have linguistic differences that reflect their intended audience, such as fast-paced witty dialogue in sitcoms, teenage vocabulary and discourse markers in "teen television" (Bednarek, 2010: 66).

1.6.4 Fiction and non-fiction in children's literature

Children's literature can be defined as a body of written works, often with accompanying illustrations, produced in order to entertain or instruct young people. The genre encompasses a wide range of works, including acknowledged classics of world literature, picture books and easy-to-read stories written exclusively for children, and fairy tales, lullabies, fables, folk songs, and other primarily orally transmitted materials. Within the definition of children's literature there is a blurring of genres. Children's folklore and fairytales that are primarily orally transmitted materials, have been given textual form, collected, annotated and edited in books, recorded on DVDs, animated and dramatized on film.

The kind of book that is shared or read can vary from fiction to expository. Research into adult-child book sharing not only frequently neglects to consider the possible impact of the genre of book concerned, but also mostly deals with storybooks. This focus seems to reflect the evidence from a number of studies that families more frequently share stories than other genres of books (Van Kleeck 2003:280). According to Van Kleeck, a growing body of research indicates that "the genre of the book shared with a child can have a dramatic impact on the nature of the resulting adult-child interaction. Furthermore, different kinds of books may foster different kinds of learning among preschoolers of different ages" (Van Kleeck 2003: 280-1). The interaction when sharing expositary books tends to include more child participation, and parents focus more on vocabulary, concept building and discussing questions in the texts. The vocabulary of expositary books is more technical and deals with classification. When parents share storybooks, they provide more information about authors and illustrators, make predictions and interpretations of actions and character motivations. The vocabulary of storybooks focuses more on character development and mental states (Van Kleeck 2003:281).

In the context of this study, we pay more attention to storybooks for two reasons. Firstly, in our family it is the genre of book most often shared by parent and children. Secondly, there are no examples in the corpus of the borrowing of phrases from expositary texts. This could

either reflect the relative infrequency of parent-child expository book sharing, or it could tell us something about the specificity of narrative textual input as opposed to expository textual input. Indeed, the fact that we are mostly dealing with textual input is also important to note here. As mentioned previously, narratives do not have to be presented in a textual form. A narrative can be told without the support of a text. In line with the ancient human tradition of oral storytelling, it can be either entirely created by the storyteller, or it can be memorised, from a previous hearing or from a text, and retold, in which case there is some potential for variation in the structures and vocabulary used. By noting this distinction, we can see the difference between narrative texts and expository texts in a new light. Both kinds of text tell children something about the world but the way in which that information is presented differs in important ways, and so too may the type of content.

Expository texts are designed to teach children about the concrete world, about the way things are and how things function or develop. They are assumed to be truthful and a way to access knowledge. Stories, while they may also tell children about the world, are not assumed to be truthful and are not perceived as knowledge stores about concrete things. Stories are more likely to tell children about characters' experiences, relationships, and feelings. Most importantly, since stories are not necessarily true, anything might happen, and does. Stories may be set either in the world as children know it, or in imaginary worlds where the way things are might need to be explained again, in a different way, with a whole new set of rules which are the fruit of the author's imagination, not the description of the world around us. Human characters may have non-human abilities, non-human characters may take on human characteristics. Indeed, thanks to the fictional element of stories, even abstract colours and shapes can have thoughts and feelings and interact with each other in a human-like way. This is possible because of the power of fiction and of metaphor. According to the Encyclopedia Britannica online, a metaphor is "a figure of speech that implies comparison between two unlike entities" involving "the identification or fusion of two objects to make one new entity partaking of the charactersitics of both."[17] It is metaphor that makes it possible for young children to assign human characteristics to coloured dots in the picture book *Dans la cour de l'école* by Christophe Loupy. And it is metaphors such as these which initiate children into the process of abstraction. Storybooks, then, have the power to lead children towards fiction, metaphor, and abstraction, while building upon their knowledge of the concrete world they have so far experienced.

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[17](http://global.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/377872/metaphor)

If a parent tells a story from a book or from their imagination or memory, there is no doubt that the parent is telling a story, whatever the source of the narrative. However, when a parent tells a child about, for example, the way plants grow, the information provided by the parent is directly related to the parent's personal knowledge of the subject. Reading a book about how plants grow simply requires the parent to know how to read and not necessarily to know anything about the subject. Expositary texts can therefore be more distanced from the personal experience of the reader. The important thing is the transmission of information about the world in a concrete manner

In *The Language of Stories* Barabara Dancygier discusses the the divide between everyday discourse and fiction, and the way creativity works in these two contexts (Dancygier 2012: 3). She quotes from the Arabian nights: "There is nothing so strange it cannot be true, and no story so unlikely it cannot be told. No story is a lie, for a tale is a bridge that leads to the truth." (*The Arabian nights*, retold by Neil Philip, in Dancygier 2012: 4). One of the fascinating things about the children's borrowings from MAPNI is that they take fictional language, or language encountered in fiction, and apply it to interactive, non-fictional contexts. Does this mean that they do not distinguish fiction from reality? Or perhaps stories are indeed a bridge to the truth, in terms of language as well as content. Dancygier asks some pertinent questions about stories as linguistic and cultural constructs:

"Why are stories not lies, even though they don't tell the truth? How do they help us to learn from our experience and the experience of others? And how does language support the meaning of stories? The structure of that "bridge to the truth" is what I will try to understand. Why do we enjoy stories?...Could our culture exist without stories? Are they a mental construct, a linguistic construct, or a cultural construct?" (Dancygier 2012: 4)

Narrative fiction may be part of their experience that children use to sort out real from unreal, fiction from fact, just as they need to learn the difference between lies and truth.

"Long before they make their contribution to the conversation of mankind, children learn that language represents both what is, and *is not*, and they discover the enabling power of the image. They can understand eyes as big as saucers, boots that march seven leagues, a wardrobe that opens into fairyland. Thus, when they are organizing the world into 'inner' and 'outer,' they are also exploiting the gap between what *is*, and what language *says*." (Meek, Warlow & Barton 1977: 9)

Understanding when a narrative is to be considered fictional is possibly similar to understanding that another person is intentionally telling a lie. Being able to distinguish fiction from fact and lies from mistakes, is related to the ability to read the intentions of others. It is necessary to know, or to be able to infer, whether someone is telling you a story or not. The ability to read the intentions of others is frequently referred to as theory of mind; it is also manifest in empathy, maybe also in imagination. Learning empathy is all about learning that there are always different versions of the same event, (THE big lesson of studying

history), and learning to accept that different visions are the result of different viewpoints, different perspectives, different interpretations, that are the result of different past experiences which make us who we are. According to Zunshine, fiction offers a form of 'exercise' in the ability to 'read' minds (Dancygier, 2012: 28). Empathy is also learning to navigate between fiction and 'fact' by accepting that we are all storying all the time, that we explain experience through narrative. We must also accept that the boundary between real and fictional can be blurred, even in our own personal narratives, because we indulge in believing, in pretending they are 'true.' The relationship between what actually happened and the way we narrate it will necessarily depend on our perspective of the event, on the position from which we viewed it or participated in it, on the way we wish to be perceived by the listeners and our attempts to influence this perception through our telling of the event. This distance between the actual event and our account of it may also depend on the way we negotiate this account in interaction with others, and perhaps also on how well we remember the event. Tannen claims that reported speech is a form of constructed dialogue and indeed remembering the exact words another person (or even oneself) used in a previous dialogue can be pretty difficult. Often our personal interpretation of what we think the other person meant to say will come through in our newly constructed narrative of the dialogue. This is particularly the case if we are narrating an event or dialogue which took place in a language different from the narration, or in a cultural setting where we may fail to capture the subtle underlying meanings that are alluded to through lack of shared knowledge of cultural references.

Children's relationship to these questions is different from adults. According to Hardy, in the 1970s educationalists believed that "the process of maturation involves a movement out of the fantasy-life into a vision of life 'as it is'" (Hardy 1977: 13). However, if we accept her idea that narrative is a primary act of mind, then we must accept that narrative will always be a part of human experience. "Narrative, like lyric or dance, is not to be regarded as an aesthetic invention used by artists to control, manipulate, and order experience, but as a primary act of mind transferred to art from life" (Hardy, 1977: 12). In Hardy's view it is a necessary part of our experience, of life:

> "For we dream in narrative, daydream in narrative, remember, anticipate, hope, despair, believe, doubt, plan, revise, criticize, construct, gossip, learn, hate, and love by narrative. In order really to live, we make up stories about ourselves and others, about the personal as well as the social past and future" (Hardy, 1977: 12-13).

The task that children face is not that of learning to abandon fiction, but of learning to recognise the fiction in all narratives, whether they be one's own or those of others. "There is a widespread and, I suggest, dubious but understandable assumption on the part of wishful

believers in life-enhancement that human beings begin by telling themselves fairy tales and end by telling truths" (Hardy, 1977: 13).

Dancygier argues that understanding narratives relies on very similar processes to those involved in meaning construction: "emergence, construction, and negotiation of meaning through specific language choices" (Dancygier, 2011:6). Dancygier builds her analysis of the construction of meaning in narratives on the theories of mental spaces and conceptual blending. Certain expressions, for example *Once upon a time* and *in this film*, can set up a story frame, alerting the listener to the fictional nature of the narrative to come. Such expressions can guide the listener in the construction of a fictional mental space within which the story will be played out. The story-situations of jokes can also be established by routine formulas, for example *I say, I say, I say* or *Heard the one about...?* and tell the listener that a funny story is about to be told. In cases like this, the fictional nature of the narrative is clearly linguistically signalled. In many other cases, the fictional nature of the story being told may be far from obvious, particularly in the case of intentional misleading or outright lying. Even when children have learned to identify some forms of narrative as fiction, they can still benefit from the 'truths' within the narratives and herein lies one of the key cultural features of fiction: the bridge to the truth across which generations can pass on the lessons learned from past experiences. One final distinction can be made between realistic fiction and fantasy fiction; here the difference might be described as that of the possible as opposed to the impossible. Even in fantasy fiction, some element of a realistic input space will usually feed into the blended input space in such a way that fantasy is understandable thanks to the combination of shared and contrasting features.

1.6.5 Learning from songs and stories

We have seen that MAPNI is often shared in memorable contexts and has features which make it structurally and formally memorable. We have also seen that MAPNI carries important cultural and psychological information which is relevant to children, helping them learn about the world and different possible ways to interact with it. Exposure to and performance of MAPNI provides young children with access to the speech community's shared linguistic and cultural repertoire, a store from which they can learn about language. How do all these elements contribute to musical and linguistic development in infants and young children? The structure and the content of children's songs ensure that they can be sung for and by children. Rhythm and melody are key to the acquisition of language as well as musical competence. Hanus Papoušek (1996) explains that during the pre-verbal phase of

development, the small child is able to imitate songs and to improvise her own melodies. When she begins to produce words and simple phrases, she will learn the lyrics and the melody at the same time. When babies move on from the production of syllables and the segmenting of the vocal stream into syllables, they will then produce syllables 'en canon.' "The mother helps this development by encouraging rhythmic games and progressively associating them with superpositions of rhythmic melodies. This kind of intuitive intervention contributes to the acquisition of language and the development of musicality" (Papoušek, 1996: 54).

When discussing the acquisition of musical competence, David Hargreaves identifies contour as "a critical feature of early musical perception" (Hargreaves, 1996: 158). In their earliest perceptions of music, "infants seem to use a 'global' processing strategy in which the broad shapes of melodies are extracted from their local details...this contour information seems to be extracted from melodies regardless of variations in intervals and exact pitches...as with melodic memory, infants also seem to be able to recognise basic similarities between rhythmic sequences" (*ibid*). Infants' ability to recognise rhythmic sequences precedes their enjoyment of rhythm as part of their own experiments with sounds when babbling, and later in speech play. It is relevant to note here that, despite their reservations concerning his methods in the selection and analysis of examples, Sanches and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett mention "R.Burling's (1966) cross-cultural analysis of the meter of nursery rhymes, and his conclusions that 16-beat verses are extraordinarily widespread if not universal," (Sanches and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1976: 75).

Hargreaves lists five phases of musical development, the first three of which are relevant to our subjects and their musical production: (Hargreaves 1996:156)
Singing:
    Sensorimotor: (0-2 years) Babbling, rhythmic dancing
    Figural: (2-5) 'Outline' songs; coalescences between spontaneous and cultural songs
    Schematic: (5-8) 'First draft' songs
Composition:
    Sensorimotor: Sensory, manipulative
    Figural: Assimilation of cultural music
    Schematic: 'Vernacular' conventions
Hargreaves states that "infants in their first year of life engage in a good deal of vocal play and babbling, and...this forms the basis for recognisable musical singing," (Hargreaves, 1996: 158). Hargreaves describes Davidson's

"developmental view of children's ability to reproduce songs of the culture within the figural phase, and he uses the nursery rhyme *Twinkle Twinkle Little Star* as an example. His view is that the typical 3-year-old relies on the words of the song and that she can produce distinct pitches, but that these have no interval stability or tonal coherence. By the age of 4 years, Davidson suggests that the child still relies on the text of the song, and that, whilst the reproduction of its melodic contour is improving in accuracy, it still does not yet possess overall coherence. Towards the end of this phase, by the age of 5 years or so, individual contours and intervals are reproduced accurately, but it is not until the schematic and rule systems phases that the parts of a song are organized into coherent wholes." (*ibid*:162)

According to Moog (1976) musical development proceeds separately to the development of speech (in Sloboda, 1985: 202). Sloboda (1985) traces the development of musical ability, particularly singing. Spontaneous singing begins at around 18 months of age with lyrics being made up of a mixture of nonsense syllables and occasional single words or parts of words. It seems that at this age children are experimenting with melodic interval construction (Sloboda, 1985: 202). Between two and three years, children begin to make more deliberate use of repetition and "by two-and-a-half, the child seems to have assimilated the notions that music is constructed around a small fixed set of pitch intervals, and that repetition of intervallic and rhythmic patterns is the cornerstone of music" (Sloboda, 1985: 204). At about the same age, children begin to imitate parts of songs they hear, usually "particularly salient or often repeated sections" of the lyrics, and repeat them over and over coupled with the same type of melodic fragment they produced in the early phase of spontaneous singing (*ibid*).

The next developmental stage involves the child's ability to extract characteristic rhythmic and pitch patterns from the songs she has heard. Such patterns are then reused by children in spontaneous repetitive song-play, sometimes based on only one word. This imitative capacity is further developed during the third and fourth years of life so that children are eventually able to accurately reproduce familiar songs and nursery rhymes by the age of five. While they are mastering the ability to reproduce whole songs, children's spontaneous singing often consists of what Moog calls 'pot pourri' songs, new songs which children invent by "putting together pieces of several songs which they already know. Words, melodic lines, and rhythms are mixed up, altered, taken apart and put together again in a different way and then fitted in between stretches of 'original ideas'" (Moog (1976) in Sloboda, 1985: 205). It seems that, in many ways, the development of song ability has much in common with the development of speech seen from a holistic and formulaic perspective. The imitation of intonation contours is followed by the production and then gap-filling and the fusion, or blending, of lexical chunks. Perhaps Moog's notion of the separate development of musical

competence and speech merely reflects the generative approach to the order of acquisition of language which was dominate in linguistics at the time (1970s).

From the age of five it seems that a change takes place, perhaps related to the love of exact repetition which is demonstrated at this age in many other domains such as the desire to sing the same song, read the same story, and draw the same picture over and over again. In Sloboda's account, the five-year-old child is increasingly preoccupied with precision and the mastery of detail. One possible result of this preoccupation is that children of this age begin to focus on and use "the characteristics of song which are determined by superordinate structures of tonality and rhythm" (Sloboda, 1985: 206). Sloboda believes that, in doing this, the child is building up "knowledge about higher-order structures in music, extracting a new level of knowledge about scales and keys, and about rhythm and metre" (*ibid*). One interesting consequence of this development, in Sloboda's opinion, is that beyond the age of five spontaneous musical improvisation needs to be specifically encouraged if it is to continue to play a role in musical development. Typically, in modern Western culture, more importance is placed on the shared reproduction of fixed forms of well-known music, rather than nurturing compositional and improvisation skills (Sloboda, 1985: 206-7). Traditional folk music and jazz-style improvisation are exceptions to this trend, as mentioned above.

Non-musical, linguistic learning from MAPNI can take the form of encountering, and possibly memorising, fixed formulas, such as which speech acts perform which functions, or providing "scripts" which can be used in new, similar situations in real life. Learning can also involve categorization and generalizing across constructions, in the same way as with more everyday language. MAPNI language may form deeper memory traces in the mental lexicon than everday speech because of the stable repetition it undergoes, making it more accessible for retrieval. On a phonological level, rhymes and rhyming narratives, like songs, have melodic, rhythmic, and rhyming properties that may increase emotional involvement and aide memorisation. On a structural level, grammatical parallelism and syntactic repetition is a common feature of narratives for young children and may help them to make generalisations and form knowledge of categories and constructions.

A great deal of research has been carried out into the relationship between the amount of time parents spend reading books with their children and the children's language and literacy development. Adams (1994: 85) estimates that a typical middle-class child enters school with 1000 to 1700 hours of one-to-one picture book reading, compared with an average of just 25 hours for a child from a low-income family. Weizman and Snow point out that "early

vocabulary development has been linked to participation in social interactional routines, in particular book-reading" (Weizman and Snow 2001: 266). Most often, studies emphasize the relationship between time spent in shared book reading and the development of literacy skills. As Adams writes,

> "The most important activity for building the knowledge and skills eventually required for reading is that of reading aloud to children. In this both the sheer amount and the choice of reading materials seem to make a difference. Greatest progress is had when the vocabulary and syntax of the materials are just ever so slightly above the child's own level of linguistic maturity" (Adams 1994:86).

Research centred on the frequency of book reading has shown that "a relation exists between frequency of being read to and children's later receptive vocabulary, verbal precocity, and knowledge of print" (Reese and Cox, 1999: 20). It is not only the amount of time spent reading aloud to children that matters. Shared book-reading research has shown that a variety of reading styles are practised by parents and each style seems to be conducive to different kinds of language acquisition. Reese and Cox's study into the effect of adult book reading on children's emergent literacy focuses on the effect of quality rather than frequency. Specifically, they look at the "the potential benefits of children's interactions with an adult reader during book reading" (Reese and Cox, 1999: 20). They review research into the variety of adult reading styles with young children, including dialogic book-reading style, which is often identified in the literature as the optimal style for vocabulary acquisition, (Whitehurst et al. 1988; Whitehurst, Arnold, et al 1994; Whitehurst, Epstein et al. 1994), describer style, comprehender style, and performance-oriented style (Haden, Reese, Fivush 1996). Reese and Cox point out that "the styles vary on two critical dimensions: the demand level and the placement of commentary during reading" (Reese and Cox, 1999: 21).

In her 2010 article 'ELL preschoolers' English vocabulary acquisition from storybook reading' Collins' experimental protocol "consisted of the researcher providing rich definitions of inserted target vocabulary during the reading of the story. Rich definitions consisted of the following:

1. pointing to the illustration of the target word
2. providing a general definition of the word
3. providing a synonym
4. making a gesture of the word, when applicable
5. using a word in a context different from that of the book" (Collins, 2010: 88)

According to Collins, the results show that "home reading frequency impacts new word learning by influencing L2. In effect, the more one reads, the more developed the L2, which

affects sophisticated vocabulary learning" (Collins, 2010: 92). However, no effects were found when the language of home reading was only Portuguese (L1) or, unexpectedly, both Portuguese and English. For Collins, her results suggest that "L1 lexical knowledge..does not influence L2 target vocabulary acquisition when L2 targets are not cognates of words in the L1" (Collins, 2010: 94). Collins also identifies rich explanantion as being "the strongest contributor" to target word learning. Among the other factors she discusses are motivation to learn new words and memory: "The demands of memory would seem to be higher for second language learners than for monolinguals, given that children must create two lexicons - one in each language – of sufficient breadth and depth to support the addition of more sophisticated words in both languages" (*ibid*).

According to Clark (2010), parent readers adapt their language to the child listener during shared book-reading. They use fixed syntactic frames, final position and emphatic stress to highlight unfamiliar words. When talking about the scenes, objects, and events depicted in the book, parents also present further information about possible meanings by linking new words to others in the same semantic domain. Clark claims that children's repetition of new words presented in this way, and their adoption of the semantic linking technique employed by parents, shows that interaction in conversation when book-reading supports language acquisition.

Research has often reflected a western, middle-class, educated, approach to book reading and its possible effects on literacy. The assumption is that there is a good way to read to children and such homes provide the 'right' kind of reading to children. However, results often mirror the environment in which the research was carried out and in fact, other studies have shown that there is not necessarily a correlation between western, middle-class, educated practices and literacy achievement; other socioeconomic status groups have also been shown to provide the same reading experiences for their children. Also, cultural differences between groups can lead to different attitudes towards shared reading, different beliefs about literacy, and different literacy practices in the home, including oral literacy, that can be as beneficial to literacy development as reading books. Such practices are not always taken into consideration or given the value they merit. The emphasis on book sharing in the research literature has so far tended to set aside the complexities of multiple literacies. It nevertheless provides insights into the mechanisms of the teaching and learning of print-based literacy (Van Kleeck, Stahl, & Bauer, 2008: ix).

There are many routes to literacy and reading aloud is only one of them. When reading aloud, there are many different techniques that the reader can employ, and interactive reading is

only one of them, not necessarily the best or the only route to achieving literacy through being read to. Literacy is not the only skill to be learned from listening to stories. In fact, it would appear that (language comprehension) listening comprehension is the skill which improves most. Alaphabet books and predictable, patterned books play a role in the learning of word recognition and phoneme awareness, which are necessary for the development of reading skills. More conventional storybooks are usually read and understood with a focus on content, and possibly vocabulary, and foster comprehension skills, and possibly also text knowledge, depending on the way the story is read. There are also social and emotional aspects to shared book reading. "Benefits of book reading strongly depend on how parents support their children" and "the frequency and quality of book reading sessions may differ as a function of this measure of the parent-child relationship" (Bus, 2008: 4-5). As the parent-child relationship becomes more secure, children derive more enjoyment from being read to and become more engaged during these sessions (Bus, 2008: 12). Parents add something of their own to book reading in order to make reading sessions more exciting for their children. They do this by building on their intimate knowledge of the child's personal experiences and of the language with which these experiences are associated.

> "Supportive interactions are required during the transition from looking at pictures to understanding a story's structure and phrasing. Once children have built up basic conceptions of stories by sharing books with their parents, they may be able to internalize the structure and phrasing of new stories just by listening to read-alouds." (Bus, 2008: 13).

Bus suggests that the transition from emergent to conventional reading skills are facilitated by the child's internalisation of stories' phrasing and vocabulary. She also claims that "the emotional qualities of reading sessions seem more important than content-related aspects such as inference, active participation by the child, or quantity of discussion" (*ibid*).

Bellay tested the effect of rich explanation and parental use of phrases from storybooks in other situations in a storybook reading case-study (Bellay, 2013). Two illustrated storybooks were chosen which had similar characters, text length, and themes, and which both contained many examples of formulaic sequences. Both stories were read to the three older children of the family, providing rich explanation of eleven target phrases from story A but not for story B. Phrases were borrowed from story A by the parent-researcher and used in other situations unrelated to the storybook-reading context. The aim of the study was to see if parental reading style and use of the phrases would influence the children's learning of the phrases and their own borrowing of them in other contexts. The results of the study showed that children are receptive to parental reading techniques such as rich explanation. Their own use of the target phrases did seem to be related to parental use of the phrases in some cases, but not systematically. The

children also attempted to reuse some phrases that had not received any special attention from the parent-reader. In both cases, it appears that rich explanation and parental reuse of phrases is not enough to ensure long-term acquisition of those phrases. However, the study does indicate that the children were attentive to parental reading techniques that support vocabulary acquisition and the modelling of phrases in other contexts. Although they were not always able to replicate the kind of reuse that was modelled, they did sometimes recognise when I borrowed a phrase from a storybook. This alone shows that the borrowing of phrases from MAPNI in everyday discourse is a noticeable and meaningful speech act.

Research by lexicographers at Oxford University has revealed some of the ways in which children borrow from literature and popular culture. Wild *et al*.'s (2013) presentation of the Oxford Children's Corpus of writing for children claims that this corpus can show the collocates and phrases to which children are exposed and help lexicographers keep abreast of changes in the language. A subcorpus of writing by children has been added to the Oxford Children's Corpus since 2012. The writing by children was collected thanks to a BBC Radio 4 "500 words" creative writing competition.[18] Oxford University Press reported on the lexicographic analysis of the children's stories and concluded that children use language very creatively, borrowing, transforming, and blending words encountered in children's literature and popular culture as portrayed on television and in film.[19] The influence from children's film can be seen in examples such as the widespread use of the word "minion" from the *Despicable Me* films and "osscilot," "spawn," and "nether" from the *Minecraft* video game. According to Sam Armstrong from Oxford University Press, children are not just copying such words, they are also using them creatively in their own narratives. They also borrow from current and sports affairs they encounter in the popular media as well as all the language they learn at school. The analysis of these children's written narratives has revealed the way children are not afraid to invent their own words; they add suffixes, such as phobia, to create words like "historytestaphobia," they add logists to create, for example, "mucalogist" which is a creature which gives people the most disgusting mucousy coughs, or they invent words like "furfuratious," which means covered in brown-like scales. The research referred to here seems to focus on single words. It would be interesting to examine the Oxford Children's Corpus for evidence of the borrowing, transforming, and blending of phrases from children's literature, television and film.

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[18] http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p01zx5tn

[19] http://global.oup.com/uk/pressreleases/500words/

1.6.6 Learning from film and television

Much of what has been said already about learning from songs and spoken and written narratives also applies to audio-visual media in the form of television programmes and films for children. If these sources of linguistic and cultural information are shared and commented on with an older child or an adult, the young child can co-construct meaning in a way that supports learning. According to Clark, "parents offer children pragmatic directions about language use as they talk to them" (Clark 2001:49). They help children establish links between form and meaning, and how each combination

> "differs from its neighbours and how it is related to any neighbours in the same semantic domain...adults can offer very young children explicit information about what distinguishes one term from another – for instance, they may identify one or more properties that distinguish the referents: sound or shape can distinguish a duck from an owl (e.g. quacking versus hooting); type and speed of motion can distinguish dancing from jumping" (Clark 2003:50).

The audio-visual moving images on a screen can be particularly helpful to parents as they do this, more so than looking at a silent and static illustration in a book. It is arguably clearer and less ambiguous to the child viewer what is meant when her parent comments on the people dancing on the screen, as compared to a photograph or drawing of dancers in a book. This can be even more the case if the child, who is watching dancers on the screen, then proceeds to dance herself in imitation of them, and her parent comments on her lovely dancing. Talking about illustrations and text is certainly important, but talking about moving images with accompanied sound and voice recordings is arguably even closer to actually seeing the real thing (which might not be possible if it takes place in a very different place, such as a jungle, or with dangerous characters, such as tigers!) Television and film for children often includes text painting style music which may add to the potential meaning of the overall experience. They also often include songs with corresponding gestures and /or dance movements which children can join along with while watching as well as at other times.

Rice (1984) and Rice and Haight (1986) studied educational television programmes, such as *Mister Roger's Neighbourhood* and *Sesame Street*, to assess whether audio-visual input shares with natural language input properties that facilitate language acquisition and development (in Naigles and Mayeux, 2001:139). When looking for input that facilitates grammatical development, they reported the presence of yes-no questions, repetitions, "event casts", or descriptions of ongoing events visible on the screen, overall rate of speech similar to that found in naturalistic mother-child storytelling situations, speech whose meaning was immediately represented in the context. The obvious drawback they identified was that the

language was not constructed jointly with the child viewer (Naigles and Mayeux 2001:139). However, at the time of writing, not enough detailed studies had been carried out, so Naigles and Mayeux concluded that "television input has little influence on children's grammatical development" (*ibid*:141). When looking for properties that facilitate lexical development, Rice and Haight reported that the prosody in such programmes was similar to that of CDS, 60% of utterances referred to objects or events immediately present on the screen, and the visuals of television can provide additional clues because of the camera's ability to zoom in on, or switch over to, a specific aspect of an object or event that is being talked about. For example, the camera can zoom in on soup to eliminate *bowl* and *plastic* as possible referents; the screen can display cut after cut of objects that differ in every dimension except their *redness* (*ibid*:143). Naigles and Mayeux state that studies (Rice, 1984; Rice and Haight, 1986; Huston, Truglio and Wright, 1990) provide strong evidence that children can begin to learn about a word from television input and they can extend, enhance, or restrict the meanings of words they have already heard via the input of television (Naigles and Mayeux 2001:147). They even suggest that, according to the data available so far, "when the language of television is pitched at the level of the child who is viewing, adult co-viewing is not necessary for word acquisition to occur" (*ibid*:149).

The crucial point here is that audio-visual input may be more or less beneficial according to the social context, and the interactions with other children and adults. According to Lieven "within our own culture, a study of Dutch children listening to German television suggests that the provision of sentences in a language with almost no information as to their meaning does not result in learning (Snow, Arlman-Rupp, Hassin, Jobse, Joosten, and Vorster 1976)" (Lieven, 1994: 59). Roseberry *et al*. (2009) demonstrated that children as young as 30 to 35 months can learn verbs from a combination of video and social interaction. Other studies have shown that learning vocabulary from video is related to the age of the infants. Rice and Woodsmall's (1988) results of pre- and posttests suggested that both 3- and 5-year-olds learned to pair a novel word heard on television with a picture that depicted that word. Singer and Singer (1998) demonstrated in a naturalistic study that 3- and 4-year-old children learn nouns from *Barney & Friends*. Kremar and colleagues (2007) investigated word learning from video in a laboratory setting and concluded that even though *all* children learn language best in the context of social interaction, older toddlers (aged 22 to 24 months) may learn words from video alone. Another study by Reiser, Tessmer & Phelps, (1984) suggests social interaction improves recall from educational videos among 4-year-olds (all the above studies cited in Roseberry *et al*., 2009).

The question of whether television, and other forms of screen use is harmful to young children's development is frequently raised in the press. Abbie Wightwick, (Education Editor) in the *Western Mail*, reports on statements by Dr Aric Sigman, associate fellow of the British Institute of Biology, in favour of an "early years buffer zone that would ban all electronic media to protect developing brains." According to Dr Sigman, "television viewing among children under three was linked to poor mathematical ability, reading recognition and comprehension in later years," and "screen viewing at all ages from one to fourteen was associated with attention damage." In the same article, Professor Judy Hutchings (Bangor University) stated that "time spent interacting with their parents is more valuable to children" than time spent watching television. On the other hand, some journalists report on education professionals successfully integrating screen-based technology into pedagogical activities and programme conception. For example, Jane Wakefield reports for BBC News on the Isle of Portland Aldridge Community Academy in the South West of England where staff have redesigned their approach to teaching in order to place technology at the centre of the curriculum. Here, pupils are provided with email accounts from age three and Chromebooks from age twelve. Mr Pugh-Jones, a secondary school science teacher in England, interviewed in the article, believes that educators need to think about how they can use technology to do what they are already doing, rather than wondering what to do with technology. Such an approach seems to reflect the attitude that it is not the technology in itself that effects children's development, either negatively or positively, but the way educators use technology to help children develop. Undeniably, screen-based media is having a huge influence on children's development and learning in many parts of the world. This radical change in literacy and multimedia practices is perhaps no less revolutionary than was the introduction of the written word into the orally-based cultures which preceded it. The transition from oral to written culture may have been long and difficult for many people, but noone would now refute the contribution of the written word to human civilisation and learning. Multimedia screen-based language and culture do not detract anything from the value of books, but rather add a new dimension through which discourse as well as musical, poetic, narrative and audio-visual input can be accessed, shared, transformed and created.

Summary of Chapter One

In this first chapter we have seen that the social and linguistic environment plays a key determining role in the development of each individual's linguistic knowledge as well as the speech and cultural community's shared linguistic repertoire. For both individuals and communities, the repertoire takes the form of accumulated memories of past experiences over

which patterns emerge and grammatical generalizations can be made. These patterns and generalizations are related to both linguistic knowledge and pragmatic, discursive knowledge. Past experiences are reflected in the mental spaces which people access and use to build conceptual integration networks when thinking and talking. The nature of the communicative exchanges experienced directly influence the meanings represented in mental spaces, the nature of the language(s) learned, and the resulting cognitive and communicative processes that are developed. Interacting with others serves to build relationships, share experiences and feelings, create and maintain emotional involvement. Imitating, repeating, borrowing, identifying and then replicating or adapting patterns in new conceptual and linguistic blends are all ways in which we learn and then interact through language. Speakers can remember experiences and the concepts and patterns needed to relive them and talk about them in two languages, if they have sufficient knowledge of the two languages. In the case of language contact speakers, such remembering and retelling of experiences may involve translating, borrowing, inter-language mapping or blending, in which case individual language knowledge may lead to language creativity and language change which can then become community-wide as it is transmitted to others. The multiplicity of linguistic voices which cohabit within human communication endlessly feed into each other as a result of such community – individual – community contact.

Chapter 2
Methodology of the case study

The boy sat thoughtfully on his haunches, chewing a blade of grass.

'Borrowing,' he said after a while. 'Is that what you call it?'

'What else would you call it?' asked Arrietty.

Mary Norton, The Borrowers. 1952, p.56.

Chapter 2 Methodology of the case study

2.1 Methods for studying bilingualism

This thesis reports on data collected over a period of ten years. It is a longitudinal case study of bilingual first language acquisition and family interaction with a specfic focus on the borrowing of phrases from MAPNI. Case studies can tell us much about acquisition and interaction but they also have methodological disadvantages. And case studies are not the only way to examine these aspects of bilingualism. While studies of monolingual language acquisition and interaction are often either experimental and laboratory-based or micro-level studies of language use in a naturalistic context, the study of bilingual acquisition and interaction can also take a macro-level approach. This means studying language use within whole communities by means of large scale surveys, questionnaires for families, ethnographic community profiling, and focus group interviews. As far as language choice is concerned, Hélot points out that there can be significant distortions between the "verbalised representations" (Deprez, 1994: 40) reported in questionnaires and what is actually done by speakers (Hélot, 2007: 64-65). I found this to be the case in the study I carried out for my *Maîtrise* (Masters Part One) dissertation. The native English-speaking mother of the French-English bilingual child I studied claimed to speak only English to her daughter, but analysis of their interactions revealed that this was not the case. Further questioning led to her admitting to having had doubts about her daughter's ability to acquire two languages and her resulting use of the community language (French) when saying "important" things, for fear of her daughter not understanding them in English. Analysis of the mother's speech revealed signs of first language attrition and extensive, unintentional, mixing of French into her English speech.

Despite the possibility that questionnaires may not reflect the reality of a situation, they are widely used to collect sociolinguistic data and are often followed up by interviews and observation of individual participants. This is the method employed in, for example, the study of family language planning carried out by the MultiLing research centre directed by Lanza at the University of Oslo[20]. Macro-level societal phenomena influence attitudes and practices as well as representations and discourses about bilingual family practices. It is important to collect data pertaining to the attitudes and representations of parents, since research has frequently pointed to the extent to which they influence language choice in bilingual families

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[20] Proposal for a research project: Family Language Policy in multilingual transcultural families, Published by University of Oslo, Centre for Multilingualism in Society across the Lifespan (accessed online at http://www.hf.uio.no/multiling/english/projects/family-language-policy-in-transcultural-families/final-2014-multiling-family-nfr-prosjektsbeskrivelse.pdf)

(Lyon, 1996 and Yamamoto, 2001 in Hélot, 2007: 66). Parents who are not familiar with bilingualism research are often influenced by a monolingual vision of bilingual behaviour which considers mixing or codeswitching as signs of confusion (Hélot 2007:67). The majority of case studies do not reveal such beliefs, or the practices associated with them, for the simple reason that they are usually carried out by linguists.

On the micro level, in-home bilingual acquisition and interaction studies often include a combination of diary notes and audio or video recordings, and micro analysis of transcriptions. As is the case with monolingual first language acquisition case studies, data collection can be carried out by researchers who visit the subject's home on a regular basis, sometimes over periods of several years. Morgenstern (2009) states that the linguist-observer can develop a relationship with the child and family being observed in order to gain a deeper understanding of the context in which data is collected. Entering another family's home and recording their interactions requires this relationship to be on comfortable terms. In addition, for ethical reasons, the family must authorise the future use for research of the data thus collected. Ideally, the observation of natural language use in context will feed into the resulting analyses and theories developed from them. The linguist-observer will constantly travel back and forth between data analysis and theoretical development with the result that each influences the other. One disadvantage of this method is that the visiting linguist will only ever be able to observe relatively short isolated moments of family life; much will be missed in the intervening absences. One solution is to enable parents to carry out recordings themselves, the method used by Lanza in her (1997) study of two children exposed to English and Norwegian. Another solution to the subjective nature of parental case studies is for the parent researcher to work on the data in tandem with another non-parent researcher, as was done by Deuchar and Quay (2000).

2.2 Parental case studies

Many studies of language acquisition have been carried out by parent-observers who are also linguists. Some of the earliest parental diary studies were undertaken by scientists from other domains, such as psychology, philosophy, medecine, or biology (Morgernstern, 2009). Parental diarists can make daily observations, carry out rich interpretation of data, and have often had important intuitions about the emergence of language. Morgenstern cites the examples of Bloom, Clark, Peters, and Tomasello who all contributed to theories of language development thanks to diary studies of their own children. Tomasello refers to the contributions of Bowerman (e.g., 1976, 1982) and Halliday (1975), among others. Some

notable studies of bilingual acquisition have been carried out by parent-researchers also, for example, Ronjat (1913), Werner F. Leopold (1939-49), Alvino E. Fantini (1985), George Saunders (1988), Traute Taeschner (1983), Charlotte Hoffmann (1985), Deuchar and Quay (2000), Harriet Jisa (2000), Stephen J. Caldas (2006), Madalena Cruz-Ferreira (2006).

While case studies may not tell us much about the macro-level of practices and beliefs regarding bilingualism, they can reflect individual prescriptive views of bilingualism which may be present on a wider scale also. One classic example of such an approach can be seen in Ronjat's (1913) case study of the acquisition of French and German by his son. Ronjat followed the advice of linguist Grammont to maintain a one-person-one-language strategy in the bilingual home, based on the belief that this would help the child to separate his two languages and avoid possible confusion. Deuchar and Quay (2000) are careful to point out that their approach in the case study of Quay's bilingual daughter aimed to be descriptive. That some of their findings were unanticipated probably reflects the fact that descriptive approaches are more open to unexpected results, since they are not seeking to support a particular idea or defend a particular method. De Houwer (personal communication) recommends approaching case study data with an open mind, asking what the data reveals rather than trying to make the data serve a predefined purpose.

A possible objection to the methodology of the study described in the present paper could relate to the selective nature of the data collected, with a focus on phrases borrowed from MAPNI. It must be understood, however, that this focus was only chosen after an initial period of general observation, a period which lasted four years. The general observation revealed the children's tendency to borrow phrases from MAPNI and led to the initial questions about the possible implications of this specific kind of speech act on the more general acquisition and interaction processes. Tomasello (1992) and Deuchar and Quay (2000) all state that data was collected selectively (for example focusing on utterances based on a verb, or only noting new two word utterances) as a response to the impossibility of noting everything once a child moves beyond the intial one-word stage. Tomasello writes, "In recognition of the fact that recording everything a child utters is an impossible task, we focused from the outset on nonnominal expressions and all word combinations" (Tomasello 1992: 30). I feel that my choice to selectively note borrowed phrases from MAPNI and MAPNI-related utterances is justified for two reasons. Firstly, the focus was the result of an initial period of general observation with no pre-defined aims in mind. Secondly, other case studies have also chosen a selective approach to the noting of utterances.

Diary studies cannot provide the necessary kind of data for certain investigations. For

example, De Houwer claims that the Separate Development Hypothesis can only be validated for a particular child if the data is quantitative. She states, "here we see the methodological need for having transcript-based rather than diary-based studies. Diary-based studies typically cannot 'catch' enough utterances at the stage when children are producing sentences" (De Houwer 2009: 282-3). Taking this into account, my data does not enable me to make any quantative-based claims about the cognitive organisation of the two languages of the children in this study. However, I present examples of crosslinguistic influence to illustrate that this, and other bilingual phenomena, occur in the data, and I tentatively suggest that crosslinguistic influence can be reconceptualised as inter-language borrowing. My research has not focused on bilingual cognitive representation, even though this is a fascinating area of bilingualism research (and the topic which I intially set out to explore when I returned to post-graduate study). I was well aware of the impossibility of 'catching' enough utterances to make quantitative analysis possible, and I decided that this approach was not the one which would make best use of the situation in which I found myself. This is another reason which led me to focus on collecting data of a particular kind. Nevertheless, my interest in such matters as the cognitive representation and language behaviour of bilinguals resulted in the noting down of some relevant examples. These bilingualism-related examples (Chapter 3.1) are still interesting and worthy of comment, even if we cannot place them on a backdrop of systematic data collection enabling quantitative comparison, for example, of unilingual and bilingual utterances. They are interesting because they give us an idea of the language behaviour of our subjects, particularly their bilingual behaviour. They also illustrate the effect of evolving language ideologies and practices within the family.

It is worth pointing out that certain criteria need to be in place in order to carry out a parental case study of bilingual acquisition. Fortunately, my situation corresponds to that described by Umberto Eco:

Any study on bilingualism is primarily performed by observing the behaviour of a child exposed to two languages, and only continuous daily observation yields sufficient data on the development of a double linguistic competence. Now, some linguists have said that such observation is possible only if (i) one is a linguist, (ii) working with bilingual children, and (iii) prepared to follow their linguistic behaviour on a day-to-day basis from the earliest stages. This means that a reliable study on bilingualism could be made only by a parent who is a linguist married to a foreigner (preferably one interested in linguistic matters) (Eco 2008:5).

So one of the main reasons why I chose the case study methodology was because I could. It would have been a pity not to take advantage of the situation in which I found myself

as a student of linguistics and bilingualism, the mother of bilingual children. The study of individuals evolving in their natural environment is defended by Tannen, who refers to what Chafe (1984:1099) sees as the need for "a linguisitics of particularity," the close analysis of particular instances of discourse. According to Chafe, "the study of discourse is of necessity the study of particularity" (Chafe, 1984b:435 in Tannen, 2007: 47). Stephen Jay Gould praises Jane Goodall's *The Chimpanzees of Gombe*, which he believes describes a kind of science that is close to Becker's humanism, the branch of science in which anthropologists work: natural history. In this science, Gould emphasizes, the particular and the personal are not ignored; they are paramount. According to Gould, "close observation of individual differences can be as powerful a method in science as the quantification of predictable behaviour in a zillion identical atoms..." (Gould,1987:234 in Tannen, 2007: 47-8).

The parent-researcher also focuses on the particular and the individual, and she must not forget that she is herself one of those individuals. A parent-researcher does more than just observe, she is one of the subjects. When collecting data on one's own children, the parent-researcher is an integral element of the study whose presence will inevitably influence the children's behaviour. However, as Beers Fägersten points out, the risk of an external researcher's presence altering the normal, and intimate, behaviour of the interpersonal domain which is the family is overcome when the researcher is a member of that family (Beers Fägersten, 2012:84). Most case studies of language acquisition examine only one child. The present paper looks at a set of four siblings. This does not mean that the focus is any less on the individual. Barron-Hauwaert makes the important point that collecting data on unsupervised sibling-to-sibling language use is difficult since it has to be done away from the parent or researcher since their presence will inevitably effect the children's language choice, even unconsciously. She mentions that the possibility of hiding recording devices would raise ethical issues. Despite her valid remark that the presence of an adult, particularly a parent, can affect the children's language choice, Barron-Hauwaert goes on to describe how Cruz-Ferreira and Caldas, both parent-linguists studying three siblings, managed to unobtrusively record genuine family conversations, sometimes when the children were unaware they were being recorded. While this may solve the problem of the possible impact on language choice of the awareness of being recorded, it does not resolve the issue of sibling language choice being affected by the presence of an adult. Anecdotal evidence from an English-speaking Canadian friend raising her two daughters in English and French in France, points to the strong effect of parental presence on sibling language choice. Cindy describes how, when her daughters were small, she would sometimes hear them playing together in French. She would then invent a

pretext to enter the girls' bedroom and say something in English, an intervention which would lead to a language switch between the girls which would continue even after Cindy had left the room. Cindy would regularly employ this technique in order to maintain the girls' English language use between themselves. Such techniques clearly have their practical limits, however, and most of the time siblings will choose for themselves which language to use together.

The ethical issues that are raised when observing children are possibly lessened when the children concerned are one's own. External researchers must obtain signed authorisation from parents, but should parent-researchers obtain authorisation from their own children? One answer to this complicated question is provided by Emily Oster in her forward to Katherine Nelson's (2006) book *Narratives from the Crib*. Emily was the child in the crib, and she describes how her researcher parent would always inform her when a recording was being made and ask her if she was happy with that. As an adult, Emily was able to report that she appreciated having been informed and consulted in this way. It is tempting, as a parent-researcher, to not do this in the belief that if the children know what we are doing, they will not behave in a truly natural way. I must admit to believing this myself in the early years of data collection. However, as my children grew and became more aware of what was going on around them, for example when I would rush off to write something down in a notebook, they began to ask questions. Thanks to Emily's report of her first-hand experience as a parent-researcher's subject, I felt more confident in my ability to tell my children what I was doing and ask for their permission to carry on doing it. So far, they have always accepted their role as case study subjects with no objections but rather with great curiosity and interest.

One way in which my role as parent-researcher may influence the data is that I might unconsciously create situations in which the kind of data I am looking for will occur. My response to this is that I only became aware that I was doing so *after* I had noticed the children's borrowing behaviour. I decided to carry on as usual since my own linguistic behaviour was part of the phenomenon I was observing. To *stop* behaving in my own natural way would have affected the data in an equally adverse way. Another way in which I might affect the children's linguistic development is by adopting a teacher-like attitude to language learning in our family. My response to this is that I feel I am not alone in doing so, as a parent with experience of teaching, as a parent aware of the challenges of raising bilingual children in a majority language community. Again, to have any other approach to bringing up my children bilingually would be to go against my own nature, experience, and knowledge. I can

only acknowledge that this must be the case, and should be taken into account when looking at the data.

2.3 Description of the subjects, their linguistic soundscapes, and their contact with MAPNI.

Before becoming a parent myself I had carried out a case study into the language choice of an English colleague's daughter for my *Maîtrise* dissertation. In order to do so, I studied as many books and articles as I could about child bilingualism and language choice. Following this experience, when my first child, Loïc, was on the way, I defended my dissertation and decided that I would do everything I could to bring up my own child to be a balanced and competent bilingual. I was what Hélot would describe as a well-informed linguist parent. I knew the importance of having a language strategy and chose the one that I had read about the most: One Person One Language.

Loïc, then, was the first and only child for just over two years. I spent much of the first months singing to him as conversation was limited. I returned to work when he was five months old and put him in the care of a French-speaking childminder. My timetable allowed me to spend most weekday afternoons with him while his father had more demanding working hours and saw Loïc only early in the morning and for the last couple of hours each evening. In fact, my natural tendency to organise Loïc's lifestyle in a Welsh manner, with early to bed and early to rise habits soon caused tension in the family as his father could not understand why he could not have dinner with his son, who had eaten at 6:00pm, only saw him for an hour before he was put to bed at 7:00pm and then had to get up at 6:30 am even on weekends. I thought all this was perfectly normal for a baby but began to find French social habits incompatible with Britsh-style childrearing. When invited to dinner, I would find myself trying to get Loïc to go to sleep while everyone else was taking pre-dinner drinks! An invitation to tea was a problem because it was too close to his dinner time... I eventually remembered the old saying "When in Rome do as Rome does" and settled into a French-style meals and bedtime routine which was much more compatible with the habits of the community we lived in and much more comfortable for Dad. As a mixed couple our cultural differences suddenly became much more visible when we became parents and we soon realised we had quite different visions of family life and childrearing. Although we accepted that our own upbringings had been very different, we did not put all the differences down to our different nationalities; we were also aware that the models our own parents had presented us could be seen as different family cultures rather than different national cultures.

Nevertheless, finding a compromise on so many issues has required, and still does, frequent discussion, negotiation and compromise.

There was one thing we agreed on, however, and that was the question of Loïc's ability to become bilingual and our choice of language strategy. Eric has a fairly good command of English and we spoke in English during the early days of our relationship. As my French got better, though, we soon slipped into the habit of only speaking French to each other. With the arrival of Loïc, the English language became a part of intimate daily life in a way it had never been before. I have always been employed as an English teacher, so English was also part of my working environment, but for many years I did not speak it at home. The change took a little getting used to, but I relished this opportunity to truly "be myself" again, as I also relished re-learning the nursery rhymes and stories of my childhood. Eric did not mind at all my speaking English to Loïc. He was pleased that his son would become bilingual and believed it very important that he be able to communicate with his Welsh family, and learn about his Welsh culture. He has always insisted that the children are half Welsh, even during my own moments of doubt when I have claimed that they are French children who just happen to have a Welsh mother. So we settled into our new bilingual family life and Loïc responded well to my determination to provide him with as much English-language input as possible and to my immense satisfaction his first spontaneous word-like utterances were early and in English: "Dog" and "Daddy" at the age of eight months.

When Loïc was 2;1 I stopped taking him to the childminder and kept him at home with me as I was about to give birth to Meriel and had decided to take parental leave. Instead of the childminder, I sent Loïc to the local crèche a couple of mornings a week. I stayed at home with the children and took them to a parent-toddler playgroup, usually two mornings a week. At age 3;5 Loïc began going to school in the mornings. At age 0;6 Meriel began spending some time at the local crèche. Owen was born eighteen months after Meriel. I was so busy looking after three children under the age of four, I didn't have much time to write in their diaries. However, I had plenty of opportunity to observe them and their linguistic development. Curiosity and a thirst to know more had me heading back to university to embark upon a part-time second-year Masters course when Owen was nine months old. I found a part-time childminder for Owen and the teacher at Loïc's school convinced me to enroll Meriel, then aged 2;2 in the pre-reception class two mornings a week. The other days she went to the crèche. On Wednesdays I stayed at home with all three children. This routine lasted for four months until we had to move out of our house which we had sold. However,

the house we had bought in the country, a large and ambitious renovation project, was not ready to live in, so in January 2008 I took the children to Cardiff to stay with my parents for five weeks while Eric did his best to continue the work on the house. We settled in our new home in early May 2008. Loïc attended the local school four days a week, coming home for lunch most days. Meriel attended two mornings a week and occasionally the whole day. Owen went to a crèche two days a week. By January 2009 all three children were in school four days a week, coming home for lunch most days. During this period, mornings, lunches at home, and tea-time after school were very much English-language contexts, in that I was the only adult with the children, always speaking to them in English. As each child settled into school life, I observed them switch from English to French-language preference, particularly among themselves.

In December 2010, Léonie was born. I looked after her full time until October 2011 when she began going part-time to a French-speaking childminder. The three older children began attending the school canteen more regularly. I noticed the effect of whole days in a French environment, without the English-language lunchtime break, on their language preferences. In September 2012, when Léonie was attending the childminder three days a week, the children's father left his job in order to set up his own business. He decided to spend a few months at home with the family first, and I used the opportunity to spend more time working at the university rather than at home. The result was a noticeable increase in the proportion of moments when only a French-speaking parent was present, and also when both parents were present, and therefore both languages were spoken. French became the most frequently used language in the home. Léonie began attending school four mornings a week in September 2013 and went to the childminder's home every lunchtime where she stayed for the afternoon. The three older children ate at the canteen four days a week. Since September 2014, Loïc has been at high school four full days a week and the other three children now have school on Wednesday mornings as well as four full days. They come home for lunch twice a week. Their father is still more often present than he was before he had his own business. From November 2014 to April 2015, my brother Tim lived with us. Although he understands and speaks a little French, English is the language with which the children needed to communicate with him. His presence in the home did not make them speak less French to each other or to both their parents, but if they wanted to speak to him, they had to do so in English. Thanks to Tim's presence, I was able to hear just how much they can say. I often reminded the children that if they chose to speak in French when Tim was present, for example at dinner, then he couldn't understand what they were saying. I encouraged them to

take his presence into consideration when choosing which language to tell an anecdote in, for example, or to translate something for him if it had been said in French and he might have been interested.

I have always taken regular trips to Wales to visit family and friends, and this did not change after becoming a mother. On average, we go to Wales at least once a year, usually for two or three weeks. Some years we go twice. It is more common for me to take the children on my own than with their father, so such holidays are opportunities to be completely immersed in the English-language environment. I make a point of visiting as many family members as possible and the children love playing with their many cousins. We have also benefited from regular visits from English-speaking family and friends, particularly my parents who stay for at least two weeks at a time, sometimes longer if they come to help when a baby is born, for example. When English-speaking friends or cousins come to stay, they often bring their children with them. Such regular contact with other English speakers gives meaning to the children's bilingualism and I use their desire to communicate with family and friends as a motivating factor when encouraging them to keep up their English skills by practising with me and with each other. When people remark how lucky the children are to be bilingual because they will find it easier to pass English exams at school, or will have an advantage when looking for work, I always reply that the ability to communicate with family and friends is the most important benefit.

Each child has gone through fluctuating periods of language preference. The early strategy of one-person-one-language, and particularly the use of techniques such as pretending not to understand when a child spoke to me in French, became impossible to maintain as the family and the children grew. In addition to practical considerations, I began to feel uncomfortable with the strict separation of languages and any notions of prohibition. The emotional aspect of maintaining language separation according to rules also became a problem for me. At times I would feel isolated and even rejected because of a particular child's language choice. The children and I would get upset with each other, I with them for not speaking English, and they with me, for not speaking English! I was quite deeply affected by reading parental accounts of bilingual family life in Abdelilah-Bauer's second book, *Guide à l'usage des parents d'enfants bilingues.* In this book, one German-speaking mother bringing her daughter up as a French-German bilingual in France, describes how her daughter stopped telling her about her day at school because the mother insisted on her only speaking in German. I did not want this to happen in my family; I decided the parent-child relationship

was more important than the development of the children's balanced bilingual competence. Eventually, in 2011, I decided that enough was enough and declared that we would abandon all rules about who should speak which language and when. I explained to the childen that we should all feel free to speak whichever language we prefer, as long as we are able to understand each other. I reminded them, and still do whenever I feel it is relevant, that practising their English skills is necessary if they want to be able to communicate with their Welsh family. I also explicitly tell them that I prefer it when they speak to me in English and congratulate them on doing so. My reasoning is that, if the children choose to speak English because they understand the affective and practical reasons for doing so, they will have a positive and empathetic attitude towards language choice rather than possibly feeling that it is imposed on them.

At the time of writing, French is the dominant family language. Loïc (aged 12) usually speaks to me in English. Meriel (aged 10) and Owen (aged 8) fluctuate between French and English when addressing me and Léonie (aged 4) prefers French, although she is able to say most things in English if she has to, for example, when speaking to English-speaking relations. Loïc seems comfortable speaking on all sorts of subjects in English, and his English language skills are very good for his age and situation. He reads to himself with ease, speed, and pleasure English-language books for his age group. Meriel and Owen are both able to express themselves in English on most subjects of interest to them, although they sometimes struggle to find the words they need and will occasionally borrow French words into English utterances. Meriel is keen to read in English but finds it somewhat laborious compared to reading in French and prefers to read aloud with me so that I can help her with unfamiliar words. Owen is in a similar situation regarding reading, but expresses less frequent interest in trying to read in English than Meriel does. Léonie is proud of saying that she can speak English and (usually) likes it when I speak English to her, although she never complains when I don't! She enjoys being read to in both languages and wants to learn to read in English, even though she hasn't learned to do so in French yet. She mostly speaks to me in French and I sometimes encourage her to try in English. The most effective way to get her to speak to me in English is through games which involve me adopting an English-speaking character who doesn't understand French. Léonie occasionally codemixes in both directions. All four children and I frequently codeswitch.

When watching films on DVD, where a choice of language is available, Loïc prefers to choose English when it is the original language of the film, Meriel and Owen prefer French,

and Léonie doesn't mind. From May 2008 until June 2014, we did not have a television with an aerial and the only viewing done by the children was of videos and DVDs. The children had inherited a large collection of English-language videos which, in my opinion, had the huge advantage of not enabling another language choice. Their DVD collection has grown over the years and some DVDs, which have been bought in the UK, do not have a French language choice. Much of the time, however, both languages are available. We have often talked about the advantage of being able to view a film or collection of episodes in the original language in which they were made, particularly when featuring human actors. Loïc seems to have adopted this point of view, but Meriel and Owen are not really convinced. Since the arrival of the television aerial last year, the children spend a lot more time watching French-language television, mostly cartoons. Before we had an aerial, the children would repeatedly watch the same DVD many times, but now they prefer to see new and various programmes and films on the television. Nowadays, then, there is less of a repetitive, English-language influence from audio-visual media than before the arrival in our home of French-language television channels. This difference probably does not impact the data much, since I have not been taking notes for the last year or so, other than the very occasional example which draws my attention.

2.4 Methods of data collection

Most of the data analysed in this thesis is in the form of diary notes. I have kept diaries for all four children in which I have made notes on some aspects of general language development, bilingual behaviour, experience of MAPNI, and borrowed phrases. All relevant handwritten notes have been typed into Open Office text documents, one for each child. Some diary notes were written directly into the Open Office documents. Some diary entries concern more than one child and are sometimes included in several diaries at the same time. The table below provides information about the number of pages of each child's diary and the ages covered by note-keeping.

Child's name	Number of diary pages	Ages covered by diary note-keeping
Loïc	32	0;8 to 11;0,16
Meriel	21	0;11,16 to 8;11
Owen	22	0;8 to 6;11,30
Léonie	23	0;6,18 to 3;11,13

Loïc's and Léonie's diaries are more complete than Meriel's and Owen's because I was

able to devote more time to writing in them. This is because Loïc was the first child and because the three older children were all in full-time education by the time Léonie was born. I paid most attention to providing as accurate as possible phonetic transcriptions for Léonie's early diary entries. The transcriptions of the three older children's early entries are more approximate and potentially interpretative. In other words, in the early years of diary-keeping, I often noted my own interpretation of what the child aimed to say, or an attempt to phonetically transcribe using my own personal transcription notation, rather than the IPA.

In addition to the diary notes, I have also made some video recordings using either a JVC digital video camera with mini-DV cassettes (a total of 30 hours of recording) or the video function on a Sony Cyber-shot digital camera with a memory card. A lot of the recordings were made as personal souvenirs of special events or everyday life. Some recordings were made specifically for my doctoral research, as part of the "storybook case study" reported on in Bellay (2013). Many recordings were made of shared book reading or of the children reading or telling stories, reciting poems, or singing songs. There are also some recordings of the children role-playing, and one of shared film viewing. Some recordings provide evidence of the children borrowing phrases from MAPNI when 'reading' (that is, telling a story from a book even though they don't know how to read) or telling stories and when role-playing. They also show typical interaction with, and based on, MAPNI, as well as scenes of bilingual family interaction.

The collection of data has taken place over a long period of time, and during that period my study of previous research in the fields of bilingual acquisition, bilingual language practice, and linguistic theories, has influenced my methodology and the focus of my observation. As a result, the examples I have noted down often reflect these influences and the analyses carried out on these examples may also reflect the influence of different approaches. Broadly speaking, the methods of data collection employed did not vary much over time, and the focus for the noting of examples was also fairly constant. This means that I continued throughout to make diary notes of interesting examples of borrowing from MAPNI. However, an important evolution in the methodology of the analysis of such examples has taken place since the beginning of the data collection process. Whereas I began by focusing on finding an explanation for *why* the children were repeating and rephrasing from MAPNI, I came to realise that it was also an important and valid area of investigation, in itself, to document *how* they were doing this. The ebb and flow of my focus on the bilingual aspect of the case study is also reflected in the nature of the data collected. At moments when I felt that this aspect was

a key one, more examples of bilingual language behaviour are included in the diaries, often without any reference to MAPNI. At times when this aspect did not seem to be so essential, this sort of example is less frequent, and is replaced by examples of language use that caught my attention because of something they might reveal about language acquisition or parent-child interaction in general. The different contexts of video recordings also reflect these shifts in focus.

Some video extracts were selected for transcription and closer study. These extracts were chosen because they demonstrate bilingual family interaction and MAPNI-based interaction. I was not lucky enough to capture on video the target phenomenon of borrowing phrases from MAPNI. I have one audio recording of Léonie borrowing phrases from a song while performing a private sung monologue, which I recorded discretely for fear that if she saw me recording, she would stop singing. I have one instance of spontaneous singing triggered during shared book reading, and several recordings of performative singing, reciting, and storytelling. I also have recordings of the children inventing new lyrics to existing melodies, and role-play involving characters and scenarios from children's television. I did not transcribe the video data into CLAN or ELAN format because my focus of study does not necessitate the use of analysis software which requires this format. I undertook one short ELAN transcription in order to assess how useful and relevant this technique would be for the analysis of my data. I decided that it could be an interesting and useful way to demonstrate bilingual family multiparty communication (as in the extract I selected for the exercise). However, I could not identify any necessity to systematically carry out this form of transcription for more of the data since there are no video recorded instances of the borrowing of phrases from MAPNI. Of course, if future study of my data required such formats, it would be possible to carry out the transcription as required. Another reason for using these standardised transcription formats would be to enable me to share my data with other researchers. This is work that could be carried out in the future if necessary. It is possible, for example, to imagine a large scale project comparing the language of MAPNI with a child's language production for which transcribed data in a format such as CLAN could be automatically analysed alongside data from the Oxford Children's Corpus in order to spot phrases borrowed from this corpus of children's written fiction and non-fiction.

The target phenomenon seems to occur in naturalistic settings for which unobtrusive observation and the longitudinal diary method of data collection, carried out by a parent-observer who spends a lot of time with the children, is the most effective. In order to test

whether a more limited and controlled methodology would reveal interesting results, I carried out a case study with only two storybooks over a short period of time (reported in Bellay, 2013). The idea behind this approach was to test whether parental reading techniques and parental borrowing of target phrases from one of the two books which were read would increase the chances that the children would also borrow the target phrases. In other words, I attempted to manipulate the process I had observed occuring in a natural way, causing it to occur by design. The method used was to read two illustrated storybooks of similar length and content but using different reading techniques for each book. For one of the books, I used rich explanation focused on eleven target phrases that I had identified in the text. I also tried to use the target phrases in other contexts. For the other book, which I always read alongside the first book, I did neither of these things. The reading sessions and one guided role-play session were videoed and transcribed. And then I waited, pen and diary to hand, for target phrase borrowing to occur. I decided not to include the results of this study in the main body of data, (although I do include one example of borrowing), because I believe that the parental manipulation used for the one story meant that this particular input source, and any borrowing from it, were distinguished from other similar input sources and examples of the borrowing phenomenon and therefore not directly comparable.

2.4.1 The identification of formulaic language and examples of borrowed phrases

The formulaicity of many source phrases and borrowed phrases in the data means that formulaic language holds an important place in data analysis. The first function into which borrowing is categorised concerns performance, an area in which formulaicity plays a key role. Also the play between fixity and novelty as a source for creativity, in terms of both the language of MAPNI and the development of linguistic knowledge, is relevant to all four functions. The position held in this thesis is that formulaic language occupies a large place in the lexicon or mental corpus, however this does not mean that people cannot also create and understand completely novel lexical sequences. When I began collecting data of borrowed phrases, it rapidly became apparent that many of them were identifiable as formulaic for the speech community. Upon closer inspection the presence of MEU's was also identified. In terms of the data presented here, a formulaic sequence is understood to be one which is perceived by the hearer to be a holistic unit of meaning irrespective of its size. The data also seems to indicate that the speakers identify some sequences as linguistic frames or constructions in which the variation of some items is possible. The identification of formulaic sequences in an utterance or text can be very

difficult, particularly in cases where a phrase may appear to be formulaic for the speaker even if it is not generally perceived as such by the speech community. In answer to this problem, Wray and Namba (2003) developed a set of criteria for assessing intuitive judgements about the formulaicity of particular sequences in data sets. These criteria served as a guide when assessing judgements about formulaicity in the data set presented here. In addition, they provided inspiration for the development of the following set of criteria for intuitive judgements concerning whether a phrase has been borrowed from input, and therefore also about which phrases to note down and to include in the data set.

2.4.2 Criteria for the identification of a phrase borrowed from MAPNI

I recognise the phrase as being borrowed from a MAPNI source text because:
1. I know that the phrase has only been encountered by the child in a MAPNI text.
2. The phrase exactly duplicates a phrase from a MAPNI source text.
3. The phrase partially duplicates a phrase from a MAPNI source text in a way which permits its association with the original phrase.
4. The phrase is said with the same intonation as the source phrase.
5. The phrase is used with the same function and/or in the same context as that in which the source phrase occurs.

Decisions to include a phrase in the data set and to identify it as an example of borrowing from MAPNI can result if the phrase meets one, or several, of these criteria.

2.5 Research questions revisited and categorisation of the data

The back and forth process of observation, data collection, theoretical enquiry, and data analysis required and resulted in the refinement of the *Hows*, *Whys*, and *Whats* of the initial research questions:

1. How can we define and label the phenomenon observed?
2. What form do the children give the phrases they borrow?
3. Why do the children borrow these phrases?
   a) What happens to make them borrow a phrase?
   b) What discursive function does phrase borrowing perform?
4. What does the borrowing of phrases phenomenon contribute to our understanding of language acquisition?
   a) What developmental function does phrase borrowing perform?

b) What aspect of cognitive development can explain how children borrow phrases?

5. What is the nature of the phrases the children borrow?

6. What is special about MAPNI as an input source?

In response to the first three of these questions, I developed a system of categorisation and definitions for each category. According to Stivers (2015), "the categorizing of interactional phenomena requires a clear characterization of what "counts" as an instance of the target phenomenon. In this way the focus is not on the uniqueness of each and every snowflake of data but on the properties that these snowflakes share" (Stivers 2015:3). The categorisation of the data was carried out on two levels. The first level of categorisation concerns whether the example pertains to:

1. Bilingual First Language Acquisition or bilingual family interaction

2. MAPNI-related experiences or interaction

3. Borrowing

The second level of categorisation refined the first level. Examples of borrowing were further classified according to:

1. Form

2. Referential intention

3. Trigger

4. Function

While examining the diary data, I sought patterns of properties, or shared properties of form and function across the data set. One of the properties I identified concerns the context within which examples occurred and elements of the context which may have triggered the borrowing phenomenon. Another property that drew my attention is the degree of a speaker's intention to refer to the source text when borrowing a linguistic item from it. The properties of form, trigger, referential intention, and function are outlined below and will be more fully defined and discussed in Chapter 4: Discussion of Findings.

Question 1: How can we define and label the phenomenon observed?

Answer: We can label it as **Borrowing**.

In order to use this label, we must extend the usual definition of borrowing, (with reference to bilingual speech), and distinguish between inter-language borrowing and intra-language

borrowing:

Inter-language borrowing: borrowing words or phrases from one language into another (includes language borrowing, speech borrowing, codemixing, codeswitching; societal or individual)

Intra-language borrowing: borrowing words or phrases from another speaker or text (in the same language) and inserting them into one's own production.

Question 2: What form do the children give the phrases they borrow?

Answer: A borrowed phrase can take one of **two forms**:

Verbatim borrowing is defined as the exact repetition of the source text.

Rephrased borrowing is defined as an adaptation of the source text.

Question 3(a): What happens to make the children borrow a phrase?

Answer: The borrowing phenomenon can be a response to a **trigger**.

Three triggers of the borrowing phenomenon have been identified:

1. **Form of the preceding utterance**: Something about the preceding utterance(s), on a lexical, syntactic, or phonological level, triggers a memory of prior talk from, or about, a source text.
2. **Conversational routine or script**: The type of conversation or discourse event (situation-bound utterances, conversational scripts, routines, or sequences) triggers the memory of phrase which was previously encountered in a source text containing a similar type of conversation or discourse event.
3. **Thematic context**: Something about the general context, or the subject of discussion, triggers a memory of a phrase from prior text.

Question 3(b): What discursive function does phrase borrowing perform?

Answer 1: There are two categories of discursive function which are **related to the functions of MAPNI** (discussed in Section 1.6.2) of performing, sharing, transmitting, and creating:

1. Performing
2. Role-playing

Answer 2: There are two categories of discursive function which are related to using **form-meaning pairings which have institutional status**, and then **adapting these to new situations**:

3. Form-Meaning Mapping, or in other words associating a phrase with an event

4. Pattern-Finding, or in other words adapting a phrase to a new event

Answer 3: There are two categories of discursive function which concern **reference to the source text**. In relation to the source text, borrowing can be:

5. **Referential borrowing**: The reference to the source text is a reference to shared knowledge. The speaker intends to refer to a source text.[21]

6. **Non-referential borrowing**: The speaker may or may not intend to refer to the source text.

The question of a speaker's intention, or absence of intention, to refer to a source text when she borrows a phrase is impossible to determine with certainty, (unless one is oneself the speaker who produces the borrowed phrase). It is in assessing the degree of a child's intention to consciously borrow a phrase, and to intentionally refer to the source text or not, that parental intuition can be a powerful analytical resource. The degree of a speaker's intention to refer to the source text, and possible reasons for doing so, are speculated upon in the discussion of some examples (below and in Chapter 3) and discussed in more detail in Chapter 4: Discussion of Findings.

Four categories of phrase borrowing combining form and referential function have been identified and a further, fifth, category is hypothesised:

1. **Verbatim Referential borrowing**: An exact repetition of the source phrase, uttered with conscious and intentional reference to the source phrase. If knowledge of the source text (book, song lyrics, film dialogue) is shared by the speaker and hearer, the verbatim referential borrowing may be a way to refer to that shared knowledge or a particular shared meaning that the source text, or a phrase from it, may have taken on for those particular speakers and hearers.

2. **Rephrased Referential borrowing**: The function may be the same as for a verbatim referential borrowing, however some elements of the source phrase have been altered. The adaptation may be unintentional, due to an incorrect memory of the source phrase, or partially unintentional, due to the inability to exactly recall the source phrase.

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[21]Not quite the same as **quoting**, term which implies that the quoter makes an explicit reference to the source, e.g., "as Mr X said in that film." If a child quotes or makes a reference like this, I don't include it in the data. I am more interested in the act of borrowing a phrase because the speaker knows that the addressee will recognise it, and it's not necessary to present it as a referenced quote. When this happens in our family, we do often go on to discuss/identify the source of a borrowing, *after* the event. This is similar to Beers Fägersten's (2012) intertextual quotation.

Rephrasing can also be intentional, in which case the new version may have additional meaning, for example, adapting the phrase to match the ongoing situation in which it is reused, or to create humourous effect.

3. **Verbatim Non-referential borrowing**: Exactly resembles the source phrase in form, but does not carry the additional meaning associated with shared knowledge of the source text that is present in a verbatim referential borrowing. The hearer may have no knowledge of the source text. The speaker may not intend to refer to the source text. The speaker may borrow the phrase because she likes the sound of it or finds that it is appropriate for the event, opinion, or emotion that she wishes to communicate. Verbatim non-referential borrowing can be likened to pretending that something is your own, when it fact you borrowed it from someone else. It is possible to suggest, but difficult to prove, that a phrase can be borrowed from a source text without the speaker being aware that she is borrowing.

4. **Rephrased Non-referential borrowing**: In form, the same as a rephrased referential borrowing, but with the additional possibility (as in 3 above) that the speaker does not intend to refer to, or for the hearer to identify, the source text or the context with which it was originally associated. I would like to suggest that it is possible for the speaker to produce a rephrased borrowing without being aware of its relationship to the source phrase at the time of reuse. The only example I have in the data to support this is one in which I am the speaker, and so can accurately comment on my level of awareness of the borrowing phenomenon at the time of uttering the phrase.

5. **Recreation**: The reuse, with new lexical items, of the underlying grammatical schema of a source phrase, or a new phrase produced by blending parts of two or more source phrases. In second language acquisition, recreation is a common phenomenon produced with full awareness of the source phrase or its underlying construction. In first language acquisition, it could be argued that young children do this in a more instinctive, less conscious, way. Due to the bilingual first language acquistion (BFLA) child's probable heightened awareness of the language learning process, it is possible that recreation can occur with a certain level of consciousness, similar to that of the second language learner.

The different possible forms of borrowing are presented in figure 2 where they are placed on a continuum of source text awareness or referential intention, that is to say, the degree to which the speaker is consciously and intentionally borrowing language from input.

Verbatim
referential

Verbatim non-
referential

Recreation
in FLA

Recreation
in SLA

Rephrased
referential

Rephrased
non-referential

Recreation
in BFLA?

Recreation
in BFLA?

Figure 2. Continuum of consciousness/intention in the borrowing of a source phrase or source text.
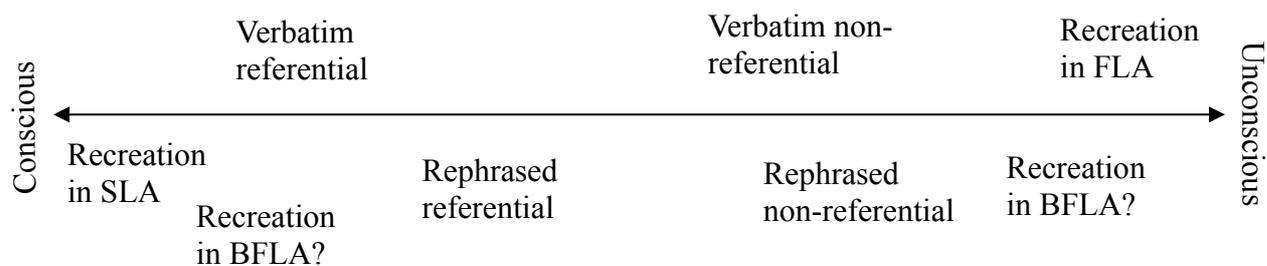
2.6 Examples from the data to illustrate the categories of type of borrowing and type of trigger

The diary extracts are not really transcriptions, however, in order to provide additional information as clearly as possible, they are presented using the following CHAT conventions:

situation: describes the situation at the time of the utterance

bck: provides relevant background information

[= word word]: provides the target utterance

eng: gives an English translation of French words

exp: gives an explanation of the speech event

act: describes an accompanying action

Phonetic transcription in IPA are provided in square brackets whenever possible and/or necessary. Some early diary entries were not written using IPA, so this is not always possible. In order to distinguish between languages, English words are in normal type and French words are in italics. The numbers in brackets after each child's name indicate the age of the child in years, months, and days at the time of the example.

Verbatim Referential borrowing

1	10/02/09	Owen (2;1,13)	
bck: Ow really likes *Chocolate Mousse for Greedy Goose* at the moment and when at the table will start reciting it, if he hears related words. situation: At the dinner table. I pass Owen his plate of food. Ca: Be careful, it's hot. Ow: Too hot for me, says chimpanzee. Blow on it then, says mother hen.	Source: Book *Animal Antics* Story title: *Chocolate Mousse for Greedy Goose*. Source text: "It's too hot for me says chimpanzee. Blow on it then says Mother Hen."	Verbatim Referential Performative Trigger: 1.preceding utterance and 2. thematic context	

In Example 1 Owen borrows two lines from the illustrated rhyming storybook *Chocolate Mousse for Greedy Goose*. His borrowing of the lines is clearly referential since it reproduces the source text without communicating anything other than a reference to the source text. In the diary extract from which this example is taken I noted, "he really likes *Chocolate Mousse for Greedy Goose* at the moment and when at the table will start reciting if he hears related words." In this example, my preceding utterance, which includes the word "hot" triggers Owen's memory of the source phrase and reminds him of the story. In addition, the context of hot food in the dinner plate is also a trigger, since it reminds Owen of the illustration which accompanies the borrowed lines, and which shows one of the characters with a plate of hot food in front of him. Owen's borrowing led to the development of a mealtime family habit of reciting lines from the story, practice which I actively encouraged and participated in. Sometimes the entire text of the story would be collectively recited. For a recorded example of such collective recital, which on this occasion I elicited in order to have a recorded trace, see Video 2 on the accompanying DVD.

Rephrased Referential borrowing

In Examples 2 and 3, the linguistic elements that have been adapted in the borrowed phrases, in relation to the source text, are in bold type.

2	22/05/11	Meriel (5;11,9)	
situation: Meriel is wiping the dinner table after a meal. Me: Round and round the **table** goes the little sponge. One step, two steps, **three, four, five**. **Round to the other.** No, it's round and round the **table** goes the little **sponge**. One step, two steps and tickle you over there. act: While saying the last line, she runs around to the other side of the table.	Source: nursery rhyme "Round and Round the Garden." Source text: "Round and round the garden goes the little bear. One step, two steps, and (I) tickle you under there."	Rephrased Referential Trigger: 3. thematic context	

Example 2 is typical of a rephrased referential borrowing from a nursery rhyme. There are many examples of this kind in the data attesting to the children's inclination to play with language within the framework of well-known texts. By identifying possible variable gaps and then trying out different variations, the children are not only practising variation, being creative with language, and having fun, they are also demonstrating awareness of the existance of variable gaps in a frame.

3	30/08/12	Owen (5;8,1)	
sit: While I read *Aaghh! Spider!* to Léonie and Meriel, Owen sits nearby looking at *Das Animalarium von Professor Revillod*, a book with split pages enabling children to invent pictures of new creatures by mixing up the bodies of existing animals. He invents lots of strange creatures which all have part of a cow in common. When I finish reading, he says: Ow: Aaghh! **Cow**! Look at the **cob**webs! Ca: Cobwebs! Imagine finding a cow in the bath. You wouldn't be able to flush it down the plughole!	Source: *Aaghh! Spider!* Book and CD. Source text: "Aaaarrgghh, SPIDER! Out you go!" "Look at the sparkly webs!"	Rephrased Referential Performative Trigger: 3. thematic context	

Example 3 is, in Beers-Fägersten's terms an example of intratextual quotation, that is a quotation which occurs during the same communicative event as exposure to the source text. Most of the other examples in the data are instances of intertextual quotation, that is when the quoting takes places across communicative events (cf. Beers-Fägersten 2012:81). I classify it as rephrased referential borrowing to avoid the possible implications of the word "quote" and to place it within the broader borrowing phenomenon. This example also reveals one of the principle hazards of the diary approach to data collection, since in my memory of this event, Owen says "cow-webs" which I then repeat as an exclamation since it is such a funny and original blend. Unfortunately, in my notebook I wrote "cobwebs." My ensuing comment would make more sense if Owen had said "cow-webs" but I can only reproduce the notes I had written and ponder on the mysteries of my erroneous memory. Do I remember correctly something which I wrote down incorrectly, perhaps as a form of automatic spelling? Or is my memory playing tricks on me by suggesting an event which, even though it would provide wonderful evidence in support of my hypothesis, did not actually take place? Either way, such examples (and fortunately they are not very numerous) serve to highlight the potential difficulties inherent in the notetaking methodology. Since I could not always write an example down straight after it occurred, there will always be the possibility of error in my memory and transcription of a speech event.

Verbatim Non-referential borrowing

4	19/10/12	Léonie (1;9,24)
Lé: *Poisson. Dans l'eau.* eng: Fish. In the water act: Holding a plastic fish	Source: song "Les Petits Poissons" Source text: "les petits poissons dans l'eau"	Verbatim Non-referential Trigger: 1. previous utterance (her own)

Example 4 shows that even very young children borrow phrases from input in a communicative way, despite, or perhaps because of, their very limited productive ability. In this example, Léonie borrows part of a line from a French nursery rhyme, "Les petits poissons / dans l'eau." The fact that she marks a pause between the first word and the rest of the phrase probably reflects the phrasing in the song. Importantly, she did not sing the line, but rather seemed to be using the line as a way to comment on the toy she was holding. Perhaps, her initial utterance "poisson" triggered the memory of the rest of the phrase. This example is also interesting since it demonstrates that the borrowing phenomenon is observable in both the children's languages. After the arrival of Léonie in our family, I moved away from the One-Person-One-Language strategy I had employed strictly with Loïc and Meriel, less strictly with Owen, and began using French, as well as English, with the children. (Parental strategy is discussed in Section 2.3.) Thanks to this change in family language choice, I was able to observe more examples in French, such as Example 4, because French was addressed to me more frequently than before.

Rephrased Non-referential borrowing

5	04/09/09	Owen (2;8,6)	
situation: Playing with a toy which involves pressing or turning buttons to make a series of different animals pop up. Ow: Two **dogs** sharing a shell.	Source: Book *Sharing a Shell* Source text: "two friends sharing a shell"	Rephrased Non-referential Trigger: 3. Thematic context	

6	16/09/09	Owen (2;8,18)	
situation: Watching Loïc at football training. Ow: Two **boys** sharing a shell.	Source: Book *Sharing a Shell* Source text: "two friends sharing a shell"	Rephrased Non-referential Trigger: 3. Thematic context	

Examples 5 and 6 both demonstrate Owen's reuse of a phrase he had encountered through repeated readings of the illustrated storybook *Sharing a Shell*. In the source text, the following phrases occur: "Two friends sharing a shell." "Three friends sharing a shell." The underlying message of the story is living together and cooperation. In these examples, we can see that Owen has understood the notions of together and cooperation and has associated them with the schema in which he identified a variable gap: [two + Noun Phrase + sharing a shell]. Something about the situations in which he used them had triggered his memory of the phrase. It is not possible to assertain whether he was conscious of the source text and the borrowed nature of the phrase. At the time my intuition was that he was using his available resources in a very creative way. Owen's borrowing of the phrase was instantly recognisable to me because of its unusual nature and otherwise opaque meaning. Anyone else hearing these utterances, who had not previously shared the source text with Owen, would have found it very difficult to understand his meaning. Indeed, while he explained himself straight away in Example 5, when he uttered Example 6 I did not at first understand what he was trying to say and had to infer his meaning thanks to my knowledge of the source text. Here are the full diary extracts for both examples:

04/09/09
Playing with pop up Magic Roundabout toy
Ow (2;8,6): Two dogs sharing a shell.
Ca: They're sharing a shell are they?
Ow: Yeah. There's a rabbit, there's a cow, there's a dog. They're together, they're sharing a shell.
Ca: What's this?
Ow: A cow.
Ca: What's this?
Ow: A dog.
Ca: What's this?
Ow: A rabbit.
Ca: What's this?
Ow: A *garçon*.
Ca: A girl.
Ow: A girl.
Ca: What are they doing?
Ow: Sharing a shell.

16/09/09
Watching Loïc at football training:
Ow: Two boys sharing a shell
Ca: What do you mean?
Ow: Two boys sharing a shell.
Ca: Where?
Ow: There. (*Points to group of boys on pitch*)
Ca: I don't understand, Owen. How are they sharing a shell? Where's the shell? There

are more than two boys.
Ow: Two boys sharing a shell, there. (*Points*)
Ca: Do you mean they are in a team?
Ow: Yes, in a team.

I have classified examples 5 and 6 as rephrased non-referential borrowings because I did not feel at the time he uttered them that Owen intended to refer to the source text. Neither he, nor I, referred to it when these examples occurred. Rather, I believe he used his knowledge of the possible meaning of the phrase, knowledge which he had acquired from the story in which he had heard it, to communicate a corresponding concept. I used my knowledge of the same story to interpret what he intended to communicate and to provide him with a more appropriate phrase, in a scaffolding process. In this case, then, using shared previous knowledge of a source text without explicitly referring to it, means that we cannot say with any degree of certainty that a reference was intended.

Recreation?

The recreation of phrases is difficult to spot. The idea that this final step in the process exists at all is based on a combination of intuition and on construction-based, frequency in the input theories of language acquisition. I only have one example in the corpus which I feel could be considered as a recreation, although it is more safely classified as a rephrased non-referential borrowing. Indeed, the distinction between a rephrased non-referential borrowing and a recreation may be a fine one, depending on the number of elements in a frame to be varied, perhaps, or on the degree of similarity between the source phrase and the child's new version of it.

7	13/01/10	Meriel (4;7,0)
Me: I've got a **big bad** cough.	Source: Book *Little Red Riding Hood* Source text: "the big bad wolf"	Rephrased Referential? Trigger 2: conversational script?

If we were to isolate the last part of the sentence, we could argue that it is a rephrased borrowing, where "cough" has replaced "wolf". If we look at the utterance as a whole, we could argue that it is a blend of the phrase "I've got a cough" and part of the phrase "the big bad wolf." Either way, Meriel's new version is very creative and does not necessarily refer intentionally to the source phrase. It is possible that she was influenced by the French versions of both source phrases, "*j'ai un toux*" (I've got a cough) and "*le grand méchant loup*" (the big bad wolf) because "toux" and "loup" share the same sound. It is also possible that she heard someone else use this phrase either in conversation or in some form of MAPNI with which I

am not familiar. It is much more difficult to spot the borrowing of phrases from French MAPNI since the children are exposed to much of it out of my hearing. All this aside, I believe example 7 gives us some insight into the children's potential for this sort of creative manipulation of language from input. In this example, Meriel has perhaps created her very own expression for a nasty cough; the relationship to the source phrase from MAPNI is what gives it its charm.

Chapter 3
Analysis of the data

"Hallo, Rabbit, isn't that you?"

"No," said Rabbit, in a different sort of voice this time.

"But isn't that Rabbit's voice?"

"I don't think so," said Rabbit. "It isn't meant to be."

A.A. Milne, Winnie the Pooh. 1926, p.23

Chapter 3 Analysis of the data

In this chapter I present the data in three Parts, each Part relating to one of the three first-level categorisations of the data: Bilingual First Language Acquisition, MAPNI experiences and MAPNI-based interaction, and Borrowing phrases from MAPNI.

3.1 Bilingual First Language Acquisition

Although it is not the main aim of this thesis to document and comment on the various phenomena related to bilingual language acquisition and use, it is still important to devote some time to the many such examples present in the data. As explained in Chapter 2, throughout the long period of data collection, my focus on the bilingual aspect of the study was variable and my note-taking would fluctuate depending on my current priorities. This is important to bear in mind when considering the bilingual acquisition and interaction data. It must not be considered as statistically representative of the children's overall linguistic behaviour. There were countless occasions on which the children demonstrated bilingual behaviour but which were not noted. Equally important is the fact that many examples of unilingual behaviour were not noted either. The following examples serve to illustrate that the children in this study demonstrated the main types of bilingual behaviour attested to in the literature. They also give us an idea of the general linguistic environment of the family, although it must be remembered that language use in our family fluctuates constantly along the bilingual – monolingual continuum depending on a wide variety of factors, and the parental strategies employed have also considerably evolved over the years.

In Part 3.1, I first present diary and video extracts which illustrate typical manifestations of bilingual speech: borrowing/codemixing and codeswitching. I discuss some examples in terms of what they can tell us about language choice and the factors which might determine a child's choice of a particular language at a particular time, including the reactions of others to the child's language choice. We then turn our attention to issues of crosslinguistic transfer by examining examples which seem to point to this phenomenon in the children's language production. I then look at translation competence, providing examples of the acquisition of translation equivalents, translating oneself, and translating the speech of others. To finish, I present a transcription of a video recording which illustrates the complexity of the kind of multiparty interactions that can occur in our bilingual family. The diary extracts are not really transcriptions. However, in order to provide additional information as clearly as possible, I have rewritten them here using the following CHAT conventions:

situation: describes the situation at the time of the utterance

bck: provides background information

[= word word]: provides the target utterance

eng: gives an English translation of French words

exp: gives an explanation of the speech event

act: describes an accompanying action

Phonetic transcription in IPA is provided in square brackets whenever possible and/or necessary. Some early diary entries were not written using IPA, so this is not always possible. In order to distinguish between languages, English words are in normal type and French words are in italics.

3.1.1 Bilingual discourse behaviour

3.1.1.1 Inter-language borrowing and codemixing

The definitions of these different elements of bilingual behaviour discussed in Chapter 1 are of key importance to the analysis of the data in this study. This is because we are considering the children's use of previously heard multiword units or phrases in their own production and such use can occur across their two languages. In other words, it is important to note the way the children consciously or unconsciously use the linguistic resources available to them in all circumstances, not just when dealing with MAPNI, as it can shed light on the way they do so with MAPNI-related phrases also. We, perhaps somewhat artificially, distinguish between conscious and unconsious use of linguistic resources in both languages by dealing with what appears to be conscious use under the headings borrowing, codemixing, and codeswitching, and what appears to be unconscious use under the heading crosslinguistic transfer. By looking at examples of borrowing, codemixing, and codeswitching that are not related to MAPNI we can see that these phenomena are a normal part of bilingual communication for these children. Therefore when we later look at examples of the borrowing of phrases from MAPNI we will be doing so upon a backdrop of wider language use. If the children are in the habit of borrowing or switching to use words, multiword units, or grammatical structures from non-MAPNI sources then it is not surprising to find that they do the same with MAPNI-related linguistic items. The term borrowing is most often used to refer to the insertion of a word from one of a speaker's languages into an utterance in the speaker's other language (see section 1.3.3 above). Codemixing is used here to refer to a speaker using both languages within the same utterance, sometimes within the same word.

The simplest form of codemixing is the insertion of a word or multiword unit, often a noun or noun phrase, from one language into a sentence in the other language. This kind of codemix can occur at any age and is sometimes referred to as borrowing (for example, Nicoladis and Secco, 2000; see section 1.3.3 for discussion of these terms). Codemixing can occur within the sentence and within the word. We will first look at examples of a form of codemixing in which a word or word stem from one language is brought into a sentence in the other language and used as if it obeyed the same rules as the other language. While it is a fairly common occurrence in our family, there are surprisingly not many diary extracts attesting to it. This simply means that I don't write down them all down. In the first example, Léonie conjugates an English verb "move" according to French rules and inserts it into a French sentence.

1	25/06/13	Léonie (2;6,0)
Ca: You'll have to move your bike. Move it, please. Lé: OK. *Je l'ai* mov*é, maman*.		

In the second example, Léonie conjugates the English verb "slip" as if it were a French verb, adding a French past participle ending (*é*) and applies a French pronunication to the English verb stem so that [slɪp] becomes [slip].

2	23/04/14	Léonie (3;3,29)
Lé: *J'ai* [slipé]. eng: I slipped Ca: You slipped. Lé: I [sɪplɪd] Ca: You slipped Lé: I slipped		

In Examples 3 and 4, Meriel conjugates the French verbs "*imprimer*" (print) and "*gêner*" (annoy) according to English rules and inserts them into English sentences. She retains the original French pronunciation for the verb stems [ɛ̃prim] and [ʒɛn] and adds an English present continuous ending [ɪŋ].

3	29/05/09	Meriel (3;11,16)
Situation: Meriel wants to print a picture, but the printer is not working. Me: why's it not [ɛ̃primɪŋ] out? eng: why's it not printing out?		

4	16/06/10	Meriel (5;0,3)

Situation: Meriel is wearing new shin-length leggings that she is not used to.

Me: My trousers keep coming up

Ca: It's supposed to be like that.

Me: It's [ʒɛnɪŋ] me.

Ca: It's *gên*ing you!

Me: It's tickling me.

In the following example, Owen produces a complex codemix, which involves a French question frame [Est-ce que + noun phrase + verb phrase], an English noun phrase and a French verb "*brûler*" (burn) with English conjugation within an English present continuous verb phrase:

5	29/03/10	Owen (3;3,0)

Situation: Owen is playing with a toy fire engine.

Ow: Mummy, *est-ce que* the house is [brylɪŋ]?

eng: Mummy, is the house burning?

The children's father, Eric, has adopted some English words into his French vocabulary and some of them are conjugated as if they were French words. A particular favourite is the English verb "whinge" which he likes to use as if it were French, for example en demandant à un enfant,[22] "*Arrêtes de* whing*er.*" While I do not conjugate verbs from one language according to the rules of the other, I have adopted some French nouns which are used to describe items that are frequent in French life but may not have an English equivalent, for example, "*doudou*" (favourite soft toy), "*compote*" (fruit purée) or "*brioche*" (soft sweet bread). Some terms have been invented by us to make up for a lack of translation equivalent, for example "squeezy *compote*" for "*compote à sucer.*"

In the next examples, the children insert a word from one language into a sentence in the other language. Unlike the first set of examples, the borrowed words retain their original characteristics and are not transformed by the application of the rules of the host language. The borrowed prepositions "*pour*" and "*avec*" are high frequency words in French.

---

[22] This codemixed sentence was actually produced by me while writing and I only noticed it after the third re-reading!

6	23/03/05	Loïc (1;11,19)

Situation: Sitting at breakfast table, no mention of oven previously

Lo: oven

Ca: what about the oven?

Lo: it's hot

Ca: yes, it is

Lo: it's not *pour* Loïc

eng: it's not for Loïc

Ca: no

Lo: blow it

7	28/03/05	Loïc (1;11,24)

Lo: sit down *avec* mummy

eng: sit down with mummy

Lo: play rugby *avec* mummy

eng: play rugby with mummy

8	15/05/05	Loïc (2;1,11)

Bck: At the time of writing the diary entry, Lo produced both of the first two utterances

Lo: *C'est* Catrin

act: pointing at me

Lo: That's Catrin

act: pointing at me

Lo: oh! A *petit* snail

sit: Sees a snail in the garden

Lo: *Dans le* cupboard!

9	05/03/08	Meriel (2;8,21)

Situation: Meriel is looking for Lorenzo who was hiding. He had arrived with Laurent a short while before and with their arrival we had all started talking French.

Me: *Il est où, l'autre* boy?

eng: where is the other boy?

Sometimes the distinction between borrowing and codemixing is difficult to maintain, as in the following two examples.

10	08/05/07	Meriel 1;10,26

Me: *C'est à* me

eng: it's mine

Me: *Non!* Me!

exp: She wants to do things herself e.g. take off socks, put on slippers

situation: playing with Play-doh

Ca: shall we do a bear?

Me: do bear

(later)

Me: more bear

Ca: you want to do it again? What colour? Yellow?

Me: *Non, ça! Pin.* More *pin*! more *pin*! [*pin = lapin*]

eng: No, that! More rabbit, more rabbit!

11	29/07/07	Meriel (2;2,16)

bck: We are in Cardiff

Me: Loïc play a me?

Me: [əm ɒn en] [= come on then]

Me: *Allez* Loïc, come a me. *Allez*! *Allez*! Loïc!

eng: come on Loïc, come a me. Come on! Come on! Loïc!

The extent to which an individual child codemixes can be variable over time. In the following diary extract, I noted that Meriel was going through a phase of codemixing with everyone, regardless of other people's language choice or habits.

12	25/09/07	Meriel (2;3,12)

bck: Meriel talks franglais to everyone, more English than French at the moment? Eric thinks so.

Me: *C'est à* mine

Me: *C'est ça* mine

Me: *pour Maman*

Me: *pour* Daddy

exp: when she has done a drawing or has made something at playschool, or collected flowers, etc.

Me: me *fait*

eng: I do it
bck: Meriel was saying "*fi-filles*" for all children, just started saying "*fi-filles*" for girls and "boys" for boys
Me: *fi-filles*
eng: little girls
Me: boys
Me: lickle boys
Me: lickle girl
Me: a p(l)ay a *fi-filles* a boys
eng: I play with girls and boys

Three months later, a diary extract at age 2;6,29 mentions that Meriel was codemixing less.

13	11/02/08	Meriel (2;6,29)
Bck: Less mixing within phrases now, eg		
Me: Me a little girl		
Me: Ah a big girl, me		
exp: trying to say "I'm a ..."		
Me: Ah do a big poo a toilet		
bck: But still uses *pas* for "can't" or "don't" e.g.:		
Me: Ah *pas* do it [= I can't do it]		
Me: Ah *pas* walk [= I can't walk]		
Me: Ah *pas* like it, me/that/peas... [= I don't like it...]		

However, a year and a half later, her codemixing made a comeback.

14	06/07/09	Meriel (4;0,23)
Meriel is codemixing more and more.		
Si + conditional sentence in English		

Such examples demonstrate that codemixing is not necessarily related to a particular age or stage of language development, and a speaker's preference for codemixing can fluctuate over time. Indeed, the next two examples show the boys codemixing at ages 4;10 and 8;2. In Example 15, a French noun is inserted into an English sentence, probably as a result of a lexical gap. In Example 16, an English noun is inserted into a French sentence, possibly as a result of having Grandpa at home speaking English and causing the English word to come to Loïc's mind quicker than the French one, a sort of momentary lexical gap since Loïc certainly

knew the French equivalent.

15	23/11/11	Owen (4;10,25)
bck: Owen is having his bath. I ask him what he did with Daddy while Loïc was at karate. Ow: we goed to the *banque*. Ca: The bank. Ow: Yeah, the bank.		

16	15/06/11	Loïc (8;2,11)
Situation: Lo was gardening with Eric. They planted bamboo. bck: Grandpa is staying with us. Lo: *Je vais faire un* bush *de bamboo.*		

In the next example, Léonie inserts an authoritative "*là*" (there), another high frequency word in French, to tell me where to sit and play.

17	18/09/12	Léonie (1;8,24)
Lé: [pəleɪ] [= play], [əm ɒn en] [= come on then], sit, *là*	telling me to come and play and to sit in a particular place on the floor which she associates with a particular game, the magic roundabout game with pop-up animals and buttons	

The following codemixes involve the insertion of the French negative particle "*pas*" into English utterances. In Example 18, *pas* seems to carry the whole meaning of *I don't want to*.

18	01/09/07	Meriel (2;2-2;3)
Me: *Pas* stay school.		

A few months later, Meriel appears to use the particle with the meaning of the English modal "can't" as well as the negative auxiliary "don't."

19	11/02/08	Meriel (2;6,29)
Comm: Meriel uses '*pas*' for 'can't' eg: [æ] *pas* do it [= I can't do it] [æ] *pas* walk [= I can't walk] [æ] *pas* like it, me/that/peas... [= I don't like it]		

From these examples it seems that, for a few months at least, the French negative particle "*pas*" operated as a multipurpose negativity marker for Meriel in both languages. We can wonder why she did not choose the English "no" for this purpose. Perhaps she is influenced by French, non-standard, children's talk that she may have heard from other children, as

opposed to the more well-formed standard mostly adult English she was exposed to at home.

Multiword units can also be borrowed from one language and mixed with units from the other language to produce mixed utterances. By looking at the kinds of phrases that are mixed and the way they are inserted into utterances, we can make inferences about the status of certain phrases as multiword units within the child's lexicon at the time the examples occurred.

20	13/02/05	Loïc (1;10,9)
Lo: *tu veux* get down [= I want to get down] com: addressed to Er		

21	16/02/05	Loïc (1;10,12)
Lo: *t'as* finished [= I've finished]		

In Example 20 Loïc is mixing a French verb phrase with an English phrasal verb, showing that the phrasal verb is a multiword unit for him and that he believes he can insert it into the construction [tu veux + VP]. In Example 21, he adds an English past participle to a French [pronoun + auxiliary contraction]. We can infer two things from this: Loïc treats the [pronoun + auxiliary contraction] as a single unit and he believes that the underlying verbal construction allows the insertion of elements from both languages. In this case the constructions in both languages have the same form [pronoun + auxiliary + past participle]. Finally, we can note that at this age Loïc was referring to himself with the second person pronoun "*tu*" (= you), a case of pronominal reversal. Several other examples from the data attest to the same, mostly unilingual, phenomenon in all four children.

In the following diary extract, Meriel borrows two-word phrases from English ("*do it*" and "*all wet*"), thereby indicating that they may have been used as multiword units by her at this time. We can see that she also knows the French verb equivalent for "*do*" and is able to use it. This indicates that her language choice is not related to her language knowledge, nor to a personal pronoun or proper noun in one language triggering the use of the same language for the rest of the utterance. Even when her father provides her with a French reformulation for the whole sentence, she persists in mixing languages in her uptake of his offer and retaining the multiword unit [all wet] as a whole.

22	01/09/07	Meriel (2;2-2;3)
Me: Me *fait*		
eng: me do it		
Me: Me do it		
Me: *Maman* do it		
eng: Mummy do it		
Me: *Maman fait*		
eng: Mummy do it		
situation: Telling Eric about going on boat during a crèche outing		
Me: go a *bâteau*, si'down, all wet! My botton [*sic*] all wet!		
Er: *tes fesses étaient toutes mouillées?*		
eng: your bottom was all wet?		
Me: *oui, mes fesses* all wet!		
eng: yes, my bottom all wet		

In Example 23, the way Meriel mixes in the phrases "*petite(s) fille(s)*" and "*il est où*" may be an indication of their status as multiword units. Meriel inserts the noun phrases [petite(s) fille(s)] and [mummy/daddy/baby cow] in the same way she inserts the simple nouns [garçon] and [poussette]. Likewise, [il est où] appears to function as a unit.

23	Oct '07	Meriel (2;3 – 2;4)
Me: Mummy a lady, me a lickle girl, Loïc a boy, Owen a baby, Daddy a man		
Me: Loïc a lickle *garçon*, me a *petite fille*		
eng: Loïc a little boy, me a little girl		
Ca: What did you do at playschool today ?		
Me: P(l)ay [ə] girl [ə] boys / p(l)ay [ə] *petites filles* [ə] boys		
eng: play a little girls		
situation: When looking at animals in book or in field, Meriel has to establish family positions:		
Me: *c'est* mummy cow *ça*, daddy cow, baby cow, *il est où* baby/mummy/daddy cow?		
eng: that's mummy cow that is, daddy cow, baby cow, where is baby/mummy/daddy cow ?		
Situation: Reading picture book *In The Town*; illustration shows baby in pushchair:		
Me: baby a *poussette*, me push (waits for me to say "you're pushing the pushchair?")		
eng: baby a pushchair		
Ca: you're pushing the pushchair?		
Me: *oui* me push a *poussette*. Push a baby a *poussette*		

eng: yes me push a pushchair. Push a baby a pushchair

In Examples 24 and 25, Owen and Léonie end very similar English-initial utterances with the same French prepositional phrase.

24	17/06/09	Owen (2;5,19)
Ow: play Power Rangers *avec moi.* eng: play Power Rangers with me com: addressed to Ca		

25	12/03/13	Léonie (2;2,15)
Lé: come and play *avec* [mæ] [= *moi*] eng: come and play with me		

The fact that they both produce the utterances this way, rather than saying, for example, "play (Power Rangers) *avec* me", may indicate that they are using the prepositional phrase as a multiword unit.

The following example is one of my favourites because Meriel produces a codemix to talk about mixing things up! (She is actually asking for sugar to be mixed into her yoghurt.) Again, it seems likely that [mix it up] is a multiword unit for Meriel which she has inserted into the verb phrase slot of the construction [tu peux + verb phrase].

26	16/07/08	Meriel (3;1,03)
Me: *tu peux* mix it up? com: Seems to be a fixed formula for Meriel; it hasn't changed for some time!		

Let's look more closely at the different ways Meriel mixes French and English expressions of possession between the ages of 1;10 and 2;4. In Example 27, she seems to replace the French personal pronoun "*moi*" with the English personal pronoun "me" to produce a codemixed version of the French expression "*c'est à moi.*" Although my diary notes are not detailed enough to confirm whether or not Meriel knew the more formal French possessive construction "*c'est le mien*" meaning "it's mine," I am fairly certain that she did not. In French these two possibilities for expressing the possession of an object exist, albeit with different degrees of acceptability and usage ("*c'est à moi*" being a more spoken and less formal version of "*c'est le mien,*" with the additional possibility that "*c'est à moi*" emphasizes the possessor and "*c'est le mien*" emphasizes the object possessed). In English, on the other hand, only one construction is possible: "it's mine." At this time, we can posit that Meriel's knowledge of this French possessive construction is represented as [c'est à + personal pronoun] and she

believes it is possible to insert units from either language in the variable slot she has identified. We can deduce from this that she has identified "me" and "*moi*" as translation equivalents. What she has done appears most logical, but logic (or rather, bilingual logical) is not what is required here. Instead, she needs to figure out the idiomatic nature of each expression as a distinct multiword unit and the inappropriateness of such crosslinguisitic slot filling.

27	08/05/07	Meriel (1;10,26)
Me: *c'est à* me [= *c'est à moi* / *c'est le mien* / it's mine]		

In Example 28, Meriel takes the same sentence stem and inserts the English possessive construction [Proper Noun + 's] to which she adds a final emphatic *ça* which was probably accompanied by pointing to or holding up the object concerned.

28	September '07	Meriel (2;2 - 2;3)
Me: *c'est à* Owen's *ça* eng: that's Owen's that		

This example could indicate that she is using the construction [Proper Noun + 's] as a unit which she believes can fit into the personal pronoun slot of the French construction [c'est à + personal pronoun]. Indeed, in spoken French, a proper noun is also possible in this slot.

In Examples 29 and 30, Meriel now tries a different approach and inserts the English possessive pronoun *mine* into the French construction. Alternatively, we could imagine that she considers [it's] and [c'est à] to be equivalents and is inserting [c'est à] into the English phrase [it's mine].

29	25/09/07	Meriel (2;3,12)
Me: *c'est à* mine eng: it's mine's Me: *c'est ça* mine eng: it's that mine		

30	October '07	Meriel (2;3 – 2;4)
Me: *c'est à* mine eng: it's mine's		

These examples are interesting because they enable us to make guesses about Meriel's knowledge of how to express possession in her two languages and her apparent belief that variable slots can be filled by units from either language. On the other hand, the limitations of the methodological choices underlying data collection mean that we cannot contrast these

examples with examples of monolingual possessive constructions that she may have used at the time but that I did not note down.

The following extract from Léonie's diary shows her playing with the French possessive construction [à + proper noun]. The utterances can be considered as codemixes because she uses the English terms "mummy" and "daddy" with the French possessive preposition. We also see that she knows how to use the English possessive pronoun "mine" and does not use a French possessive construction to refer to herself, only to others. It is almost as if she is satisfied with [that mine] and doesn't need to borrow from French. Or maybe she simply prefers the French construction with [à] to the English construction with ['s]. Whatever the reason, she does not take up my repeated offers of English possessive ['s] constructions.

31	15/02/13	Léonie (2;1,21)
Situation: Lé gives me a CD.		
Ca: oh! That's daddy's.		
Lé: that mine (repeats)		
Ca: that's not yours.		
Lé: *à* mummy.		
eng: mummy's		
Ca: no, it's not mine.		
Lé: *à* Loïc.		
eng: Loïc's		
Ca: no, it's not Loïc's.		
Lé: *à* daddy.		
eng: daddy's		
Ca: yes, it's daddy's.		
Lé: *tu vas où?*		
eng: where are you going?		
Ca: probably nowhere		
Lé: *Café Bilingue. Café Bilingue.* [ə] sing a song.		
act: Léonie takes my note book		
Lé: *à maman.*		
eng: mummy's		
Ca: yes, that's mine.		
Situation: carries on game from earlier, adding pretend wondering in the form of "hmm"		

Lé: hmm, *à* Loïc. hmm, *à* yeh-yel [=Meriel's]. hmm, *à* baby, *maman*.

Without the additional information accompanying Owen's utterance in the next example, we could have analysed his speech as a form of codemixing where the child has failed to apply the correct plural form "peaches" to the inserted English noun "peach," despite having used a French plural indefinite article "*des*."

32	27/04/12	Owen (5;3,29)
Situation: In the supermarket with Owen who wants to buy some "*Pitch*" (brand name for brioche rolls with jam inside) pron. [pitʃ]. He sees some nectarines. Ow: Look mummy! *Des* [pitʃ]		

This might seem puzzling and lead us to wonder if Owen was applying French plural pronunciation (silent 's') to an English noun. However, because we know that he had been talking about buying some *Pitch* (pronounced [pitʃ]) only a short time before, we can suppose that he has been primed by the phonological similarity of the two words (French "*Pitch*" and English "peach") and the fact that [pitʃ] is an acceptable pronunciation in French which can reasonably follow *des*. Although it is not noted in the diary, it is probable that Owen had made his request to buy "*Pitch*" in French, in which case he would have asked to buy "*des Pitch*".

3.1.1.2 Codeswitching

In Example 33 we see how a codemixed utterance leads to a complete codeswitch.

33	14/11/11	Owen (4;10,16)
bck: Nathan is a Welsh-French boy in Owen's class at school. Ow: The new boy who speaks English, he said Ca: Nathan. His name's Nathan. Ow: No, *c'est Nathan*. eng: no, it's *Nathan* com: French pronunciation of Nathan Ca: In English it's Nathan. In French it's *Nathan*. What did he say, Owen? You were going to tell me he said something. Ow: The new boy said he's not gonna *prête* me some *cartes Pokémons. Il va pas me prêter des cartes Pokémons*. eng: the new boy said he's not gonna lend me some Pokemon cards.		

Sometimes codeswitching signals an absence of vocabulary in one of the languages, or perhaps a momentary inability to remember the required vocabulary. In the following

example, Owen appears to have forgotten the English word "coat" and so switches into French to start the whole question again.

34	01/03/10	Owen (3;2,3)
Ow: Are you gonna take off your... *est-ce que tu vas enlever ton manteau?* eng: are you gonna take off your coat? com: addressed to Ca		

A code switch can occur within the same utterance, even in a monologue, or a sentence which does not seem to be addressed to another speaker, as in Example 35 below.

35	18/02/13	Léonie (2;1,24)
Situation: choosing hair elastics Lé: *Quelle couleur?* Let me see. Let me see. I dunno. I dunno. eng: what colour?		

Codeswitching is often related to the interlocutors. In Example 36 we can see that a very young Loïc switches to French to talk to his father.

36	02/04/05	Loïc (1;11,29)
Situation: Loïc and Ca have come downstairs to see daddy. Bck: Doolin is the family dog. Ca: where is he? Lo: where is he? Act: looks in kitchen Lo: there he is! In the kitchen. Lo: Doolin in garden. Comm: sees Doolin through the window Lo: *on va dans l'jardin?* eng: (shall) we go in the garden? Comm: addressed to Er		

Here's a (rather disgusting) classic example of codeswitching in the One Person One Language context.

37	20/04/05	Loïc (2;0,16)
Situation: Eric gets a tissue to wipe Loïc's nose Lo: *tout seul* situation: Eric gives him the tissue Ca: blow		

| Er: *souffle* |
| Lo: I got a bogey! |

Loïc also learns to choose the right language for his English-speaking grandparents:

38	27/05/05	Loïc (2;1,23)
Bck: Granny and Grandpa are staying with us		
Granny: (doing a puzzle) where does this bit go?		
Lo: *C'est là*. It's there!		
eng: it's there.		

In some cases, the young child may not be sure which language to use with a stranger. In Example 39, Meriel hesitates for a while before choosing to speak French to a little girl she has never met before, even though the other girl gives her a clue by addressing me in English. We can suppose that Meriel assumes either that everyone is a French-English bilingual or that children may speak English to adults but speak French to each other.

39	31/07/07	Meriel (2;2,19)
In the park in Cardiff, looking at the lake. A little girl comes up to see Owen and Meriel. She and Meriel look at each other. Meriel shows the little girl her shoes and skirt and baddies. The little girl touches the bruise on Meriel's cheek. Meriel shows her Owen. They don't speak. The little girl points to the ducks and says to me "duck." Meriel points to the boats and says to the little girl, "*voir bâteau(x)*." (eng: see boat(s))		
Until now Meriel has always said "*voir*" when she wants to look at a photo that has just been taken. She has just started saying "look" and "see."		

When I am one of the interlocutors, the children will often change languages to address me, even if they have been speaking French just before. Sometimes, the switch is carried over to the next utterances even if the speaker being addressed was previously spoken to in French, as in the following example:

40	16/09/08	Loïc (5;5,12) Meriel (3;3,3)
Lo: *Meriel, tu viens jouer dans le jardin?*		
Me: *On joue à un, deux, trois?*		
Lo: *On joue à cache-cache?*		
Me: *Ouais, on joue à cache-cache*		
Lo: *C'est toi qui comptes. Tu comptes jusqu'à dix.*		
Me: *un, deux, trois, quatre, cinq, six, sept, huit, neuf, dix, onze, dix, quatorze, dix...*		
Me: I go find Loïc.		

| com: addressed to Ca |
| Me: I coming, I ready! |
| com: addressed to Lo |

Sometimes the language choice of one speaker can influence that of another, as in Example 41.

41	10/03/09	Meriel (3;8,25)
Situation: at the table		
Me: one, two, three and five		
com: sings to herself rhythmically over and over		
Lo: *T'as oublié le quatre*		
Me: *un, deux, trois, quatre, cinq*		
com: same tune and rhythm		

In the next example, the reason for Loïc's code switch is difficult to determine. He seems to switch languages to address Owen in English, whereas he had previously been talking to Meriel in French. However, he then goes back to French. Perhaps "ya breaking them" is a fixed phrase that has slipped into an otherwise French only dialogue.

42	16/09/08	Loïc (5;5,12) Meriel (3;3,3) Owen (1;8,18)
Lo: *c'est bien, uh, de jouer à cache-cache. On joue aux chevaliers? Avec des playmobils...Et le chef, c'est qui? C'est toi ou c'est moi? C'est moi.*		
eng: it's good, uh, playing hide and seek. Shall we play knights? With the playmobils....and who's the boss? Is it you or is it me? It's me.		
Me: *et Owen, c'est qui?*		
eng: and Owen, who's he?		
Lo: *il joue pas, lui. Er, dans l'histoire er il y a un dragon. C'est Owen, le dragon.*		
eng: he's not playing. Er, in the story there is a dragon. Owen is the dragon.		
Situation: Owen knocks over knight		
Lo: ya breaking them, ya breaking them. (sounds like a chant, hard to distinguish words)		
Ow: *cassé*		
eng: broken		
Lo: ya breaking them....*Je suis le roi*		
eng: I'm the king		
com: sings in fighting sort of tune		

In this case, if we consider "ya breaking them" to be a multiword unit for Loïc here, how can we determine whether this is a case of codemixing or codeswitching? In fact, once we begin

to consider multiword units within utterances in this way, the distinction between codemixing, codeswitching (and indeed, borrowing) may at times be irrelevant.

What appears to be a codemix in the first line of Example 43 should not actually be considered so because the French word "*doudou*" to talk about a favourite soft toy has been adopted into the family's English repertoire. The reason for the codeswitch at the end of the extract is difficult to identify. Léonie's incomplete pronunciation, whereby [i] could mean "il" or "he," means that her utterances could be either unilingual or code-mixed utterances. Here utterance "[ə] fait ça" could be "je fait ça" or "il a fait ça."

43	15/02/13	Léonie (2;1,21)
Situation: Lé fell off her chair and cried and was consoled Lé: my *doudou* act: goes to coffee table to get toy dog and cuddles it exp: *doudou* is the French word for soft toy, word borrowed by all English-speakers in the family situation: Meriel arrives with a teddy bear Lé: my teddy bear Me: no, my teddy bear Lé: [i] c(r)ying ə teddy bear...[i] *tombé* teddy bear. eng: he's fallen teddy bear Lé: Don't cry teddy bear. [ə] teddy c(r)ying [ə] teddy bear. act: bumps her head on floor on purpose Lé: [ə] *fait ça* [il a / j'ai fait ça] eng: He / I did that		

Again, it is not clear why Léonie chooses to switch languages between the first and second utterance in Example 44. One would suppose that if it were related to the other speakers' preferences she would have done the opposite and adressed Owen in French and me in English. The last codeswitch could be in response to my language choice for the previous utterance.

44	20/09/12	Léonie (1;8,26)
Lé: (to Ow) [əm ɒn Owen ə pəʊlin] [= come on Owen, on the/to the trampoline] Lé: (to Ca) *Dehors*! [pəʊlin] [= trampoline] eng: outside!		

| Ca: No. I don't want you to (she had just bumped her head) |
| Lé: [aʊtsaɪ] [= outside] |

3.1.1.3 Language choice

Our discussion of codemixing and codeswitching has naturally led us towards a discussion of language choice. A bilingual's decision to use one or other of their two languages can be dependent on many variable and fluctuating factors, as discussed in Chapter 1. Here I present some diary extracts which touch more broadly on the issue of language choice, including noting when a young child differentiates between speakers' own language preferences, the children's preferences at a particular time, possible reasons for those preferences, or reactions to the language choices of other people. Some diary extracts, such as the next example, consisted of on-the-spot note-taking. Here we can observe the way the children sometimes interact using both their languages in a natural way which does not hinder bilingual family communication.

45	27/05/09	Loïc (6;1,23) Meriel (3;11,14) Owen (2;4,28)
Lo: She can play with us on one condition		
Ca: What's the condition?		
Lo: If she promises to share.		
Ca: Are you going to share, Meriel?		
Me:		
act: shakes head		
Ca: Well you can't play if you won't share		
Me: But Loïc took it from my hand		
Ca: Well go and get your own vehicle, there are lots of vehicles behind the futon		
Me: *Ça c'est à moi.*		
eng: that's mine		
Lo: Well this is our base and nobody's allowed in it, are they Owen?...You said that your base was there.		
Me: Yeah but I want a big base		
Lo: Your base is a big base and you've got the bridge		
Lo: You can only come in if you pay. Don't come in here, I live here. Who wants to come in?		
Me: me		

Lo: then you'll have to pay

Me: here

Lo: that's not real money

Me: *tiens tiens*

eng: here here

Lo: *montres moi ça tes petits sous...*

eng: show me that, your little money

com: addressed to Meriel

Lo: first you must get some money, before coming in with some money you have to get the code. Before coming in you have to give me the code.

com: addressed to Meriel

act: starts going upstairs

Lo: *Je vais déposer ça avec tous mes sous.*

eng: I'm going to put that with my money

act: comes back downstairs

Lo: Mummy, I'm sorry, Meriel gave me these

act: shows Catrin the coins

Lo: I don't want them. I'll have the brown ones

act: goes upstairs to put coins in money box

Meriel's first codeswitch (*maman dit que je peux jouer aussi*) is also a transduction, the relaying of a message (see Section 3.1.3 below). She does this, even though Loïc clearly heard my original utterance, as a way of reinforcing the message and appropriating my authority on the matter to back up her right to join in the game. Despite the fact that everyone else is speaking English during this interaction, including the children among themselves, Meriel codeswitches, perhaps because she feels that changing to French provides additional emphasis to the message, as if hearing the same thing in two different languages might have more impact than just unilingually repeating it. Meriel's second codeswitch (*ça c'est à moi*) may be an attempt to re-negotiate the language of the game. It doesn't work and Loïc continues in English. Meriel, as if reconciled, carries on in English too until her third codeswitch (*tiens tiens*). Again it seems as though she codeswitches for additional emphasis since he does not respond in the way she wants him to when she says it in English (here). This time Loïc seems to be momentarily influenced by Meriel's codeswitch and responds in French. He soon switches back to English, however, to carry on talking to her. His next codeswitch to French might be addressed to Meriel or to himself, it is hard to say from these notes. When he

switches back to English it is to address me, probably in response to my language preference and the language strategy I was using at the time.

Some diary extracts are general comments on a child's language choice or language preference at a particular time. Example 46 shows that language differentiation and the ability to associate one language with one person and another language with another person, can begin very early.

46	18/09/12	Léonie (1;8,24)
Lé: No com: addressed to Ca sounds very English Lé: Non com: addressed to Er sounds very French		

Examples 47 and 48 illustrate how I tried to keep track of fluctuating language preferences, and how MAPNI can be an influencing factor.

47	17/02/09	Meriel (3;8,4)
Meriel always speaks to me in English		

48	05/03/10	Owen (3;2,7)
Owen's language choice seems to be influenced by the language on the TV. Since early January his language choice is mostly French unless I insist on English.		

In the next example we can wonder if Loïc is playing with me by role-playing a reversal of our usual language choice roles.

49	13/05/05	Loïc (2;1,9)
Situation: This morning Loïc is speaking to me in French! It's a little strange. I answered him in French. Lo: *Ça va toi?* eng: are you ok? Ca: *Oui, ça va. Et toi, ça va?* eng: yes, I'm ok. Are you ok? Lo: *C'est quoi, ça?* eng: what's that Ca: *Des céréales.* eng: cereal Lo: *C'est quoi ça?*		

eng: what's that?

Ca: *La table, la nappe sur la table.*

eng: the table, the cloth on the table

Lo: *La nappe. Et ça c'est , ça c'est, c'est quoi ça?*

eng: the cloth. And that's, that's, what's that?

Ca: *Du toast. Du pain grillé*

eng: toast, toasted bread

Lo: *Du pain grillé. Et ça c'est du thé.*

eng: toast. And that's tea.

Ca: *Oui, c'est le thé à maman.*

eng: yes, that's mummy's tea.

Lo: *C'est pas bon.*

eng: it's not nice.

Ca: *Si, c'est bon.*

eng: yes it is nice.

Lo: *Si, c'est bon.... C'est cassé ça, maman.*

eng: yes it is nice... that's broken mummy.

exp: talking about a toy from the cereal box.

Lo: *Gronder, maman.*

eng: mummy tell off.

Ca: *Non.*

eng: no.

Lo: *Pas gronder, maman. Pas dans les fleurs, pas dans les fleurs, gronder maman, pas dans les fleurs*

eng: mummy not tell off. Not in the flowers, not in the flowers, mummy tell of, not in the flowers

act: comes right up to me

Lo: not put in the flowers.

Ca: No, you mustn't put it in the flowers.

Lo: No, not put in the flowers

act: moves away

Lo: Not put in flowers. *Gronder maman. Pas dans les fleurs*.

eng: mummy tell off. Not in the flowers

act: goes off to get hat and mittens, then stands in front of me and screams

Lo: *Tu t'aides!*
eng: You help you!
Lo: Help you.
com: quieter

Perhaps he is trying to understand what is going on with these two languages in our family. The next example (dated two days later) seems to indicate that he has figured it out:

50	15/05/05	Loïc (2;1,11)
Lo: Daddy says *canard*.		
eng: daddy says duck		
act: holding rubber duck		

It becomes a game:

51	10/05/05	Loïc (2;3,6)
Playing at word pairs		
Lo: Mummy says tractor, daddy says *tracteur*. Daddy says *canard...*		
Ca: Mummy says duck.		

In Example 52 we can see that Loïc then appears to move on in his developing attitude towards the family's two languages and begins to consider, at least in this instance, that the English language is a sort of *jardin secret*, a private space to go which is not accessible to French-speaking Dad.

52	09/08/05	Loïc (2;4,4)
Er: *pourquoi tu pleures?*		
eng: why are you crying?		
Lo: I'm crying *en anglais*		
comm: Eric's interpretation: I'm crying in English so it's none of your business.		

In Example 53, we can see how complicated it can be to simultaneously teach appropriate behaviour and appropriate language choice with the One Person One Language strategy. What was of importance to me at the time was that Loïc should be polite in French, but because I use the English formula "what do you say?" Loïc replies in English. I then switch to French to make sure he says it in the same language as his initial request, thereby correctly completing the utterance which we can assume was addressed to his father. It's as if I'm saying, "don't say please to me, say please to your father." At the end of the extract we see Loïc switch to English to comment to me on what his father is doing.

53	19/04/05	Loïc (2;0,15)
Situation: At dinner table		
Lo: (to Er) *du pain, du pain, du pain, du pain...*		
eng: bread, bread, bread, bread		
Ca: What do you say?		
Lo: please		
Ca: *s'il*		
eng: plea....		
Lo: *s'il te plaît*		
eng: please		
act: eats bread		
Lo: *encore, encore s'il te plaît, s'il te plaît*		
eng: more, more please, please		
Er: *qu'est ce que tu veux?*		
eng: what do you want?		
Lo: *s'il te plaît*		
eng: please		
Ca: *Il a dit "encore"*		
eng: he said "more"		
Er: *encore du pain?*		
eng: more bread?		
Lo: *oui*		
eng: yes		
act: Er goes to kitchen		
Lo: Daddy's getting bread.		
com: addressed to Ca		

In the next example Léonie chooses to speak French in response to my English utterance. Her utterance could be analysed as a translation, but it seemed at the time to be simply an appropriate way to respond, bearing in mind that Léonie is probably aware I will consider her French language choice acceptable.

54	13/01/13	Léonie (2;0,19)
Situation: bedtime cuddle		
Ca: I love you Léonie (repeated several times)		
Lé: [ə] *t'aime* [= je t'aime]		

eng: I love you

Sometimes the children openly express opinions on what they consider to be a suitable language choice for me.

55	02/10/10	Loïc (7;5,28)
Lo: I hate it when you speak to me in French! com: addressed to Ca		

But I can't please everyone all the time!

56	16/05/15	Meriel (9;11,03) Léonie (4;4,24)
Me: Mummy! Don't speak to me in French! (a few hours later) Lé: *Maman! Parles-moi en français!*		

3.1.2 Crosslinguistic influence

Examples of crosslinguistic influence possibly reveal the way a bilingual's two languages interact in the mind and influence each other mutually.

3.1.2.1 Grammatical influence

The most common errors arising from crosslinguistic grammatical influence noted in the diaries involve the children adding "at" to the verbs "play" (when talking about playing a game) and "give" as if they follow the same rules as the French equivalents "*jouer*" and "*donner*" and therefore require a non-dative "*à*".

57	24/11/08	Meriel (3;5,11)
Me: when we get Loïc we can play at wolf? Me: when Owen's wake up we can play at wolf?		Transfer from the French "*Jouer au loup*"

As we can see in Example 58, parental correction in this case falls on deaf ears.

58	29/04/11	Meriel (5;10,16) Owen (4;4,0)
Me: Can we play at hide and seek com: repeated misuse of the preposition in sentences like this despite repeated correction both implicit and explicit Owen and Meriel both say "a kiss at Léonie" a lot at the moment		

The crosslinguistic transfer operates in the other direction in Example 59, where "at" is required after the verb "look" but not after the French "*regarder*":

59	29/04/11	Owen (4;4,0)
Ow: *Tu peux regarder à mon livre si tu demandes.* eng: you can look at my book if you ask		

Errors also occur with the transfer of "*à*" as a possessive preposition, perhaps partly as a result of producing and therefore hearing such mixed sentences as in the third of Owen's utterances below. I have included this set of utterances here to show firstly, that at the time he produced the mixed utterance, Owen was also producing the correct unilingual versions and secondly, because it helps to explain how Meriel may have moved on to using "at" in unilingual sentences with similar meaning:

60	17/02/09	Owen (2;1,19)
Ow: *C'est à moi, ça.* Ow: *C'est* mine Ow: *C'est à* me		

Just in case the reader would object to my comparing data for Owen with data for Meriel, her diary attests to exactly the same mixed utterance (at a similar age) as well as to another version demonstrating problems separating the possessive constructions of each language:

61	08/05/07	Meriel (1;10,26)	*C'est à* me
62	October '07	Meriel (2;3 – 2;4)	*c'est à* mine
63	December '07	Meriel (2;5 – 2;6)	*à* me
64	25/03/08	Meriel (2;9,12)	for the last week or so, "*c'est* mine/ *à* me" etc. has been replaced by "this be mine/ this be me/ Loïc" etc eg when giving characters in books family identities, or saying this is her bowl and this is Loïc's and so on
65	19/06/08	Meriel (3;0,6)	it's mines com: could be "mine's"

It looks like Meriel has almost disentangled the English and French possessive forms, however, the possessive constructions "*à nous*" and "*à toi*" are transfered into English:

66	26/02/09	Meriel (3;8,13)
Meriel still uses "we" instead of "us" and "our" and "ours" Me: he can have tea with we Me: will they come with we? Me: we house [= our house]		Transfer from French: "*nous*" for "us" and "*chez nous*" for "our house" or "*c'est à nous*" for "it's ours"

| Me: this is at we [= this is ours] | |

Unfortunately the "still" in this diary extract does not tell us for how long Meriel had been using this form. In example 67 we can see that the French possessive "*à*" still influences Meriel's English possessive construction a year and a half later.

67	09/10/10	Meriel (5;3,26)
Meriel is still saying "at you" seemingly influenced by "*à toi*" for possession. Me: Was it at you when you were a little girl? act: holding one of my own childhood storybooks		

At the same age, Meriel is also influenced by the French "*à*" of movement to a location.

68	09/10/10	Meriel (5;3,26)
Meriel says "go at somewhere" e.g. When will we go at Granny and Grandpa's ? I want to go at Bastien's house.		

When expressing age, crosslinguistic influence is more common from French to English, using the verb "have" to express age in an English sentence ...

69	26/05/09	Loïc (6;1,22)
Situation: Coming home from school in the car Lo: It's funny because we're the same age as our friends. Meriel has three and Emma has three...Noam is six and (name) is six and I'm six.	transfer from French after a day at school then sorts it out himself

...but also possible from English to French, using the verb "be" to express age in a French utterance, although this is the only time I ever heard it:

70	28/12/13	Owen (6;11,29)
Ca: and Eden is five. Ow: *Oui elle était quatre et après elle a eu son anniversaire et elle est cinq*. eng: yes she was four and after she had her birthday and she is five		

De Houwer states that "occasional examples of crosslinguistic influence, that is clear influence from one language on the other, do not detract from the validity of the Single Development Hypothesis as long as they do not show any systematicity. With systematicity I mean that they are used in a majority (more than three quarters) of relevant contexts at a particular age or within a short period of time (say, two weeks) (De Houwer 2009:282-3). Although I do not wish to challenge the overall validity of the SDH, it is interesting to

highlight that I noted Meriel's and Owen's resistance to parental correction and the emphasis, with the word "still," on the duration of the kind of language use noted. De Houwer also claims that crosslinguistic influence in unilingual utterances is often the result of modelling in the input, for example if the input is provided by a non-native speaker or if the variation on the normal usage is part of a dialect spoken by most people the children hear (De Houwer 2009: 287-8). In the examples presented here, such an explanation is not possible since the children have never heard anyone use "at" in such ways in English sentences, or "*à*" after "*regarder*," nor have they heard anyone talk about age in English with the verb "have." We can conclude that the examples demonstrate signs of crosslinguistic influence between the chidren's two languages in these specific areas.

3.1.2.2 Word order

Crosslinguistic influence is also noticeable in word order. At the age at which Examples 71 and 72 occurred, we can not claim that Meriel's mistake is related to her overall development in English as could be the case with a much younger child who might use intonation rather than subject verb inversion to ask a question. It is much more likely that Meriel is influenced by the common French practice of marking a question with intonation only.

71	01-15/09/08	Meriel (3;2,28 – 3;3,2)
Me: You can help me? Me: I can get down? Me: I can have some more? Even if I give her the correct version hoping she'll repeat correctly, or even if I ask her to repeat after me "can I have some more, please?" she repeats " I can have some more, please", thinking I wanted her to say "please" and not noticing word order.		

72	26/02/09	Meriel (3;8,13)
Meriel says "I can ...?" instead of "Can I....?"		Transfer from French: *je peux...?*

In Example 73, Owen uses the French word order for possession (*la voiture de papa*) instead of the English possessive marker.

73	23/11/11	Owen (4;10,25)

Ca: What else did you do?

Ow: We goed and washed the car of daddy. Then we come home.

I would like to add that, although there are only two diary extracts attesting to this type of crosslinguistic influence, it did not occur on only two occasions, far from it. Nevertheless, the diary approach to data collection used in this study makes it impossible to provide any statistical information about such utterances.

3.1.2.3 Choosing the "wrong" words

Cross-linguistic influence can sometimes take the form of a vocabulary choice which is influenced by the other language. In Example 74, Loïc has confused the French word "*maïs*" with the English word "mice" which he then translates back into French with the following comic result:

74	09/07/05	Loïc (2;3,5)

situation: Loïc has discovered that he likes sweetcorn and eats some with Mummy.

Er: *Ah, tu aimes le maïs*.

eng: ah, you like sweetcorn

situation: later on Lo asks Ca for some more "mice" then, a little later he says

Lo: *tu veux des souris?*

eng: do you want some mice?

com: addressed to Er

In Example 75, I use the word "dismount" because of its phonological similarity to the French "*démonter*," two words which could be described as *faux amis* or "neighbours" and are the kind of word pairs which can cause problems for L2 language leaners. My use of "dismount" leads Loïc to, logically but erroneously, use "mount" to describe the opposite process. We sort it out immediately, probably thanks to "mount" which helps me to recognise my error in using "dismount" and to offer a more suitable English verb for the concept we are discussing. Influence like this is sometimes included in the category of linguistic borrowing; it is often unconscious and can be seen as a symptom of language attrition.

75	16/04/12	Loïc (9;0,12)

situation: Loïc is reading a book about Native Americans and telling me about it.

Lo: That's like a tippee.

Ca: Yes, they can dismount it.

Lo: And mount it. It takes them two hours to dismount it and two hours to mount it.
Ca: I'm not sure if dismount is the right word. Maybe dismantle would be better.
Lo: to *démonter*.
eng: to take apart /down

In Example 76, it is Loïc who displays crosslinguistic influence from French to English and immediately corrects himself. His correction is grammatically more English-like than his first utterance, but still not quite idiomatic enough. A more idiomatic formulation might be "Are you feeling well enough."

76	05/03/10	Loïc 6;11,1
situation: I am sitting on the settee with a headache		
Lo: Mummy, have you got force to play a game? Are you strong enough to play a game?		

The next example is particularly fascinating as it reveals something about the way Owen has paired "light" and "*lumière*" (eng: a source of light) as translation equivalents, no doubt because of the English homophones which mean either "source of light" or "pale colour." He has also paired "*noir*" (black) with "dark" through exposure to the French expression "*il fait noir*" and it's English equivalent "it's dark" (there is no light on, it is night). This diary extract also shows how I notice and encourage the children to notice the crosslinguistic influence here. Such an approach may foster the children's developing bilingual metalinguistic awareness.

78	22/05/10	Owen 3;4,23 Loïc 7;1,18
Situation: Owen is looking for a particular pen or crayon for his colouring in.		
Ow: *Il est où le bleu lumière?*		
Ca: *Le bleu lumière?* Do you mean light blue?		
Ow: *Ou le bleu noir?*		
Ca: Dark blue?		
Lo: *Owen, c'est bleu clair.*		
Ca: Do you understand why he's saying *bleu lumière*? *Lumière*! That can be "light".		
Lo: *Bleu noir!*		
act: laughs		

3.1.2.4 Idioms

In the case of idioms, the BFLA child can be easily forgiven for assuming the same wording works in both languages. In example 78, Loïc is influenced by the French idiom "*c'est trop bien*" meaning "it's fantastic / really good" and he says it with the same intonation and pragmatic usage.

78	28/11/07	Loïc 4;7,24
Lo: It's too good !		

In Example 79, Loïc is influenced by, and provides a literal translation of, a French idiom; this leads me to provide the English equivalent which Loïc then takes up and uses himself.

79	09/12/08	Loïc 5;8,5
Situation: Ca and Lo are drawing together. Lo is kneeling on a chair at the dining table		
Lo: Mummy, be careful not to have ants in your shoes.		
Ca: Ants in my shoes? Is that what you've got?		
Lo: No. When you're sitting down you have to be careful or it feels like you've got ants in your shoes.		
Ca: That's the French expression, isn't it? *Avoir des fourmis dans les pieds*. In English we say pins and needles		
(After a short pause)		
Lo: Mummy, be careful not to have pins and needles in your feet.		

Examples such as these can lead us to wonder about the fine line between supposed crosslinguistic influence and unsuccessful translation attempts. What is so different about not knowing how to translate an idiom and not knowing how to translate "*jouer à*"? Rather than illustrating crosslinguistic influence, the examples shown in this section might be better viewed within the context of the bilingual child's developing competence as a natural translator.

3.1.3 Translation

3.1.3.1 The acquisition of translation equivalents

Here we see some examples of the children acquiring translation equivalents of words and phrases.

80	Notes taken in Feb '04	Loïc (1;10)
Lots of switching from French to English and from English to French, for example: Daddy is changing Loïc's nappy, Loïc holding tube of cream says "*crème.*" Mum walks in, Loïc shows cream to mum and says "cream" Dad says "*pas dans la bouche*" Loïc says "*pas dans le* mouth". This coming back from bakery ages ago: Lo: *pain* (looks at mum) bread		

81	01/08/07	Meriel (2;2,20)
Bck: In Cardiff. Meriel speaks like this at the moment, not specifically today Me: more water, peas [= please] Me: *merci* com: after being served If I prompt her to say thank you she sometimes says *merci* and sometimes, more rarely, says [ak u:] [= thank you] she calls me Mama. Can now say Loïc, but first said Lolïc. Used to always call Owen *bébé*, now calls him [owɛ] or Owen Until now, Meriel always said: Me: *C'est t(r)op chaud* eng: it's too hot Today she said: Me: It's too hot.		

82	01/12/07	Meriel (2;5,18)
Meriel said "carry" today for the first time instead of "*porte*"		

83	11/02/08	Meriel (2;6,29)

Bck: We have been in Wales for five weeks.

"me too" has replaced "*ma aussi*" [= moi aussi] since being in Wales. First weekend here she wanted to join in cousin Archie's dinosaur sticker book and was repeating "*ma aussi*"

Archie said "it's not a mousie!"

84	05/03/08	Meriel (2;8,21)

"I can't" has now replaced "*j'a(rr)ive pas*" and "I can't do it" has replaced "*ah pas* do it"

85	25/03/08	Meriel (2;9,12)

For the last week or so, "*c'est* mine/ *à* me" etc. has been replaced by "this be mine/ this be me/ Loïc" etc eg when giving characters in books family identities, or saying this is her bowl and this is Loïc's and so on

The last examples in this section show Meriel and Loïc producing self-repairs of codemixed utterances. Some instances of codeswitching involve repeating one's own utterance in the other language. In these cases it can be difficult to distinguish between codeswitching and autotranslation.

86	06/01/08	Meriel (2;6,24)

Situation: Eric has a DVD in his hand

Me: watch *ça, Papa* (repeats three or four times) *regarder ça, Papa*

87	01/04/05	Loïc (2;2)

Situation: Loïc is talking to himself while choosing a book.

Lo: Choose a story. *Prends* this one. *Prends celui-là*.

In Example 86 we could explain Meriel's codeswitch as a response to her noticing that she has produced a codemix and that she is failing to get her father's attention. She may have identified a relationship between the two and so believed that the solution was to switch languages completely. In Example 87, Loïc is talking to himself so, in theory, can choose whichever language he wants. Perhaps his switch to French was influenced by the fact that the French word in his codemixed utterance was in the determining front position. Or maybe he couldn't think of the English equivalent for "*prends*" or the French equivalent for "this one" so decided to just say it all in French.

3.1.3.2 Translating oneself (autotranslation) and pretranslation

Example 88 illustrates autotranslation at a very young age.

88	28/03/05	Loïc (1;11,24)
Lo: *attends* wait a minute com: addressed to Ca		

In our bilingual family setting we experience real moments of bilingual interaction when we are all together, for example at the dinner table. It is perfectly normal for all speakers (except Eric) to switch from one language to the other, usually depending on the language preference of the adressee or the language habits that have been established between particular speakers. We cannot always clearly distinguish between codeswitching and autotranslation. In the bilingual family context a child's reformulation of a request, for example from one parent to the other, will often result in a codeswitch and/or translation and the search for equivalents. The first set of examples (89 to 91) in this category show the way even very young children can translate their own utterances in order to comply with the other speakers' language preferences, or in line with the language habit that is currently in use with that particular speaker. If we apply Harris and Sherwood's stages that a young natural translator goes through, they are often examples of pretranslation. According to this categorisation, pretranslation is the first, unconsious, phase of translation carried out by infants still in the one word stage of acquisition (Harris & Sherwood 1978: 165). We can broaden that definition by including holophrases or multiword units. These examples could also be interpreted as evidence of language differentiation, that bilingual infants learn from a young age when to change language according to the adressee. They could also be seen in terms of the acquisition of codeswitching skills. However we choose to interpret these examples, in all cases the speaker translates his/her own utterance for another person, what Harris and Sherwood term interpersonal autotranslation.

89	23/08/04	Loïc (1;4,19)
Lo: Thirsty act: holding up his water beaker to Ca Lo: *Soif* act: turned around and held it up to Er		

90	19/06/08	Owen (1;5,21)
Situation: Owen is lying in bed with Catrin and Eric Er: *T'as fait caca?*		

eng: did you do a poo?
Ow: *Caca*
eng: poo
com: addressed to Er
Ow: Poo
com: addressed to Ca

91	01/03/04	Loïc (1;11)
Er: *Passe-moi le tournevis*		
Lo: *Tournevis*		
Lo: Screwdriver		
com: addressed to Ca		

At this stage of acquisition, we can wonder to what extent the boys know they are manipulating two distinct systems. They use two different signifiers for the same signified, and the choice of signifier is determined by the co-speaker. In Example 89, Loïc doesn't name the object he is showing (the act of showing is part of his communication), but he tells us he is thirsty so that we will respond to a need which he is unable to satisfy himself. The two signifiers used are true equivalents and their use corresponds to a repetition in order to satisfy a need, which is typical behaviour for a young child, with the added particularity of bilingual discourse. In Examples 90 and 91, Owen and Loïc do not need to satisfy a need. Their first repetition in French serves to ratify their father's speech, showing that they are attending to it (Clark, 2008). Their second repetition is necessarily a translation (with an equivalent signifier) since it is addressed to Mum, either to invite me to participate in the conversation, or to take a turn. In both examples, the translation is communicative and pragmatic. According to Harris and Sherwood (1978), these are examples of *pre-translation*, produced by a natural translator (or very young bilingual) still at the one word stage of acquisition. If we follow Toury's (1995) reasoning, the children had considered the potential responses of their co-speakers and chose a translation equivalent hoping to receive a positive reaction for correct linguistic behaviour, in this case the correct choice of language. In other words, the children already knew, at such a young age, that the word "*soif*" with Dad and the word "poo" with Mum would result in a positive response (satisfaction of a need, or a smile and participation in the conversation), and the words "thirsty" with Dad and "*caca*" with Mum would have been less successful, maybe even resulting in 'sanctions' in the form of a proposition of the correct word, or rather use of the correct language.

On the other hand, this next example occurred much later than the previous two and may reflect the change in parental strategy that had taken place in the time between. Léonie freely switches from one language to the other. In this case, her autotranslation can be seen in a context of free codeswitching and so as a form of bilingual self-repetition, or as Harris and Sherwood would call it, intrapersonal autotranslation (Harris and Sherwood 1978:165).

92	01/09/12	Léonie (1;8,7)
Situation: We are playing the same game as yesterday. Léonie says the following during our game: mine *à ma* [= à moi] eng: mine *à ma* [= à moi] eng: my turn com: used on different occasions *caché* (whispered) *alors* (means, go on mummy, your turn to play the game) [pəleI] [= play] She repeats "play" then "game" as I talk out loud as I am writing this, then she produces: Lé: play game ... *caché*! (means Mummy stop writing and play the hide objects game with me) situation: I hold the shape ready to play Ca: So. Lé: So. *Alors*. Ca: You want to play the game. Lé: Play a game.		

By extending the definition of pretranslation to include multiword units, we can include the next set of examples (93 to 96) in the same category. In each case, the child's autotranslation seems to coincide with a change of addressee.

93	03/09/12	Léonie (1;8,9)
Lé: [ə] *veux d'autre* com: Eric says he can hear "*j'en veux d'autre*," Loïc also hears this Lé: [ɒnt sʌm] [= want some] com: addressed to Ca		

94	16/10/08	Owen (1;9,17)
Situation: at lunch		
Ow: [is finist] [= it's finished]		
act: shows *petit filous* pot to Ca		
situation: Eric laughs and repeats what Ow said because it's cute		
Ow: *C'est fini.*		
com: addressed to Er		

95	20/11/08	Owen (1;10,22)
Ow: Where Daddy?		
com: addressed to Ca		
Ca: Daddy's at work		
Ow: Oh. *Où Papa?*		
com: addressed to Meriel		

96	09/01/09	Owen (2;0,11)
Situation: at table with Catrin and Meriel		
Ow: all gone.		
com: addressed to Catrin		
Ow: [apu] [= *il n'y en a plus*]		
eng: all gone		
com: addressed to Meriel		

In Example 97, Owen seems to be translating his request in order to address both parents in turn.

97	03/03/09	Owen (2;2,2)
Situation: coming out of playschool with Catrin and Eric		
Ow: wait for me		
com: addressed to Ca; he learnt and copied this from Loïc and Meriel		
Ow: *attends moi*		
eng: wait for me		
com: addressed to Er		

Autotranslation continues beyond the one word/unit stage and is also carried out on longer utterances, as in Example 98. Léonie seems to translate her utterance to comply with my language preference.

98	25/03/13	Léonie (2;3,0)
Lé: *Tiens maman, j'ai tout bu*. I drank it all. act: hands me her empty bottle		

However, as mentioned with regards to an earlier example, it could also be a form of bilingual self-repetition, or just a way to show that she can say it in both languages. Perhaps she has been influenced by my attitude to language use at that time, attitude which had evolved from believing I should speak and understand exclusively in English when interacting with baby Loïc, to allowing myself and the children to use either language. One result of this change in attitude was that I got into the habit of repeating one of my own French utterances with it's English equivalent. This is because sometimes the French phrase will spring to my mind quicker than the English one and now I allow myself to say it. Once I have said it, I often then think I should say it in English too so that I continue my role of English input provider. Maybe Léonie has adopted this practise, thinking it is a normal thing to do (which it might very well be in bilingual families like ours!)

In the next example, we can see the effect of my earlier strategy of negotiating a monolingual dialogue with young Loïc. I pretend to only partially understand his French statement, thereby encouraging him to change language if he wants the conversation to continue. He changes to English and repeats what he had said by providing a translation.

99	08/03/05	Loïc (1;11,04)
Situation: Eric is putting on his coat, getting ready to leave the house Lo: Daddy go work situation: Er has left the house Lo: *Papa parti* Ca: Who's gone? Lo: Daddy gone		

In Example 100, Loïc translates the last word of his own utterance, but it is not clear why. Another example of bilingual autotranslation as self-repetition, perhaps?

100	09/12/08	Loïc (5;8,5)
Situation: I am taking Owen to playschool; Loïc is with us because he's too ill to go to school. Getting out of the car Loïc sees number ten on a house. Lo: That's house number ten. Ca: Yes, it is. Lo: What number house do we live in?		

| Ca: Twenty, that's a two and a zero. Twenty is two tens. |
| Lo: One and one. |
| Ca: one and one is eleven, one and two is twelve, one and three is thirteen |
| Lo: Two and two is twenty-two. You're twenty-two. |
| Ca: No, I'm thirty-three, that's three and three. |
| Lo: Daddy's forty-five, *quarante-cinq ans* |
| eng: forty-five years |

However, in the next example, it seems to be the change of place, entering the same room as me, that triggers Loïc's language switch which takes the form of an auto-translation since he is repeating himself.

101	26/12/08	Loïc 5;8,22
Lo: *Maman! Maman! C'est Prêt!*		
eng: Mummy! Mummy! It's ready!		
act: shouts from downstairs then comes upstairs to tell me to my face		
Lo: Mummy, dinner is ready.		

In the next example my offer of a translation equivalent becomes my turn in the translation equivalent game that Léonie started playing with herself in the previous turn. It is almost as if she thinks I am participating in the game which she has turned into a game for two people. It would seem that the co-construction of the verbal game is more important to her than learning a translation equivalent or showing evidence of being attentive to needing to learn it, as we might have interpreted the exchange had she repeated my offer rather than continuing with her French equivalent. This example shows the way young children are active agents in interaction, taking on a determinant role which may be quite different from the intentions of the adult interactional partner. It is certainly not always the adult who decides. On a personal note, it is exchanges like this that comfort me in my decision to use, and allow the children to use, both of our languages. It is as if Léonie's behaviour here is reminding me that it can be more important to play with our languages together than to stick rigidly to the roles of language teacher and language learner.

102	15/02/13	Léonie (2;1,21)
Situation: we are going down the stairs.		
Lé: [ə] *pas tomber*		
exp: she wants to go down on her bottom, not holding my hand		
Lé: up(s)tairs. *En haut*. up(s)tairs. *En haut*		

act: repeats while bouncing up and down on her bottom, then starts going down on bottom
Lé: *en bas*.
eng: downstairs
Ca: downstairs
Lé: *en bas*
Ca: downstairs
situation: we repeat this exchange several times
Lé: [ə] *pas tomber* [= je ne vais pas tomber]
eng: I not fall

3.1.3.3 Translating others or codeswitching to relay information

Harris and Sherwood provide the term "transduction" to label speech acts when "the translator acts as intermediary between two other people" (Harris and Sherwood 1978: 165). Example 103 is one such case. Although *Mamie* (French term for Granny) is an extended family member, this would classify as extrafamily, rather than intrafamily, transduction since *Mamie* is not bilingual and is not a member of the bilingual speech community of the immediate family.

103	05/03/13	Léonie (2;2,8)
Situation: *Mamie* and *Papy* were here for lunch. The other children went outside after lunch and Lé wanted to go too.		
Ca: I'll take you outside when I've had my dessert. After my dessert, we'll go, OK?		
Ma: *tu veux que je t'emmène dehors?*		
eng: do you want me to take you outside?		
com: addressed to Lé		
Lé: *Après maman fini dessert*		
eng: after mummy finish dessert		
com: to Mamie		
Ma: *Après que maman ait fini son dessert, d'accord. Tu peux venir avec moi maintenant si tu veux.*		
eng: after mummy has finished her dessert, alright. You can come with me now if you like.		
act: Lé goes outside with *Mamie*		

It could be argued that Léonie is not actually translating here, but rather she is making an appropriate language choice in order to tell her grandmother about the condition I have placed

on my taking her outside.

Translation within the bilingual family (intrafamily transduction) sometimes involves relating the speech acts of others or passing messages between speakers with different language preferences. If the act of relating involves a codeswitch then it is usually also a translation. In the first example Loïc's translation is very close to my original utterance.

104	07/01/09	Loïc 5;9,3
Situation: Loïc brought me a cup of coffee while I was working upstairs. Lo: here you are Mummy, this is for you, I've bought you a cup of tea Ca: what is it? Is it coffee? Oh lovely! Has it got sugar in it? Mmm Lo: Daddy made it and asked me to bring it up Ca: Oh thank you Loïc. I was dying for a cup of coffee. I was just thinking to myself that I was going to go downstairs to make one, and here you are with it. Say a big big thank you to Daddy as well. Situation: Loïc is downstairs Lo: *tu sais quoi papa? J'ai une très bonne nouvelle. Je l'ai porté jusqu'en haut et je ne l'ai pas fait tombé et maman disait qu'elle mourait d'envie de boire un café et elle dit un gros gros merci à toi et à moi!!*		

In the next example Meriel provides a translation that reproduces my message, changing the pronouns "you" to "*mon*" and "he" to "*tu.*" She reformulated the message to adapt it to a situation of direct speech. Harris provides an example like this in his article "How a Three-Year-Old Translates", and describes it as a "transformation … common in natural translation, especially if the source sentence is governed by a performative verb like "tell" or "ask" in the imperative" (Harris 1980: 387). What's more, Meriel retained her original, and more appropriate, "take" with her own translation, "*prendre,*" rather than translating my "have." The result is a sort of combination of autotranslation and intrafamily transduction. Using the terminology presented in chapter 2, we could also classify it as rephrasing.

105	20/12/08	Meriel (3;6,7)
Me: Mummy, Loïc said he was going to take my picture. Ca: Well he can't. You tell him it's your picture and he can't have it. Me: *C'est mon dessin, tu peux pas le prendre, Loïc!* com: addressed to Lo		

It is interesting to note that the numerous examples of intrafamily translation or transduction are rarely, if ever, necessary. I often find myself thanking the children (with a little smile) for

a translation that I didn't need, since I was present at the time the original message was spoken, for example by their father, as in the following examples (106 to 109):

106	05/03/05	Loïc (1;11,01)	Er: *je vais faire un tour au bâteau* Lo: go on a boat?
107	10/03/05	Loïc (1;11,05)	Er: *allez, je vais me coucher* Lo: he go to bed com: addressed to Ca
108	11/04/05	Loïc (2;0,7)	Situation : Eric is in the kitchen serving up ice-cream Er: *il n'y en a plus* Lo: it's all gone com: addressed to Ca
109	December '08	Loïc (5;8)	Situation: at the dinner table Er: *Loïc, après manger, nous irons dans le jardin avec tes jumelles pour regarder les oiseaux.* Lo: Mummy, Daddy said that after dinner we're going to go in the garden and look at the birds with my binoculars! com: to Ca, excited

Why does Loïc translate utterances like these, since he hears me speaking French with his father (and everyone else) every day and knows that I speak it well? In fact, in Example 106, Loïc seems to be asking for confirmation that he has understood correctly, or that he has translated accurately. Is dad going sailing, which is what Loïc's English version implies? In fact, Loïc's father was going to the boat yard to work on his boat, not to go sailing on it. In French the distinction is carried by the preposition *au*, which would be better translated as *go to*. We need to bear in mind that Loïc was very young when this occurred and probably focused his comprehension effort on the whole phrase *faire un tour* which is polysemous and he seems to have thought it meant something like *go for a ride/sail*. In Examples 107 and 108, Loïc's motivation for translating is more difficult to identify. It seems as if he is putting himself in the role of interpreter for my benefit. This might be a result of the parental strategy I employed at the time, that of pretending to not understand Loïc's French utterances. He is so young that he may be unsure about how much French I actually understand. This is a strange interpretation, however, as he would have heard me talking to his father in French all the time. Perhaps it shows the possible confusion that can arise from pretending to not understand one person's Language A utterances while simultaneoulsy understanding those of others.

In Example 109, Loïc is not translating but codeswitching. Loïc changes language to

relate something nice to me. This is linguistic behaviour that I encourage. Indeed, when the children return home from school or nursery, I ask them to tell me about their morning or day. Since everything they experienced was through the medium of French, each time they relate in English a conversation, or some new knowledge they have acquired, it will involve a translation. If the children want to tell me about an event, they need to find words other than those used at the time. This may not be a simple task for children who are still acquiring language all the time thanks to the experiences they have during the day. I sometimes need to provide them with the relevant vocabulary in English, and together we are able to translate what they have experienced.

Sometimes the children translate my own words, as in Example 110 :

110	December '08	Loïc (5;8)
Situation: I am on the phone with Loïc's headmaster. I tell him that Loïc has been ill and ask if he can be allowed to stay indoors during playtime the following day because he has a cough. When I hang up, Loïc says: Lo: I know what you said. You asked if I could stay inside because I've got a cough.		

Here it seems that Loïc would like to be congratulated for his understanding and translation skills, which shows how important it is for children to receive positive reactions to their linguistic competence. My own interest in bilingual acquisition has no doubt contributed to the recognition the children receive for their language skills, and as Toury (1995) points out, native translators respond to feedback to learn how to translate successfully through an interactional phenomenon of socialisation.

Here is another, similar example. Owen could be translating himself or me, since the French expression can be translated by either of the English ones, even though the meaning of each English expression is different.

111	12/03/10	Owen (3;2,14)
bck: Owen often confuses meanings such as on, off, in, out situation: I'm helping Owen put his cardigan on the right way round. Ow: it's the wrong way round. Ca: yes, it's inside out. Ow: *je l'ai mis à l'envers.* eng: I put it on inside out / back to front		

Does the fact that in his French version Owen puts the emphasis on himself as actor of the

event, whereas his, and my, English versions used a more neutral *it*, indicate that he is actually restating the event in French rather than translating our previous utterances? Or is this evidence of the young natural translator's ability to translate holistically and idiomatically when it is appropriate to do so?

Harris and Sherwood's definition of transduction is not always applicable, then, since sometimes young children translate the speech of their interlocutor even when a third person is not present. In the following example of pretranslation (Example 112) Owen appears to translate the speech of his brother and sister, but the only other person present is myself and it would be strange for him to translate from English into French on my behalf. Perhaps he is simply joining in but chooses to do so in French rather than in English. Perhaps he is rehearsing different ways to say the same thing. More importantly, in relation to the definition of transduction, the same extract shows him translating my utterance even though he is apparently not addressing a third person.

112	28/02/08	Owen (1;1,30)
Situation: evening, we are sitting at the table having dinner; Eric arrives home and Loïc and Meriel jump up to see him Me: Daddy! Go see Daddy Lo: I'm going to see Daddy! Ow: [va papa] com: it sounded like Owen said "*va papa*" (eng: go daddy) which could mean "*va à*" (eng: go to) or "*voir*" (eng: see) or "*va voir*" (eng: go see). Situation: later on I am peeling and slicing a pear for us to share and Owen wants to take pieces before I've finished peeling them. Ca: wait, Owen Ow: *attend* eng: wait		

Autotranslation can occur in the same interaction as translating other's speech, alongside codeswitching and codemixing. In the next example Owen translates the second part of his own previous utterance. Loïc, on the other hand, translates all of Owen's English utterance into French. Or at least almost all of it, since the English noun "truck" has slipped into the French translation. This appears to be a case of unintentional codemixing since the object of the exchange is clearly to differentiate between different vehicles and not between the

translation equivalents one can use to label them.

113	25/05/09	Owen (2;4,26) & Loïc (6;1,21)
Situation: through the window we can see a tractor on the road. Ow: It's not a truck, it's a tractor. Com: addressed to Ca Ow: *Hein, Loïc, c'est un tracteur.* com: addressed to Lo Lo: *Oui, Owen. Ce n'est pas un* truck*, c'est un tracteur. C'est bien, Owen.*		

In Example 114 Owen translates Meriel's previous utterance and then repeats it in its original form, which could also be a form of autotranslation. The proximity to Meriel's utterance is such that it is really difficult to ascertain whether he is autotranslating or repeating what Meriel has just said.

114	12/03/10	Owen (3;2,14)
Me: Where's Daddy? Ca: He's gone out. Ow: *Il est où, Papa?* Where's Daddy?		

In the following (rather violent) example Owen codeswitches to relay a message and in doing so he does not produce a translation but an interpretation of the event. Loïc asked him to tell me that Meriel had hit him, but Owen actually tells me that Meriel had hurt Loïc.

115	17/06/09	Loïc (6;2,13) Meriel (4;0,4) Owen (2;5,19)
Lo: *Owen, va dire à maman que Meriel m'a tapé* Ow: Mummy, Meriel hurt Loïc com: addressed to Ca Ca: Did she? Oh dear! Ow: *tu veux je tape, moi?* Com: addressed to Meriel act: hits Meriel Me: Ow! *Je vais dire à maman* com: addressed to Owen Me: Mummy, Owen hit me com: addressed to Ca Ca: Oh dear! Stop hitting each other Me: *je vais te taper*		

com: addressed to Owen

act: hits Owen

situation: Owen hits Meriel back

Me: Mummy, Owen hit me again

3.1.4 Bilingual multiparty interactions

Of course, in bilingual interactions, particularly multiparty interactions, it is not always simple to tease apart the different things that are going on. We end this section on bilingual first language acquisition and bilingual family interaction with Example 116, a transcript of VIDEO 1 on the accompanying DVD, a recorded play session (a short section of which I also transcribed in ELAN format in order to show overlapping speech and simultaneous dialogues). The two column transcription provided here is an attempt to show the overlapping of two mostly independent conversations that are going on at the same time, one between Meriel, Owen and myself on the subject of the jigsaw puzzles, and another between me and Loïc. In this extract we can see the complexity of bilingual multiparty interactions, which are very common in our family life. The French speech is in bold type in order to visually highlight codeswitching. In addition to codeswitching and codemixing (Loïc: *il est où* number one? Owen : I wanna play *avec* Meriel), we can see all sorts of other things going on including the 'playing deaf' parental language strategy and the way it leads to frustration but eventually compliance on Loïc's part, at least for a time. I can actually be heard lying about why I was persisting in not understanding Loïc's French utterance, then pretending that I am not aware of what I am doing. Very unkind and dishonest! Then I make an excuse for hesitating to answer, claiming I don't know the names of different birds when really we both know that my reaction is related to language choice but that my reactions are inconsistent. It just shows how unnatural the whole strategy was and how uncomfortable it made us both feel. We can also see Owen's repeated use of the multiword unit "where's this go?" and his repetitions (uptakes) of parts of previous utterances (mine and Meriel's) even when they are not addressed to him, which shows that repeating like this appears to be automatic. The video shows how the children compete for my attention and learn to take turns. It shows how the language choice of one child (Loïc) can influence the language choice of the others, moving part of the interaction into a different language mode when Loïc joins in.

C: lovely, right. Do you want to do Barbapapa first, is it?
O: yeah.
C: right
O: (sings nonsense in sign of happiness as C opens box and shakes pieces on to floor)
M: (holding up two pieces) this one first. (Holds up one of the pieces) Where's the red one, where's the red piece?
C: the red piece?
M: yes
C: well, you have to take all the pieces out of the box.
M: I have all the pieces of the house
O: oh there (h)e is (holds up piece to show me)
M: all the pieces of the house
O: there we are, it's there
M: that goes here, that goes there, that goes ah! There!
O: (shows me a piece) there we are (starts fitting it to puzzle that M is doing) **on a gagné, on a gagné**

M: **mais Owen! Ca c'est ça hop ici....um ici Owen t'es assis sur la boîte.**

M: **mais Owen euh ça va pas là**

O: **ça va ici ça va pas là**
M: **mais Owen euh**
M:** **pas toi tu sais pas faire**

M: **mais Owen tu sais pas faire**

M: I can do it but not Owen
C: he can
O: I
M: no, he's too likkel
O: I

O: where's this go? Where's this go?

O: down there?
C: no that's a. Oh!
O: yeah
C: yeah. That's right. You see, he can do it! Well done.

Lo: **je trouve pas le cinq, il est où le cinq?**

L: Mum, where's number one?
C: Ummm

C: there are lots of animals under the futon here
L: Owen put them there last night
C: oh did he?

C: uhm where's number one.

C: it's very small so it can go under the furniture and things. When the tower gets kicked down. Oh here it is, look.

L: Mummy look. Look. Watch, watch. (L knocks down tower)
C: I'm watching. Wohoo, woah

L: **attends, après je vais faire un**

L: ***

O: where's this go? C: I think that's a different puzzle. It doesn't go in, no, it's not the right puzzle, Owen M: (tries to fit the piece in Owen's puzzle) oh no it's not this (laughs) C: that piece does go to in that puzzle, it does M: (takes a piece out of box and shows it to me) not this one C: no, not there though, Owen it goes somewhere else O: where's this go? M: (still holding piece up for me to look at, then looks down at Owen's puzzle when I talk to him, then back up to me) C: it goes it goes there, it goes in that puzzle but not in that place, no not there, try somewhere else M: Mummy, where's this one (turning piece over in her hand, not looking at me) C: that's a different puzzle, isn't it. This one goes, O: in there C: yeah that's right Owen, put it there. That's it	
	L: where's the seven? Ten ten ten
C: and then these two pieces go on that puzzle as well	L: where's the where's number seven oh yeah
O: there! We we can this see. We catched this. Look.	L: (pretend crying, noisy)
M: we have all of them (turns round and points at puzzle while speaking then stops mid-sentence and realises the puzzle is finished) O: look	L: (trumpet hoot)
M: **c'est bien, bravo** (claps) O: look (looking at me then touches top corner of puzzle) on the top C: that's right O: (turns attention to another puzzle) and this M: (joins in attention to same puzzle) this one now (holds up pieces in hand that she has sorted) no this one C: well why don't you do that one and Owen do this one O: and where's this go? C: do the same as Meriel, that's a good idea, to spread them all out, oh I need to hoover this M: where is it C rug M: there (she's finished spreading her pieces out) O: oh it's there we are M: um which go first? C: well, try to do the same as Owen, try and find	L: (pretend crying)

some O: there C: find two pieces that fit together by looking at the pictures O: ah it's there M: where's the other piece of this one? (holding it up to me) C: I can't see it. Well you need to look for one with a bit of water and some little fish and a bit of pink Barbapapa boat. That might that might do it. M: (tries to fit pieces together in air, mumbles) no O: no it's not there C: try doing it on the floor, Meriel, it's easier to do it on the floor O: where's this go, mummy? M: ah hah! (holds up piece with triumph) C: is that the one? M: it's a ** fish! M: there! A little fish C: oh, yeah, that's it, but it came apart M: Mummy, look (laughs) Look! C: well done, Meriel, that's right. Now, see if you can find the piece that goes on here with the rest of the shark M: the rest of the.. M: (holds up a piece) tail C: that's right, now then, Owen, what do you need? O: um uh this *** C: maybe this one Owen, try that one there O: I'll try that one C: (to M) that's right O: uh uh it's this one? C: (to M) now you need to find a piece which has got a bit of sea and a bit of pink Barbapapa boat M: (holds a piece up) C: try it it might O: where's this go? Where's this go there? Where's this go? (trying to fit pieces together in hands) Where's this go, mummy? M: yay! Yeah! C: well done Meriel. Let me have a look Owen, put	L: now where's number one? L: Mummy? L: have you seen number one flying somewhere? C: ah. No, I wasn't paying attention but here is L: now are you watching very very very carefully? L: look look look look C: I'm watching. Woah careful Loïc! Careful not to hurt anyone L: **j'ai mis des coups de pied, moi** L: **Aie!**

them down on the floor
M: and what else?
C: (to O) no I don't think they go together. You need a bit of Barbamama, don't you, a bit of black Barbamama. Try that bit.
M: (joins in looking for Owen's piece) there! **Tu casses ta**
C: oh they do go together, sorry Owen, well done you! And look that's the tip of the bird's wing
M: and me, what else?
C: well it's up to you, either you can work your way up with the boat or you can go across the bottom and do all the sea. Look there's the other corner, see, the corner. Find the other bit of the octopus
M: look, mummy.
C: well done Owen, you're doing very well. Look, this bit goes up here I think
O: a goes up here

(Meriel throws it to Loïc)
C: now then
O: (sounds)
C: no that goes down the bottom, that does Owen

O: *** at the bottom mummy. Where's the bottom?

O: by the tractor?
C: the piece that Owe that Loïc was looking for
M: look
C: was next to the tractor
M: look, I found it
C: well done
O: tractor
C: now you can look for the rest of the bottom of the boat and bits of sea
O: uh it's there
C: I don't think it goes there Owen
O: there?
C: no I think it goes down the bottom
O: down the bottom
C: but you can't, you can't attach it to any of the other pieces yet it goes there like that
O: goes there
M: um where's the other bit of the sea go?
C: well I thought you were gonna try that piece
M: yeah but it's not fit

L: Mum, where's the number one?

L: where is that number one?

L: **il est où le numéro deux?**
C: it's over here next to Meriel and the Barbapapa puzzle
L: **aie**

L: where's **il est où le petit numéro un?**

C: well now, I can't see number one anywhere. Yes he's over there by the tractor.

L: (sings) **hallelu** (coughs)

L: (sings) **hallelujah je fais du violon je fais du violon maman**

O: it's not working	L: (talks) **maman regarde** (sings) **je fais du violon**
C: because it goes down there like that	
O: there	L: **eh maman, je fais du violon**
C: it might	
C: put that piece there	
	L: **maman je fais du violon**
	L: (sings) **je fais du violon**
	C: no, accordion Loïc
O: there	C: not a violin, an accordion
M: Mummy I fi I can't, Mummy	
O: there mummy there look. where's this go?	
M: I can't found	
C: yeah that is that is the piece that you need it is it is but you're not putting it in the right place	
O: ah yes there	L: **oh maintenant il y a un cadeau ici, regarde**
C: yes well done Owen, well done Meriel	
M: where's the other piece of her head?	
C: well done Owen! You've only got this one last piece to put in and you've finished. Now, Meriel. Try this piece because it might go there.	
O: there, there! (stands up, hands in the air, triumphant)	
C: you just have to put turn it round so it's the right way	
O: look.	
C: look at the picture so that it matches the picture	
O: look mummy. [Ə] **veux** play (?) **avec Meriel** (Fr pron of name) (goes to do Meriel's puzzle with her)	
M: **mais euh non!** (covers her puzzle with her hands)	
O: [Ə] **veux jouer avec avec Meriel**. (stands up and moves towards me) **jouer avec Meriel**	
M: **tu veux jouer av à lesquels?**	
O: **ça**	
M: Mum, where's this piece go?	
C: um well yeah there but you have to turn it round	
M: (to O) yeah like this, like this	
M: keep turning keep turning. Turn again. There,no, oh yes, yes yes yes	
O: **ah ouais je sais** it's this	
M: there it's him um	
O: oh it's the bird purple. I've done this. It's a barbapaba (?) Where's this go, mummy?	
C: well done Meriel, that's right. Yeah very go, yes well done Owen. You're very good the pair of you.	
O: where's this go? Where's this go?	

C: come on, see if you can find where it goes M: um O: ***	
	L: Mummy, I'm making a lookout tower. a lookout tower.
C: try turning it round, Meriel M: oh where's the bit red? C: underneath your foot Meriel O: **oh c'est coincé**	
	L: (falls over) aah C: take care where you're walking, Loïc
O: like that, like that, like that	L: (kneels down with the others) **Il est bien l'aigle**
M: **mais**	
	L: **eh maman c'est Lolita qui s'est fait emporté par un aigle.** (pause) C: what's happened? L: **Lolita elle s'est fait emporté par un aigle** C: what? L: (louder) **Lolita s'est fait emporté par un aigle** C: (probably looking puzzled) L: (even louder) **Lolita s'est fait emporté par un aigle!** C: there's no point shouting at me Loïc. I was just wondering what had happened that's all.
O: *** cat *** M: I can't C: let me help you a bit	
	L: **on dirait plutôt un faucon.** Mummy can, mummy do you, can you compare birds? C: can I compare birds? L: yeah C: you mean do I know their different names? L: yeah C: well L: is this any **c'est un faucon ou un aigle? On dirait que c'est un faucon, non?** (looks a bit sheepish, talking quietly, looks at me) What? C: (laughs) L: what?
M: (looking at picture on puzzle box) oh! This bit	C: well I'm not I'm not sure

this bit go here
C: oh that's a good idea, isn't it, to look at the model on the box
M: look
C: yes
O: there

M: I don't know mummy

O: **eh eh c'est pas à toi** (to Loïc who is trying to do the puzzle) **C'est pas à toi**

O: **c'est ça**
L: **non Owen non. Non, c'est pas ça. Non, c'est pas ça. Non, c'est pas ça. Pas ça, pas ça.**

L: **ça c'est là. Ca c''est là. Ca ça va là**

O: **ça va là.**
L: **ça va ça va là.**
O: **et ça va là.**
C: Loïc. Loïc? There's a difference between helping someone and doing it for them.
O: (unclear but sounds Fr)
L: **non, Owen, ce bout là, là.**
O: **là**
C: that's right, you help him and then you let him do it
M: **oui, là**
C: that's how he learns, isn't it?
M: **euh Owen**
L: **oui, ça va là.**
C: that's right, well done
L: **et voilà!**
C: you did that one together
M: **non c'est pas celui-là**
C: the piece you need is underneath your your knee
O: like that, like that? ***** va aller**
L: **Barbabâteau**
M: ***
O: **bravo!** (claps)
L: **non, mets ce bout là, Meriel**
M: no!

C: I'm not I'm not very good, Loïc, at knowing the names of different birds

L: I know what it is
C: but that looks like an eagle to me because it's so big.

C: I think falcons are smaller than eagles

M: we have to find...this bit (examining picture on box)

M: we have to find the children

C: well look, Meriel, these are the pieces you need. You just have to figure out where to put them.
C: that's right, you see.

| C: let Meriel do it, Loïc. She wants to do it herself.
 M: I'm big now.
 C: hooray, well done Meriel.
 L: **attends, on les mets à côté. Non, d'abord, d'abord, il vont à la mer.** | |

In Section 3.1 we have seen many examples of the natural bilingual behaviour exhibited by all the children in this study at various ages. These examples demonstrate that the children in this study experienced bilingual first language acquisition. They all borrow, codemix, and codeswitch. They learned to differentiate their two languages and to produce translation equivalents from an early age. They all developed translation abilities and their language preferences fluctuate over time. Our bilingual family life can be linguistically complex at times, but this is not a cause for conflict or discomfort. The children are encouraged to use both their languages to express themselves and to maintain and progress with their English skills so that they are able to communicate with English-speaking friends and family. This they do willingly.

3.2 MAPNI experiences and MAPNI-based interaction

In this section, I present data which shows the children joining in, talking about, and making references to MAPNI. I also present diary and video extracts of the children singing and reading alone. This section illustrates the kinds of interactions that occur when sharing or refering to MAPNI and the various ways the children appropriate MAPNI for themselves. The data is organised thematically: joining in, talking about, making references, and doing it alone. The section ends with some examples of the children translating MAPNI, and another form of children's folklore, jokes.

3.2.1 Joining in with MAPNI

3.2.1.1 Joining in with songs and rhymes (Musical and Poetic input)

Joining in songs and rhymes begins with gestures. Many songs for infants and children include gestures and movements that accompany the song and often provide additional information about the meaning of the words in the song. In the first example, we see how a young infant can join in with the gesture from a song.

117	29/05/06	Meriel (0;11,16)
Meriel moves hand round, claps and waves hand in air when I sing: *Tourne, tourne petit moulin* *Frappe, frappe petites mains* *Vole, vole petit oiseau* *Nage, nage poisson dans l'eau*		

Sometimes joining in can be a form of game, where the actions are related to the content of the song, as in Example 118.

118	01/12/08	Owen (1;11) Meriel (3;6)
I invented a song to the tune of "Frère Jacques": Peepo Owen (or Meriel, or Loïc) Peepo Owen Where are you? Where are you? Are you hiding? Are you hiding? I can see you! I can see you! Owen and Meriel love it and hide behind their hands or behind furniture, etc. Good distraction technique when they're crying.		

In the next example, Léonie tries to join in with the words of an action rhyme while simultaneously attempting to perform the simple gesture of the rhyme and then goes on to perform the action rhyme on her own.

119	07/01/12	Léonie (1;0,13)
Before bedtime we did "Round and round the garden." Léonie began trying to say it while circling left index on right palm: [ə aʊ wə] [ə aʊ wə] [ə] She did it again while lying in her cot and then congratulated herself with clap.		

In the following diary extract, we see how Owen begins by joining in with the lyrics of a song and then uses those lyrics to refer to the song and the characters in it. The spoken uses of the song lyrics here constitute examples of verbatim borrowing. The information in the diary extract does not make it clear whether Owen intended to refer to the song, or was using the text of the song to refer to the farm, farmer and farm animals.

120	19/06/08	Owen (1;5,21)
When I sing "Old Macdonald Had a Farm" he sings "e-i-e-i-o" and holds animal and farmer finger puppets saying "e-i-e-i-o". Sometimes says "e-i-e-i-o" when we talk about farm animals, the farm and the farmer.		

Sometimes, a child might only know one line of a song and sing it repeatedly. By joining in, children are able to gradually learn the rest of the song.

121	13/11/07	Meriel (2;5)
Sings: "*Mon âne mon âne a mal à sa tête*" (repeats first line) will join in other lines if I sing too especially "(*souliers*) *li la la la et des souliers lilacs*" Sings: "*Meunier, tu dors, ton moulin ton moulin va trop vite*" (repeats)		

In this diary extract we also see that Owen was trying to join in with the lyrics of songs at age 1;11 and sang the song at a semantically appropriate moment.

122	December '08	Owen (1;11)
Owen sings the first line of "*Meunier, tu dors, ton moulin, ton moulin va trop vite*" If I sing with him he joins in "*trop fort*," but on his own just repeats first line. He sings this in the bath while playing with a water mill.		

Another form of joining in is to finish someone else's line for them:

123	14/01/13	Léonie (2;0,20)

The children and Eric arrive home with a galette

Ca: oh! A galette! Yum. (sings) *J'aime la galette* (etc.)

Lé: *ave(c) du beurre dedans*!

Er: *ça fait dix minutes qu'elle entend ça*

eng: she's been hearing that for the last ten minutes

exp: the children were singing on the way back from the bakery

The lyrics of the song are: "*J'aime la galette, savez-vous comment? Quand elle est bien faite, avec du beurre dedans.*"

Singing together can become part of a bedtime ritual. In Owen's case, it became very repetitive at one point!

124	18/02/09	Owen (2;1,20)

Owen and Meriel sleep in the same room. At bedtime I sing "Lullabyes" to Owen then "Go to sleep my baby" to Meriel. At the moment Owen (from about 1;11 onwards) wants me to go back to him and sing *Frère Jacques* (which he sings along to) and then the theme song from the *Maisy Mouse* DVD, "Maisy" (he sings along) then "Charlie" (a character from Maisy Mouse) to the *Maisy* tune, which sometimes he sings to himself and sometimes I have to sing with him.

Singing with song books can be a favourite activity, and singing generally a good method of distraction.

125	17 –18 /11/07	Meriel (2;5,4 – 2;5,5)

Meriel likes songs as bedtime (and daytime) reading at the moment. For a few days it was *The wheels on the bus* book, then last night it was back to *Les plus belles chansons de toujours* which she really loves, especially "*Mon âne, mon âne*" and "*Il était un petit homme*"

Last night I couldn't find the book on her bookshelf and she said "a table". It was on the table! She likes to join in when she can eg … "*cacahuète*", "*I I youpi youpi I*", "*mon âne mon âne a mal à sa tète....fête....li la la la…lilac*". Sometimes she tries to sing on her own and mumbles most of the words, inserting the ones she knows. She often just repeats one or two lines that she knows.

Singing really is the best way to distract her when she is fussing about something, especially at the table, I often break into song during dinner when things are not going so well. Works very well with Owen too, and Loïc is always happy to join in.

When sharing song books, joining in is almost always part of the experience. In the following diary extract, we see how Léonie progressively joins in a little bit more with each successive reading and how it is possible to draw a child's attention to the similarities between phrases and their associated actions from different songs.

126	25/04/12	Léonie (1;4,0)

Sang along with book *Wheels on the Bus*. First time, just listened and didn't do actions. When I sang "the babies on the bus go wah wah wah", she leaned her head on me as if to comfort me. Second time, I added actions. When I said "beep, beep, beep", I did beeping horn action with fist. She touched her nose and said [nɪːp] as in nose beeping game. Third time, she joined in actions, including nose for beep, and hands for chat. At the end she said [mɔː] [= more] which she has been using instead of [kɔː] [= encore] for a week or so. I also recited "Round and round the garden" and pointed out the same movement for the wheels on the bus going round and round.

Children themselves are also able to see similarities between the lyrics and gestures of different songs, including songs in different languages, as the following example illustrates.

127	22/02/13	Léonie (2;1, 28)

I recited "Two little dicky birds" rhyme to Léonie three days earlier, on 19/02/13

I am chopping potatoes and Léonie is playing with them. She thinks one of the potatoes looks like a bird and pretends

Lé: Bird. *Couic couic*

Ca: What's he doing, your bird?

Lé: Sing a song

Ca: He's singing. That's nice. He should sing "*À la volette.*" (sings) *Mon petit oiseau a pris sa volée, mon petit oiseau a pris sa volée. A pris sa, à la volette, a pris sa, à la volette, a pris sa volée.*

Lé: (joins in with gesture from "Two little dicky birds" rhyme, making hand fly away)

We can see that Léonie remembered the gesture from an action rhyme I had told her three days earlier. Her use of the gesture from *Two little dicky birds* to accompany *À la volette* is a form of gestural intertextual quotation.

3.2.1.2 Joining in with bookreading (Poetic and Narrative Input)

We have seen that the children join in singing and saying rhymes, including when they are shared with a book. Joining in with bookreading is also possible with narrative texts, both

by trying to say the words and by reacting with an appropriate gesture.

128	18/04/12	Léonie (1;3,24)
Reading *Peepo Pirates* Ca: Peepo Lé: [bəʊ bəʊ] [pəʊ pəʊ] [pə pə] [=peepo]		

129	24/04/12	Léonie (1;3,30)
Bedtime story, *Goodnight Moon* Lé: [muː] and with prompting [muːn] [= moon] Lé: [næ næ] [= night night] [bæ əʊ] or [bæ w əʊ] [= bravo] (and claps hands) claps when I read 'bravo' in *Dix petites étoiles*, bedtime book at the moment.		

Joining in can begin by repeating the text that has been read aloud. Example 130 shows what a rich source of input books can be as here I am introducing the Welsh language through bookreading, even though I don't master that language myself.

130	23/02/08	Loïc (4;10,19)
Today I was reading *Siarad Babi* [= *Baby Talk*] in Welsh and English. Loïc was soon repeating the Welsh, or at least nearly. Unfortunately, I'm not sure of the pronunciation myself, and tell him so.		

In Example 131, I wonder whether events in Meriel's life could be a reason for the repeated requests for the same story. Her attempts to join in concern the most formulaic and symbolic phrases of the story.

131	24/11 –30/11/07	Meriel (2;5,11 – 2;5,17)
Meriel wants *The Three Little Pigs* every night at bedtime. She tries to join in when the wolf says "little pig, little pig, let me come in" and "not by the hair of my chinny chin chin", etc. Is she thinking about us moving or Eric 'building' the new house? Is she using the story as a way to practice new expressions?		

A diary extract shows that Loïc liked to complete the lines of rhyming narratives from a very young age, demonstrating that at least partial memorisation of the text is made possible because of the way the recital of the narrative is shared.

132	31/10/04	Loïc (1;6,27)

As I read out loud, Loïc gives the last word of each line in the rhyming stories *Giraffes can't dance* and *Four pigs and a bee*.

Four Pigs and a Bee (6 verses of four lines, all with the same metre, as in the following example)

Ca: One pig in a

Lo: pigsty.

Ca: Two pigs by a

Lo: tree.

Ca: Three pigs on the

Lo: pavement.

Ca: Four pigs and a

Lo: bee.

Giraffes Can't Dance (22 verses of four lines, all with the same metre, as in the following example)

Ca: Gerald was a tall giraffe

　Whose neck was long and

Lo: slim,

Ca: But his knees were awfully bandy

　And his legs were rather

Lo: thin.

The main differences between the two stories are that *Giraffes Can't Dance* is much longer than *Four Pigs and a Bee*, and is a story with one illustration for every verse, or two verses. *Four Pigs and a Bee* is short and is not really a story. There is a simple illustration for each line which gives the child much more guidance as to the meaning of the words. As it says on the cover of the book, "Heather Melville is an experienced children's speech therapist, and she has devised this book as an aid to language programmes for pre-school and immigrant children with late speech development. The rhymes and pictures are intended to make young children aware of the use of prepositions, and concepts such as big or little, same or different." It is very easy to get children to join in the telling of *Four Pigs and a Bee* as the text and illustrations are so directly descriptive and inter-related. There is no ambiguity of meaning; the reader can point to the object to be named and can use finger movements to elicit, or demonstrate, the preposition. It was no surprise, then, that Loïc quickly learned to join in the story. It is more surprising that, at such a young age, he was able to do the same

with *Giraffes Can't Dance* which is much longer and which has a more complex narrative text. It is possible that in this case, while the illustrations probably helped, it was mostly a trick of memorisation, thanks to repeated readings, which enabled Loïc to join in reading in this way.

In the next example, an older Loïc joins in by completing the text, even though it was not actually necessary, echoing his earlier practice. For him the word *covered* is so strongly associated with the construction [in + noun] that he can't help but complete what he perceives to be the first part of a phrase.

133	25/11/08	Loïc (5;7,21)
Reading Mr Snow at bedtime		
Ca: When morning came it was quite amazing to see just how much snow had fallen. All the houses, all the trees, all the roads and all the fields were covered.		
Lo: in snow (as if finishing an unfinished sentence)		

Joining in with bookreading can also take the form of comments on the illustrations or the events in the text, varying from very basic identification of elements in the illustrations to more complex comments on the emotional impact of the narrative.

134	28/07/12	Léonie (1;7,3)
We are in Cardiff. Léonie is sitting on Grandpa's lap looking at pictures in a book of animals. When they reach the owl, she chuckles and points at the owl and says:		
Lé: eyes, eyes		

135	23/02/08	Loïc (4;10,19)
I read *Goldilocks and the Three Bears* as a bedtime story. When baby bear discovers his broken chair, Loïc said "this is the sad part of the story".		

When sharing a book, the adult, or other reader, can encourage understanding and participation by making use of illustrations, asking questions, and modelling corresponding gestures.

136	30/08/12	Léonie (1;8,5)
This evening I read stories to Léonie and Meriel and Owen.		
The Very Hungry Caterpillar		
Ca: Here's the moon, the egg, the leaf, the stars. (With only Lé, I pointed and traced around each thing in the picture)		
Ca: (with Ow as well) Where's the moon?		

Lé: (points) There. (etc.)

That's not my car.

Lé: (points to headlights) eyes

Time for bed.

Ca: Time for bed. Say goodnight.

Lé: (waves)

Ca: Brush that tooth, clean and bright.

Lé: (points to hairbrush) teeth

Ca: Arms up, legs up, wriggly tum. (tickle baby's tummy in picture)

Lé: hi hi

Ca: Climb into bed and snuggle down. Cuddle up with fluffy ted.

Lé: milk (baby drinking bottle of milk in picture)

Ca: It's sleepy time for bed.

Sometimes, when sharing a book, it is an opportunity for children to show their knowledge and take on the role of expert.

137	08/02/08	Loïc (4;10,04)
On Friday we returned our library books and chose some more. Loïc had been given some plastic dinosaurs on Thursday so he chose two factual dinosaur books and we bought a big poster of dinosaurs. I have trouble reading some of the dinosaur names but he says 'I can say it' and repeats very accurately having only heard once or twice.		

Sharing bookreading in a bilingual family can involve a lot of codeswitching if, as is the case in Example 139, the text of the book is read in Language A and comments are made in Language Alpha. Here, Loïc comes up with a very creative extension.

138	07/03/08	Loïc (4;11,03)
Tonight's bedtime story was *Sam Lapin au Jardin*. Sam helps his Grandpa in the garden. Grandpa asks Sam to weed Granny's flower bed and Sam digs up the flowers as well as the weeds. At the end of the book is a page with some pictures from the story and the children have to say what Sam or his Grandpa are doing. The instruction is in French but Loïc gave the answers in English. I prompted with "he's weeding" and Loïc said " he's flowering too!" Generally, even if we read a book in French the children's comments and questions are in English. Sometimes I think they ask me what is happening so that I will give them the		

English equivalent. I also try to reinforce their understanding by summarising in English or asking questions or commenting on the pictures.

In the next example, Loïc copies the characters' way of speaking and then pretends that he is a character from the story. I then assign characters to each of us. Assigning members of the family characters from stories, including from television programmes and films, is something that the children all went through phases of doing.

139	19/09/08	Loïc 5;7,15 and Meriel 3;3,6

We are reading *Little Miss Twin*. The twin characters in the story repeat the last word in every sentence. Eric comes in to say goodnight.

Lo: Goodnight, goodnight, Daddy, Daddy

Ca: (At the end of the story) What a silly story!

Lo: Good choose, Meriel.

Then we read *Mr Muddle*. When it's time to go to sleep, Loïc puts his feet on the pillow and his head under the duvet.

Lo: I'm Mr Muddle

Me: (showing me the *Mr Sneeze* book that was in her bed) Mr Cough was in my bed

Ca: I've got Mr Muddle over here and Little Miss Muddle over there! Now I want you all to be Mr Quiet and Mr Sleepy!

Me: Who are you, Mummy?

Ca: I'm Little Miss Mummy

(lots of laughter from Loïc)

Loïc has started understanding the humour of the *Mr Men* books and laughs a lot.

In VIDEO 2 on the accompanying DVD, we see the children, Loïc (5;10), Meriel (3;8) and Owen (2;2), joining in a recitation of the rhyming text of *Chocolate Mousse for Greedy Goose*, with help and elicitation from me. In the video, we are not looking at the book when the children recite the story, but they have memorised the text thanks to many repeated booksharing moments. Reciting together in this manner is akin to singing a song together. *Chocolate Mousse for Greedy Goose* is in the *Animal Antics* book which combines this story and *Hippo Has a Hat* by the same author (Julia Donaldson) and illustrator (Nick Sharratt). The stories are simple narratives made up of one double page illustration for two short pairs of sentences containing their own internal rhyme and the same metre:

"Where's the meal?" asks hungry Seal. "It's coming now," says busy Cow.

"What can I smell?" asks shy Gazelle. "Macaroni," says Shetland Pony.

"Too hot for me!" says chimpanzee. "Blow on it, then," says Mother Hen.

"Carrots – yuck!" says fussy Duck. "They're good for you," says Kangaroo.

"Chocolate mousse!" says greedy Goose. "Don't just grab it," says angry Rabbit.

"I'll lick the bowl," says furry Mole. "I'll lick it cleaner," laughs Hyena.

"It's all gone," says sad white Swan. "I'll eat the cloth," says happy Moth.

"Let's wash up," says helpful Pup. But lazy Sheep says, "No, let's...

...sleep!"

Together, the children could recite the whole story. The book was a Christmas present in 2008 and by February 2009 they knew the first story by heart but not the second, despite always having both stories read together, since they form a single book, and therefore having had the same exposure to each. When joining in the second story, *Hippo Has a Hat*, although the pairs of sentences are remembered together, they have more trouble remembering the correct order in which to place them. This is probably because the story does not have the same narrative quality as *Chocolate Mousse for Greedy Goose*, but is more like a list of animals and clothing items:

Lots of clothes! Let's try them. Maybe we can buy them.

Tiger tries a shirt. Leopard likes this skirt.

Hippo has a hat. A cardigan for Cat.

Camel finds a coat. An anorak for Goat.

Toad's tracksuit is too big. These jeans are tight on Pig.

Zebra's zip has stuck. "This can't be right!" says Duck.

Shoes for caterpillar. Slippers for Gorilla.

Flamingo buys a bag. A string of beads for Stag.

Now everyone looks smart...

...So let the party start!

These contrasting examples demonstrate that relevant illustrations, regular metre, and predictable rhymes, help children to memorise the pairs of sentences which are connected by contextualised meaning as well as rhyme, while narrative content plays a role in aiding the memorisation of a whole story. In both cases, the children participate. In the case of *Chocolate Goose for Greedy Goose* they are able to recite the whole story with no, or a little, help. Their greater sense of achievement in doing so is visible, and is mirrored by the more rewarding reactions of listeners. In Video 2 we see that Meriel is prompted to continue reciting *Hippo Has a Hat* after we have finished reciting *Chocolate Goose for Greedy Goose*. However, Owen repeats what appears to be his favourite line from *Chocolate Goose for*

Greedy Goose. In doing so, he makes his brother and sister laugh, which may explain why he likes reciting this particular line so much. At the end of the video, I ask about the "green drops" while filming the peas in the bowl. This is a reference to a *Charlie and Lola* story in which Charlie encourages his little sister Lola to eat her peas by telling her that they are "incredibly rare" green drops from Greenland. This is one way of making a reference to MAPNI which is related to the current situation, but the children do not pick up on it on this occasion.

VIDEO 3 on the accompanying DVD is a recording of Owen and me sharing a book. Looking at a book together can provide a context for talking about the illustrations and events in the story which can lead into conversations about personal experiences and feelings. Reading together is also an opportunity for adult readers to model vocabulary and, for the bilingual child, language differentiation. Example 140 is an extract (lines 59 to 99) from the transcript of Video 3 (the complete transcript is provided in Appendix 3).

140 VIDEO 3	03/06/09	Owen (2;5,5)
59. C: **the crocodile has a long tail** 60. O: a long tail 61. C: and a big mouth 62. O: a big mouth 63. C: with lots of teeth 64. O: lots of teeth 65. C: and the bear likes eating honey [text = the bear is eating honey] 66. O: likes eating 'oney 67. C: honey **[h]**oney 68. O: 'oney 69. C: **[h]**oney 70. O: honey 71. C: good boy! Honey, honey 72. O: honey 73. C: do you like honey, Owen? 74. O: yeah (I) like honey 75. C: do you? What else do you like? 76. O: um sandwich 77. C: do you like honey sandwiches? 78. O: umunney sandwiches 79. C: what do you like in your sandwiches? 80. O: *saucisson* 81. C: *saucisson*! 82. O: yeah 83. C: what else do you like in your sandwiches? 84. O: um ... *pain* 85. C: what? (I really didn't understand because I wasn't expecting it) 86. O: [pɛ̃]... I eating the *pain* 87. C: bread?		

88. O: yeah bread
89. C: bread. bread and *saucisson* sandwiches
90. O: bread an *sauci..sson*..san(???)
91. C: and what do you like for dessert?
92. O: *petit filous*!
93. C: *petit filous*!
94. O: (laughs)
95. C: shall we have sandwiches for our lunch? Shall we have sandwiches for our lunch, hmmm?
96. O: there he is (pointing to book again)
97. C: would you like a sandwich for your lunch, Owen?
98. O: there he is
99. C: there he is, yeah

We can see from this extract that Owen is only willing to talk about something other than the book for a short time then decides to get back to the book (lines 96 and 98) and repeats himself until I accept to focus on the book again. Lines 66 to 74 illustrate the way a child can practise pronunciation while sharing a book, and throughout the whole recording (8 minutes long) there are numerous examples of Owen repeating what I say, as if he is consciously practising saying it himself, as in lines 59 to 66. This repetition appears to serve the function of learning new vocabulary. There are also many examples where I repeat what Owen says (lines 81, 93) which appears to be a way of checking, confirming, and acknowledging what he said. In this way we ratify each other's contribution and construct the dialogue together. In lines 67 to 70, I manage to 'teach' Owen the correct pronunciation of "honey" by getting him to repeat after me while I add emphasis to the [h]. Looking at the book together was also an opportunity for me to help Owen with his English vocabulary and language differentiation. Owen's use of the French word "*pain*," (line 84) is an example of codemixing to fill a lexical gap in his short term memory. He knows the English equivalent but the French word came out first, probably because he had just mentioned "*saucisson*," a French word which has been assimilated into our shared English lexicon, as has "*Petit Filous*." Since we have adopted some French terms like this, which are brand names or products that don't really have an English equivalent, these words can act as trigger words, causing a switch or crosslinguistic influence.

VIDEO 4 on the accompanying DVD is an extract of one of the recorded storybook reading sessions that I carried out as part of the more controlled case study reported on in Bellay (2013). The complete transcript is provided in appendix 3. In the video we can see how the rich explanation reading technique is used with older children, who are also very receptive to it. This is the second reading session and the children are already preempting my explanations and questions as they had experienced them in the first session. Example 141 is

an extract from the transcript which illustrates parent-initiated discussion of the meaning of the text. The text of the story is in bold type.

141 VIDEO 4	23/02/11	Meriel (5;8,10) Owen (4;1,25)
Ca:**"Oh, how I long to be long!" said Dumpling.** **"Who do you want to belong to?" asked one of her brothers.** **"No, I don't mean *to belong*," said Dumpling. "I mean to BE LONG!"** Do you know what she means? Ow: No. Me: Yeah Ca: Her brother says "who do you want to belong to?" Me: Yes, I know. I know (loudly and insistently) Ca: Well, Owen said he didn't. Ow: eerr Ca: It's like you belong to a group or a club Ow: No Ca: and when she says "I long to be long" her brother thinks she's saying Ow: eer Ca: I long to belong to a club or something and she's saying, "no, I don't want to belong to a club, I want to be long" (hand movement to illustrate 'long' moving right hand sideways to the right) Me: long. I understand. I know what she means. Ow: Me as well, I know. Ca: You understand now?		

In Example 143, taken from the same transcript, Owen asks a question about an idiomatic formula in the text. We see that he has adopted the rich explanation reading style, and is possibly remembering that I had provided some information about this idiom during the first reading session (Example 142). This time he wants a definition.

142	22/02/11	Owen (4;1,24)
Ca: **"Time will tell," she said.** That's like when I say "you'll see", time will tell.		
143 VIDEO 4	23/02/11	Owen (4;1,25)
Ca: **"Time will tell," she said.** Ow: what means "time will tell" means?		

The storybook being read here, *Dumpling*, is more suited to this approach than rhyming

stories like *Chocolate Mousse for Greedy Goose*. If we were to stop and discuss the text of a rhythmic, rhyming story we would disturb the overall acoustic effect and be less likely to memorise and recite it. Such different approaches to shared bookreading (in addition to the different styles of the books themselves) may lead to different forms of language learning, one that is more based on memory for rhythm, and rhyme, and one that is more linked to definitions, explanations, and metalinguistic awareness.

3.2.1.3 Joining in while watching television and films (Audio-visual Input)

There are two ways in which viewers can join in while watching television programmes and films. Firstly, some children's programming actively encourages child viewers to participate. All four children in this study are familiar with three programmes which do this, *Balamory*, a Cbeebies programme, and *Dora the explorer* and *Diego the animal rescuer*, Nickelodeon cartoons. The three older children also had access to *Boogie Beebies*, a Cbeebies programme, because they had one episode on a video tape and watched other episodes while staying in Cardiff. The main character of *Balamory*, Miss Hoolie, addresses the viewers directly as part of her script, leaving time for them to answer and following on with a response which implies that she heard their answers. Dora and Diego both invite viewers to repeat words and phrases in the target second language (English in the French-language version and Spanish in the English-language version), to join in songs and to do actions. *Boogie Beebies* is a programme which teaches viewers a dance based on a theme and accompanied by a song, so viewers are invited to join in with movements and choreographies and can sing along too. Programmes such as these are based on the total physical response approach and aim to get viewers actively involved in the story, to learn new words and movements. Although I don't have any diary entries about the children joining in while watching in this way, it does happen.

Sometimes, the children will repeat dialogue from films while watching, in a similar echoing manner to the kinds of repeats that can occur during booksharing.

144	24/11/09	Loïc (6;7,20)
Watching *Lion King 2*. One of the characters repeats something like "he's outta his mind!" Loïc repeats something that resembles it but clearly not quite right. It seems he hasn't recognised the individual words or really understood the meaning. He laughs as he does this, clearly thinking he's saying something funny. Maybe the way the character is behaving on the screen is funny. Maybe Loïc thinks he understands or hears something else which is		

funny to him. Maybe pragmatic clues are telling him that he should find it funny so he does (or appears to) without really understanding the meaning of the sequence.

The other way in which viewers can join in while watching television programmes and films is by making comments on what they are watching. As with booksharing, comments can vary from basic identification to more complex discussion of on-screen events and references to the children's own experiences.

145	17/02/09	Owen (2;1,19)
Ow: Look! The moon. (Upon seeing the moon in the sky; seeing the sun on *The Very Hungry Caterpillar* video; seeing the moon on *Papa, Fetch me the moon* video.)		

In VIDEO 5 we can see more complex commenting occurring while I watch a film with Meriel and Owen. In Examples 146 and 147, we use the film sharing experience to talk about similar events the children have experienced. In Example 146 Meriel is reminded of when she bumped her head.

146 VIDEO 5 (transcript lines 21 to 25)	May '09	Meriel (3; 11) and Owen (2;5)
Me: ow Ow: ow Ca: What did he do then? Me: Just like me...because me got a very big bump Ca: Oh yeah, you bumped your head as well didn't you? You've got a bump.		

And in Example 147, I am reminded of watching fireworks and incite the children to remember it too.

147 VIDEO 5 (transcript lines 112 to 132)	May '09	Meriel (3; 11) and Owen (2;5)
C: hooray, fireworks O: fireworks C: that's pretty M: We('ve) already seen fireworks C: have we? M: yeah C: do you remember? M: with Shane O: with Shane C: that was a long time ago, wasn't it?		

> M: Yeah
>
> C: you remember it, do you?
>
> M: and when we were a very tiny baby
>
> C: well, you were two
>
> O: a tiny baby
>
> C: no, you were three
>
> M: yeah
>
> C: only just though, it was nearly a year ago. Did you like it?
>
> M: mm, I were a bit scared and a bit cold so we put a blanket on me
>
> C: a bit scared and a bit cold, because it was late at night, wasn't it, we had to wait until it was night time so it was really late. Do you remember?
>
> M: Yeah

In the transcript of Video 5: *Watching Sleeping Beauty 2,* there are many occurrences in Owen's and Meriel's speech of the following sequence variations:

> A naughty cat
>
> a naughty cat again
>
> there's that naughty cat
>
> there's that naughty cat again

The same phrase was used when reading a book:

148	15/06/09	Meriel (4;0,2) Owen (2;5,17)
Reading *Four Pigs and a Bee*, Owen sees a picture of a cat. Ow: a naughty cat Me: a naughty cat Ca: a naughty cat? Ow: Yeah! A naughty cat. Ca: Why is he naughty? What did he do? Ow: scratched me Ca: That cat? Scratched you? Ow: Yeah. Scratched me a naughty cat.		

At the time of this example, we had a cat and Owen often got scratched by it because he was very rough and clumsy with it. I have clearly responded to Owen's complaints, or upon seeing scratch marks on him, by saying things along the lines of "What a naughty cat!" Also, the cat really *was* naughty. It jumped on to the table and stole food, so I was often declaring how naughty it was. No wonder, then, that Owen and Meriel acquired the sequence "naughty cat."

The sequence can be considered as formulaic here. Using Wray and Namba's (2003) criteria for the identification of formulaic strings in a data set of bilingual child utterances, this example receives a "strongly agree" judgement of criterion E: By my judgement, this precise formulation is the one most commonly used by this speaker when conveying this idea. This judgement is not only possible thanks to my detailed knowledge of Owen's and Meriel's language use, but also since the sequence appears so many times in one extract, and then again on a separate occasion. Here MAPNI provides a context within which the children practise using a formulaic sequence they have picked up elsewhere.

Watching a television programme together can be an opportunity to learn new vocabulary. In Examples 148 and 149, Loïc asks for explanations of phrases he hears in songs in children's programmes on video and DVD.

149	March '08	Loïc (4;11)
Watching *Muppet's Fairy Tales* video, the phrase is in a song. Lo: What does "who d'ya think ya foolin'" mean?		
150	March '08	Loïc (4;11)
Watching *Barney and Friends* episode *A perfectly purple day*. Barney is singing "I think a flower is most beautiful when it is given away." Lo: What does "given away" mean?		

For a bilingual child, watching a film with his parents can be a way to learn translation equivalents.

151	February '08	Loïc (4;10)
Watching *Return of the Black Stallion*. The children and I have recently returned to France after five week visit to Wales without Eric. Lo was having some difficulty with French vocabulary. Lo: *C'est quoi en français, Papa*, sandstorm?		

Example 151 is interesting because Loïc is asking his father for Language A vocabulary, whereas it is more common for the children to ask me for a translation equivalent in Language Alpha.

3.2.2 Talking about MAPNI

Not only do we share MAPNI, we also talk about it. In Example 152, we talk about songs the children have sung that day.

152	13/11/07	Loïc 4;7,9 Meriel 2;5
At lunch. Ca: Did you sing any songs today, Meriel? Me: *Oui.* Lo: I sang a new song (Lo had already sung his new song twice) Ca: (to Me) What did you sing, do you know? Me: (rubs fingers of right hand on palm of left) Ca: What song could that be? Do you know Loïc? Lo: A song about hands. Me: *Non.* Ca: Is it like 'this is the way we wash our hands'? Me: *Oui.* Lo: (Sings to tune of "Here we go round the Mulberry Bush.") *On se lave les mains comme ça.* Ca: Or maybe a song about rubbing your hands together when it's cold, it was cold this morning wasn't it? Me: O*ui.*		

In Example 153, the text of the book we are reading reminds Loïc of the script of an animation he had watched a short time earlier. He identifies a link in the meaning of the word "nice" in both texts. In this way, MAPNI contributes to metalinguistic awareness of similarities across textual boundaries. His comment was possibly triggered by the indignant intonation and meaning which both texts have in common.

153	17/06/09	Loïc (6;2,13)
Reading *Cinderella*, in Roald Dahl's *Revolting Rhymes* at bed time. The children had just watched *Fireman Sam's Big Freeze*, which includes an episode in which the children dress up for Halloween. Ca: She said, "My dear, are you all right?" *"All right?"* cried Cindy. "Can't you see I feel as rotten as can be!" Lo: That's like Norman, when Penny says, "That's a nice costume, Norman", and he says,		

"Nice? I don't want to be *nice.* I want to be *scary!"*		

In Examples 154 and 155, Loïc talks about the emotional impact of films. Loïc seems to build upon the experience of this kind of discussion at home with me to feel confident about contributing to an adult discussion on the same theme the next day. His contribution is received with surprise by another adult.

154	26/02/08	Loïc (4;10,22)
Loïc watched *The Return of the Black Stallion* and cried when it finished. I asked him if he was crying because the film was over and he said "no." I asked him if it was because the end of the film was sad and he said "yes." He was really upset and took a while to recover. I told him that when I was young and watched the same film, it made me cry too.		

155	27/02/08	Loïc (4;10,23)
At Shane and Caroline's house, Caroline asked Loïc if he would like to watch *Bouba*. (Shane is Irish and Caroline is French, they speak both languages to their son and to our children) She warned him that it is sad because it is about two little bears whose Mummy dies and they are left on their own, but said she loved watching it when she was little even though it is sad. Loïc wanted to watch it and we talked about how he cried at the end of *The Return of the Black Stallion* and about how a lot of films for children are sad or scary. Loïc said "some films are sad and some films are funny and some films are scary" in a very conversational sort of way which made Shane reply something like, "Well yes Loïc, that's very true."		

In Example 156 it seems that Loïc is continuing what has become an ongoing discussion about the film. We also see that Loïc has learnt a phrase in Arabic while watching this film, an example of how MAPNI can contribute to developing language awareness.

156	28/02/08	Loïc 4;10,24
Loïc asked me if I used to watch *The Return of the Black Stallion* when I was a little girl. I said I used to watch it when I was young, not a little girl. He asked me if I was four when I watched it, and I said that I was older than that.		
He often goes back to things we say in conversations several times over days or even weeks, asking the same questions over and over. He will also ask me questions about himself, like 'do I cry when I watch that film?' or 'have I forgotten my French?'		
He has been saying *"salaam alikum"* since watching *The Return of the Black Stallion* which takes place among Tuaregs in the desert. He asked Eric what it meant and then he told me that he knew how to say "hello in African." He also asked me what it meant, even after		

having told me himself. I told him the language was Arabic and that he should say it to our Morrocan friend Latif next time he sees him because he speaks Arabic and would be pleased. Loïc has asked me several times what should he say to Latif and what Latif would say to him. He finds the idea of saying that to Latif funny and exciting. He pretends to speak "African" and I thought it was because of the film but Eric says that when Meriel is speaking unclearly he says she is speaking African and it makes Loïc laugh, so maybe it comes from there instead.

A song that was first sung without being fully understood can be revisited later in order to work out exactly what the lyrics mean. In Example 157, Owen makes a comment which is a reference to the nursery rhyme *It's Raining, It's Pouring*. The lyrics are:

"It's raining, it's pouring,

the old man is snoring.

He went to bed and bumped his head,

And couldn't get up in the morning."

157a	26/04/12	Owen (5;3,28)

This morning Owen didn't want to get up. He said he couldn't get up because he had bumped his head. I asked him he meant like the old man in the song?

I sang the song. Then I changed "Old Man" to "Owen" and we sang it again. Meriel sang again on her own. After school, Owen sang the song to himself but it sounded like "it's boring." Then he asked me to sing it because he wasn't sure of the words. He asked me specifically what was the word before "Old Man." I had to repeat it several times. I didn't explain it but I did emphasize it is a [p] not a [b]. It's funny that he should bring this up since it figures as an example in the data when Owen was much younger. It is as if he is revisiting the song with a new level of understanding and really wants to understand the meaning.

Ca: Owen, do you know what it means "it's pouring"?
Ow: No.
Ca: It means it's raining a lot. In the song it means it's raining a lot.
Ow: (sings) it's raining a lo-ot.

The earlier example in which a much younger Owen refers to this song is analysed in section 3.3.3.

Here is another diary extract which refers to the same line of the song and a very similar overextension of the meaning of the lyrics, but this time by Loïc five years earlier.

157b	July '07	Loïc (4;3)

Loïc surprised me by saying that he didn't want to go to sleep because he was afraid of not waking up in the morning. I didn't know what he meant and asked him to explain. "It's raining," was his reply. I thought for a bit then asked , "like the old man in the song?" "Yes," he said. It had been raining a lot and we had been singing the song to accompany the weather.

3.2.3 Performing MAPNI

3.2.3.1 Singing and reciting alone

The children often like to just sing to themselves. Owen is particularly fond of singing and often accompanies his games and activities with a "soundtrack." Here are a few diary extracts about the children singing.

158	December '08	Owen (1;11)

Owen likes to sing *"Frère Jacques"*:

Fère Jacques, Fère Jacques,

Où vas-tu? Où vas-tu?

(repeats these two lines)

He also sings:

cherchez-moi, coucou coucou

Je suis caché sous un chou

(and hides his face in his hands)

159	09/02/08	Loïc (4;10,07)

While we were staying in Cardiff, a family friend gave the children a *Mary Poppins* DVD and Loïc watched it straight away. By the afternoon he was already singing "chim chimney, chim chimney".

160	February 2008	Meriel (2;6)

During our 5 week stay in Wales and England, there has been a very noticeable shift towards English in Meriel's language. When spontaneously singing, however, it is always French songs (e.g., *"Alouette,"* *"Cherchez moi coucou coucou je suis caché sous un chou,"* (with the words only half pronounced correctly)) with the exception of "Happy Birthday" which she sang throughout our visit, no doubt because of Owen's, Grandpa's and Granny's birthdays all in quick succession. When she sings, it sounds like this:

Appa birday to you
Appa birday to you
Appa birday dear Ganny, Owen, Ganpa
Appa birday to you

Sometimes, when learning a song without reading the lyrics, the lyrics may not be fully understood and the memorisation may be incorrect. If the lyrics have been memorised incorrectly, they may become fossilized and remain frozen in memory in their incorrect form, even after the correct version has been seen or explained. This is a form of unintentional variation. (Intentional variation will be discussed in section 3.3.1). In Example 161 we see that the approximate singing of lyrics might be a thing of the past thanks to internet access to the lyrics of many popular songs, even old ones.

161	01/04/14	Loïc (11;0)
Loïc has heard "The Eye of the Tiger" on the radio and likes it so much he looked up the song and lyrics on *You Tube* and copied out the lyrics in his own handwriting. He sings along with his piece of paper and I remarked that at his age I loved that song too. When I looked at the lyrics, I was surprised to notice that the words I used to sing were wrong. I didn't have internet and *You Tube* to provide me with the right ones, so I just sang my own approximate version! Even with Loïc's written lyrics, I found it hard to unlearn my personalised childhood version.		

On the other hand, Example 162 shows that approximate singing of lyrics may NOT be a thing of the past! It also shows the affective element of singing, particularly in a group. The example is interesting because it shows that Meriel does not necessarily consider me to be an "expert" on all things English, the expertise of the choir teacher has more validity in this instance. We can see how much I care about this "expert" position (I didn't realise how important it was to me until this happened).

162	01/05/14	Meriel (8;11)
The children are practising for the school choir concert. Meriel's class is learning a few songs in English. One of them is a gospel classic, "Rock my soul in the bosom of Abraham." Her singing of "in the bosom of Abraham" is so approximate that it doesn't sound like English at all. I asked her to repeat several times and couldn't figure out what she was trying to sing. A quick *Google* search led me to the right song on *You Tube*. Meriel insisted that her choir teacher had got it right. She said that the teacher had told them she had simplified the song for them and that the pronunciation was different for that reason. I tried to tell Meriel the		

correct pronunciation but she got very angry and said that I didn't know what I was talking about. I tried to show her the *You Tube* video of a choir singing the song and she got angry again and started to cry. I got pretty angry myself because she refused to accept that I knew better how to pronounce those words than her choir teacher. In the end, I told her that we would not discuss it any more as it clearly made us both upset and it really wasn't worth it!

In the last of this set of examples, Meriel is at first reluctant to accept that her version of the song is not quite right, but once I explain the meaning of the troublesome word, she accepts the correct version. Nevertheless, her own variation is too entrenched in her memory and resurfaces only a minute later.

163	18/03/10	Meriel (4;9,5)

Ow & Me watch Disney's *Cinderella* in English. After their nap, they watched the end of the film.

Me: [singing while waiting to watch rest of film] Sing sweet my-ingale, ah ah ah ah ah [repeats]

I let her sing that a few times, then:

Ca: [sings] sing sweet nightingale

Me: No, it's my-un-gale.

Ca: It's not, darling. It's nightingale. Do you know what a nightingale is?

Me: No.

Ca: It's a kind of bird which has a very pretty song. A nightingale is a kind of bird.

M: Oh. [sings] Sing sweet nightingale...... [a minute later] sing sweet my-un-gale.

The lyrics contain a word Meriel doesn't know so she makes up and memorises her own version. Even after explanation and modelling, her own version is more memorable for her. I have childhood memories of doing this myself, making my family laugh, but preferring to stick to my own versions (of pop songs, for example). Memory plays a huge rôle in song and rhyme learning and this is true for people of all ages. Examples 162 and 163 show that a clear understanding of the lyrics and the ability to memorise them are important elements in bridging the gap between joining in and going it alone.

In the following example, Loïc's codeswitch to provide a definition causes him to lose the thread of his recital and he has to start again from the beginning. This illustrates the formulaic nature of memorised texts such as poems which are memorised as whole, often indivisible, units.

164	16/09/08	Loïc (5;5,12)
Loïc has learned a new rhyme at school. I asked him to tell it to me Lo: *Lundi, les canards vont à la mare.* *Mar, mar, mardi, ils s'en vont jusqu'à la mer* *Mer, mer, mercredi, ils organisent un grand jeu* *Jeu, jeu, jeudi, ils se promènent dans le vent* *Ven, ven, vendredi, ils se dandinent comme ça* *Sa, sa, samedi, ils se lavent à ce qu'on dit* *Di, di, dimanche, ils voient la vie en rose* *La semaine recommencera demain, coin, coin* He stopped reciting at the word "*dandinent*" to say "that means dance" and then he had to start again from the beginning.		

3.2.3.2 Reading alone

All the children have "read" their books long before actually being able to read. It is a form of remembering and retelling the story as they have heard it read to them. Sometimes a child can remember and retell a story verbatim, but usually it is an approximate version. Here are a couple of examples from the data, including a video of Owen "reading" to himself.

165	11/02/08	Meriel (2;6,29)
(In Cardiff) Meriel has become very attached to a set of baby books that Virgil left at Granny and Grandpa's: *It's Time to Play*, *It's Time for Dinner*, *It's Time to Wash*, and *It's Time for Bed*. She wants them at bedtime most nights and has brought them to Cwm Chwefru (holiday cottage in Wales). She reads them to herself saying most of the words, or her version of them.		

It is worth noting here that Meriel borrows phrases from this text. They are analysed in section 3.3.3, Example 255 and 3.3.4, Example 267. We can therefore suggest that it is not only narrative input that a child has heard another person reading aloud which can have an impact on the intake and reuse of phrases. Reading to oneself, it has already been suggested, is a way for older, literate, children to access narrative input. In this case we can see that the same is true for pre-literate children who have memorised a text or enjoy reinventing their own versions of a text.

In VIDEO 6 Owen (2;1) is "reading" *Sizzles is completely not here* to himself. We can see some codemixing/switching and gain a few insights into the mysterious workings of the two-year-old mind!

166 VIDEO 6	Feb '09	Owen (2;1)

Owen lifts the flaps and comments on each picture with surprise as we do when reading the book, looking for Sizzles the dog.

1. A plane. Oh, a [unclear] Oh, a flower! Oh, a giraffe! Oh, a cat! Oh, a bear! Oh, *un autre* boy! [it's a girl] There.

2. [New page] A bee, *un autre* bee! Oh no! Oh yeah! *Un, un autre* bee! Oh, yeah! *Un orange* [they're hedgehogs] *Un oiseau*! A balloon! [it's a football] A plane, a aeroplane!

3. [New page] A book. A [unclear] in the caterpillar [it's a wardrobe containing clothes and toys], um [unclear] Oh, mummy! [it's a mermaid doll with long hair] Oh, a giraffe! Oh a things, elephant, panda [it's a black and white football] Oh, a cat! Oh, yeah! There.

4. [Closes book then opens it at last page] A bed.

5. [Then he turns pages backwards to beginning]

How lovely to be reminded of a panda when one sees a football! We can hear already in Owen's tone that he understands the importance of intonation in expressing surprise. Is he really surprised at what he finds under each flap? It is more likely that, as he knows the book well, he is adopting appropriate storytelling intonation. This shows us that he has not only learned words from booksharing but also oral storybook reading skills. In the next example, it is exactly this storyreading intonation which enables the identification of Owen's speech as narrative.

167	05/06/09	Owen (2;5)

I overheard Owen reading to himself from *Aargh! Spider!*

Ow (2;5): Aargh! Spider! Out you go!

This was followed by unclear speech but his intonation indicated he was reading aloud from the book. I was too far away to hear clearly if he was saying real words or just babbling. As he turned the pages he would regularly say, "Aargh! Spider! Out you go!" possibly at the appropriate moments of the story.

The three older children all learned to read in French at school. I did not teach any of them to read in English, but provided them with plenty of reading material and encouragement if they expressed a desire to read in English. All three children showed interest in reading in English at about the same age (around age seven) and asked me to listen to them read in English. When the eldest child went through this process, I was amazed. It seems that their knowledge of oral language and oralised text helped them to transfer their French reading skills to English fairly easily.

168	26/10/10	Loïc (7;6,22)

Loïc just read *Whales* on his own for the first time. Amazing! His reading is very good considering no formal teaching. I think his knowledge of formulas helped him deal with some difficult words, e.g.

"When she sees a shark, she rushes straight at it." He read the whole phrase "rushes straight at it" without any hesitation, fluently. This is just one example. There were others like this where he seemed to be helped through whole phrases when he recognized what he was saying.

3.2.3.3 Inventing stories

Stories are not only read from books, of course. The children's father is particularly fond of making up his own stories. I also have a go from time to time. The next example demonstrates Loïc's capacity to memorise a story I had invented after he had heard it only once.

169	13/02/08 & 15/02/08	Loïc 4;10,9-11

13/02: I made up a new Kitty (his favourite soft toy) story for Loïc. Kitty goes to North America and meets a bear and lives with the Native Americans.
15/02: This morning he wanted it again but I was busy so I told him to tell me a story. He told the same one, and although I wasn't really able to listen, he bravely continued to the end.

Parents aren't the only ones to invent stories. At what age can we identify the emergence of narrative competence? Is it when children tell stories they have heard, or when they invent their own? We could point to their first inventions as the beginning of the acquisition of narrative competence. Owen began telling stories, of his own pure invention, at the age of 2;0,1. He told me the "story" of the spider who hurt his leg:

170	30/12/08	Owen (2;0,1)
Ow: a hurting a 'pider [= spider]. Ca: a spider? Hurting you? Ow: yeah. Ca: where? Ow: hurting a leg a 'pider.		

Owen's story could be classified as 'proto-narrative.' The interpretation we give to the expression "telling stories" could effect our judgement here. To what extent is Owen inventing a simple narrative, within the limits of his age and level of acquisition, or is he just telling a white lie to distract and amuse his parent? What, if any, is the difference? The children like to tell stories using their finger puppet theatre. Sometimes, the stories they tell are adapted versions of existing stories, sometimes they are pure invention. At a later stage, a child's own drawings and coloured-in pictures can inspire the creation of a narrative, providing evidence of the development of narrative competence. In the following video transcript, Loïc invents a story to go with his own illustrations, which I was able to capture on video.

171 VIDEO 7	15/11/07	Loïc 4;6,11
Lo: Do you want me to read you a story? Me: No! Ca: Yes, please.		

1. L: Once upon a time, uh, one summer, it was Halloween. One cat was standing on a, on a, er what's it called, already?

2. C: Pumpkin?

3. L: Was standing on a pumpkin. A cat was standing on a pumpkin. And one day he grooowwled at people and and they all had a, a Halloween fight, and one of them went fffeuurrruhhhh weeuuuhhhh !!! And

4. *(New picture)* and the boss said, with two eyes, *(shouts)* "stop fighting!" And they stopped.

5. *(New picture)* Now, this one was a boy one, but actually he's Yu, Yuno's cousin. He had eleven eyes, one skull attached to him and lots of letters and a cat [unclear = drawing?] a scary cat, with, and he's ssprrre and a dog attached with a lead uuueerrrgghh.

6. *(New picture)* And then the Bolgo his cousin, is reeaallly strong, he said "what are you doing? This is my house.Ehh! Poum ouch.

7. *(New picture) (high pitched whiney voice)* "uehh nyauh nyauh nyuh nyuh [unclear] Are you gonna play with me-uh?" *(growly voice)*"No." "Nnnyhh."

8. *(New picture) (high pitched voice and squeal)*" ueh, are you gonna play with me?" *(growly voice)* "Nooo!" That was the end of this story.

We can see that Loïc has already mastered a story-telling intonation style, and sound effects, including changing his voice for the dialogue of different characters. The story, which could be interpreted as two stories (story 1: lines 1-4, story 2: lines 5-8), is (unlike Owen's in the previous example) presented in a temporally linear style, with a time setting, (one summer, Halloween) characters, an event (a Halloween fight), and dialogue. Loïc also makes use of a traditional storytelling formula, "Once upon a time," used here to introduce his monologue as a narrative, as a way of signalling "I'm going to tell you a made-up story." A couple of weeks later, Loïc spent the whole evening drawing pictures, filling A4 sheets with lots of little pictures on the same theme. He drew a page of Halloween pictures, monsters, pumpkins, himself, me and Eric dressed up for Halloween. He told me all about it in detail. It was a new discovery for him that he could make up his own drawings that look like something and tell a story with them. He obviously got a lot of satisfaction from it.

3.2.4 Translating MAPNI

The translation of songs is one of the little linguistic games we played together when Loïc, Meriel and Owen were younger. The children loved to look for equivalents in one language that could be transposed on to the melody of a song in the other language. Sometimes, it is not too difficult to do this, but we often had to adapt the lyrics of the original in order to meet the constraints imposed by metre and rhyme.

172	18/11/07	Loïc 4;7,14
Loïc sang "*Il était un petit homme*" in English. Lo: There was a little man, pirouette, peanut, There was a little man who had a funny little house, who had a funny little house. His house was made of card, pirouette, peanut, His house was made of card, and the stairs were made of paper, and the stairs were made of paper... Then he said Lo: It's better in French com: something I've said before after trying to translate a song		

Ca: Yes it is, because in French it's got rhyme and rhythm. It's difficult to translate songs because of not having the same rhyme and rhythm.

Later, when Eric came home, Loïc tried to sing an English song in French for him, but found it too hard and gave up (plus Eric wasn't really paying attention since he didn't realise what Loïc was trying to do)

In the early years of bilingual family life, when reading French books to very small children, I would usually translate the text into English. This corresponded to my language strategy at the time. Sometimes a book was read in its original version as well, and this is particularly true in more recent years as my language strategy has become more relaxed. We are then able to compare the original version with a translated one and express a preference. The question of whether or not to read a book in its original version can evoke an emotional response from a small child, as in Example 173.

173	January '08	Loïc (4;10) Meriel (2;8)
At bedtime I asked Meriel which language she wanted me to read the story in and she said "English," but when I started reading in English she said "No! In English." So I explained "English is "*T'choupi* gardening" and French is "*T'choupi jardine*", so which one do you want? "*T'choupi* gardening?" She replied "*non*" so I read it in French. When it was Loïc's (4;10) turn I asked him the same question about another French book that he had chosen, *Je construis une maison* and he chose English. Meriel cried and complained throughout the story. Is it because she is used to having those stories in French?		

Such an emotional response may be likened to the kind of reaction a young bilingual child can have if an adult uses a language that the child is not used to hearing them use, particularly in the more rigidly adhered to situations of one-person-one-language.

As the level of language in books for older children becomes more complex, or if the story is in rhyming verse, I will explain that it is too difficult to translate as I read, or that we would lose the rhythmic and poetic qualities if we translated it. I will often comment on the translation as I do it, hesitating about the most suitable equivalent, or changing a word for a better one. Sometimes the children will help me, and we occasionally find ourselves stuck with "untranslatable" expressions. Thanks to this 'scaffolding' process, the children have become aware that it is possible to tell a story in two languages, and that the task is not always an easy one. This does not prevent them from trying their hand at their own translations of stories that they are used to hearing in only one language. This habit of on-the-spot translation

probably contributed to the three older children's awareness of the literary translation act. In Example 174, Loïc is pleased when his own attempt at translating a book corresponds to my translation. It illustrates how important my feedback to a translation can be, as mentioned in Toury's discussion of the development of a native translator (Toury 1995: 249).

174	06/03/08	Loïc 4;11,02
Loïc tried reading a French book to himself in English. When I read it to him in English he said "that's what I said!" and was proud of himself for having found the same translation.		

Translations may not always be produced as part of a translation exercise; they can also be in the form of comments on the text. In Example 175, Loïc's comment about the English-language comic book we are reading together is uttered in French. It constitutes a case of codeswitching but it also contains a translation of part of the original text.

175	09/12/08	Loïc 5;8,5
Reading *Superman* comic Ca: "I sure hope we've seen the last of that critter! Oh, I think we have, Jimmy. After all...Superman locked the door and threw away the key." Lo: *heureusement qu'il a refermé la porte et jeté la clé pour que ça n'arrive pas encore plus jamais.*		

Stories that have been heard at school are sometimes translated by the children and told in English at home. The example of the story *Toutes Les Couleurs* is an interesting one. Upon returning from school one day, Loïc wanted to tell me a story he had heard at school:

176	14/11/08	Loïc (5;7,10) Meriel (3;5,1)
Loïc told me this story when he came home from school. At bedtime, I asked him to tell me again so I could write it down. Meriel was listening and she wanted to tell me too. Lo: First the little rabbit rolls in the green grass and when he gets up his bottom is all green. He sees some strawberries and then his mouth is all red. Then he sees some mud. He splashes his feet in the mud. Then his feet are all brown. He picks some flowers and then he has his hands all yellow. He gives them to his mummy. Ca: What does he give? Lo: The flowers. Then his mummy says, "you need some blue. Go in the bath", and then the little rabbit doesn't have any colours any more. Ca: Does he become a particular colour after that? Lo: White. White is his normal colour.		

> Meriel had been listening and wanted to have a go at translating the story too. (At this time, Loïc and Meriel were in the same class at school every afternoon, so shared some of the same stories there.)
>
> Me: The little rabbit's all white. And the rabbit's got every colour but not blue. He's go in the grass and get his botton wet. He's step in the mud for get his feet all brown. How about the flowers? I not say. He give the flowers to his mummy and he's got all yellow. He's need some blue. He's eat some strawberries and get his mouth all red. Something else. But not the same. I go to bed!

I found these translations so interesting that I borrowed the book from their teacher to compare the translations with the original. I was surprised to see that the original text was more simple than the children's translations since it contains only dialogue. Their teacher explained that the children told the story together, with the help of the illustrations, adding their comments to the dialogue which had been read aloud by the teacher. When Loïc and Meriel switched to English to tell me the story at home, a story which had been created in French by the whole class at school, were they translating those other speakers or the text? We can wonder to what extent they understood that they were dealing with a text, and what influence this understanding might have had on their translation strategy? Meriel had another go at translating the same story. This time, I gave her the book that I had borrowed from her teacher and asked her to tell me the story, first in French and then in English. I recorded her on video. Example 177 is the transcription of this memorable event and goes some way to answering these questions. (Unfortunately, I do not have a digitalised version of this video and so cannot include it on the accompanying DVD.)

177 VIDEO	October '08	Meriel (3;4)

1. M: *Youpi! Youpi! Je glisse*
2. Oh! *J'ai les fesses tout marr.. er tout vert.*
3. *Miam Miam, il y a des fraises! (....) J'ai la bouche toute rouge.*
4. *Oh! (...) J'ai la bouche toute rouge.*
5. *Oh! J'ai les pieds tout marrons.*
6. *Oh! J'ai les pieds tout marrons.*
7. *Oh! Je vais apporter ça à maman. C'est belle les fleurs. C'est tout, c'est tout um*...what's this...I can't remember the colour.
8. C: They're yellow
9. M: Yellow. *Je vais l'apporter à maman. Tiens maman! Mais, t'as la bouche toute, t'as les pattes toutes jaunes. Tiens. Mais t'as oublié le bleu. Tu vas dans cet bain pour*

enlever les couleurs. Oh, maman, tiens. I've finished.

10. C: Thank you, Meriel.

11. M: Yeah! Um, youpi!

12. Oh! *J'ai*, um *je*, I've got my bottom all green!

13. Oh! Yum yum! *Je vais manger quoi?*

14. C: Strawberries.

15. M: I gonna eat the strawberries, and then I'm gonna get my mouth all, all

16. C: Red

17. M: Red

18. C: That's right.

19. M: Oh! *J'ai la bouche toute rouge.*

20. Oh! *J'ai les pieds tout marrons.*

21. C: Hang on a minute. Aren't you supposed to be telling me this story in English?

22. M: Yeah, but I can't remember. I got my feet all, all

23. C: Brown.

24. M: Brown. Oh! Um Oh! I got my feet all brown!

25. Oh! *C'est il...*There's some flowers. Aren't they pretty! Oh, *je vais les mettre pour donner à maman.* Mummy. It's you, you're a mummy.

26. C: Yes, I'm your mummy.

27. M: *Tiens, maman. Mais, j'ai les mains toutes jaunes!*

28. C: Hang on a minute. Aren't you supposed to be telling me that story in English?

29. M: Um I can't remember.

30. C: Mmm. Here you are, mummy.

31. M: Here you are, mummy, it's for you. Yeah, but you got your mouth all red. *Oui, mais voilà.*

32. C: Your hands are all

33. M: Yellow

34. C: And your bottom is all

35. M: Green

36. C: And..what else? Your feet

37. M: are brown.

38. C: And your

39. M: mouth are red.

> 40. Oh, I *oublie* the bath. *Oui, mais t'as oublié le bleu. Tiens, tu vas aller dans le baignoire et tu vas laver (......) Oh bah c'est fini!*

We can see from this example that, at this time, Meriel is still acquiring colour terms; her translation enables us to measure this acquisition process. Line 11, Meriel seems to wonder whether she should translate "*Youpi*," or perhaps she doesn't know how to say "*je glisse*" in English. She code-switches frequently; lines 7 and 9 show a code-switch caused by her commenting to me, and choosing the appropriate language to do so. However, in line 13 she code-switches from English to French to ask me a question. This is not her usual direction of switch when talking to me. It may have been triggered by the French word "*fraise*" being the first to come to mind, since, in line 3 we see she has no trouble with this word, and a memory lapse concerning the English equivalent "strawberries." Since she thought of the word in French, she goes on speaking French to ask me for help with the English equivalent. We should not forget that Meriel knows the story from a French language context, school, and this affects her ability to produce a fluent English version (lines 12, 19, 25, 27, 31, 41). Lines 12, 15, 22, 24, and 31 are arguably the proof that Meriel is a really competent little translator, despite her limited linguistic development. Her use of "I've got my bottom all green" instead of "my bottom is all green" (As I, myself translate in line 34) is a more appropriate one, since it can include the meaning of having caused oneself to become green, an element of cause and effect which is a pertinent interpretation of the story. It is more likely due to luck than design, nevertheless it works. It is possible to argue that Meriel's frequent exposure at home to expressions like "you've got your sleeves all wet" or "you've got your face all mucky", has directly enabled her to produce this very natural translation by taking into account the reaction of the little rabbit's mother, of chiding the little rabbit for having got himself in a mess, reaction that Meriel can firmly identify with! We can note here that in an earlier example (Example 22, reproduced below) Meriel uses the same construction [noun + all + adjective **wet**] in a way which indicates that it was a multiword unit for her at this time.

22	01/09/07	Meriel (2;2-2;3)
situation: Telling Eric about going on boat during a crèche outing		
Me: go a *bâteau*, si'down, all wet! My botton [*sic*] all wet!		
Er: *tes fesses étaient toutes mouillées?*		
eng: your bottom was all wet?		
Me: *oui, mes fesses* all wet!		
eng: yes, my bottom all wet		

For very young children, access to written stories is through being read to by a literate person, usually an adult. Most of the time, children look at a book while listening to the story and the illustrations are complementary, helping them to understand the text. Some children's books rely so heavily on the illustrations that simply reading the text, without referring to the pictures, would hinder full comprehension of the story. *Toutes Les Couleurs* is a good example of this kind of book. In order to translate it the children referred to the oral reading they had heard plus comments on the illustrations they had made together with their teacher and friends. The language is simple, direct, descriptive, and in the present tense. The translation of such a story could resemble the translation of an account of an experience, an ongoing event, or something heard in conversation, for example. More complex, traditional fairy tales, on the other hand, may be accompanied by illustrations, but do not depend on them for their meaning. The whole story is presented in the text, the language is more literary with the use of formulas and, in the case of French, the past historic tense. In order to translate them, equivalents must be found which have a corresponding register in the target language. The translation requires knowledge of textual language, knowledge that the child can only acquire if a literate person reads aloud to them. In his preface to Dalgalian (2000:12), Weinreich calls this knowledge "oral textual competence."

Evidence of Loïc's developing narrative translation competence is illustrated in Example 179, the text of a bilingual book we made together. One day he asked me to help him transform some of his drawings into a book; he wanted to tell the story of "Sleeping Beauty." I suggested we make a bilingual book. He agreed, and we began with the French version for which he provided the text to accompany his drawings. At first I instinctively corrected his French, but by the second page I had decided to simply write down what he said, word for word. Then we went back to the beginning and he translated into English each sentence as I read them out. Sometimes he automatically continued the sentence being translated instead of providing a translation:

178	07/09/08	Loïc (5;5,3)
Ca: (reading out loud the sentence to be translated) *Et la sorcière dit...* Lo: "*Ce n'est pas grave.*"		

Example 179 is the complete text of Loïc's bilingual narration of *La Belle au Bois Dormant / Sleeping Beauty*. The text was originally presented as a block of French text followed by a block of English text. The column format used here is a device to facilitate the comparison of each sentence with its translation. # = New page and new illustration.

179	07/09/08	Loïc (5;5,3)
A		B
1. # Il était une fois, il y a très longtemps, un roi et une reine qui n'avaient pas d'enfants.		# Once upon a time, a long time ago, there lived a king and a queen who didn't have any children.
2. Ils decidèrent de faire un enfant.		They decided to have a baby.
3. # Le roi enferma sa fille dans une petite chambre		# The king locked his daughter in the cellar.
4. et par la fenêtre est venue une sorcière qui portait un chaudron.		Through the door came a flash of lightning and appeared a witch carrying a cauldron.
5. La sorcière installa le chaudron pour faire de la magie.		The witch put the cauldron down to do some magic.
6. Elle demanda à la petite fille -Pourquoi tu pleures comme ça?		She asked the little girl, "Why are you crying like that?"
7. La petite fille dit -Parce que mon père m'a enfermé dans une chambre.		The little girl said, "My daddy locked me up in this cellar."
8. La sorcière dit -C'est pas grave. Je vais te transformer. Tu ne pleuras plus quand tout le spectacle sera fini.		The witch said, "When all the show will be finished, you won't cry any more. It doesn't matter. I'm going to transform you."
9. La petite fille dit -D'accord.		The little girl says, "OK".
10. # Quand la petite fille va avec la sorcière dans une autre petite chambre, la sorcière mit un autre objet pour faire de la laine.		# When the little girl went with the witch in another little cellar, the witch put another object to do some cotton.
11. La petite fille voulait essayer.		The little girl wanted to try.
12. Elle s'asseoit sur le petit tambourin et puis elle essaya mais elle se piqua avec l'aiguille et quatre gouttes de sang tomba de son doigt.		She sat on the little stool and she tried, but she hurt herself with the needle and four drops of blood fell from Sleeping Beauty's finger.
13. Elle tomba sur le carrelage et la sorcière dit		She fell on the floor and the witch said,
14. -Ha, ha, ha, ha! Ca l'apprendra cette petite fille.		"Ha, ha, ha, ha! That will teach her a lesson."
15. Et puis un jour, plus tard, un prince viendra...		Some days later a Prince will come...

16. # -Oh, oh, il y a un danger, dit le prince.	# "Uh oh, there's a danger", says the prince.
17. Il coura jusqu'à l'autre côté de la forêt.	He ran all the way to the other side of the forest.
18. # Le prince vu dans le canal un dragon qui vola jusqu'au prince.	# The prince saw a dragon which came up to the prince, flying.
19. Quand il vu le dragon, le dragon le suit en volant jusqu'au château.	The dragon followed the prince, flying all the way to the castle.
20. Il batta le dragon au château.	He fought the dragon at the castle.
21. Il planta l'épée dans le cou du dragon.	He put his sword in the neck of the dragon
22. Le dragon fut tombé dans le canal.	and the dragon fell into the canal and sank.
23. # Il avait mari la princesse pendant que le roi les regarda, pendant qu'ils dansent pendant la fête.	# He married the princess happily ever after while the king watched the prince and the queen dance and then while the party was going on.
24.	And they lived happily ever after.
25.	They even had some children.
26.	But you never know if it starts all over again in Disneyland...

Loïc's "Sleeping Beauty" narration shows that the young bilingual is able to produce an oral translation in a literary register as young as five years old. The example enables us to analyse and compare Loïc's acquisition of narrative competence in his two languages. At first glance, we can see that his narrative competence has improved compared to Example 171, which was recorded ten months earlier. It is possible that the difference between inventing a story oneself (Example 171) and retelling a traditional fairy tale that has been heard in oral form and seen in audio-visual form (Example 179) also has something to do with this. We will now look closely at example 179 in order to analyse Loïc's language. These examples will be numbered 179 (a), 179 (b), and so on. Elements discussed in an example will be underlined. Italics signal an inappropriate usage or choice of word. * signals an incorrect form.

Loïc's use of the past historic tense is extremely interesting. It indicates that he has understood the importance of the narrative register, and the narrative function of this specific tense. His correct conjugations of the past historic (12) outnumber his incorrect conjugations (6). The correctly conjugated verbs are all from the first group, the most regular French verbs, except one, "*mit*" (line 10) which is the past simple form of the irregular third group verb

"*mettre.*" The incorrectly conjugated verbs are from the second group of regular verbs:

179 (a) line 17. *coura (should be 'courut')

lines 18. & 19. *vu (should be 'vit')

and the irregular third group:

179 (b) line 19. *suit (should be 'suivit')

line 20. *batta (should be 'battit')

and an interesting mistake with a regular first group verb:

179 (c) line 22. Le dragon *fut tombé dans le canal.

Tomber is one of the French verbs which is conjugated with the auxiliary *être*, giving, for example, "*il est tombé*" in the perfect indicative tense. Here, despite having correctly conjugated *tomber* as *tomba* in the past simple in lines 12 and 13, Loïc makes the mistake of conjugating the auxiliary *être* as if it were a form of passé composé which is not what is required here. Considering his age, and the fact that he has not yet received formal instruction in the use of the past simple, these mistakes are easily excused.

In English, the task is easier, since the same past simple tense is employed in narratives as in other forms of speech. The only complication could be the past simple forms of irregular verbs, but this is not really a problem for Loïc, who correctly uses 11 irregular past simple forms. On two occasions, it appears that he doesn't know the irregular past simple form of the most appropriate verb, so he avoids the problem by rewording:

179 (d) line 21. He <u>put</u> his sword in the neck of the dragon.

Here, Loïc uses the verb "put" instead of "drove into" or "plunged," or which would have been more accurate translations of "*planta*," but which he possibly doesn't know.

179 (e) line 18. The prince saw a dragon which <u>came up to the prince, flying.</u>

Here, despite knowing the past historic form of the French equivalent, "*vola*," Loïc apparently doesn't know, or can't access at the moment of speaking, the past simple form "flew."

There is a similar occurrence in the French version, where Loïc probably doesn't know the correct past simple form of the verb he wishes to use (*se marier = se maria*), so he tries a different approach, which results in an error:

179 (f) line 23. Il *<u>avait mari</u> la princesse....

In fact, the verb "*épouser*" would have been more appropriate and, if he had thought of using it, possibly easier to conjugate in the past simple, as it is not a reflexive verb.

In Example 179 (g), the use of the past simple form of the French verb "*dire*" leads Loïc into tense confusion:

179(g) line 9. La petite fille <u>dit</u> -D'accord.

line 10. Quand la petite fille <u>va</u> avec la sorcière...

Since the past simple form of "*dire*" in the third person singular is identical to the present simple, Loïc's repetition of "*dit*" in lines 7 to 9 appear to cause a switch to the present tense. He quickly reverts to the past simple (and an irregular one, at that) as he continues line 10:

179(h) line 10 ....la sorcière <u>mit</u> un autre objet....

The confusing past simple "*dit*" also causes Loïc to switch to the present tense in his English translation:

179(i) line 8. The witch <u>said</u>....

line 9. The little girl <u>says</u>...

But, again, he quickly reverts to the past tense:

179(j) line 10. When the little girl <u>went</u>...

This same occurrence is found in line 17:

179(k) line 16. A: – Oh,oh, il y a un danger, <u>dit</u> le prince.

line16. B: "Uh, oh, there's a danger", <u>says</u> the prince.

Again followed by a return to the past tense:

179(l) line 17. A: Il *<u>coura</u>...

line 17. B: He <u>ran</u>...

Loïc's knowledge of fairytale vocabulary is pretty good. He correctly uses the terms "*roi, reine, princesse, prince*" and "king, queen, princess, prince," "*chaudron*" and "cauldron," "*sorcière*"and "witch," "*dragon* / dragon", "*forêt*" and "forest," "*château*" and "castle." He has trouble with the "*rouet*" and "spinning wheel," although I am certain he had heard the English "spinning wheel" in stories before. To replace his lexical gap, Loïc gives a functional definition, which differs slightly across languages, demonstrating the question of translation equivalents:

179(m) line 10 ...un objet pour faire de la laine.

...another object to do some *cotton*.

Does Loïc believe that "*laine*" and "cotton" are the same thing? Or does he choose an English option from the same lexical group, with similar properties, because the real translation equivalent of "*laine*," and the more appropriate "*fil* / thread," are unavailable to him? Another word that poses problems in the French version is "*tambourin*" (line 12), which means "little drum," where the English version gives the unproblematic "stool." Perhaps the close resemblance between "*tambourin*" and "*tabouret*" (the correct translation of "stool") accounts for this. Or, it is possible that Loïc is indeed thinking of a little drum, since the children have

one which they like to sit on.

Sometimes Loïc's vocabulary is more precise, and suitable for a fairy tale, in one language than the other, as in line 3:

179(n) line 3 A: Le roi enferma sa fille dans une petite <u>chambre</u>.

line 3 B: The king locked his daughter in the <u>cellar</u>.

Line 13 provides us with a lovely example of cultural influence in the choice of vocabulary:

179(o) line 13 A: Elle tomba sur le <u>carrelage</u>....

line 13 B: She fell on the <u>floor</u>...

Here, Loïc's French version conjures up images of French homes, where floors are commonly tiled, and the floor is often referred to as 'le carrelage' (= 'the tiles'). Although Welsh houses are more often carpeted than tiled, we mustn't forget that in the English version of the story, the princess has been locked in a cellar, which would most likely be tiled too! Line 22 provides us with an example of the influence of Loïc's individual home environment, since we live next to a canal:

179(p) line 22 A: Le dragon fut tombé dans le <u>canal</u>.

line 23 B: The dragon fell into the <u>canal</u> and sank.

In line 8, Loïc produces an inappropriate translation:

179(q) line 8 A: ...C'est pas grave...

line 8 B: ...*It doesn't matter...*

It would have been more appropriate to use a phrase such as "don't worry" or "it's alright" or "everything will be alright." "It doesn't matter" is the correct translation of "*c'est pas grave*" in some circumstances, but not really appropriate in this context, where the witch appears to be comforting the princess. Loïc's confusion no doubt stems from the French usage of "*c'est pas grave*" in the same pragmatic context and with the same function as "don't worry" or "it's alright," that is, when comforting a child.

Another indication of Loïc's acquisition of the narrative register is the attempted use of narrative style in the construction of some sentences. For example:

179(r) line 1 ...<u>there lived</u> a king and queen...

line 4 A: et par la fenêtre est venue une sorcière qui portait un chaudron

line 4 B: Through the door came a flash of lightning and appeared a witch.

The structure [prepositional phrase + verb phrase + noun phrase] has a stylistic storytelling effect, whereas conversational French and English would be more likely to put the noun phrase in front position and the prepositional phrase in end position. The French version is

acceptable, although "est rentrée" would be preferable. The use of "est venue" could be an example of lexical influence from English. The English version reads a little strangely. We would be more likely to say "Through the door came a witch, in a flash of lightning" or "Through the door came a flash of lightning and a witch appeared." Perhaps by adding a second [VP + NP] to the English version, Loïc was trying to generate a sentence that was too complex for his level of acquisition. Or maybe, the fact that he was translating from French to English caused the English version to be influenced by the word order of the French version, in which case "appeared a witch" is an example of syntactic influence from the French "est venue une sorcière."

In addition to the use of the past simple, fairy tale vocabulary, and storytelling style, both versions are recognisable as fairy tales thanks to Loïc's use of formulaic sequences. Loïc has encountered these formulas in fairy tales that have been read to him, or that he has seen as animated films.

179 (s) line 1 A: Il était une fois, il y a très longtemps...

line 1 B: Once upon a time, a long time ago...

line 24 B: And they lived happily ever after.

line 25 B: They even had some children.

While we can note that 25B may have been better expressed "and had children of their own" or "and had lots of children," Loïc does not include the French version of 24–25 B at all, ("*Ils vécurent heureux et eurent beaucoup d'enfants*"). Either he didn't know this formula, or he forgot to use it to end his first version, and remembered only when doing the translated second version. Loïc also uses "happily ever after" in line 23, but here it is not used appropriately and sounds a little awkward.

179 (t) line 23 He married the princess happily ever after...

The following formula sounds a little strange, too:

179 (u) line 8 A: ...Tu ne pleuras plus <u>quand le spectacle sera fini.</u>

line 8 B: ....<u>When the show *will be finished</u>, you won't cry anymore.

The English version demonstrates syntactic influence from French in the construction of the first conditional, and this is a common mistake in Loïc's speech. (E.g. "How old will Meriel be when I'll be seven?"). But, it is not only this that makes the utterance sound odd. It is because Loïc has borrowed a formulaic sequence from another source of MAPNI and has applied it inappropriately here. (My attempts to identify precisely the source of this formula have been unsuccessful, although Loïc's father is convinced he heard it in a *Superman* cartoon.)

Line 17 A seems to be a translation of 17 B, even though it was produced first:

179(v) line 17 A: Il *coura jusqu'à l'autre côté de la forêt.

line 17 B: He ran all the way to the other side of the forest.

Loïc has translated the English idiomatic way of expressing motion, with a verb of manner of motion plus a prepositional phrase expressing the direction. In French, motion events are expressed with a verb of direction and the manner of motion is expressed in a prepositional phrase. For this reason, a more natural French expression for Loïc's story would have been, "*Il traversa la forêt en courant.*" We can see in example 179 (v) that Loïc's ability to express motion in French is greatly influenced by his knowledge of English motion event expression. This is not a translation problem here, since 17A was uttered before 17B. Rather, it is an example of cross-linguistic influence from English to French. The same kind of cross-linguistic influence is revealed in line 18, thereby suggesting that it is generalised for Loïc at this time.

179(w) line 18 A: Le prince *vu dans le canal un dragon qui vola jusqu'au prince.

line 18 B: The prince saw a dragon which came up to the prince, flying.

What is so puzzling in this example, is that his English translation also displays crosslinguistic influence, but this time in the opposite direction. "Came up to the prince" is a literal translation of the idiomatic French way to express this movement and manner of movement. So why didn't Loïc express it in this way in his original, French version? Perhaps he has assimilated both manners of expressing motion in a way which is not specifically linked to each language. Perhaps this knowledge is language general, conceptual, rather than language specific. It could be that, at this age, he is still unaware that each of his two languages has a particular preference when it comes to the most idiomatic way to express motion events. Another possibility, which seems likely but which I cannot confirm, is that he has been influenced by hearing me express motion events in this way. A final possible explanation is that the nature of the translation exercise he was undertaking in this example caused him to become confused and make a mistake he would otherwise not have made. Unfortunately, I do not have other data illustrating his ability to idiomatically express motion events in his two languages at this time.

We will end our analysis of Example 179 with a discussion of the influence of MAPNI in Loïc's bilingual narration. First it is important to mention Loïc's exposure to the story. He had seen two different cartoon versions of *Sleeping Beauty* before producing his own illustrated version. At his maternal grandparents' home in Cardiff, he had repeatedly watched an English language Abbey Home Media DVD of *Sleeping Beauty* during our six-week-long

visit in January-February 2008. At about the end of August, early September 2008, Loïc's father brought home the Disney animated version of *Sleeping Beauty* in a format that only permitted its viewing in French. Loïc produced his version on 7th September 2008, and it appears to have been influenced by both versions. For example, the witch in Loïc's story appears through the door, as in the Abbey Home Media version, whereas in Disney's version, she appears in the middle of the room. Her appearance is accompanied by a flash of lightning, as in both animation versions. Loïc's prince fights a dragon, and kills it with a blow of his sword to the neck, as in Disney's version, whereas he fights a giant in the Abbey Home Media version, and kills him by making him fall into a deep crevasse. In both animations we see the dragon and the giant fall into what appear to be dry moats, or deep crevasses. Loïc's dragon falls into the canal, which is either a lexical-gap filler, or an indication that he possibly imagines himself in the role of the prince and locates the action in his own familiar environment. (Our home is not a castle, but we live right next to the canal and very near a forest...)

It is also possible to detect the influence of Roald Dahl's *Revolting Rhymes* version of *Cinderella*, which was given to Loïc in August 2008, and which is very different from the traditional tale, as indicated in the first lines:

> I guess you think you know this story.
>
> You don't. The real one's much more gory.
>
> The phoney one, the one you know,
>
> Was cooked up years and years ago,
>
> And made to sound all soft and sappy
>
> Just to keep the children happy.
>
> Mind you, they got the first bit right

And so does Loïc; lines 1 -2 are the traditional start to the *Sleeping Beauty* story. However, from line 3 we can detect the influence of other stories: *Cinderella*, who is locked in the cellar while her step-sisters go to the ball, in Roald Dahl's *Revolting Rhymes* version, and *Rumpelstiltskin*, in which the king locks the miller's daughter in a little room with a spinning wheel and orders her to spin straw into gold. The witch who appears carrying her cauldron, seems at first to be sympathetic with the princess. She asks her why she is crying, in the same way as the fairy godmother asks Cinderella, and Rumplestiltskin asks the miller's daughter, and she then promises to "transform" the princess as if she were indeed Cinderella's fairy godmother. This scene does not figure in the traditional version of *Sleeping Beauty* and Loïc

seems to have produced an amalgam of several different stories at this point in his narration. Loïc's version actually adds to the drama of the story by introducing the notion of the cruel father (inspired by the wicked stepmother and the cruel king), and the ambiguous witch, who appears to be kind, telling the princess "C'est pas grave / It doesn't matter," and promising to transform her in a way the reader imagines will be helpful to the princess. Whereas, is in fact, the witch turns out to be wicked after all and reverts to her true *Sleeping Beauty* role of causing the princess to prick her finger on the spinning wheel and fall down as if dead.

In line 14 we come across a formula borrowed from another story, *Thomas and James*, which has nothing to do with fairy tales.

179(x) line 14 A: ...Ca l'apprendra cette petite fille.

line 14 B: "...That will teach her a lesson."

This example serves to reinforce the judgement of this sequence as formulaic for Loïc at this time. Not only does Loïc use it repeatedly, on many different occasions, but he also attempts to transfer it to French as it is, rather than using a more appropriate, equivalent expression, such as, "*Ca lui servira de leçon à cette petite fille.*" Here it seems that Loïc is engaged in a form of analytical processing, breaking down strings and trying to translate component by component, rather than seeking a holistic translation equivalent. Furthermore, we can question the semantic appropriateness of the formula here, since it is unclear in Loïc's story why the princess needs to be taught a lesson. Loïc's borrowing of this phrase on another occasion is discussed in section 3.4.4 Example 276.

The last set of examples in this section deals with the children's attempts to translate jokes. I include it here because jokes are a form of children's folklore and a form of poetic input. In Example 180, we are having lunch at Eric's aunt's house with his cousins. Our children are the only children there. Our hosts and all the other guests are monolingual French-speakers. Eric's cousin teaches Loïc and Meriel some jokes and they then try them out on me. In Example 180 we see that it is important for Loïc that the joke telling routine is adhered to. He requires me to give a specific answer in order for the jokes to be played out correctly. Also, he does not attempt to translate them. Meriel is satisfied with my answer and can continue telling her joke, which she has successfully translated, and to which I give a satisfactory answer.

180	15/03/09	Loïc 5;11,11. Meriel 3;9,2
Lo: (to Ca) *il y a trois poussins sur une table. Comment tu fais pour qu'il n'y en a que deux?* eng: there are three chicks on a table. What do you do so that there are only two? Ca: (thinks) *j'en pousse un* eng: I push one of them (off) Lo: *non! Tu dis autre chose pour qu'il n'y en a que deux* eng: no! Say something else so there's only two Ca: *um j'en prends un* eng: I take one of them Lo: *t'en pousse un! Ha ha ha!* eng: you push one of them! Lo: (to C) *tu sais quoi?* eng: do you know what? Ca: *quoi?* eng: what? Lo: *non, tu dois dire "non"* eng: no, you have to say "no" Ca: *ok, start again* Lo: *tu sais quoi?* eng: do you know what? Ca: no Lo: *moi non plus* eng: me neither Me: (to C) Do you know, Mummy? Ca: no Me: me either		

The next example occurred one week later. I was interested to test Loïc's understanding of the *poussin* joke by asking him to translate it. I suspected that he was laughing for the "wrong" reason, and this was confirmed.

181	22/03/09	Loïc 5;11,18
I ask Loïc if he thinks he can tell me the *poussin* joke in English. Lo: yeah. There are three chicks on a table. How do you...how do you...how do you...do so		

there are only two? *Et là tu dis, j'sais pas, tu dis "j'en enlève un" ou "j'en prends un" et moi je dis "t'en pousse un"*
eng: and then you say, I don't know, you say "I take one away" or "I take one" and I say "you push one"
Ca: but that's in French. How would you say it in English?
Lo: you push one
Ca: and that's funny, is it?
Lo: yes!
Ca: why? Why is it funny?
Lo: (shrugs)
Ca: is it funny because you push the chick? Is that what's funny? Pushing a chick?
Lo: yeah!
I ask him to think about the French version and see if he can figure out why it's funny. He still thinks it's the pushing that's funny. I ask him
Ca: how do you say "chick" in French?
Lo: *poussin*
Ca: and how do you say "push one" in French?
Lo: *pousse un*
Ca: so don't you think that that's why the joke is funny, because it sounds the same?
No, he still doesn't get it. He still thinks it's the pushing that's funny.

Even though I drew his attention to the phonological similarity between *poussin* and *pousse un*, he still didn't "get" it! Here, we see that translation can be a useful tool in checking comprehension. In Example 182 Meriel starts to tell a French joke in English and then stops, perhaps because she realises it is going to be difficult to translate. I encourage the children to try the translation. Together, we come to a satisfactory solution. Owen has the necessary inspiration when it comes to finding an idiomatic English equivalent to the French exclamation and from there we can find suitable alternatives to potatoes!

182	17/04/12	Loïc (9;0,13) Meriel (6;10,4) Owen (5;3,19)
Yesterday Loïc, Meriel and Owen went to a theatre workshop. They were told to take jokes the following day. They looked some up on the internet with me. One is: *Deux pommes de terre traversent la route. L'une d'eux se fait écrasée. L'autre dit "Oh purée!"* At lunch today, they talk about the jokes they are going to take to the workshop.		
Me: Two potatoes... (hesitates and then starts telling another joke)		

Ca: Could we say that joke in English?

Lo: Two potatoes

Me: How do you say *traversent*?

Ca: Cross

Me: Two potatoes cross the road. One be

Ca: One is run over.

Me: One is run over by a car. The other   says mash!

Lo: Mash!

Ca: It doesn't work in English. We don't say "mash!" like that. It's not the same as "*Oh purée!*"

Ow: Crumbs!

Ca: Oh yes! Owen, well done! We could do it with bread.

We try telling the joke with "bread," then I suggest "biscuits" and we try again.....

3.3 Borrowing phrases from MAPNI

In this third section presenting the data, I focus on examples of the children borrowing phrases from MAPNI. Examples are classified into four sections since the children seem to borrow phrases for one of four main purposes:

1. **Performing**, or reciting, songs, rhymes or stories. We could call this performative storying; it is an exercise in memorisation.

2. **Role-playing**. We could also call this creative storying. In this case the memorised linguistic material provides a basis for creative adaptation which accompanies imaginative play.

3. **Form-Meaning Mapping**. The child is learning institutionalized ways to express communicative intent by associating a phrase with an event or a speech act. This constitutes an exercise in form-meaning-usage mapping.

4. **Pattern-Finding**: The child adapts a phrase which has already been associated with an event and rephrases it to suit a new, related event. This last category illustrates a more individual way to express communicative intent. It is an exercise in the creative adaptation, based on pattern-finding, of previously encountered linguistic material.

The examples were noticed and noted because I identified them as borrowed phrases from MAPNI. I was able to do this because of my shared knowledge of the sources. (cf. 2.4 Criteria for the identification of a phrase borrowed from MAPNI). It is very likely that I missed many other similar examples, particularly in French, through lack of such knowledge. The examples of Borrowing are discussed in sections 3.3.1 to 3.3.4 under the same headings and in the same order as their presentation in tables 3.1 to 3.4 in Appendix 1. The final classification of Borrowing examples is based on the categories of function since they appear to override the (previously developed) categories of form. The four identified functions, listed in four corresponding sub-tables, are:

Performing (Table 3.1, Examples 183 to 220)

Role-playing (Table 3.2, Example 221 to 235)

Form-Meaning Mapping (Table 3.3, Examples 236 to 262)

Pattern-Finding (Table 3.4, Examples 263 to 278).

In all examples, the types of borrowing are referred to as follows:

VR = Verbatim Referential

RR = Rephrased Referential

VN = Verbatim Non-referential

RN = Rephrased Non-referential

The types of trigger are referred to as follows:

T1 = Preceding utterance

T2 = Conversational routine or script

T3 = Thematic context

In the case of a verbatim borrowing, the reproduced elements in the example are in bold type, thereby highlighting the elements that are the same as the source text. In the case of a rephrased borrowing, the adapted elements are in bold type, thereby highlighting the elements that are different from the source text. Since most of the examples are from the diaries, the reader can assume that an example is a diary example unless it is specifically stated that the example comes from a video recording.

3.3.1 Function 1: Performing

The first kind of borrowing we will examine is a separate and distinct form of borrowing; it is different from the other examples. Singing and reciting rhymes or poems is essentially performative and often creative. Singing or reciting in this way is always referential. Here we also see that singing and reciting can be a discursive response to triggers in the interaction. The singing or reciting can be verbatim or rephrased. If it is rephrased, the rephrasing can be accidental, a result of faulty memory functioning; if the rephrasing is intentional, it is a result of creativity.

Singing a line from a song, or sometimes the whole song is often a triggered response to a preceding utterance or an ongoing conversation or context. (Such behaviour probably echoes my own practice of singing a song which accompanies whatever is going on at the time or, as mentioned in section 2.3, as a calming or distraction technique. This is something I did more frequently when the three older children were toddlers.) Two referential aims are possible here; firstly, the pleasure of singing and sharing a song; secondly, the desire to remind others of a song which has been brought to mind by something that has been said or something that is happening. By singing a song in this way, the singer may also be making a reference to previous song-sharing events. It is as if they are communicating: "This reminds me of a song. Do you remember it too? Do you remember when we last shared that song?" And maybe also, "Do you understand why I thought of that song? Did you think of it too?" It is a way of creating common ground, referring to shared knowledge, and making a reference to a past shared experience. In other words, it is a form of alignment, or alignment seeking.

Also of interest in these musical and poetic examples is the way they reveal the trigger process upon which many borrowing examples seem to depend, since there seems to be a difference between singing a song just because one happens to want to, perhaps as a response to an ongoing event, and singing a song as a response to a previous utterance. In the first instance, the desire to sing the song probably comes as a result of some trigger mechanism within the singer's own thoughts, the result of the connection of ideas and memories (T3). Sometimes it is possible for an outsider to understand or guess what the trigger was. In the second instance, singing is a form of discursive response to something someone said (T1). In this case, the trigger is usually easier to identify.

The examples in section 3.3.1 are in tables which present the following information:

Eg. n°	Date	Name & age of speakers
Example	Identification of source & Source text	Type of borrowing & type of trigger

3.3.1.1 Verbatim Referential borrowing from Musical Input

In the first of this set of examples, Example 183, Owen is reminded of a song from the previous summer's school play in which Loïc and Meriel had participated. The song was sung at home before and after the event, sometimes just for pleasure. On other occasions it was triggered by mention of our neighbour, Jacques, who, at the same time every day, would visit a friend living opposite us. In this example, Owen's memory of the song is triggered by thinking about Jacques because he can hear his van.

183	Dec '08	Owen (1;11)	
bck: When Jacques parks his van in front of Lucien's house, (always same time of day), Owen recognises the engine noise. Ow: *Jacques* Ow: ***Jacques, Jacques, eh eh ay eh eh haricot magique*** com: sings	Source: Theme song from last summer's school play. Source text: *Jacques, Jacques, eh eh ay eh eh, et l'haricot magique*	V R T3

In Example 184, Léonie at first seems to be uttering an inappropriate exclamation. It then becomes apparent that she is actually remembering a song because, we can only assume, she is remembering the occasion upon which she heard it a month and a half earlier.

184	15/02/13	Léonie (2;1,21)	
situation: Er and Me are playing cards at the dinner table. Lé is on her own near her potty and bookcase.	Source: Song by the pop group Abba, "Happy	V R

Lé: **(h)appy new year** Me: Happy new year! (laughs) situation: ten minutes later Lé: **(h)appy new year** act: puts teddy on her shoulders Ca: Oh, I see. You're remembering our new year's party when you were on daddy's shoulders and everyone was singing "Happy New Year"	New Year." We have this song on CD and at midnight on New Year's Eve, we had listened to it and sung it together. Source text: Happy New Year! Happy New Year!...

| | T3 |

Of course, it is possible that Léonie was not remembering the lyrics of the song, but just the exclamation "Happy New Year" which she must have also heard me simply exclaim that evening. However, as is evident from my reaction in the diary extract, at the time this borrowing occurred my instinctive interpretation was that she was replaying the song-sharing event. The reason I thought this was probably because Léonie was holding teddy on her shoulders in a manner reminiscent of the way her uncle had carried her on his shoulders while we listened to and sang the song at midnight on New Year's Eve. It is impossible to say with certitude which of these possibilities is the correct one. Perhaps it is a combination of the two. As this example occurred in the same part of the room as the events Léonie is remembering, we can conjecture that place plays a role in evoking the memory. She has learned to associate the phrase with a particular event and her memory of that event triggered her borrowing of the phrase.

In Example 185 (Video 8 on the accompanying DVD), Owen bursts into song while we talk about one of the pictures in the book we are looking at together, *First Words Magnetic Play and Learn*. (See Appendix 3 for the full transcript; this example in lines 143 to 150. Another extract from the same video recording is analysed in Example 140, section 3.2.1.2 Joining in with stories.)

185 VIDEO 8	03/06/09	Owen (2;5,5)	
Ca: oh. And what's this? Ow: uh a *soleil* Ca: a what? Ow: a *soleil* Ca: a *soleil*? Ow: yeah Ca: a sun Ow: **Mister Sun, sun** **Mister [ɡəʊlɡən] sun**		Source: Song "Mr Sun" on DVD *Barney and Friends* episode "A perfectly purple day" Source text: "Oh Mr Sun, Sun, Mr Golden Sun,	VR T1

[ɑɪdɪɑɪ] a tree com: sings [= golden sun hiding behind a tree]	hiding behind a tree"	

Similarly, in the next example, Owen's memory of a song is triggered by a single word in a preceding utterance, in this case "cinnamon", a word which features in the lyrics of a song. I join in and sing the next line of the song, and then we sing it together.

186	02/05/12	Owen (5;4,3)	
Lo: Did you put cinnamon in this? Ca: Yes, I did. And some lovely brown sugar. Lo: Ha ha! That's why it tastes so bad!! Ow: **Nose, nose, jolly red nose. What gave you a jolly red nose**? Ca: Nutmeg, ginger, cinnamon and cloves. That's what gave me a jolly red nose. (sing together twice) Lo: Nose, nose, jolly **blue** nose. Me: **Chocolate, bread**, ha ha jolly **brown** nose	Source: "Jolly Red Nose" song from *This Little Piggy* CD collection of children's songs. Source text: "Nose, nose, jolly red nose. And what gave you a jolly red nose? Nutmeg, ginger, cinnamon and cloves. That's what gave me a jolly red nose."	VR T1 RR

Meriel and Loïc then carry on with their own creative variations on the lyrics which could be classified as Rephrased Referential borrowings. (More examples like this will be presented in the section *Variations on song and rhyme lyrics*.) This song has featured in voluntary English sessions I've done at the children's school. I use it because the spices feature in a Welsh cake (*Bara Brith*) that the children make with me and then taste during the sessions. I presented the Welsh National Day, St David's Day, at *Café Bilingue* two months earlier, on 03/03/12. I might have sung this song at that time because of the *Bara Brith* that we made and ate on that occasion.

In example 187, the same phenomenon is observable in French but the trigger is less direct. Meriel is reminded of a French song because one of the words in Loïc's preceding utterance, "*boutons*" (eng: buttons), is phonologically similar to a word in the song, "*moutons*" (eng: sheep). (Loïc is talking about a French book and film.)

187	18/02/09	Meriel (3;8,5)	
Lo: *Papa, tu connais "La guerre des boutons"?* Me: ***Il pleut, il pleut bergère, rentre tes blancs moutons, etc.***	Source: Song "*Il pleut bergère*" Source text: "*Il pleut, il pleut bergère, rentre tes blancs*	VR T1

com: sings	*moutons*"	

In example 188 Meriel is reminded of a song by my preceding utterance. She is probably not refering to "loo" (an informal British English word used to refer to the toilet). I hardly ever use this word; however Meriel may have heard her Grandmother use it.

188	10/03/09	Meriel (3;8,25)	
situation: Meriel is skipping to the potty. Ca: skip, skip, skip, skip... Me: skip, skip, **skip to my Lou** com: sings com: we then finish the song together	Source: Song "Skip to my Lou" on DVD *Barney and Friends* episode "A perfectly purple day" Source text: "Lou, Lou, skip to my Lou"		RR T1

The preceding utterance trigger can be produced by the speaker herself, as in the next two examples. Léonie's rendition of the French children's song *Petit Papa Noël* is triggered by my talking about her father which then leads to her talking about her *Papa*. Her own preceding utterance triggers her memory of the song.

189	16/02/13	Léonie (2;1,22)	
Ca: what's this? act: points to lamp Lé: *lumière* eng: light Lé: *c'est qui, maman?* act: holding jar of messages com: repeats until I answer Ca: oh. It's a jar of messages for daddy...oh. What have you got there? Lé: uh, flowers act: gives me book about plants with photo of flowers on cover Lé: *C'est qui?* act: points to another book, a novel Ca: I don't know. Lé: *à papa....* eng: daddy's Lé: ***papa noël...ciel***	Source: Song "*Petit Papa Noël*" Source text: "*petit papa noël, quand tu descendras du ciel...*"		VR T1

com: sings		

In Example 190, it is not clear whether Meriel's wordplay is a result of her remembering the song, or whether she is reminded of the song by her wordplay.

190	11/12/09	Meriel (4;5,28)	
Situation: Meriel is being silly. I'm dressing her after her nap and tell her to stop being silly. Me: I will not, I will not **fall, fall, fall** com: sings/chants. short pause then she goes on into the song Me: Bah, bah, bah **build it up, build it up, build it very high**	Source: Song with actions about building a tower and watching it fall on *Boogie Beebies*, BBC children's programme watched recently. Source text: Build it up, build it up, build it very high Build it up, build it up, up into the sky Build it up, build it up, build it very tall Build it very tall then stand back and watch it fall, fall, fall (+ accompanying actions)		RR & VR T1

Some examples of borrowing language from a musical source can be interpreted as a sort of verbal-musical quote because they are inserted into a larger, newly created, whole. The reason I distinguish them from other examples of borrowing from musical input is because of definitions of musical quotation, such as that provided by wikipedia[23] "Musical quotation is the practice of directly quoting another work in a new composition." Oxforddictionaries.com[24] also refer to the quotation of a musical passage as "taken from one piece of music...and used in another." We are careful to distinguish here between musical quotation and musical variation: variation involves taking a theme and writing or performing variations on it. It is for this reason that variations on song and rhyme lyrics are presented as a different category (rephrased borrowing). A verbal-musical quote differs from other forms of borrowing because a quote is embedded in a new composition. There are two examples in the corpus which could correspond to this definition. We can see a phrase, or part of a phrase from a song, inserted into a wider frame of word play. The phrase itself is repeated verbatim, but it is arguably a form of (verbal-)musical quoting due to its inclusion within a larger whole; it is perhaps a form of blending. In Example 191, Loïc is indulging in some bilingual monologue. It is as if we are privy to his stream of consciousness and can observe the way his mind moves back and forth between his two languages, individual words triggering memories of songs.

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[23]   http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Musical_quotation
[24]   http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/quotation?q=quotation

191	05/04/05	Loïc (2;0,1)	
Lo: Daddy's gone to work. *Un, deux, trois*, (drinks) *bravo* Loïc! act: Drinks and talks to himself Lo: ***Bâteau sur l'eau***…. hot…*un, deux, trois*, there he is butterfly (babble) house, bird, boat, *bâteau*, star, **twinkle star, twinkle twinkle little star**, one, two, three, *un, deux, trois, cinq, bravo*, show Daddy. com: sings and talks	Source: (a) Song *"Bâteau sur l'eau"* (b) Song "Twinkle, twinkle, little star"	VR T1

In Example 192, Loïc is reminded of a song from a *Rosie and Jim* video he had watched that morning and the day before. The video is at his grandparents' house in Cardiff and he likes to watch it each time he stays with them, so he knows it well. My utterance which includes the word "socks" triggers Loïc's rhyming word play. The phonological association of "socks" and then his invented word "pocks" triggers his memory of the word "locks," a word which features in the video as we watch a canal boat go through a lock. The word "locks" in turn triggers the memory of the whole video and from there of the song which one of the characters sings. This leads to his verbal-musical quote form of verbatim borrowing which is embedded within the whole word play frame. He then proceeds to adapt his earlier word play to the tune of the song he has remembered. We can see a creative, snowball effect which triggers a memory which in turn feeds into and becomes part of the ongoing monologue.

192	15/07/07	Loïc (4;3,11)	
bck: We are staying in Cardiff Ca: Come on, let's put your socks on. Lo: Socks, pocks, put your pocks on, socks, pocks, locks act: laughs Lo: **thirsty flowers drink it up then they drink some more** com: sings Lo: putting socks on pocks and bocks more. com: sings to same tune as borrowed phrase	Source: Song from video *Rosie and Jim* Source text: thirsty flowers drink it up, then they drink some more	VR T1

3.3.1.2 Rephrased Referential Borrowing from Musical and Poetic Input

It is possible to have correctly learned a song but to have problems remembering the exact lyrics. In the next three examples, Owen and Meriel are reminded of songs by the preceding utterances (Owen's own in the first examples, and mine in the second and third). The versions they sing, however, are not quite right. They are classified as Rephrased borrowings, even though the rephrasing was probably not intentional. In Example 193, it seems that it is Owen's

own preceding utterance that triggers his performance of the song. It could also be the fact of being stuck which triggers the memory of the song.

193	15/03/10	Owen (3;2,17)	
Situation: Owen can't get down from his chair. Ow: Mummy! I'm stuck! Ca: Do you want to get down? Ow: Yeah. I'm sticky stuck, **stuck** com: sings		Source: Song in Cartoon *Oswald, A Sticky Situation* on DVD *Children's Brightest Favourites.* Source text: "I'm sticky stuck to you and you're sticky stuck to me."	RR T1

In Example 194, Owen's rephrasing of the song he has learned from a children's television programme on DVD is probably unintentional, the result of misremembering or misunderstanding the lyrics. He is reminded of the song by his mixing action, (classified here as Trigger 3: Thematic context) but he is too young to realise that his version of the lyrics doesn't make sense.

194	end May 09	Owen (2;5)	
Situation: Owen is sitting at the table and mixing up his food: two different flavoured and different coloured *petit filous* desserts Ow: when you mix [buː æn ed ɪ] makes **[buː]** [= When you mix blue and red it makes **blue**]		Source: Song about mixing colours from *Barney and Friends'* Children's tv programme on DVD, (US Eng.) episode A perfectly purple day. Source text: "When you mix blue and red it makes purple"	RR T3

In Example 195 Meriel is reminded of the *Alphabet* song by my and Loïc's preceding utterances. The name of the rock group we are talking about sounds like the first four letters of the alphabet, and this whatever language it is said in. Meriel must be more directly influenced by Loïc's immediately preceeding utterance here, because she sings the song in French, the same language Loïc uses. Her rephrasing might be unintentional, influenced by the name of the rock band, but it is impossible to know.

195	22/03/09	Meriel 3;9,9	
Lo: *Maman, on peut écouter du rock?* Ca: how about ACDC? com: *ACDC* is the name of a rock band. Lo: *yeah, yeah ACDC*		Source: Song "Alphabet" Source text: "A B C D E F G...etc"	RR T1

com: French pronunciation		
Me: *ACDCEFG*...		
com: sings in French		

Again, in Example 196, we cannot know whether Meriel's rephrasing is intentional word play or accidental rephrasing influenced by the preceding utterance. The trigger mechanism seems to be similar to the previous example.

196	10/06/11	Meriel (5;11,27)	
Me: Mummy, can I have one of those sweeties we had in the car? Ca: You mean a Tic-Tac? Me: Yeah, a Tic-Tac. Me: **Tic tac** paddy whack, give a dog a bone... com: sings	Source: Song in a sing along counting book: *This Old Man* Source text: "...with a knick knack paddy whack give a dog a bone..."	RR T1	

The following selection of examples illustrate the conscious transmission and creation of variations on song and rhyme lyrics. In these cases, the pragmatic aim seems to be word play for pleasure and for humourous effect, both for the performers and for their listeners. It is possible to argue that pleasurable word play serves a cognitive function in that it enables children to play around with language within an otherwise fixed frame, that of song and rhyme lyrics. By doing this, children can push the limits of variability in terms of what is semantically and structurally possible. The structural restraints of rhyme and rhythm sometimes make certain variations seem clumsy, at other times the effect is successful. Also, semantically, variations can result in nonsense at times, but logical and semantically acceptable results are also possible. Variations of songs and rhymes have always been a part of children's folklore and variations can be shared among children of the same generation or transmitted from one generation to the next. This is indeed the case in our own family, where the children's father is a rich source of humourous variations on classic songs. Reciting a poem together can also become a game involving variation, as in the following example.

197	15/02/08	Loïc 4;10,11
bck: in Wales situation: Loïc said almost entire *The Owl and Pussy Cat* rhyme with Grandpa. Gp & L: The Owl and the Pussy Cat went to sea In a beautiful pea-green boat. They took some honey and plenty of money		

Wrapped up in a five-pound note.		
They sailed away for a year and a day		
Gp: To the land where the **oak** tree grows.		
L: (*laughs*) No! Bong tree!		
Gp: To the land where the bong tree grows.		

Other changes made by Grandpa included "the giraffe that lives on the hill (instead of "turkey"); by the light of the sun (instead of the "moon"). While Loïc's participation was occasionally hesitant, he didn't fail to spot a change to the original text.

A few months later, Loïc invents his own variation blending two source texts that are written by the same author in similar styles. There is no identifiable trigger in a case like this. It appears that Loïc is playing with variation for fun. His variation is based on blending phrases from both books. (Exceptionally, in this example the borrowed elements are in bold type in order to highlight how much he has borrowed from each source.)

198	10/09/08	Loïc (5;5,6)	
Situation: Loïc is playing in the sand pit and making up a monologue. Lo: **Would you like** it **in the dark**? **Would you like** it **in the park**? **Would you like** it with **Clark**? **I do not like green eggs and ham** **I do not like green eggs and ham** That's another version, Mummy	Source (a) Book *Green Eggs and Ham* Source (b) book *One Fish Two Fish Red Fish Blue Fish* Source text (a): "Would you like them here or there? …. I do not like green eggs and ham … Would you like them in a house? Would you like them with a mouse? … Say! In the dark? Here in the dark! Would you, could you, in the dark?" (b) "Look what we found, in the park, in the dark....we will call him Clark."		RR

In the case of song variations (classified as Rephrased Referential borrowings), sometimes the original melody is recognisable by others, even though the lyrics may be very different. In the following example, it was probably for the best that Owen could not sing the full version he was aiming at since he was actually aiming at his father's parody of this traditional French children's song, a parody from Eric's own childhood.

199	Sept/08	Owen (1;8)	
Owen sings "la la la to" the tune of "*Au Clair de la Lune*" adding "*mm!*" and "*noyaux!*" at appropriate moments. The tune is so recognisable that people comment on it, e.g.	Source: Song "*Au Clair de la Lune*" Original source text: *Au clair de la Lune*	Parody text: *Au clair de la Lune*	

Librarian: "*Je sais ce que tu chantes, c'est "Au Clair de la Lune," n'est ce pas? Tu chantes bien, dis-donc.*" eng: I know what you're singing, it's "*Au Clair de la Lune*," isn't it? Don't you sing well! He sings e-i-e-i-o followed by la la la to tune of "Au Clair de la Lune""s second line	*Mon ami Pierrot* *Prètes-moi ta plume* *Pour écrire un mot* *Ma chandelle est morte* *Je n'ai plus de feu* *Ouvres-moi ta porte* *Pour l'amour de Dieu*	*j'ai peté dans l'eau* *Ca faisait des bulles* *C'était rigolo* *Ma grand-mère arrive* *Avec des ciseaux* *Elle me coupe les mm!* *Au ras des noyaux!*

The children's father loves to make them laugh by teaching them rude parodies. In this case, we can see parody as a form of social behaviour; the subversiveness of childlore is a way of positioning oneself as different from the norm. By singing parodies at school, sharing them with friends in the playground, the children aspire to follow the parental model. It is part of an imitation process in order to become part of the community of practice, while simultaneously positioning oneself as unique. Parodies are designed to make others laugh, an ability which is important for communication and social positioning. Passing on a humourous parody of a song is like telling a joke.

The children have also invented song variations of their own. I managed to capture one such event on camera. Video 9 shows Meriel blending two traditional French nursery rhymes "*Au clair de la lune*" and "*À la claire fontaine.*" She retains the rhythm and metric structure of the original versions but there is not much of a narrative. She mumbles in places, perhaps to mask her problems with inventing while respecting metrical constraints. Despite the difficulty of the task she has set herself, she does reproduce the overall melody. Her mention of a *corbeau* in the last line is reminiscent of the parody of La Fontaine's *Le Corbeau et Le Renard* taught to the children by their father. In the same video Owen manages to create a complete narrative invention based upon "*À la claire fontaine.*" His aim is to make us laugh and he succeeds with a nonsense song that respects the metrical and melodic structure of the original version until just before the end. In his attempt to do the same thing, Loïc is so focused on his narrative, and laughing so much, that he does not manage to retain the metrical and melodic structure of the original song. He does, however, pick up on the *corbeau* of Meriel's variation and expands the theme by borrowing extensively from this parody in his own variation. The full transcript of this recording is in Appendix 3.

200 VIDEO 9	May '10	Meriel (4,11)

Situation: the children are inventing song variations Me: *à la claire fontaine* *j'ai peté dans l'eau* **J'ai fait carrément des aires-e** **mais** xx xx xx x xx xx x *ma grandmère* **dit tiens ça-e** **mais le corbeau arretais pas**	Source texts: Songs (a) "*A la Claire Fontaine*" (b) parody of "*Au Clair de la Lune*" (c) Poem parody of *Le Corbeau et Le Renard*. Source texts (a): *A la Claire Fontaine...* (b): see Example 197

There are several examples in the corpus of the children spontaneously creating their own variations of songs. This creative process can involve singing an existing melody with new words of varying complexity.

201	18/03/10	Owen (3;2,20)
In the car at lunchtime, Ow sang, with non-words, the dinosaur song from Diego's dinosaur DVD (French version). In his bed at nap time, Owen sang "*À la volette*." At 6pm he sang "**Baby**, **baby** Crockett" to tune of theme song from Davy Crockett.	Source: (a) song from *Diego* cartoon on DVD. (b) traditional French children's song "*À la volette*." (c) Theme song from film on DVD *Davy Crockett.* Source text (c): "Davy, Davy Crockett, King of the wild frontier"	

In the following set of examples from Loïc's diary, we see that he has fun inventing varations of songs; he particularly enjoyed making up nonsense. Although the first variation does not respect the syllabic constraints of the original, the other two are more successful.

202	22/08/05	Loïc (2;4,18)
Situation: Loïc has made an elephant with his construction kit Lo: Oh do you know the muffin **elephant**, the muffin elephant the muffin **elephant**? Oh yes I know the muffin **elephant**, a lives on Drury Lane! com: sings	Source: Song "The Muffin Man" in Book *Favourite Rhymes* Source text: "Oh do you know the muffin man, the muffin man, the muffin man, oh do you know the muffin man who lives on Drury Lane?"	

203	09/10/05	Loïc (2;6,5)

Lo: Old MacDonald had a **chair**, e-i-e-i-o. With a **sit down** here and a **sit down** there. com: sings	Source: Song "Old MacDonald Has a Farm" Source text: Old MacDonald has a farm, e-i-e-i-o. And on that farm he has some cows, e-i-e-i-o. With a moo moo here, and a moo moo there, here a moo, there a moo, everywhere a moo moo, etc.

204	Oct 05	Loïc (2;6)
Lo: This is the way we **clean the cake**! Com: sings to the tune of "Here we go round the mulberry bush;" he thinks making up nonsense is funny	Source: Song "Here we go round the mulberry bush" Source text: "Here we go round the mulberry bush (ter) here we go round the mulberry bush on a cold and frosty morning. This is the way we wash our hands (ter), this is the way we wash our hands on a cold and frosty morning."	

A few years later, Owen has a go at making up his own version of "Here we go round the mulberry bush," a song which is particularly suitable for this sort of variation since each verse contains the frame [this is the way we + verb phrase]. The commentary is a copy of the diary notes which accompanied this example.

205	18/12/10	Owen (3;11,20)
Ow: this is the way we **jump about, jump about, jump about**. This is the way we **jump about, early in the morning**. com: We have read through the book of nursery rhymes containing this song over the last three nights bedtime reading. This song was on the first night and I only sang what's in the book, ie, this is the way we wash our clothes... Didn't transfer to any other possibilities. Can't remember when we last played that game, so long ago. Also has been a long time since we looked at that book.	Source: same as Example 204 above

In the next example, Meriel and Owen have fun inventing variations on "A sailor went to sea," a song which I taught them as an accompaniment to a simple hand clapping game. This rephrased borrowing involves bilingual wordplay as the English word "eye" triggers a variation with the French homonym "*aïe*" which in turn leads to its English translation equivalent "ow." The children then continue to invent all sorts of variations.

206	30/04/11	Meriel (5;10, 17) Owen (4;4,1)	

Situation: In the car going to St Malo, M + O are singing
 	
Me: A sailor went to eye, eye, eye
Ow: a sailor went to *aïe, aïe, aïe,*
        to see what he could **ow, ow, ow**
        and all that he could *aïe, aïe, aïë*
ear, forehead, tree, car, knock, eghh, cough, baby, hair, bang
Ow: *belle, belle, belle*..(etc) *tu es belle*
com: to Lé
	Source: Song "A sailor went to sea, sea, sea"
	Source text:
	A sailor went to sea, sea, sea
	To see what he could see, see, see
	And all that he could see, see, see
	Was the bottom of the deep blue sea, sea, sea
	Existing variations: A sailor went to eye / nose / chin, etc.
			RR

In the next example, Loïc turns a parody of a song about Bretons into a song about the Welsh.

207	12/02/10	Loïc (6;10,8) and Meriel (4;7,30)
Situation: Lo and Me are singing a song they learned from their father *Ils ont des chapeaux ronds* *Vive la Bretagne* *Ils ont des chapeaux ronds* *Vive les bretons* *Mon grandpère et ma grandmère* *ont l'habitude de coucher nu* *ma grandmère est carnassière* *elle a mordu pepé au cul* *Ils ont des chapeaux ronds, etc* Situation: They go upstairs to get dressed. I hear Loïc singing Lo: *Ils ont des chapeaux ronds* *vive les* **gallois** *ils ont des chapeaux ronds* *vive* **le pays de galles**		

In the following example, Meriel creates a variation on a nursery rhyme which corresponds to the activity she is carrying out at the time.

208	22/05/11	Meriel (5;11,9)	
Me: (to the tune of "Round and Round the Garden Like a Teddy Bear") Round and round the table goes the **little sponge**. One step, two steps, **three, four, five, round to the**	Source: Nursery Rhyme "Round and Round the Garden Like		RR

other. No. It's round and round the **table** goes the **little sponge**. One step, two steps and tickle you **over** there. com: Meriel is cleaning the table with a sponge. She does this while walking all around the table, wiping its outer edge with the sponge, and runs across to the other side of the table when she says "tickle you over there." exp: we were probably doing this action rhyme with Léonie (0;4,27) around this time.	a Teddy Bear" Source text: "Round and round the garden goes the teddy bear. One step, two steps, and a tickle you / a tickly under there!"	

Some variations on the original lyrics of songs have a communicative purpose, not just for the fun of playing with the lyrics or playing with language in general, and they can correspond to the ongoing event. In the next example, Léonie creates a variation on a line from a song that another speaker has just sung. She uses this variation to communicate a favourable opinion of that person.

209	08/12/14	Léonie (3;11, 13)	
situation: Monday morning. At breakfast, Uncle Tim sings the main line of a song from *Lego Movie* that the family watched together on Friday evening. Ti: Everything is awesome. com: sings Lé: **Uncle Tim** is awesome. com: sings	Source: Song "Everything is awesome" song from *Lego Movie* on DVD. Not the first time the children have watched this film. It was given to them on DVD four months earlier and they have watched it many times since.	RR T1	

In Example 210, Loïc communicates that he likes eating by rephrasing the lyrics of a song. His variation triggers Owen's memory of another song and sparks a misremembered variation of the original.

210	16/09/09	Loïc (6;5,12) Owen (2;8,18)	
Situation: eating dinner Lo: I like to **eat** it, **eat** it. I like to **eat** it, **eat** it. com: sings Ow: I like to eat, eat, eat, **[...]** ba-nanas com: sings	Source (a): Song from *Madagasgar* Animated film. Source text (a): "'I like to move it, move it" (b): Song "Apples and Bananas" from CD and book of American and French children's songs source text (b): "I like to eat, eat, eat, apples and bananas.	Lo: RR T3 Ow: RR T1	

It is interesting to note that the song "Apples and Bananas" is based entirely on wordplay. Each verse repeats the same lyrics but with a different pronunciation of the vowels, giving rise to much laughter. Such songs encourage children to play with language and be creative with sounds. Adults can also encourage children to vary the lyrics of songs in a communicative way, by modelling such behaviour themselves, as in the following example.

211	20/07/12	Owen (5;6,21)	
Situation: we are on holiday in Cardiff with English-speaking French friend Anouk and her daughter Yumi. We listened to the Steve Grockett CD in the car all through the holiday. Situation: We are talking about what to do today. Ca: What shall we do on a **rainy** day, a **rainy** day, a **rainy** day … com: sings An: It's sunny today. Ow: What shall we do on a **sunny** day, etc. com: sings Ca: **Go to the park on a sunny** day, etc. com: sings Ca: You did that yesterday. It was sunny and you spent all day in the park.	Source: Song "What shall we do on a lazy day?" on Steve Grockett CD. Source text: "What shall we do on a lazy day, a lazy day, a lazy day? (repeat) all day long. Clap your hands on a lazy day," etc.	Ca: RR Ow: RR T1	

I don't know why I sang "rainy day" even though it wasn't raining. It could be that we had already sung it on one of the rainy days at the beginning of the holiday, or that I had misremembered the words. Unfortunately, I can't remember.

3.3.1.3 Verbatim and Rephrased Referential Borrowing from Narrative Input

I believe there is a difference between repeating the text of a song, story or television dialogue when performing, (singing or reciting), reading aloud, or role-playing and using such text in a different context, a non-MAPNI context, one might say. Indeed, it is the second sort of usage which is most interesting and perhaps reveals something about the way we use the language we hear generally, including more conversational language. It is important to consider the more performative or role-playing types of borrowing since we can interpret them as preceding steps on a continuum of borrowing types. In light of this distinction, it is not the same thing when Owen "reads" to himself, saying out loud phrases that he has memorised from the text...

212	05/06/09	Owen (2;5,7)

I overheard Owen reading to himself from *Aargh! Spider!*

Ow (2;5): Aargh! Spider! Out you go!

This was followed by unclear speech but his intonation indicated he was reading aloud from the book. I was too far away to hear clearly if he was saying real words or just babbling. As he turned the pages he would regularly say, "Aargh! Spider! Out you go!" possibly at the appropriate moments of the story.

… as when he quotes the same line in response to another person's utterance.

213	06/06/09	Owen (2;5,8)	
Situation: Owen is at the table with Eric Er: ....spider Ow: **Aaargh! Spider! Out you go!** com: Owen "read" this story to himself the day before	Source: Book with CD of story told by actress *Aaargh! Spider!* Source text: "Aaargh! Spider! Out you go!"	VR T1	

Quoting lines from a storybook because one's memory of them has been triggered by something someone just said, as in Examples 214 to 216, is similar to bursting into song because of a triggered memory association.

214	10/02/09	Owen (2;1,12)	
bck: Owen really likes *Chocolate Mousse for Greedy Goose* at the moment and when at the table will start reciting if he hears related words Ca: It's hot. Ow: **It's too hot for me says chimpanzee. Blow on it then says Mother Hen**.	Source: Book *Animal Antics* story *Chocolate mousse for Greedy Goose*. Source text "It's too hot for me says chimpanzee. Blow on it then says Mother Hen."	VR T1	
215	11/02/09	Owen (2;1,13)	
Situation: Breakfast. English-speaking Danny is here. He puts Owen in his high chair where a mug of hot chocolate is waiting for him. Danny: Ooh! Chocolate! Ow: **Chocolate mousse for Greedy Goose**.	As above	VR T1
216	17/02/09	Owen (2;1,14)	
Ca: Be careful, it's hot. Ow: **Too hot for me says chimpanzee. Blow on it then says mother hen.**	As above	VR T1

In Example 217, Meriel is reminded of a phrase from a favourite book at the time. It is the word "nicely" in my utterance that reminds her of "sit up nicely now, be good" from the story. She adds "be good" to my "eat it nicely" and then proceeds to sing the phrase to the tune of a French children's song. It is a blend of text from an English-language storybook and the melody of a French-language children's song.

217	05/03/08	Meriel (2;8,21)	
Ca: eat it nicely Me: **be good**. Me: be good, be good, be good be good be good...... com: sings to tune of "*Un Crocodile*"		Source: Book *Time for dinner* and song "*Un Crocodile s'en allait à la guerre.*" Source text in book "Sit up nicely now, be good."	VR T1

Verbatim performative borrowing can lead to Rephrased performative borrowing in the form of variations on the source text that has just been performed.

218	19/11/12	Loïc (9;7,7) Meriel (7;4,29) Owen (5;10,13)	
Situation: We are eating dessert at dinnertime. By the time Owen has finished his meat and potatoes, there are no chocolate mousses left. He is disappointed because he wants one too. I tell him it is because he eats too slowly. Lo: *ça t'apprendra Owen.* Ca: yes, that'll teach him a lesson. …. Ow: what's Léonie got on her hands? Ca: Chocolate mousse. Ow: Ugh! **Chocolate mousse says greedy goose**. Lo: (laughs) Ca: what did he say? Lo: he said "chocolate mousse for greedy goose." Owen can be sad white swan. com: The children then played around with the text of the story, adapting it to amuse themselves, e.g., It's not for you says kangaroo.		Source: Book *Animal Antics* story *Chocolate Mousse for Greedy Goose.* Source text "Chocolate Mousse! says greedy goose."	VR T1 the n RR

In Example 219, Loïc's reordering of the phrases from the source text is probably related to a time lapse between hearing the source text and reproducing it. His first borrowing is triggered by Grandpa saying "my feet were cold." His second, later, borrowing was

triggered by his own utterance "I'm cold," as well as being primed from the earlier exchange.

219	15/06/11	Loïc (8;2,11)	
bck: Grandpa is staying with us. situation: At lunch, the children are commenting on what footwear we have on. Ow: *Grandpa a des chaussures.* Ca: Yes, Grandpa has shoes on. com: addressed to Owen Ca: They're talking about what we have on our feet. com: addressed to Grandpa Gpa: Well my feet were cold, so I put my socks and shoes on. Lo: **My foot is cold, my teeth are gold, my hat is old**. Ca: and now my story is all told. situation: later on Me and Lo have a bath together. Lo gets out of the bath Lo: I'm cold, **my teeth are gold, and now my story is all told.**		Source: Book *One Fish, Two Fish, Red Fish, Blue Fish* by Dr Seuss. Source text: "My shoe is off. My foot is cold. I have a bird I like to hold. My hat is old. My teeth are gold. And now my story is all told."	RR T1

The diary extract which describes this example says of the source book, "We haven't read it for ages. Funnily enough, I read it to Owen this afternoon on his own and Grandpa read it to all of them before dinner." Now the timing of the reading as related to the borrowing is not very clear from this. It would seem from my expression "funnily enough" that my reading to Owen was coincidental and not related to Loïc's borrowing. This implies that the borrowing was not closely linked in time to exposure to the source text, and was therefore cause for surprise. It would seem that the recital inspired us to read the book again. Of course, at Loïc's age at the time he borrowed from this book, he was perfectly capable of reading it to himself, so the question of how long it had been since he was last exposed to the source text is actually impossible to ascertain. Indeed, older children who can read to themselves can continue to acquire language from written input. Written input, including when it is not read aloud, constitutes a linguistic source for the reader. There is more evidence of this kind of acquisition in the data. Loïc borrows words and phrases from the Harry Potter series of books that he read to himself from February to June 2014, between the ages of 10;10 and 11;2. He particularly favours teenage slang, such as "you prat" or "snog"!

The last example in this category appears to be a case of intentional rephrasing which is triggered by the booksharing context. This example was analysed in Chapter 2.5.

220	30/08/12	Owen (5;8,1)	
sit: While I read *Aaghh! Spider!* to Léonie and Meriel, Owen sits nearby looking at *Das Animalarium von Professor Revillod*, a book with split pages enabling children to invent pictures of new creatures by mixing up the bodies of existing animals. He invents lots of strange creatures which all have part of a cow in common. When I finish reading, he says: Ow: Aaghh! **Cow**! Look at the **cob**webs! Ca: Cobwebs! Imagine finding a cow in the bath. You wouldn't be able to flush it down the plughole!	Source: *Aaghh! Spider!* Book and CD. Source text: "Aaaarrgghh, SPIDER! Out you go!" "Look at the sparkly webs!"	R R T3

3.3.2. Function 2: Role-play

The examples in section 3.3.2 are in tables which present the following information:

Eg. n°	Date	Name & age of speakers
Example	Identification of source & Source text	Type of borrowing & type of trigger

Role-playing is a very common form of play. Children can borrow language from real life discourse or from fictional discourse in their acting out of familiar or invented events. When borrowing from fiction, children are truly borrowing scripts, or parts of scripts. Sometimes, the speaker's conscious intention to borrow a phrase for role-play (referential borrowing), as opposed to a seemingly unintentional, triggered response to a memory (non-referential borrowing) is unclear. When speculating on the level of a child's intention to borrow a phrase for role-play, it can be difficult to judge the intention behind the use of the phrase, such as when a much younger Loïc uses a phrase from a storybook in another context, as in Example 221. This example is not easy to classify as either referential or non-referential, perhaps because of the young age of the child who could not yet express his awareness of role-playing.

221	04/11/04	Loïc (1;7)	
Lo: **Go away!**	Source: Book *Sharing a shell* Source text "Go away, Blob/Brush, whoever you are - You can't share a shell with me/us"	VR ? T2?

The reader would be excused for thinking that "go away" is a common enough phrase and that Loïc could have picked it up in a context other than sharing a book. However, at the time this example occurred, I knew this was the source of the phrase because he had been exposed to it from this story frequently around the time he said this; it is a phrase I did not address to him or to anyone else within his hearing; he had already demonstrated at this age a remarkable memory for the text of shared storybooks (see Example 132 in section 3.2.1.2); his use of the phrase grabbed my attention immediately by its novel status within his linguistic repertoire. At the time, it was not clear to me whether Loïc was pretending to be one of the characters from the story when he used this phrase. I did think he may have been conscious of the source and used the phrase as a form of role-play because it was accompanied by a cheeky little smile rather than by the sort of body language or facial expression one would usually associate with this phrase. Unfortunately, I did not note the trigger of this example of reuse, as the example is one of the earliest in the data and I had not yet begun to analyse triggers.

Older children become aware that they are pretending, that the events they are replaying are not real. In the next example, Léonie pretends to be making "cookies" just like the cartoon character *Caillou* who also pretends to be making cookies (and eventually makes some real ones).

222	13/04/13	Léonie (2;3,19)	
Léonie pretends to be making cookies and uses the word "cookies"		Source: Cartoon on video *Caillou*. Source text: "I'm making cookies"	VR T3

The following example shows how I noted Léonie's awareness of pretence in role play. Part of role-play involves adopting and assigning new roles. In this case it seems that Léonie's role has a particular language associated with it and so triggers a codeswitch.

223	17/05/13	Léonie (2;4,22)
Léonie has been saying for a couple of weeks now, "I petending" [= I'm pretending] when she is pretending to do something. Yesterday she assigned us roles: Lé: *Je suis maman, moi*. You are Léonie.		

Maybe adopting a role is the reason for the codeswitch in the next example, if role-playing is what Léonie is doing here. She borrows a phrase and its pronunciation from a cartoon; she says it with exactly the same intonation as *Peppa Pig* uses when calling "Mummy Pig" in the cartoon. She seems to do this to get my attention probably because her previous attempt to do so was unsuccessful. She is doubling her chances of getting noticed by simultaneously

codeswitching and borrowing. Perhaps she believed that I failed to respond because she had called me in French.

224	23/07/13	Léonie (2;7,2)		
Situation: Lé is on the trampoline in the garden. There is some water on it. Lé: *Maman! Il y a de l'eau!* eng: Mummy! There's water! com: I didn't reply or go out to her Lé: **Mummy pig!**			Source: *Peppa Pig* Cartoons on DVD Source text: "Mummy Pig!"	V R T2

Role assignment is also part of MAPNI-inspired role-playing.

225	11/11/05	Loïc (2;7,7)		
Lo: I'm fixing the table, Wendy Ca: Am I Wendy ? Lo:Yes Ca: And are you Bob ? Lo: Yes, and she's tiny Scoop act: touches Meriel			Source: *Bob the Builder* Cartoon on *Children 's brightest favourites* DVD Source text: (character names) Wendy, Bob, Scoop	V R

Dialogue can be borrowed from MAPNI too, and phrases from different sources can be combined to create scripts adapted to suit the child's own storying.

226	27/01/06	Loïc (2;9,23)		
Lo: What have Norman to do? Fireman Sam's got his big axe. He must chop the wood. Chop, chop, chop! Who came with the fire engine? Who came with it? It's Fireman Sam! So, I'm telling you a story about fireman Sam. Norman has to **stand back** out of the fire. Oh No! The monkey's stuck. The monkey has to **stand back** out of the way. I have to chop the wood. **Oh no! I made a mess.** Oof! Yes I'm tired. I have to put the fire out. Quick! This this.			Source (a): *Fireman Sam* Source (b) *Bob the builder* Cartoons on *Children 's brightest favourites* DVD Source texts: (a) "Stand back Trev" (b) "Oh no! I made a mess"	RR T2

Even when a child is not engaged in acting out a whole story, borrowing from MAPNI is a form of role-play.

227	23/07/13	Léonie (2;7,2)	
situation: Owen and Léonie are chasing each other. Ow chases Lé. Lé: **The big bad mouse!** Situation: Later, Léonie is playing with a baby doll. Lé: Mouse! Nina! Come on! **The big bad mouse!**		Source: *The Gruffalo's Child* Book and DVD animation Source text: "The big bad mouse!"	VR T2

In example 228, Loïc borrows from the wolf in Roald Dahl's *Revolting Rhymes* version of *Little Red Riding Hood*. His borrowed phrase is accompanied by the action carried out by the wolf in the story which clearly reveals his intention to imitate the wolf in a form of role-play. He did this at the end of a meal in order to emphasize, with humour, the fact that he wanted to eat more.

228	late August or early Sept 2008	Loïc (5;5)	
Lo: **I've got to have another helping!** act: running round the kitchen	Source: Book *Revolting Rhymes*, story *Little Red Riding Hood* Source text: "He ran around the kitchen yelping, 'I've got to have another helping!' "	VR T2

In the next example, Loïc borrows from a book he has been reading alone. He does so for humourous effect and in a contextually appropriate way. I soon recognise what he is doing, although his father does not. We see here the importance of shared knowledge of the sauce text in order to recognise the quote and thereby get the joke.

229	21/04/12	Loïc (9;0,17)	
situation: I ask everyone if they want me to make fajitas for dinner. Meriel asks what it is, so I explain and ask if they bought sauce. Lo: Have you got **HP sauce**? Ca: No! How do you know about HP sauce? Lo: Grandpa likes it. C: No he doesn't. Father Christmas likes it. Er: *Peut-être que ton père en a ramené. Il a bien ramené de la marmelade.* eng: Maybe your father brought some. He brought some marmelade. Ca: *Non. Il n'aime pas ça.* eng: no, he doesn't like it.	Source: Book *Father Christmas goes on holiday* Source text: Father Christmas is in a French restaurant and asks for ketchup, then HP sauce, then Daddy's Favourite Sauce	VR T2

Lo: **Daddy's Favourite Sauce?** Ca: You've been reading *Father Christmas on Holiday*, haven't you?! Lo: (laughs)		

Borrowing from MAPNI to role-play an event, or to imitate a character from a source text, can involve adapting the source text. These rephrased borrowings can range from simple to complex adaptations. In the next example, a third person narrative text forms the basis for a first person statement of intention. The main verb is changed, probably unintentionally as a result of misremembering: "swallow them" becomes "eat it up".

230	28/08/08	Loïc (5;4,24)	
Ca: Do you want the last piece of cake, Loïc? Lo: **I'm going to eat it up** in one big **gulp**. Owp!	Source: Book *The Tiger Who Came to Tea* Source text: "He took all the sandwiches on the plate and swallowed them in one big mouthful. Owp!"		RR T3

In Example 231, the rephrasing is clearly intentional, to suit the context.

231	16/09/09	Loïc (6;5,12)	
Me: Ow! Mummy, Owen bit my nose! Ca: Owen! What a thing to do! Lo: Owen! You stupid boy! You should have **tapped her** on the **head**! (changes voice) I'll remember for next time.	Source: *Lazy Jack* story in book *The Orchard Nursery Collection* Source text: "You stupid boy! You should have put it in your pocket / carried it on your head / in your hands/ on your shoulders."		RR T3

Loïc is borrowing from the traditional nursery tale *Lazy Jack*, in which Jack's mother scolds him saying, "You stupid boy! You should have put it in your pocket / carried it on your head / carried it in your hands / carried it on your shoulders." Loïc has identified the variable gap in the phrase and produces a rephrased version which corresponds to the ongoing situation for which he uses it. His rephrased borrowing seems to be triggered by the thematic context of my angrily scolding my son, just as Jack's mother scolds him. I am sure that Loïc is consciously and referentially borrowing since he adopts a different voice when adding Jack's answer, exactly in the form it appears in the book and with the same sort of voice I use for this line when telling the story. In this sense, he is also role-playing.

The next example contains several variations on a fairly complex frame.

whenever → if

a live slug → a piece of grandma

gobble it up → eat it

it crawls away → she runs away

232	25/10/07	Loïc (4;6,21)	
Lo: **And if** I see a **piece of grandma**, I **eat** it before **she runs away**! com: I think Loïc was pretending to be a giant when he said this.	Source: Book *George's Marvellous Medecine* This is in the first chapter which we read a few nights before. Source text: " 'Whenever I see a live slug on a piece of lettuce,' Grandma said, 'I gobble it up quick before it crawls away.' "		RR

We can see that Loïc's rephrasing contains words that are very close to the original elements, so it is a sort of paraphrasing. "Whenever" and "if" are fairly interchangeable; grandma is more likely to "run away" than to "crawl away" so the variation is quite semantically appropriate; "eat" is a hypernym of "gobble," which is a more specific way of eating. "Eat" is also much more frequent than "gobble" so it is not surprising that Loïc uses it. The phrase "a piece of grandma" is a little strange, why not just say "a grandma" if you are a giant? But it probably echoes "a piece of lettuce" and seen in this light the relationship to the source phrase is confirmed and complexified.

The next example is also quite a complex form of idea borrowing.

233	18/02/09	Meriel (3;8,5)	
situation: the children are all excited at dinner and shouting. Eric says something like they'd better calm down or the police will come. They talk about weapons. Me: *j'ai un fusil dans la culotte!* eng: I've got a pistol in my knickers!	Source: Book Roald Dahl's *Revolting Rhymes, Red Riding Hood* Source text: "She whips a pistol from her knickers."		RR T3

As the source text is translated and adapted from the third person to the first person, it may be more a case of borrowing the idea than the phrase. Otherwise, Meriel would have said "*je sors un fusil de ma culotte*" which would be the French version of what *Little Red Riding Hood* might have said, if the story had been in the first person, or if this part of the story had been a bit of dialogue (e.g.,"I'll whip a pistol from my knickers"). Is the rephrasing "*j'ai un fusil dans la culotte*" close enough to the source text to merit its inclusion here? This could be

considered an example of one kind of linguistic manipulation that children perform when role-playing. A simple form would involve repeating exactly the dialogue spoken by a character in a story or film whilst pretending to be her in a game acting out the story. A more complex form would involve, as it does here, transforming a third person narrative into a first person statement of action. For example, transforming the line from the same story, "And bang, bang, bang, she shot him dead!" into "Bang, bang, bang, I shoot /shot you dead!" or even "Bang, bang, bang, you're dead!" The bilingual nature of the situation brings the additional complexity of translation, but the process is essentially the same.

Example 234 reveals the way the humour of the *Annoying Orange* animations are perceived by the children and their attempts to reproduce it. Owen starts quoting Annoying Orange and Meriel joins in. Then they make up new dialogues.

234	13/01/13	Meriel (6;7,0) Owen (5;0,15)	
Ow: Hey, **flower**! Me: What? Ow: Do you know there's sun out there? Me: Hey **Pear**! Ow: What? Me: **Mouth**!	Source: *Annoying Orange*. Humorous animation (Cartoon Network). The children watched it on *You Tube* (introduced to them by their English cousins last August) Example source text: Orange: Hey! Hey apple! (repeats a lot) Apple: What? What is it? Orange: aren't you glad I didn't say apple again ha ha ha! (lots more annoying stuff) Orange: Hey apple! Apple: What?! Orange: Knife!		RR

In the extract of original script provided, script upon which I believe Meriel is basing her variation here, the humour of *Annoying Orange*'s last word comes not only from the fact that he is breaking the expectation that he has (annoyingly) established, but also from the very real implications of what he is saying. His utterance of "knife" is shortly followed by the arrival on screen of a knife which cuts the pear in half. His annoying verbal behaviour has set up the expectation of more, non-information giving utterances. This time, however, the information is primordial. What we see here is Owen and Meriel producing pre-riddles. They are too young to have mastered the humour that is operating in the source text; that does not prevent them from finding it funny. Why is it funny for them? I imagine that they find annoying behaviour funny in general as it is an effective way of getting a reaction out of someone, and

if the speaker can get an angry reaction then that demonstrates a sort of power to manipulate the other person. (All parents will know what I mean here.) Maybe it's simply amusing to see talking fruit as well as to witness cartoonesque violence being brought upon them. Much in the same way as children laugh at cartoon characters getting squashed flat by large heavy objects, and so on. None of these possible reasons underlying the children's appreciation of the humour in the source text seem to be reproduced in their own variations. On the other hand, it is possible to see a mouth as potentially dangerous to a pear... So what else are they doing here? I believe they have identified the structural frame of *Annoying Orange*'s humour and are positioning themselves within it, hoping that it will be enough to transform their own utterances into humourous speech acts. In one way, we can say that their attempt is successful because they themselves found it funny!

Example 235 is a diary extract which describes how borrowed phrases from the same storybook as Example 217 became regular mealtime usage in the family over a period of time which corresponded to frequent reading of the source text. The use of these phrases could be a form of role-play, or perhaps Meriel was beginning to associate the phrases with a conversational script which could accompany mealtimes.

235	28/02/08	Meriel (2;8,15)
The following lines come from the book *Time for dinner*, a recent favourite of Meriel's since our stay in Cardiff where we started reading it: (a) "Sit up nicely now, be good" and (b) "Oops a daisy, mop it up". She now uses both at meal times. It started within the last few days and I can't remember if it was she or I who used (a) first when I was telling them to sit nicely at the table. (b) was definitely used by Meriel first but following on from (a), so not sure who introduced the idea of transferring those phrases to real life, but Me and Lo both think it's funny to do so.		

We will now turn our attention to other cases where borrowed phrases are associated with a conversational script or routine.

3.3.3 Function 3: Form-Meaning-Usage Mapping

The following set of examples are grouped together because the children seem to use the words, sound strings, or phrases from MAPNI in a particular way indicating that they have assigned them a particular meaning. The meaning sometimes corresponds to institutionalized ways of expressing the situation or event, and sometimes it does not. In all cases, we can see how the child's mapping is influenced by the way the item is used in a MAPNI source. In many cases, it seems that the word or phrase is borrowed in order to communicate something

other than a reference to the source text. We cannot know for certain what a child is thinking when they borrow a phrase, whether they are aware that they are borrowing, whether they intend to refer to the source and the source text. It is often easier to identify a referential borrowing, thanks to intonation clues or facial expression. In all the following examples, the classification as Referential (R) or Non-referential (N) is based on my intuition at the time I noted them down. If I felt that the child concerned was using the lexical resources available to communicate something other than a reference to the source, and that the fact that the word or phrase had originally come from MAPNI was not important, I classify it as Non-referential. All the examples presented in this category are Verbatim. The examples are presented in the following way to provide additional information about the supposed meaning or usage that has been assigned to the borrowed item, and a judgement about the suitability of this assigned meaning or usage in relation to institutionalised ways of expressing the same thing. Information is also given about the nature of the phrase that has been borrowed, for example, whether it is an idiom or a collocation; whether it is formulaic for the community or for the speaker.

E.g. n°	Date	Name & Age
Example	Source & text	Assigned Meaning / usage
Type of Borrowing & Trigger	Nature of borrowed phrase	Suitability of Match with meaning or usage

First we will look at examples of borrowing that do not correspond to institutionalised usage. The borrowed phrases may be formulaic for the speaker but they are not so for the community. Indeed, they are often completely inappropriate.

We begin with an example, not of a word or a phrase, but of a borrowed sequence of vowels. Clearly this sequence has morpheme equivalent unit status in Owen's mind, perhaps it has taken on the meaning of "farm." It seems that his borrowing was triggered by the word "farm" in my previous utterance. Is he simply reminded of the song, or has the item been mapped onto the meaning "farm" because of its role in the song?

236	19/06/08	Owen (1;5,21)
Situation: I said that Loïc was at the farm next door Ow: **e-i-e-i-o**	Source: Song "Old MacDonald Had a Farm" Source text: "Old MacDonald had a farm, e-i-e-i-o."	Animals or Farm
VN T1	Vowel sequence = MEU	Not formulaic for community

In Example 237 (also analysed in Chapter 2.5, Example 4) an association has formed in Léonie's mind linking the word "*poisson*" with the next two words from the children's song "*dans l'eau.*" When she correctly uses the word "*poisson*" to identify the toy fish she is holding, the rest of the whole phrase seems to automatically follow on, even though it is not really appropriate to the discourse situation, since the fish is not in the water here. Perhaps the second utterance is triggered by Léonie's own preceding utterance: "*poisson*" triggers "*dans l'eau.*" Perhaps Léonie is trying to communicate that a fish is an animal that lives in the water. From this example, we can see the way such associations of form and meaning are formed because of the way they are associated in the MAPNI source.

237	19/10/12	Léonie (1;9,24)
Lé: **Poisson. Dans l'eau** eng: Fish. In the water act: Holding a plastic fish	Source: Song. "*Les petit poissons*" Source text: "*Les petits poissons, dans l'eau*" eng: little fish in the water	Name of an animal (that lives in the water?)
VN T1	Collocation in song?	1st part ok, 2nd part strange

In the next example, a phrase in Welsh seems to be borrowed as if it is a multiword unit; at least we can infer that Loïc has memorised it as such. It is far from certain that he understood the meaning of the individual items in the word string. I have very limited knowledge of Welsh and do not speak it. My pronunciation is just about good enough to be able to read it and this children's book includes a translation of each sentence, so I would read it to Loïc in both languages. We can only guess what meaning Loïc is assigning to the phrase here. Does he think this is the title of the book? Or is it a way to refer to the subject of the book? I have classified the trigger as response to the previous utterance since he is answering his own question.

238	01/03/05	Loïc (1;11)
Situation: Loïc is choosing a book Lo: What shall I read? act: picks up Welsh story book Lo: **Mochyn yn y llaid**? (pron. slide)	Source: Book *Y fferm* eng: *The Farm* Source text: "*Mochyn yn y llaid.*" eng: pigs in the mud	Title of book? Farm? Farm animals?
VR T1	Multiword unit for Lo	Not formulaic for community

In the next example we can see that Léonie has associated a whole rhyming couplet with a visual image. This image, its associated phrase, and the whole of the source text are

triggered by another visual image with which it shares characteristics.

239	05/10/13	Léonie (2;9,10)	
situation: Léonie and Owen are watching *Microcosmos* on DVD. The opening scene shows the clouds from above. Lé: **Aha! Oho! Tracks in the snow.** Ow: *Ce n'est pas de la neige, Léonie.* eng: It's not snow, Léonie. Léonie: *Si, c'est de la neige et il y a Gruffalo dedans.* eng: Yes, it is snow and there is Gruffalo in it.	Source: Book and DVD *The Gruffalo's Child* Source text: "Ah hah, oh hoh, tracks in the snow."		Visual image: snow
VR T3	Rhyming couplet. Formulaic in story		Not formulaic for community

The clouds on the television screen remind Léonie of snow. This in turn reminds her of the story *The Gruffalo's Child* which she has experienced as a book and an animated film on DVD. The thematic context triggers the memory of a phrase in the source text which refers to snow and leads to the production of a referential borrowing. The borrowing is related to the ongoing situation because of the resemblance between the clouds seen from above and snow. Léonie has never seen clouds from above, so can be excused for not knowing what the image on the screen is. She has, however, seen snow. In response to Owen's pragmatic remark that what they can see on the screen is not actually snow, Léonie then brings her imagination into the dialogue by insisting not only that it is snow, but that the *Gruffalo* is in it. This is pure fabrication, of course, as the *Gruffalo* is nowhere to be seen. It does, however, confirm the analysis that the image of the clouds has triggered a memory not only of the phrase but also of the entire source text from which it is borrowed. Thanks to this additional reference to the source text, we can be sure that Léonie is consciously and referentially borrowing the phrase. Indeed, she seems to be communicating the fact that she is reminded of the source text.

Sometimes no interpretation is possible; it is not clear why the phrase is borrowed nor what the child thinks it means. In Example 240 it seems that Owen thinks the borrowed phrase can be used as an exclamation. Perhaps the context of playing a game and wanting to win triggers the use of an exclamation.

240	08/02/12	Owen (5;1,10)
Situation: Playing cards. Ow: **Firehouse Dog!** **Firehouse Dog!** I'm gonna win!	Source: *Firehouse Dog*. Film on DVD. Source text: "Firehouse Dog" is the title of the film but does not feature in the script.	Exclamation
VN T3	Formulaic for Owen?	Not formulaic for community

In the next example, the source phrase is integrated, verbatim, into a bigger utterance. (Doolin is the family dog.)

241	27/11/08	Loïc (5;7,23)	
Er: *Vas-y dehors Doolin. Va nous chasser un sanglier.* eng: go outside Doolin. Go and hunt a wild boar. Lo: *Elle va nous chasser un sanglier **dans la forêt lointaine.*** eng: she's going to hunt a wild boar in the faraway forest.	Source: Song *"Dans la forêt lointaine."* Source text: *"Dans la forêt lointaine, on entend le hibou..."* eng: in the faraway forest we can hear the owl...	These two words go together to describe where the forest is	
VN T1	Formulaic in song	Not formulaic for community	

Example 241 shows that *"lointaine"* is associated with *"la forêt"* because of encountering the two words together in the MAPNI source text. The association is purely linguistic; there is no reference to hunting or to wild boar in the song. The two words just go together. Or do they? We live quite near the forest but maybe far enough away for it to be *"la forêt lointaine"* (the faraway forest).

Here are two examples of a borrowed phrase inserted into a slot. In this example, Loïc inserts a borrowed two-word phrase, made up of an adjective and a modifier, into the adjective slot of the construction: [It's a(n) [very particular] + NOUN]. The meaning of "very particular" in the source text is "fussy" or "difficult to please" but Loïc seems to have assigned a different, less appropriate meaning to his use of the phrase, more akin to "special." This inappropriate form-meaning mapping may be a result of influence from the meaning of the French word *"particulier"* which is "particular, special, or unusual." In the diary extract which contains this example, I did not include enough contextual information for the identification of a trigger.

242	22/10/07	Loïc (4;6,18)	
Lo: It's a **very particular** necklace.	Source: *The princess and the pea.* Story on cassette in car. Nanny Petunia says to, hard to please, Prince Jabalad "**very particular** aren't we, it's top brick of the chimney or nothing for you, isn't it?"	Saying something is special	
VR	two-word phrase	Not formulaic for (English-speaking) community	

In Example 243, Owen's utterance is a response to both the thematic context and to the immediately preceding utterance. His use of the phrase is not really appropriate in terms of common usage to express this event.

243	10/03/09	Owen (2;2,9)	
Situation: It's raining as we get out of the car to go to playschool Ca: Put your hood up. It's raining. Ow: **It's pouring?**	Source: Nursery Rhyme "It's raining, it's pouring." Source text: "It's raining, it's pouring, the old man is snoring, he went to bed and bumped his head and he couldn't get up in the morning."	It's raining heavily. (I might get my head wet) OR These two phrases go together.	
VN T1 T3	Formulaic in song	Not formulaic for community	

Owen appears to be reminded of the nursery rhyme by my own preceding utterance, "it's raining." The strong intuition that this is an example of verbatim non-referential borrowing from the nursery rhyme, rather than an instance of productive speech, is based on two things. Firstly, at the age of 2;2, when he produced this utterance, Owen had only encountered the phrase "it's pouring," in reference to rainfall, through exposure to that specific nursery rhyme. If I, like many native speakers of British English, were referring to heavy rainfall in a conversational situation, I would not say "It's pouring." As an isolated description of heavy rain, I would say "It's tipping down," my own preferred, and a widely used, formula for describing such an event. Secondly, Owen produced this utterance with a rising, interrogative, intonation. This suggests he was seeking further information about the extent of the rain, rather than producing a referential borrowing of the nursery rhyme. Furthermore, if this utterance was an instance of productive language use, he should have asked "is it raining?" with the subject verb inversion typical of English closed questions. It is possible to argue that Owen's use of the affirmative form with interrogative intonation to ask a question is an instance of crosslinguistic influence from French, a language in which such usage is common. However, the atypical use of the phrase and its co-occurrence with the preceding utterance in the source text, point rather to an instance of non-referential borrowing from input.

An analysis of this example cannot isolate the child's production from the adult's. Not only is it an occurrence of co-construction in a pragmatic sense, it is also a form of co-construction of a fixed formula in two parts, of which the second part is difficult to dissociate from the first. Before this example occurred, Owen had been repeatedly exposed to the co-existence of the two phrases "It's raining. It's pouring" in the nursery rhyme, which he had heard me singing during, and as a descriptive response to, the event of heavy rain. For him, then, the second phrase follows on from the first in the event script which accompanies heavy rain, and this with sufficient frequency for him to come to predict such co-occurrence. We can posit that, as a result of such exposure, contrasted with the occurrences of only the first phrase "it's raining" used to describe lighter rainfall, Owen has realised that the first phrase establishes the existence of the event, while the second phrase provides additional information about the nature of the event. Owen appears to use the phrase, adding an interrogative intonation, "It's pouring?" in order to request confirmation of the existence of a possible additional quantifying feature of the event I have just described. In other words, he has understood that it is raining and wishes to know if it is raining heavily. He may have inferred the possibility of this additional feature by the instruction to "put your hood up" which implies a causal relationship between the event of heavy rain and the result of one's head getting wet if it is not covered. Or, he may simply be reminded of the co-existence of the two phrases in the nursery rhyme. His question may be a result of frequency in the input; the first phrase acting as a memory trigger which invokes the second. Whatever the cause, it could be that in this way, he is able to infer the relationship between an object concept "hood", an event concept expressed by a memorised formula "it's raining, it's pouring", (with the adult meaning "it's raining heavily"), and one possible, conditional, result of the event "my head might get wet if I don't cover it with my hood."

The next example is interesting because it causes us to speculate on Léonie's level of awareness regarding shared knowledge.

244	31/10/13		Léonie (2;10)
Situation: watching a film about witches	Source: Book *Witch, Witch, Come to my Party*		Witch
Lé: **Witch, witch, please come to my party**.			or
	Source text: "Witch, witch, please come to my party."		witch having a party
com: addressed to Grandpa			
Gp: Yes, witches.			
VN T3	Repeated formula in book: [PERSON/ANIMAL please come to my party]		Not formulaic for community

Léonie borrows the phrase from a book which she has shared at home. Here, however, she is not at home. She is at Grandpa's house in Cardiff; it is Hallowe'en and the children are watching, for the first time, a film that a friend has given them on DVD, *Hocus Pocus*. Léonie addresses the borrowed phrase to Grandpa during a scene in which three witches are whooping with joy. Her utterance is therefore a response to the thematic context. Grandpa has no idea what she is talking about. Or rather, there is no way he can recognise the phrase as borrowed from a source text since he has no knowledge of the source text and has never shared it with her. Is Léonie aware of this when she borrows the phrase? How important is shared knowledge for the borrowed phrase to carry meaning in this interaction? In fact, I believe the lack of shared knowledge did not impact on the communicated meaning too much in this case. The key word, "witch" is enough for Grandpa to understand that Léonie is identifying the characters on the screen as witches. He acknowledges this by saying, "yes, witches." She uses the phrase to communicate to Grandpa about the ongoing situation, to engage him in an exchange about it, and common ground is established. Grandpa may also infer that Léonie is feeling a little worried about the witches and give her a reassuring reply to ratify her utterance (and maybe a little comforting squeeze too). Nevertheless, it did seem to me at the time that Grandpa was a little confused about what she had said. We too can wonder why she borrowed the whole phrase and not just the word "witch" in this case. Perhaps she had memorised the whole phrase and mapped it on to her mental representation of witches. Perhaps seeing witches on the screen simply reminded her of the book. Perhaps seeing the witches whooping with joy made Léonie think they were having a party.

In the next example the borrowed phrase is used as a lexical unit, and is part of a bigger utterance.

245	07/03/13	Léonie (2;2,10)	
This morning and yesterday morning, I sang "The Wheels on the Bus" with Lé, with actions. She likes it and joins in actions and likes to say "all day long." She repeats the line after I model it for her while singing and spoken. She is conscious that she is learning it. I am conscious that I am teaching it. This evening she asked for the song like this: Lé: sing a song about a bus [sing a song] is already a fixed request for her. We sang it then I took her up to get ready for bed. In the	Source: Song "The Wheels on the Bus" (also have a book of the song). Source text: "The wheels on the bus go round and round (X3) the wheels	Describe something done every day, repeatedly	

bathroom she got undressed and I suggested she sit on the potty to do a pipi. Lé: go a potty. Faire pipi. **All day long.**		on the bus go round and round, all day long."	
VN T3	Formulaic in song	Not formulaic for community	

Here is what I wrote in the diary next to this example, "Now I cannot be exactly sure of the formulation of the first two sentences, although this is the sort of thing she says. However, I am certain that she added "all day long" on the end. I'm not sure what she thinks it means. Every day? Since she said it along with an act she repeats every day in the same way, place, time? (Potty training at this stage is at key moments like just before bed and nap.)" If this is so, then the meaning she has associated with the phrase is partially correct but the way she uses it here is not really appropriate; I didn't get her to sit on the potty all day long! One thing that distinguishes this example from the next example is the time scale of the borrowing in relation to exposure to the source text. In Example 245 Léonie borrows a phrase from a song she has experienced only minutes before. Because of the immediacy of the borrowing in relation to the experience of the input, it is also possible that Léonie was simply replaying the phrase because she had only just been singing it.

In Example 246 Loïc tries to insert a phrase from a story which is used in a complex way in the source text. We can see that Loïc likes the sound of the phrase but finds it difficult to use, probably because of the way it is embedded in the source text.

246	23/08/10		Loïc (7;4,19)
Lo: I can have **'this lot will be nice for breakfast' eyes**! act: serving himself far too much spaghetti, said as he's pulling it out of the pot	Source: Book *The Kiss that Missed.* Source text: "A dragon with 'this lot will be nice for breakfast' eyes leered greedily at them."		Pleasant anticipation of eating: "I'm going to enjoy this"
VN T2	Creative embedding in story	Not formulaic for community	

The rest of the examples in this section are of borrowed items that are used appropriately, in a way which corresponds to the speech community's usage. The next three examples do not concern phrases, but they demonstrate the same process of borrowing from MAPNI. Example 247 is of borrowing which involves neither melody nor lyrics, but a gesture from a song. In the following example, Owen uses the gesture from a song to communicate about the song-sharing experience and then about other experiences not related to the song. These uses of the gesture could be interpreted as gestural borrowing. In the same diary extract

(which summarizes a month), we see that Owen does the same thing with another gesture from a rhyme. Because I did not share knowledge of this source text with him, I could not identify it. However, it seemed evident that he was borrowing something, so I asked the childminder what it could be and she had no trouble identifying the source.

247	September '07	Owen (0;8–0;9)
I was changing Owen's nappy and talking to him. He suddenly lifted up an opened hand and turned it from left to right and right to left. He had learned this gesture with the childminder to accompany the song "Ainsi font font font les petites marionettes." He started going to the childminder (Nadine) at the beginning of September (four mornings a week) and this happened soon after. He received a very positive reaction and now repeats the gesture regularly. He is usually rewarded with a rendition of the song to accompany his gesture and is congratulated. Sometimes we elicit the gesture by singing the song and saying "come on Owen, you do it; Owen do it, Owen move his hands" etc. Last week Meriel (or was it Loïc?) introduced the song "Twinkle Twinkle Little Star" as an English accompaniment to this gesture so now we do both. He has once or twice been successfully encouraged to use the gesture to say goodbye. He sometimes uses this gesture to signify singing or music generally. He also once tapped middle of hand with fingers of other hand. Nadine says this is from a rhyme about a spider tickling his hand. Nadine says he likes to 'dance' to music by moving from side to side, while sitting. Vocalisations so far: [dæ] [dædæ] [pæ] [pæpæ] [mmm mʌ mʌ mʌ] blows air out		
VR T1	Formulaic in song	Accompany song; formulaic "goodbye" gesture

What is particularly striking about this example is that the use of the hand movement from "*Ainsi font*" was Owen's first communicative gesture[25] and constitutes the first diary entry for him. His use of this gesture preceded head shaking for "no" by a month. This is a powerful example of the way songs and rhymes can help infants enter language and communication. The actions of the song and rhyme were assimilated and used communicatively long before Owen was able to say the corresponding texts. Indeed, the diary entry shows how limited his vocalisations were at the time.

We can wonder about Owen's intentions when he used the gesture for the first time. My interpretation was that as I was chatting to him, telling him about my day, asking him about

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[25]   I did not note pointing or reaching out gestures at all when making diary notes, so I cannot affirm that he did not produce such gestures before this example occurred.

what he had done, he wanted to join in the conversation. He did so by using the resources available to him: a gesture; it might have been a way of saying "I did this." He may have been simply repeating, practising, something he had experienced and enjoyed during his day, like babbling to practise sounds. The song is about puppets, but maybe for Owen the gesture meant "hands" or "singing." Whatever meaning he assigned to the gesture, he achieved what was probably his ultimate goal, that of communicating and getting my attention. *Was* Owen trying to communicate, or did we turn it into a form of communication by our reaction to it? For such a young infant, the semantic meaning of his communicative act may have been secondary to the pragmatic goal of grabbing my attention and getting a positive reaction from me. It was the act itself which was important, not the various semantic meanings his family and carer gave to it, because it enabled him to capture the attention of those around him and create a positive reaction to what was perceived as an attempt to communicate in a new way. Then again, when he made the gesture, he already had my full attention, so perhaps he really was communicating something else, something new. The reaction to a gesture may be to assign more meaning to it than to facial expressions or cries, since it is a simple representation of an accepted form of linguistic communication, sign language. Also, the gesture was not communicating a physical or emotional need or desire, as is often the case with cries or the reaching out of arms. It was an attempt to express something else. The novelty of this addition to Owen's communicative repertoire may also account for the snowball effect of its communicative functions.

When a child borrows a word from MAPNI, it might stand out as being novel in their repertoire and easily identified as a borrowing if it is an unusual or invented word. In the next example a French word is borrowed from a cartoon. In the source text, "*rarissime*" is said in an angry tone, as one of the barbababies chastizes his brothers and sisters. Perhaps Loïc's borrowing of the word was triggered by the similar context.

248	22/03/09	Loïc (5;11,18)	
Situation: Loïc comes back into the room after being in the bathroom. The other two are playing with the lego where he had been building something. Lo: *qui a osé touché à ça? C'est à moi. J'ai fait quelquechose très bien, **rarissime***		Cartoon *Barbapapa* "*Rarissime*" is said by one of the barbababies.	Saying something is special.
VN T3		Real adjective	Appropriate

In Example 249, Loïc borrows a very unusual word invented by Roald Dahl's character *The Big Friendly Giant,* a character who is very creative with language and sometimes muddles up his idioms. This borrowing was probably referential because it is so uniquely linked to the book that to use it without intentional reference to the source would be impossible, at least when addressing the person with whom the source was shared! We had been reading the book together for over a month, and Loïc had read a few chapters on his own. Of all the children, only Loïc had listened to all the chapters so far.

249	18/11/11		Loïc (8;6,14)	
Loïc said one morning that my home-made brioche is "scrumdiddlyumptious"		Source: Book *The BFG*.	Saying something is very tasty	
VR T2	Invented adjective		appropriate	

Here is a whole series of examples (15 altogether), presented in chronological order, which show how the collocation "*plein partout*" is borrowed from the phrase "*on en a plein partout*" which Léonie first encountered in a storybook. She used it on many different occasions and eventually it was assimilated by other members of the family, probably as an effect of exposure. As will be apparent in the examples, Eric and I actively participated in Léonie's appropriation of the phrase. The meaning of the collocation provided by the source text is "lots/covering/all over." We can infer possible meanings assigned to each use of the phrase which are always related in some way to the original meaning in the source text. The issue is complicated by the addition of a similar phrase "*il y en a partout*" from another source text, where "*partout*" means "everywhere/all over." When "*plein partout*" is used in non-MAPNI contexts, sometimes the finer points of meaning seem variable. The main focus can be on the result (covering all over/everywhere) of an action (eating, spilling, snowing). But it is not always clear. When Léonie applies it in the context of sharing the second source text, she is blending the meanings of the two source phrases in an appropriate way, showing she has understood them and their relationship to the contexts in which they are employed.

Here is an extract of the relevant source text, its translation, (and accompanying illustrations):

Chapitre I: Après le jour, les chaussettes, le chocolat, on sait bien ce qui se passera.

eng: Chapter I: After the day, the socks, the chocolate, we know what will happen.

Après le jour (scene through window in daytime) ... *vient la nuit* (same scene at night).

eng: After the day … comes the night.

Après les chaussettes (socks) … *on met les chaussures* (shoes).

eng: After socks … we put on our shoes.

Après le chocolat (bar of chocolate) … *on en a **plein partout*** (bib covered in chocolate).

eng: After chocolate … we're covered in it.

Chaptire II: Après la tour, la purée, la bêtise on a parfois des surprises.

eng: Chapter II: After the tower, the mashed potato, the accident, sometimes we are surprised.

Après la tour (tower of blocks) … *tout s'écroule* (blocks falling).

eng: After the tower … all fall down.

Après la purée (plate of dinner) … *Miam, le dessert!* (cake).

eng: After the mashed potato … Yum, dessert!

Après la bêtise (spilled mug of hot chocolate) *...il faut nettoyer* (sponge with the spilled drink and mug).

eng: After the accident … we have to clean up.

250		*"Plein partout"* from *Après, il y aura* by Jeanne Ashbé (2000)	
Date	Child & Age	Example and comments	Possible meaning
07/0 1/13	Léonie (2;0,13)	Reading bedtime story. We have already read it once through then Lé turns the pages and 'reads' herself. When we get to the page "*après la bêtise, il faut nettoyer*": Lé : *y a **p[l]ein partout*** Lé made the link between spillage of liquid and bib covered in chocolate and applied the phrase which accompanied the latter to the former.	covering (as a result of spillage)
08/0 1/13	Léonie (2;0,14)	At lunch, Ca tells Er about last night's example and then uses the phrase to comment on the mess Lé is making with her rice all over the table. Ca and Er have both read Lé that book, she has heard it each night since 04/01. Er reuses the phrase a little later and Lé copies him, saying "***p(l)ein partout***". Lé wipes the rice off the table with a napkin and Er tells her not to use it for that. Lé says "*essuyer*" (eng: wipe). Ca gives Lé a sponge to clean up the mess she has made and says "what does it say in the book? *Après la bêtise, il faut nettoyer.*" Lé wipes the table and says "*essuyer*" again, then a little later says "*toyer*" (=	covering (as a result of eating, spillage)

		nettoyer, eng: clean). Ca asks Er to listen out for uses of the phrase "*il y en a plein partout.*" He thinks it is a common phrase and Jacqueline (childminder) probably uses it, too, maybe without the "*plein*"	
18/01/13	Léonie (2;0,24)	Walking in the snow with Léonie, talking about the snow, something like this: Ca: There's snow everywhere. Lé: *partout.* Ca: ***plein partout***. Later, at naptime, I read *T'choupi cherche les oeufs de Pacques* (Lé's choice, she calls it *pitchou*) Ca: (reading) *Papi, mamie, venez,* ***il y en a partout***!	Widespread covering: the snow is covering all the ground There are Easter eggs everywhere.
21/01/13	Léonie (2;0,27)	Clearing away breakfast, I scrape *Nutella* off knife onto the side of the jar Lé: ***p(l)ein partout.***	Messy covering? The knife is covered in Nutella?
26/01/13	Léonie (2;1,1)	I'm wiping the table, crumbs, etc, or spilled drink, can't remember. Lé: ***p(l)ein partout.***	Clearing up a covering: the result of spillage?
30/01/13	Léonie (2;1,5)	Went to library. Read *T'en a Plein Partout* by Jeanne Ashbé (2003) with Léonie, but she didn't want to borrow it.	
31/01/13	Léonie (2;1,6)	Reading story *An evening at Alphie's*. Picture of Annie Rose with tears running down her cheeks. Lé: ***p(l)ein partout***.	A covering of tears: result of crying
01/02/13	Léonie (2;1,7)	Looking at picture book *Grand et petit* Ca: (reading) *Un lac, c'est grand. Un flaque d'eau, c'est petit.* (Picture of baby splashing in puddle). Lé: ***p(l)ein partout*** After dinner, Léonie was spooning breadcrumbs from	A covering of water: result of splashing A covering of

		bread basket and cutting board into little dishes to give to the birds tomorrow. She spilled crumbs on the floor and on her chair. Lé: *p(l)ein partout*	crumbs: result of spillage
06/02/13	Léonie (2;1,12)	Reading *T'choupi cherche les oeufs de Pacques* Lé: *plein partout*	lots of eggs: they are all over the garden
08/02/13	Léonie (2;1,14)	We are together at Jacqueline's, Elouan is messy when eating Lé: *plein partout* At dinner, Lé has got chocolate dessert all over her face, bib, clothes. Er and Lo make comments. Er is ironic. Er: *tu es tout propre* (etc) Lé: *plein partout* Er: *il y en a **plein partout**. Qu'est-ce qu'on va faire maintenant?* Lé: *enlever pantalon*	Food has been spilled all over the table and/or face
01/03/13	Léonie (2;2,4)	Marjolaine (childminder's daughter) filmed Léonie at Jacqueline's (childminder) house. They read *Après il y aura* which Léonie had taken from home. In the evening, Léonie is playing with *Attrape Phantôme* game, she drops a counter on the floor. Ca: careful. Don't lose the pieces. Lé: *plein partout* (picking up piece from floor. There are also pencils on the floor that she threw there earlier from the pencil box) At dinner, Lé eating a yoghurt on her own keeps dripping it on her chin because she holds the spoonful in front of her mouth for several seconds. Ca: Léonie! Eat it properly. It's dripping. You're dripping it on your chin (repeated several times). Lé: *a **plein partout*** Ca: shall I help you?	The floor is covered in game pieces and pencils: they have been dropped or thrown covering of food on face

		Lé: yeah Ca: (I start spoon-feeding her) After the yoghurt, you've got it all over you! *Après le yaourt* Lé: ***plein partout***! (with a smile: she knows I am quoting from the book with reference to her own borrowing just before. We both laugh.)	
05/0 3/13	Meriel (7;8,20) Léonie (2;2,8)	Me: (to Lé who is eating a chocolate biscuit) *t'en a **plein partout*** Went to *médiathèque*, just me and Léonie. I looked for *T'en a Plein Partout* by Jeanne Ashbé but couldn't find it. I told Lé I was looking for it. We borrowed a new *Oops & Ohlala* book "It's Snowing. *Il Neige*." At bedtime, we read *T'Choupi cherche les oeufs de Pacques*. At the page where T'Choupi says "*il y en a partout*" Lé said "***plein partout***" and pointed to each egg in the picture saying "*là*" each time.	Covering of food on face and hands lots of eggs all over the garden
10/0 3/13	Léonie (2;2,13)	Lé: (talking about puddles in basketball hoop base after rain) *Regarde, Owen, il y a **plein partout**.*	Lots of water covering base
17/0 3/13	Léonie (2;2,20)	Lé has been cutting paper. She picks up little pieces that have fallen on her chair Lé: ***plein partout***	Lots of bits of paper covering chair
18/0 4/13	Meriel (7;10,5) Léonie (2;2,21)	I am cooking with Meriel and Léonie Me: (spills some rice as she is pouring it into a mug) *il y en a **plein partout*** Lé: (wiping counter top) all clean and shiny. Look mummy, all clean. Ca: yes, it's all clean Lé: and shiny.	Rice all over the counter

In the last of this set of examples showing the many ways in which Léonie and Meriel borrow "*plein partout*" Léonie borrows a phrase from another source, the Caillou cartoon: "all clean and shiny." It's almost as if she is ready to move on to using a new borrowed phrase, having exhausted all the possible uses of "*plein partout*." It is also interesting to note that Meriel seems to have picked up on "*plein partout*" and appropriated it herself, as can be seen from the two examples of Meriel borrowing the phrase. I chose to analyse "*plein partout*" as a

collocation rather than the whole source sentence "*on en a plein partout*" because it occurs most frequently on its own, as an isolated unit, a total of 12 occurrences. In this analysis, then, we consider the borrowing to be verbatim. However, if we were to look at the wider sentence frames that contain this collocation, we can see the kind of rephrasing that occurs. For example, the collocation is used in the following sentences (in chronological order):

y a plein partout (Léonie)

il y en a plein partout (Catrin and Eric)

t'en a plein partout (Meriel)

a plein partout (Léonie)

il y a plein partout (Léonie)

il y en a plein partout (Meriel)

In Example 251, Loïc borrows a phrase from a book that he probably heard me read to Léonie at this time, but which he already knew well from Meriel's love of the same book a few years earlier. His borrowing seems to be triggered by a combination of the context and his own preceding utterance.

251	12/06/12		Loïc (9;2,8)
Situation: Loïc is making an omelette Lo: Oh! It's yellow. **A sunny yellow egg**.	Source: Book. *Time for Dinner*. Source text "A sunny yellow egg to eat."		Comment on colour of egg
VN T1 & T3	Not formulaic		appropriate

While Loïc's use of the phrase is appropriate here, it is not an institutionalized formula or idiom. In the next example, Meriel borrows two idioms. The first is a repeat of Loïc's rephrased borrowing which is discussed in the next section; she uses it appropriately here. But the way she uses the second idiom does not seem quite as appropriate as it does in the source text.

252		16/09/08		Meriel (3;3,3)	
Lo: Thank you for my nice dinner. It was very nice. Me: Thank you for my nice dinner. **I'd better go now.**		Source: Book *The Tiger Who Came to Tea* Source text: "Thank you for my nice tea. I think I'd better go now." And he went.		Excusing oneself from the table	
VN T2	Institutionalised ways of thanking for a meal and leaving a place		Appropriate thanks but not appropriate for leaving the table		

All the following examples concern the appropriate borrowing of idiomatic expressions, the first two from audio-visual input and all the others from storybooks. In Example 253, Léonie borrows a phrase from an animated children's series on DVD, her favourite and repeated viewing at the time the borrowing occurred.

253	28/12/13	Léonie (3;0,3)	
Situation: Bedtime, reading *Hairy MacClairy* with Lo and Lé in Lé's bed. Lé's got hiccups, so I try to frighten her while reading, saying "boo" as I turn the page; it goes well with the story (Caterwall Caper). She hiccups straight after and we laugh. Ca: It didn't work. Lé: **You gave me the fright of my life!**	Source: DVD collection *Fireman Sam*: *The Big Freeze*, episode: "*Mummy's Little Pumpkin*" Source text: "You gave me the fright of me life!" (said by Elvis Cridlington to the twins who scare him on Hallow'een.)		Somone has just scared you
VN T2	Idiom		Appropriate

It is possible that Léonie intented to refer to the source text when she borrowed this phrase. My intuition at the time was that she did not. It seems to be a genuine case of borrowing to suit the situation. In the source script the phrase is used in response to an attempt to scare someone, a successful attempt in fact. Léonie recognised my utterance as an attempt to scare her and used a phrase that she associated with a script which can respond to an attempt-to-scare-event, although in this case it didn't work: she wasn't really scared!

Example 254 was analysed in detail in the Introduction. Here it is enough to note that Loïc has associated the phrase with the speech act of reassuring someone that everything is fine.

254	17/11/12	Loïc (9;7,13)	
Ca: Loïc! Stay with her. She's only got tights on; she'll slip. Lo: Don't worry Mum. **Everything's hunky dory!**	Source: shared Film *Bugsy Malone.* Source text: "Everything's hunky dory"		Wanting to reassure someone
VR T2	Idiom		Appropriate

In the next example, Meriel borrows an idiomatic phrase and a phrasal verb expression from a storybook and uses them appropriately to accompany the event of something being spilled.

255	05/03/08	Meriel (2;8,21)	
situation: At the dinner table, some water has been spilled. Me: **Oops a daisy mop it up**	Source: Book *Time for dinner.* Source text: "Oops a daisy, mop it up."	Something has been spilled	
VR T2	Idiom (+ phrase)	Appropriate	

In example 255 Meriel borrows a line from the baby board book *Time for Dinner* which was the object of repeated reading around the time the example occurred. In the book, the phrase is accompanied by an illustration of a baby and a spilled drink. Meriel frequently borrowed the phrase at appropriate moments during family meals and even, I suspect, created situations in which she could use it by intentionally spilling her drink. Although it is impossible to be certain that Meriel was aware that she was borrowing the phrase, or that when uttering it she intended to refer to the source text, my intuition at the time was that the children and I were all aware of the phrase's source and its relationship to that source. This is mostly because it was used repeatedly in very similar situations to that in which it is used in the source text (spillage and mess during meal times), and because it invariably caused us to laugh, not only because it is a funny idiomatic phrase, but also because we all knew where it had come from. Meriel's borrowing of the phrase was triggered by the conversational script which she had learned could accompany the event of spillage during meal times thanks to her exposure to the combination of utterance and event in the book.

The next example also shows Meriel appropriately borrowing an idiomatic expression from a story book. This example comes from the storybook case study (Bellay, 2013) and concerns one of the target phrases.

256	10/04/11	Meriel (5;9,28)	
Situation: I'm folding up clean washing. Me walks into the bathroom where the laundry basket is full. Me: you've got some washing to do Ca: I've always got washing to do. It's never ending. It's never ending, it is. Me: **Some people are never satisfied!**	Source: Book *Dumpling.* Source text: "Some people are never satisfied!"	Responding to a complaint	
VN T2	Idiom	Appropriate	

In Example 257 Owen appropriately borrows an idiomatic expression from a storybook. He has correctly identified it as a way of expressing surprise at something remarkable.

257	19/06/13	Owen (6;5,21)	
Situation: In the bathroom, the rain is falling heavily on the velux window. Ow: *Il pleut*. **Good heavens!** Ca: Ha ha! Good heavens! It's raining! It's raining cats and dogs! Ow: It's raining strings.	*Why?* Book. Lily's Dad says "Good heavens!" when he sees an alien spaceship	Express surprise at something remarkable	
VN T2	Idiom	Appropriate	

Example 257 demonstrates the way a borrowing can cause a codeswitch, as Owen begins in French but then switches to English to borrow the idiomatic phrase "Good heavens!" which he had heard only a short time earlier in the storybook *Why?* as a way to express surprise. His surprised intonation echoed the way he had heard the expression in the story, making it instantly identifiable as a borrowing. In addition to this, the appropriate way in which he was using the phrase to express surprise in response to the context made me laugh and repeat the expression myself. My translation of his French utterance illustrates one technique, often semi-consciously employed, of bilingual parenting strategy. The idiomatic nature of Owen's phrase triggered my conscious desire to take this opportunity to use another idiom which is frequently related to the context of heavy rain, "It's raining cats and dogs!" Owen's reaction was to provide a literal English translation, or a calque, of the equivalent French idiom "*Il pleut des cordes.*" The whole example reveals not only an appropriate verbatim borrowing from MAPNI, but also some interesting bilingual behaviour with idioms in both languages. Owen's borrowing is classified as non-referential, rather than referential borrowing, because at the time he produced it no reference to the source text was made or appeared to be intended. We cannot exclude the possibility that he was aware of the relationship to the source text, and that he was consciously borrowing the phrase, but my intuition at the time was that he did not intend to make a reference to the source text. Rather, he had appropriated the phrase and used it as his own.

In Example 258, Owen has identified this idiomatic expression as a way to express not wanting to do something.

258	23/07/13	Owen (6;6,28)	
Situation: Eating tea and talking about going to Mamie and Papy's house for the holidays. Last time we drove there at Easter, we stopped for lunch at	Source (a): *The Gruffalo's Child* Book and DVD animation.	Saying you don't want to do	

MacDonald's on the way. We went for lunch at *Buffalo Grill* in Pontivy during the Autumn break 2012, with Eric's sisters and brother, while his niece was working there. Haven't been to one since. Ow: *on a mangé à MacDo. Pourquoi on a pas mangé à Gruffalo Grill?* Ca: Gruffalo Grill?! Then followed discussion about what a Gruffalo Grill would serve: Gruffalo cake, Gruffalo pie, Gruffalo tea. Then Lé wanted to watch *The Gruffalo's Child* DVD so we did. When the owl said "not I" Owen said: Ow: Not I, said the cat. Lé: The owl. Ca: Owen's thinking about another story. Aren't you, Owen? O: Yes. "Not I," said the cat. Ca: "Not I," said the dog. "Not I," said the pig. Lé: Me too. (yummy noises) And me, and me. (We watched the rest of the film) Ca: Right, who's coming to the library with me? Ow: **Not I**.	Source (b): *The Little Red Hen* story in a Orchard Nursery Collection book. Source text: "Not I" is said by the owl in *The Gruffalo's Child* and by the Dog, Cat and Pig in *The Little Red Hen*	something.
VR T2	Idiomatic but antiquated	Appropriate

Owen's reuse of "Not I, said the cat" was triggered by the owl saying "not I" in the film. He remembers the other source text in which he already heard this unusual formulation. In family talk we would say "not me." The example is also very interesting because it contains a creative blend (Gruffalo Grill), the adaptation of elements from a story to an imaginary situation, and an inter-textual reference which is triggered by a formula (Not I) that is, itself, a kind of borrowing (possibly a conscious inter-textual reference on the part of the author of *The Gruffalo's Child*). Or maybe, the phrase "Not I" can stand alone without triggering the memory of the text of the original story for people who do not regularly read fairytales! It is likely that the most common and natural way to say that these days would be "Not me," since "Not I," while technically considered as more grammatically correct, is now a little antiquated.

Example 259 could be analysed as a referential borrowing, particularly in terms of the immediacy of the borrowing in relation to the experience of the source text, as in Example 258 above. However, it felt intuitively at the time a bit more like a non-referential borrowing in the sense that Loïc's use was truly communicative in its own right, not as a reference.

259	12/06/12	Loïc (9;2,8)	
Situation: I'm reading a bedtime story. Ca: "Bother," said Edmund. "I've left my torch in Narnia." Right, that's the end. (discussion about which book to read next.) Ca: Time for bed. Léonie's asleep so do your pipis down here. Loïc first. Lo: Oh **bother**!		Source: Book *Prince Caspian* Source text: "Bother," said Edmund.	Expressing dissatisfaction
RN T2	Idiomatic	Appropriate	

In Example 260, Loïc borrows a phrase from a book. The verbatim referential borrowing of this same phrase by Owen has been analysed as performative referential borrowing (Examples 214, 215, 216). The difference here is that I believe Loïc did not intend to refer to the source text when he produced this utterance. The only way I can assert this is because of my intuition at the time. The phrase was not accompanied by any clue (facial expression, intonation) that a reference was intended. Loïc has mapped it as a way of saying food is too hot. The phrase can be considered as having become formulaic for Loïc as a result of repeated exposure to, and borrowing of, the source text.

260	18/09/12	Loïc (9;5,14)	
Situation: at the table Lo: **It's too hot for me**.	Source: Book. *Chocolate mousse for greedy goose.* Source text: " 'It's too hot for me' says chimpanzee."	Saying food is too hot	
VN T2	Formulaic in story and in family?	Appropriate	

In Example 261, Loïc borrows a well-known rhyme from children's folklore that first language English-speaking children pick up while playing with other children.

261	07/01/13	Loïc (9;9,3)	
Lo: **Liar, liar, your bum's on fire!** com: addressed to Owen, who has just told a lie Ca: Where did you get that from?		Source: *Horrible Histories* Book. Source text: "Liar,	Accusing someone of lying

Lo: A book.	liar, your bum's on	
Ca: A book? Which book?	fire!"	
Lo: *Horrible Histories*		
VN T2	Formula from children's folklore	Appropriate

This example demonstrates that BFLA children who do not live in the Language Alpha community can pick up Language Alpha children's culture, and the phrases that epitomise it, thanks to MAPNI. It is also an example of a borrowed phrase being recognised by one of the interactants and shows the way I will sometimes ask a child where they borrowed a phrase from. I do not feel that such behaviour is necessarily related to the subject of my research or my position as parent-observer. I believe all parents are prone to ask their child, upon hearing something new, unusual, or surprising, "where did you get that from?"

Sometimes, a phrase is identifiable as an idiomatic expression which has been borrowed, even if the source is difficult to place. This is the case with the last example in this category. I know I've heard it somewhere, but I just can't place it!

262	02/10/10		Loïc (7;5,28)
L: **A promise is a promise. Well we'll see about that**.	Source unknown.	Comment on nature of promises. Saying the future is uncertain.
VN T2	Sounds formulaic		appropriate

3.3.4 Function 4: Pattern-Finding

The fourth function of borrowing I have identified is that of rephrasing previously encounted phrases in a new way. The ability to do this is dependent on the cognitive element of linguistic development whereby children identify patterns in the input, such as variable gaps in frames or constructions. The child adapts a phrase which has already been associated with an event and rephrases it to suit a new, related event. Examples in this category also illustrate the syntactically creative use of language, including blending. The following analysis of rephrasing borrows the terminology and analytical method used by Lieven, Behrens, Speares, and Tomasello (2003) in their study of the early syntactic creativity of Annie, aged 2;1,11. The possible ways in which a borrowed utterance can differ from the source phrase it is associated with involve either a single operation or multiple operations; the types of operations that can occur are labelled as follows (adapted from Lieven, Behrens, Speares, and Tomasello, 2003: 342):

SUBSTITUTE – a word or group of words (if the words have occurred together previously as a group), replaces a word or fills a slot in the source phrase.

ADD-ON – a word or group of words (if the words have occurred together previously as a group), is added on to the beginning or end of a source phrase.

DROP – a morpheme, word or group of words (if the words have occurred together previously as a group), is dropped from a source phrase.

INSERT – a word or group of words (if the words have occurred together previously as a group), is inserted between two words that occurred together in a source phrase.

REARRANGE – a word or group of words (if the words have occurred together before as a group), exchange position and are not used in the same order as in the source phrase.

The examples in this section are presented in tables as below. The second column in the third row provides the classification of the kind of operation involved in the rephrasing. The third column of the third row presents a possible construction representation that the child appears to perceive.

E.g. n°		Date		Name & Age	
Example		Source & text		Assigned meaning / usage	
Type of Borrowing & Trigger	Type of operation involved in rephrasing	Possible construction identified by the child	Suitability of match with meaning or usage		

First, we will look at examples of single operation rephrasing, that is when only one element (in bold type) of the source text is changed. The first example in this section could be a case of mistaken (short-term) memory of an idiomatic phrase, possibly as a result of not having understood the meaning of the source phrase. Another, more likely, possibility is influence from the French phrase "*une fois*" which, literally translated means "one time" but idiomatically translated means "once." In certain contexts, for example when a child refuses to obey, French adults warn children that they will count to three. Some adults count like this, "*une fois, deux fois, trois fois*" meaning "(I'm saying it or I've said it) once, twice three times." If the child does not obey before the adult gets to "three," punishment or a sanction may follow. Many adults do not take the time to explain the whole procedure, because they know the child is aware of what will happen if they get to three, and just say to the child "*une fois*!" which effectively means "(obey me) now!" Perhaps Owen's bilingual brain has mapped a possible meaning of "now" onto "one time." This rephrasing is classified as a single operation substitution.

263	12/02/12	Owen (5;1,14)	
Situation: At the end of the film, Owen is playing with me, rolling a little car back and forth between us. He's pushing it a bit fiercely and I'm worried it will hurt Léonie so I tell him to do it more slowly, to be careful. He pushes the car saying: Ow: It's **one time** or never. It's **one time** or never.		Source: Film *Shanghai Kid 2*. Source text: "it's now or never"	In some French contexts, "One time" can also mean "now." Exclamation.
RN T3	Single operation SUBSTITUTE *one time*	[it's + [now/once/one time] + or never] Cross-linguistic idiomatic influence	Not formulaic for the community

In Example 264 the rephrasing consists in the substitution of the exophoric demonstrative adjective; the substitution is possibly not intentional:

264	25/02/09	Loïc (5;10,21)	
Situation: Loïc is playing with the *Rubik's cube*. Lo: **That** can't be right. **That** can't be right. This can't be right. com: same intonation as when reading		Source: Book *Hippo has a hat* Source text: "This can't be right, says duck."	Something doesn't fit or work
RN & VN? T3 & T1	Single operation SUBSTITUTE *that*	[DEMONSTRATIVE ADJ. + can't be right]	Appropriate

It is impossible to know whether or not Loïc was initially aware of the relationship between his first repeated utterances and the source text, and so was consciously borrowing. It does seem to begin as a possibly unconscious rephrased borrowing, which then triggers a verbatim borrowing as it is so close to the source text. Perhaps he aligned to the version that was imprinted in his memory because of repeated exposure to it. Some interesting questions can be asked here about Loïc's developing knowledge of exophoric representation. Why does he say *that* when duck says *this*? Why does he say *that* when the object he is manipulating is in his hands? What difference does it make when Loïc switches from one to the other? How does remembering the source phrase help him to learn to differentiate *this* and *that* and use them appropriately? Could the author have used *this* instead of *that* in order to phonologically align with the repeated vowel sound [i] in the middle of the immediately preceding line in the story: "Zebra's zip is stuck" ?

We can see in Examples 263 and 264 that phrases borrowed from MAPNI can be altered by accident, probably a result of imperfect memorisation of the source text. Now let's look at some seemingly intentional rephrasing with communicative aims (and without reference to

the source of the borrowed phrase). The line from a children's song which is rephrased in example 265 was discussed in Section 3.3.1.2 as a variation on song lyrics. Here, the rephrasing is done in a very different way because Loïc is not singing and he is not referring to the song. He borrows and adapts the phrase from the song in order to use it in a conversational way. The rephrasing involves a single operation, a substitution of the adjective "lazy" with "sunny."

265	05/09/12		Loïc (9;5,1) Owen (5;8,7)	
Lo: Mum, what shall we do on a **sunny** day? com: said very conversationally Ow: what shall we do on a **sunny** day? com: sings	Source: Song on Steve Grockett CD. "What shall we do on a lazy day?" Source text: "What shall we do on a lazy day, a lazy day, a lazy day? (repeat) all day long. Clap your hands on a lazy day, etc."		Asking what we're going to do today	
RN T2	Single operation SUBSTITUTE *sunny*	[what shall we do on a + ADJECTIVE + day?]	Not the idiomatic way to ask this question	

Of course, it is highly likely that Loïc was primed to do this with our previously cited examples of sung variation. In Example 211, I substitue "lazy" with "rainy" and Owen substitutes it with "sunny," both adjectives for describing the weather. It is also worth noting that Example 265 occurred one and a half months after Example 211, so this new non-referential rephrasing occurs after a time lapse. This example serves to show that children can take rephrasing a step further, moving away from the original source text context (sharing a song and playing with the lyrics for fun) and applying the language frame that has been learned to a new communicative context. Loïc seems to have mapped the structure onto the meaning of "asking what we are going to do today." A more idiomatic way of saying this would be something like "What shall we do on this lovely sunny day?" The relationship with the source text is so obvious to Owen that Loïc's utterance triggers Owen's rephrased performance of the song, which is clearly influenced by Loïc's rephrasing.

In Example 266, the rephrasing consists in tweaking the possessive pronoun to fit the situation: "my" becomes "his." The borrowing seems to have been triggered by the thematic context, the scene on the television.

266	31/07/07		Loïc (4;3,27)	
Situation: At grandparents' house in Cardiff. Watching *Something Special* on *Cbeebies*,	Source: Song "Raindrops keep falling		Someone is getting wet in the rain	

we see a little boy go out in the rain. Lo: Raindrops keep falling on **his** head. com: says not sings	on my head" Source text: same as title		
RN T3	Single operation SUBSTITUTE *his*	[raindrops keep falling on + POSS. PRONOUN + head]	Nearly appropriate

Loïc borrows a line from a song that we sang frequently at the time this utterance was produced. We sang it by way of accompaniment to the weather:

> Raindrops keep falling on my head
> Just like the guy whose feet
> Were too big for his bed
> Nothing seems to fit
> These raindrops keep falling on my head
> They keep falling
> Because I'm free

The song originally featured in the 1969 film *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid,* but it was not through exposure to the film that Loïc had encountered it. The melody is played by a wind-up musical toy radio that I had had as a child; the lyrics of the song are printed on the back of the toy. The toy radio was at my parents' home and the children and I played with it, and sang along to it, while staying there, including at the time Example 266 occurred.

My strong intuition that this phrase is an example of non-referential borrowing is based on the conversational intonation with which it was uttered. It was neither sung, nor said with the marked pause or intonation of a quote. It is not a verbatim borrowing since Loïc adapted the phrase, changing "my" to "his", thereby demonstrating his understanding and command of the underlying grammar of the construction. His retention of the main verb of the phrase "keep" is specific to the lyrics of the song's original text. A more conventional way of expressing the event would be "raindrops *are* falling on his head." We can therefore propose that Loïc's schematisation of the underlying construction is partial. He retains the main verb of the original formula, not realising yet that it is pragmatically inappropriate, while being able to appropriately adapt the possessive pronoun. The reasons for this partial acquisition may be the result of frequency features in the input; he has heard "raindrops keep falling on my head", thanks to his exposure to the song, more often than "raindrops are falling on my head," which is not a commonly occurring sequence in everyday speech. Indeed, "raindrops are falling on his head", while being grammatically correct and appearing to be more conventional, is arguably less common in real usage than "raindrops keep falling on my head." This is because the formula with "keep" is one of many such items which make up the shared cultural store of a large part of English speakers, particularly native speakers. The

formula has become part of the shared cultural store precisely because of its title role in the well-known song. It could be argued that exposure to unconventional formulas such as this are unhelpful in the language development process, leading the child into inappropriate usage. I prefer to focus on the communicative advantages gained by the bilingual child by using all the resources in his (limited) Language Alpha linguistic repertoire, regardless of the subtleties of some details. Such an approach is highlighted in Wong-Fillmore's case study of naturalistic child second language acquisition (1976, 1979), where she identifies successful strategies such as "make the most of what you've got" and "work on big things; save the details for later" (Wong-Fillmore 1979:190). It looks like this is the strategy adopted by Loïc here.

In Example 267, Meriel substitutes the main verb of the phrasal verb element of an expression she has learned form a book in order to adapt it to a new situation.

267	05/03/08	Meriel (2;8,21)
Me: Oops a daisy, **pick** it up.	Source: Baby board book *Time for dinner.* Source text: "Oops a daisy, mop it up."	Someone has dropped something
RN T2 Single operation SUBSTITUTE *pick*	[[oops a daisy] + VERB + it up]	Appropriate

From January to February 2008, when Meriel was aged between 2;7 and 2;8, I took the three children to Wales and left their father to work on the house we were renovating in Brittany. It was a period of unilingual linguistic and cultural immersion for the children.[26] During the five week visit, Meriel became very attached to a set of baby board books that her older cousin had left in her grandparents' home. *Time for dinner* is particularly rich in idiomatic phrases and the source phrase of this example was accompanied by an illustration of a baby and a spilled drink. The book was the object of repeated readings over the five week visit and then also upon our return to France, since we brought the book back with us.

The number of verbs that can potentially go in this slot is quite big. Here Meriel must have performed some sort of analogy or distributionally based analysis of the input in order to

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[26]It was also a period during which I inserted diary notes directly into the word processed versions of the diaries, rather than handwriting them in the notebook. Believing I was saving time and labour, I did not think about the potential dangers of an accidental cut and paste manouevre at times when I wanted to copy and paste examples from the diaries into other formats. As a result of using this example in my M2 dissertation and in presentations, it actually disappeared from the word processed version of Meriel's diary. I was able to recover it, of course, but without the date, only Meriel's age. Working from the age I had noted at the time of the example, I worked out the date on which it should have occurred. This unfortunate event has made me paranoid about word processing accidents with data!

identify *pick* as a possible filler. The speed with which she did so is probably a result of frequency effects in the linguistic environment input since the construction "pick [OBJECT] up" is a fairly common occurrence in a family with small children who are forever leaving things lying around on the floor and are either told to "pick [OBJECT] up" or hear mum complaining about having to "pick [OBJECT] up"! Also, her little brother Owen was 1;2,5 at the time Meriel uttered this rephrased borrowing, so only a few short months earlier she had been repeatedly exposed to his repetitive game of dropping things from the high chair in order to watch Mum pick them up. It is likely that this game was accompanied by a repetitive script which included the *pick it up frame*, or variations of it. "Mop it up," on the other hand, was probably introduced through the *Time for Dinne*r book since my own preferred expression for this action is "wipe it up." The novelty of the source phrase, combined with the commonality of the substitute verb, can probably account for the speed with which Meriel produced the substitution in this example.

I have classified the example as a non-referential borrowing rather than a referential borrowing because, at the time, my intuition was that the phrase "Oops a daisy, mop it up" had been borrowed so many times that it had become part of Meriel's individual mental corpus (as well as part of shared family knowledge) and at some point it was automatized and used in its own right, rather than with explicit reference to the source text, as it was initially. For me, the evolution the phrase then underwent, as described above, coupled with the possibility that Meriel was using the phrase without intending to refer to the source text, was evidence that the phrase had moved from *input* status to *intake* status. It is for this reason that I believe the example to be such an interesting one. This is only speculation, however, and it is possible that Meriel was still thinking of the source phrase and text when she produced the variation on it. We have no way of knowing whether or not she intended to refer to the source phrase. On the other hand, we *do* know that she was aware of the shared knowledge we all had of the source text. In cases like this, I like to think that my parental intuition at the time had some value, and in this case I believed no reference was intended. Meriel had mapped a new meaning onto the new phrase: something you say when something has been dropped on the floor. Finally, it is interesting to note the way in which the idiom "oops a daisy" is packaged into the novel utterance. This indicates that there is indeed a link between the phrasal verb element of the original source text and Meriel's rephrasing of it.

In the next example, Loïc's rephrasing involves the substitution of a noun. Meriel repeats the same substitution and then produces a rephrasing which involves dropping a verb from the source text. Loïc has identified the NOUN (MEAL) slot in "Thank you for my nice

[NOUN = MEAL]" and Meriel drops [I think], possibly unintentionally.

268	16/09/08	Loïc (5;5,12) Meriel (3;3,3)	
Lo: Thank you for my nice **dinner**. It was very nice. Me: Thank you for my nice **dinner**. […] I'd better go now.	Source: *The Tiger Who Came to Tea* Book. Source text: 'Then he said, "Thank you for my nice tea. I think I'd better go now." And he went.'		Thanking for a meal and excusing oneself from the table
RN T2	Lo: Single operation SUBSTITUTE *dinner* Me: Single operation DROP *I think*	[Thank you for my nice + MEAL] [[I think] + I'd better go now]	Appropriate

The phrases have been associated with the script (in the book) that accompanies thanking one's host for a meal and then leaving the table. The first phrase is used appropriately, the appropriateness of the second has already been discussed in the Introduction.

If we consider the compound phrasal verb "step on" to be a morpheme equivalent unit, then Example 269 is a case of single operation subsitution, replacing one verb with another.

269	31/05/13	Catrin (37;10,7)	
Situation: Me is stepping on Lé's coat, which is on the floor. Ca: Don't just **step on** it! Don't just **step on** it! Me: Don't just grab it!	Source: Book *Chocolate Mousse for Greedy Goose*. Source text: " 'Don't just grab it,' says angry rabbit."		Telling someone not to do something to an object (or person?)
Ca: RN T3 Me: RR T1	Single operation SUBSTITUTE *step on*	[Don't just + VERB + it]	Appropriate

In this example of rephrased borrowing, I can assert with complete certitude, since it was I who said it, that the borrowing process was unintentional, unconscious, and therefore non-referential. I can also argue that this example suggests that the borrowing phenomenon touches us all, no matter our age or stage of linguistic development. The original phrase, which Meriel's referential verbatim borrowing triggers (in response to my rephrased non-referential borrowing), is from the illustrated storybook *Chocolate Mousse for Greedy Goose*. It was only when I heard what Meriel had said that I realised what I had done. I had been primed with the text of the story, not only because I had read it to the children many times over the years, but more significantly, because I had been using the book in which the story is printed with a class at the children's school over the previous fortnight. Although my classroom activities were focused on the other story in the book (*Hippo Has a Hat*), I had read

Chocolate Mousse for Greedy Goose to them on one occasion. Regularly thinking about the book and seeing it, with its cover illustration of a goose, was enough to bring the memory of its text to the forefront of my mind, to my short-term memory, a most convenient place from which to retrieve and borrow it. We can add to this the possibility that the phrase had become associated with a particular event / speech act, that of telling someone not to do something to an object.

The next example is wonderfully creative (and shows that examples can even occur in the middle of the night, proving the advantage of being a parent-observer!) I got into Loïc's bed at night to comfort him after a nightmare, and he said this when I moved to get up.

270			26/08/08		Loïc (5;4,22)
Situation: I get out of Loïc's bed where I have been cuddling him Lo: come **back**, come **back**, wherever you are!			Source: Formula from hide and seek game? Source text: "Come out, come out, wherever you are!"		You want someone to come back; you want to know where someone has gone
RN T2	Single operation SUBSTITUTE *back*	[come + PREPOSITION (bis) + [wherever you are]]		The idiomatic element of the utterance is strange in this context.	

Loïc changed the preposition in the phrasal verb to suit the situation. The rephrasing constitutes a single operation substitution of the phrasal verb particle. It is the addition of "wherever you are" to Loïc's adapted phrasal verb which enables the identification of the rephrasing process since it resembles such a noticeable idiomatic phrase, usally attached to a specific situation. Its use here is very out of context, but nevertheless sounded quite appropriate at the time. The situation usually associated with "Come out, come out, wherever you are" habitually supposes that the speaker (or seeker) does not know where the hearer is, or has gone, and the situation which Loïc adapts it for is similar in that respect.

The next example is also very creative and appropriate, while clearly related to an idiomatic source phrase. This time, Meriel inserts a novel noun into the noun slot of the phrase "big bad wolf." It seems she has identified the noun slot in this construction as variable: [big + bad + NOUN]

271		13/01/10		Meriel (4;7)
Me: I've got a big bad **cough**		Source: Book *Little Red Riding Hood.* Source text: "The big, bad, wolf." and "I've got a (bad) cough."		Saying something is bad
RR?	Single operation SUBSTITUTE	[I've got + [a big + bad +		Appropriate but noticeably

T2	*cough* or BLEND	NOUN]]	unusual because sounds so similar to the formula

A copy of *Le petit chaperon rouge* [eng: Little Red Riding Hood] was in the classroom bookcase, but the teacher said they hadn't been working on it particularly, but that the children always love stories with wolves! I translated to tell friends and teachers "*Meriel a un grand méchant toux.*" In French the source phrase is "*un grand méchant loup*" so there is phonological similarity with the French translation of Meriel's rephrased borrowing. Could it be that this phonological similarity crosslinguistically influenced her creation? The relationship with the source text is evident, so it is difficult to imagine anyone hearing this and not thinking of the source text. Whether or not Meriel intended this reference is not known. This example was presented in section 2.5 as a possible case of recreation because of the way Meriel blends a phrase from MAPNI "the big bad wolf" with a phrase from everyday speech "I've got a (bad) cough" in order to say something new that appears to be her own creation. The notion of recreation is discussed in Chapter 4 as a further step on from rephrasing.

We end this section with some examples of more complex rephrasing, or multiple operation creativity, involving the alteration of more than one element of the source text. In the following two examples (which were analysed in section 2.5) we do not know whether it is a case of single or multiple operations. Firstly, the utterances can be analysed as containing both rephrased and verbatim borrowing. If we consider "sharing a shell" as a multiword unit which is borrowed as a whole, the frame containing the unit is adapted, but the multiword unit inside it remains untouched. We can identify "sharing a shell" as a multiword unit, or morpheme equivalent unit, because Owen uses it on its own as well as part of a bigger, variable, construction which could be [two + NOUN + [sharing a shell]] or [NUMBER + NOUN + [sharing a shell]]. Owen only uses the number "two" but in the source text we can also read "three friends sharing a shell." We do not know whether Owen is aware of this variable element and chooses to insert "two," or whether he is unaware of it and treats "two" as a fixed element. In the first instance, his rephrasing would constitute a multiple operation substitution, whereas in the second case, it would be a single operation substitution.

272	04/09/09	Owen (2;8,6)	
Situation: playing with pop up *Magic Roundabout* toy Ow: Two **dogs** sharing a shell. Ca: they're sharing a shell are they? Ow: Yeah. There's a rabbit, there's a cow, there's a dog.		Source: Book *Sharing a Shell* Source text: "Two	Being together

They're together, they're sharing a shell.	friends sharing a shell." Also in same source: "Three friends sharing a shell."	
Ca: What's this?		
Ow: A cow.		
Ca: What's this?		
Ow: A dog.		
Ca: What's this?		
Ow: A rabbit.		
Ca: What's this?		
Ow: A *garçon*.		
Ca: A girl.		
Ow: A girl.		
Ca: What are they doing?		
Ow: Sharing a shell.		
V & RN T2	Single operation SUBSTITUTE *dogs* or multiple operations SUBSTITUTE *two*?	[number / two + NOUN + [sharing a shell]]	Not appropriate

273	16/09/09	Owen (2;8,18)	
Situation: Watching Loïc at football training	Source: Book *Sharing a Shell*	Being and/or Working together
Ow: Two **boys** sharing a shell		
Ca: what do you mean?		
Ow: Two **boys** sharing a shell.	Source text: "Two friends sharing a shell." Also in same source: "Three friends sharing a shell."	
Ca: Where?		
Ow: there (points to group of boys on pitch)		
Ca: I don't understand, Owen. How are they sharing a shell? Where's the shell? There are more than two boys.		
Ow: Two **boys** sharing a shell, there. (points)		
Ca: Do you mean they are in a team?		
Ow: Yes, in a team.		
V & RN T2	Single operation SUBSTITUTE *boys* or Multiple operations SUBSTITUTE *two*?	[NUMBER / two + NOUN + [sharing a shell]]	Not appropriate

In both examples, we could consider "two" to be a fixed, and not variable, element since it is not semantically appropriate. On the other hand, Owen was so young at the time that, even if he had identified a [NUMBER] slot in this frame, his counting ability was too limited to fill it correctly. In both cases we can suppose that Owen has mapped the concept of

"togetherness" onto the frame he then rephrases. His use of the phrase in this way is not really appropriate, it is not an institutionalised way of expressing this notion. However, because of having shared the source text with him, I am able to figure out what he means by it.

In Example 274, the borrowed question structure could be considered very common and ordinary.

274	Jan 2005	Loïc (1;9)
Lo: Do you like ketchup your **yoghurt**?	Source: Book *Ketchup on your cornflakes*. Source text: "Do you like ketchup on/in your cornflakes/chips/cereal, etc."	Asking someone if they like food combinations
RR? T2	Multiple operations DROP *in/on* and SUBSTITUTE *yoghurt*	[Do you like ketchup [...] your + NOUN?]	Appropriate

My strong intuition that Loïc was borrowing is possible because I had shared the book in question with him so many times before the example occurred. The book from which the phrase is borrowed is a split page book which allows readers to create multiple combinations of the frame "Do you like [NOUN] on / in your [NOUN]". The nouns are not only food, they also include *duck – bath, toothpaste – toothbrush, hat – head*. In this example, Loïc's version is different from the source phrase, which is also the title of the book, in two ways, so it classifies as multiple-operations DROP and SUBSTITUTION. The structure of the book encourages readers to play with variable slots which are always either food or a few objects that are well-known to children. The book is built around the idea of varying such words in order to produce new, and mostly comical, versions of more classically acceptable possibilities, although all the predictable combinations are present, such as *Do you like ketchup on your chips?* The book can be read in order and each time readers are presented with a comical variation which is then followed by the more predictable one. However, the split pages of the book can also be turned in any order, thereby encouraging young readers to create their own variations, while simultaneoulsy developing an awareness of the existence of variable slots in a frame and the semantic limitations of such variation. Some combinations are acceptable, if amusing, e.g., *Do you like a teddy on your head?* On the other hand, some combinations are less so, e.g., *Do you like toothpaste in your bath*?

In Example 274, Loïc demonstrates that he has understood the NOUN slot variation possibilities of the frame and chooses a food noun to fit into the second slot. "Yoghurt" is not one of the options in the book; by choosing this word, Loïc is being creative and his intention

was to make me laugh. However, I cannot know whether Loïc intended to refer to the source text or not when he borrowed from it. It is also impossible to know whether he had, at the moment he produced this utterance, also identified the first slot of the frame but simply chosen to produce a variation with ketchup. It is more likely that the habitual way we looked at the book together, changing only one half of a page at a time, thereby providing a form of narrative continuity between each new combination, led to his identifying the possibility of only varying one slot at a time. Loïc's phrase also classifies as a DROP since *on* or *in* are present in the source phrases but have been dropped in Loïc's version. We can only guess that he drops the preposition because either it is not phonologically pertinent in the original and he has not noticed it is part of the frame, or he does not know how to choose between *in* or *on* so prefers to leave it out altogether. It is impossible to check on a video recording whether or not Loïc produced other utterances with *on* or *in* at this age, since no recordings exist before July 2005. His diary is no help here either, since it is not detailed enough to provide such information.

In Example 275, Meriel is reminded of a line from a storybook and rephrases it.

275	18/05/11		Meriel (5;11,5)	
Situation: At dinner, Léonie is feeding and cries between breasts. Ca: She wants her boobalicious! Me: Boobalicious! She **smells** like caviar. She **tastes** like caviar, Léonie!		Source: Book and DVD, Roald Dahl's *Revolting Rhymes, Little Red Riding Hood.* Source text: "Compared with her old Grandmamma, She's going to taste like caviar!"		Someone is going to eat something delicious.
RN T1	Multiple operation TENSE + VERB SUBSTITUTE *smells* Single operation TENSE SUBSTITUTE *tastes*		[VERB + [like caviar]] [taste + like caviar]	Not appropriate usage here

"Boobalicious" is the word my sister-in-law uses for a breastfeed. I don't say it very often and I don't know why my use of it on this occasion reminded Meriel of the phrase that she borrows from MAPNI. It is possibly related to the phonological similarity with "delicious." She rephrases it to fit the context, but the meaning she has assigned to it does not seem quite right. She seems to think it is a way of saying that someone is going to eat something tasty, which is similar to the meaning of the source text. Meriel has no idea what "caviar" is; nevertheless, she has correctly deduced that "taste like caviar" is synonymous with "taste delicious." However, she does not know how to insert the phrase into a larger construction

which will correctly convey her meaning. It seems that she is trying to say that Léonie wants her feed because for her it is delicious, but it sounds like she thinks Léonie would be delicious to eat! We cannot exclude the possibility that the second interpretation is the intended one, since it is not uncommon (in French) to describe babies as lovely enough to eat!

In Example 276, Loïc changes "this" to "that", and "you" to "him." He not only borrows the words of the source phrase, he also borrows the intonation and sentence stress which I used when reading the story. When I read the story, I use intonation to make the sentences sound like trains clanking along the tracks, which I believe was the author's intention. Thomas says to the trucks "This'll teach you a lesson, this'll teach you a lesson." with emphasis on "teach" and rhythmic delivery. And the trucks reply, "Yes, it will. Yes, it will" in sad creaky voices. Loïc's borrowing is triggered by my previous utterance which reminds him of the similar phrase he had encountered in the story. Also, the chiding context is similar and the usage is pragmatically appropriate. Loïc's use of "that" instead of the "this" of the source text, is probably an echo of "that" in my previous utterance.

276	10/10/07		Loïc (4;6,6)	
Situation: Eric did something to Loïc which backfired on himself. We laughed. Ca: That'll teach you! Lo: **That**'ll teach **him** a lesson! com: exactly the same tone and intonation as I use when reading the source text		*Soucre:* Book *Thomas and James*. Source text: "This'll teach you a lesson, this'll teach you a lesson."		Saying someone will learn from his actions
RN T1 & T2	Multiple operations SUBSTITUTE *that* & *him*		[DEM. ADJ + teach + PRON. + a lesson]	Appropriate

In example 277 Loïc borrows and rephrases two phrases from a dialogue in the English-language Canadian cartoon *Caillou*. It seems that he wants to ask a similar question, so he adapts a script from MAPNI to a new context.

277	22/03/09		Loïc (5;11,18)
Lo: Mummy, how **does Voldemort** die? Ca: It's a bit complicated. Lo: **Is it** rather a big question?	Source: Cartoon on video *Caillou* Source text: Caillou: How did the bird die? Father: Well, Caillou, that's rather a big question.		A question that is difficult to answer
RN	Multiple operations SUBSTITUTE *does* &	[How + QU. AUX.+ TENSE +	Appropriate

| T2 | *Voldemort*
Multiple operations SUBSTITUTE *it* and REARRANGE (*pronoun + is → is + pronoun*) | SUBJECT + die?]
[PRONOUN + is + [rather a big question]] | |

In examples like this one, we can suggest that a phrase which has been stored in the child's mental lexicon is selected and borrowed for use in discourse because it is perceived as appropriate to the ongoing situation. Loïc's borrowing seems to have been triggered by the framing of the intial exchange which shares similarities with the source text:

Child: [how + QU. AUX.+ TENSE + SUBJECT + die?] = question about manner of dying

Parent: [PRONOUN + is + [rather a big question]] = response indicating complexity of
the issue under discussion

It is possible that Loïc's borrowing of the source phrase(s) is unconscious, that he is inadvertently making use of the resources available to him. Perhaps the similarity between Loïc's first question and *Caillou*'s question is coincidental. Then, this similarity may have triggered the memory of the dialogue between *Caillou* and his father, thereby leading to a rephrased borrowing of the father's reponse. Examples like this one illustrate how children use the linguistic resources available to them, resources which have been encountered previously and stored in memory, to develop their knowledge of language and to participate in communicative exchanges. In this sense, Loïc is using language from input to develop his productive linguistic and discursive abilities. Whether or not he is aware that he is doing so is debatable.

The last example in this section is of interest because it might show the acquisition of a construction which includes, at one point, the verbatim and then rephrased borrowing of a phrase which possibly comes from MAPNI. In the following table of examples, we can trace the evolution of Loïc's use of the phrase "What's that funny noise?" and his creative variation on the frame to make "What's that funny spoon?"

278			06/02/05 to 22/03/05		Loïc (1;10,03) to (1;11,18)
06/02/05	Loïc (1;10,02)	**What's that?** C'est quoi ça?			
17/02/05	Loïc (1;10,13)	(Sitting on a chair) **Whas'at?** A chair, for si' down.			
07/	Loïc	(Hearing my mobile phone go beep)	Single operation		[what's that + ADJ

03/05	(1;11,03)	**What's sat funny noise?**	ADD ON ?	+ NOUN ?]
20/03/05	Loïc (1;11,16)	**What's that noise?** **What's that funny noise?**	Single operation DROP	[what's that […] noise ?]
22/03/05	Loïc (1;11,18)	Lo: (eating pasta with a big pasta claw) Mix, mix, mix it all up....*encore* Ca: That's a funny spoon Lo: Funny spoon... **What's that funny spoon?** Mix, *encore*, une étoile. What's that funny spoon? Mix.	Single operation SUBSTITUTE *spoon*	[what's that funny + NOUN ?]

I must note here that the transcriptions of Loïc's utterances at this early stage of diary-keeping were not accurately written using the IPA. As acknowledged in Chapter 2, my early transcription technique was very approximate and often involved writing down the perceived target. In Example 278, I have reproduced the text of the diary notes as they were written. Initially, at age 1;10,02 Loïc can ask "What's that?" Eleven days later, he can provide an answer to his own question. At age 1;11,13 he creates a new phrase by the addition of an [ADJECTIVE + NOUN] making "What's that funny noise?" Three days later, the diary data attests to the question as being part of his repertoire both with or without the adjective "funny" demonstrating that he has identified the adjective as a variable and non obligatory element in the phrase, one that can be either added or dropped. Finally, at age 1;11,18 Loïc is prompted by my utterance "That's a funny spoon" in which the adjective "funny" combined with a noun triggers his memory of "What's that funny noise" and he then produces a new variation of the question by blending the [ADJECTIVE + NOUN] phrase in my utterance into his own question, thereby demonstrating his awareness that the noun is also a variable slot in the phrase. The questions "What's that (funny) noise?" are not particularly unusual and Loïc would probably have heard me use both in ordinary conversational input. The question "**What's that noise?**" is also featured in a *Kipper* cartoon which Loïc had on a DVD he had been given at Christmas a few months before and which he watched frequently at the time this example occurred. However, the question is such an ordinary one that it is difficult to claim a direct link between the DVD script and Loïc's utterances of the question.

Chapter 4

Discussion of findings

"Meanings is not important," said the BFG.
"I cannot be right all the time.
Quite often I is left instead of right."
Roald Dahl, The BFG. 1982, p.27.

Chapter 4 Discussion of findings

We started out with a set of questions which were refined and partially answered in Chapter 2.

1. How can we label or define the phenomenon observed?
2. What form do children give the phrases they borrow?
3. Why do they borrow these phrases?
   a) What happens to make them borrow a phrase?
   b) What discursive function does phrase borrowing perform?
4. What does the borrowing of phrases phenomenon contribute to our understanding of language acquisition?
   a) What developmental function does phrase borrowing perform?
   b) How are they able to borrow phrases? What aspect of cognitive development can explain how children borrow phrases?
5. What is the nature of the phrases the children borrow?
6. What is special about MAPNI as an input source?

The first three of these questions were answered in Chapter 2, section 2.5, by way of introduction to the terminology we developed for the analysis of the data. First, we labelled the phenomenon observed in the data as **borrowing**, and we distinguished between **inter-language borrowing** and **intra-language borrowing**. Next, we proposed categories for the form, trigger and function of borrowed phrases. We identified the **forms** of verbatim borrowing and rephrased borrowing, **triggers** of preceding utterance, conversational routine, and thematic context, and **functions** of performance, role-playing, form-meaning mapping, and pattern-finding. We will now continue our earlier discussion of the first three questions, and attempt to answer the remaining questions.

Question 1: How can we label or define the phenomenon observed?

Answer: We can label it as **Borrowing**.

In order to use this label, we must extend the usual definition of borrowing, (with reference to bilingual speech), and distinguish between inter-language borrowing and intra-language borrowing:

Inter-language borrowing: borrowing words or phrases from one language into another (includes language borrowing, speech borrowing, codemixing, codeswitching; societal or individual)

Intra-language borrowing: borrowing words or phrases from another speaker or text (in

the same language) and inserting them into one's own production.

This definition of borrowing requires that we perceive it as a wide-ranging linguistic phenomenon which concerns language in general, not just languages in contact. The reason for the development of this distinction is that the data points to a phenomenon which seems to be like bilingual borrowing in many aspects, with the important difference that the source phrases and the target phrases are in the same language. This view of borrowing is very similar to Simonovic's (2014) idea that we should not see different languages as being in contact, but we should see contact as a process or phenomenon which has access to different languages. If, as he argues, inter-language mappings are the correspondences between structures of languages which get stabilised in a speaker's community, then we can postulate that intra-language mappings are correspondences which get stabilised in an individual speaker's lexicon, and this regardless of how many different languages are stored together. Indeed, this view of contact and borrowing as inherent to language in general, rather than to bilingual language in particular, may require some important reevaluation of models which conceptualise separate language representations for distinct languages with identifiable boundaries. From this perspective, cross-linguistic influence is a manifestation of non-language-specific borrowing, whereby the boundaries which distinguish one language from another in the mental lexicon become blurred, the correspondences between concepts and forms are multiple and interchangeable, and the access and retrieval routes may converge. Whether or not such processes are controlled, or even the extent to which a person may consider it necessary to exert control over them, is influenced by the socio-linguistic environment's perceptions of acceptable bilingual behaviour.

The bilingual context of data collection revealed some interesting cross-linguistic influences on the borrowing phenomenon. Let's look again at the following examples:

In Example 242, the meaning of a French word influences the perceived meaning of its English homonym.

242	22/10/07	Loïc (4;6,18)
Lo: It's a **very particular** necklace.	Meaning perceived by child: Saying something is special Meaning of French "*particulier*" = "particular, special, or unusual."	
Source: *The princess and the pea.* Cassette in car. Nanny Petunia says to, hard to please, Prince Jabalad "**very**	Meaning in source context:	

particular aren't we, it's top brick of the chimney or nothing for you, isn't it?"	Saying someone is fussy or difficult to please
[It's a(n) [very particular] + NOUN]	

In Example 263, the same process is applied to a two-word phrase.

263		12/02/12		Owen (5;1,14)	
Situation: At the end of the film, Owen is playing with me, rolling a little car back and forth between us. He's pushing it a bit fiercely and I'm worried it will hurt Léonie so I tell him to do it more slowly, to be careful. He pushes the car saying: Ow: It's **one time** or never. It's **one time** or never.				Source: Film *Shanghai Kid 2*. Source text: "it's now or never"	In some French contexts, "Une fois = One time (once)" can also mean "now." Exclamation.
RN T3	Single operation SUBSTITUTE *one time*	[it's + [now/one time] + or never] Cross-linguistic idiomatic influence		Not formulaic for the community	

　　In figure 2 below, I have tried to present a visualisation of the different lexical entries, (each presented in a circle or ellipsis) formed through experience and input, that Owen may have drawn upon (presented in the hexagon as a store of relevant source items) in order to arrive at Example 263 (presented in a rectangle). Some of the words or expressions in elipses, for example "do it once" and "*fais le une fois*" are not drawn from the data, but are so common that we assume Owen had already heard them before he produced this example. Also, they are presented in a sort of generic form, whereas in actual experience Owen might have heard someone say "I saw that once." The correspondences represented in the hexagon are the inter-language and intra-language mappings that we imagine contributed to his production of the example. They are presented together in this way in order to illustrate the suggestion made above that borrowing can draw on resources from both languages, much like the blending process illustrated in figure 1. (Section 1.5.4) which illustrates the way a blend can be created from more than one input space.
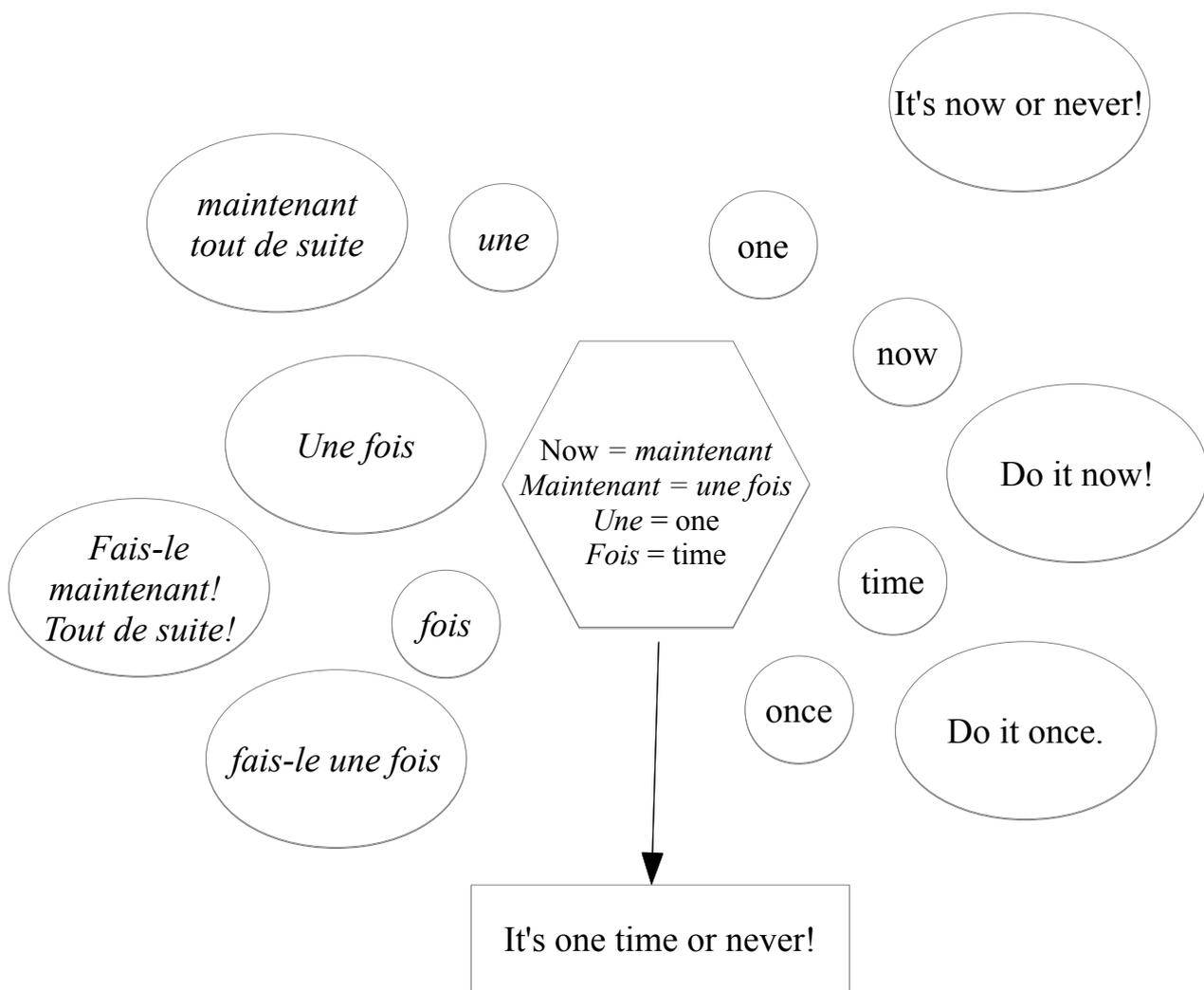
Figure 3. Visualisation of the multiple inputs and the inter- and intra-language mappings which may explain Example 263.

In Example 271, the phonological similarity between "*loup*" and "*toux*" might trigger a lexical association which is then translated into a creative blend.

271	13/01/10	Meriel (4;7)	
Me: I've got a big bad **cough**	Source: Book *Little Red Riding Hood*. Source text: "The big, bad, wolf." and "I've got a (bad) cough."		Saying something is bad
RR? T2	Single operation SUBSTITUTE *cough* or BLEND	[I've got + [a big+bad+ NOUN]]	Appropriate but noticeably unusual because sounds so similar to the formula

The three examples above seem to indicate that inter-language borrowing and intra-language borrowing can take place simultaneously. This observation contributes to the discussion on the nature of the bilingual lexicon. It seems that some lexical items are stored in a way which enables them to exert cross-linguistic influence in terms of the associations which trigger their retrieval as well as in the way they are produced. The vast majority of borrowings from MAPNI in our data respect the established language boundaries. However, this could be a result of speakers' perceptions that language separation is the most desirable form of bilingual behaviour. It would be interesting to examine the borrowing from MAPNI phenomenon in a bilingual community in which codeswitching and codemixing are the norm. Perhaps such speakers regularly practise simultaneous inter- and intra-language borrowing.

Question 2: What form do children give the phrases they borrow?

Answer: In terms of the formal characteristics of borrowed phrases in the data, we can distinguish between phrases that are produced with the same form as the source text, (the same words in the same order, in the same tense, with the same pronouns, and so on), and phrases that are produced with some alteration of the source text, (a different tense, different pronouns, a different verb in a verb slot or noun in a noun slot, and so on). We can therefore state that a borrowed phrase can take one of **two forms**:

Verbatim borrowing is defined as the exact repetition of the source text.

Rephrased borrowing is defined as an adaptation of the source text.

Question 3 is further refined here and we have added a "how" element in order to distinguish between triggers and the trigger mechanism.

<u>Question 3 (a): Why and how do the children borrow these phrases? What elements of the ongoing contextual and discursive event cause borrowing to occur? What kind of mechanism underlies this process?</u>

Answer 1: "Why?" Borrowing occurs because certain elements in the contextual and discursive ongoing event trigger its occurrence. The trigger elements can be present in a preceding utterance, in the ongoing conversational routine, or in the more general thematic context.

Answer 2: "How?" Triggers act upon the speaker's memory of past events by means of a trigger mechanism which interacts between stored linguistic items and elements of ongoing events, causing correspondences between present and past events to be created or identified, and possibly leading to the retrieval of stored items at a particular moment in interaction. The trigger process shows where and how utterances converge through phonological and contextual similarities. It does indeed seem to be the case that **triggering is a reflection of lateral associations between utterances**, as suggested by Hopper:

> "The systematicity that linguists have come to expect in language exists, of course, but in a more complex way. Now, the linguistic system is not to be seen as something complete and homogenous, in which "exceptional" phenomena must be set aside as inconvenient irregularities, but as a growing together of disparate forms. This convergence takes place through lateral associations of real utterances. Similarities spread outward from individual formulas, in ways that are motivated by a variety of factors, such as (a) phonological similarity (rhyme, assonance): He's likely to → he's liable to; and (b) contextual similarity: I persuaded him to → I convinced him to, and other kinds of resonance (Bolinger, 1961). They do not, however, merge into the kind of uniform grammar which would lead one to posit a uniform mental representation to subtend them." (Hopper 2014: 16)

Such lateral associations appear to contribute, not only to the way speakers draw on linguistic resources while co-constructing discourse, but also while building up individual mental representations of the language(s) they hear and learn to speak. As Example 269 demonstrates (example in which I produce a non-referential rephrased borrowing at the age of 37), such associations continue to be constructed in the speaker's mental lexicon throughout life, again as Hopper argued:

> "This means that the task of "learning a language" must be reconceived. Learning a language is not a question of acquiring grammatical structures but of expanding a repertoire of communicative contexts. Consequently, there is no date or age at which the learning of language can be said to be complete. New contexts, and new occasions of negotiation of meaning, occur constantly. A language is not a circumscribed object but a loose confederation of available and overlapping social experiences." (Hopper 2014: 17)

The analysis of the data suggests that all borrowing is triggered by something either in the nature of the context or within the utterances of discourse itself. While I attempted to identify and classify triggers, I noticed that the same category of trigger does not necessarily result in the

same kind of borrowing in each case. We can distinguish between triggered recitals or role-plays (often for humourous effect) and other forms of contribution to discourse. Section 3.1 presents examples of performances in the form of singing or reciting, and Section 3.2 presents role-plays. In both Sections the examples demonstrate borrowing from MAPNI which is triggered by previous utterances and / or by the context. Performing or role-playing may also be triggered by an individual's personal thoughts or feelings which are sometimes impossible for another person to identify. A trigger may cause a speaker to recall a prior event or text but the speaker may choose not to utter what she has been reminded of, perhaps because it is not really appropriate to the ongoing context. Sometimes, a speaker may have little or no control over whether she chooses to utter something that has been recalled in this way, and may blurt it out even if it is not appropriate. This might be even more true for young children than for adults. Loïc's blending of monologue and borrowed phrases from MAPNI in Example 191 seems to be the vocalisation of a stream of consciousness which reveals how his present thoughts interact with his memories of past events. He is so young that this stream of consciousness is verbalised even though it has no communicative purpose.

Sometimes the identification of a trigger only informs us about the trigger process itself, something to do with the way phrases are stored in memory and the sorts of correspondences (connections, associations) that cause them to be recalled. The following two examples are good illustrations of this; none of the four functions of borrowing that we have discussed so far appear to be relevant here. The examples only reveal the trigger process, as if the utterances have no purpose other than to voice the associations that are made. In addition, the bilingual nature of associations is revealed in all its complexity.

Loïc and I had done some baking together, so he was familiar with basic cake ingredients, including "flour." He had been watching the English-language cartoon *Oswald: A sticky situation* on DVD. In this story, Oswald and his friends make some honey buns. They list the ingredients: "flour, butter, sugar." In Example 279 Loïc is reminded of the source text because he thinks of the word "flower." Perhaps he internally verbalised his naming of the flower, and this thought acted in a similar way to a vocalised preceding utterance.

279	22/05/05	Loïc (2;1,18)	
Situation: Loïc is in the garden and he sees a flower Lo: flour, butter, and sugar!	Source: *Oswald* cartoon in English. Source text: "Flour, butter, sugar"	VN T3 or T1 (own thought)	

intra-language homophones trigger a borrowing	Flower = flour → butter and sugar

At this time, Loïc had also been watching the *Babar* cartoons in French on the television at his child minder's house. I couldn't remember that, in the English version, the character *Fleur* is called Flora, so when I talked about the *Babar* cartoons with Loïc, I called her *Fleur* too. Loïc knew that "*fleur*" could be translated as "flower." In Example 280 (which occurred the day after Example 279) we see how Loïc draws upon the two different source texts and, as a result of a French to English translation followed by an English homophone correspondence, is prompted to produce a borrowing which apparently has no communicative function other than to voice the association that has formed in his mind.

280	23/05/05	Loïc (2;1;19)	
Ca: Babar's children are called Alexander, Pom and *Fleur* Lo: butter and sugar	Source (a): *Babar* cartoon in French, (b) *Oswald* cartoon in English. Source text (a): *Fleur* is the name of one of Babar's children. (b) "Flour, butter, sugar"		VN T1
Inter-language translation equivalents trigger the already existing homonym association which again triggers a borrowing		*Fleur* = flower = flour → butter and sugar	

In the next example, the trigger is melodic not linguistic. I discretely recorded Léonie singing to herself and was lucky enough to capture a wonderful example of melodic triggering leading to both verbatim borrowing and rephrased borrowing from the source text lyrics (Audio recording 1 on the accompanying DVD). The song "Libérée, délivrée" from Disney's 2013 animation *Frozen / La Reine des Neiges* was a particular favourite for Meriel, Owen and Léonie at the time this example occurred and they frequently sang it at home, albeit not always with the correct lyrics. In Léonie's monologue singing she mostly chants words to a very simple and repetitive melody. At 1:20 into the recording, her melodic improvisation ressembles part of the source text melody and triggers a memory of it. She first produces a verbatim borrowing of a line from the song and then a rephrased borrowing which echos the source text structurally and phonologically, but which is semantically linked to the previous lyrics of her sung monologue. It is classified as non-referential as Léonie was alone at the time and so was not referring to the source text in order to communicate a reference to another person.

281	11/06/15	Léonie (4;5,18)	
Lé: *Je ne mentirai plus jamais* *Oui je fais ça!* *Pour toi maman.*	Source: Film Disney's 2013 animation *La Reine des Neiges.* Source text: "*Libérée, délivrée* *Je ne mentirai plus jamais* …. *Me voilà!* *Oui, je suis là* "		VN RN T1
Melodic trigger: self-produced melodic element triggers source melody and some source text	Me voilà! Oui, je suis là → oui je fais ça, pour toi maman		

With this last example of borrowing we are not only privy to a child's stream of consciousness and non-communicative creative process, we can also identify another kind of trigger: the melodic trigger.

Question 3(b): What discursive function does phrase borrowing perform?

Answer 1: There are two categories of the discursive functions of borrowing which are **related to the functions of MAPNI** (as discussed in Section 1.6.2) of performing, sharing, transmitting, and creating:

1. Performing

2. Role-playing

It seems that on many occasions, the children borrow phrases from MAPNI in order to perform, or practise performing, to act out scenes from stories, and to provide role-played stories they invent themselves with suitable dialogue. Performing and role-playing are creative activities that make up an important element of human communication and transmission. Young children learn to use language for performance and role-playing at the same time as they learn to use language for conversation. It is possible to argue that performance and role-play are ultimately "useful" as contexts for practising "real" discursive communication. I prefer to attribute these forms of linguistic expression a creative function of their own, distinct from everyday discourse.

Answer 2: There are two categories of discursive function which are related to using **form-meaning pairings which have institutional status**, and then **adapting these to new situations**:

3. Associating a phrase with an event (developmental function: Form-Meaning Mapping)

4. Adapting a phrase to a new event (developmental function: Pattern-Finding)

Functions 3 and 4 reflect the way MAPNI can contribute to children's repertoire of everyday, discursive, communicative phrases. In these cases, the language of creative expression, in the form of stories and songs, can also be a source of expressions that are applicable in contexts beyond the creative functions of the source texts. It is in mapping phrases from MAPNI to everyday discourse that children are most prone to misjudging the pragmatic appropriateness of phrases. The danger lies, perhaps, in associating language from the creative genres with contexts of everyday discourse.

We can add to these four functions the acknowledgement that borrowing may not serve any particular function in interaction; it may be fundamentally linked to personal well-being, childhood play, or basic human creativity, or it may simply be the expression of a triggered association.

Answer 3: There are two categories of discursive function which concern **reference to the source text**. In relation to the source text, borrowing can be:

5. **Referential borrowing**: The reference to the source text is a reference to shared knowledge. The speaker intends to refer to a source text.[27]

6. **Non-referential borrowing**: The speaker may or may not intend to refer to the source text.

The question of **referential intentions** is a difficult one that merits further discussion. We cannot prove another person's intentions, only speculate on those of the children in this study thanks to my informed parental intuition. I can also assert that I produced a non-referential borrowing myself. The degree of a speaker's intention to refer to the source text, and possible reasons for doing so, may depend to some extent on the speaker's awareness of the addressee's shared knowledge and whether the speaker desires this shared knowledge. We can summarise this idea in the following way:

There are varying degrees of **awareness of shared knowledge**: The speaker may or may not know whether the addressee is familiar with the source text.

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[27]Not quite the same as **quoting**, term which implies that the quoter makes an explicit reference to the source, e.g., "as Mr X said in that film." If a child quotes or makes a reference like this, I don't include it in the data. I am more interested in the act of borrowing a phrase because the speaker knows that the addressee will recognise it, and it's not necessary to present it as a referenced quote. When this happens in our family, we do often go on to discuss/identify the source of a borrowing, *after* the event. This is similar to Fägersten's (2012) intertextual quotation.

There are varying degrees of **desirability of shared knowledge**: The speaker may or may not wish the addressee to be familiar with the source text.

Referential borrowing is always intentional. Non-referential borrowing, on the other hand, may be either intentional or unintentional. In other words, the speaker can borrow a phrase and insert it into ongoing discourse with or without the intention of referring to the source text from which it was borrowed. There are various possible reasons why borrowing might be referential or non-referential, and whether the reference to the source text may be intended or not.

Functions of Intentional Referential borrowing:

I have identified four possible functions of intentionally referring to shared knowledge.

The basic function is

1. **To remind the other interactants of a linguistic item that has been shared**. (I'm remembering a linguistic item and I want you to remember it too.)

Other, related functions are:

2. **To remind other interactant(s) of related shared experience and knowledge**. If the speaker knows that the addressee is familiar with the source text, even more so if they have previously experienced it together, the speaker may also intend to refer to the context of previous experience of the source text and possible shared interpretations of it. In this way the shared knowledge to which the speaker is referring may go beyond the actual source text itself. (I'm remembering a linguistic item and when we shared it and what we thought about it. I want you to remember the item and our sharing of it too.)

3. **To align with other interactant(s) or with oneself**. Borrowing a phrase from a source text can constitute interactive alignment with the speaker of the trigger utterance. (I believe you are thinking about something; I remember that too; I want you to know that I remember it too.) It is possible to produce both the trigger and the borrowed phrase and therefore to align with oneself. (I've just said something and it reminded me of something else.)

4. **To impress the other interactant(s)**. Borrowing a phrase from a shared source text can be a way to demonstrate memory of that text in the belief that such remembering will be highly valued by the addressee. (I can remember a linguistic item and I believe that my ability to remember it is an exploit. I want you to recognise my exploit as something positive and maybe give me positive feedback on my ability to remember it and borrow it.)

Non-referential borrowing can be intentional or unintentional:

Intended Non-referential borrowing: The borrowed item can stand alone, no reference to the source text, no shared knowledge or common ground, is required to aid understanding or appreciation of the item. The speaker who produces an intentionally non-referential borrowing may do so for one of several possible reasons:

Possible discursive **positioning reasons** for borrowing when the speaker knows/hopes/doesn't care/ doesn't know if the addressee does not know the source text and therefore will not pick up any reference to the source text:

1. **To appropriate expert status in order to impress or intimidate the addressee**. By borrowing linguistic items that the addresse has not heard before, the speaker may intend to demonstrate knowledge or linguistic skill that she hopes will cause the addressee to have a favourable opinion of her.

2. **To amuse the addressee:** The speaker may intend to make the addressee laugh because the borrowed phrase itself is funny, even without knowledge of the source. The speaker might want to make the addressee laugh as a way to create or strengthen a relationship thanks to the affective benefits of sharing a joke, laughing together, or cheering someone up. The speaker might want to make the addressee laugh as a way of gaining or maintaining "funny guy" status.

Unintended Non-referential borrowing:

There are three possible reasons for Unintended Non-referential borrowing:

1. The speaker doesn't realise that what she is saying is something she heard someone else say before

2. The speaker has forgotten the wording of the source text or its very existence

3. The speaker has appropriated the text as her own.

The notion that speakers can borrow a phrase from input without realising they are doing so leads us to speculate on the kind of memory process involved in borrowing. Perhaps referential borrowing is a result of explicit memory, defined as "conscious awareness, at the time of remembering, of the information, experience, or situation being remembered" (Foster, 2009: 41-42). In contrast, (unintended) non-referential borrowing could be a reflection of implicit memory, defined as "an influence on behaviour, feelings or thoughts as a result of prior experience, but which is manifested without conscious recollection of the original events" (*ibid*).

<u>Question 4. What does the borrowing of phrases phenomenon contribute to our understanding of language acquisition?</u>

<u>a) What developmental function does phrase borrowing perform?</u>

Answer: I have identified the following possible **developmental/cognitive functions** of borrowing from MAPNI:

1. Exercising memory; practising memory retrieval (discursive function 1: performing)

2. Learning phrases and scripts that are associated with personalities and speech events (discursive function 2: role-playing)

3. Form-Meaning-Usage Mapping (discursive function 3: associating phrases or scripts with concepts or speech acts)

4. Pattern-Finding: Learning about patterns; learning how to fill slots; learning how to combine chunks (discursive function 4: adapting phrases to new situations)

5. Making artistically, pragmatically, and syntactically creative use of available linguistic and semantic resources (All functions)

The data we have presented does seem to support Tomasello's claim that

> "Children construct their language using general cognitive processes falling into two broad categories: (1) intention-reading (joint attention, understanding communicative intentions, cultural learning), by which they attempt to understand the communicative significance of an utterance; and (2) pattern-finding (categorization, schema formation, statistical learning, analogy), by which they create the more abstract dimensions of linguistic competence" (Tomasello 2006: 8).

We will first summarise the communicative significance of phrases from MAPNI, as they seem to be understood by the children. We will then (in response to Question 4b) look at the second of Tomasello's two broad categories of cognitive processes.

A visual image can be associated with a particular concept and its associated phrase. A good example of this is Léonie being reminded of "Ah hah! Oh hoh! Tracks in the snow" (Example 239) when watching a filmed image of clouds from above. Such an example tells us that she has mapped a particular visual image (from DVD/book) onto a concept (snow) which is associated with a whole phrase from a story. When she sees another visual image which has some similar features to the original one, her memory of the first image is triggered, an association between the two images is formed, and the previously existing phrasal association is also triggered. It is memorised as a whole phrase because it is a complete rhyming couplet.

↓

↓

concept: snow / tracks in snow

↓

"Ah hah, oh hoh, tracks in the snow"

In other cases, a concept is associated with a collocation:

spillage, covering ↔ *plein partout* (Example 250)

In many cases, an event or speech act is associated with a particular phrase or event script. This leads to the borrowing of a phrase because the child believes it performs a particular function (for example, to exclaim). These phrases are either truly institutionally formulaic or have become formulaic for the speaker (and sometimes also for the family speech community):

The young language acquirer can use borrowed phrases as they are and appropriately...

Event / speech act	Associated phrase	Example
Someone scared you	You gave me the fright of my life!	253
Someone has told a lie	Liar, liar, your bum's on fire!	261
Something has been spilled	Oops a daisy, mop it up	255
Reassuring someone	Everything's hunky dory	254
You don't want to do something	Not I	258
Food is too hot	It's too hot for me	260
Getting mum's attention	Mummy pig!	224
Expressing surprise	Good heavens!	257
Responding to a complaint	Some people are never satisfied!	256
Excusing yourself (from the table)	(Thank you for my nice dinner.) I'd better go now.	268
Expressing disatisfaction	Oh bother!	259
Saying something is tasty	Scrumdidiliumptious	249
Saying something is special	Rarissime	248

...or not so appropriately; this may be because the phrase is not right for the situation:

Event / speech act	Associated phrase	Example
A witch is at a party	Witch witch please come to my party	244
It's raining heavily	It's pouring	243
You do something repeatedly	All day long	245
Exclamation	Firehouse dog!	240

… or because the phrase is misunderstood.

Pleasant anticipation of eating	I can have this lot would be nice for breakfast eyes	246
Someone is going to eat something tasty	She tastes like caviar	275
Saying something is special	It's a very particular necklace	242

Young children acquiring language (and adults) also use MAPNI as a lexical resource and adapt an existing phrase to suit a new, related, similar situation. Such adaptation can be seen as evidence of the process of pattern-finding, part of the development of categorization or schema formation. Adaptations can be idiomatically successful.

Something doesn't fit / work	That can't be right	264
Thanking someone for a meal	Thank you for my nice dinner	268

Asking someone if they like food combinations	Do you like ketchup your yoghurt?	274
Saying someone will learn from his actions	That'll teach him a lesson	276
Someone has dropped something	Oops a daisy pick it up	267
Working together	Two (dogs / boys) sharing a shell	272-273
Asking for identification of something	What's that?	278a & b
Asking for identification of a noise	What's that (funny) noise?	278c & d
Asking for identification of an object (it's not a spoon but someone else said it was a funny spoon)	What's that funny spoon?	278 e
Telling someone not to do something to something else	Don't just step on it!	269

Even when it is not idiomatic, it may give rather poetic and creative results:

Someone is getting wet in the rain	Raindrops keep falling on his head	266
You want someone to come back	Come back, come back, wherever you are	270
Asking what we're going to do today	What shall we do on a sunny day?	265
Saying something is bad	A big, bad cough	271

We have already discussed the way words or phrases in one language can become associated with words or phrases in the other (inter-language mappings):

[it's + [now/once/one time] + or never]	it's one time or never	263

We can also infer the way words and phrases are associated with each other or with a frame within the same language (intra-language mappings):

big	+ bad	271
very	+ particular	242
forêt	+ *lointaine*	241
It's raining	→ it's pouring	243
poisson	→ *dans l'eau*	237

Other ways in which MAPNI can contribute to language learning are explicit:

Providing a definition, a synonym, a demonstration, etc. of a lexical item	Ca: "Time will tell," she said. That's like when I say "you'll see," time will tell.	142

Asking about the meaning of a lexical item	Lo: What does "given away" mean?	150
Asking for a translation	Lo: *C'est quoi en français, Papa*, sandstorm?	151
Confirming understanding	Me: … long. I understand. I know what she means.	141

Question 4 (b) How are the children able to borrow phrases?

Answer : The examples in section 3.4 are particularly revealing because they suggest ways in which phrases and construction frames are stored in memory, then memory traces are triggered by context or by other speakers' utterances leading to the retrieval and sometimes syntactically creative use of stored items. This syntactic creativity can be the result of single operation rephrasing or multiple operations rephrasing involving substituting, adding on, dropping, inserting, or rearranging elements of source phrases. It seems reasonable to suggest that conceptual blending also plays a role in this process. Let us now take a look at some of the examples from Section 3.1 and examine them from this perspective. In each case, I use diagrams to illustrate the way different input items may be organised in the bilingual lexicon, the associations or correspondences that may be established between them, and the resulting rephrasing or blending that seems to have taken place in order for the utterance to be produced.

   In Examples 1 and 3 (reproduced from Section 3.1), the borrowing process involves a single operation substitution, each time consisting of replacing a French verb stem with an English verb stem. It is as though the child has identified the verb stem as a variable slot and believes she can fill it with an item from either language. For the speaker, both of the two entries that exist in this category [*déplac*-] or [mov-] can be used here, perhaps because they have been identified as having the same semantic and syntactic identity and so have been stored in the lexicon together, even though they have two different codes. Only Example 1 is illustrated in Figure 4, but the same process seems to apply to Example 3.

Example 1: *Je l'ai* mov*é* [*personal pronoun + object + aux* + verb stem + *verb ending*]

Single operation SUBSTITUTE: [*déplac*- [deplas] + *é*] → [mov- + *é*]

Example 3: Why's it not [ɛ̃primɪŋ] out? [why's it not [*verb stem* + verb ending + out]]

Single operation SUBSTITUTE [print - ing out] → [*imprim* [ɛ̃prim] – ing out]
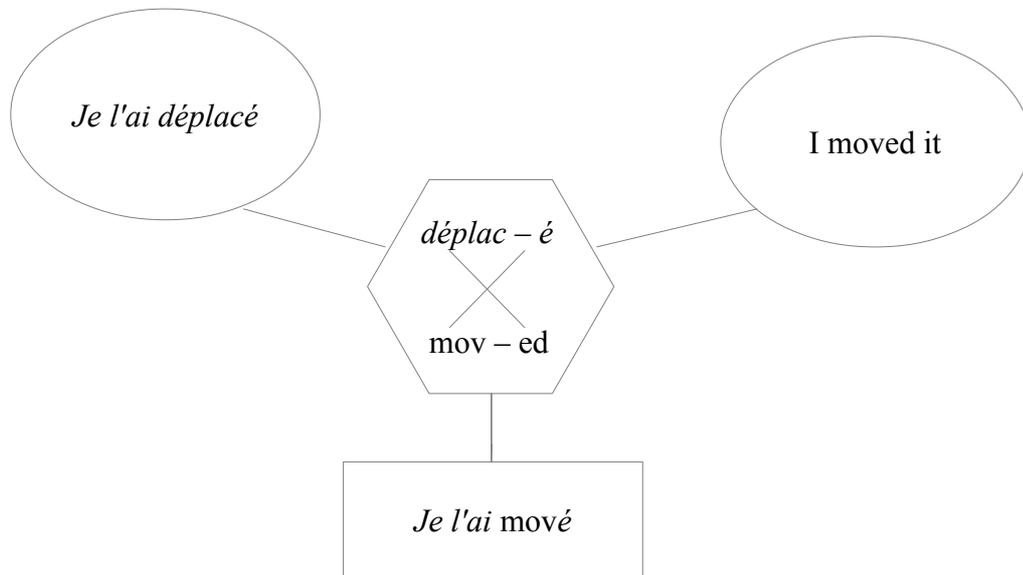
Figure 4. Visualisations of the semantic mappings and conceptual blend in Example 1. "Je l'ai mové"

Examples 58 and 59 are both cases of single operation ADD ON. Again, it is possible to explain these utterances through bilingual semantic mapping and conceptual blending. In Figure 5 below, the multiple possible input phrases that we assume Meriel and Owen based there mappings on are presented in ellipses, the inter-language mappings in the hexagon and the resulting blend in the rectangle.

Example 58: Can we play at hide and seek? A kiss at Léonie

Example 59: *Tu peux regarder à mon livre si tu demandes.*

Single operation ADD ON: [at / *à*] (blended lexical space)
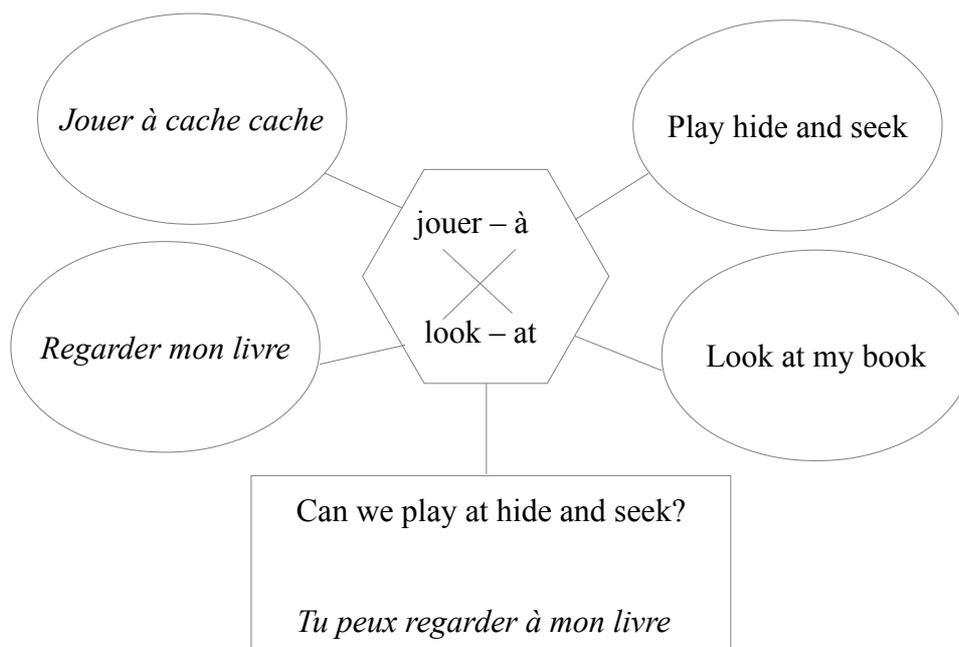
Figure 5. Visualisation of Examples 58 and 59.

One possible explanation for Example 78 is that is is the result of the shared lexical storage of the two language codes for each semantic item concerned, as represented in Figure 6 below.

Example 78: Ow: *Il est où le bleu lumière? Ou le bleu noir?*

Single operations SUBSTITUTE: [*clair*] → [*lumière*] and [*foncé*] → [*noir*]
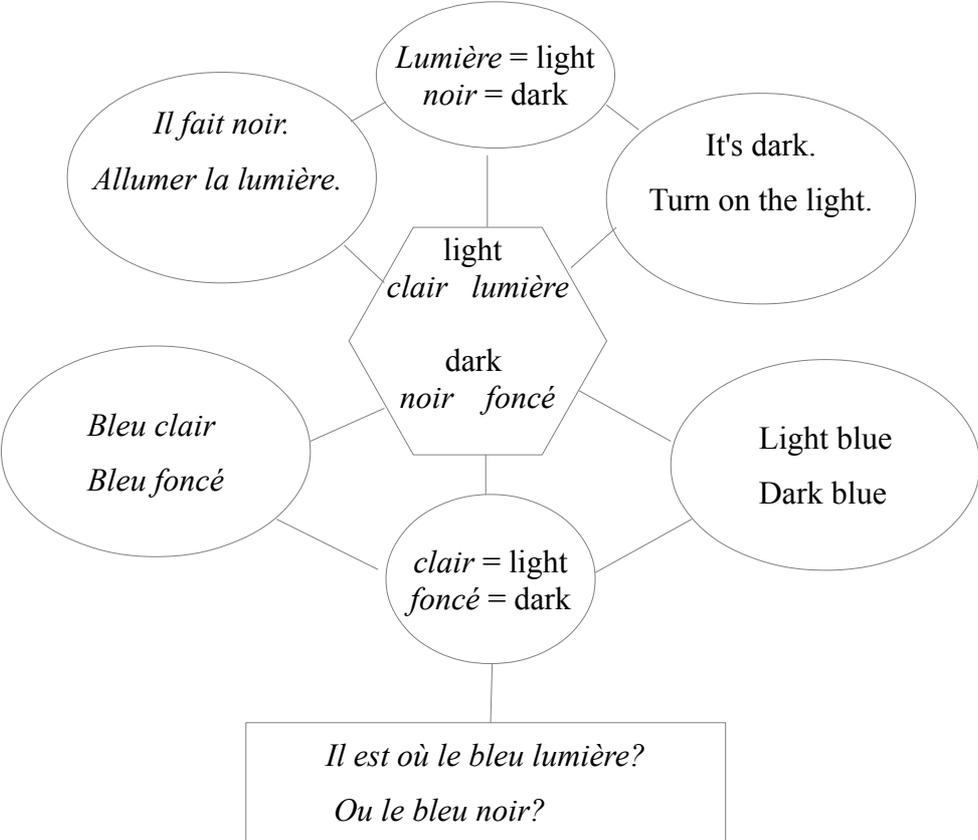
Figure 6. Visualisation of Example 78

The key implication of the conceptualisation in the examples above is that the child has mapped bilingual conceptual-lexical-syntactic entries and draws on all the resources available in a non-language specific way. What is suggested is that when blending or slot-filling, a child may choose an item which is coded in a language that is different from the other items in the utterance because it is stored in the same conceptual space as its translation equivalent. The characteristics that these translation equivalents have in common override the fact that they each "belong" to a different language code. Sometimes the distinction between borrowing, codemixing, and translation is not all that clear. It is possible to consider all such borderline examples as instances of the same phenomenon, that of borrowing as a linguistic phenomenon which has access to all the resources of the mental corpus or lexicon, no matter whether one or two languages are represented. Perhaps what is seen as crosslinguisitic influence or codemixing

is actually a form of inter-language blending or slot-filling for which all linguistic resources are put to use. We could therefore see these examples as cases of Wong Fillmore's fourth cognitive stratgey for young second language learners: Make the most of what you've got (Wong Fillmore, 1979: 198). Seen in this light, young bilingual children may eventually learn to keep their languages separate as a result of language socialisation which encourages such separation, rather than because their two languages are stored and accessed in separate ways in the lexicon.

Question 5.What is the nature of the phrases the children borrow?

Our focus on MAPNI enabled us to identify and examine specific instances of this phenomenon and to narrow down the scope of data collection. The data points to a phenomenon which seems to be a form of inter-textual borrowing whereby phrases which are borrowed from a particular source of linguistic input (MAPNI) are fed into discourse of a different nature (everyday conversation) to that of the input. We could apply our definition of borrowing to everyday speech and claim that borrowing from discourse is essentially the repetition or imitation of non-fictional speech. Borrowing from MAPNI can consist in borrowing from fictional language to use in fictional discourse, for example in role-playing and reciting, or it can consist in borrowing from fictional language to use in non-fictional discourse, as when a speaker employs phrases (verbatim or rephrased) that have been mapped onto specific contexts, situations or speech acts. As we have seen above, sometimes the mapping is appropriate, and sometimes it is not.

The answer to this question is also related to the sources and the nature of the source texts. Analysis of borrowing examples shows that often they are either formulaic for the whole speech community (institutionalized), they have been perceived as formulaic by the child, or they have become formulaic for the child, at least at the time the borrowing occurs. We can distinguish between "form-meaning pairings that have institutional status" (Pawley 1986:116[28]) in the speaker's culture or speech community, including formulaic expressions in English and French, and perceived form-meaning pairings (in the minds of the children) that do not have institutional status but may have developed formulaicity or mappings/pairings through (repeated) exposure to them in MAPNI. As Tannen claims, "Meaning is gleaned by association with the familiar sayings, not by structural decomposition" (Tannen 2007: 53). If MAPNI is a source of familiar sayings, then it can also be a source of form-meaning pairings. Is it possible that by experiencing particular form-meaning mappings in MAPNI (bearing in mind that such exposure can be highly repetitive) children believe these mappings to hold in other contexts too? Some of the data seems to point to this possibility, such as the cases where

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[28]Pawley distinguishes between institutional status in different cultures.

a child has apparently mapped a non-institutionalised meaning onto a form.

The examples in the data of borrowing and rephrasing phrases from input, both MAPNI and non-MAPNI, provide evidence in support of theories which posit the memorisation and abstraction of phrases from input in the mental lexicon or mental corpus. Some examples of rephrasing seem to illustrate the, albeit partial, appropriation of the grammatical structure of a phrase, or to use a term from cognitive linguistics, the underlying constructional schema. The discursive and developmental functions of borrowing claimed in this paper are based on the central tenet that borrowing phrases from input is part of language acquisition generally, and also of language use generally. It is unsettling, perhaps, to suggest that the language we use has been used by someone else before us. The idea may be perceived as a challenge to a belief in human creativity and each individual's identity. I do not believe that *all* the language we use has been used by someone else before us, or at least not in the same way. Indeed, I believe that verbatim borrowing is only the first stage, and rephrased borrowing the second, in a process which culminates in recreating. It is by repeating and rephrasing the language of others that children learn to create their own language to express their own personal and unique thoughts. This third stage is the result of the blending of linguistic items and the abstraction of patterns in the input. It is tricky to identify and I cannot provide solid proof of it here. I must rely on theories and intuition to argue the existence of this stage in the relationship between input and production. Until some evidence of this third, crucial stage can be provided, I hope that I can at least demonstrate the existence of the first two steps towards it.

The degree of the speaker's awareness that an item of language she is uttering has been used by someone else before is interesting to speculate upon. In some cases it is impossible to determine with certitude. In second language acquisition contexts, borrowing and rephrasing processes are actively encouraged and language students are fully aware, at least in the early stages of their manipulation of a linguistic item, that they are doing so. Eventually, at some point in the learning process, the use of a learned phrase becomes automatic. It is interesting to question the extent to which first language learners are also consciously borrowing language from input, and therefore playing an active role in their language learning. Here, the bilingual context is again crucial. The children studied in this thesis may approach their learning of English, perceived as a high status second language by the French-speaking community in which they live, as a language to be consciously learned, whereas young first language speakers of English growing up in a monolingual English-speaking community may

be largely unaware of their own language learning process. One important implication of the transmission of variations on fixed texts, as it often occurs in MAPNI, is that I believe it communicates to children that variation through substituting, rearranging, and so on, is possible and can be fun, while children's attempts at creating their own variations is part of the process of learning how to rephrase in general. Through such games, children become aware that rephrasing is possible and may realise that the same process is applicable to other kinds of language, including conversational language. Seen in this light, the verbatim and rephrased borrowings that we present in the data are a further step along a fixed to variable continuum of language use, from repetition to rephrasing and then recreation.

Question 6: What is special about MAPNI as an input source?

Answer: We saw in section 1.6. that certain characteristics of MAPNI make it a powerful medium of expression, communication, and transmission. The creation, performance, and sharing of MAPNI reflect the creative, artistic drive of humankind as well as the inherent social nature of human life. MAPNI is an important element of shared attention, family bonding, and community living. The shared knowledge and references that result from MAPNI-based experiences and interaction form the basis for much interpersonal communication and understanding. This is true on a small scale, for the immediate speech community (family, friends), and on a larger scale, for the wider speech community (regional, national, and international). Some MAPNI references transcend language boundaries, particularly musical themes which express basic human artistry and experience, and traditional tales which carry messages of ancient human wisdom. When we study the linguistic, and often musical, form of MAPNI, we can see that it is often constructed in a way which reflects the semantics of the message it carries, and which facilitates its memorisation and therefore transmission. MAPNI that is aimed at young, language learning children, seems to be particularly rich in repeated, memorable formulas, phonologically attractive sound patterns, and clearly identifiable construction patterns with scope for variability within a context of creative play. In addition, MAPNI appears to provide children with access to a store of institutionalised formulas and scripts which they can apply and adapt to new, imaginary or real-life contexts of expression and interaction.

Conclusion

...And yet all this comes down when the job's done

Showing off walls of sure and solid stone.

So if, my dear, there sometimes seem to be

Old bridges breaking between you and me.

Never fear. We may let the scaffolds fall

Confident that we have built our wall.

Seamus Heaney, 1966

Conclusion

My position as a researcher-parent of four bilingual children has enabled me to carry out close, informed, observation of bilingual first language acquisition in a natural context over a very long period of time. Because I had started my observation without any specific aims in mind, only with a broad curiosity about bilingual acquisition and lexical organisation, I was able to retain an open mind concerning what the data might reveal. The phenomenon which most drew my attention, that of the children reproducing phrases which they had heard in stories, songs, and films, led me to formulate the following research questions.[29] How can we label or define the phenomenon observed? What is the nature of the phrases the children borrow and why do they borrow these phrases? What is special about MAPNI as an input source? What form do children give the phrases they borrow? What does the borrowing of phrases phenomenon contribute to our understanding of language acquisition?

I have labelled this phenomenon borrowing because it resembles the borrowing phenomenon that is frequently examined in studies of bilingual language behaviour. It is distinguishable from bilingual borrowing because the source texts and borrowed phrases are often in the same language. It is therefore necessary to expand the definition of borrowing to encompass the processes of inter-language borrowing and intra-language borrowing, and the forms of verbatim and rephrased borrowing. As a result of this extension to the definition, we need to rethink our conceptualisation of lexical stores and speakers' access to them. It seems that the children studied here have access to multiword strings and lexicalised sentence stems (or constructions) in both languages simultaneously and the retrieval mechanism appears, at times, to involve a blurring of language boundaries.

The borrowing phenomenon is triggered by linguistic and contextual features of the situations in which borrowing occurs. Borrowing phrases from musical, audio-visual, poetic, and narrative input is one way for children to engage with these sources of creative linguistic and cultural shared knowledge and to appropriate elements from it as their own resources for creativity. Borrowing from MAPNI also appears to serve some purpose in the more general language acquisition process by enabling children to learn form-meaning-function mappings and to practise using these mappings in new ways. Finally, borrowing contributes to the abstraction of patterns from input, leading to the development of categorical and schema-based knowledge of language. The children in this study use the language of MAPNI to build

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[29]   See Chapter 4 for a more detailed formulation.

up networks of form-meaning-function mappings, they practise storing and retrieving items in and from memory, and they learn how to fill variable slots in constructions and blend chunks. Through contact with MAPNI, the children have been given access to idiomatic shared repertoires of their two linguistic communities which go beyond everyday speech. Thanks to MAPNI, they are able to make references to these creative source texts and to recognise references to them made by others. We have seen that MAPNI is not only a source of artistic and cultural knowledge, it is also a rich source of linguistic knowledge and a playground for linguistic appropriation and innovation. This may be as true for adults as it is for children. The example of my own production of an (unconscious) rephrased borrowing from MAPNI seems to suggest that borrowing can occur at any age, and that MAPNI can be a source of borrowable input for speakers of all ages.

Seeking answers to the research questions required that I developed my knowledge in two fields of research: bilingual first language acquisition and theoretical models of language which can account for whole phrases. In addition, I needed to learn more about stories, songs, and films. Chapter 1 described the main areas of research in these fields which provided the theoretical foundations for the present investigation into the children's borrowing of phrases from MAPNI. The review of the literature showed that there was no precedent for the investigation which I carried out. This study has therefore enabled previously unreported findings to emerge. One area in which the findings of the present study may provide a contribution is by giving strength to claims that reading, singing, and sharing audio-visual media with children acquiring two languages is a good way to reinforce and maintain both languages. Such claims are frequently made[30] and this dissertation provides one possible research-based explanation of why these practices are beneficial to language learning.

In Chapter 2 I presented the terminology developed for the categorisation of the borrowing from MAPNI phenomenon. One of the major limitations of the present study stems from the fact that the methodology was developed in an *ad hoc* fashion. It is hoped that the categories that were identified in this data set will be applicable to other data sets and that the methodological approach will be applicable, in a more systematic manner, to future investigations into comparable phenomena. A potentially rich area of future investigation is the application of the notion of inter-language borrowing to bilingual examples that would

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[30] For example, *The Welsh Language Board* encourages parents to sing, read, and watch television with their children in Welsh: http://gov.wales/docs/dcells/publications/150114youandtwfen.pdf ; The European Union funded *Multilingual Families Project* provides song, story, and audio-visual media activities among its resources for parents and children: https://sites.google.com/site/multilingualfamiliesproject/repository/for-parents/29activities

otherwise be considered as the result of cross-linguistic influence. It may be possible to redefine some instances of crosslinguistic influence as the result of lexical access and retrieval mechanisms which are not language-specific. Another limitation of the present study is one that is inherent to parental case studies, that is the difficulty of attempts to generalise the findings beyond the realm of this particular case. Again, it is hoped that future research will enable useful comparisons with other cases of language acquisition, (monolingual, bilingual and multilingual) and other contexts of borrowing from non-MAPNI sources of input. For example, it would be interesting to investigate borrowing from MAPNI among speakers in a bilingual speech community in which codeswitching and codemixing are the norm. Perhaps such speakers regularly practise simultaneous inter- and intra-language borrowing. It would be equally interesting to analyse the borrowing phenonemon in monolingual speech. In order to carry out such studies, it would probably be necessary to narrow down the input source to one which all members of a group have in common, for example a popular television series.

In Chapter 3, I presented the data in three distinct sections. The examples presented in 3.1 show that the children in this study showed signs of early language differentiation and produced translation equivalents from a very early age. They developed language choice preferences which fluctuated over time and according to place, addressee, or domain of use. We also saw how the development of translation competence, including the translation of narrative (discussed in Section 3.2.4), revealed some interesting examples of cross-linguistic influence (or inter-language borrowing?). The examples pertaining to bilingual development and discourse behaviour were discussed as a way of illustrating the contextual background of the borrowing from MAPNI phenomenon. However, when I began collecting such data this was not really the purpose I intended it to serve. By choosing to focus on the borrowing from MAPNI phenomenon, I was forced to make some difficult choices when it came to both data collection and the deepening of my theoretical knowledge. A study which focused on a specific aspect of bilingual development or discourse behaviour, such as the acquisition of translation equivalents or the negotiation of language choice in parent-child or sibling interaction, would have necessitated wider reading of the bilingual acquisition literature and a better grasp of the transcription and analysis techniques required. Fortunately, that which could not be accomplished within the scope of this doctoral dissertation may be addressed at a later date and the data so far collected will lend itself to future analysis from different approaches and with different aims.

Section 3.2 presents examples of ways in which the children interact with MAPNI in the family context. We see that sharing, performing, and acting out MAPNI dialogues and situations are prevalent in childhood and family life, and the children in this family are no exception to this general statement. Perhaps, our tendency to refer to and play with MAPNI texts is particular to our own family speech community. On the other hand, many anecdotes from friends and family indicate that not only is MAPNI referencing common in other families and groups, but borrowing from MAPNI is too. One particular example, related by a friend, springs to mind because it echoes Example 247 discussed in section 3.3. Here we see again that gestural input is borrowed at a moment the child perceives to be appropriate, triggered by a familiar phrase that is associated with the gesture because of their co-occurrence in the song:

Anouk: *On va faire un petit tour*
Yumi (1;0): (*does the "mill" action from the song "Ainsi font"*)
Yumi was reminded of the song by the words "*petit tour*" (source text: "*Ainsi font font font, les petites marionettes, ainsi font font font trois **petits tours** et puis s'en vont.*")
The same friend also gave me the next example which occurred a year later. Yumi is reminded of the lyrics of another song ("*T'es ok, t'es bath, t'es in*") by her mother's preceding utterance, and is prompted to sing it:
Anouk: *Toi, tu bois du Rooibos parce qu'il n'y a pas de théine*
Yumi (2;1): (sings) *t'es in, t'es bath*

As with Section 3.1, one of the aims of Section 3.2 was to provide contextual background to the borrowing phenomenon. However, the examples presented here suggest that much further work could be done concerning the ways in which children experience and appropriate MAPNI, the different kinds of interaction that occur around MAPNI artefacts, and most interestingly, the way children learn to channel and master their natural creativity thanks to their exposure to the creative productions of others. MAPNI often models syntactic creativity in a way which is noticeable, humorous, and memorable, perhaps prompting children to develop awareness of the existence of such linguistic creativity and of the possibility that they too can play with language in a similar way. Another question which begs to be further developed is that of the use of fictional language in contexts of everday discourse; what distinctions can be made between the literary and the spoken genres when we see that both are used as resources for the other? In what ways do they feed into and influence each other on the linguistic level?

Chapter 4 fully discussed the findings related to the examples presented in Section 3.3. We argued that the use of phrases from MAPNI in other contexts is a form of borrowing and

therefore that borrowing can be both an inter-language and an intra-language phenonemon. We classified borrowed phrases as either verbatim or rephrased, referential or non-referential, and we identified three types of triggers which cause borrowing to occur. While the many advantages of the parental case study approach have already been considered (Section 2.2) one obvious limitation of the approach is the reliance on parental intuition when categorising referential and non-referential borrowing. Perhaps an experimental method could be developed for the study of conscious or unconscious referential intention. Also, the distinction between referential and non-referential borrowing would benefit from further investigation in terms of explicit and implicit memory processes. Linked to this is another area of this part of the study which requires future research, that of the trigger mechanism of borrowing. It would be interesting to further examine the ways in which memories of source texts are triggered and to better understand the interaction between linguistic representations developed in the past with those developed during online speech. Finally, the claim made in Chapter 4 concerning the reconceptualisation of cross-linguistic influence as the manifestation of inter-language borrowing, seen here as the non-language-specific use of translation equivalents stored in bilingual conceptual spaces, deserves much more detailed examination. The suggestion I make regarding the organisation of translation equivalents in the bilingual lexicon, and the potential it creates for inter-language blending and slot-filling, is a tentative one. It has emerged as a result of extending to non-MAPNI examples the notion of inter-language and intra-language borrowing from MAPNI that was the main focus of this study.

The present study has revealed a fascinating phenomenon that merits further investigation. Perhaps, one day the phenomenon discussed here will be better described and understood in other case studies or thanks to more experimental methods. I hope that the story of how these four children borrow from Musical, Audio-visual, Poetic, and Narrative Input will inspire future study and that researchers will feel free to borrow the data, and the reflection it has inspired.

"Is that the end of the story?" asked Christopher Robin.

"That's the end of that one. There are others."

"About Pooh and me?"

"And Piglet and Rabbit and all of you. Don't you remember?"

"I do remember, and then when I try to remember, I forget."

"That day when Pooh and Piglet tried to catch the Heffalump -"

"They didn't catch it, did they?"

"No."

"Pooh couldn't, because he hasn't any brain. Did I catch it?"

"Well, that comes into the story."

Christopher Robin nodded.

"I do remember," he said, "only Pooh doesn't very well, so that's why he likes having it told to him again. Because then it's a real story and not just a remembering."

"That just how I feel," I said.

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Thèse de Doctorat

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The language borrowers

A study of how French-English
bilingual children borrow phrases from
musical, audio-visual, poetic, and narrative input

VOLUME II

JURY

Rapporteurs: Mme Aliyah MORGENSTERN, Professeur, Université Sorbonne Nouvelle-Paris 3
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APPENDIX 1: TABLES OF EXAMPLES

TABLE 1 BILINGUAL FIRST LANGUAGE ACQUISITION AND BILINGUAL INTERACTION

3.1.1 Interlanguage Borrowing, Codemixing, Code-switching, and Language Choice (Examples 1 to 56)

Eg. n°	Date	Name & Age	Example (English – *French* - [IPA] - [= target utterance] – bck: background information - eng: translation of French to English – com: comment – exp: explanation – act: action)	Comments
1.	25/06/13	Léonie (2;6,0)	Ca: You'll have to move your bike. Move it, please. Lé: OK. *Je l'ai* mové, *maman*.	Codemix: English verb stem "move" conjugated as if French, inserted into French sentence.
2.	23/04/14	Léonie (3;3,29)	Lé: *J'ai* [slipé]. eng: I slipped Ca: You slipped. Lé: I [sɪplɪd] Ca: You slipped Lé: I slipped	Codemix: English verb stem "slip" conjugated as if French, French pronunciation of English verb stem.
3.	29/05/09	Meriel (3;11,16)	Situation: Meriel wants to print a picture, but the printer is not working. Me: Why's it not [ɛ̃primɪŋ] out?	Codemix: French verb stem "*imprimer*" (print) with French

			eng: why's it not printing out?	pronunciation + English present continuous ending
4.	16/06/ 10	Meriel (5;0,3)	Situation: Meriel is wearing new shin-length leggings that she is not used to. Me: My trousers keep coming up Ca: It's supposed to be like that. Me: It's [ʒɛnɪŋ] me. Ca: It's *gên*ing you! Me: It's tickling me.	Codemix: French verb stem "*gêner*" (annoy) with French pronunciation + English present continuous ending
5.	29/03/ 10	Owen (3;3,0)	Situation: Owen is playing with a toy fire engine. Ow: Mummy, *est-ce que* the house is [brylɪŋ]? eng: Mummy, is the house burning?	Codemix: French question frame [Est-ce que + noun phrase + verb phrase], English noun phrase and French verb "*brûler*" (burn) with English conjugation within an English present continuous verb phrase
6.	23/03/ 05	Loïc (1;11,19)	Situation: Sitting at breakfast table, no mention of oven previously Lo: oven Ca: what about the oven? Lo: it's hot Ca: yes, it is	French preposition "*pour*" (for) borrowed into English utterance

			Lo: it's not *pour* Loïc	
			eng: it's not for Loïc	
			Ca: no	
			Lo: blow it	
7.	28/03/05	Loïc (1;11,24)	Lo: sit down *avec* mummy eng: sit down with mummy Lo: play rugby *avec* mummy eng: play rugby with mummy	French preposition "*avec*" (with) borrowed into English utterance
8.	15/05/05	Loïc (2;1,11)	Bck: At the time of writing the diary entry, Lo produced both of the first two utterances Lo: *C'est* Catrin act: pointing at me Lo: That's Catrin act: pointing at me Lo: oh! A *petit* snail sit: Sees a snail in the garden Lo: *Dans le* cupboard!	Codemixed utterance also produced in English only French adjective "*petit*" (little) borrowed into English utterance, Codemix of French preposition *dans* (in) + Fr article *le* (the) + English noun "cupboard"
9.	05/03/08	Meriel (2;8,21)	Situation: Meriel is looking for Lorenzo who was hiding. He had arrived with Laurent a short while before and with their arrival we had all started talking French. Me: *Il est où, l'autre* boy?	English noun "boy" borrowed into French utterance

			eng: where is the other boy?	
10.	08/05/ 07	Meriel 1;10,26	Me: *C'est à* me eng: it's mine Me: *Non!* Me! exp: She wants to do things herself e.g. take off socks, put on slippers situation: Playing with Play-doh: Ca: shall we do a bear? Me: do bear (later) Me: more bear Ca: you want to do it again? What colour? Yellow? Me: *Non, ça! Pin.* More *pin*! more *pin*! [*pin = lapin =* rabbit] eng: No, that! More rabbit, more rabbit!	Codemixing or borrowing?
11.	29/07/ 07	Meriel (2;2,16)	Bck: In Cardiff Me: Loïc play a me? Me: [əm ɒn en] [= come on then] Me: *Allez* Loïc, come a me. *Allez*! *Allez*! Loïc! eng: come on Loïc, come a me. Come on! Come on! Loïc!	Codemixing or borrowing?
12.	25/09/	Meriel	Bck: Meriel talks franglais to everyone, more English than French at the moment?	Codemixing "Franglais" style!

	07	(2;3,12)	Eric thinks so.	Codemixing comes ...
			Me: *C'est à* mine	
			Me: *C'est ça* mine	
			Me: *pour Maman*	
			Me: *pour* Daddy	
			exp: when she has done a drawing or has made something at playschool, or collected flowers, etc.	
			Me: me *fait*	
			eng: I do it	
			bck: Meriel was saying "*fi-filles*" for all children, just started saying "*fi-filles*" for girls and "boys" for boys	
			Me: *fi-filles*	
			eng: little girls	
			Me: boys	
13.	11/02/08	Meriel (2;6,29)	Bck: Less mixing within phrases now, eg	… and codemixing goes.
			Me: Me a little girl	
			Me: Ah a big girl, me	
			exp: trying to say "I'm a ..."	
			Me: Ah do a big poo a toilet	

			bck: But still uses *pas* for "can't" or "don't" eg: Me: Ah *pas* do it [= I can't do it] Me: Ah *pas* walk [= I can't walk] Me: Ah *pas* like it, me/that/peas... [= I don't like it...]	
14.	06/07/09	Meriel (4;0,23)	Meriel is codemixing more and more. Si + conditional sentence in English	… and codemixing makes a comeback
15.	23/11/11	Owen (4;10,25)	bck: Owen is having his bath. I ask him what he did with Daddy while Loïc was at karate. Ow: we goed to the *banque*. Ca: The bank. Ow: Yeah, the bank.	Borrowing as a result of lexical gap
16.	15/06/11	Loïc (8;2,11)	Situation: Lo was gardening with Eric. They planted bamboo. bck: Grandpa is staying with us. Lo: *Je vais faire un* bush *de bamboo.*	Borrowing as a result of having Grandpa staying with us. English word comes to mind quicker than French word; sort of momentary lexical gap since Loïc certainly knew the French equivalent.
17.	18/09/12	Léonie (1;8,24)	[pəleɪ] [= play], [əm ɒn en] [= come on then], sit, *là* exp: telling me to come and play and to sit in a particular place on the floor which she associates with a particular game, the magic roundabout game with pop-up animals	Codemixing adds authority?

			and buttons	
18.	01/09/07	Meriel (2;2-2;3)	Me: *Pas* stay school.	Codemix involving the insertion of the French negative particle "*pas*" into English utterance; "*pas*" seems to carry the whole meaning of "I don't want to."
19.	11/02/08	Meriel (2;6,29)	Com: Meriel uses '*pas*' for 'can't' eg: [æ] *pas* do it [= I can't do it] [æ] *pas* walk [= I can't walk] [æ] *pas* like it, me/that/peas... [= I don't like it]	Codemix involving the insertion of the French negative particle with the meaning of the English modal "can't" as well as the negative auxiliary "don't."
20.	13/02/05	Loïc (1;10,9)	Lo: *tu veux* get down [= I want to get down] com: addressed to Er	Codemixing a French verb phrase with an English phrasal verb, showing that the phrasal verb is a multiword unit for him and that he believes he can insert it into the construction [tu veut + VP]
21.	16/02/05	Loïc (1;10,12)	Lo: *t'as* finished [= I've finished]	Codemix adding an English past participle to a French pronoun + auxiliary contraction

22.	01/09/07	Meriel (2;2-2;3)	Me: Me *fait*	Meriel codemixes by borrowing two-word phrases from English ("do it" and "all wet"), may have been used as multiword units by her at this time.
			eng: me do it	
			Me: Me do it	
			Me: *Maman* do it	
			eng: Mummy do it	
			Me: *Maman fait*	
			eng: Mummy do it	
			situation: Telling Eric about going on boat during a crèche outing	
			Me: go a *bâteau*, si'down, all wet! My botton [*sic*] all wet!	
			Er: *tes fesses étaient toutes mouillées?*	
			eng: your bottom was all wet?	
			Me: *oui, mes fesses* all wet!	
			eng: yes, my bottom all wet	
23.	Oct '07	Meriel (2;3 – 2;4)	Me: Mummy a lady, me a lickle girl, Loïc a boy, Owen a baby, Daddy a man	Meriel borrows/mixes in the phrases "*petite(s) fille(s)*" and "*il est où.*" They may be multiword units.
			Me: Loïc a lickle *garçon*, me a *petite fille*	
			eng: Loïc a little boy, me a little girl	
			Ca: What did you do at playschool today ?	
			Me: P(l)ay [ə] girl [ə] boys / p(l)ay [ə] *petites filles* [ə] boys	Meriel inserts/borrows the noun phrases [petite(s) fille(s)] and [mummy/daddy/baby cow] in the
			eng: play a little girls	
			situation: When looking at animals in book or in field, Meriel has to establish family	

			positions:	same way she inserts the simple
			Me: *c'est* mummy cow *ça*, daddy cow, baby cow, *il est où* baby/mummy/daddy cow?	nouns [garçon] and [poussette].
			Eng: that's mummy cow that is, daddy cow, baby cow, where is baby/mummy/daddy cow ?	
			Situation: Reading picture book *In The Town*; illustration shows baby in pushchair:	[il est où] appears to function as a unit.
			Me: baby a *poussette*, me push (waits for me to say "you're pushing the pushchair?")	
			eng: baby a pushchair	
			Ca: you're pushing the pushchair?	
			Me: *oui* me push a *poussette*. Push a baby a *poussette*	
			eng: yes me push a pushchaire. Push a baby a pushchair	
24.	17/06/ 09	Owen (2;5,19)	Ow: play Power Rangers *avec moi*. eng: play Power Rangers with me com: addressed to Ca	Codemix/borrow. Ends English-initial utterance with French prepositional phrase which may be multiword unit
25.	12/03/ 13	Léonie (2;2,15)	Lé: come and play *avec* [mæ] [= *moi*] eng: come and play with me	Same as 24
26.	16/07/ 08	Meriel (3;1,03)	Me: *tu peux* mix it up? com: Seems to be a fixed formula for Meriel; it hasn't changed for some time!	[mix it up] is a multiword unit for Meriel which she has inserted into the verb phrase slot of the construction [tu peux + verb phrase]

27.	08/05/07	Meriel (1;10,26)	Me: *c'est à* me [= *c'est à moi* / *c'est le mien* / it's mine]	French possessive construction is represented as [c'est à + personal pronoun] and Meriel believes she can insert units from either language in the variable slot she has identified. Me/*moi* translation equivalents
28.	September '07	Meriel (2;2 - 2;3)	Me: *c'est à* Owen's *ça* eng: that's Owen's that	using the construction [Proper Noun + 's] as a unit which she believes can fit into the personal pronoun slot of the French construction [c'est à + personal pronoun]
29.	25/09/07	Meriel (2;3,12)	Me: *c'est à* mine eng: it's mine's Me: *c'est ça* mine eng: it's that mine	Inserts the English possessive pronoun "mine" into the French construction. Or considers [it's] and [c'est à] to be equivalents and is inserting [c'est à] into the English phrase [it's mine]
30.	October '07	Meriel (2;3 – 2;4)	Me: *c'est à* mine eng: it's mine's	As 29 above

| 31. | 15/02/ 13 | Léonie (2;1,21) | Situation: Lé gives me a CD.

Ca: oh! That's daddy's.

Lé: that mine (repeats)

Ca: that's not yours.

Lé: *à* mummy.

eng: mummy's

Ca: no, it's not mine.

Lé: *à* Loïc.

eng: Loïc's

Ca: no, it's not Loïc's.

Lé: *à* daddy.

eng: daddy's

Ca: yes, it's daddy's.

Lé: *tu vas où?*

eng: where are you going?

Ca: probably nowhere

Lé: *Café Bilingue. Café Bilingue*. [ə] sing a song.

act: Léonie takes my note book

Lé: *à maman.*

eng: mummy's | Playing with the French possessive construction [à + proper noun]. Codemix because English terms "mummy" and "daddy" with the French possessive preposition. |

			Ca: yes, that's mine.	
			Situation: carries on game from earlier, adding pretend wondering in the form of "hmm"	
			Lé: hmm, *à* Loïc. hmm, *à* yeh-yel [=Meriel]. hmm, *à* baby, *maman*.	
32.	27/04/12	Owen (5;3,29)	Situation: In the supermarket with Owen who wants to buy some 'Pitch' (brand name for brioche rolls with jam inside) pron. [pitʃ]. He sees some nectarines. Ow: Look mummy! Des [pitʃ]	We can suppose that he has been primed by the phonological similarity of the two words (French "*Pitch*" and English "peach") and the fact that [pitʃ] is an acceptable pronunciation in French which can reasonably follow "*des*"
33.	14/11/11	Owen (4;10,16)	bck: Nathan is a Welsh-French boy in Owen's class at school. Ow: The new boy who speaks English, he said Ca: Nathan. His name's Nathan. Ow: No, *c'est Nathan*. eng: no, it's *Nathan* com: French pronunciation of Nathan Ca: In English it's Nathan. In French it's *Nathan*. What did he say, Owen? You were going to tell me he said something. Ow: The new boy said he's not gonna *prête* me some *cartes Pokémons. Il va pas me*	Codemixed utterance leads to codeswitch

			prêter des cartes Pokémons.	
			eng: the new boy said he's not gonna lend me some Pokemon cards.	
34.	01/03/ 10	Owen (3;2,3)	Ow: Are you gonna take off your... *est-ce que tu vas enlever ton manteau?* eng: are you gonna take off your coat? com: addressed to Ca	Lexical gap leads to codeswitch reformulation
35.	18/02/ 13	Léonie (2;1,24)	Situation: choosing hair elastics Lé: *Quelle couleur?* Let me see. Let me see. I dunno. I dunno. eng: what colour?	Codeswitch that doesn't appear to be addressed to someone else
36.	02/04/ 05	Loïc (1;11,29)	Situation: Loïc and Ca have come downstairs to see daddy. Bck: Doolin is the family dog. Ca: where is he? Lo: where is he? Act: looks in kitchen Lo: there he is! In the kitchen. Lo: Doolin in garden. Comm: sees Doolin through the window Lo: *on va dans l'jardin?* eng: (shall) we go in the garden? Comm: addressed to Er	Codeswitch when changing addressee
37.	20/04/	Loïc	Situation: Eric gets a tissue to wipe Loïc's nose	classic example of code-switching

	05	(2;0,16)	Lo: *tout seul* situation: Eric gives him the tissue Ca: blow Er: *souffle* Lo: I got a bogey!	in the OPOL context.
38.	27/05/ 05	Loïc (2;1,23)	Bck: Granny and Grandpa are staying with us Granny: (doing a puzzle) where does this bit go? Lo: *C'est là*. It's there! eng: it's there.	Codeswitch to accommodate English-speaking grandparent
39.	31/07/ 07	Meriel (2;2,19)	In the park in Cardiff, looking at the lake. A little girl comes up to see Owen and Meriel. She and Meriel look at each other. Meriel shows the little girl her shoes and skirt and baddies. The little girl touches the bruise on Meriel's cheek. Meriel shows her Owen. They don't speak. The little girl points to the ducks and says to me "duck". Meriel points to the boats and says to the little girl, "*voir bâteau(x)*" (eng: see boat(s)) Until now Meriel has always said "*voir*" when she wants to look at a photo that has just been taken. She has just started saying "look" and "see."	Meriel thinks everyone is bilingual, or children always speak French?
40.	16/09/ 08	Loïc (5;5,12) Meriel (3;3,3)	Lo: *Meriel, tu viens jouer dans le jardin?* Me: *On joue à un, deux, trois?* Lo: *On joue à cache-cache?* Me: *Ouais, on joue à cache-cache*	Meriel's Codeswitch triggered by addressing me in my prefered language

			Lo: *C'est toi qui comptes. Tu comptes jusqu'à dix.* Me: *un, deux, trois, quatre, cinq, six, sept, huit, neuf, dix, onze, dix, quatorze, dix...* Me: I go find Loïc. com: addressed to Ca Me: I coming, I ready! com: addressed to Lo	
41.	10/03/09	Meriel (3;8,25)	Situation: at the table Me: one, two, three and five com: sings to herself rhythmically over and over Lo: *T'as oublié le quatre* Me: *un, deux, trois, quatre, cinq* com: same tune and rhythm	Meriel's Codeswitch triggered by Loïc's language choice
42.	16/09/08	Loïc (5;5,12) Meriel (3;3,3) Owen (1;8,18)	Lo: *c'est bien, uh, de jouer à cache-cache. On joue aux chevaliers? Avec des playmobils...Et le chef, c'est qui? C'est toi ou c'est moi? C'est moi.* eng: it's good, uh, playing hide and seek. Shall we play knights? With the playmobils....and who's the boss? Is it you or is it me? It's me. Me: *et Owen, c'est qui?* eng: and Owen, who's he? Lo: *il joue pas, lui. Er, dans l'histoire er il y a un dragon. C'est Owen, le dragon.* eng: he's not playing. Er, in the story there is a dragon. Owen is the dragon.	Is "ya breaking them" a multiword unit for Loïc here? How can we determine whether this is a case of codemixing or codeswitching?

			Situation: Owen knocks over knight Lo: ya breaking them, ya breaking them. (sounds like a chant, hard to distinguish words) Ow: *cassé* eng: broken Lo: ya breaking them....*Je suis le roi* eng: I'm the king com: sings in fighting sort of tune	
43.	15/02/13	Léonie (2;1,21)	Situation: Lé fell off her chair and cried and was consoled Lé: my *doudou* act: goes to coffee table to get toy dog and cuddles it exp: *doudou* is the French word for soft toy, word borrowed by all English-speakers in the family situation: Meriel arrives with a teddy bear Lé: my teddy bear Me: no, my teddy bear Lé: [i] c(r)ying ə teddy bear...[i] *tombé* teddy bear. eng: he's fallen teddy bear Lé: Don't cry teddy bear. [ə] teddy c(r)ying [ə] teddy bear. act: bumps her head on floor on purpose	Insertion of word doudou not really borrowing or mixing because has become part of family lexicon in English utterances. Difficult to understand codeswitch at the end of the extract. [i] = il or he ? Could be unilingual or code-mixed utterances here. [ə] could be "je fait ça" or "il a fait ça"

			Lé: [ə] *fait ça* [il a / j'ai fait ça]	
			eng: He / I did that	
44.	20/09/ 12	Léonie (1;8,26)	Lé: (to Ow) [əm ɒn Owen ə pəʊlin] [= come on Owen, on the/to the trampoline]	Reasons for Codeswitching are unclear
			Lé: (to Ca) *Dehors*! [pəʊlin] [= trampoline]	
			eng: outside!	
			Ca: No. I don't want you to (she had just bumped her head)	
			Lé: [aʊtsaɪ] [= outside]	
45.	27/05/ 09	Loïc (6;1,23) Meriel (3;11,14) Owen (2;4,28)	Lo: She can play with us on one condition	
			Ca: What's the condition?	
			Lo: If she promises to share.	
			Ca: Are you going to share, Meriel?	
			Me: 0	
			act: shakes head	
			Ca: Well you can't play if you won't share	
			Me: But Loïc took it from my hand	
			Ca: Well go and get your own vehicle, there are lots of vehicles behind the futon	
			Me: *Ça c'est à moi.*	
			eng: that's mine	
			Lo: Well this is our base and nobody's allowed in it, are they Owen?...You said that your base was there.	

			Me: Yeah but I want a big base	
			Lo: Your base is a big base and you've got the bridge	
			Lo: You can only come in if you pay. Don't come in here, I live here. Who wants to come in?	
			Me: me	
			Lo: then you'll have to pay	
			Me: here	
			Lo: that's not real money	
			Me: *tiens tiens*	
			eng: here here	
			Lo: *montres moi ça tes petits sous...*	Loïc's codeswitching seems to be related to Meriel's use of French
			eng: show me that, your little money	
			com: addressed to Meriel	
			Lo: first you must get some money, before coming in with some money you have to get the code. Before coming in you have to give me the code.	Switches back to English, still addressing Meriel
			com: addressed to Meriel	
			act: starts going upstairs	
			Lo: *Je vais déposer ça avec tous mes sous*.	Not clear who Lo is addressing here
			eng: I'm going to put that with my money	

			act: comes back downstairs Lo: Mummy, I'm sorry, Meriel gave me these act: shows Catrin the coins Lo: I don't want them. I'll have the brown ones act: goes upstairs to put coins in money box	codeswitch related to my language preference (English) when he is addressing me
46.	18/09/ 12	Léonie (1;8,24)	Lé: No com: addressed to Ca sounds very English Lé: Non com: addressed to Er sounds very French	Language choice different for Mum and Dad
47.	17/02/ 09	Meriel (3;8,4)	Meriel always speaks to me in English	MAPNI influences language preference
48.	05/03/ 10	Owen (3;2,7)	Owen's language choice seems to be influenced by the language on the TV. Since early January his language choice is mostly French unless I insist on English.	
49.	13/05/ 05	Loïc (2;1,9)	Situation: This morning Loïc is speaking to me in French! It's a little strange. I answered him in French. Lo: *Ça va toi?* eng: are you ok? Ca: *Oui, ça va. Et toi, ça va?* eng: yes, I'm ok. Are you ok? Lo: *C'est quoi, ça?*	Loïc seems to play with language preference, trying out an unusual language choice.

eng: what's that

Ca: *Des céréales.*

eng: cereal

Lo: *C'est quoi ça?*

eng: what's that?

Ca: *La table, la nappe sur la table.*

eng: the table, the cloth on the table

Lo: *La nappe. Et ça c'est , ça c'est, c'est quoi ça?*

eng: the cloth. And that's, that's, what's that?

Ca: *Du toast. Du pain grillé*

eng: toast, toasted bread

Lo: *Du pain grillé. Et ça c'est du thé.*

eng: toast. And that's tea.

Ca: *Oui, c'est le thé à maman.*

eng: yes, that's mummy's tea.

Lo: *C'est pas bon.*

eng: it's not nice.

Ca: *Si, c'est bon.*

eng: yes it is nice.

Lo: *Si, c'est bon.... C'est cassé ça, maman.*

			eng: yes it is nice... that's broken mummy.	
			exp: talking about a toy from the cereal box.	
			Lo: *Gronder, maman.*	
			eng: mummy tell off.	
			Ca: *Non.*	
			eng: no.	
			Lo: *Pas gronder, maman. Pas dans les fleurs, pas dans les fleurs, gronder maman, pas dans les fleurs*	
			eng: mummy not tell off. Not in the flowers, not in the flowers, mummy tell of, not in the flowers	
			act: comes right up to me	
			Lo: not put in the flowers.	
			Ca: No, you mustn't put it in the flowers.	
			Lo: No, not put in the flowers	
			act: moves away	
			Lo: Not put in flowers. *Gronder maman. Pas dans les fleurs.*	
			eng: mummy tell off. Not in the flowers	
			act: goes off to get hat and mittens, then stands in front of me and screams	
			Lo: *Tu t'aides!*	
			eng: You help you!	

			Lo: Help you.	
			com: quieter	
50.	15/05/ 05	Loïc (2;1,11)	Lo: Daddy says *canard*. eng: daddy says duck act: holding rubber duck	
51.	10/05/ 05	Loïc (2;3,6)	Situation: Playing at word pairs Lo: Mummy says tractor, daddy says *tracteur*. Daddy says *canard...* Ca: Mummy says duck.	
52.	09/08/ 05	Loïc (2;4,4)	Er: *pourquoi tu pleures?* Lo: I'm crying *en anglais* comm: Eric's interpretation: I'm crying in English so it's none of your business.	
53.	19/04/ 05	Loïc (2;0,15)	Situation: At dinner table Lo: *du pain, du pain, du pain, du pain...* com: addressed to Er Ca: What do you say? Lo: please Ca: *s'il* Lo: *s'il te plaît* act: eats bread Lo: *encore, encore s'il te plaît, s'il te plaît*	

			Er: *qu'est ce que tu veut?*	
			Lo: *s'il te plaît*	
			Ca: *Il a dit "encore"*	
			Er: *encore du pain?*	
			Lo: *oui*	
			act: Dad goes to kitchen	
			Lo: Daddy's getting bread.	
			com: addressed to Ca	
54.	13/01/13	Léonie (2;0,19)	Situation: bedtime cuddle Ca: I love you Léonie (repeated several times) Lé: [ə] *t'aime* [= je t'aime] eng: I love you	
55.	02/10/10	Loïc (7;5,28)	Lo: I hate it when you speak to me in French! com: addressed to Ca	
56.	16/05/15	Meriel (9;11,03) Léonie (4;4,24)	Me: Mummy! Don't speak to me in French! (a few hours later) Lé: *Maman! Parles-moi en français!*	

3.1.2 Crosslinguistic Influence (Examples 57 to 79)

Eg.	Date	Name & Age	Example	Comments
57	24/11/08	Meriel (3;5,11)	Me: when we get Loïc we can play at wolf? Me: when Owen's wake up we can play at wolf?	Transfer from the French "Jouer au loup"
58	29/04/11	Meriel (5;10,16) Owen (4;4,0)	Me: Can we play at hide and seek com: repeated misuse of the preposition in sentences like this despite repeated correction both implicit and explicit Owen and Meriel both say "a kiss at Léonie" a lot at the moment	
59	29/04/11	Owen (4;4,0)	Ow: *Tu peux regarder à mon livre si tu demandes.* eng: you can look at my book if you ask	
60	17/02/09	Owen (2;1,19)	Ow: *C'est à moi, ça.* Ow: *C'est* mine Ow: *C'est à* me	
61	08/05/07	Meriel (1;10,26)	*C'est à* me	
62	Oct' 07	Meriel (2;3 – 2;4)	*c'est à* mine	
63	Dec '07	Meriel (2;5 – 2;6)	*à* me	
64	25/03/	Meriel	for the last week or so, "c'est mine/ à me" etc. has been replaced by "this be mine/ this	

	08	(2;9,12)	be me/ Loïc" etc eg when giving characters in books family identities, or saying this is her bowl and this is Loïc's and so on	
65	19/06/ 08	Meriel (3;0,6)	it's mines com: could be "mine's"	
66	26/02/ 09	Meriel (3;8,13)	Meriel still uses "we" instead of "us" and "our" and "ours" Me: he can have tea with we Me: will they come with we? Me: we house [= our house] Me: this is at we [= this is ours]	Transfer from French: *"nous" for "us" and "chez nous" for "our house" or "c'est à nous" for "it's ours"*
67	09/10/ 10	Meriel (5;3,26)	Meriel is still saying "at you" seemingly influenced by "*à toi*" for possession. Me: Was it at you when you were a little girl? act: holding one of my own childhood storybooks	
68	09/10/ 10	Meriel (5;3,26)	Meriel says "go at somewhere" e.g. When will we go at Granny and Grandpa's ? I want to go at Bastien's house.	
69	26/05/ 09	Loïc (6;1,22)	Situation: Coming home from school in the car Lo: It's funny because we're the same age as our friends. Meriel has three and Emma has three...Noam is six and (name) is six and I'm six.	transfer from French after a day at school then sorts it out himself
70	28/12/ 13	Owen (6;11,29)	Ca: and Eden is five. Ow: *Oui elle était quatre et après elle a eu son anniversaire et elle est cinq.*	

71	01-15/09/08	Meriel (3;2,28 – 3;3,2)	Me: You can help me? Me: I can get down? Me: I can have some more? Even if I give her the correct version hoping she'll repeat correctly, or even if I ask her to repeat after me "can I have some more, please?" she repeats " I can have some more, please", thinking I wanted her to say please and not noticing word order.	
72	26/02/09	Meriel (3;8,13)	Meriel says "I can ...?" instead of "Can I....?"	Transfer from French: *je peux...?*
73	23/11/11	Owen (4;10,25)	Ca: What else did you do? Ow: We goed and washed the car of daddy. Then we come home.	*la voiture de papa*
74	09/07/05	Loïc (2;3,5)	situation: Loïc has discovered that he likes sweetcorn and eats some with Mummy. Er: *Ah, tu aimes le maïs.* eng: ah, you like sweetcorn situation: later on Lo asks Ca for some more "mice" then, a little later he says Lo: *tu veux des souris?* eng: do you want some mice? com: addressed to Er	"*Maïs*" and "mice" are phonologically similar
75	16/04/	Loïc	situation: Loïc is reading a book about Native Americans and telling me about it.	"dismount" phonologically similar to

	12	(9;0,12)	Lo: That's like a tippee.	French "*démonter*"
			Ca: Yes, they can dismount it.	My "démonter" leads Loïc to, use "mount"
			Lo: And mount it. It takes them two hours to dismount it and two hours to mount it.	borrowing or language attrition?
			Ca: I'm not sure if dismount is the right word. Maybe dismantle would be better.	
			Lo: to *démonter*.	
			eng: to take apart /down	
76	05/03/ 10	Loïc 6;11,1	situation: I am sitting on the settee with a headache Lo: Mummy, have you got force to play a game? Are you strong enough to play a game?	crosslinguistic influence from French to English
77	22/05/ 10	Owen 3;4,23 Loïc 7;1,18	Situation: Owen is looking for a particular pen or crayon for his colouring in. Ow: *Il est où le bleu lumière?* Ca: *Le bleu lumière?* Do you mean light blue? Ow: *Ou le bleu noir?* Ca: Dark blue? Lo: *Owen, c'est bleu clair.* Ca: Do you understand why he's saying *bleu lumière*? *Lumière*! That can be "light". Lo: *Bleu noir!* act: laughs	translation equivalents: "light" and "*lumière*" (eng: a source of light) because of English homophones = "source of light" or "pale colour." trans. eq: "*noir*" (black) and "dark" through exposure to Fr expression "*il fait noir*" and English equivalent "it's dark" (there is no light on, it is night).
78	28/11/ 07	Loïc 4;7,24	It's too good !	From French "*c'est trop bien*" meaning "it's fantastic / really good".

				Same intonation and pragmatic usage.
79	09/12/08	Loïc 5;8,5	Situation: Ca and Lo are drawing together. Lo is kneeling on a chair at the dining table Lo: Mummy, be careful not to have ants in your shoes. Ca: Ants in my shoes? Is that what you've got? Lo: No. When you're sitting down you have to be careful or it feels like you've got ants in your shoes. Ca: That's the French expression, isn't it? *Avoir des fourmis dans les pied*s. In English we say pins and needles (After a short pause) Lo:Mummy, be careful not to have pins and needles in your feet.	

3.1.3 Translation (Examples 80 to 112)

80	Notes taken Feb '04	Loïc (1;10)	Lots of switching from French to English and from English to French, for example: Daddy is changing nappy, Loïc holding tube of cream says "*crème.*" Mum walks in, Loïc shows cream to mum and says "cream". Dad says "*pas dans la bouche,*" Loïc says "*pas dans le* mouth." This coming back from bakery ages ago: Lo: *pain* (looks at mum) bread	
81	01/08/07	Meriel (2;2,20)	Bck: In Cardiff. Meriel speaks like this at the moment, not specifically today Me: more water, peas [= please] Me: *merci* com: after being served If I prompt her to say thank you she sometimes says *merci* and sometimes, more rarely, says [ak U] [= thank you] she calls me Mama. Can now say Loïc, but first said Lolïc. Used to always call Owen *bébé*, now calls him [owɛ] or Owen Until now, Meriel always said: Me: *C'est t(r)op chaud* eng: it's too hot	In Cardiff

			Today she said: Me: It's too hot.	
82	01/12/07	Meriel (2;5,18)	Meriel said "carry" today for the first time instead of "*porte*"	
83	11/02/08	Meriel (2;6,29)	"me too" has replaced "*ma aussi*" [= moi aussi] since being in Wales. First weekend here she wanted to join in cousin Archie's dinosaur sticker book and was repeating "*ma aussi*" Archie said "it's not a mousie!"	In Wales for five weeks.
84	05/03/08	Meriel (2;8,21)	"I can't" has now replaced "*j'a(rr)ive pas*" and "I can't do it" has replaced "*ah pas* do it"	
85	25/03/08	Meriel (2;9,12)	For the last week or so, "*c'est* mine/ *à* me" etc. has been replaced by "this be mine/ this be me/ Loïc" etc eg when giving characters in books family identities, or saying this is her bowl and this is Loïc's and so on	
86	06/01/08	Meriel (2;6,24)	Situation: Eric has a DVD in his hand Me: watch *ça, Papa* (repeats three or four times) *regarder ça, Papa*	Codeswitching or autotranslation?
87	01/04/05	Loïc (2;2)	Situation: Loïc is talking to himself while choosing a book. Lo: Choose a story. *Prends* this one. *Prends celui-là*.	switch caused by French word in his codemixed utterance in front position? couldn't think of the English equivalent for "*prends*" or the French equivalent for "this one" so decided to just say it all in

				French?
88	28/03/05	Loïc (1;11,24)	Lo: *attends* wait a minute com: addressed to Ca	self-translation
89	23/08/04	Loïc (1;4,19)	Lo: Thirsty act: holding up his water beaker to Ca Lo: *Soif* act: turned around and held it up to Er	pre-translation
90	19/06/08	Owen (1;5,21)	Situation: Owen is lying in bed with Catrin and Eric Er: *T'as fait caca?* eng: did you do a poo? Ow: *Caca* eng: poo com: addressed to Er Ow: Poo com: addressed to Ca	pre-translation
91	01/03/04	Loïc (1;11)	Er: *Passe-moi le tournevis* Lo: *Tournevis* Lo: Screwdriver com: addressed to Ca	Pre-translation bilingual self-repetition
92	01/09/12	Léonie (1;8,7)	Situation: We are playing the same game as yesterday. Léonie says the following during our game:	Autotranslation in free codeswitching context

			mine	self-repetition
			à ma [= à moi] eng: mine	
			à ma [= à moi] eng: my turn	
			com: used on different occasions	
			caché (whispered)	
			alors (means, go on mummy, your turn to play the game)	
			[pəleɪ] [= play]	
			She repeats "play" then "game" as I talk out loud as I am writing this, then she produces:	
			Lé: play game ... *caché*! (means Mummy stop writing and play the hide objects game with me)	
			situation: I hold the shape ready to play	
			Ca: So.	
			Lé: So. *Alors*.	
			Ca: You want to play the game.	
			Lé: Play a game.	
93	03/09/ 12	Léonie (1;8,9)	Lé: [ə] *veux d'autre*	Pretranslation with multiword units. Autotranslation coincides with change of addressee
			com: Eric says he can hear "*j'en veux d'autre*," Loïc also hears this	
			Lé: [ɒnt sʌm] [= want some]	
			com: addressed to Ca	

94	16/10/08	Owen (1;9,17)	Situation: at lunch Ow: [is finist] [= it's finished] act: shows *petit filous* pot to Ca situation: Eric laughs and repeats what Ow said because it's cute Ow: *C'est fini.* com: addressed to Er	Pretranslation with multiword units. Autotranslation coincides with change of addressee
95	20/11/08	Owen (1;10,22)	Ow: Where Daddy? com: addressed to Ca Ca: Daddy's at work Ow: Oh. *Où Papa?* com: addressed to Meriel	Pretranslation with multiword units. Autotranslation coincides with change of addressee
96	09/01/09	Owen (2;0,11)	Situation: at table with Catrin and Meriel Ow: all gone. com: addressed to Catrin Me: [apu] [= *il n'y en a plus*] eng: all gone com: addressed to Meriel	Pretranslation with multiword units. Autotranslation coincides with change of addressee
97	03/03/09	Owen (2;2,2)	Situation: coming out of playschool with Catrin and Eric Ow: wait for me com:; addressed to Ca; he learnt and copied this from Loïc and Meriel	Pretranslation with multiword units. Autotranslation coincides with change of addressee

			Ow: *attends moi* eng: wait for me com: addressed to Er	
98	25/03/13	Léonie (2;3,0)	Lé: *Tiens maman, j'ai tout bu*. I drank it all. act: hands me her empty bottle	Autotranslation to comply with my language preference?
99	08/03/05	Loïc (1;11,04)	Situation: Eric is puting on his coat, getting ready to leave the house Lo: Daddy go work situation: Er has left the house Lo: *Papa parti* Ca: Who's gone? Lo: Daddy gone	Effect of parental strategy, pretending to only partially understand; Loïc switches language thereby autotranslating
100	09/12/08	Loïc (5;8,5)	Situation: I am taking Owen to playschool; Loïc is with us because he's too ill to go to school. Getting out of the car Loïc sees number ten on a house. Lo: That's house number ten. Ca: Yes, it is. Lo: What number house do we live in? Ca: Twenty, that's a two and a zero. Twenty is two tens. Lo: One and one. Ca: one and one is eleven, one and two is twelve, one and three is thirteen Lo: Two and two is twenty-two. You're twenty-two.	Bilingual autotranslation as self-repetition?

			Ca: No, I'm thirty-three, that's three and three. Lo: Daddy's forty-five, *quarante-cinq ans* eng: forty-five years	
101	26/12/08	Loïc 5;8,22	Lo: *Maman! Maman! C'est Prêt!* eng: Mummy! Mummy! It's ready! act: shouts from downstairs then comes upstairs to tell me to my face Lo: Mummy, dinner is ready.	Autotranslation result of codeswitch triggered by change of place
102	15/02/13	Léonie (2;1,21)	Situation: we are going down the stairs. Lé: [ə] *pas tomber* exp: she wants to go down on her bottom, not holding my hand Lé: up(s)tairs. *En haut*. up(s)tairs. *En haut* act: repeats while bouncing up and down on her bottom, then starts going down on bottom Lé: *en bas.* eng: downstairs Ca: downstairs Lé: *en bas* Ca: downstairs situation: we repeat this exchange several times Lé: [ə] *pas tomber* [= je ne vais pas tomber]	Co-construction of verbal game is more important than learning translation equivalents. Reminder of affective advantages to more relaxed parental approach to language choice

			eng: I not fall	
103	05/03/ 13	Léonie (2;2,8)	Situation: *Mamie* and *Papy* were here for lunch. The other children went outside after lunch and Lé wanted to go too. Ca: I'll take you outside when I've had my dessert. After my dessert, we'll go, OK? Eliane: *tu veux que je t'emmène dehors?* eng: do you want me to take you outside? com: addressed to Lé Lé: *Après maman fini dessert* eng: after mummy finish dessert com: to Mamie Eliane: *Après que maman ait fini son dessert, d'accord. Tu peut venir avec moi maintenant si tu veux.* eng: after mummy has finished her dessert, alright. You can come with me now if you like. act: Lé goes outside with *Mamie*	Extrafamily transduction appropriate language choice
104	07/01/ 09	Loïc 5;9,3	Situation: Loïc brought me a cup of coffee while I was working upstairs. Lo: here you are Mummy, this is for you, I've bought you a cup of tea Ca: what is it? Is it coffee? Oh lovely! Has it got sugar in it? Mmm Lo: Daddy made it and asked me to bring it up Ca: Oh thank you Loïc. I was dying for a cup of coffee. I was just thinking to myself	Intrafamily transduction, relating messages involves a codeswitch and sometimes a translation

			that I was going to go downstairs to make one, and here you are with it. Say a big big thank you to Daddy as well. Situation: Loïc is downstairs Lo: *tu sais quoi papa? J'ai une très bonne nouvelle. Je l'ai porté jusqu'en haut et je ne l'ai pas fait tombé et maman disait qu'elle mourait d'envie de boire un café et elle dit un gros gros merci à toi et à moi!!*	
105	20/12/ 08	Meriel (3;6,7)	Me: Mummy, Loïc said he was going to take my picture. Ca: Well he can't. You tell him it's your picture and he can't have it. Me: *C'est mon dessin, tu peux pas le prendre, Loïc!* com: addressed to Lo	combination of autotranslation and intrafamily transduction. could also classify it as rephrasing.
106	05/03/ 05	Loïc (1;11,01)	Er: *je vais faire un tour au bâteau* Lo: go on a boat?	(unecessary) intrafamily translation or transduction. Asking for confirmation that he has understood correctly, or that he has translated accurately
107	10/03/ 05	Loïc (1;11,05)	Er: *allez, je vais me coucher* Lo: he go to bed com: addressed to Ca	(unecessary) intrafamily translation or transduction. Interpreter role result of parental strategy?
108	11/04/	Loïc	Situation : Eric is in the kitchen serving up ice-cream	(unecessary) intrafamily translation

	05	(2;0,7)	Er: *il n'y en a plus* Lo: it's all gone com: addressed to Ca	or transduction. Interpreter role result of parental strategy?
109	December '08	Loïc (5;8)	Situation: at the dinner table Er: *Loïc, après manger, nous irons dans le jardin avec tes jumelles pour regarder les oiseaux.* Lo: Mummy, Daddy said that after dinner we're going to go in the garden and look at the birds with my binoculars! com: to Ca, excited	(unecessary) intrafamily translation or transduction or codeswitching to relate something
110	December '08	Loïc (5;8)	Situation: I am on the phone with Loïc's headmaster. I tell him that Loïc has been ill and ask if he can be allowed to stay indoors during playtime the following day because he has a cough. When I hang up, Loïc says: Lo: I know what you said. You asked if I could stay inside because I've got a cough.	(unecessary) extrafamily translation or transduction. Seeking positive feedback on translation skills.
111	12/03/10	Owen (3;2,14)	Situation: I'm helping Owen put his cardigan on the right way round. Ow: It's the wrong way round. Ca: Yes, it's inside out. Ow: *Je l'ai mis à l'envers.* eng: I put it on insides out / back to front	Owen often confuses meanings such as on, off, in, out. Restating in French with different emphasis? Or evidence of appropriate holistic and idiomatic translation skill?
112	28/02/08	Owen (1;1,30)	Situation: evening, we are sitting at the table having dinner; Eric arrives home and Loïc and Meriel jump up to see him	Translating my utterance although apparently not addressing anyone.

			Me: Daddy! Go see Daddy	Joining in? Rehearsing different
			Lo: I'm going to see Daddy!	ways of saying things?
			Ow: [va papa]	
			com: it sounded like Owen said "*va papa*" (eng: go daddy) which could mean "*va à*" (eng: go to) or "*voir*" (eng: see) or "*va voir*" (eng: go see).	
			Situation: later on I am peeling and slicing a pear for us to share and Owen wants to take pieces before I've finished peeling them.	
			Ca: wait, Owen	
			Ow: *attend*	
			eng: wait	
113	25/05/09	Owen (2;4,26) & Loïc (6;1,21)	Situation: through the window we can see a tractor on the road.	Unintentional codeswitching? Object is to differentiate vehicles not translation equivalents
			Ow: It's not a truck, it's a tractor.	
			Com: addressed to Ca	
			Ow: *Hein, Loïc, c'est un tracteur.*	
			com: addressed to Lo	
			Lo: *Oui, Owen. Ce n'est pas un* truck*, c'est un tracteur. C'est bien, Owen.*	
114	12/03/10	Owen (3;2,14)	Me: Where's Daddy?	Autotranslation or repetition of Meriel's utterance?
			Ca: He's gone out.	
			Ow: *Il est où, Papa?* Where's Daddy?	

115	17/06/09	Loïc (6;2,13) Meriel (4;0,4) Owen (2;5,19)	Lo: *Owen, va dire à maman que Meriel m'a tapé*	Codeswitch to relay an event. Interpretation of the event rather than translation.
			Ow: Mummy, Meriel hurt Loïc	
			com: addressed to Ca	
			Ca: Did she? Oh dear!	
			Ow: *tu veux je tape, moi?*	
			Com: addressed to Meriel	
			act: hits Meriel	
			Me: Ow! *Je vais dire à maman*	
			com: addressed to Owen	
			Me: Mummy, Owen hit me	
			com: addressed to Ca	
			Ca: Oh dear! Stop hitting each other	
			Me: *je vais te taper*	
			com: addressed to Owen	
			act: hits Owen	
			situation: Owen hits Meriel back	
			Me: Mummy, Owen hit me again	

3.1.4 Bilingual Multiparty Interaction (Example 116)

116 VIDEO	01/06/09	L (6;2) M (4;0) O (2;6)
C: lovely, right. Do you want to do Barbapapa first, is it? O: yeah. C: right O: (sings nonsense in sign of happiness as C opens box and shakes pieces on to floor) M: (holding up two pieces) this one first. (Holds up one of the pieces) Where's the red one, where's the red piece? C: the red piece? M: yes C: well, you have to take all the pieces out of the box. M: I have all the pieces of the house O: oh there (h)e is (holds up piece to show me) M: all the pieces of the house O: there we are, it's there M: that goes here, that goes there, that goes ah! There! O: (shows me a piece) there we are (starts fitting it to puzzle that M is doing) **on a gagné, on a gagné** M: m**ais Owen! Ca c'est ça hop ici....um ici** **Owen t'es assis sur la boîte.**		L: Mum, where's number one? C: ummm C:there are lots of animals under the futon here

M: m**ais Owen euh ça va pas là** O: **ça va ici ça va pas là** M: m**ais Owen euh** M:** **pas toi tu sais pas faire** M: m**ais Owen tu sais pas faire** M: I can do it but not Owen C: he can O: I M: no, he's too likkel O: I O: where's this go? Where's this go? O: down there? C: no that's a. Oh! O: yeah C: yeah. That's right. You see, he can do it! Well done. O: where's this go? C: I think that's a different puzzle. It doesn't go in, no, it's not the right puzzle, Owen M: (tries to fit the piece in Owen's puzzle) oh no it's not this (laughs) C: that piece does go to in that puzzle, it does M: (takes a piece out of box and shows it to me) not this one C: no, not there though, Owen it goes somewhere else O: where's this go? M: (still holding piece up for me to look at, then looks down at Owen's puzzle	L: Owen put them there last night C: oh did he? C: uhm where's number one. C: it's very small so it can go under the furniture and things. When the tower gets kicked down. Oh here it is, look. L: Mummy look. Look. Watch, watch. (L knocks down tower) C: I'm watching. Wohoo, woah L: **attend, après je vais faire un** L: ***

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when I talk to him, then back up to me)	
C: it goes it goes there, it goes in that puzzle but not in that place, no not there, try somewhere else	
M: Mummy, where's this one (turning piece over in her hand, not looking at me)	
C: that's a different puzzle, isn't it. This one goes,	
O: in there	
C: yeah that's right Owen, put it there. That's it	
C: and then these two pieces go on that puzzle as well	
	L: where's the seven? Ten ten ten
O: there! We we can this see. We catched this. Look.	
	L: where's the where's number seven oh yeah
M: we have all of them (turns round and points at puzzle while speaking then stops mid-sentence and realises the puzzle is finished)	L: (pretend crying, noisy)
O: look	
M: **c'est bien, bravo** (claps)	L: (trumpet hoot)
O: look (looking at me then touches top corner of puzzle) on the top	
C: that's right	
O: (turns attention to another puzzle) and this	
M: (joins in attention to same puzzle) this one now (holds up pieces in hand that she has sorted) no this one	L: (pretend crying)
C: well why don't you do that one and Owen do this one	
O: and where's this go?	
C: do the same as Meriel, that's a good idea, to spread them all out, oh I need to hoover this	
M: where is it	
C rug	
M: there (she's finished spreading her pieces out)	
O: oh it's there we are	

M: um which go first? C: well, try to do the same as Owen, try and find some O: there C: find two pieces that fit together by looking at the pictures O: ah it's there M: where's the other piece of this one? (holding it up to me) C: I can't see it. Well you need to look for one with a bit of water and some little fish and a bit of pink Barbapapa boat. That might that might do it. M: (tries to fit pieces together in air, mumbles) no O: no it's not there C: try doing it on the floor, Meriel, it's easier to do it on the floor O: where's this go, mummy?	
	L: now where's number one?
M: ah hah! (holds up piece with triumph) C: is that the one? M: it's a ** fish!	L: Mummy? L: have you seen number one flying somewhere? C: ah. No, I wasn't paying attention but here is
M: there! A little fish C: oh, yeah, that's it, but it came apart	
	L: now are you watching very very very carefully?
M: Mummy, look (laughs) Look! C: well done, Meriel, that's right. Now, see if you can find the piece that goes on here with the rest of the shark M: the rest of the.. M: (holds up a piece) tail	L: look look look look C: I'm watching. Woah careful Loïc! Careful not to hurt anyone L: **j'ai mis des coups de pied, moi**

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C: that's right, now then, Owen, what do you need?	L: **aie!**
O: um uh this ***	
C: maybe this one Owen, try that one there	
O: I'll try that one	
C: (to M) that's right	
O: uh uh it's this one?	
C: (to M) now you need to find a piece which has got a bit of sea and a bit of pink Barbapapa boat	
M: (holds a piece up)	
C: try it it might	
O: where's this go? Where's this go there? Where's this go? (trying to fit pieces together in hands) Where's this go, mummy?	
M: yay! Yeah!	
C: well done Meriel. Let me have a look Owen, put them down on the floor	
M: and what else?	
C: (to O) no I don't think they go together. You need a bit of Barbamama, don't you, a bit of black Barbamama. Try that bit.	
M: (joins in looking for Owen's piece) there! **Tu casses ta**	
C: oh they do go together, sorry Owen, well done you! And look that's the tip of the bird's wing	
M: and me, what else?	
C: well it's up to you, either you can work your way up with the boat or you can go across the bottom and do all the sea. Look there's the other corner, see, the corner. Find the other bit of the octopus	L: mum, where's the number one?
M: look, mummy.	
C: well done Owen, you're doing very well. Look, this bit goes up here I think	
O: a goes up here	
	L: where is that number one?

(Meriel throws it to Loïc) C: now then O: (sounds) C: no that goes down the bottom, that does Owen O: *** at the bottom mummy. Where's the bottom? O: by the tractor? C: the piece that Owe that Loïc was looking for M: look C: was next to the tractor M: look, I found it C: well done O: tractor c: now you can look for the rest of the bottom of the boat and bits of sea O: uh it's there C: I don't think it goes there Owen O: there? C: no I think it goes down the bottom O: down the bottom C: but you can't, you can't attach it to any of the other pieces yet it goes there like that O: goes there M: um where's the other bit of the sea go? C: well I thought you were gonna try that piece M: yeah but it's not fit O: it's not working	L: **il est où le numéro deux?** C: It's over here next to Meriel and the Barbapap puzzle L: **aie** L: **il est où le petit numéro un?** C: well now, I can't see number one anywhere. Yes he's over there by the tractor. L: (sings) **hallelu** (coughs) L: (sings) **hallelujah je fais du violon je fais du violon maman**

C: because it goes down there like that
O: there

C: it might

C: put that piece there

O: there

M: Mummy I fi I can't, Mummy
O: there mummy there look. where's this go?
M: I can't found
C: yeah that is that is the piece that you need it is it is but you're not putting it in the right place
O: ah yes there
C: yes well done Owen, well done Meriel
M: where's the other piece of her head?
C: well done Owen! You've only got this one last piece to put in and you've finished. Now, Meriel. Try this piece because it might go there.
O: there, there! (stands up, hands in the air, triumphant)
C: you just have to put turn it round so it's the right way
O: look.
C: look at the picture so that it matches the picture
O: look mummy. [ə] **veux** play (?) **avec Meriel** (Fr pron of name) (goes to do Meriel's puzzle with her)
M: **mais euh non!** (covers her puzzle with her hands)
O: [ə] **veux jouer avec avec Meriel**. (stands up and moves towards me) **jouer**

L: (talks) **maman regarde** (sings) **je fais du violon**

L: **eh maman, je fais du violon**

L: **maman je fais du violon**
L: (sings) **je fais du violon**
C: no, accordion Loïc

C: not a violin, an accordion

L: o**h maintenant il y a un cadeau ici, regarde**

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avec Meriel M: t**u veux jouer av à lesquels?** O: **Ça** M: Mum, where's this piece go? C: um well yeah there but you have to turn it round M: (to O) Yeah like this, like this M: keep turning keep turning. Turn again. There,no, oh yes, yes yes yes O: **ah ouais je sais** it's this M: there it's him um O: oh it's the bird purple. I've done this. It's a barbapaba (?) Where's this go, mummy? C: well done Meriel, that's right. Yeah very go, yes well done Owen. You're very good the pair of you. O: where's this go? Where's this go? C: come on, see if you can find where it goes M: um O:*** C: try turning it round, Meriel M: oh where's the bit red? C: underneath your foot Meriel O: **oh c'est coincé** O: like that, like that, like that M: **mais**	 L: Mummy, I'm making a count's tower. a count's tower. L: (falls over) aah C: take care where you're walking, Loïc L: (kneels down with the others) **Il est bien l'aigle**

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	L: **eh maman c'est Lolita qui s'est fait emporté par un aigle.**
	(pause)
	C: what's happened?
	L: **Lolita elle s'est fait emporté par un aigle**
	C: what?
	L: (louder) **Lolita s'est fait emporté par un aigle**
	C: (probably looking puzzled)
	L: (even louder) **Lolita s'est fait emporté par un aigle!**
	C: there's no point shouting at me Loïc. I was just wondering what had happened that's all.
O: *** cat ***	
M: I can't	
C: let me help you a bit	L: **on dirait plutôt un faucon.** Mummy can, mummy do you, can you compare birds?
	C: can I compare birds?
	L: yeah
	C: you mean do I know their different names?
	L: yeah
	C: well
	L: is this any **c'est un faucon ou un aigle? On dirait que c'est un faucon, non?** (looks a bit sheepish, talking quietly, looks at me) What?
	C: (laughs)
	L: what?
	C: well I'm not I'm not sure

M: (looking at picture on puzzle box) Oh! This bit this bit go here
C: oh that's a good idea, isn't it, to look at the model on the box
M: look
C: yes
O: there

M: I don't know mummy

O: **eh eh c'est pas à toi** (to Loïc who is trying to do the puzzle) **C'est pas à toi**

O: **c'est ça**
L: **non Owen non. Non, c'est pas ça. Non, c'est pas ça. Non, c'est pas ça. Pas ça, pas ça.**

L: **ça c'est là. Ça c'est là. Ça ça va là**

O: **ça va là.**
L: **ça va ça va là.**
O: **et ça va là.**
C: Loïc. Loïc? There's a difference between helping someone and doing it for them.
O: (unclear but sounds Fr)
L: **non, Owen, ce bout là, là.**

C: I'm not I'm not very good, Loïc, at knowing the names of different birds

L: I know what it is
C: but that looks like an eagle to me because it's so big.

C: I think falcons are smaller than eagles

M: we have to find...this bit (examining picture on box)

M: we have to find the children

C: well look, Meriel, these are the pieces you need. You just have to figure out where to put them.
C: that's right, you see.

O: **là**
C: that's right, you help him and then you let him do it
M: **oui, là**
C: that's how he learns, isn't it?
M: **euh Owen**
L: **oui, ça va là.**
C: that's right, well done
L: **et voilà!**
C: you did that one together
M: **non c'est pas celui-là**
C: the piece you need is underneath your your knee
O: like that, like that? ***** va aller**
L: **Barbabâteau**
M: ***
O: **bravo**! (claps)
L: **non, mets ce bout là, Meriel**
M: no!
C: let Meriel do it, Loïc. She wants to do it herself.
M: I'm big now.
C: hooray, well done Meriel.
L: **attends, on les mets à côté. Non, d'abord, d'abord, il vont à la mer.**

TABLE 2 MUSICAL, AUDIO-VISUAL, POETIC AND NARRATIVE INPUT

3.2.1 Joining in with MAPNI (Examples 117 to 151)

Eg.n°	Date	Name & Age	Example
117.	29/05/06	Meriel (0;11,16)	Meriel moves hand round, claps and waves hand in air when I sing: *Tourne, tourne petit moulin* *Frappe, frappe petites mains* *Vole, vole petit oiseau* *Nage, nage poisson dans l'eau*
118.	01/12/08	Owen (1;11) Meriel (3;6)	I invented a song to the tune of "Frère Jacques" : Peepo Owen (or Meriel, or Loïc) Peepo Owen Where are you? Where are you? Are you hiding? Are you hiding? I can see you! I can see you! Owen and Meriel love it and hide behind their hands or behind furniture, etc. Good distraction technique when they're crying.
119.	07/01/12	Léonie	Before bedtime we did "Round and round the garden." Léonie began trying to say it while circling left index on right palm:

		(1;0,13)	[ə aʊ wə] [ə aʊ wə] [ə]
			She did it again while lying in her cot and then congratulated herself with clap.
120.	19/06/08	Owen (1;5,21)	When I sing "Old Macdonald Had a Farm" he sings "e-i-e-i-o" and holds animal and farmer finger puppets saying "e-i-e-i-o". Sometimes says "e-i-e-i-o" when we talk about farm animals, the farm and the farmer.
121.	13/11/07	Meriel (2;5)	Sings: "*Mon âne mon âne a mal à sa tête*" (repeats first line) will join in other lines if I sing too especially "(*souliers*) *li la la la la et des souliers lilacs*" Sings: "*Meunier, tu dors, ton moulin ton moulin va trop vite*" (repeats)
122.	Dec '08	Owen (1;11)	Owen sings the first line of "*Meunier, tu dors, ton moulin, ton moulin va trop vite*" If I sing with him he joins in "*trop fort*," but on his own just repeats first line. He sings this in the bath while playing with a water mill.
123.	14/01/13	Léonie (2;0,20)	The children and Eric arrive home with a galette Ca: oh! A galette! Yum. (sings) *J'aime la galette* (etc.) Lé: *ave(c) du beurre dedans!* Er: *ça fait dix minutes qu'elle entend ça* eng: she's been hearing that for the last ten minutes exp: the children were singing on the way back from the bakery The lyrics of the song are: "*J'aime la galette, savez-vous comment? Quand elle est bien faite, avec du beurre dedans.*"
124.	18/02/09	Owen (2;1,20)	Owen and Meriel sleep in the same room. At bedtime I sing "Lullabyes" to Owen then "Go to sleep my baby" to Meriel. At the moment Owen (from about 1;11 onwards) wants me to go back to him and sing "*Frère Jacques*" (which he sings along

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				to) and then the theme song from the *Maisy Mouse* DVD, "Maisy" (he sings along) then "Charlie" (a character from Maisy Mouse) to the *Maisy* tune, which sometimes he sings to himself and sometimes I have to sing with him.
125.	17 –18 / 11/07	Meriel (2;5,4 – 2;5,5)		Meriel likes songs as bedtime (and daytime) reading at the moment. For a few days it was *The wheels on the bus* book, then last night it was back to *Les plus belles chansons de toujours* which she really loves, especially "*Mon âne, mon âne*" and "*Il était un petit homme.*" Last night I couldn't find the book on her bookshelf and she said "a table". It was on the table! She likes to join in when she can eg … "*cacahuète*", "*I I youpi youpi I*", "*mon âne mon âne a mal à sa tète….fète….li la la la…lilac.*" Sometimes she tries to sing on her own and mumbles most of the words, inserting the ones she knows. She often just repeats one or two lines that she knows. Singing really is the best way to distract her when she is fussing about something, especially at the table, I often break into song during dinner when things are not going so well. Works very well with Owen too, and Loïc is always happy to join in.
126.	25/04/12	Léonie (1;4,0)		Sang along with book *Wheels on the Bus*. First time, just listened and didn't do actions. When I sang "the babies on the bus go wah wah wah", she leaned her head on me as if to comfort me. Second time, I added actions. When I said "beep, beep, beep", I did beeping horn action with fist. She touched her nose and said [nɪːp] as in nose beeping game. Third time, she joined in actions, including nose for beep, and hands for chat. At the end she said [mɔː] [= more] which she has been using instead of [kɔː] [= encore] for a week or so. I also recited "Round and round the garden" and pointed out the same movement for the wheels on the bus going round and round.
127.	22/02/13	Léonie (2;1, 28)		I recited "Two little dicky birds" rhyme to Léonie three days earlier, on 19/02/13. I am chopping potatoes and Léonie is playing with them. She thinks one of the potatoes looks like a bird and pretends Lé: Bird. *Couic couic*

			Ca: What's he doing, your bird?
			Lé: Sing a song
			Ca: He's singing. That's nice. He should sing "*À la volette*." (sings) *Mon petit oiseau a pris sa volée, mon petit oiseau a pris sa volée. A pris sa, à la volette, a pris sa, à la volette, a pris sa volée.*
			Lé: (joins in with gesture from "Two little dicky birds" rhyme, making hand fly away)
128.	18/04/12	Léonie (1;3,24)	Reading *Peepo Pirates* Ca: Peepo Lé: [bəʊ bəʊ] [pəʊ pəʊ] [pə pə] [=peepo]
129.	24/04/12	Léonie (1;3,30)	Bedtime story, *Goodnight Moon* Lé: [muː] and with prompting [muːn] [= moon] Lé: [næ næ] [= night night] [bæ əʊ] or [bæ w əʊ] [= bravo] (and claps hands) claps when I read 'bravo' in *Dix petites étoiles*, bedtime book at the moment.
130.	23/02/08	Loïc (4;10,19)	Today I was reading *Siarad Babi* [= *Baby Talk*] in Welsh and English. Loïc was soon repeating the Welsh, or at least nearly. Unfortunately, I'm not sure of the pronunciation myself, and tell him so.
131.	24/11 – 30/11/07	Meriel (2;5,11 – 2;5,17)	Meriel wants *The Three Little Pigs* every night at bedtime. She tries to join in when the wolf says "little pig, little pig, let me come in" and "not by the hair of my chinny chin chin", etc. Is she thinking about us moving or Eric 'building' the new house? Is she using the story as a way to practice new expressions?
132.	31/10/04	Loïc	As I read out loud, Loïc gives the last word of each line in the rhyming stories *Giraffes can't dance* and *Four pigs and a*

		(1;6,27)	*bee.*
			
			Four Pigs and a Bee (6 verses of four lines, all with the same metre, as in the following example)
			
			Ca: One pig in a
			
			Lo: pigsty.
			
			Ca: Two pigs by a
			
			Lo: tree.
			
			Ca: Three pigs on the
			
			Lo: pavement.
			
			Ca: Four pigs and a
			
			Lo: bee.
			
			Giraffes Can't Dance (22 verses of four lines, all with the same metre, as in the following example)
			
			Ca: Gerald was a tall giraffe
			
			    Whose neck was long and
			
			Lo: slim,
			
			Ca: But his knees were awfully bandy
			
			    And his legs were rather
			
			Lo: thin.

133.	25/11/08	Loïc (5;7,21)	Reading Mr Snow at bedtime Ca: When morning came it was quite amazing to see just how much snow had fallen. All the houses, all the trees, all the roads and all the fields were covered.

			Lo: in snow (as if finishing an unfinished sentence)
134.	28/07/12	Léonie (1;7,3)	We are in Cardiff. Léonie is sitting on Grandpa's lap looking at pictures in a book of animals. When they reach the owl, she chuckles and points at the owl and says: Lé: eyes, eyes
135.	23/02/08	Loïc (4;10,19)	I read *Goldilocks and the Three Bears* as a bedtime story. When baby bear discovers his broken chair, Loïc said "this is the sad part of the story".
136.	30/08/12	Léonie (1;8,5)	This evening I read stories to Léonie and Meriel and Owen. *The Very Hungry Caterpillar* Ca: Here's the moon, the egg, the leaf, the stars. (With only Lé, I pointed and traced around each thing in the picture) Ca: (with Ow as well) Where's the moon? Lé: (points) There. (etc.) *That's not my car.* Lé: (points to headlights) eyes *Time for bed.* Ca: Time for bed. Say goodnight. Lé: (waves) Ca: Brush that tooth, clean and bright. Lé: (points to hairbrush) teeth

			Ca: Arms up, legs up, wriggly tum. (tickle baby's tummy in picture)
			Lé: hi hi
			Ca: Climb into bed and snuggle down. Cuddle up with fluffy ted.
			Lé: milk (baby drinking bottle of milk in picture)
			Ca: It's sleepy time for bed.
137	08/02/08	Loïc (4;10,04)	On Friday we returned our library books and chose some more. Loïc had been given some plastic dinosaurs on Thursday so he chose two factual dinosaur books and we bought a big poster of dinosaurs. I have trouble reading some of the dinosaur names but he says 'I can say it' and repeats very accurately having only heard once or twice.
138	07/03/08	Loïc (4;11,03)	Tonight's bedtime story was *Sam Lapin au Jardin*. Sam helps his Grandpa in the garden. Grandpa asks Sam to weed Granny's flower bed and Sam digs up the flowers as well as the weeds. At the end of the book is a page with some pictures from the story and the children have to say what Sam or his Grandpa are doing. The instruction is in French but Loïc gave the answers in English. I prompted with "he's weeding" and Loïc said " he's flowering too!" Generally, even if we read a book in French the children's comments and questions are in English. Sometimes I think they ask me what is happening so that I will give them the English equivalent. I also try to reinforce their understanding by summarising in English or asking questions or commenting on the pictures.
139	19/09/08	Loïc 5;7,15 and Meriel 3;3,6	We are reading *Little Miss Twin*. The twin characters in the story repeat the last word in every sentence. Eric comes in to say goodnight. Lo: Goodnight, goodnight, Daddy, Daddy Ca: (At the end of the story) What a silly story!

			Lo: Good choose, Meriel. Then we read *Mr Muddle*. When it's time to go to sleep, Loïc puts his feet on the pillow and his head under the duvet. Lo: I'm Mr Muddle Me: (showing me the *Mr Sneeze* book that was in her bed) Mr Cough was in my bed Ca: I've got Mr Muddle over here and Little Miss Muddle over there! Now I want you all to be Mr Quiet and Mr Sleepy! Me: Who are you, Mummy? Ca: I'm Little Miss Mummy (lots of laughter from Loïc) Loïc has started understanding the humour of the *Mr Men* books and laughs a lot.
140 VIDEO	03/06/09	Owen (2;5,5)	59. C: **the crocodile has a long tail** 60. O: a long tail 61. C: and a big mouth 62. O: a big mouth 63. C: with lots of teeth 64. O: lots of teeth 65. C: and the bear likes eating honey [text = the bear is eating honey] 66. O: likes eating 'oney 67. C: honey **[h]**oney 68. O: 'oney 69. C: **[h]**oney 70. O: honey 71. C: good boy! Honey, honey 72. O: honey 73. C: do you like honey, Owen?

			74. O: yeah (I) like honey 75. C: do you? What else do you like? 76. O: um sandwich 77. C: do you like honey sandwiches? 78. O: umunney sandwiches 79. C: what do you like in your sandwiches? 80. O: *saucisson* 81. C: *saucisson*! 82. O: yeah 83. C: what else do you like in your sandwiches? 84. O: um ... *pain* 85. C: what? (I really didn't understand because I wasn't expecting it) 86. O: [pɛ̃]... I eating the *pain* 87. C: bread? 88. O: yeah bread 89. C: bread. bread and *saucisson* sandwiches 90. O: bread an *sauci..sson*..san(???) 91. C: and what do you like for dessert? 92. O: *petit filous*! 93. C: *petit filous*! 94. O: (laughs) 95. C: shall we have sandwiches for our lunch? Shall we have sandwiches for our lunch, hmmm? 96. O: there he is (pointing to book again) 97. C: would you like a sandwich for your lunch, Owen? 98. O: there he is 99. C: there he is, yeah
141 VIDEO	23/02/11	Meriel (5;8,10) Owen (4;1,25)	Ca:**"Oh, how I long to be long!" said Dumpling.** **"Who do you want to belong to?" asked one of her brothers.** **"No, I don't mean *to belong*," said Dumpling. "I mean to BE LONG!"**

			Do you know what she means?
			Ow: No.
			Me: Yeah
			Ca: Her brother says "who do you want to belong to?"
			Me: Yes, I know. I know (loudly and insistently)
			Ca: Well, Owen said he didn't.
			Ow: eerr
			Ca: It's like you belong to a group or a club
			Ow: No
			Ca: and when she says "I long to be long" her brother thinks she's saying
			Ow: eer
			Ca: I long to belong to a club or something and she's saying, "no, I don't want to belong to a club, I want to be long" (hand movement to illustrate 'long' moving right hand sideways to the right)
			Me: long. I understand. I know what she means.
			Ow: Me as well, I know.
			Ca: You understand now?
142 VIDEO	22/02/11	Meriel (5;8,9) Owen (4;1,24)	**Ca: "Time will tell," she said.** That's like when I say "you'll see," time will tell.
143 VIDEO	23/02/11	Owen (4;1,25)	Ca: **"Time will tell," she said.** Ow: what means "time will tell" means?

144	24/11/09	Loïc (6;7,20)	Watching *Lion King 2*. One of the characters repeats something like "he's outta his mind!" Loïc repeats something that resembles it but clearly not quite right. It seems he hasn't recognised the individual words or really undertood the meaning. He laughs as he does this, clearly thinking he's saying something funny. Maybe the way the character is behaving on the screen is funny. Maybe Loïc thinks he understands or hears something else which is funny to him. Maybe pragmatic clues are telling him that he should find it funny so he does (or appears to) without really understanding the meaning of the sequence.
145	17/02/09	Owen (2;1,19)	Ow: Look! The moon. (Upon seeing the moon in the sky; seeing the sun on *The Very Hungry Caterpillar* video; seeing the moon on *Papa, Fetch me the moon* video.)
146 VIDEO	01/05/09	Meriel (3; 11) and Owen (2;5)	Me: ow Ow: ow Ca: What did he do then? Me: Just like me...because me got a very big bump Ca: Oh yeah, you bumped your head as well didn't you? You've got a bump.
147 VIDEO	01/05/09	Meriel (3; 11) and Owen (2;5)	C: hooray, fireworks O: fireworks C: that's pretty M: We('ve) already seen fireworks C: have we? M: yeah C: do you remember? M: with Shane O: with Shane C: that was a long time ago, wasn't it? M: Yeah

			C: you remember it, do you? M: and when we were a very tiny baby C: well, you were two O: a tiny baby C: no, you were three M: yeah C: only just though, it was nearly a year ago. Did you like it? M: mm, I were a bit scared and a bit cold so we put a blanket on me C: a bit scared and a bit cold, because it was late at night, wasn't it, we had to wait until it was night time so it was really late. Do you remember? M: Yeah
148	15/06/09	Meriel (4;0,2) Owen (2;5,17)	Reading *Four Pigs and a Bee*, Owen sees a picture of a cat. Ow: a naughty cat Me: a naughty cat Ca: a naughty cat? Ow: Yeah! A naughty cat. Ca: Why is he naughty? What did he do? Ow: scratched me Ca: That cat? Scratched you? Ow: Yeah. Scratched me a naughty cat.
149	March '08	Loïc (4;11)	Loïc asks about a song on the *Muppet's Fairy Tales* video Lo: What does "who d'ya think ya foolin'" mean?
150	March '08	Loïc (4;11)	Watching *Barney and Friends* episode *A perfectly purple day*. Barney is singing "I think a flower is most beautiful when it is given away."

			Lo: What does "given away" mean?
151	February '08	Loïc (4;10)	Watching *Return of the Black Stallion*. The children and I have recently returned to France after five week visit to Wales without Eric. Lo was having some difficulty with French vocabulary. Lo: *C'est quoi en français, Papa*, sandstorm?

3.2.2 Talking about MAPNI (Examples 152 to 157)

152	13/11/07	Loïc 4;7,9	At lunch.
		Meriel 2;5	Ca: Did you sing any songs today, Meriel?
			Me: *Oui.*
			Lo: I sang a new song (Lo had already sung his new song twice)
			Ca: (to Me) What did you sing, do you know?
			Me: (rubs fingers of right hand on palm of left)
			Ca: What song could that be? Do you know Loïc?
			Lo: A song about hands.
			Me: *Non.*
			Ca: Is it like 'this is the way we wash our hands'?
			Me: *Oui.*
			Lo: (Sings to tune of "Here we go round the Mulberry Bush.") *On se lave les mains comme ça.*
			Ca: Or maybe a song about rubbing your hands together when it's cold, it was cold this morning wasn't it?
			Me: O*ui.*
153	17/06/09	Loïc (6;2,13)	Reading *Cinderella*, in Roald Dahl's *Revolting Rhymes* at bed time. The children had just watched *Fireman Sam's Big Freeze*, which includes an episode in which the children dress up for Halloween.
			Ca: She said, "My dear, are you all right?"
			"All right?" cried Cindy. "Can't you see
			I feel as rotten as can be!"

			Lo (6;1.15): That's like Norman, when Penny says, "That's a nice costume, Norman", and he says, "*Nice?* I don't want to be *nice*. I want to be *scary*!"
154	26/02/08	Loïc (4;10,22)	Loïc watched *The Return of the Black Stallion* and cried when it finished. I asked him if he was crying because the film was over and he said 'no'. I asked him if it was because the end of the film was sad and he said 'yes'. He was really upset and took a while to recover. I told him that when I was young and watched the same film, it made me cry too.
155	27/02/08	Loïc (4;10,23)	At Shane and Caroline's house, Caroline asked Loïc if he would like to watch *Bouba*. She warned him that it is sad because it is about two little bears whose Mummy dies and they are left on their own, but said she loved watching it when she was little even though it is sad. Loïc wanted to watch it and we talked about how he cried at the end of *The Return of the Black Stallion* and about how a lot of films for children are sad or scary. Loïc said "some films are sad and some films are funny and some films are scary" in a very conversational sort of way which made Shane reply something like, "Well yes Loïc, that's very true."
156	28/02/08	Loïc (4;10,24)	Loïc asked me if I used to watch *The Return of the Black Stallion* when I was a little girl. I said I used to watch it when I was young, not a little girl. He asked me if I was four when I watched it, and I said that I was older than that. He often goes back to things we say in conversations several times over days or even weeks, asking the same questions over and over. He will also ask me questions about himself, like 'do I cry when I watch that film?' or 'have I forgotten my French?' He has been saying "*salaam alikum*" since watching *The Return of the Black Stallion* which takes place among Tuaregs in the desert. He asked Eric what it meant and then he told me that he knew how to say "hello in African." He also asked me what it meant, even after having told me himself. I told him the language was Arabic and that he should say it to our Morrocan friend Latif next time he sees him because he speaks Arabic and would be pleased. Loïc has asked me several

			times what should he say to Latif and what Latif would say to him. He finds the idea of saying that to Latif funny and exciting. He pretends to speak "African" and I thought it was because of the film but Eric says that when Meriel is speaking unclearly he says she is speaking African and it makes Loïc laugh, so maybe it comes from there instead / aswell.
157a	26/04/12	Owen (5;3,28)	This morning Owen didn't want to get up. He said he couldn't get up because he had bumped his head. I asked him he meant like the old man in the song? I sang the song. Then I changed "Old Man" to "Owen" and we sang it again. Meriel sang again on her own. After school, Owen sang the song to himself but it sounded like "it's boring." Then he asked me to sing it because he wasn't sure of the words. He asked me specifically what was the word before "Old Man." I had to repeat it several times. I didn't explain it but I did emphasize it is a [p] not a [b]. It's funny that he should bring this up since it figures as an example in the data when Owen was much younger. It is as if he is revisiting the song with a new level of understanding and really wants to understand the meaning. Ca: Owen, do you know what it means "it's pouring"? Ow: No. Ca: It means it's raining a lot. In the song it means it's raining a lot. Ow: (sings) it's raining a lo-ot.
157b	July '07	Loïc (4;3)	Loïc surprised me by saying that he didn't want to go to sleep because he was afraid of not waking up in the morning. I didn't know what he meant and asked him to explain. "It's raining," was his reply. I thought for a bit and asked him "like the old man in the song?" "Yes," he said. It had been raining a lot and we had been singing the song to accompany the weather.

3.2.3 Performing MAPNI (Examples 158 to 171)

158	December '08	Owen (1;11)	Owen likes to sing *"Frère Jacques"*: *Fère Jacques, Fère Jacques,* *Où vas-tu? Où vas-tu?* (repeats these two lines) He also sings: *cherchez-moi, coucou coucou* *Je suis caché sous un chou* (and hides his face in his hands)
159	09/02/08	Loïc (4;10,07)	While on holiday in Cardiff, a family friend gave the children a *Mary Poppins* DVD and Loïc watched it straight away. By the afternoon he was already singing "chim chimney, chim chimney".
160	Feb '08	Meriel (2;6)	During our 5 week stay in Wales and England, there has been a very noticeable shift towards English in Meriel's language. When spontaneously singing, however, it is always French songs (eg *"Alouette,"* *"Cherchez moi coucou coucou je suis caché sous un chou,"* (with the words only half pronounced correctly)) with the exception of "Happy Birthday" which she sang throughout our visit, no doubt because of Owen's, Grandpa's and Granny's birthdays all in quick succession. When she sings, it sounds like this: Appa birday to you Appa birday to you

			Appa birday dear Ganny, Owen, Ganpa
			Appa birday to you
161	01/04/14	Loïc (11;0)	Loïc has heard "The Eye of the Tiger" on the radio and likes it so much he looked up the song and lyrics on *You Tube* and copied out the lyrics in his own handwriting. He sings along with his piece of paper and I remarked that at his age I loved that song too. When I looked at the lyrics, I was surprised to notice that the words I used to sing were wrong. I didn't have internet and *You Tube* to provide me with the right ones, so I just sang my own approximate version! Even with Loïc's written lyrics, I found it hard to unlearn my personalised childhood version.
162	01/05/14	Meriel (8;11)	The children are practising for the school choir concert. Meriel's class is learning a few songs in English. One of them is a gospel classic, "Rock my soul in the bosom of Abraham." Her singing of "in the bosom of Abraham" is so approximate that it doesn't sound like English at all. I asked her to repeat several times and couldn't figure out what she was trying to sing. A quick *Google* search led me to the right song on *You Tube*. Meriel insisted that her choir teacher had got it right. She said that the teacher had told them she had simplified the song for them and that the pronunciation was different for that reason. I tried to tell Meriel the correct pronunciation but she got very angry and said that I didn't know what I was talking about. I tried to show her the *You Tube* video of a choir singing the song and she got angry again and started to cry. I got pretty angry myself because she refused to accept that I knew better how to pronounce those words than her choir teacher. In the end, I told her that we would not discuss it any more as it clearly made us both upset and it really wasn't worth it!
163	18/03/10	Meriel (4;9,5)	Ow & Me watch Disney's *Cinderella* in English. After their nap, they watched the end of the film. Me: [singing while waiting to watch rest of film] Sing sweet my-ingale, ah ah ah ah ah [repeats] I let her sing that a few times, then: Ca: [sings] sing sweet nightingale

			Me: No, it's my-un-gale.
			Ca: It's not, darling. It's nightingale. Do you know what a nightingale is?
			Me: No.
			Ca: It's a kind of bird which has a very pretty song. A nightingale is a kind of bird.
			M: Oh. [sings] Sing sweet nightingale...... [a minute later] sing sweet my-un-gale.
164	16/09/08	Loïc (5;5,12)	Loïc has learned a new rhyme at school. I asked him to tell it to me
			Lo: *Lundi, les canards vont à la mare.*
			Mar, mar, mardi, ils s'en vont jusqu'à la mer
			Mer, mer, mercredi, ils organisent un grand jeu
			Jeu, jeu, jeudi, ils se promènent dans le vent
			Ven, ven, vendredi, ils se dandinent comme ça
			Sa, sa, samedi, ils se lavent à ce qu'on dit
			Di, di, dimanche, ils voient la vie en rose
			La semaine recommencera demain, coin, coin
			He stopped reciting at the word "*dandinent*" to say "that means dance" and then he had to start again from the beginning.
165	11/02/08	Meriel (2;6,29)	(In Cardiff) Meriel has become very attached to a set of baby books that Virgil left at Granny and Grandpa's: *It's Time to Play*, *It's Time for Dinner*, *It's Time to Wash*, and *It's Time for Bed*. She wants them at bedtime most nights and has brought them to Cwm Chwefru (holiday cottage in Wales). She reads them to herself saying most of the words, or her version of them.

166 VIDEO 6	Feb '09	Owen (2;1)	(Owen lifts the flaps and comments on each picture with surprise as we do when reading the book, looking for Sizzles the dog.) 1. A plane. Oh, a [unclear] Oh, a flower! Oh, a giraffe! Oh, a cat! Oh, a bear! Oh, *un autre* boy! [it's a girl] There. 2. [New page] A bee, *un autre* bee! Oh no! Oh yeah! *Un, un autre* bee! Oh, yeah! *Un orange* [they're hedgehogs] *Un oiseau*! A balloon! [it's a football] A plane, a aeroplane! 3. [New page] A book. A [unclear] in the caterpillar [it's a wardrobe containing clothes and toys], um [unclear] Oh, mummy! [it's a mermaid doll with long hair] Oh, a giraffe! Oh a things, elephant, panda [it's a black and white football] Oh, a cat! Oh, yeah! There. 4. [Closes book then opens it at last page] A bed. 5. [Then he turns pages backwards to beginning]
167	05/06/09	Owen (2;5)	I overheard Owen reading to himself from *Aargh! Spider!* Ow: Aargh! Spider! Out you go! This was followed by unclear speech but his intonation indicated he was reading aloud from the book. I was too far away to hear clearly if he was saying real words or just babbling. As he turned the pages he would regularly say, "Aargh! Spider! Out you go!" possibly at the appropriate moments of the story.
168	26/10/10	Loïc (7;6,22)	Loïc just read *Whales* on his own for the first time. Amazing! His reading is very good considering no formal teaching. I think his knowledge of formulas helped him deal with some difficult words, e.g. "When she sees a shark, she rushes straight at it." He read the whole phrase "rushes straight at it" without any hesitation, fluently. This is just one example. There were others like this where he seemed to be helped through whole phrases when he recognized what he was saying.

169	13/02/08 & 15/02/08	Loïc 4;10,9-11	13/02: I made up a new Kitty (his favourite soft toy) story for Loïc. Kitty goes to North America and meets a bear and lives with the Native Americans. 15/02: This morning he wanted it again but I was busy so I told him to tell me a story. He told the same one, and although I wasn't really able to listen, he bravely continued to the end.
170	30/12/08	Owen (2;0,1)	Ow: a hurting a 'pider [= spider]. Ca: a spider? Hurting you? Ow: yeah. Ca: where? Ow: hurting a leg a 'pider.

171 VIDEO 7	30/11/07	Loïc 4;7,26	Loïc spent the whole evening drawing pictures, filling A4 sheets with lots of little pictures on the same theme. He drew a page of Halloween pictures, monsters, pumkins, himself, me and Eric dressed up for Halloween. He told me all about it in detail. It's a new discovery for him that he can make up his own drawings that look like something and tell a story with them. He obviously gets a lot of satisfaction from it.
			Lo: Do you want me to read you a story?
			Me: No!
			Ca: Yes, please.
			   1. L: Once upon a time, uh, one summer, it was Halloween. One cat was standing on a, on a, er what's it called, already?
			   2. C: Pumpkin?
			   3. L: Was standing on a pumpkin. A cat was standing on a pumpkin. And one day he grooowwled at people and and

they all had a, a Halloween fight, and one of them went fffeuurrruhhhh weeuuuhhhh !!! And

4. *(New picture)* and the boss said, with two eyes, *(shouts)* "stop fighting!" And they stopped.

5. *(New picture)* Now, this one was a boy one, but actually he's Yu, Yuno's cousin. He had eleven eyes, one skull attached to him and lots of letters and a cat [unclear = drawing?] a scary cat, with, and he's ssprrre and a dog attached with a lead uuueerrrgghh.

6. *(New picture)* And then the Bolgo his cousin, is reeaallly strong, he said "what are you doing? This is my house.Ehh! Poum ouch.

7. *(New picture)* *(high pitched whiney voice)* "uehh nyauh nyauh nyuh nyuh [unclear] Are you gonna play with me-uh?" *(growly voice)* "No." "Nnnyhh."

8. *(New picture) (high pitched voice and squeal)* " ueh, are you gonna play with me?" *(growly voice)* "Nooo!" That was the end of this story.

3.2.4 Translating MAPNI (Examples 172 to 182)

172	18/11/07	Loïc 4;7,14	Loïc sang "*Il était un petit homme*" in English. Lo: There was a little man, pirouette, peanut, There was a little man who had a funny little house, who had a funny little house. His house was made of card, pirouette, peanut, His house was made of card, and the stairs were made of paper, and the stairs were made of paper... Then he said Lo: It's better in French com: something I've said before after trying to translate a song Ca: Yes it is, because in French it's got rhyme and rhythm. It's difficult to translate songs because of not having the same rhyme and rhythm. Later, when Eric came home, Loïc tried to sing an English song in French for him, but found it too hard and gave up (plus Eric wasn't really paying attention since he didn't realise what Loïc was trying to do)
173	January '08	Loïc (4;10) Meriel (2;8)	At bedtime I asked Meriel which language she wanted me to read the story in and she said "English," but when I started reading in English she said "No! In English." So I explained "English is "T'choupi gardening" and French is "*T'choupi jardin*e", so which one do you want? "T'choupi gardening?" She replied "*non*" so I read it in French. When it was Loïc's (4;10) turn I asked him the same question about another French book that he had chosen, *Je construis une maison* and he

			chose English. Meriel cried and complained throughout the story. Is it because she is used to having those stories in French?
174	06/03/08	Loïc 4;11,02	Loïc tried reading a French book to himself in English. When I read it to him in English he said "that's what I said!" and was proud of himself for having found the same translation.
175	09/12/08	Loïc 5;8,5	Reading *Superman* comic Ca: - I sure hope we've seen the last of that critter! – Oh, I think we have, Jimmy. After all...Superman locked the door and threw away the key. Lo: heureusement qu'il a refermé la porte et jeté la clé pour que ça n'arrive pas encore plus jamais.
176	14/11/08	Loïc (5;7,10) Meriel (3;5,1)	Loïc told me this story when he came home from school. At bedtime, I asked him to tell me again so I could write it down. Meriel was listening and she wanted to tell me too. Lo: First the little rabbit rolls in the green grass and when he gets up his bottom is all green. He sees some strawberries and then his mouth is all red. Then he sees some mud. He splashes his feet in the mud. Then his feet are all brown. He picks some flowers and then he has his hands all yellow. He gives them to his mummy. Ca: What does he give? Lo: The flowers. Then his mummy says, "you need some blue. Go in the bath", and then the little rabbit doesn't have any colours any more. Ca: Does he become a particular colour after that? Lo: White. White is his normal colour. Meriel had been listening and wanted to have a go at translating the story too. (At this time, Loïc and Meriel were in the same class at school every afternoon, so shared some of the same stories there.)

			Me: The little rabbit's all white. And the rabbit's got every colour but not blue. He's go in the grass and get his botton wet. He's step in the mud for get his feet all brown. How about the flowers? I not say. He give the flowers to his mummy and he's got all yellow. He's need some blue. He's eat some strawberries and get his mouth all red. Something else. But not the same. I go to bed!
177 VIDEO	October '08	Meriel (3;4)	1. M: *Youpi! Youpi! Je glisse* 2. Oh! *J'ai les fesses tout marr.. er tout vert.* 3. *Miam Miam, il y a des fraises!* (....) *J'ai la bouche toute rouge.* 4. *Oh!* (...) *J'ai la bouche toute rouge.* 5. *Oh! J'ai les pieds tout marrons.* 6. *Oh! J'ai les pieds tout marrons.* 7. *Oh! Je vais apporter ça à maman. C'est belle les fleurs. C'est tout, c'est tout um*...what's this...I can't remember the colour. 8. C: They're yellow 9. M: Yellow. *Je vais l'apporter à maman. Tiens maman! Mais, t'as la bouche toute, t'as les pattes toutes jaunes. Tiens. Mais t'as oublié le bleu. Tu vas dans cet bain pour enlever les couleurs. Oh, maman, tiens.* I've finished. 10. C: Thank you, Meriel. 11. M: Yeah! Um, youpi! 12. Oh! *J'ai*, um *je*, I've got my bottom all green! 13. Oh! Yum yum! *Je vais manger quoi?*

| | | | | 14. C: Strawberries. |

14. C: Strawberries.

15. M: I gonna eat the strawberries, and then I'm gonna get my mouth all, all

16. C: Red

17. M: Red

18. C: That's right.

19. M: Oh! *J'ai la bouche toute rouge.*

20. Oh! *J'ai les pieds tout marrons.*

21. C: Hang on a minute. Aren't you supposed to be telling me this story in English?

22. M: Yeah, but I can't remember. I got my feet all, all

23. C: Brown.

24. M: Brown. Oh! Um Oh! I got my feet all brown!

25. Oh! *C'est il...*There's some flowers. Aren't they pretty! Oh, *je vais les mettre pour donner à maman*. Mummy. It's you, you're a mummy.

26. C: Yes, I'm your mummy.

27. M: *Tiens, maman. Mais, j'ai les mains toutes jaunes!*

28. C: Hang on a minute. Aren't you supposed to be telling me that story in English?

29. M: Um I can't remember.

30. C: Mmm. Here you are, mummy.

31. M: Here you are, mummy, it's for you. Yeah, but you got your mouth all red. *Oui, mais voilà.*

32. C: Your hands are all

			33. M: Yellow
			34. C: And you bottom is all
			35. M: Green
			36. C: And..what else? Your feet
			37. M: are brown.
			38. C: And your
			39. M: mouth are red.
			40. Oh, I *oublie* the bath. *Oui, mais t'as oublié le bleu. Tiens, tu vas aller dans le baignoire et tu vas laver (......) Oh bah c'est fini!*
178	07/09/08	Loïc (5;5,3)	Ca: (reading out loud the sentence to be translated) *Et la sorcière dit...* Lo: "*Ce n'est pas grave.*"
179	07/09/08	Loïc (5;5,3)	Catrin helped Loïc make his bilingual *Sleeping Beauty* book. See text in table below.

A	B
1. # Il était une fois, il y a très longtemps, un roi et une reine qui n'avaient pas d'enfants.	# Once upon a time, a long time ago, there lived a king and a queen who didn't have any children.
2. Ils decidèrent de faire un enfant.	They decided to have a baby.
3. # Le roi enferma sa fille dans une petite chambre	# The king locked his daughter in the cellar.
4. et par la fenêtre est venue une sorcière qui portait un chaudron.	Through the door came a flash of lightning and appeared a witch carrying a cauldron.
5. La sorcière installa le chaudron pour faire de la magie.	The witch put the cauldron down to do some magic.

6. Elle demanda à la petite fille -Pourquoi tu pleures comme ça?	She asked the little girl, "Why are you crying like that?"
7. La petite fille dit -Parce que mon père m'a enfermé dans une chambre.	The little girl said, "My daddy locked me up in this cellar."
8. La sorcière dit -C'est pas grave. Je vais te transformer. Tu ne pleuras plus quand tout le spectacle sera fini.	The witch said, "When all the show will be finished, you won't cry any more. It doesn't matter. I'm going to transform you."
9. La petite fille dit -D'accord.	The little girl says, "OK".
10. # Quand la petite fille va avec la sorcière dans une autre petite chambre, la sorcière mit un autre objet pour faire de la laine.	# When the little girl went with the witch in another little cellar, the witch put another object to do some cotton.
11. La petite fille voulait essayer.	The little girl wanted to try.
12. Elle s'asseoit sur le petit tambourin et puis elle essaya mais elle se piqua avec l'aiguille et quatre gouttes de sang tomba de son doigt.	She sat on the little stool and she tried, but she hurt herself with the needle and four drops of blood fell from Sleeping Beauty's finger.
13. Elle tomba sur le carrelage et la sorcière dit	She fell on the floor and the witch said,
14. -Ha, ha, ha, ha! Ca l'apprendra cette petite fille.	"Ha, ha, ha, ha! That will teach her a lesson."
15. Et puis un jour, plus tard, un prince viendra...	Some days later a Prince will come...
16. # -Oh, oh, il y a un danger, dit le prince.	# "Uh oh, there's a danger", says the prince.
17. Il coura jusqu'à l'autre côté de la forêt.	He ran all the way to the other side of the forest.
18. # Le prince vu dans le canal un dragon qui vola jusqu'au prince.	# The prince saw a dragon which came up to the prince, flying.
19. Quand il vu le dragon, le dragon le suit en volant jusqu'au château.	The dragon followed the prince, flying all the way to the castle.
20. Il batta le dragon au château.	He fought the dragon at the castle.
21. Il planta l'épée dans le cou du dragon.	He put his sword in the neck of the dragon
22. Le dragon fut tombé dans le canal.	and the dragon fell into the canal and sank.

23. # Il avait mari la princesse pendant que le roi les regarda, pendant qu'ils dansent pendant la fête.	# He married the princess happily ever after while the king watched the prince and the queen dance and then while the party was going on.
24.	And they lived happily ever after.
25.	They even had some children.
26.	But you never know if it starts all over again in Disneyland...

180	15/03/09	Loïc 5;11,11. Meriel 3;9,2	Lo: (to Ca) *il y a trois poussins sur une table. Comment tu fais pour qu'il n'y en a que deux?*
			eng: there are three chicks on a table. What do you do so that there are only two?
			Ca: (thinks) *j'en pousse un*
			eng: I push one of them (off)
			Lo: *non! Tu dis autre chose pour qu'il n'y en a que deux*
			eng: no! Say something else so there's only two
			Ca: *um j'en prends un*
			eng: I take one of them
			Lo: *t'en pousse un! Ha ha ha!*
			eng: you push one of them!
			Lo: (to C) *tu sais quoi?*

			eng: do you know what? Ca: *quoi?* eng: what? Lo: *non, tu dois dire "non"* eng: no, you have to say "no" Ca: *ok, start again* Lo: *tu sais quoi?* eng: do you know what? Ca: no Lo: *moi non plus* eng: me neither Me: (to C) Do you know, Mummy? Ca: no Me: me either
181	22/03/ 09	Loïc 5;11,18	I ask Loïc if he thinks he can tell me the poussin joke in English. Lo: yeah. There are three chicks on a table. How do you...how do you...how do you...do so there are only two? *Et là tu dis, j'sais pas, tu dis "j'en enlève un" ou "j'en prends un" et moi je dis "t'en pousse un"* Ca: but that's in French. How would you say it in English? Lo: you push one

			Ca: and that's funny, is it?
			Lo: yes!
			Ca: why? Why is it funny?
			Lo: (shrugs)
			Ca: is it funny because you push the chick? Is that what's funny? Pushing a chick?
			Lo: yeah!
			I ask him to think about the French version and see if he can figure out why it's funny. He still thinks it's the pushing that's funny. I ask him
			Ca: how do you say "chick" in French?
			Lo: *poussin*
			Ca: and how do you say "push one" in French?
			Lo: *pousse un*
			Ca: so don't you think that that's why the joke is funny, because it sounds the same?
			No, he still doesn't get it. He still thinks it's the pushing that's funny.
182	17/04/12	Loïc (9;0,13) Meriel (6;10,4) Owen	Yesterday Loïc, Meriel and Owen went to a theatre workshop. They were told to take jokes the following day. They looked some up on the internet with me. One is: *Deux pommes de terre traversent la route. L'une d'eux se fait écrasée. L'autre dit "Oh purée!"* At lunch today, they talk about the jokes they are going to take to the workshop.
			Me: Two potatoes... (hesitates and then starts telling another joke)
			Ca: Could we say that joke in English?

		(5;3,19)	Lo: Two potatoes
			Me: How do you say *traversent*?
			Ca: Cross
			Me: Two potatoes cross the road. One be
			Ca: One is run over.
			Me: One is run over by a car. The other says mash!
			Lo: Mash!
			Ca: It doesn't work in English. We don't say "mash!" like that. It's not the same as "*Oh purée!*"
			Ow: Crumbs!
			Ca: Oh yes! Owen, well done! We could do it with bread.
			We try telling the joke with "bread," then I suggest "biscuits" and we try again.....

TABLE 3: BORROWING FROM MAPNI

3.3.1. Function 1: Performing (Examples 183 to 220)

(total 37 examples)

Eg. N°	Date	Name & Age	Example	Source text	Types
183	Dec '08	Owen (1;11)	bck: When Jacques parks his van in front of Lucien's house, (always same time of day), Owen recognises the engine noise. Ow: *Jacques* Ow: ***Jacques, Jacques, eh eh ay eh eh haricot magique*** com: sings	Source: Theme song from last summer's school play. Source text: *Jacques, Jacques, eh eh ay eh eh, et l'haricot magique.* Theme song from last summer's school play	VR T3
184	15/02 /13	Léonie (2;1,21)	situation: Er and Me are playing cards at the dinner table. Lé is on her own near her potty and bookcase. Lé: **(h)appy new year** Me: Happy new year! (laughs) situation: ten minutes later Lé: **(h)appy new year** act: puts teddy on her shoulders Ca: Oh, I see. You're remembering our new year's party when you were on daddy's shoulders and everyone was singing "Happy New	Source: Song by the pop group Abba, "Happy New Year." We have this song on CD and at midnight on New Year's Eve, we had listened to it and sung it together. Source text: Happy New Year! Happy New Year!...	VR T3

			Year"		

185 VIDEO 8	03/06 /09	Owen (2;5,5)	Ca: oh. And what's this?
			Ow: uh a *soleil*
			Ca: a what?
			Ow: a *soleil*
			Ca: a *soleil*?
			Ow: yeah
			Ca: a sun
			Ow: Mister Sun, sun
			    Mister [gəʊlgən] sun
			    [ɑɪdɪɑɪ] a tree
			com: sings [= golden sun hiding behind a tree]
				Source: Song "Mr Sun"
				on DVD *Barney and Friends* episode "A
				perfectly purple day"
				Source text:
				"Oh Mr Sun, Sun,
				Mr Golden Sun,
				hiding behind a tree"
					VR T1

186	02/05 /12	Owen (5;4,3)	Lo: Did you put cinnamon in this? Ca: Yes, I did. And some lovely brown sugar. Lo: Ha ha! That's why it tastes so bad!! Ow: (sings) **Nose, nose, jolly red nose. What gave you a jolly red nose?** Ca: (sings) Nutmeg, ginger, cinnamon and cloves. That's what gave me a jolly red nose. (sing together twice) Lo: (sings) Nose, nose, jolly **blue** nose. Me: (sings) **Chocolate, bread**, ha ha jolly **brown** nose	Source: "Jolly Red Nose" song from *This Little Piggy* CD collection of children's songs. Source text: "Nose, nose, jolly red nose.What gave you a jolly red nose?Nutmeg, ginger, cinnamon and cloves. That's what gave me a jolly red nose."	VR T1 RR
187	18/02	Meriel	Lo: Papa, tu connais *La guerre des boutons?*	Source: Song "*Il pleut bergère*"	VR

	/09	(3;8,5)	Me: **Il pleut, il pleut bergère, rentre tes blancs moutons**, etc com: sings	Source text: "*Il pleut, il pleut bergère, rentre tes blancs moutons*"	T1
188	10/03 /09	Meriel (3;8,25)	situation: Meriel is skipping to the potty. Ca: skip, skip, skip, skip... Me: skip, skip, **skip to my Lou** com: sings com: we then finish the song together	Source: Song "Skip to my Lou" on DVD *Barney and Friends* episode "A perfectly purple day" Source text: "Lou, Lou, skip to my Lou"	RR T1
189	16/02 /13	Léonie (2;1,22)	Ca: what's this? act: points to lamp Lé: *lumière* eng: light Lé: *c'est qui, maman?* act: holding jar of messages com: repeats until I answer Ca: oh. It's a jar of messages for daddy...oh. What have you got there? Lé: uh, flowers act: gives me book about plants with photo of flowers on cover Lé: *C'est qui?* act: points to another book, a novel	Source: Song "*Petit Papa Noël*" Source text: "*petit papa noël, quand tu descendras du ciel...*"	VR T1

			Ca: I don't know. Lé: *à papa....* eng: daddy's Lé: **papa noël...ciel** com: sings		
190	11/12 /09	Meriel (4;5,28)	Meriel is being silly. I'm dressing her after her nap and tell her to stop being silly. Me: (sings/chants) I will not, I will not **fall, fall, fall** (short pause then she goes on into song) Me: Bah, bah, bah build it up, build it up, build it very high	From *Boogie Beebies*, BBC children's programme "Build it up, build it up, build it very high Build it up, build it up, up into the sky Build it up, build it up, build it very tall Build it very tall then stand back and watch it fall, fall, fall."	RR & VR T1
191	05/04 /05	Loïc (2;0,1)	Lo: Daddy's gone to work. *Un, deux, trois*, (drinks) *bravo* Loïc! act: Drinks and talks to himself Lo: **Bâteau sur l'eau**…. hot…*un, deux, trois*, there he is butterfly (babble) house, bird, boat, *bâteau*, star, **twinkle star, twinkle twinkle little star**, one, two, three, *un, deux, trois, cinq, bravo*, show Daddy. com: sings and talks	Source: (a) Song "*Bâteau sur l'eau*" (b) Song "Twinkle, twinkle, little star"	VR T1

192	15/07 /07	Loïc (4;3,11)	bck: We are staying in Cardiff Ca: Come on, let's put your socks on. Lo: Socks, pocks, put your pocks on, socks, pocks, locks act: laughs Lo: **thirsty flowers drink it up then they drink some more** com: sings Lo: putting socks on pocks and bocks more. com: sings to same tune as borrowed phrase	Source: Song from video *Rosie and Jim* Source text: thirsty flowers drink it up, then they drink some more	VR T1
193	15/03 /10	Owen (3;2,17)	Situation: Owen can't get down from his chair. Ow: Mummy! I'm stuck! Ca: Do you want to get down? Ow: Yeah. I'm sticky stuck, **stuck** com: sings	Source: Song in Cartoon *Oswald, A Sticky Situation* on DVD *Children's Brightest Favourites.* Source text: "I'm sticky stuck to you and you're sticky stuck to me."	RR T1
194	end May 09	Owen (2;5)	Situation: Owen is sitting at the table and mixing up his food: two different flavoured and different coloured *petit filous* desserts Ow: when you mix [buː æn ed ɪ] makes **[buː]** [= When you mix blue and red it makes **blue**]	Source: Song about mixing colours from *Barney and Friends'* Children's tv programme on DVD, (US Eng.) episode A perfectly purple day. Source text: "When you mix blue and red it makes purple"	RR T3
195	22/03 /09	Meriel (3;9,9)	Lo: *Maman, on peut écouter du rock?* Ca: how about ACDC?	Source: Song "Alphabet" Source text: "A B C D E F G...etc"	RR T1

			com: *ACDC* is the name of a rock band. Lo: *yeah, yeah ACDC* com: French pronunciation Me: *ACDCEFG...* com: sings in French		
196	10/06 /11	Meriel (5;11,27)	Me: Mummy, can I have one of those sweeties we had in the car? Ca: You mean a Tic-Tac? Me: Yeah, a Tic-Tac. Me: **Tic tac** paddy whack, give a dog a bone... com: sings	Source Song in a sing along counting book: *This Old Man* Source text: "...with a knick knack paddy whack give a dog a bone..."	RR T1
197	15/02 /08	Loïc 4;10,11	bck: in Wales situaiton: Loïc said almost entire *The Owl and Pussy Cat* rhyme with Grandpa. Gp & L: The Owl and the Pussy Cat went to sea In a beautiful pea-green boat. They took some honey and plenty of money Wrapped up in a five-pound note. They sailed away for a year and a day Gp: To the land where the **oak** tree grows. L: (*laughs*) No! Bong tree!		

			Gp: To the land where the bong tree grows.		
198	10/09/08	Loïc (5;5,6)	Situation: Loïc is playing in the sand pit and making up a monologue. Lo: **Would you like** it **in the dark**? **Would you like** it **in the park**? **Would you like** it with **Clark**? **I do not like green eggs and ham** **I do not like green eggs and ham** That's another version, Mummy	Source (a) Book *Green Eggs and Ham* Source (b) book *One Fish Two Fish Red Fish Blue Fish* Source text (a): "Would you like them here or there? …. I do not like green eggs and ham … Would you like them in a house? Would you like them with a mouse? … Say! In the dark? Here in the dark! Would you, could you, in the dark?" (b) "Look what we found, in the park, in the dark....we will call him Clark."	RR
199	Sept/08	Owen (1;8)	Owen sings "la la la to" the tune of "*Au Clair de la Lune*" adding "***mm*!**" and "***noyaux*!**" at appropriate moments. The tune is so recognisable that people comment on it, e.g. Librarian: "*Je sais ce que tu chantes, c'est Au Clair de la Lune, n'est ce pas? Tu chantes bien, dis-donc.*" eng: I know what you're singing, it's *Au Clair de la Lune*, isn't it? Don't you sing well! He sings e-i-e-i-o followed by la la la to tune of *Au Clair de la Lune*'s second line	Source: Song "*Au Clair de la Lune*" Original source text: *Au clair de la Lune, Mon ami Pierrot* *Prètes-moi ta plume, Pour écrire un mot* *Ma chandelle est morte,Je n'ai plus de feu* *Ouvres-moi ta porte,Pour l'amour de Dieu* Parody text: *Au clair de la Lune, J'ai peté dans l'eau* *Ca faisait des bulles, C'était rigolo* *Ma grand-mère arrive, Avec des ciseaux*	RR

				Elle me coupe les mm! Au ras des noyaux!	
200 VID EO 9	May '10	Meriel (4;11)	Situation: the children are inventing song variations Me: à la claire fontaine j'ai peté dans l'eau **J'ai fait carrément des aires-e** **mais** xx xx xx x xx xx x ma grandmère **dit tiens ça-e** **mais le corbeau arretais pas**	Source texts: Songs (a) "*A la Claire Fontaine*" (b) parody of "*Au Clair de la Lune*" (c) Poem parody of *Le Corbeau et Le Renard*. Source texts (a): *A la Claire Fontaine...* (b): see Example 197	RR
201	18/03 /10	Owen (3;2,20)	In the car at lunchtime, Ow sang, with non-words, the dinosaur song from Diego's dinosaur DVD (French version). In his bed at nap time, Owen sang *À la volette*. At 6pm he sang "**Baby, baby** Crockett" to tune of theme song from Davy Crockett.	Source: (a) song from *Diego* cartoon on DVD. (b) traditional French children's song *À la volette.* (c) Theme song from film on DVD *Davy Crockett.* Source text (c): "Davy, Davy Crockett, King of the wild frontier"	RR
202	22/08 /05	Loïc (2;4,18)	Situation: Loïc has made an elephant with his construction kit Lo: Oh do you know the muffin **elephant**, the muffin elephant the muffin **elephant**? Oh yes I know the muffin **elephant**, a lives on Drury Lane! com: sings	Source: Song "The Muffin Man" in Book *Favourite Rhymes* Source text: "Oh do you know the muffin man, the muffin man, the muffin man, oh do you know the muffin man who lives on Drury	RR

				Lane?"	
203	09/10 /05	Loïc (2;6,5)	Lo: Old MacDonald had a **chair**, e-i-e-i-o. With a **sit down** here and a **sit down** there. com: sings	Source: Song "Old MacDonald Has a Farm" Source text: Old MacDonald has a farm, e-i-e-i-o. And on that farm he has some cows, e-i-e-i-o. With a moo moo here, and a moo moo there, here a moo, there a moo, everywhere a moo moo, etc.	RR
204	Oct 05	Loïc (2;6)	Lo: This is the way we **clean the cake**! Com: sings to the tune of "Here we go round the mulberry bush;" he thinks making up nonsense is funny	Source: Song "Here we go round the mulberry bush" Source text: "Here we go round the mulberry bush (ter) here we go round the mulberry bush on a cold and frosty morning. This is the way we wash our hands (ter), this is the way we wash our hands on a cold and frosty morning."	RR
205	18/12 /10	Owen (3;11,20)	Ow: this is the way we **jump about, jump about, jump about**. This is the way we jump about, early in the morning. com: We have read through the book of nursery rhymes containing this song over the last three nights bedtime reading. This song was on the first night (Wednesday) and I only sang what's in the book, ie, this is the way we wash our clothes... Didn't transfer to any other	Sung to the tune of "Here we go round the mulberry bush" Source text: "This is the way we [wash our hands] (X3) this is the way we [wash our hands] on a cold and frosty morning."	RR

			possibilities. Can't remember when we last played that game, so long ago. Also has been a long time since we looked at that book.	[…] = variable gap	

206	30/04 /11	Meriel (5;10, 17) Owen (4;4,1)	Situation: In the car going to St Malo, M + O are singing
			Me: A sailor went to eye, eye, eye
			Ow: a sailor went to *aïe, aïe, aïe*,
			        to see what he could **ow, ow, ow**
			        and all that he could *aïe, aïe, aïë*
			ear, forehead, tree, car, knock, eghh, cough, baby, hair, bang
			Ow: **belle, belle, belle.**.(etc) **tu es belle**
			com: to Lé
				Source: Song "A sailor went to sea, sea, sea"
				Source text:
				A sailor went to sea, sea, sea
				To see what he could see, see, see
				And all that he could see, see, see
				Was the bottom of the deep blue sea, sea, sea
				Existing variations: A sailor went to eye / nose / chin, etc.
					RR

207	12/02 /10	Loïc (6;10,8) and Meriel (4;7,30)	Situation: Lo and Me are singing a song they learned from their father *Ils ont des chapeaux ronds* *Vive la Bretagne* *Ils ont des chapeaux ronds* *Vive les bretons* *Mon grandpère et ma grandmère* *ont l'habitude de coucher nu* *ma grandmère est carnassière* *elle a mordu pepé au cul*		RR

			Ils ont des chapeaux ronds, etc Situation: They go upstairs to get dressed. I hear Loïc singing Lo: *Ils ont des chapeaux ronds* *vive les **gallois*** *ils ont des chapeaux ronds* *vive **le pays de galles***		
208	22/05 /11	Meriel (5;11,9)	Me: (to the tune of *Round and Round the Garden Like a Teddy Bear*) Round and round the table goes the **little sponge**. One step, two steps, **three, four, five, round to the other.** No. It's round and round the **table** goes the **little sponge**. One step, two steps and tickle you **over** there. com: Meriel is cleaning the table with a sponge. She does this while walking all around the table, wiping its outer edge with the sponge, and runs across to the other side of the table when she says "tickle you over there." exp: we were probably doing this action rhyme with Léonie (0;4,27) around this time.	Source: Nursery Rhyme "Round and Round the Garden Like a Teddy Bear" Source text: "Round and round the garden goes the teddy bear. One step, two steps, and a tickle you / a tickly under there!"	RR
209	08/12 /14	Léonie (3;11, 13)	situation: Monday morning. At breakfast, Uncle Tim sings the main line of a song from *Lego Movie* that the family watched together on Friday evening.	Source: Song "Everything is awesome" from *Lego Movie* on DVD. Not the first time the children have watched this film. It was given to	RR T1

			Ti: Everything is awesome. com: sings Lé: **Uncle Tim** is awesome. com: sings	them on DVD four months earlier and they have watched it many times since, although not recently.	
210	16/09 /09	Loïc (6;5,12) Owen (2;8,18)	Situation: eating dinner Lo: I like to **eat** it, **eat** it. I like to **eat**, it **eat** it. com: sings Ow: I like to eat, eat, eat, **[...]** ba-nanas com: sings	Source (a): Song from *Madagasgar* Animated film. Source text (a): "'I like to move it, move it" (b): Song " Apples and bananas" from CD and book of American and French children's songs source text (b): "I like to eat, eat, eat, apples and bananas.	Lo: RR T3 Ow: RR T1
211	20/07 /12	Owen (5;6,21)	Situation: we are on holiday in Cardiff with English-speaking French friend Anouk and her daughter Yumi. We listened to the Steve Grockett CD in the car all through the holiday. Situaiton: We are talking about what to do today. Ca: What shall we do on a **rainy** day, a **rainy** day, a **rainy** day … com: sings An: It's sunny today. Ow: What shall we do on a **sunny** day, etc. com: sings Ca: **Go to the park** on a **sunny** day, etc.	Source: Song "What shall we do on a lazy day?" on Steve Grockett CD. Source text: "What shall we do on a lazy day, a lazy day, a lazy day? (repeat) all day long. Clap your hands on a lazy day," etc.	Ca: RR Ow: RR T1

			com: sings		
			Ca: You did that yesterday. It was sunny and you spent all day in the park.		
212	05/06 /09	Owen (2;5)	I overheard Owen reading to himself from 'Aargh! Spider!' Ow (2;5): Aargh! Spider! Out you go! This was followed by unclear speech but his intonation indicated he was reading aloud from the book. I was too far away to hear clearly if he was saying real words or just babbling. As he turned the pages he would regularly say, "Aargh! Spider! Out you go!", possibly at the appropriate moments of the story.	Book *Aargh! Spider!* "Aaaarrgghh, SPIDER! Out you go!"	
213	06/06 /09	Owen (2;5,8)	Situation: Owen is at the table with Eric Er: ....spider Ow: **Aaargh! Spider! Out you go!** com: Owen "read" this story to himself the day before	Source: Book with CD of story told by actress *Aaargh! Spider!* Source text: "Aaargh! Spider! Out you go!"	VR T1
214	10/02 /09	Owen (2;1,12)	bck: Owen really likes *Chocolate Mousse for Greedy Goose* at the moment and when at the table will start reciting if he hears related words Ca: It's hot. Ow: **It's too hot for me says chimpanzee. Blow on it then says Mother Hen.**	Source: Book *Animal Antics* story *Chocolate mousse for Greedy Goose.* Source text "It's too hot for me says chimpanzee. Blow on it then says Mother Hen."	VR T1

215	11/02 /09	Owen (2;1,13)	Situation: Breakfast. English-speaking Danny is here. He puts Owen in his high chair where a mug of hot chocolate is waiting for him. Danny: Ooh! Chocolate! Ow: **Chocolate mousse for Greedy Goose**.	As above	VR T1
216	17/02 /09	Owen (2;1,14)	Ca: Be careful, it's hot. Ow: **Too hot for me says chimpanzee. Blow on it then says mother hen.**	As above	VR T1
217	05/03 /08	Meriel (2;8,21)	Ca: eat it nicely com: addressed to Owen Me: **be good**. Me: be good, be good, be good be good be good...... com: sings to tune of *Un Crocodile*	Source: Book *Time for dinner* and song "*Un Crocodile s'en allait à la guerre.*" Source text "Sit up nicely now, be good."	VR T1
218	19/11 /12	Loïc (9;7,7) Meriel (7;4,29) Owen (5;10,13)	Situation: We are eating dessert at dinnertime. By the time Owen has finished his meat and potatoes, there are no chocolate mousses left. He is disappointed because he wants one too. I tell him it is because he eats too slowly. Lo: *ça t'apprendra Owen*. Ca: yes, that'll teach him a lesson. …. Ow: what's Léonie got on her hands?	Source: Book *Animal Antics* story *Chocolate Mousse for Greedy Goose*. Source text "Chocolate Mousse! says greedy goose."	VR T1 then RR

			Ca: Chocolate mousse. Ow: Ugh! **Chocolate mousse says greedy goose**. Lo: (laughs) Ca: what did he say? Lo: he said "chocolate mousse for greedy goose." Owen can be sad white swan. com: The children then played around with the text of the story, adapting it to amuse themselves, e.g., It's not for you says kangaroo.		
219	15/06 /11	Loïc (8;2,11)	bck: Grandpa is staying with us. situation: At lunch, the children are commenting on what footwear we have on. Ow: *Grandpa a des chaussures.* Ca: Yes, Grandpa has shoes on. Com: addressed to Owen Ca: They're talking about what we have on our feet. com: addressed to Grandpa Gpa: Well my feet were cold, so I put my socks and shoes on. Lo: **My foot is cold, my teeth are gold, my hat is old**. Ca: and now my story is all told. situation: later on Me and Lo have a bath together. Lo gets out of the	Source: Book *One Fish, Two Fish, Red Fish, Blue Fish* by Dr Seuss. Source text: "My shoe is off. My foot is cold. I have a bird I like to hold. My hat is old. My teeth are gold. And now my story is all told."	RR T1

			bath		
			Lo: I'm cold, **my teeth are gold, and now my story is all told.**		
220	30/08 /12	Owen (5;8,1)	sit: While I read *Aaghh! Spider!* to Léonie and Meriel, Owen sits nearby looking at *Das Animalarium von Professor Revillod*, a book with split pages enabling children to invent pictures of new creatures by mixing up the bodies of existing animals. He invents lots of strange creatures which all have part of a cow in common. When I finish reading, he says: Ow: Aaghh! **Cow**! Look at the **cob**webs! Ca: Cobwebs! Imagine finding a cow in the bath. You wouldn't be able to flush it down the plughole!	Source: *Aaghh! Spider!* Book and CD. Source text: "Aaaarrgghh, SPIDER! Out you go!" "Look at the sparkly webs!"	RR T3

3.3.2. Function 2: Role-playing (Examples 221 to 235)

(total 14 examples)

Eg. N°	Date	Name & Age	Example	Source text	Types
221	04/11/04	Loïc (1;7)	Lo: **Go away!**	Source: Book *Sharing a shell* Source text "Go away, Blob/Brush, whoever you are - You can't share a shell with me/us"	VR? or VN?
222	13/04/13	Léonie (2;3,19)	Léonie pretends to be making cookies and uses the word "cookies"	Source: Cartoon on video *Caillou*. Source text: "I'm making cookies"	VR T3
223	17/05/13	Léonie (2;4,22)	Léonie has been saying for a couple of weeks now, "I petending" (= I'm pretending) when she is pretending to do something. Yesterday she assigned us roles: Lé: *Je suis maman, moi*. You are Léonie.		
224	23/07/13	Léonie (2;7,2)	Situation: Lé is on the trampoline in the garden. There is some water on it. Lé: *Maman! Il y a de l'eau!* eng: Mummy! There's water! com: I didn't reply or go out to her Lé: **Mummy pig!**	Source: *Peppa Pig* Cartoons on DVD Source text: "Mummy Pig!"	VR

225	11/11/05	Loïc (2;7,7)	Lo: I'm fixing the table, Wendy Ca: Am I Wendy ? Lo: Yes Ca: And are you Bob ? Lo: Yes, and she's tiny Scoop act: touches Meriel	Source: *Bob the Builder* Cartoon on *Children's brightest favourites* DVD Source text: (character names) Wendy, Bob, Scoop	VR
226	27/01/06	Loïc (2;9,23)	Lo: What have Norman to do? Fireman Sam's got his big axe. He must chop the wood. Chop, chop, chop! Who came with the fire engine? Who came with it? It's Fireman Sam! So, I'm telling you a story about fireman Sam. Norman has to **stand back** out of the fire. Oh No! The monkey's stuck. The monkey has to **stand back** out of the way. I have to chop the wood. **Oh no! I made a mess.** Oof! Yes I'm tired. I have to put the fire out. Quick! This this.	Source (a): *Fireman Sam* Source (b) *Bob the builder* Cartoons on *Children 's brightest favourites* DVD Source texts: (a) "Stand back Trev" (b) "Oh no! I made a mess"	VR T2
227	23/07/13	Léonie (2;7,2)	situation: Owen and Léonie are chasing each other. Ow chases Lé. Lé: **The big bad mouse!** Situation: Later, Léonie is playing with a baby doll. Lé: Mouse! Nina! Come on! **The big bad mouse!**	Source: *The Gruffalo's Child* Book and DVD animation Source text: "The big bad mouse!"	VR T2
228	08-09 '08	Loïc (5;5)	Lo: **I've got to have another helping!** act: running round the kitchen	Source: Book *Revolting Rhymes*, story *Little Red Riding Hood* Source text: "He ran around the kitchen yelping,	VR T2

			'I've got to have another helping!' "	
229	21/04 /12	Loïc (9;0,17)	situation: I ask everyone if they want me to make fajitas for dinner. Meriel asks what it is, so I explain and ask if they bought sauce. Lo: Have you got **HP sauce**? Ca: No! How do you know about HP sauce? Lo: Grandpa likes it. C: No he doesn't. Father Christmas likes it. Er: *Peut-être que ton père en a ramené. Il a bien ramené de la marmelade.* eng: Maybe your father brought some. He brought some marmelade. Ca: *Non. Il n'aime pas ça.* eng: no, he doesn't like it. Lo: **Daddy's Favourite Sauce?** Ca: You've been reading *Father Christmas on Holiday*, haven't you?! Lo: (laughs)	Source: Book *Father Christmas goes on holiday* Source text: Father Christmas is in a French restaurant and asks for ketchup, then HP sauce, then Daddy's Favourite Sauce	VR T2
230	28/08 /08	Loïc (5;4,24)	Ca: Do you want the last piece of cake, Loïc? Lo: I'm going to eat it up in one big gulp. Owp!	Source: Book *The Tiger Who Came to Tea* Source text: "He took all the sandwiches on the plate and swallowed them in one big mouthful. Owp!"	VR T2
231	16/09	Loïc	Me: Ow! Mummy, Owen bit my nose!	Source: *Lazy Jack*	RR

	/09	(6;5,12)	Ca: Owen! What a thing to do! Lo: Owen! You stupid boy! You should have **tapped her** on the **head**! (changes voice) I'll remember for next time.	story in book *The Orchard Nursery Collection* Source text: "You stupid boy! You should have put it in your pocket / carried it on your head / in your hands/ on your shoulders."	T3
232	25/10/07	Loïc (4;6,21)	Lo: **And if** I see a **piece of grandma**, I **eat** it before **she runs away**! com: I think Loïc was pretending to be a giant when he said this.	Source: Book *George's Marvellous Medecine* This is in the first chapter which we read a few nights before. Source text: " 'Whenever I see a live slug on a piece of lettuce,' Grandma said, 'I gobble it up quick before it crawls away.' "	RR
233	18/02/09	Meriel (3;8,5)	situation: the children are all excited at dinner and shouting. Eric says something like they'd better calm down or the police will come. They talk about weapons. Me: *j'ai un fusil dans la culotte!* eng: I've got a pistol in my knickers!	Source: Book Roald Dahl's *Revolting Rhymes, Red Riding Hood* Source text: "She whips a pistol from her knickers."	RR T3
234	13/01/13	Meriel (6;7,0) Owen (5;0,15)	Ow: Hey, **flower**! Me: What? Ow: Do you know there's sun out there? Me: Hey **Pear**! Ow: What?	Source: *Annoying Orange*. Humorous animation (Cartoon Network). The children watched it on *You Tube* (introduced to them by their English cousins last August)	RR

			Me: **Mouth**!	Example source text:	
				Orange: Hey! Hey apple! (repeats a lot)	
				Apple: What? What is it?	
				Orange: aren't you glad I didn't say apple again ha ha ha!	
				(lots more annoying stuff)	
				Orange: Hey apple!	
				Apple: What?!	
				Orange: Knife!	
235	28/02 /08	Meriel (2;8,15)	The following lines come from the book *Time for dinner*, a recent favourite of Meriel's since our stay in Cardiff where we started reading it: (a) "Sit up nicely now, be good" and (b)"Oops a daisy, mop it up". She now uses both at meal times. It started within the last few days and I can't remember if it was she or I who used (a) first when I was telling them to sit nicely at the table. (b) was definitely used by Meriel first but following on from (a), so not sure who introduced the idea of transferring those phrases to real life, but Me and Lo both think it's funny to do so.		VR

3.3.3 Function 3: Form-Meaning Mapping (Examples 236 to 262)

(Total: 26 examples.)

Eg. n°	Date	Name & Age	Example (Borrowed phrase in bold type)	Source and source text	Assigned meaning or usage	Type & Trigger	Type of phrase or Type of rephrasing	Suitability of Match with meaning or usage
236	19/06/08	Owen (1;5,21)	Situation: I said that Loïc was at the farm next door Ow: **e-i-e-i-o**	Source: Song "Old MacDonald Had a Farm" Source text: "Old MacDonald had a farm, e-i-e-i-o."	Animals / farm	VN T1	Vowel sequence	Not formulaic for community
237	19/10/12	Léonie (1;9,24)	Lé: ***Poisson. Dans l'eau*** eng: Fish. In the water act: Holding a plastic fish	Source: Song. *"Les petit poissons"* Source text: *"Les petits poissons, dans l'eau"* eng: little fish in the water	Name of an animal (that lives in the water?)	VN T2 or own T1?	Collocation in song?	1st part ok, 2nd part strange
238	01/03/05	Loïc (1;11)	Situation: Loïc is choosing a book Lo: What shall I read? act: picks up Welsh story book Lo: ***Mochyn yn y llaid***? (pron. slide)	Source: Book *Y fferm* eng: *The Farm* Source text: *"Mochyn yn y llaid."* eng: pigs in the mud	Title of book? Farm? Farm animals?	VR T1	F for Lo	Not formulaic for community
239	05/10/	Léonie (2;9,10)	situation: Léonie and Owen are watching *Microcosmos* on DVD. The opening scene	Source: Book and DVD *The Gruffalo's Child*	(tracks in) snow [visual image]	VR T3	Rhyming couplet	Not formulaic for community

	13		shows the clouds from above. Lé: **Aha! Oho! Tracks in the snow.** Ow: *Ce n'est pas de la neige, Léonie.* eng: It's not snow, Léonie. Léonie: *Si, c'est de la neige et il y a Gruffalo dedans.* eng: Yes, it is snow and there is Gruffalo in it.	Source text: "Ah hah, oh hoh, tracks in the snow."				
240	08/ 02/ 12	Owen (5;1,10)	Situation: Playing cards. Ow: **Firehouse Dog! Firehouse Dog!** I'm gonna win!	Source: *Firehouse Dog*. Film on DVD. Source text: "Firehouse Dog" is the title of the film but does not feature in the script.	Exclamation	VN T3	F for Ow	Not formulaic for community
241	27/ 11/ 08	Loïc (5;7,23)	Er: *Vas-y dehors Doolin. Va nous chasser un sanglier.* eng: go outside Doolin. Go and hunt a wild boar. Lo: *Elle va nous chasser un sanglier **dans la forêt lointaine.*** eng: she's going to hunt a wild boar in the	Source: Song "*Dans la forêt lointaine*." Source text: "*Dans la forêt lointaine, on entend le hibou...*" eng: in the faraway forest we can hear the owl...	These two words go together to describe where the forest is	VN T1	collocation in song	Not formulaic for community

			faraway forest.					
242	22/ 10/ 07	Loïc (4;6,18)	Lo: It's a **very particular** necklace.	Source: *The princess and the pea.* Cassette in car. Nanny Petunia says to, hard to please, Prince Jabalad "**very particular** aren't we, it's top brick of the chimney or nothing for you, isn't it?"	saying something is special	VN	collocation	Not formulaic for (English-speaking) community
243	10/ 03/ 09	Owen (2;2,9)	Situation: It's raining as we get out of the car to go to playschool Ca: Put your hood up. It's raining. Ow: **It's pouring?**	Source: Nursery Rhyme "It's raining, it's pouring." Source text: "It's raining, it's pouring, the old man is snoring, he went to bed and bumped his head and he couldn't get up in the morning."	It's raining heavily. (I might get my head wet) OR These 2 phrases go together.	VN T1 T3	Formulaic for Owen	Not formulaic for community
244	31/ 10/ 13	Léonie (2;10)	Situation: watching a film about witches Lé: **Witch, witch, please come to my party**. com: addressed to Grandpa Gp: Yes, witches.	Source: Book *Witch, Witch, Come to my Party* Source text: "Witch, witch, please come to my party."	Witch or witch having a party	VN T3	Repeated formula in book: [PERSON/AN IMAL please come to my party]	Not formulaic for community
245	07/	Léonie	This morning and yesterday morning, I sang	Source: Song "The Wheels on the	Describe	VN T3	Formulaic in song	Not formulaic for community

	03/ 13	(2;2,10)	*The wheels on the bus* with Lé, with actions. She likes it and joins in actions and likes to say "all day long." She repeats the line after I model it for her while singing and spoken. She is conscious that she is learning it. I am conscious that I am teaching it. This evening she asked for the song like this: Lé: sing a song about a bus [sing a song] is already a fixed request for her. We sang it then I took her up to get ready for bed. In the bathroom she got undressed and I suggested she sit on the potty to do a pipi. Lé: go a potty. Faire pipi. **All day long.**	Bus" (also have a book of the song). Source text: "The wheels on the bus go round and round (X3) the wheels on the bus go round and round, all day long."	something done every day, repeatedly			
246	23/ 08/ 10	Loïc (7;4,19)	Lo: I can have **'this lot will be nice for breakfast' eyes**! act: serving himself far too much spaghetti, said as he's pulling it out of the pot	Source: Book *The Kiss that Missed*. Source text: "A dragon with 'this lot will be nice for breakfast' eyes leered greedily at them."	Pleasant anticipation of eating, "I'm going to enjoy this"	VN T2	Creative embedding in story	Not formulaic for community

247	Septe mber '07	Owen (0;8– 0;9)	I was changing Owen's nappy and talking to him about my day, asking him about his. He suddenly lifted up an opened hand and turned it from left to right and right to left.	Source: gesture from nursery rhyme *"Ainsi font, font, font les petites marionettes"*	"I sang this song;" twinkle star; goodbye	VR T1	Formulaic gesture in song; formulaic "goodbye" gesture	Appropriate
248	22/ 03/ 09	Loïc (5;11,18)	Situation: Loïc comes back into the room after being in the bathroom. The other two are playing with the lego where he had been building something. Lo: *qui a osé touché à ça? C'est à moi. J'ai fait quelquechose très bien, rarissime*	Cartoon *Barbapapa* "*Rarissime*" is said by one of the barbababies.	Saying something is special	VN T3	Real adjective	Appropriate
249	18/ 11/ 11	Loïc (8;6,14)	Loïc said one morning that my home-made brioche is "**scrumdiddlyumptious**"	Source: Book *The BFG*	Saying something is tasty		Invented adjective	appropriate
250	07/ 01/ 13 - 18/ 04/	Léonie (2;0,13) to (2;2,21); Meriel (7;8,20) & (7;10,5)	Lé : *y a p[l]ein partout* Lé: *p(l)ein partout.*(X 12) Lé: *a plein partout* Le: *Regarde, Owen, il y a plein partout.*	Source: Book *Après, il y aura* Source text: "*Après le chocolat* (bar of chocolate) … *on en a plein partout* (bib covered in chocolate)."	spillage, covering [concept]	VN T3	collocation	Usually appropriate

	13							
251		Loïc (9;2,8)	Situation: Loïc is making an omelette Lo: Oh! It's yellow. **A sunny yellow egg**.	Source: Book. *Time for Dinner*. Source text "A sunny yellow egg to eat."	Comment on colour of egg	VN T1& T3	Not formulaic	appropriate
252	16/ 09/ 08	Meriel (3;3,3)	Lo: Thank you for my nice dinner. It was very nice. Me: Thank you for my nice dinner. **I'd better go now.**	Source: Book *The Tiger Who Came to Tea* Source text: "Thank you for my nice tea. I think I'd better go now." And he went.	Excusing oneself from the table	VN T2	Institutionali sed ways of thanking for a meal and leaving a place	Appropriate thanks but not appropriate for leaving the table
253	28/ 12/ 13	Léonie (3;0,3)	Situation: Bedtime, reading *Hairy MacClairy* with Lo and Lé in Lé's bed. Lé's got hiccups, so I try to frighten her while reading, saying "boo" as I turn the page; it goes well with the story (Caterwall Caper). She hiccups straight after and we laugh. Ca: It didn't work. Lé: **You gave me the fright of my life!**	Source: DVD collection *Fireman Sam*: *The Big Freeze*, episode: "*Mummy's Little Pumpkin*" Source text: "You gave me the fright of me life!" (said by Elvis Cridlington to the twins who scare him on Hallow'een.)	Somone has just scared you	VN T2	Idiom	Appropriate
254	17/ 11/	Loïc (9;7,13)	Ca: Loïc! Stay with her. She's only got tights on; she'll slip.	Source: shared Film *Bugsy Malone*. Source text: "Everything's hunky	Wanting to reassure	VR T2	Idiom	appropriate

	12		Lo: Don't worry Mum. **Everything's hunky dory!**	dory"	someone			
255	05/ 03/ 08	Meriel (2;8,21)	Me: **Oops a daisy mop it up**	Source: Book *Time for dinner.* Source text: "Oops a daisy, mop it up."	Something has been spilled	VR T2	Idiom	appropriate
256	10/ 04/ 11	Meriel (5;9,28)	Situation: I'm folding up clean washing. Me walks into the bathroom where the laundry basket is full. Me: you've got some washing to do Ca: I've always got washing to do. It's never ending. It's never ending, it is. Me: **Some people are never satisfied!**	Source: Book *Dumpling.* Source text: "Some people are never satisfied!"	Responding to a complaint	VN T2	Idiom	appropriate
257	19/ 06/ 13	Owen (6;5,21)	Situation: In the bathroom, the rain is falling heavily on the velux window. Ow: *Il pleut*. **Good heavens!** Ca: Ha ha! Good heavens! It's raining! It's raining cats and dogs! Ow: It's raining strings.	*Why?* Book. Lily's Dad says "Good heavens!" when he sees an alien spaceship	Express surprise at something remarkable	VN T2	Idiom	appropriate
258	23/ 07/	Owen (6;6,28)	Ca: Right, who's coming to the library with me?	Source (a): *The Gruffalo's Child* Book and DVD animation. Source	Saying you don't want to do something	VR T2	Idiomatic but antiquated	Appropriate

	13		Ow: **Not I**.	(b): *The Little Red Hen* story in a Orchard Nursery Collection Book. Source text: "Not I"				
259	12/ 06/ 12	Loïc (9;2,8)	Situation: I'm reading a bedtime story. Ca: "Bother," said Edmund. "I've left my torch in Narnia." Right, that's the end. (discussion about which book to read next.) Ca: Time for bed. Léonie's asleep so do your pipis down here. Loïc first. Lo: Oh **bother**!	Source: Book *Prince Caspian* Source text: "Bother," said Edmund.	Expressing disatisfaction	VN T2	Idiomatic	Appropriate
260	18/ 09/ 12	Loïc (9;5,14)	Situation: at the table Lo: **It's too hot for me**.	Source: Book. *Chocolate mousse for greedy goose.* Source text: " 'It's too hot for me' says chimpanzee."	Saying food is too hot	VN T2	Formulaic for family?	Appropriate
261	07/ 01/ 13	Loïc (9;9,3)	Lo: **Liar, liar, your bum's on fire!** com: addressed to Owen, who has just told a lie Ca: Where did you get that from? Lo: A book.	Source: *Horrible Histories* Book. Source text: "Liar, liar, your bum's on fire!"	Someone has told a lie	VN T2	Idiom	appropriate

			Ca: A book? Which book? Lo: *Horrible Histories*					
262	02/ 10/ 10	Loïc (7;5,28)	L: **A promise is a promise. Well we'll see about that**.	Source unknown.	Comment on nature of promises Saying the future is uncertain	VN T2	Sounds formulaic	appropriate

3.3.4 Function 4: Pattern-Finding (Examples 263 to 278)

(Total: 16 examples)

Eg. n°	Date	Name & Age	Example (Borrowed phrase in bold type)	Source and source text	Assigned meaning or usage	Type & Trigger	Type of creativity operation	Type of phrase / construction	Suitability of match with meaning or usage
263	12/02/12	Owen (5;1,14)	Situation: At the end of the film, Owen is playing with me, rolling a little car back and forth between us. He's pushing it a bit fiercely and I'm worried it will hurt Léonie so I tell him to do it more slowly, to be careful. He pushes the car saying: Ow: It's **one time** or never. It's **one time** or never.	Source: Film *Shanghai Kid 2*. Source text: "it's now or never"	In some contexts, "One time" can also mean "now."	RN T3	Single operation SUBSTITUTE *one time*	[it's + [now/once/one time] + or never] Cross-linguistic idiomatic influence	Not formulaic for the community
264	25/02/09	Loïc (5;10,21)	Situation: Loïc is playing with the *Rubik's cube*. Lo: **That** can't be right. **That** can't be right. This can't be right.	Source: Book *Hippo has a hat* Source text: "This can't be right, says duck."	Something doesn't fit or work	RN & VN? T3 &	Single operation SUBSTITUTE *that*	[DEM. ADJ. + can't be right]	Appropriate

			com: same intonation as when reading			T1			
265	05/ 09/ 12	Loïc (9;5,1) Owen (5;8,7)	Lo: Mum, what shall we do on a **sunny** day? com: said very conversationally Ow: what shall we do on a sunny day? com: sings	Source: Song on Steve Grockett CD. "What shall we do on a lazy day?" Source text: "What shall we do on a lazy day, a lazy day, a lazy day? (repeat) all day long. Clap your hands on a lazy day, etc."	Asking what we're going to do today	RN T2	Single operation SUBSTITUTE *sunny*	[what shall we do on a + ADJECTIVE + day?]	Not the idiomatic way to ask this question
266	31/ 07/ 07	Loïc (4;3,27)	Situation: At grandparents' house in Cardiff. Watching *Something Special* on *Cbeebies*, we see a little boy go out in the rain. Lo: Raindrops keep falling on **his** head. com: says not sings	Source: song "Raindrops keep falling on my head." Source text: same as title	Someone is getting wet in the rain	RN T3	Single operation SUBSTITUTE *his*	[raindrops keep falling on + POSS. PRONOUN + head]	Nearly appropriate

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267	05/ 03/ 08	Meriel (2;8,21)	Me: Oops a daisy, **pick** it up.	Source: Baby board book *Time for dinner*. Source text: "Oops a daisy, mop it up."	Someone has dropped something	RN T2	Single operation SUBSTITUTE *pick*	[[oops a daisy] + VERB + it up]	Appropriate
268	16/ 09/ 08	Loïc (5;5,12) Meriel (3;3,3)	Lo: Thank you for my nice **dinner**. It was very nice. Me: Thank you for my nice **dinner**. […] I'd better go now.	Source: *The Tiger Who Came to Tea* Book. Source text: 'Then he said, "Thank you for my nice tea. I think I'd better go now." And he went.'	Thanking for a meal and excusing oneself from the table	RN T2	Lo: Single operation SUBSTITUTE *dinner* Me: Single operation DROP *I think*	[Thank you for my nice + MEAL] [[I think] + I'd better go now]	Appropriate
269	31/ 05/ 13	Catrin (37;10,7)	Situation: Me is stepping on Lé's coat, which is on the floor. Ca: Don't just **step on** it! Don't just **step on** it! Me: Don't just grab it!	*Chocolate Mousse for Greedy Goose.* Source text: " 'Don't just grab it,' says angry rabbit."	Telling someone not to do something to an object (or person?)	Ca: RN T3 Me: RR T1 RN	Single operation SUBSTITUTE *step on*	[Don't just + VERB + it]	Appropriate
270	26/	Loïc	Situation: I get out of Loïc's bed	Source: Formula	You want	RN	Single operation	[come + PREPOSITION	The idiomatic element of the

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	08/ 08	(5;4,22)	where I have been cuddling him Lo: come **back**, come **back**, wherever you are!	from hide and seek game? Source text: "Come out, come out, wherever you are!"	someone to come back; you want to know where someone has gone	T2	SUBSTITUTE *back*	(bis) + [wherever you are]]	utterance is strange in this context.
271	13/ 01/ 10	Meriel (4;7)	Me: I've got a big bad **cough**	Source: Book *Little Red Riding Hood.* Soucre text: "The big, bad, wolf." and "I've got a (bad) cough."	Saying something is bad	RR? T2	Single operation SUBSTITUTE *cough* or BLEND	[I've got + [a big+bad+ NOUN]]	Appropriate but noticeably unusual because sounds so similar to the formula
272	04/ 09/ 09	Owen (2;8,6)	Situation: playing with pop up *Magic Roundabout* toy Ow: Two **dogs** sharing a shell. Ca: they're sharing a shell are they? Ow: Yeah. There's a rabbit, there's a cow, there's a dog. They're together, they're sharing a shell.	Source: Book *Sharing a Shell* Source text: "Two friends sharing a shell." Also in same source: "Three friends sharing a shell."	Being together	V & RN T2	Single operation SUBSTITUTE *dogs* or multiple operations SUBSTITUTE *two*?	[number / two + NOUN + [sharing a shell]]	Not appropriate

			Ca: What's this? Ow: A cow. Ca: What's this? Ow: A dog. Ca: What's this? Ow: A rabbit. Ca: What's this? Ow: A *garçon*. Ca: A girl. Ow: A girl. Ca: What are they doing? Ow: Sharing a shell.						
273	16/09/09	Owen (2;8,18)	Situation: Watching Loïc at football training Ow: Two **boys** sharing a shell Ca: what do you mean? Ow: Two **boys** sharing a shell. Ca: Where? Ow: there (points to group of boys on pitch)	Source: Book *Sharing a Shell* Source text: "Two friends sharing a shell." Also in same source: "Three friends sharing a	Being and/or Working together	V & RN T2	Single operation SUBSTITUTE *boys* or multiple operations SUBSTITUTE *two*?	[NUMBER / two + NOUN + [sharing a shell]]	Not appropriate

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			Ca: I don't understand, Owen. How are they sharing a shell? Where's the shell? There are more than two boys. Ow: Two **boys** sharing a shell, there. (points) Ca: Do you mean they are in a team? Ow: Yes, in a team.	shell."					
274	Jan 20 05	Loïc (1;9)	Lo: Do you like ketchup your **yoghurt**?	Source: Book *Ketchup on your cornflakes*. Source text: "Do you like ketchup on/in your cornflakes/chips/cereal, etc."	Asking someone if they like food combinations	RR? T2	Multiple operations DROP *in/on* and SUBSTITUTE *yoghurt*	[Do you like ketchup [...] your + NOUN?]	Appropriate
275	18/ 05/ 11	Meriel (5;11,5)	Situation: At dinner, Léonie is feeding and cries between breasts. Ca: She wants her boobalicious!	Source: Book and DVD, Roald Dahl's *Revolting Rhymes, Little Red Riding*	Someone is going to eat something delicious.	RN T1	Multiple operation TENSE + VERB SUBSTITUTE	[VERB + [like caviar]] [taste + like caviar]	Not appropriate usage here

			Me: Boobalicious! She **smells** like caviar. She **tastes** like caviar, Léonie!	*Hood.* Source text: "Compared with her old Grandmamma, She's going to taste like caviar!"			*smells* Single operation TENSE SUBSTITUTE *tastes*		
276	10/ 10/ 07	Loïc (4;6,6)	Situation: Eric did something to Loïc which backfired on himself. We laughed. Ca: That'll teach you! Lo: **That**'ll teach **him** a lesson! com: exactly the tone and intonation as I use when reading the source text	*Soucre:* Book *Thomas and James.* Source text: "This'll teach you a lesson, this'll teach you a lesson."	Saying someone will learn from his actions	RN T1 & T2	Multiple operations SUBSTITUTE *that & him*	[DEM. ADJ + teach + PRON. + a lesson]	Appropriate
277	22/ 03/ 09	Loïc (5;11,18)	Lo: Mummy, how **does Voldemort** die? Ca: It's a bit complicated. Lo: Is it **rather a big question**?	Source: Cartoon on video *Caillou* Source text: Caillou: How did the bird die? Father: Well, Caillou, that's rather a big	A question that is difficult to answer	RN T2	Multiple operations SUBSTITUTE *does & Voldemort* Multiple operations SUBSTITUTE *it* and REARRANGE *pronoun + is*	[How + QU. AUX.+ TENSE + SUBJECT + die?] [PRONOUN + is + [rather a big question]]	Appropriate

			question.				→ *is* + *pronoun*		
278 a	06/ 02/ 05	Loïc (1;10,02)	**What's that?** C'est quoi ça?		Asking about the nature of something	V T3			Appropriate
b	17/ 02/ 05	Loïc (1;10,13)	(Sitting on a chair) **Whas'at?** A chair, for si' down.			V T3			Appropriate
c	07/ 03/ 05	Loïc (1;11,03)	(Hearing my mobile phone go beep) **What's sat funny noise?**			V / R? T3	Single operation ADD ON ?	[what's that + ADJ + NOUN ?]	Appropriate
d	20/ 03/ 05	Loïc (1;11,16)	**What's that noise?** **What's that funny noise?**	Source: Cartoon on DVD *Kipper* Source text: "What's that noise?"		V T3	Single operation DROP	[what's that […] noise ?]	Appropriate
e	22/ 03/ 05	Loïc (1;11,18)	Lo: (eating pasta with a big pasta claw) Mix, mix, mix it all up....*encore* Ca: That's a funny spoon Lo: Funny spoon... **What's that funny spoon?** Mix, *encore*, *une*			R T1	Single operation SUBSTITUTE *spoon*	[what's that funny + NOUN ?]	Appropriate

			étoile. **What's that funny spoon?** Mix.						

TABLE 4: TRIGGERS

Eg. n°	Date	Name & age	Example	Source	types	Comments on triggering mechanism	Possible lexical associations
279	22/05/05	Loïc (2;1,18)	Situation: Loïc is in the garden and he sees a flower Lo: flour, butter, and sugar!	Source: *Oswald* cartoon in English. Source text: "Flour, butter, sugar"	VN T3 or T1	intra-language homophones trigger a borrowing	Flower = flour → butter and sugar
280	23/05/05	Loïc (2;1;19)	Ca: Babar's children are called Alexander, Pom and *Fleur* Lo: butter and sugar	Source (a): *Babar* cartoon in French, (b) *Oswald* cartoon in English. Source text (a): *Fleur* is the name of one of Babar's children. (b) "Flour, butter, sugar"	VN T1	Inter-language translation equivalents trigger the already existing homonym association which again triggers a borrowing	*Fleur* = flower = flour → butter and sugar
281	12/06/15	Léonie (4;5,18)	Lé: *Je ne mentirai plus jamais* *Oui je fais ça!* *Pour toi maman.*	Source: Film Disney's 2013 animation *Frozen / La Reine des Neiges*. Source text: "*Libérée, délivrée* *Je ne mentirai plus jamais….* *Me voilà! Oui, je suis là* "	VN RN T1	Melodic trigger: self-produced melodic element triggers source melody and some source text	Me voilà! Oui, je suis là → oui je fais ça, pour toi maman

APPENDIX 2: ANALYSIS OF BORROWING TYPES PER INPUT SOURCE

The greater focus on books and reading in the research literature is reflected in the number of examples in the data of borrowing from books. Table 1 below shows the number of examples of borrowed phrase per input source type.

Table 1 *Examples of borrowed phrase per input source type*

Input source type	Number of examples of borrowed phrases
Book (including audio book)	60
Songs and rhymes	26
Video / DVD / TV	20
Game	2
TOTAL	126

We can further categorise the examples of borrowed phrases from songs and rhymes in the following way:

Table 2 *Examples of borrowed phrases from songs per input source type*

Songs and Rhymes Input source type	Number of examples of borrowed phrases
shared singing	8
video / DVD	7
book	6
CD	5
TOTAL	26

By far the largest number of examples in the data are of phrases borrowed from books. Songs and rhymes come next in terms of numbers of borrowed phrases. Songs and rhymes are far more frequent sources of referential than of non-referential borrowings. This is probably due to the classification of singing a song (in response to something that is going on or something that someone said) as a subsection of referential borrowing: reciting. The number of borrowings from Video or DVD is lower than the number of quotes from these sources. This seems to indicate that the children are more likely to be reminded of a song or rhyme and to recite it, than to be reminded of TV/DVD dialogue and borrow from it. However, it also shows that the borrowing of dialogue is more common than the borrowing of lyrics. This is pragmatically not surprising.

Function 1: Performing

Songs and rhymes	28
books	9

Function 3: Associating a phrase with an event

Songs and rhymes	6
Books	29 (15 plein partout examples)
Video / DVD	6

Function 2: Role-playing

books	8
8Video / DVD	8

Function 4: Adapting a phrase to a new event

Songs and rhymes	2
Books	10
Video / DVD	4
Game	1

APPENDIX 3: VIDEO TRANSCRIPTS

Video 1: Meriel and Owen doing jigsaws and Loïc playing (Example 116)

C: Lovely, right. Do you want to do Barbapapa first, is it?
O: Yeah.
C: right
O: (sings nonsense in sign of happiness as C opens box and shakes pieces on to floor)
M: (holding up two pieces) this one first. (Holds up one of the pieces) Where's the red one, where's the red piece?
C: The red piece?
M: yes
C: Well, you have to take all the pieces out of the box.
M: I have all the pieces of the house
O: Oh there (h)e is (holds up piece to show me)
M: all the pieces of the house
O: there we are, it's there
M: That goes here, that goes there, that goes ah! There!
O: (shows me a piece) there we are (starts fitting it to puzzle that M is

L: Mum, where's number one?
C: Ummm

C: there are lots of animals under the futon here

doing) **on a gagné, on a gagné**

M: **Mais Owen! Ca c'est ça hop ici....um ici**
Owen t'es assis sur la boîte.

M: **Mais Owen euh ça va pas là**

O: **ça va ici ça va pas là**
M: **Mais Owen euh**
M:** pas toi tu sais pas faire**

M: **Mais Owen tu sais pas faire**

M: I can do it but not Owen
C: He can
O: I
M: no, he's too likkel
O: I

O: Where's this go? Where's this go?

L: Owen put them there last night
C: Oh did he?

C: uhm where's number one.

C: It's very small so it can go under the furniture and things. When the tower gets kicked down. Oh here it is, look.

L: Mummy look. Look. Watch, watch.
(L knocks down tower)
C: I'm watching. Wohoo, woah

L: **Attend, après je vais faire un**

L: ***

O: down there?
C: no that's a. Oh!
O: yeah
C: yeah. That's right. You see, he can do it! Well done.
O: where's this go?
C: I think that's a different puzzle. It doesn't go in, no, it's not the right puzzle, Owen
M: (tries to fit the piece in Owen's puzzle) oh no it's not this (laughs)
C: that piece does go to in that puzzle, it does
M: (takes a piece out of box and shows it to me) not this one
C: no, not there though, Owen it goes somewhere else
O: Where's this go?
M: (still holding piece up for me to look at, then looks down at Owen's puzzle when I talk to him, then back up to me)
C: it goes it goes there, it goes in that puzzle but not in that place, no not there, try somewhere else
M: Mummy, where's this one (turning piece over in her hand, not looking at me)
C: that's a different puzzle, isn't it.

L: where's the seven? Ten ten ten

L: Where's the where's number seven oh yeah

L: (pretend crying, noisy)

L: (trumpet hoot)

This one goes,
O: in there
C: yeah that's right Owen, put it there. That's it

C: and then these two pieces go on that puzzle as well

O: there! We we can this see. We catched this. Look.

M: we have all of them (turns round and points at puzzle while speaking then stops mid-sentence and realises the puzzle is finished)
O: look
M: **c'est bien, bravo** (claps)
O: look (looking at me then touches top corner of puzzle) on the top
C: that's right
O: (turns attention to another puzzle) and this
M: (joins in attention to same puzzle) this one now (holds up pieces in hand that she has sorted) no this one
C: well why don't you do that one and Owen do this one
O: and where's this go?
C: do the same as Meriel, that's a good

L: (pretend crying)

L: Now where's number one?

idea, to spread them all out, oh I need to hoover this
M: where is it
C rug
M: there (she's finished spreading her pieces out)
O: oh it's there we are
M: um which go first?
C: Well, try to do the same as Owen, try and find some
O: there
C: find two pieces that fit together by looking at the pictures
O: Ah it's there
M: where's the other piece of this one? (holding it up to me)
C: I can't see it. Well you need to look for one with a bit of water and some little fish and a bit of pink Barbapapa boat. That might that might do it.
M: (tries to fit pieces together in air, mumbles) no
O: no it's not there
C: try doing it on the floor, Meriel, it's easier to do it on the floor
O: where's this go, mummy?

L: Mummy?
L: Have you seen number one flying somewhere?
C: Ah. No, I wasn't paying attention but here is

L: Now are you watching very very very carefully?

L: Look look look look
C: I'm watching. Woah careful Loïc! Careful not to hurt anyone
L: **J'ai mis des coups de pied, moi**

L: **Aie!**

M: Ah AH! (holds up piece with triumph)
C: is that the one?
M: It's a ** fish!

M: There! A little fish
C: Oh, yeah, that's it, but it came apart

M: Mummy, look (laughs) Look!
C: Well done, Meriel, that's right. Now, see if you can find the piece that goes on here with the rest of the shark
M: the rest of the..
M: (holds up a piece) tail
C: that's right, now then, Owen, what do you need?
O: Um uh this ***
C: maybe this one Owen, try that one there
O: I'll try that one
C: (to M) that's right
O: uh uh it's this one?
C: (to M) now you need to find a piece which has got a bit of sea and a bit of pink Barbapapa boat
M: (holds a piece up)
C: try it it might
O: where's this go? Where's this go

L: mum, where's the number one?

L: where is that number one?

L: **Il est où le numéro deux?**
C: It's over here next to Meriel and the Barbapap puzzle
L: **aie**

L: **Il est où le petit numéro un?**

C: Well now, I can't see number one

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there? Where's this go? (trying to fit pieces together in hands) Where's this go, mummy?
M: Yeay! Yeah!
C: Well done Meriel. Let me have a look Owen, put them down on the floor
M: and what else?
C: (to O) no I don't think they go together. You need a bit of Barbamama, don't you, a bit of black Barbamama. Try that bit.
M: (joins in looking for Owen's piece) there! **Tu casse ta**
C: oh they do go together, sorry Owen, well done you! And look that's the tip of the bird's wing
M: and me, what else?
C: well it's up to you, either you can work your way up with the boat or you can go across the bottom and do all the sea. Look there's the other corner, see, the corner. Find the other bit of the octopus
M: Look, mummy.
C: well done Owen, you're doing very well. Look, this bit goes up here I think
O: a goes up here

anywhere. Yes he's over there by the tractor.

L: (sings) **Hallelu** (coughs)

L: (sings) **Hallelujah je fais du violon je fais du violon maman**

L: (talks) **maman regarde** (sings) **je fais du violon**

L: **eh maman, je fais du violon**

(Meriel throws it to Loïc)
C: Now then
O: (sounds)
C: No that goes down the bottom, that does Owen

O: *** at the bottom mummy. Where's the bottom?

O: by the tractor?
C: the piece that Owe that Loïc was looking for
M: look
C: was next to the tractor
M: Look, I found it
C: well done
O: tractor
c: now you can look for the rest of the bottom of the boat and bits of sea
O: uh it's there
C: I don't think it goes there Owen
O: There?
C: no I think it goes down the bottom
O: down the bottom
C: but you can't, you can't attach it to any of the other pieces yet it goes

L: **maman je fais du violon**
L: (sings) **je fais du violon**
C: no, accordean Loïc

C: not a violin, an accordean

L: **Oh maintenant il y a un cadeau ici, regarde**

there like that
O: goes there
M: um where's the other bit of the sea go?
C: Well I thought you were gonna try that piece
M: yeah but it's not fit
O: it's not working

C: because it goes down there like that
O: there

C: It might

C: Put that piece there

O: there

M: Mummy I fi I can't, Mummy
O: there mummy there look. where's this go?
M: I can't found
C: yeah that is that is the piece that you need it is it is but you're not putting it in the right place
O: Ah yes there
C: yes well done Owen, well done

L: Mummy, I'm making a count's tower. a count's tower.

L: (falls over) aah
C: take care where you're walking, Loïc

L: (kneels down with the others) **Il est bien l'aigle**

L: **eh maman c'est Lolita qui s'est fait emporté par un aigle.**
(pause)

Meriel
M: where's the other piece of her head?
C: well done Owen! You've only got this one last piece to put in and you've finished. Now, Meriel. Try this piece because it might go there.
O: There, there! (stands up, hands in the air, triumphant)
C: you just have to put turn it round so it's the right way
O: Look.
C: Look at the picture so that it matches the picture
O: Look mummy. ə **veux** play (?) **avec Meriel** (Fr pron of name) (goes to do Meriel's puzzle with her)
M: **Mais euh non!** (covers her puzzle with her hands)
O: ə **A veux jouer avec avec Meriel**. (stands up and moves towards me) **jouer avec Meriel**
M: **Tu veut jouer av à lesquels?**
O: **Ça**
M: Mum, where's this piece go?
C: um well yeah there but you have to turn it round
M: (to O) Yeah like this, like this
M: keep turning keep turning. Turn again. There,no, oh yes, yes yes yes

C: what's happened?
L: **Lolita elle s'est fait emporté par un aigle**
C: What?
L: (louder) **Lolita s'est fait emporté par un aigle**
C: (probably looking puzzled)
L: (even louder) **Lolita s'est fait emporté par un aigle!**
C: There's no point shouting at me Loïc. I was just wondering what had happened that's all.

L: **On dirait plutôt un faucon.**
Mummy can, mummy do you, can you compare birds?
C: can I compare birds?
L: yeah
C: you mean do I know their different names?
L: yeah
C: well
L: Is this any **c'est un faucon ou un aigle? On dirait que c'est un faucon, non?** (looks a bit sheepish, talking quietly, looks at me) What?
C: (laughs)
L: What?

O: **Ah ouais je sais** it's this M: there it's him um O: oh it's the bird purple. I've done this. It's a barbapaba (?) Where's this go, mummy? C: Well done Meriel, that's right. Yeah very go, yes well done Owen. You're very good the pair of you. O: Where's this go? Where's this go? C: Come on, see if you can find where it goes M: um O:*** C: Try turning it round, Meriel M: Oh where's the bit red? C: Underneath your foot Meriel O: **oh c'est coincé** O: like that, like that, like that M: **mais**	C: well I'm not I'm not sure C: I'm not I'm not very good, Loïc, at knowing the names of different birds L: I know what it is C: but that looks like an eagle to me because it's so big. C: I think falcons are smaller than eagles M: We have to find...this bit (examining picture on box) M: We have to find the children C: Well look, Meriel, these are the pieces you need. You just have to figure out where to put them. C: That's right, you see.	O: *** cat *** M: I can't C: let me help you a bit M: (looking at picture on puzzle box) Oh! This bit this bit go here C: Oh that's a good idea, isn't it, to	

look at the model on the box
M: look
C: yes
O: there

M: I don't know mummy

O: **eh eh c'est pas à toi** (to Loïc who is trying to do the puzzle) **C'est pas à toi**

O: **C'est ça**
L: **non Owen non. Non, c'est pas ça. Non, c'est pas ça. Non, c'est pas ça. Pas ça, pas ça.**

L: **Ca c'est là. Ca c''est là. Ca ça va là**

O: **Ca va là.**
L: **Ca va ça va là.**
O: **et ça va là.**
C: Loïc. Loïc? There's a difference between helping someone and doing it

for them.
O: (unclear but sounds Fr)
L: **Non, Owen, ce bout là, là.**
O: **là**
C: That's right, you help him and then you let him do it
M: **oui, là**
C: that's how he learns, isn't it?
M: **euh Owen**
L: **Oui, ça va là.**
C: that's right, well done
L: **Et voilà!**
C: you did that one together
M: **non c'est pas celui-là**
C: the piece you need is underneath your your knee
O: like that, like that? *** **va aller**
L: **Barbabâteau**
M: ***
O: **Bravo!** (claps)
L: **non, mets ce bout là, Meriel**
M: No!
C: Let Meriel do it, Loïc. She wants to do it herself.
M: I'm big now.
C: Hooray, well done Meriel.
L: **Attends, on les mets à côté. Non, d'abord, d'abord, il vont à la mer.**

Video 2: Reciting Chocolate Mousse for Greedy Goose (no transcription)

Video 3: Reading *First Words Magnetic Play and Learn* book with Owen (Example 140)

59. C: the crocodile has a long tail
60. O: a long tail
61. C: and a big mouth
62. O: a big mouth
63. C: with lots of teeth
64. O: lots of teeth
65. C: and the bear likes eating honey
66. O: likes eating 'oney
67. C: Honey hhoney
68. O: 'oney
69. C: Hhhhoney
70. O: Honey
71. C: good boy! Honey, honey
72. O: honey
73. C: do you like honey, Owen?
74. O: yeah (I) like honey
75. C: do you? What else do you like?
76. O: um sandwich
77. C: do you like honey sandwiches?
78. O: umunney sandwiches
79. C: What do you like in your sandwiches?
80. O: *saucisson*

81. C: *saucisson*!
82. O: yeah
83. C: What else do you like in your sandwiches?
84. O:um ... *pain*
85. C: what? (really didn't understand because wasn't expecting it)
86. O: *pai*... I eating the *pain*
87. C: bread?
88. O: yeah bread
89. C: bread. bread and *saucisson* sandwiches
90. O: bread an sauci..sson..san(???)
91. C: and what do you like for dessert?
92. O: *petit filous*!
93. C: *petit filous*!
94. O: (laughs)
95. C: shall we have sandwiches for our lunch? Shall we have sandwiches for our lunch, hmmm?
96. O: there he is (pointing to book again)
97. C: would you like a sandwich for your lunch, Owen?
98. O: there he is
99. C: there he is, yeah

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Video 4: Reading *Dumpling* with Loïc, Meriel, and Owen (Examples 141 & 143)

Transcript of extract of reading session 2 for storybook case study (text in bold type is text of storybook). Recorded on 23/02/11
Loïc (7;10,19) Meriel (5;8,10) Owen (4;1,25)

M: Vas-y
C:**"Oh, how I long to be long!" said Dumpling.**
"Who do you want to belong to?" asked one of her brothers.
"No, I don't mean *to belong*," said Dumpling. "I mean to BE LONG!"
Do you know what she means?
O: No.
M: Yeah
C: Her brother says "who do you want to belong to?"
M: Yes, I know.   I know (loudly and insistently)
C: Well, Owen said he didn't.
O: eerr
C: It's like you belong to a group or a club
O: Yeah
C: and when she says "I long to be long" her brother thinks she's saying
O: eer
C: I long to belong to a club or something and she's saying, "no, I don't want to belong to a club, I want to be long" (hand movement to illustrate 'long' moving right hand sideways to the right)
M: long. I understand. I know what she means.
O: Me as well, I know.
C: You understand now?

When the three dachshund puppies had been born, they had looked much like pups of any other breed. Then, as they became older, the two brothers began to grow long, as dachshunds do. Their noses moved further and further away from their tail-tips. But the third puppy stayed short and stumpy. "How *long* you are getting," said the lady who owned them to all, who owned them to, oh! Let me start again **"How *long* you are getting," said the lady who owned them all to the two brothers.** So she's telling the two brothers that they're growing. Their bodies are getting longer (hand movement sideways to illustrate longer) and longer "how long you are getting" she says.
She called one of them Joker because he was always playing silly games, and the other one Thinker, because he liked to sit and think deeply.
What do you think that means, to think deeply?
O: don't know
M: maybe it means to think like this (look of concentration) hmmmmm
C: (looking at M and making same face, with look of concentration and nodding) hmmm (turns to O) to think
L:(from the other room) to think hard
C: to think, oh! Loïc says he thinks it means to think hard, yes
M:(points to neck and says something indistinguishable about sore skin on neck)
C: Oh yeah
O: (looking at Léonie) Léonie!
C: **Then she looked at their sister and shook her head.**
"You are nice and healthy," she said. "Your eyes are bright and your coat is shiny and you're good and plump. But dachshunds are supposed

to have long bodies, you know. And you haven't; You're just a little dumpling." Dumpling asked her mother about the problem. "Will I ever grow really long like Joker and Thinker?" she asked. Her mother looked at her plump daughter and sighed.
"Time will tell," she said.
O: what means "time will tell" means?
C: What do you think "time will tell" means? (turns to M)

M: "time will tell" means "wait and see"
C: (nods) wait and see. Time will tell, you'll see in time, if you wait, as time passes, as the days pass, the weeks and the months, you'll see, you'll get the answer to your question. What was the question she was wondering about? Will I ever grow really long like Joker and Thinker?
O: No

C: Well time will tell, her mummy says, you'll just have to wait and see.

Video 5: Watching *Sleeping Beauty 2* with Meriel and Owen (Examples 146 & 147)

Transcript of video extract: watching *Sleeping Beauty 2* with Meriel (3; 11) and Owen (2;5) (May 2009)

1. O: A naughty cat again
2. M: a naughty cat
3. ....
4. O: c'est a naughty cat again
5. M: There's that naughty cat again....oh, who's that? I think it's Jacques.
6. C: Jacques? The mouse? What's happened to him?
7. M: He turned in a man
8. C: The fairy godmother's turned him into a man!
9. M: there's that naughty cat again
10. C: there's that naughty cat again
11. O: there! A dancing
12. C: they're dancing?
13. O: yeah
14. C: they're building something, aren't they?
15. O: there, look
16. M: What are they building?
17. C: I don't know
18. O: it's a swing
19. M: a house, maybe
20. C: A swing? A house, maybe, yeah...oh
21. M: ow
22. O: ow

23. C: What did he do then?
24. M: Just like me...because me got a very big bump
25. C: Oh yeah, you bumped your head as well didn't you? You've got a bump.
26. Hervé: Est-ce que tu aurais du Paracetamol
27. C: Oui. Tu as mal quelque part?
28. O: There's that cat again
29. C: Attends
30. H: J'ai mal à la tête
31. O: that cat again
32. C: Je vais te chercher ça. Sit down Owen (leaves the room, children continue watching saying nothing.....)
33. ....
34. O: c'est a naughty cat again (repeats until I say yeah)
35. M: and there's a black one as well.There's two.
36. C: is there?
37. M: there's two. (shows two fingers) There's two.
38. C: two cats...oh pfff Look at him (laughs) he still thinks he's a mouse
39. O: a mouse
40. C: oh
41. M: oh
42. O: oh
43. ....

44. C: oooh, (laughs)
45. O: ooo (laughs)   (repeating what character said) Eh Caca, you caca!
46. C: Are you sure that's what he said?
47. O: yeah... A naughty cat again (repeats until I say yeah) c'est a naughty cat, mummy
48. C: uhum (agreement)
49. M: No, it's the godmother
50. C: the godmother, that's right
51. O: What's make that noise? What's making noise? A cat noise, mummy.
52. C: A cat noise?
53. O: yeah, hein, not a cat noise.... a naughty cat again, a naughty cat, a naughty cat
54. C: yeah?
55. O: yeah, a naughty cat! (laughs) a naughty cat again
56. C: Oh, where're they all going? Oh the fair. Juggler. Oh look, puppets!
57. O: a puppets...oh! A elephant!
58. C: an elephant
59. O: it's a mouns thing, a mouns thing pour a colo, (can't understand) ascolo a schopping
60. C: Shopping?
61. O: (can't understand) go to shopping
62. C: what?
63. O: (can't understand) go to shopping
64. C: going shopping?
65. O: yeah
66. C: who's going shopping?
67. O: the meow
68. C: the cat?
69. O: yeah
70. C: Going shopping?
71. O: yeah oh it's a elephant oh it's dancing, it's dancing
72. C: yeah they're dancing
73. O: oh a naughty cat again
74. C: oh, oh dear
75. M: (can't hear) his head, he's gonna eat his head
76. C: he's gonna eat his head?
77. O: plouf! On the water
78. C: splash
79. O: splaf
80. C: splash
81. O: splaf on the water
82. C: splash in the water
83. O: yeah oh ah (scream)
84. C: oh he's going on the big wheel. Uh oh the cat is there as well..
85. C: oh he can't get away from that cat, can he?
86. M: yes, he can, look
87. C: uh oh uh oh
88. O: uh oh uh oh aaah aaah ahhh he's falling down waah aaaahhh
89. C: oh dear, a stampeding elephant
90. O: haaahhuh, c'est comme ça...mummy
91. C: how's he going to help?
92. O: he's stopped,   stops, stops
93. C: how is Jacques going to help Cinderella?
94. O: huh! Uh! It's a daddy it's a daddy
95. M: it's gonna turn him in Jacques
96. C: oh no the king!
97. O: ah it's gone now
98. C: hooray

99. O: hooray
100.C: well done Jacques
101.O: well done Jacques
102.M: haha ha
103.O: hahaha....
104.C: uhoh
105.O:a naughty cat again, a naughty cat again
106.C: he's being taken away now, isn't he, that cat;
107.M: Why?
108.C: because that lady really likes him, she wants to keep him..
109.O: who's the cat? What's the cat?
110.C: Jacques saved the day...oh!...oooh.
111.O: (can't hear) it's run away
112.C: hooray, fireworks
113.O: fireworks
114.C: that's pretty
115.M: We('ve) already seen fireworks
116.C: have we?
117.M: yeah
118.C: do you remember?
119.M: with Shane
120.O: with Shane

121.C: that was a long time ago, wasn't it?
122.M: Yeah
123.C: you remember it, do you?
124.M: and when we were a very tiny baby
125.C: well, you were two
126.O: a tiny baby
127.C: no, you were three
128.M: yeah
129.C: only just though, it was nearly a year ago. Did you like it?
130.M: mm, I were a bit scared and a bit cold so we put a blanket on me
131.C: a bit scared and a bit cold, because it was late at night, wasn't it, we had to wait until it was night time so it was really late. Do you remember?
132.M: Yeah
133.O: a naughty cat again. a naughty cat again
134.C: not that naughty cat again
135.O: no
136.C: oh what's going on?
137.O: what's going on?

Video 6: Owen reading Sizzles is Completely Not Here (Example 166)

February 2009; Owen (2;1)

Owen lifts the flaps and comments on each picture with surprise as we do when reading the book, looking for Sizzles the dog.

1. A plane. Oh, a [unclear] Oh, a flower! Oh, a giraffe! Oh, a cat! Oh, a bear! Oh, *un autre* boy! [it's a girl] There.

2. [New page] A bee, *un autre* bee! Oh no! Oh yeah! *Un, un autre* bee! Oh, yeah! *Un orange* [they're hedgehogs] *Un oiseau*! A balloon! [it's a football] A plane, a aeroplane!

3. [New page] A book. A [unclear] in the caterpillar [it's a wardrobe containing clothes and toys], um [unclear] Oh, mummy! [it's a mermaid doll with long hair] Oh, a giraffe! Oh a things, elephant, panda [it's a black and white football] Oh, a cat! Oh, yeah! There.

4. [Closes book then opens it at last page] A bed.

5. [Then he turns pages backwards to beginning]

Video 7: Loïc inventing a story with his own drawings (Example 171)

30/11/07   Loïc (4;7)

L:Do you want me to read you a story?

M: No!

C: Yes, please.

1. L: Once upon a time, uh, one summer, it was Halloween. One cat was standing on a, on a, er what's it called, already?

2. C: Pumpkin?

3. L: Was standing on a pumpkin. A cat was standing on a pumpkin. And one day he grooowwled at people and and they all had a, a Halloween fight, and one of them went fffeuurrruhhhh weeuuuhhhh !!! And

4. *(New picture)* and the boss said, with two eyes, *(shouts)* "stop fighting!" And they stopped.

5. *(New picture)* Now, this one was a boy one, but actually he's Yu, Yuno's cousin. He had eleven eyes, one skull attached to him and lots of letters and a cat [unclear = drawing?] a scary cat, with, and he's ssprrre and a dog attached with a lead uuueerrrgghh.

6. *(New picture)* And then the Bolgo his cousin, is reeaallly strong, he

said "what are you doing? This is my house.Ehh! Poum ouch.

7. *(New picture) (high pitched whiney voice)* "uehh nyauh nyauh nyuh nyuh [unclear] Are you gonna play with me-uh?" *(growly voice)*"No." "Nnnyhh."

8. *(New picture) (high pitched voice and squeal)*" ueh, are you gonna play with me?" *(growly voice)* "Nooo!" That was the end of this story.

Video 8: Owen starts singing while looking at a book (Example 185)

Extract from transcript of Video Reading *First Words Magnetic Play and Learn* book with Owen (2;5,5) (03/06/09)

143.   C: oh. And what's this?
144.   O: uh a *soleil*
145.   C: a what?
146.   O: a *soleil*
147.   C: a *soleil*?
148.   O: yeah
149.   C: a sun
150.   O: (sings) Mr Sun, sun Mr [gəʊlgən] sun, [aɪdɪaɪ] a tree [= golden sun hiding behind]

Video 9: Variations on '*Au Clair de la Lune*' and '*A la Claire Fontaine*' (Example 200)

Transcription of Video 9, the children inventing variations based on '*A la claire fontaine*' (May 2010)
(ages at end May 2010)

Meriel (4;11)
à la claire fontaine
j'ai peté dans l'eau
J'ai fait carrément des aires-e
mais xx xx xx
x xx xx x
ma grandmère dit tiens ça-e
mais le corbeau arretais pas

Owen (3;5)
à la claire fontaine
j'ai d-X-é une baf
mais le skinhead qui voulait-e
mais le clown il voulait pas

mais le cheval est perdu-e
et le clown il voulait trouver le la cheval
mais le cheval il voulait pas-e
mais il voulait courir tout seul

et le skinhead il va les attraper-e
il va les manger dans sa bouche
et après il va prendre les grands dents
les grands dents

pointes et

le clown il voulait pas
il allait dans la nuit

Loïc (6;1)
à la claire fontaine
m'en allant promener
j'ai trouvé l'eau si belle
que je m'y suis tombé

malheureusement
je je me suis retrouvé en plein grenouille
un sale corbec chantait-e
sur une tranche
(rires)
de noisetier coupée
(rires)

j'lui ai jeté un camembert
il se l'ai pris en pleine tranche
(rires)
je lui ai dit ferme ta boite à corbec-e
et
attends
et il tomba raide
il ai dit
attend (rires)
un héron est passé
je lui a dit tu me déranges

je lui ai jeté une bouse de bouillasse
mais celui-là est atterit
sur la voiture d'un monsieur
le monsieur (rires, mots incompréhensible)
il se l'ai pris en pleine tête
malheureusement il est parti-e
en courant en disant
j'ai mal !