

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY

This chapter presents the methodology which was adopted to collect the data for my research. The first part discusses some general methodological issues regarding linguistic research, and reviews critically some widespread fieldwork methods that have been devised to collect spontaneous (that is, non elicited) conversational data, similar to those needed for my research.

The second part focuses more specifically on the methodology adopted in this study: it illustrates the strategies followed to choose and approach the right informants, and briefly describes the family chosen. An account is then given of the fieldwork itself: the major difficulties encountered in the initial phase, due to the excessive formality of the situation; the modifications that had to be made to the model adopted, and the new strategies devised to have access to the conversational data that I had set out to collect. Special attention is given to the changes in the role of the researcher within the family, from the position of a guest to that of a friend.

The final section assesses the main findings that have emerged from my experience in terms of fieldwork approach, in particular in comparison with the model that I had intended to follow initially.

4.1. General methodological issues

In any linguistic research project, the research question is a determining factor in the nature of the data to be collected. As mentioned above (cf. 1.1), the general area that I wished to investigate was language shift in the Italo-Australian community. More specifically, I wished to observe and analyse language shift in progress

by exploring patterns of use of the three languages spoken by the Italo-Australians: Italian, dialect and English, in everyday interactions.

In order to pursue such a research question, real interactions needed to be collected. Furthermore, spontaneous conversational data were needed in preference to other types of interactions. In fact, previous research conducted both in Australia and New Zealand (e.g., Bettoni, 1981, 1985a, 1986a, 1986b, 1990a; Kinder, 1984, 1986), had already shown that more formal interactions (e.g., interviews), no matter how long the interaction or how friendly the fieldworker, elicited neither the dialect nor much contact among the three languages, both of which are typical of the everyday language use in the community. It is to be noted that the term "contact" in this study refers to the use of more than one language within the same interaction.

On the basis of my knowledge of the Italo-Australian community I also decided that the data were to be collected within the domestic environment, as this would ensure spontaneity, the presence of both generations and use of all three languages. In fact, among Italo-Australians the dialect is generally the code reserved for the domestic environment, to be used with relatives and close friends from the same village and region (cf. 3.2.3.1). Furthermore, it was hypothesised that a more mixed use of the three languages would occur more frequently and more easily within the domestic space, that is, in familiar situations with well known interlocutors, as well as with the children. Another reason for exploring language use in the domestic environment is that the family domain has repeatedly been recognised as crucial in the process of language maintenance (e.g., Fishman, [1964] 1966; Clyne, 1982).

Both the research question and the nature of data are the determining factors in choosing the fieldwork that can gain access to the data required. In the last decades, a number of fieldwork methods have been devised to obtain spontaneous speech. Therefore, other methods were first reviewed in order to decide how to proceed in my research.

4.1.1 Gaining access to spontaneous data: previous approaches

Some of the most widely used fieldwork methods to collect spontaneous speech data differ remarkably on certain fundamental assumptions: for instance, how researchers can reduce the impact of their presence on the informants; the way researchers should enter the speech community to be studied; or the position that researchers must have - or gain - within the community, in order to be able to collect spontaneous speech.

The reasons for these differences can be explained in the light of three main factors. Firstly, different methods have been devised in different times, thus drawing upon different epistemological schools. For instance, psychological or social concerns can be seen as playing a very different role, according to various schools of thought. Secondly, data collection methods can differ because they have to suit different research questions. Closely related to this factor is the third one: fieldwork methods have been applied in very different speech communities, hence the differences from one method to the other in terms of ways of entering the community, of moving within the community, and so on.

Before starting my fieldwork, I had to decide which was the best position that I should adopt as a researcher within the Italo-Australian speech community, in order to obtain the data I needed. Therefore the fieldwork methodologies reviewed here are presented from the specific perspective of the researcher's position in the community, and are assessed for the representativeness of the data they give access to.

The methods have been ordered along a continuum which has at one end those requiring minimal direct contact between the researcher and the speech community, and at the other those recommending maximum contact or full immersion. The following possibilities can be identified:

1. The researcher is an outsider who decides to collect spontaneous data through real insiders.

2. The researcher collects data by simply observing, listening to and - when possible - recording the people surrounding him/her in a variety of situations.

3. The researcher is an outsider who collects the data by interviewing the informants.

4. The researcher is an outsider who collects the data through a process of partial immersion in the community.

5. The researcher is an outsider who becomes an insider, although of a particular kind.

The first method outlined here does not involve any special fieldwork strategy nor strategies of access, since the researcher remains outside the speech community, and the data are collected by some real insiders. The researcher's contact with the speech community takes place mainly through observation and through the contact with the insiders collecting the data, rather than through direct involvement with the informants.

In spite of the limitations of this data collection method, such as the lack of direct contact with the informants and the strong reliance on third party's comments and observations, this is a good method for the study of linguistic phenomena that are strongly related to group membership, in particular with very closed networks. This is why, for instance, Poplack (1980) used a real insider for her investigation of the bilingual norms of the Puerto Rican community in New York, after observing that the phenomenon under study, code switching in her case, depended strongly on the ethnicity of the interlocutor. As stated previously, it is the focus of the research itself which determines the choice of field method: Poplack was interested in a linguistic analysis of code switching. On the other hand, other scholars (e.g., Gumperz, 1982), who are interested in the speakers and their social values as well as their language, will adopt an approach where the direct contact with the informants is considered of paramount importance.

One obvious advantage of this approach is the representativeness of the data collected: there is no doubt that real insiders can elicit (and recognise) spontaneous data more easily, since they can counterbalance the presence of the tape recorder with their familiarity with the informants and the situations. As will be explained later, some aspects of this method could be adopted in my

research when the family under investigation was asked to record themselves in my absence.

In the second method to be analysed here, the researcher comes into closer contact with the community, but s/he is still moving at the margins of the community, as an external observer. It is the method of "rapid and anonymous observations", as Labov ([1972b] 1985: 43) called it: listening carefully to people around you in every possible situation, writing down quick notes, recording whenever the noise level allows it or eliciting set words or set phrases. It was used for instance by Labov in his well known research on phonological variables conducted in the department store of New York, by Wolfson (1976) in her study of conversational narratives, and by Blom and Gumperz (1972) to gain a general picture of the phenomenon under study in the first stage of their fieldwork in Norway.

The rapid and anonymous method is useful for observing a single linguistic feature in a variety of situations and to provide the researcher with a wide range of texts, as pointed out by Wolfson (1976: 207). However, since it relies mainly on short-span observations (and very little or no social information on the speakers), it is often used to complement other methods.

The third method is the one which is generally associated with Labov, whereby the researcher enters the speech community for short spans of time and comes into direct contact with the informants by interviewing them. In this method, researchers enter the community as outsiders and as researchers, with a specific task to accomplish and a specific social role attached to them.

In his New York City study, Labov used the interview as one of the speech contexts in which to study phonological variables (cf. 2.3). He is well aware of the fact that, in the course of an interview, only the "careful speech" - as he calls it - can and will occur. However, Labov believes that it is possible to overcome the straight jacket of the interview and record both casual and spontaneous speech (two types of speech that he keeps distinct, cf. Labov, [1972b] 1985: 86) either in those particular moments which fall outside the boundaries of the interview (e.g., remarks exchanged before the interview; possible interruptions; greetings at the end; speech to a third person), or by introducing topics

that would involve the informant's emotions and thus elicit less controlled speech (e.g., childhood rhymes or the famous question about the danger of death).

Two major aspects of this method are open to criticism: the assumption that, within a very short time, an outsider can manipulate contextual factors and reverse or deeply modify a speech event such as an interview, with clearly defined rules which are also well known to the informant (cf. Wolfson, 1976). Secondly, the belief that formality of speech is related mainly to one psychological factor, that is the attention paid to speech, rather than to many other important social factors (e.g., different roles of interviewer and informant and interviewer's social status) that cannot be overcome within the short time of an interview. On these grounds, the interview is not considered a suitable or efficient method to collect spontaneous speech, since it relies on "intuitive, *ad hoc* methods of breaking down the social and discourse asymmetries" (Milroy, 1987b: 50) which are present in the interview as a speech event in itself. It is fair, however, to add that, even before Wolfson or Milroy pointed out the shortcomings, Labov himself with time became fully aware of the limitations of the interview and experimented with other methods, or combination of methods, to record spontaneous speech (e.g., the Harlem data, Labov 1972a).

The fourth method derives directly from the ethnographic approach and gives the researcher the position of participant observer in the community. In linguistic research, two well known examples are the studies by Blom and Gumperz in Hemnesberget (1972; cf. 2.2.4), and by Gal in Oberwart (1979; cf. 2.2.4). Blom and Gumperz explored patterns of language alternation (standard versus local dialect) in spontaneous conversations, explaining them in relation to the local social structure. Gal studied language shift from a dynamic perspective, looking at both code switching (between Hungarian and German) and style shifting (between standard Hungarian/German and their local varieties), and putting them in relation to the changes that the community had been and was undergoing.

In terms of strategies of access, the researchers initially present themselves as outsiders and researchers, as in the method above.

However, they come into closer contact with the informants by living in the community for a period of time (two months in the case of Blom and Gumperz; one year for Gal).

This approach has previously been called of "partial" immersion in the community: in fact, although the researchers live there, they never become insiders but remain outsiders with special rights, so to speak, since the immersion gives them access to the following: a) a (long) period of observation, during which the local community, its social structure and language use can be studied at ease, and hypotheses can be formulated on the basis of these observations; b) frequent contacts and increasing familiarity with the locals, so that the researchers gain that special position which allows them to collect both elicited and naturalistic data to test their hypotheses.

In Blom and Gumperz's study, a combination of fieldwork methods is adopted: in the first stage, casual observations and recordings of free speech, to gain a general picture of the linguistic situation; in the second stage, controlled elicitation sessions, including interviews; in the final stage (what they call "the Experiment"), the recording of free conversations during a special gathering, organised especially to test their hypotheses. While in the first two stages elements in common with the methods described above can be recognised, it is the Experiment that brings out the novelty of their approach. It is here that the researchers' position as outsiders "of a special kind" emerges very clearly: in order to verify their hypothesis in regard to the relationship between code switching behaviour and type of interlocutor, rather than to the topic, throughout the party the researchers move freely from the core to the margins of the gathering changing topics and introducing new ones. In spite of the researchers' presence and of the tape recorder, the locals pick up the topics suggested and engage in spontaneous conversation, as a result of the group pressure and of the existing system of relationships and obligations to each other.

One important element here is the use of self-recruited groups as informants and, consequently, the use of group dynamics to elicit spontaneous data. This strategy of using groups, rather than individuals, to break down the interview structure by outnumbering

the researcher was also used by Labov (1972a) in his research with African-American adolescents. As will be shown below, this strategy is also part of my fieldwork, as the presence - and pressure - of the children will elicit more spontaneous language usage from the mother, counteracting the presence of the researcher and tape recorder.

The fifth method mentioned here is closely linked to this fourth in its ethnographic approach: it considers the knowledge of norms and values of the community under study as a fundamental requisite of the research, and follows the principle of the researcher as participant observer. However, the two methods are quite different in their strategies of access to the informants as well as in the position held by the researcher in the community.

This methodology is best exemplified in Milroy's project in Belfast, which has been accurately documented and commented upon in her books (1987a; 1987b). The first major novelty is the introduction of the researcher to the informants not so much as a researcher, but as "a friend of a friend", which ensured her the status of an insider within the social network from the very beginning. In this way this method furthers the principle of the observer as part of the setting under study, as there is an explicit attempt

to assign to the fieldworker a clear social identity which allowed him or her to claim a role in the community. (Milroy, 1987b: 81).

In Milroy's research, this status of a friend of a friend, carrying out what was presented generically as a study on the way life and language in the community had undergone changes, allowed her free and easier access to long-term observations and recordings both of a structured and unstructured nature (interviews and elicitation sessions, as well as long and spontaneous conversations). In her specific case, the fieldwork was also facilitated by certain social norms, such as the habit of "extended visiting", seemingly very common in Belfast, whereby neighbours and friends can visit each other very freely and very extensively.

Although she could act and move as an insider, Milroy points out that a difference existed between her position in the community and that of a real insider. Making explicit use of the sociological concept of social networks to illustrate the social relationships in which each individual is embedded, she distinguishes between a first order network, made up of the people linked directly to the individual, and a second order network, made up of the people who may come into contact with the individual via his/her immediate contacts. As a friend of a friend, she belonged to this second order network zone, a position that was extremely valuable in a city like Belfast where the secondary contacts were extensively used to obtain certain goods or services.

In Milroy's fieldwork approach, another important insight drawn from the network concept is exchange theory.

A social network acts as a mechanism both for exchanging goods and services, and for imposing obligations and conferring corresponding rights upon its members. (Milroy, 1987a: 47).

During her fieldwork in Ballymacarrett, for instance, she succeeded in setting up an obligation by granting the use of her van to a group of boys. This kind of assistance entitled her to be seen as a friend and thus be free to visit the boys' houses at her leisure.

Numerous advantages can be cited in favour of this method: the abundance and good quality of the data that can be collected, and their representativeness as naturalistic data; the wide range of styles and situations that the researcher has access to; the prolonged observation time which gives a deep understanding of everyday life, norms and values of the community. But, as Milroy points out, it is an extremely time consuming, tiring and demanding process, which also involves the researcher emotionally by creating strong bonds with the informants. Furthermore, it is a wasteful method in that "many more hours of speech are usually recorded than can ultimately be analysed" (Milroy, 1987b: 79); also, much recorded data will be unanalysable for its poor quality due to background noise.

Another important element is the identity of the fieldworker. Since the researcher becomes an insider to the extent of sharing many hours of domestic intimacy with the informants, the choice of the right fieldworker is of paramount importance: considerations of ethnicity, sex, age or accent, play a major role, and Milroy (1987b: 81) disagrees with the commonly held view that matching fieldworkers to subjects is necessarily the best solution. In her case, for instance, given the political climate in Belfast, a woman fieldworker on her own was preferable to a man, as she would be less threatening and therefore accepted more easily in the network. As will be shown below, Milroy's role of fieldworker was an important model in my research.

4.1.2 Choosing the fieldwork method

Of the fieldwork methods discussed so far, the first three seemed unsuitable to the Italo-Australian context as well as to my research question. Nevertheless, a couple of their features did become part of my approach. These were: the collection of some data by real insiders - in my case the informants themselves - as Poplack did; and the use of a kind of interview, in the Labovian tradition, in the first meetings with the informants. However, the major thrust of these approaches did not suit my project for a number of reasons: having the data collected by another person was not suitable, as I intended to explain the role of the three languages as used in interactions not simply in linguistic terms, but in the light of extra-linguistic factors as well. Thus, my direct contact with and knowledge of the informants was essential for understanding and interpreting the data. The method of "rapid and anonymous observations" would not have fitted my research purpose as I did not intend to focus on a single linguistic feature; nor could the interview elicit the type of data needed for the reasons outlined above (cf. 4.1).

The fieldwork methods that seemed most suitable to my research were the ethnographic oriented approaches, as they ask the researcher to be present but not to interfere with the flow of events, to observe and record while keeping at the margins of the situations. Given that the spontaneous data were to be collected within the

domestic environment, I decided to adopt an ethnographic approach following Milroy, that is, to have access to the informants as a friend of a friend, and to become an insider within the family. This decision was taken on the basis of my knowledge of the Italo-Australian community, as I was aware of the fact that, in order to have access to the core of the domestic environment, it would have been necessary to go beyond the stages of mere acquaintance or of "outsider with special rights", in Blom and Gumperz's and Gal's style. On the contrary, it was necessary to develop close contacts with the informants, to gain their confidence and trust, and build up a genuine relationship of friendship.

Having decided on the fieldwork approach, I set out to look for the right informants and for the appropriate strategies of access to them.

4.2 In the field

The following sections present an account of the fieldwork that was carried out. Given the linguistic focus of this study, more attention is paid to those elements that have had an impact on the languages used in the interaction.

4.2.1 Choosing the informants

For the purpose of this research it was decided to choose a Sicilian-Australian family where three generations were present: grandparents, parents and children. The family had to be Sicilian as this is my dialect of origin; and the presence of three generations would ensure the use of all three languages - Italian, dialect and English - in the house. Young children were preferred to teenagers because they were likely to spend more time at home and thus be easier to record.

To start off with, strategies of access to the right informants had to be developed, taking into account my initial position in the community and my knowledge of local norms, as required by an ethnographic approach.

For many aspects, I could be considered an insider within the Italo-Australian community as I had been living in a typical Italian suburb of Sydney for a number of years, had married into the Italo-Australian community, and had been actively involved in a migrants' organisation; besides, I am originally from Sicily, like the largest group of Italians living in Sydney. Thus my initial position in the community was different from other researchers mentioned above (e.g., Milroy, Blom and Gumperz, Gal), in the sense that I was already much more of an insider to the community I was about to investigate than they were. From the beginning then I could rely on a relatively good knowledge of the community at large and a degree of integration into a certain sector of the community.

However, other elements made my position unusual and made me more of an outsider compared to the majority of Italo-Australians and women in particular: differences in social class, in education and in type of occupation; belonging to a different migration pattern; being married without children. A further difference - crucial for my research - was the use of languages: while I understand and speak Sicilian dialect reasonably well, regional Italian is the language that I speak more naturally and more frequently in Sydney (together with English). In fact my close relatives - to whom I would speak Sicilian - all live in Sicily, and my Italian friends here come from different parts of Italy.

As an insider and outsider at the same time, these were in a way the social barriers (Milroy, 1987a: 44) to the fieldwork that I had to overcome.

The possibility of meeting the right informants through friends or other informal channels - as Milroy did - seemed excluded from the start, both because of the nature of my network, and because most Italo-Australians move in very restricted networks of close relatives and friends from the same village (cf. 3.2.1.3). Women who do not work in particular seem to move in even more restricted networks. It is only through their children (e.g., their children's friends and their school activities) that networks expand and opportunities for new social contacts arise.

After various unsuccessful attempts to find the right informants through common acquaintances, I decided to approach a friend who teaches Italian in a Catholic Primary School situated in a suburb with a high concentration of Italians, many of whom are Sicilians. Although making the first approach through official or semi-official figures of the community, such as priests or teachers, undoubtedly has certain disadvantages (cf. Milroy, 1987a: 53), as will be discussed below, this approach was taken as a consequence of the problems mentioned above.

Having identified a suitable Sicilian family, the teacher talked to them about me, presenting me as a friend and an Italian teacher who was interested in the children's Italian. The family agreed to be contacted, and I rang them and organised an appointment to visit them.

4.2.2 The informants

Most information regarding the history of the family was elicited during the first visit, while other information was gathered through observation and occasional comments throughout the fieldwork.

The family is composed of four members: the mother, Anna (forty-four years of age), the father, Carlo (fifty), and two boys, Rino (twelve) and Giorgio (nine), attending Sixth and Fourth grade, respectively. (The names have been changed to preserve complete anonymity).

Anna was born and brought up in a small fishing village in the province of Messina and comes from a large family of nine children. She arrived in Australia in 1958, at the age of fourteen, with her mother and some brothers and sisters, to join the rest of the family who had already been in Australia for five to seven years. Her father, who had been a fisherman in Sicily, worked for many years in Australia in a car factory, since fishing was not a very profitable occupation.

In Italy, Anna completed primary school, but did not continue schooling. As she said herself, *non si poteva fare di più allora* ('in those times you could not do much more'). The family used to

support itself mainly through the money that the relatives would send from Australia and through some income earned by the women doing embroidery, a typical Sicilian activity. In Australia, Anna only attended a few months of school, but soon left when it became obvious that the school would not assist her in any way; besides, her help was required in domestic chores, given the size of the family.

After leaving school, she first worked making shirts in a factory for seven years, then worked in her brother's fruitshop, and finally left the workforce altogether when she married. Now she stays at home, and looks after her husband and her children.

Carlo comes from the same village, from a family of six children, and arrived in Australia in 1952 at approximately the same age as the mother. He completed primary school in Italy but did not do any schooling in Australia, as soon after arrival he had to help his father who worked as a fisherman. He has worked as a fisherman ever since, having occasionally other jobs during the break between fishing seasons.

The family has very frequent contacts with the grandparents. The maternal grandfather - who is a widower - often spends long periods with them. The paternal grandparents live nearby, and the father often takes the children to see them.

The close relatives represent the family's social network. The parents' brothers and sisters are all married (many to other Sicilians or Italians, a few to Anglo-Australians) and have children; given their large number, there is hardly any need to look for friends outside the family circle. During the first meeting, I specifically asked Anna about their friends, and the question seemed to puzzle her. She said, however, that they are all Sicilian, and mostly people from the same village. She added that they go out very rarely to an Italian club or an Italian festival. Throughout the fieldwork it became clear that the family's outings consisted of visits to the relatives, or wider family parties for special occasions. For the mother, the only other social activities are some occasional gatherings with a small group of women to pray and say the rosary together or some rare visits to the children's school. As for the children, the main form of entertainment during the week-end is to go out on the father's boat.

Neither parents have ever gone back to Italy, although some of their relatives have. Anna still has an uncle there and some cousins that she has never met. A trip to Italy now is completely out of the question since all their financial efforts are concentrated on the children's upbringing and education. Their contacts with Italy are rare and consist of sending Christmas cards to the relatives left there. Over the years, their village in Italy has become a remote point of reference which no longer has relevance in their lives. It is only jokingly that the mother says occasionally *Eh, qualche volta ci andiamo* ('We will go there sometime'), adding later *Quando vinciamo al lotto* ('When we win Lotto'). The length of stay in Australia and the proximity of the closest relatives explain this lack of interest in Italy. As Anna herself says during the interview: *Forse se ci avevo a qualcuno, una sorella, un fratello o la mamma whatever certo, può darsi qualche giorno ritornavo, ma adesso i bambini sono piccoli ma la possibilità non c'è anyway* ('maybe if I had someone there, a sister, a brother or my mother, I would have gone one day, but now the children are young and it is not possible anyway').

However, Italy still has a symbolic place in their lives, in terms of allegiances. Talking about the differences between Italy and Australia is a favourite topic; the children support Italian teams during sporting competitions on television; and the Italian flag is put on the fishing boat on the day of the Blessing of the Fleet. These and many other activities are clear manifestations of the attachment to their country of origin, which has been partly conveyed to the children.

4.2.3 Approaching the informants

The fieldwork started in October 1988 and continued till March 1989 (with a pause of one and a half months when I went overseas).

The first visit consisted in a long conversation with the mother, where she was asked to talk about her family story and her life in general. Right from the beginning I asked permission to record the interview and Anna agreed without any hesitation.

During this visit the research was presented in very generic terms, as a study of the way the children spoke Italian, and permission was sought to come to the house and spend some time with the children to record them, at times that would suit the family. The mother - and later on during the visit the father - were very friendly and invited me to return whenever I wanted.

4.2.4 Major problems and new strategies

For the following six months, I visited the family at regular intervals (about every two weeks) spending a long time with them, in particular with the mother and the children, since most of the times the father would be fishing all afternoon and night.

During the very first visits I found that the strategy used to gain access to the informants had given me a position in the family which had both positive and negative aspects.

Although I was not recognised as a lecturer and a researcher as such, I had nonetheless presented myself as a teacher interested in Italian. On the positive side, this meant, from the family, an opening and availability to co-operate from the very beginning, undoubtedly due to the attitude of respect towards anybody engaged in teaching, which is very common among Italo-Australians. The role of a teacher also justified the use of the tape recorder.

On the negative side, a teacher of Italian, even more than other people, elicited the most formal language style and behaviour both from adults and children. The parents expected correct behaviour from the children towards me, as children have to be respectful towards adults in general, and teachers in particular: for instance, they had to greet me upon my arrival and my leaving or answer my questions promptly. Besides, given the stated purpose of the research and my own preference for Italian, during this first stage the other two languages (Sicilian and English) were kept under check and at the margins.

Furthermore, the presence of a stranger did not fit into the normal pattern of family life. In fact during the week no visitors come to the house, except for the children from next door, and "socialising"

is an activity that takes place mainly during the week-end, when the family meets other relatives, as mentioned previously. Therefore, I could not pass unnoticed; on the contrary, I was treated as a guest at the centre of the family's attention.

In this respect my experience differs remarkably from Milroy's who, as a friend of a friend, from the very beginning had a role which suited her research purposes. Some of the elements that helped her fieldwork, such as the social event of extended visiting, or the norm according to which the incomer is not "necessarily constrained to speak first" (Milroy, 1987a: 96) were completely absent in my situation.

While from reading Milroy's fieldwork account one has the impression that she was immediately located in the heart of a range of normal, everyday situations, in my case new strategies needed to be devised in order to overcome the negative aspects of the initial role that I had assigned myself.

4 Fieldwork progress

The initial situation needed to be changed so that everyday situations and everyday language use could emerge in spite of my presence. In particular, what needed to be changed was my role within the house: I had to move away from my position of guest and become an insider in order to be able to record the normal flow of life and language.

The following section is an account of the changing relationship between researcher and informants, as it is reflected in the fieldwork and the data collected. Three different phases can be identified in the fieldwork, even if they are not clearcut, as some elements of an earlier phase may reappear under particular circumstances. In the description of each phase I have focussed on some features of the data that are clear indicators of the dynamics whereby the relationship was changing: changes in topics, discourse structure, participants' constellation and use of languages. The account will be kept brief, as some of these features (the last one in particular) will be discussed in more detail in the linguistic analysis.

4.3.1 First phase

The first phase is characterised by the position of the researcher as a teacher and as a guest, at the centre of the family's attention.

In terms of fieldwork, this phase presents an overall greater amount of talk compared to action; most of the time in the house is spent on conversation which takes place between the parents and me and, to a much lesser extent, the grandfather, while the children remain at the margins of the conversation, and are talked about indirectly; often, whenever they are addressed, the parents would answer or translate for them.

The conversation among adults generally revolves around such topics as life in Australia and in Italy, comparing the two countries and, very often, the two different education systems. Whenever the father is present, he tends to hold the floor talking to me about his work, his tools, his life as a fisherman and so on. In these cases, both Anna and the children recede to the margins, while Carlo and I are at the centre.

At the same time, this phase is characterised by my attempts to initiate some activity which would involve the children: in this way I was trying to confirm the purpose of my research and my presence in the house, but more importantly I wanted to try and move away from my guest position in order to elicit more domestic behaviour and language patterns. However, since the ordinary family routines were not yet known to me, most of my first attempts resulted in marked types of behaviour. I was in fact introducing activities which were unusual in their everyday family life, such as trips to the nearby park, and organising races among the children, and it was only with prolonged observation that I became aware of the markedness of these behaviours. The data recorded during these first visits include some remarks made by the parents commenting on such unusual activities. In Excerpt 4.1 I had just taken the children to a nearby park and, on our return, Anna comments:

Excerpt 4.1

[Anna to the children]

ALL. RIGIR allora? eh vedi? una camminata senza aspettat-*a* mamma non vi porta
a nessun posto [laughs]

[right then? you see? an unexpected walk mum doesn't take you anywhere]

(A detailed account of the criteria followed in the transcription is given in Appendix I)

In terms of discourse structure and speech roles, throughout the first stage what prevails is the "interview style", as Milroy (1987a: 62) calls it. Although an interview, albeit of an unstructured type, only took place during the first visit, the conversations of this stage generally present a discourse pattern constrained by the social relationships of the participants, with an asymmetrical distribution of speech roles and a clear two-part discourse: I am the one who initiates the topic and asks questions, while the parents provide the answers and the information requested, often freely elaborating and expanding on the topics. Excerpt 4.2 clearly shows this pattern:

Excerpt 4.2

- N e lei cosa fa di solito qua a casa lavora
A [eh
N porta i bambini lei a scuola?
A no no io nean STOPP (...) fini (...) e non fare così dicevo scendi [to Giorgio]
io io la mattina: eh ci ho là: il basso [bus] privato che viene e se le
prende
N sì
A così io non vado
N [ho capito
A non esco *propria* di casa no e: se le prende la mattina alle otto e me li
porta quasi: e le quattro meno venti men-un quarto
N [ah ho capito perché io quando vedevo adesso
venendo dico madonna come fa la signora ogni volta portare i
bambini a scuola
A [no no eh: l'ho fatto di: de quello grande
quando lo portava a lui e questo era piccolino eh com'è la mattina
prendere il bus scendere
N [e appunto
A e fare e poi: ho incontrato questa donna che prende i bambini e-e-e
neanche ce n'aveva largo pe: p-prendere a quello il grande là ci ho detto
guarda *mucari* me lo porti la mattina
N uh
A così io non mi sposto
N uh

- N and what do you do generally you work at home
 A [ch
 N do you take the children to school?
 A no no I don't stop it don't do that I was saying get down [to Giorgio] I in
 the morning there is the private bus that comes and picks them up
 N yes
 A so I don't go
 N I see
 A I don't go out of the house at all and it picks them up at eight o'clock in
 the morning and brings them back at about twenty to four a quarter to
 four
 N [I see because when I was coming here
 I was thinking jesus how does she manage to take the kids to school
 every time
 A [no no I did it for the eldest one when
 I used to take him and this one was very young and you know in the
 morning catching the bus getting off
 N [of course
 A and everything else and then I met this woman that picks up the
 children and she didn't even have room to take the eldest one I said to
 her listen at least if you can take him in the morning
 N uh
 A so I don't have to move
 N uh

The constraints in the discourse pattern emerge not only in the asymmetrical distribution of questions and answers, but also in the more narrow range of speech roles used by family members, and by Anna in particular: although she gives very elaborate answers, as shown in Excerpt 4.2), the only questions she asks have the function of "offering goods and services" (Halliday, 1985a: 69), that is, offering a coffee or a drink, rather than requesting information. Besides, only occasionally does she take on other speech roles; sometimes she adds a comment to what the father is saying. In the case of Carlo, the discourse pattern is less constrained, since he tends to hold the floor with his narration or to give comments more frequently, as stated previously. Excerpt 4.3 below demonstrates how I am the one taking the initiative after a pause in the conversation, how Carlo gradually gains the floor and how Anna is marginalised.

Excerpt 4.3

- [Anna, Carlo and Nina have been talking about houses]
- N no in effetti non capisco com'è che le costruivano ste case le facevano così male
- C | sì sì
- N le finestre piccole ste
- C [sì sì]
- N [cucine piccole: ste ma::
- C [eh eh
- A [e certe forse le facevano insieme
- C sì
- N THAT'S RIGHT
- A [e sembrava non ci aveva più largo
- N [YEH::
- C [però quando abbiamo ve
- N [sì:
- C quando sono venuto in australia io quei tempi là-*bbagna* non ce ne stavano
- N [eh tut-sempre fuori no?
- C sì stava:
- N [tutto fuori
- C il gabinetto fuori
- N YEH
- C e: il bagno e non ci stavano (...) allora: mio padre ha comprato una la *COPPER bulliamu* l'acqua e la *buttavamo* dentro che non ci stava acqua
- N [certo
- C acqua calda non ce ne stava
- A [acqua calda
- C oggi ci stanno tutte queste cose una volta non ci stava acqua
- A eh
- C e-e ci stava nei se avevano dei fornelli piccolini di *CAS*
- N sì
- C e apriva: ma quello è poco non era su(...) *COPPER* era allora OHYEH
- N e cos'era nel cinquan-negli anni cinquanta
- C [negli anni cinquanta cinquantadue
- C cinquantatré
- N [e ancora non ci avevano l'acqua calda
- C [YEH non ci stava no
- N no really I can't understand how they used to build these houses they were built so badly
- C [yes yes
- N small windows these
- C [yes-yes
- N small kitchens je:
- C [eh eh
- A [and some maybe they would make them together
- C yes
- N that's right
- A [as if they didn't have any more space
- N [yeh
- C [but when we ca(me)
- N [yes
- C when I came to Australia those times there were no bathrooms

- N they? [all always outside weren't
 C yes it was
 N [everything outside
 C the toilet outside
 N yeh
 C and the bath and there wasn't any (...) so my father bought a copper we
 used to boil the water and throw it in because there was no water
 N [of course
 C hot water there wasn't any
 A [hot water
 C today there are all these things but once there was no water
 A eh
 C and there was in the you could have little taps for gas
 N yes
 C you would open them but that was little it was not suff(...) it was copper
 oh yeh
 N and when was this in 1950 in the fifties
 C [in the fifties fifty-two fifty-three
 N [and they didn't have
 C hot water yet
 C [yeh there wasn't any no

Besides my position as a guest and teacher, this constrained discourse pattern is partly due to personality factors, but also partly to the fact that I was still not at ease in my role within the family and felt that any moment of silence needed to be filled with words. Thus, besides the wider range of speech roles (e.g., questions, comments or exclamations), another feature of this stage is the great amount of talk that comes from me, compared to later stages.

In terms of language use, the presence of a teacher of Italian and the purpose of the research also elicited marked patterns within the family. Since I spoke Italian, both parents spoke Italian to me. Only the grandfather used Sicilian those few times he spoke, as older people within the Sicilian community in Sydney tend to do, even with interlocutors who answer in Italian, if it is clear that they understand dialect. Initially I also pretended not to understand much English, in order to elicit as much Sicilian or Italian as possible from the children. Thus, the language which is used in this first phase is mainly Italian, and Sicilian and English are used only occasionally. By keeping the conversation confined mainly to the adults - as mentioned above - it was relatively easy to have it in Italian; the children's questions were often ignored or answered very briefly. In Excerpt 4.4, for instance,

although the exchange is initiated by the child, the talk is mainly conducted by the adults commenting on the child's skills, and the conversation continues in Italian.

Excerpt 4.4

- R I PICKED UP CRABS LIKE THIS
 N YEH ma è bravo lui
 C [YEH
 [Anna laughs]
 N mamma mia piglia tutto
 C YEH no lui non ci ha paura lui
 N no ma ha preso CRABS poi cos'erano gli altri?
 R *pisci*
 N YEH pigliava pesciolini tutte cose
 R [NIPS CRABS AH NIPPERS
 C [CRABS (...) NIPPERS
 A i NIPPERS *magare* uh!
 N ci ha un occhio l'ha addestrato bene lei
 [parents laugh]
 C sì io l'ho addestrato sì addestra lui stesso sì addestra non io
 N uh
 C e ci ha è giovane ci ha die-dodici anni no? perciò gli occhi ce l'ha sono meglio di me e di lei no
 [Nina laughs]
 C sono più forti
 N ah quello sicuro
 C eh
 [Anna laughs]
- R I picked up crabs like this
 N yeh he is very good
 C [yeh
 [Anna laughs]
 N god he picks up everything
 C yeh he is not scared no he is not
 N no but he got crabs and then what else?
 R fish
 N yeh he caught little fish everything
 R [nips crabs ah nippers
 C [crabs (...) nippers
 A even nippers uh!
 N he has a good eye you have trained him well
 [parents laugh]
 C no it's not that I trained him he trains himself it's not me
 N uh
 C he is young he is twelve isn't he? so his eyes are better than mine and yours aren't they?
 [Nina laughs]
 C they are stronger
 N for sure
 C eh

[Anna laughs]

However, on those occasions where the parents do answer the children, they tend to revert to their unmarked language use and thus switch into Sicilian or English, only to correct themselves soon afterwards.

In this phase, another interesting aspect is the language used by the children. When I take them out or talk directly to them, several factors force them to answer in Sicilian/Italian (that is, mixing the two languages): I pretended not to understand English; after the first visit, they had obviously been instructed by their parents to speak Italian; and I was a teacher of Italian. As a result, the children try hard to co-operate with me. Furthermore, my presence triggers marked language patterns among the children themselves, who occasionally use Italian/Sicilian to each other, while they normally would use exclusively English.

It is to be noted, however, that in this phase a difference exists between the two children, as the eldest child, Rino, seems more willing than Giorgio to use his Italian/Sicilian and to speak to me. As a result, also Carlo and Anna tend to address Rino more frequently in Italian than his brother. This difference, however, with time fades away, when both brothers switch to an (almost) exclusive use of English (cf. 4.3.2).

On the whole, then, this first phase is characterised by marked patterns at all levels - activities, discourse structure and language use - which have been triggered by my presence and which prevail both among adults and children, as a result of the formality and novelty of the situation of having a stranger in the home.

4.3.2 Second phase

The second phase includes some "transitory" sessions, which were crucial to the progress of the fieldwork in two main aspects: on the one hand, during these visits some signals begin to emerge of my changing role within the house; on the other hand, new circumstances and new elements present themselves which I am able

to use to devise new strategies and succeed in becoming part of the family's everyday life.

Two sessions can be considered particularly crucial in the development of the relationship with the family: an outing, where we went to see a Sicilian puppet show, and more importantly, one visit where Anna talked to me about her concern for her eldest son's school problems.

The occasion for the outing was a Sicilian puppet show at an Italian club. I invited the family to go, so that the children could see something typically Sicilian. Although going out during the week, and with someone outside the family network, was unusual, Anna accepted and came with the children (the father was at work).

From this outing some very positive results ensued: everybody enjoyed the show, and the mother in particular seemed very happy and grateful to me for taking them out; in fact, in order to exchange the favour, she insisted on giving me some fish. The nature of the show served to reinforce the ethnic bond and the common regional background between the family and myself, since it triggered a lot of talking about puppet shows in Sicily during our childhood. It gave me the opportunity to observe the family in more domestic circumstances when, after the show, I stopped for coffee and saw the children and the mother talking to the grandfather about the show, the children performing their routines before going to bed, and so on. It also served to shift the attention more towards the children, since both Anna and myself were very anxious for them to like the puppets.

This outing marked the beginning of more "activity oriented" visits and of a closer relationship. This is reflected also in a less constrained discourse pattern with the mother, as indicated by a more balanced distribution of speech roles and a movement towards more "spontaneous styles" (Milroy, 1987a: 67): I do not tend any longer to question directly, but often initiate the conversation through comments; on the other hand, the mother takes the initiative more often, asks questions and at some interesting points she reverses the roles of the question-answer pattern: for example, in Excerpt 4.5 below, rather than offering the information requested, she prompts me to take a guess.

Excerpt 4.5

[talking in the car, coming back from the show]

- A si sono venduta una casa qui quella là
 N eh eh quella là quanto
 A eh
 N [l'hanno venduta poi?
 A di dici una una parola una [trapalla ?]
 N [tre trecentomila
 A e son passati
 N più di trecentomila?
 A tre-ccento-se-dici-e-cin-que-cen-to [pronouncing each syllable clearly
 and slowly]
 N madonna
 [Anna laughs]

- A they sold a house here that one
 N that one how much
 A eh
 N [did they sell it for then
 A take a guess
 N [three hundred thousand
 A more than that
 N more than three hundred thousand?
 A three hundred and sixteen thousand five hundred [pronouncing each
 syllable clearly and slowly]
 N good gracious
 [Anna laughs]

More than before, the conversation now tends to involve the children, therefore two or three languages are more often at play, in particular when answering the children's comments or questions. It is the beginning of the bilingual conversation which normally goes on between mother and children: Sicilian and Italian are used by the mother, while the children reply in English.

In this transitory phase, an important step is my request to the parents to record some of their dinner table conversations. In this move I tried to involve the eldest son, by asking him to be in charge of the tape recorder which I left in the house for a few days. Thus, the first tape of spontaneous data was obtained in my absence.

My request came after I had been visiting the family a few times and when it was obvious that I was accepted and somehow liked. Thus, it was the existing relationship that made it possible for me to have speech recorded within the core of the family by the insiders

themselves. Throughout the following months, the request to record conversations was repeated a few other times. Thus, together with the data that I recorded, a parallel set of data was collected, where the speakers are the family members and, occasionally, the Italo-Australian children from next door.

This set is particularly important for a number of reasons: it represents the language usage within the very core of the family and, together with the data I collected, gives a complete picture of their language repertoire. It also provides some interesting insights into the family's attitudes towards the research. But, more importantly, it provided me with a measure of how far from, or how close, to everyday speech were the data collected in my presence. While Labov compared interview data with data gathered informally in the streets, and Milroy collected data both through elicitation procedures and during conversations occurring in natural situations, in my case the representativeness of the data recorded in my presence can be assessed by comparing them with the data collected by the insiders themselves. Thus, the whole development of the fieldwork can be seen as a gradual process whereby the researcher succeeded in narrowing the gap between the two sets of data, with the data collected in the first phase being the farthest away from the speech recorded within the core of the family, and the data of the last phase being the closest to it.

Throughout this transitory phase, and after the outing, other signals emerge of my changing relationship with the family. For instance, I am visiting the family more freely, sometimes even without ringing beforehand; I move with more ease within the house; the parents do not seem so worried about entertaining me and being with me in the lounge, but are quite happy to leave me sitting on the floor playing with the children, peeping in occasionally from other rooms. Thus, I am slowly receding from my position as a guest and, partly with the help of some games that I bring with me, I am succeeding in a) shifting the attention away from myself and from the adults; b) creating situations - within the house - which elicit more spontaneous speech. More and more the relationship between adults now takes place through the children, as talk now revolves around the games.

The games allowed more domestic situations to emerge, such as fights among the children, or discussions about the rules to be followed. Very often, after finishing her housework, Anna would join in the games and this gave me a good opportunity to observe and record spontaneous interactions between mother and children. These many hours spent together were invaluable in building up a relationship of friendship and mutual sympathy, as well as in making my presence within the house much less obtrusive.

The more domestic and everyday situations also triggered a more unmarked and mixed use of the languages from the family members. As much of the talk was about the games, it was often monopolised by the children and English tended to take over. In the heat of the game, I was also sometimes addressed in English, since it was gradually becoming clear that I did understand English. At the same time, in order to encourage a less formal type of relationship and a more spontaneous use of the languages I also started to speak occasionally some Sicilian. As for the mother, she used more Sicilian and English speaking to the children - particularly now that it was clear that I could speak Sicilian. On the other hand, Italian was still the language used with me.

However, in spite of the changes mentioned so far, I was still the one setting up activities and games, introducing new activities into their lives and altering their ordinary patterns. Furthermore, another problem seemed to be the difficulty in breaking out of the repetitiveness of the situations and setting up new situations.

A second event occurred to mark a move ahead and the transition to the third phase. The event was an important session with Anna where she expressed her deep concern for Rino's poor school results and I offered to help him in my spare time. This marked the beginning of a completely different phase, where I could finally go to the house with a valuable reason and with an activity which fitted within the family's routine, since part of the afternoon was generally devoted to the homework under Anna's supervision.

4.3.3 Third phase

The third phase is characterised by the new role of the researcher, who has now free access to the house as a teacher-friend who can help the children with their homework.

By offering this kind of help, I had finally found the "tokens of exchange" (Milroy, 1987a: 47-49) which were necessary to prolong the relationship with the family and develop it in the desired direction. However, it is to be pointed out that in my case the "system of exchange and obligations" worked both ways, since Anna felt obliged towards me and started to "pay me back" by giving me some food at the end of every visit, in spite of my attempts to refuse it.

This new phase also marks the beginning of a sort of complicity between Anna and myself, as we both co-operated to convince Rino to practice his reading and writing with me. Furthermore, it also created a concern that we both shared, since I was genuinely interested in helping the child with his schoolwork.

In the sessions of this third phase, part of the visit is spent doing some homework and part is spent on games, often to reward the children for the work done. During the time devoted to the homework, frequently I would be helping Rino while Anna would be supervising Giorgio's work.

One common feature that emerges from all the activities now is the central role played by the children: they are at the centre of attention when we are busy with the homework; they often hold the floor when we are all in the kitchen having coffee; they choose and initiate the games. In other words, in spite of my presence, the situation is now back to normality, with a new order which includes me as a family's friend.

The conversations of this phase are generally initiated by the children and thus revolve around school matters, school mates or other stories that they recount. While the children initiate and bring the topic along, Anna and myself ask for explanations or more details, or add some comments. Compared to the first phase, the focus of conversation has shifted from the adults to the children. Furthermore, the amount of speaking time that I now undertake is much more

reduced, and I can be silent for longer periods without being ill at ease, or feeling compelled to fill the pauses. Thus, from one phase to the other, the different distribution of speech and silence is another indicator of the change in my position.

In terms of language use, the family members more and more revert back to their normal patterns of communication. As a result of the typically domestic situation, of following her normal routines and of the friendship which has developed with me, Anna has returned to use Sicilian when speaking to the children, as she normally does. On the other hand, Italian is still used when talking to me, but more mixing with Sicilian occurs than before. At the same time, when the conversation is more in reply to the mother rather than to me, the children switch to English. Thus an asymmetrical situation is created where, in spite of my presence, everyday language use occurs between mother and children, while a different style is still reserved for me. Furthermore, at times Anna needs to reply to or to address both the children and myself together. In talking to interlocutors with different language preferences, a more mixed use of all three languages: Italian, Sicilian and English, frequently occurs.

The fact that we are totally immersed in normal domestic situations also emerges from the much wider range of speech roles that Anna now takes on, in particular towards the children: she is now complaining about them, telling them off, giving them orders, asking questions or praising them. I can now sit in a corner and record the interactions occurring between mother and children. The excerpt below shows one of these domestic exchanges, when Anna has to intervene to stop the two brothers fighting over a game result. The matter is being solved solely between the mother and the children, while I am hardly noticed.

Excerpt 4.6

[Rino is teasing his brother because he has won the game after Giorgio had been leading all the way]

A *ah prima prima vincia giorgio iè ALL RIGHT*

[Giorgio is hitting Rino]

A *THAT'S ENOUGH chi ha vinto nta nta tutt'i nno-ntra tutt'i GAME?*

N *oh s'arrabbia*

A *chi chi faciti mali vi faciti mali COME ON THAT'S IT*

- [trying to pull them apart] mamma mia *chi-ssu -dduri figliu ma:::mma*
 mia
- N COME ON giorgio piglia la scatola che
 A [avanti non *facem-i stupiti*
 R CHAMPION!
 A ah giorgio! e LISTEN non si fa che si gioca *pi poi chi s'ava picch-iddi*
comu fa na GAME ah ah ah auch [trying to stop Giorgio]
 A *maladducati maladducati tutt-e due SEE?* la signo-la signora *dici chi è*
 N COME ON
 A [*chi è* cosa fanno qua sti bambini
 R YOU CAN'T TAKE IT eh
 N COME ON rino COME ON
 A [rino *valinni ggiustu nnu* GAME è non è-i *chi s'ava-vvincere e*
s'av-a-ffari
 N eh COME ON giorgio
 A COME ON THAT'S ENOUGH *ora va avà* COME ON *e sbrigamme*
- A before Giorgio was winning, it's all right
 [G is hitting R]
 A that's enough, did you win all the games?
 N oh he got angry!
 A you will hurt yourselves come on that's it
 [trying to pull them apart] good gracious they are so tough good gracious
 N come on Giorgio take the box so that
 A [come on don't be silly
 R champion!
 A Giorgio listen this is not the right way you play and then you have to
 because every time they play a game ah ah ah auch [trying to stop
 Giorgio]
 A rude you two both see? the lady says but what
 N come on
 A [what do they do these children
 R you can't take it eh
 N come on rino come on
 A [Rino go away it's all a game it's not that you have to win that
 you have to do everything
 N eh come on Giorgio
 A come on that's enough come on let's get over and done with it

It was at this point that the intense fieldwork was slowed down, since I felt that I had reached the stage of maximum possible normality and domestic intimacy within my limits and within the family constraints. As stated previously, the last interactions between mother and children which were recorded were closest to the speech recorded within the family itself; and the interactions with me were also at their most informal style in terms of language mixing.

4.3.4 The data

As a result of the difficulties encountered at the beginning of the research and the new strategies that had to be developed throughout the fieldwork to overcome them, the data collected display a much wider variety of situations than expected. The initial formal approach and the differences existing between the informants and myself ultimately allowed me to gather a wider range of data than could have been expected within the confined domestic environment. As they reflect the changing relationship between the researcher and the informants, the data are not just the spontaneous conversations that I had set out to collect, but represent the entire speech repertoire of the family: from the most formal style displayed in the first encounters, when the researcher is still a complete outsider and the main language used is Italian, to the informal speech of the last recordings, when the researcher has now become an insider of a special kind within the family, and Sicilian, Italian and English mix much more freely and more frequently. Furthermore, as stated previously, the data collected from the inside by the informants themselves complete the picture by providing the language usage within the core of the family. As remarked by Wolfson (1976: 202), it cannot be claimed that one type of speech is more "natural" than another, as every single type which is appropriate to the situation is natural in that particular context. But the important point is that I was able to record very different types of speech in response to very different situations.

The data collected also reflect the position that I gained within the family: although I became a special family friend, I could never become part of the closest network made up of relatives. In the several months that I visited the family regularly, the grandfathers were the only other relatives that I met, as my visits usually took place during the week in order not to interfere with the family's social activities on the week-end. Therefore, in the conversations recorded the main speakers are the mother, the children and myself, while the father and the maternal grandfather were recorded only on a few occasions. The only other speakers on my tapes are the children from next door, who are Rino's and Giorgio's regular playmates. It was only very

gradually, throughout the months following the completion of the recording, that I came to meet some other members of the family network, to whom I was generally introduced as "a friend and an Italian teacher", in this very order. For the purpose of this research, however, no recordings were attempted of the interactions with other relatives outside the strict family circle, as I felt that, from the point of view of my research question, they would not have added much more to the general picture of the family's speech repertoire and language use. Furthermore, obtaining such recordings would have been extremely time consuming as I would have needed, for example, to obtain their permission and explain the purpose of the research again.

While the conversations recorded have as main speakers Anna, the children and myself, an interesting fact to point out is the marginal role of the grandparents within the family. Although the maternal grandfather often spends long periods in the house, the interaction with the grandchildren is minimal and generally takes place through the mother, as the children's active knowledge of Italian or Sicilian is limited and does not go beyond some basic domestic routines, and the grandfather does not speak English. The grandfather's limited role emerges not just from the data recorded in my presence, but also from those recorded by the family themselves.

Thus, as well as mirroring the evolving relationship between a stranger like myself and the family, the data also mirror the social and linguistic situation of the family. The children occupy some of the central space and function almost exclusively in English, the grandparents move on the margins and use mainly dialect, and the parents - the mother in particular, as she spends most of her time at home - by functioning in all three languages, have the important role of ensuring some form of communication between grandparents and grandchildren. In the same way the parents mediate the relationship between the family and the Italo-Australian community on one hand, and the Australian society at large on the other. At the same time the situation of this family, as stated previously (cf. 3.3), is representative of a large section of the Italo-Australian speech community: on the one hand many old people are isolated linguistically and socially, at the centre the first generation in their forties and fifties function in all

three languages and move relatively at ease in the wider Australian society as well, and on the other hand the young generations linguistically, culturally and socially belong more to the wider Australian society than to the Italo-Australian community.

The data were recorded with a small portable tape recorder that was usually placed quite near the informants, generally on the kitchen table or on the floor of the living room, when playing with the children. The tape recorder was rather visible but, given that the declared focus of the research was on the children, the parents never questioned its use. Occasionally the children would remark upon its presence and it was they who told me that the tape had run out. The tapes were changed with the greatest naturalness on my part. My experience therefore confirms that long term observation minimises the impact of the tape recorder (cf. Milroy, 1987b: 89). Even when the family recorded themselves, the data show that the presence of the tape recorder was counteracted by the fact that the adults were too busy with domestic chores to pay much attention to the machine. Also in these recordings, the few references to the tape recorder are made by the children, who on these occasions appear to have fun at the researcher's expenses by screaming or singing loudly into the tape recorder, putting on an Italian accent while speaking English, or recording nonsense.

It is a fact that during long-term observation the researcher hears and records information of a confidential and personal nature. Having preserved the complete anonymity of my informants and having used for publication only information of a general nature, which cannot be used to identify the family members, I feel that the trust and confidence of the family have not been breached.

Approximately twenty hours (fourteen tapes) of speech were recorded. Of these, about eight hours were transcribed for the analysis. The transcriptions were typed into the computer.

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter has dealt with the fieldwork methodology that was followed in the collection of the data. Some interesting insights can be

drawn from my experience, if compared with fieldwork methods adopted in other situations, and in particular with Milroy's model that I had initially intended to follow.

As a first major result, my fieldwork shows that a method successfully adopted to collect data in a community cannot necessarily be transferred in its entirety in a different community, but that modifications may be needed to suit the different cultural and social norms. Thus, any claims of universally valid fieldwork methodologies must be treated with circumspection.

In my case, although Milroy's approach was taken as a starting point, in order to suit the norms and conditions of the Italo-Australian community it had to be changed in some fundamental aspects: firstly, in terms of strategies of access to the informants. In fact the situation of the Italo-Australian community, which is undoubtedly similar to many other contexts of migration, is very different from the three large working class areas of inner Belfast with their traditional residents where Milroy conducted her fieldwork. In my case, access to the informants through the networks was made difficult by the closed nature of the Italo-Australians' networks. As a consequence, I had to use the formal channels of the community. This difference somehow weakens Milroy's claim of the network system as a kind of "universal structure", and the network method as generalizable and applicable to other communities (1987a: 178). As shown above, in the long term the approach that I followed was beneficial to my data collection, as it yielded a wider range of speech styles. Therefore, in certain speech communities, contacts made through official channels are not necessarily as detrimental as Milroy (1987a: 53) would have them. More generally, it can be concluded that some cultural norms which in certain communities can make the fieldworker's task harder, in others can be used in his/her own advantage.

A second difference between Milroy's model and my fieldwork is the position of the researcher within the community. While Milroy was a complete outsider and succeeded in quickly becoming an insider of a special kind, I was a sort of an insider from the beginning but found it much harder to gain a "legitimate" place within the family

because of the following reasons: a) the closed nature of family life among Italians - and Sicilians in particular - which is further enhanced within a context of migration; b) the restricted network of a migrant family; c) the important role that a stranger has within the Italian context, as a guest who deserves special treatment and whose presence cannot be ignored. Thus, the main differences between my research and that of others are the long and gradual process of development in my position within the family, and the fact that the friendship and trust that developed between researcher and informants were crucial in changing the fieldwork situation (and hence the linguistic data). It is also to be pointed out that some elements which had caused initial problems, in the long run had some positive effects on the research: for instance, although the closed network configuration created problems of access, it also contributed to the warmth and hospitality shown by the family from the beginning, as a new, unexpected friend also brought good company and a touch of novelty in the long afternoons that the mother and the children spent alone in the house.

A third difference is the role played by the system of exchange and obligations in Milroy's research and in mine. While I thought that by helping the children with the homework I would exchange the hospitality and friendship, the mother felt obliged to pay me back for the favour that I was doing them. Once again, this can be accounted for by the different cultural norms of the communities: among Sicilians, and Southern Italians in general, exchanging favours and obligations is often not so much a one-to-one relationship but a never ending chain, where each individual tries to outdo the other.

Another significant result of my fieldwork is that it confirms the importance of the social role of the fieldworker in an ethnographic study. In my situation, many hours were spent with the mother and the children alone, therefore the presence of a man would not have been acceptable. Our common ethnic background as Sicilians was another element which was fundamental to my research, as it meant a friendly attitude from the very beginning. It was also crucial to the progress of fieldwork, which was helped by shared cultural values, norms and behaviours, in particular in an environment so intimate and personal as the domestic one, as well as by common interests,

attitudes and concerns in many aspects of our lives in Australia. As to the distance in socio-economic terms between the informants and myself, again in the long run, it was beneficial as it allowed a wider range of data, which would not have been possible with a complete insider as a fieldworker. This confirms Milroy's view (1987b: 81) that the fieldworker does not have necessarily to match the informants, or at least that the matching does not have to be absolute.

In conclusion, the position of the researcher as "an insider of a special kind" was confirmed to be the most suitable to collect conversational data within the Italo-Australian domestic environment, as I had initially assumed. However, attaining this status within the family proved more difficult than expected and was achieved only through considerable time and effort.

As shown throughout this chapter, the success of this fieldwork was the combined result of circumstances and activities that the researcher managed to set up within the constraints of the existing social framework of the family, together with elements outside her control which arose during the initial period of observation and which provided her with a better knowledge of the family upon which to base new procedures.

What this chapter cannot show, however, is neither on the one hand the rich human and personal relationships that I experienced during this process, the warmth and kindness of the family, and the good company and entertainment brought by the children; nor, on the other hand, the intense energy and strain required by this kind of fieldwork.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE MODEL OF ANALYSIS

This chapter presents the model that was developed for the analysis of the data.

The first part (5.1) starts off by outlining the main premises of the model, whose major objective is to link contextual and linguistic features, in the attempt to show how in the corpus changes in language use and language contact are related to changes in the situation. The term "contact" in this study refers to the use of more than one language within the same interaction (cf. 4.1), while "situation" is used as a general term to indicate the circumstances under which the interaction takes place, in particular its degree of formality (cf. 2.2.4).

The first part continues by presenting the situational and linguistic features of the data which have been taken into account in the model, as they are the most relevant ones in distinguishing the different situations present in my corpus. The main categories that were established to analyse language contact in the data, that is, transference, mixing and switching, are also discussed at length. A presentation follows of the research objectives set up for this study.

The second part (5.2) describes in detail the ten situational and linguistic variable groups that were established for the analysis. Many excerpts from the corpus have also been included, in order to clarify the criteria which have been followed in coding the data. Some of the problems that were encountered throughout the analysis are also discussed, and the criteria which were established to overcome them are presented.

5.1 Setting up the model

5.1.1 Preliminary considerations

As observed in the methodology chapter (ch. 4), my fieldwork allowed me to collect a wide range of data, representative of the whole language repertoire of the family, and of the mother in particular as the main speaker present in all situations.

A major observation that emerged from a preliminary analysis of the corpus was the following: in the different sets of data collected by myself and the family, both use of language and linguistic contact seemed to vary. As was noted before (cf. 4.3.1), Italian is the language that dominates the first phase of the fieldwork, entering into minimum contact with Sicilian and English, while in the last phase of the fieldwork Sicilian and English are used much more freely (cf. 4.3.3). As to the data recorded within the family, a preliminary analysis revealed that Sicilian and English were the languages mostly spoken, while Italian played a minor role.

As a result, the initial research question of this study: "to observe and analyse language shift in progress by exploring patterns of use of Italian, dialect and English, in everyday interactions" (cf. 4.1), was modified so that it would compare the role and patterns of use and of contact of the three languages in the very distinct and different situations which were present in my corpus, in an attempt to relate linguistic variation to contextual features.

A variationist and quantitative model - closer to the models adopted in studies on intralinguistic variation (e.g., Labov, 1972a, 1972b; Milroy, 1987a, 1987b) - seemed therefore to be very appropriate for the analysis, in that it would highlight a major feature of my data, that is, the relative frequencies of language use and contact in the different situations. Furthermore, it seemed appropriate to integrate the ethnographic approach adopted in the fieldwork with the quantitative paradigm, thus taking advantage of the best aspects of the qualitative and quantitative approaches: on the one hand, the depth and richness of ethnography, which had provided me with a wide range of data - and of naturalistic data in particular - as well as of

insightful observations which were to be extremely useful in choosing the categories for the analysis; on the other hand, the rigour and representativeness of the quantitative model, which allows replication of the study and comparison between different sets of data as well as different speech communities (cf. Gibbons, 1987: 89-90). The integration of the two approaches can be found in several other studies which have dealt with language contact situations (e.g., Poplack 1980; 1981).

In choosing the situations for the analysis it was decided to focus on the more conspicuous phases of the fieldwork and to leave aside what was called the second or transitory phase (cf. 4.3.2) because it was not sufficiently differentiated from the others. Therefore, the analysis takes into account the following:

- a) the initial part of the fieldwork, that is, the phase of "formal visiting";
- b) the last part of the fieldwork, that is, the phase of "informal visiting";
- c) the most intimate domestic situation, that is, the family alone.

From now onwards, the data of (a) will be referred to as "the formal situation", those of (b) as the "informal situation" and those of (c) as "the family situation".

From each situation I selected a continuous excerpt of comparable length, taking into account its representativeness in terms of that particular situation with regard to such factors as conversational participants, type of topic, activities carried out by the participants, discourse structure and use of language (cf. 4.3). Furthermore, it was decided that the analysis should focus on Anna's speech, given that she is the speaker who does most of the talking in the three situations and the one who displays the variation more clearly than anybody else, both in terms of language use and language contact.

A model of analysis was therefore needed to link use of language, language contact and relevant features of the situational context.

5.1.2 The situation

The model was developed on the basis of some preliminary analysis of the data and of other models that have tried to connect language and situation, in particular Ervin-Tripp (1964), Hymes (1972), Sankoff (1972) and Halliday (1985c). In these models, situation, participants, topic and setting have been identified as the major factors which can explain the use of a particular language or language variety (cf. 2.2.4). Likewise, situation - as defined above - was considered a relevant factor in this study, as different linguistic patterns seemed to be linked to each of the three situations identified in the corpus. Participants and topic also appeared as major factors which differentiated the situations and affected linguistic patterns. On the other hand, setting, in the sense of place where the interaction occurs, was not relevant, as the entire corpus was collected at home.

With regard to participants, the picture is rather complex, as a distinction needs to be made between participants present in each situation and specific interlocutors. In terms of participants in the situation, two elements seemed relevant to the differentiation of the situations and the linguistic patterns they displayed: the first important element is the relationship among participants or "tenor" (Halliday, 1985c: 31), as the transition from the formal to the informal situation is the result of the degree of familiarity and friendship that developed between the family and the researcher (cf. 4.3.4). Secondly, the identity of participants is another important element, as a difference exists between the formal and informal situations and the family one, where the researcher is absent. Both of these more general factors, in turn, had an effect also in terms of specific interlocutors, and more precisely on the following elements: a) participants' constellations, as the choice of interlocutors changes from the formal situation, where the researcher is addressed most often, to the informal situation, where the children are addressed much more often; b) language use with specific interlocutors, as the linguistic patterns occurring with different interlocutors seemed to vary more in the informal and in the family situations than in the formal one.

With regard to topic, a major distinction was noted between what we have called activity oriented topics and non-activity oriented topics. Activity oriented topics refer to talk revolving around some action which is being performed at the same time as the talk is taking place. Non-activity oriented topics refer to talk revolving around some action which is not occurring at the time of the talk. In the first, language accompanies the action (e.g., in commands), in the second it "recreates" it (e.g., in recounts). The formal situation is characterised by a greater amount of talk compared to action, while the informal situation displays a great deal of action or talk linked to action (cf. 4.3.3). In order to capture this difference, our notion of topic refers not just to what is being talked about, but is intended in a broader sense as the situational feature which reflects "what is going on" (Halliday, 1985c: 31) at the time of the interaction, as well as the link between language and that particular activity. It partly coincides with what Halliday (1985c: 24) calls "field" and "mode": it encompasses both the social activities (field) as well as the role that the language is playing in the interaction (mode).

Our definition of topic, to a certain extent, differs from the way it is used in studies conducted in the situational perspective (cf. 2.2.4), where topic is treated exclusively as the contents of the talk. In my definition priority is given to the link between contents and action or, more generally, the immediate context. Applying my definition, topic as identified in situational studies would be considered as non-activity oriented.

The two excerpts below show instances of activity oriented and non-activity oriented topics respectively. In Excerpt 5.1, Anna is asking Rino to do something; in the second one, Rino, Anna and myself are talking about a fishing trip on the Sunday before, where Rino caught a bream.

Excerpt 5.1

[Rino is helping Anna in the kitchen]

A *mettici u cosu di supra se no s'arrifridanu su-cummogial'u sucu*
(put the thing [lid] on otherwise it will get cold cover up the sauce)

Excerpt 5.2

- N l'ha presi lui i pesci?
 R YE:II
 N è bravo eh?
 A e ieri o l'altr-o-l'altra domenica ora ha preso anche uno
 R [BREAM
 A [UNU LITTLE BRIMMI
 ha preso eh
- N did he catch the fish himself?
 R yes
 N he is good isn't he?
 A and yesterday or the other Sunday he also caught one
 R a bream
 A a little bream he caught

A third feature which differentiates the three situations is the "tone" of the interaction, that is, the way things are being said. Our term tone corresponds closely to the "key" of the interaction, as set out by Hymes (1972: 62), that is, the "tone, manner, or spirit in which an act is done". It was decided to opt for the term tone as it seems to convey the feature referred to more clearly.

In comparing the formal situation with the informal and with the family situations, a major distinction was noted between a neutral tone and a more varied and expressive one, conveying a whole range of different emotions (e.g., anger, impatience, and so on). Changes in tone are indicative of the changes in the relationship among participants, and particularly of my own relationship with the family, along a scale of familiarity versus non-familiarity. Excerpt 5.3 below shows an instance of emotive tone from the informal situation, where Anna is telling off Rino.

Excerpt 5.3

- A ri-rino ma non così non si scrive così siediti *compostu* [loud]
 (rino but not like this you don't write like this sit down properly)
 R THAT'S ALL RIGHT
 A PUT YOUR FEET DOWN come non si fa così *chi è*
 (put your feet down what that's not the proper way what's this)
 R OH MUM YOU ALWAYS HAVE TO COMPLAIN ALL THE TIME
 A F-COURSE I HAVE TO COMPLAIN non si mette così
 (of course I have to complain this is not the way to sit down)
 R [COMPLAIN COMPLAIN COMPLAIN

A *non fare u stupitu avanti*
 (don't be silly come on)

A feature which is quite similar to tone as is used here can be found in some studies on language contact which adopt the discourse-functional perspective (cf. 2.2.3). For instance, in analysing what she calls "the social functions of speech", Huerta-Macia (1981: 157) talks of "expressive speech" or "expressive function", indicating by it

when the subject spoke in a highly emotional tone of voice, as with frustration or anger, or when he uttered something in a sarcastic or humorous tone. (p. 159)

The interesting point is that such studies often notice a co-occurrence between emotive speech and use of a particular language or switch to another language. This is the case for instance in Gal (1979: 112-118), who found that in her data code switching was also used as "a rhetorical device to express an emotion" and discusses some instances where switches in the course of arguments occurred as "a culmination of escalating disagreement and hostility" (p. 116).

In conclusion, participants, topic and tone were the situational features that were chosen to be included in the model of analysis, as they appeared to be those which clearly differentiated the three situations and which were more capable of accounting for the linguistic variation of the data. Furthermore, given the attention that all three factors have received in other studies on language variation and language contact, they appeared to be important factors to explore in our analysis.

5.1.3 The linguistic analysis

Following Halliday (1985a: XXI; 1985b: 66-67), the clause was adopted as the grammatical unit which would be the focus of the linguistic analysis. A unit firmly anchored on grammatical grounds, and with a detailed structural description available, seemed preferable to others, less clearly defined (e.g., utterance). The particular clause that represents the point of departure for the analysis is called base clause.

The corpus for the analysis consisted of a total of 1,726 clauses uttered by Anna, divided as follows: 557 clauses for the formal situation; 615 for the informal situation; 554 for the family situation.

The first feature that differentiates the three situations from a linguistic point of view is the use of the three languages: Italian, Sicilian and English. Furthermore, some major contact configurations emerged from the data. The term "contact configuration" refers to the different ways the languages enter in contact in discourse, at the various linguistic levels considered in the analysis, as specified below. In this study contact configurations are identified and defined in formal terms.

Five main contact configurations were identified in my data: transference, mixing, switching between clauses, switching across turns and switching across participants. The first two (transference and mixing) refer to language contact within the clause; switching refers to language contact above clause level. Each contact configuration is discussed in the sections below. Further explanation and examples are given in 5.2 throughout the presentation of the variable groups.

Note that the same categories were used for all three languages: Italian, Sicilian and English, although the different degree of structural affinity has an effect on contact, for instance, in terms of the constituents most easily transferred or the way mixing occurs. However, for the purposes of this study, the adoption of a single framework was essential as it allowed the comparison of the relative incidence of each language in the three situations.

5.1.3.1 Transference

In this study transference indicates the occurrence of a lexical element in L2 or L3 in a clause in L1. The element (or transfer) is clearly identifiable in the clause, which is in a different language. Transference can be represented as follows (slashes indicate clause boundaries):

/ xxxxx xxxx xx yyyy xxx xx xxxxx /

As presented in this study, then, transference follows closely lexical transference as defined by Clyne (1972) or Bettoni (1981).

In my model a clear distinction is kept within the clause between the occurrence of one single lexical element in L2 and the occurrence of several elements from different languages (mixing), as I believe that the two configurations are distinct types of contact in two main aspects: firstly, in linguistic terms, as they involve different degrees of linguistic ability, particularly at the syntactic level; secondly, from the speaker's point of view, as they signal language alternation in different degrees. This point will be dealt with more in depth throughout the analysis (cf. 8.3.2 and 9.3.2).

5.1.3.2 Mixing

In this study mixing indicates the occurrence of lexical and/or grammatical elements drawn from different languages within the same clause, in such a way that the clause cannot be assigned to a particular language. Mixing can be represented as follows:

/ xxy zzz xxxxx yyyy zzyzz /
/ xxx xxx yyyy yyy /

Our definition of mixing partly overlaps with intrasentential switching as defined by Poplack (cf. 2.2.2.2), in those cases where intrasentential switching involves phrases or multiple single word switches.

It is to be noted that the term mixing can be found in the literature in very different meanings: for example, Pfaff (1979) and Poplack and Sankoff (1988) use it as a cover term to refer to various types of contact; McConvell (1988) uses it as an interchangeable term with code switching; and Kachru (1978) even uses it as a term to refer to a process of partial pidginisation. In this study, instead, mixing refers specifically to one type of contact, at one particular linguistic level.

5.1.3.3 Switching

In this study the term switching refers specifically to language contact above clause level. Three different types of switching are distinguished: switching between clauses and switching across turns, where only Anna's own speech is taken into account; switching across participants, where Anna's speech is compared with the speech of the previous speaker.

5.1.3.3.1 Switching between clauses

Switching between clauses indicates clauses in different languages or containing transference or mixing which appear one after the other in Anna's speech. It can be represented as follows:

/ xxxx xx xxxxxxx / yyy yyyyyyy yy /
/ xxy zzzz xxxx yyy / zzzz zz zzzzzz /

This configuration partly overlaps with intersentential switching as defined by Poplack (cf. 2.2.2.2), in those cases where intersentential switching involves clauses.

5.1.3.3.2 Switching across turns

Switching across turns indicates a change of languages or of contact configuration in Anna's speech from one turn to another. The term "turn" is used here in the classic sense of the conversational analysts (ethnomethodologists), as what is said by one person before or after another starts to speak (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson, 1974). In case of turns with more than one clause, the language of the opening clause in Anna's base turn is compared to the one of the closing clause in her previous turn. Notice that in the linguistic analysis, in order to facilitate the reading of the tables, I will be referring to "base turn" and "previous turn" only, without specifying whether I am dealing with a turn with more than one clause.

Switching across turns can be represented as follows:

Anna	/ yyy y yyy /
Speaker B	/ zzz zz zzz /
Anna	/ zz zzz zzz /
Anna	/ xx xxx xx / zzz zzz zzz /
Speaker B	/ zzz zzz zz /
Anna	/ yyy y yyy / xxx xx xx /

5.1.3.3.3 Switching across participants

Switching across participants indicates immediately adjacent clauses in different languages or containing transference and mixing, which are uttered by Anna and the speaker immediately preceding her. It can be represented as follows:

Speaker B	/ xxx xx xxx /
Anna	/ yyy yy yyy yy /
Speaker B	/ yyy yy xxx yyy /
Anna	/ yyy yy yyy /

As in the case of switching across turns, if turns have more than one clause, the language of the opening clause in Anna's base turn is compared to the one of the closing clause in the previous speaker's turn.

5.1.3.3.4 A note on switching

It is necessary to clarify the way the term "switching" is used in this study. Switching refers not only to occurrences where two adjacent clauses or turns display a complete change of languages but also to clauses or turns which differ only for one contact configuration. According to our criteria, the following occurrences: a clause entirely in Italian followed by one in Italian with an English transfer, a clause in Sicilian followed by one displaying Sicilian-Italian mixing, or a clause in English followed by one in Italian, would all be treated as switches. Excerpt 5.4 exemplifies this type of analysis: in the sequence

of clauses uttered by Anna within one single turn, a switch occurs between the second and third clause (from English to Italian), as well as from the third to the fourth clause (from an Italian clause to an Italian-Sicilian mixed clause), although in this latter case the two clauses differ only in some lexico-grammatical elements.

Excerpt 5.4

- A COME ON / SIT DOWN PROPERLY / guarda / come fai a sedia rà / *tuttu tutt'u muru* hai fatto / t'ammazza dopo papà
 (come on sit down properly look what you are doing to the chair you are dirtying all the wall dad will kill you later)

It could be argued that these two switches are different and should therefore be kept separate. However, it must be remembered that my main interest is on comparing the degree of changes occurring in the three situations. Therefore the category "switching", while not distinguishing more subtly among types of switches with clauses displaying mixing and transference, when applied consistently throughout the corpus still gives a global measure of the changes that occur above clause level.

Furthermore, in other studies where the base language is established in advance (e.g., Poplack, 1980; Huerta-Macias, 1981), switching refers exclusively to the point of departure from the base language. In my study, instead, both the clause departing from a language or a contact configuration, and the clause going back to it have been considered instances of switching. Therefore switching indicates the juxtaposition of two adjacent clauses displaying different languages or contact configurations; or the change in language across every turn - not just the first one - in a particular interaction. This criterion was adopted for the following reasons: firstly, because in this study the base language was not established in advance, as will be explained below (cf. 7.1); secondly, because I am dealing with three languages, so that there are sequences of three clauses all in different languages or contact configurations; thirdly, because in part of my data it is impossible to establish a clear base language which could be taken as the point of departure for the switches (cf. 7.2).

5.1.4 The research objectives

The main research objective underlying this analysis concerns the changes of language use and contact in different types of situations. It is expected that patterns in Anna's speech vary according to the changes that occur in the situation. Therefore the analysis will:

1) examine the relevant situational features identified (participants, topic and tone), in order to verify in quantitative terms whether changes have occurred in these features in the transition from one situation to the other (ch. 6);

2) examine patterns of language use and contact in Anna's overall speech at different linguistic levels, that is, within and above the clause, in order to explore any changes in language distribution, type and amount of contact in the three languages: Italian, Sicilian and English, in the three situations (ch. 7);

3) compare language patterns in Anna's overall speech with her speech addressed to some major interlocutors, in order to verify whether general patterns are confirmed in her speech to specific interlocutors; in this way the role of interlocutors in affecting language use can be evaluated (ch. 8);

4) examine the role of topic and tone in relation to use of certain languages and contact configurations, to verify whether activity oriented topics or emotive speech correlate with a particular language or contact configuration (ch. 8);

5) examine the major patterns of contact among specific languages, in order to verify whether preferences of contact between certain languages can be identified in the situations (ch. 9);

6) examine the specific role of English in the three situations (ch. 9).

In order to explore these research objectives, a model of analysis with ten variable groups representing the relevant situational and linguistic features was developed. A detailed presentation of the groups is given below.

5.2 Describing the model

Ten variable groups were chosen for the analysis: six of them are linguistic variables and deal with the language and contact configurations of the clause, as well as its linguistic environment, that is, the language or contact configuration of the preceding clause or turn. The remaining four are situational variables and deal with one of the three situations, participants, topic and tone.

Each clause of the corpus was coded for information relating to the linguistic and situational variables. The Minitab statistical program was used for the analysis. The data set was crosstabulated on a range of variables and the main tables were subjected to the chi-square test to assess their statistical significance. In some cases the test could not be applied given the nature of the coding of the data, where each observation is not independent or the categories do not form a logical classification in a statistical sense (cf. Hatch and Lazaraton, 1991: 406-409). This is the case in particular with the tables quantifying variation between clauses and across turns, and switching between clauses and across turns in Chapters 7, 8 and 9 (e.g., Tables 7.2, 8.2 or 9.7).

Variable group 1 refers to the situation. Each clause was coded (1) if it occurred in the formal situation, (2) if in the informal situation, and (3) if in the family situation. In this way a first global picture of the changes in language and contact configurations in relation to the situation could be obtained.

5.2.1 The linguistic variables

5.2.1.1 Language of the clause

Variable group 2 coded each clause uttered by Anna either for its language or for its contact configuration. In the data selected for the analysis, a clause can be entirely in Italian [and be coded as (1)], in Sicilian (2), or in English (3); alternatively, it can display a transfer from another language (4) or be characterised by several elements drawn from different languages ["mix", coded as (5)].

Problems were encountered in the analysis of Italian and Sicilian clauses, in particular with the identification of Italian transfers occurring in Sicilian clauses. The criteria which were followed are presented in detail in 5.2.3.2.

5.2.1.2 Transfers

Variable group 3 coded clauses containing transfers for the different linguistic combinations appearing in Anna's speech, as follows: (1) English transfer in Italian clause; (2) Sicilian transfer in Italian clause; (3) English transfer in Sicilian clause; (4) Italian transfer in Sicilian clause. An example of each of the four types of contact is given below.

Excerpt 5.5

A EVERYBODY ce l'hanno allora?
 (everybody has got it then?)

Excerpt 5.6

A ognuno si deve fare a sua
 (everyone must do his own)

Excerpt 5.7

A *a-lleggiri* FIRST
 (you have to read first)

Excerpt 5.8

A *chistu ccà s'avan livari* così
 (these ones you have to take them out like this)

It is to be noted that the other two possible variables: Sicilian transfer in English clause and Italian transfer in English clause, were not included, as a preliminary analysis revealed that these combinations are almost completely absent. The three occurrences that were encountered during the analysis were included in the variable group 4, which coded mixed clauses (see below).

If a clause does not contain any transfer, for this variable group it is coded as (5) if it is entirely in one of the three languages, and (6) if it is a mixed clause.

5.2.1.3 Mixed clauses

Variable group 4 coded Anna's clauses characterised by the co-existence of lexico-grammatical elements drawn from two or three languages, according to the following language combinations: (1) Italian and Sicilian; (2) Italian and English; (3) English and Sicilian; (4) Italian, Sicilian and English. An example is given below of each of the four different types.

Excerpt 5.9

A *no è bbuono cù legnu no*
 (it's no good with the wood no)

Excerpt 5.10

A e io devo andare THIS AFTERNOON
 (I have to go this afternoon)

Excerpt 5.11

A YOUR WRITING *est-macari*
 (this is your writing even)

Excerpt 5.12

A vuoi u DRINK?
 (do you want a drink?)

This type of contact generally presents a continuous configuration, as the lexico-grammatical elements from different languages appear at phrase level. This is the case for instance in Excerpts 5.9, 5.10 and 5.11 above.

More rarely some discontinuous configurations can also appear: typically, when all three languages occur - as in Excerpt 5.12, where the verb is in Italian, the article in Sicilian and the noun in English; or when Italian and Sicilian come into contact, as in Excerpt 5.13. In this

latter case, mixing seems the result of the structural similarity between the two languages (e.g., Italian article {la} and Sicilian {a}, Italian pronoun {lo} and Sicilian {o}), as well as of a process of lenition occurring in the points of the clause which are phonologically less salient.

Excerpt 5.13

A ah quando poi *te-o* corregge a maestra / poi *lâ* fai tu poi a copia
 (when the teacher corrects it then you make a copy)

If a clause is not a mixed clause, for this variable group it is coded as (5) if it is entirely in one of the three languages, and (6) if it contains a transfer.

5.2.1.4 Language of preceding clause uttered by Anna

Variable group 5 coded Anna's clauses for the preceding adjacent clause uttered by Anna herself. The following criteria were followed: if Anna's base clause is preceded by a long pause, some form of action or a clause uttered by a different speaker, the preceding clause is considered absent and the base clause is coded as (0); if Anna's preceding clause is in the same language as the base clause, this is coded as (1); alternatively, if it is in a different language, the base clause is coded as (2) if it is preceded by an Italian clause, (3) if it is Sicilian and (4) if it is English. If Anna's preceding clause presents a contact configuration, the distinction is kept between mix (5) and transfer (6). Excerpt 5.14 shows a sequence of two clauses uttered by Anna, where, for this particular variable group, the base clause (the second one in the excerpt) would be coded as (3), as it is preceded by a clause in a different language, that is, Sicilian.

Excerpt 5.14

A *chi è chi-ddici rino?* / WAIT A MINUTE
 (what are you saying Rino? wait a minute)

5.2.1.5 Language of preceding clause uttered by a different speaker

Variable group 6 coded Anna's clauses for the language of the preceding adjacent clause uttered by a different speaker. The same criteria of coding were followed as in group 5: if Anna's base clause is preceded by a long pause, some form of action or a clause uttered by Anna herself, the preceding clause is considered absent and the base clause is coded as (0); if the preceding clause uttered by a different speaker is in the same language as Anna's base clause, this is coded as (1); alternatively, if it is in a different language, the base clause is coded as (2) if it is preceded by an Italian clause, (3) if it is Sicilian and (4) if it is English. If the preceding clause uttered by a different speaker presents a contact configuration, the distinction is kept between mix (5) and transfer (6).

An example of this variable group is given in Excerpt 5.15, where Giorgio speaks in English and Anna acknowledges his statement in Sicilian. In this case, for this variable group, Anna's clause would be coded (4) as the clause of the previous speaker is in a different language, that is, English.

Excerpt 5.15

G FIRST I GOTTA DO THIS THIS IS DUE BY TOMORROW
 A *ah:: dumani cci l'a-ppurtari*
 (you have to take it [to school] tomorrow)

It is to be noted that in analysing the clauses for this variable group, a criterion of straight adjacency was followed, so that the language of the preceding adjacent clause uttered by a different speaker was coded even when Anna is not directly involved in the interaction preceding her clause. A typical example would be when the children are speaking to each other and the mother interrupts their conversation. What is underlying this kind of analysis is a general observation emerging from the data that use of language is influenced by what precedes, even when the speaker is not taking part directly in the previous interaction.

Variable groups 5 and 6, coding preceding clause uttered by Anna herself and by a different speaker, were kept separate as they

analyse two different features of the data: the first brings to light code switching between clauses at the individual level; the second highlights a type of switching across participants, which characterises the conversations taking place between mother and children.

5.2.1.6 Language of preceding turn by Anna

Variable group 7 coded Anna's clauses for the language of the preceding turn uttered by Anna herself within the same interaction (also called "exchange" here). By restricting the analysis to the same interaction, I intended to exclude switches which are related to changes in external factors, such as ^{change in the} locutor.

Given the nature of my data ^{often presenting a} continuous flow of speech, a major problem in the coding of turns was the identification of the boundaries of the interactions, a question which is debated (cf. Brown and Yule, 1983: 69; Lee, 1987: 38) but which lies outside the scope of this study. A further difficulty was that in my data interactions tend to occur differently in the three situations: while it is easier to identify their boundaries in the formal situation, as a result of the constraints on the discourse structure, it is more difficult in the informal and in the family situations, where interactions are often fragmented (for example, with questions left unanswered), interspersed or interrupted by some action, or overlapping.

Given these difficulties, for the purpose of analysing language use across turns, some interactions within the data with seemingly clearcut boundaries were carefully observed as a starting point, in order to deduce from them the elements which made them tightly knit interactions. On this basis a set of operational criteria was then devised for the identification of exchange boundaries in the three situations. The criteria were the following:

a) Topic continuity. The topic is a major factor in defining an exchange. Change of topic generally signals the opening of a new interaction.

b) A tight pattern of turn pairs. An exchange is generally characterised by such pairs as question and answer, or statement and acknowledgment of statement.

c) Participants' constellation. An exchange can be characterised by various constellations: it can involve two or more participants, with an equal distribution of turns; it can involve two people who address a third one as common interlocutor; or it can start with two participants and continue with a third person intervening on the same topic.

d) Cohesive links within the exchange: for instance, referential chains.

d) Pauses, which mark the beginning or end of the exchange.

In coding Anna's preceding turn of each of the clauses analysed, the same variables were used as in variable groups 5 and 6: if Anna's base clause is not preceded by another turn the base clause is coded as (0); if Anna's preceding turn is in the same language as the base clause, this is coded as (1); alternatively, if it is in a different language, the base clause is coded as (2) if it is preceded by an Italian turn, (3) if it is Sicilian and (4) if it is English. If Anna's preceding turn presents a contact configuration, the distinction is kept between mix (5) and transfer (6).

Excerpt 5.16 shows one exchange between Anna and Giorgio and a switch from Sicilian to English from Anna's first turn to her second turn. In this case the clause in Anna's second turn would be coded as (3), as it is preceded by a turn uttered by her in a different language, that is, Sicilian.

Excerpt 5.16

- A *oh unn'è c-annasti?*
 (where did you go?)
 G NEAR THE WHARF
 A WHAT FOR?
 G I BROUGHT THE DRINK THIS
 A OHYEH COME ON *a-cco: aiutaci a a rino a-ccunzari a tavula ca ora*
 manciamu
 (come on go and help Rino set the table because we are going to eat)

Throughout the coding it was noted that many clauses uttered by Anna do not have previous turns within the same interaction. This can happen for a number of reasons: for instance, some interactions consist of one long turn by Anna, while the interlocutor simply utters

non-lexicalised feedback signals which do not really break up the long turn into different ones. Alternatively, interactions can be fragmented or incomplete, as mentioned above, or consist of one or two turns only (for example, in the case of commands addressed to the children).

Table 5.1 summarises the typology of contact configurations identified for the analysis.

Table 5.1: Type of contact configurations

Transference:	
English transfer in Italian clause	EVERYBODY cc l'hanno allora? (everybody has got it then?)
Sicilian transfer in Italian clause	ognuno si deve fare a sua (everyone must do his own)
English transfer in Sicilian clause	<i>a-lleggiri</i> FIRST (you have to read first)
Italian transfer in Sicilian clause	<i>chistu ccà s'avan livari</i> così (these ones you have to take them out like this)
Mixing:	
Italian and Sicilian	no è bbuono cù legnu no (it's no good with the wood no)
Italian and English	e io devo andare THIS AFTERNOON (I have to go this afternoon)
Sicilian and English	YOUR WRITING <i>est macari</i> (this is your writing even)
Italian, Sicilian and English	vuoi u DRINK? (do you want a drink?)
Switching:	
between clauses (Anna's speech)	<i>chi è chi-ddici rino?</i> / WAIT A MINUTE (what are you saying rino?)
across turns (Anna's speech)	
A	<i>oh unn'è c-annasti?</i> (where did you go?)
G	NEAR THE WHARF
A	WHAT FOR?
G	I BROUGHT THE DRINK THIS
A	OHYEH COME ON <i>a-cco: aiutaci a a rino a-ccunzari a tavula ca ora</i> <i>manciamu</i> (come on go and help Rino set the table because we are going to eat)
across participants	G FIRST I GOTTA DO THIS THIS IS DUE BY TOMORROW A ah:: <i>dumani cci l'a-ppurtari</i> (you have to take it [to school] tomorrow)

5.2.2 The situational variables

As mentioned above, three situational variables were chosen to be studied: (a) participants, (b) topic, and (c) tone, as they were found to be the major contextual features differentiating the three situations.

5.2.2.1 Participants

In order to take into account the role of participants in the situations, each clause was coded for the interlocutor to whom it was addressed (variable group 8). Eight variables were included in this group: Anna's base clause was coded (1) if it was addressed to Rino, (2) to Giorgio, (3) to the father, (4) to Nina, the researcher, (5) to the grandfather, (6) to other interlocutors, such as the children from next door, (7) to what was called a general interlocutor, that is, talk addressed to more than one person at the time or, more rarely, self-addressed (for example, when Anna is complaining); finally, the clause was coded (8) if it was addressed to both children together.

5.2.2.2 Topic

Variable group 9 coded Anna's clauses for topic. As mentioned before (cf. 5.1.2), this group includes the two variables activity oriented topic and non-activity oriented topic. The first one refers to talk directly linked to some action which is taking place while talking (e.g., doing the homework, setting the table, playing), the latter codes talk which refers to past experiences. Anna's base clause is coded (1) if it displays activity oriented topic, and (2) in the other case.

Given that a topic can extend through stretches of talk of different lengths, in coding the texts for this variable it was decided to go beyond the single clause level and work on wider units. Thus the analysis was conducted on sections of the texts and the same coding was used for all the clauses included within a particular section: for example, in the interaction below, where Anna is helping Giorgio with his homework, all the clauses included in the excerpt would be

coded as (1), as they are all part of the same exchange coded for activity oriented topic.

Excerpt 5.17

- A *e-cchi-bbo giorgio tu finis-un ci à finist'a*
(what do you want Giorgio? didn't you finish the...)
- G [MA I NEED A PENCIL]
- A *e a PENCIL un ci l'a ddocu?*
(and the pencil haven't you got it there?)
- G I DON'T LIKE I DON'T LIKE THAT ONE
- A HOW DO YOU KNOW YOU DON'T LIKE
- G (...) SEE?
- A *scrivi-bbuono*
(write neatly)
- G NO NO IT'S (...)
- A YEH THAT'S OKAY
- G NO NO BECAUSE LOOK IT'S BROKEN ON THE END HERE
- A DOESN'T MATTER
- G IT'S MAKING A FUNNY LINE

5.2.2.3 Tone

Variable group 10 coded Anna's clauses for the tone of the interaction. The two variables included in this group are: emotive speech and ordinary speech. Anna's base clause is coded as (1) if it displays emotive speech, (2) in case of ordinary speech.

As for topic, in coding the tone the analysis was conducted on sections of the text and the same coding was used for all the clauses included within that particular section: for example, all the clauses uttered by Anna in Excerpt 5.18 were all coded for emotive speech.

Excerpt 5.18

- A SEE? *e si mittia a-gguardari a televisioni e a COMPUTA* [computer] *s'avia a-ffari tutti sti cos'i scola vè* [loud]
(see? he went to watch television and the computer and he had all this homework to do, see?)
- G MARS [reading out]
- A O MARS MARS *va pigghi'a MARS!*
(what mars mars go and get mars)

The stretches of talk characterised by emotive speech can be of very different lengths, ranging from one or two clauses to much longer exchanges. Following Labov's indications with regard to casual

speech ([1972b] 1985: 95), emotive speech has been identified through a cluster of prosodic features: changes in voice pitch in particular, but also volume and speed of speech.

At the end of this chapter, Table 5.2 summarises the ten variables chosen for the analysis, while Table 5.3 presents an example of a clause coded for all ten variables.

5.2.3 Further criteria for the analysis

5.2.3.1 Minor clauses

One of the problems that had to be dealt with in analysing the data was the frequent occurrence of minor clauses made up of interjections only, in any of the three languages (e.g., "yeh", "right", "a'l right", "okay", *si, no, va bene, avà, và*).

A preliminary analysis showed that, within each situation, minor clauses of this kind constituted between 7 and 10% of the data. It was felt therefore that their inclusion in the analysis could have skewed the results regarding the general patterns of speech. Another problem was the difficulty of classifying these words for all the linguistic and situational variables set up in the model. More importantly, it would have often been impossible to assign them to a particular language, especially in the case of Italian and Sicilian. One further problem was the fact that, if included in the analysis, a distinction needed to be made on functional grounds between the interjections occurring as minor elliptical clauses and those being used in the role of feedback signals, with only an interactive function.

In other models of analysis interjections have yielded some important insights into the speaker's bilingual ability: for example, interjections are included in Poplack's category of tag switching, a type of switch which seems to occur more frequently than others in the speech of non-fluent bilinguals (cf. 2.2.2.2). However, with regard to my study, it was estimated that, for all the reasons discussed above, these clauses would not have contributed in a significant way in highlighting the general patterns of language use and contact that were the focus of my linguistic analysis. It was decided therefore both to

exclude them from the clause analysis, and to neglect them as turns. Interjections were however analysed when they were part of a clause, or when it was possible to include them with the following (or - more rarely - preceding) clause, on the basis of the same intonational contour, strong latching among the words, or whenever the interjection was repeated or expanded in the clause itself. Excerpt 5.19 shows the occurrence of an interjection as part of a clause which was coded as entirely English; Excerpt 5.20 shows one case of strong latching among the words, where "yeh" is considered a transfer from English within the Italian clause:

Excerpt 5.19

A ALL RIGHT BOYS?

Excerpt 5.20

A YEH-YEH-uno-uno-pure io
(yes one for me too)

5.2.3.2 Sicilian and Italian

Given the structural similarity between Italian and Sicilian, a major issue in the analysis was the criteria to follow in assigning phrases or words to either language.

Initially I had intended to follow a morphological criterion. In studying Italian-dialect contact, in fact, some scholars rely upon grammatical morphemes (e.g., Berruto, 1989a) in view of the fact that the two languages are quite differentiated on grammatical grounds, while they share many lexical morphemes. The phonological level is generally discarded given that dialectal phonological traits are a characteristic of regional Italian (cf. 3.1.4.2).

In the formal situation, where Italian is the language most used, identifying words ending with Sicilian grammatical morphemes did not present great difficulties. For instance, the Sicilian copula (*esti*) in the Italian clause below is clearly identifiable:

Excerpt 5.21

- A *ma di dentro esti di legno*
 (but inside it's made of wood)

But in the analysis of the informal and of the family situations, where all three languages are more freely used, in case of total formal coincidence there was no longer a clear reference point, nor could the grammatical criterion be called upon. For example, in Excerpt 5.22, *i fucchetti* ('the forks') is clearly Sicilian (Italian *le forchette*), but *i bicchieri* ('the glasses') could be either an Italian phrase in a Sicilian clause (and thus the clause would be coded as Italian-Sicilian mix) or a Sicilian phrase on the basis of the linguistic environment (and thus the clause would be coded as entirely Sicilian).

Excerpt 5.22

- A *pigghia i fucchetti e i bicchieri*
 (take the forks and the glasses)

This latter interpretation seemed more acceptable, in that it attempted to reflect the speaker's choice of language. Furthermore, in the absence of any signals within the speech itself indicating otherwise, it seemed preferable to postulate the occurrence of monolingual rather than bilingual speech, given that the latter is generally believed to be a more marked choice. However, with this interpretation it is acknowledged that the risk was to minimise the role that Italian plays within the family speech (in particular in the conversations taking place in my absence).

A first attempt was made to solve the issue by resorting to the native speaker's judgement. A list was drawn up of all doubtful forms that appeared in my corpus (in particular in the family situation), and on two separate occasions, through direct questions and some translated sentences, I tried to find out whether Anna would assign these words to Sicilian or to Italian. The results were not very encouraging as Anna found it difficult to give me a straight answer. Her replies were hesitant and often contradictory and it was apparent that for a certain number of words she did not see any difference

between the two languages - as she declared herself. However, when probed further in Sicilian, and especially when different Sicilian variants were mentioned to her, she was able to recognise some words belonging to her dialect.

Anna seemed to have more problems with grammatical items than with lexical items (Halliday, 1985b: 63): for instance, when asked how to say *io* ('I'), she had to resort to her son and only after long consultation they decided upon *id*; in the case of other grammatical items, she stated that various forms - for example, both {è} and {esti} for the copula, or {non} and {un} for the negative - can be used in Sicilian. On the other hand, when asked about lexical items, she was more prompt in providing singular and plural forms of such words as "fork" and "spoon", or to say that *pigghiare* ('to take') is Sicilian while *pigliare* is not.

Through Anna's replies it became clear that her Sicilian speech is characterised by a series of variable forms, and that some of them coincide with standard Italian. Furthermore, it seemed apparent that these words belong to an overlapping area between the two languages, where she does not make a clear distinction. However, in the absence of a detailed grammatical description of her local dialect, it is impossible for me to establish whether the presence of these variants is to be attributed to a general process of Italianisation of her Sicilian (similar to the transformation that dialects are undergoing in Italy, cf. 3.1.4.1), or whether it is part of her local dialect of origin.

Given that the native speaker's judgement could be relied upon only to a limited extent, some operative criteria were devised to conduct the analysis of the data in the three situations in a consistent way. Although these criteria did not solve all the problems, they provided a useful framework to follow consistently throughout the analysis.

Firstly, as already mentioned with regard to Excerpt 5.22, it was decided to reflect the speaker's language choice by classifying words on the basis of their linguistic environment. The same criterion has also been adopted in studies conducted in Italy in the case of Italian-dialect homophones (cf. Berruto, 1985: 71; 1990: 119). Therefore, words which are formally the same in Italian and Sicilian and were not clearly

identified by Anna as belonging to either language were assigned to Italian or Sicilian on the basis of the language of the other elements in the clause.

Secondly, those lexical items which were clearly distinguished by Anna as being either Italian or Sicilian were assigned to either language on the basis of her judgement.

Finally, it was decided to flag all those clauses displaying lexical items which are formally the same in Italian and Sicilian, for any further test or study.

5.2.3.3 English transfers

With regard to transfers from English, a lexical criterion was followed in the analysis, given that my main interest lies in the different amounts of English occurring in the three situations rather than in the shape it appears. Therefore also transfers from English which are fully integrated phonologically and morphologically into the language of the clause were assigned to English. In the two excerpts below, 5.23 shows an unintegrated transfer occurring in a Sicilian clause, and 5.24 shows a transfer which is instead fully integrated into the phonology and morphology of the language of the clause, that is, Sicilian: both were coded as English transfers.

Excerpt 5.23

A *c'è u* ROCK MELON *ddocu*
 (there is the rock melon there)

Excerpt 5.24

A *chisti i* RICIARGIAO [recharge] *iddu*
 (these ones, he recharged them)

There remained a problem regarding those English words which are commonly used by Italo-Australians in their Italian speech. They are the "socially" integrated transfers (cf. Hasselmo, 1970) or "established loanwords" (Poplack, 1988), that is, items widely used in the community which have achieved a certain degree of recognition or

acceptance (if not normative approval). In my analysis these words were also treated as English transfers in the following cases:

a) if they are used by Anna in variation with their Italian or Sicilian equivalents, showing therefore that they are still variable features in her repertoire: for example, *moneta* ('money'), which can be considered a socially integrated transfer for its high frequency among Italo-Australians, occurs in Anna's speech in alternation with Sicilian *sordi* (Italian *soldi*) and is therefore treated as a transfer;

b) if in Anna's speech they appear in different phonological shapes, ranging from full English shape to full integration into Italian or Sicilian phonology and morphology, indicating therefore that Anna still perceives their English origin: for instance, "drink", which can appear as [d.ɪŋk], [drɪŋk] or [drɪŋki].

Also proper nouns have been classified as transfers from English, but only if they have an equivalent in Italian and if they are repetitions from a preceding clause in English, as in Excerpt 5.25 below. In this way the analysis captures the process of penetration of English into Anna's language through other people's experiences, in particular the children's.

Excerpt 5.25

G YOU GOT NEPTUNE NEPTUNE?
A NEPTUNE ccà è
(neptune is here)

On the other hand, words which could appear as transfers from English were not considered such if the Italian or Sicilian equivalent is the same: for instance, *dollaro* or *dollaru* ('dollar') was not considered a transfer because it is the same in all three languages and it is therefore impossible to establish which is the source language for Anna.

[Tables 5.2 and 5.3 follow]

Table 5.2: The ten variable groups of the analysis

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Situat	Base lg	Transf	Mix	Prec cl by Anna	Prec cl by diff sp	Prec turn by Anna	Interl	Topic	Tone
(1) F	(1) I	(1) E-I cl	(1) I-S	(0) Missing	(0) Missing	(0) Missing	(1) R	(1) Act	(1) Emo
(2) Inf	(2) S	(2) S-I cl	(2) I-E	(1) Same lg	(1) Same lg	(1) Same lg	(2) G	(2) Non	(2) Ord
(3) Fam	(3) E	(3) E-S cl	(3) E-S	(2) Diff-I	(2) Diff-I	(2) Diff-I	(3) C		
	(4) Tr	(4) I-S cl	(4) I-S-E	(3) Diff-S	(3) Diff-S	(3) Diff-S	(4) N		
	(5) Mix	(5) I/S/E	(5) I/S/E	(4) Diff-E	(4) Diff-E	(4) Diff-E	(5) F		
		(6) Mix	(6) Transf	(5) Diff-Mix	(5) Diff-Mix	(5) Diff-Mix	(6) Others		
				(6) Diff-Tr	(6) Diff-Tr	(6) Diff-Tr	(7) Gen		
							(8) Both ch.		

Table 5.3: Example of a base clause coded for all ten variables

N	e sono andat-a trovare sua cognata oggi
A	yeh? è andata?
N	perché dovevo comprare una cosa no?
A	e io devo andare this afternoon / devo andare là
	<i>base clause</i>

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Situat	Base lg	Transf	Mix	Prec cl by Anna	Prec cl by diff sp	Prec turn by Anna	Interl	Topic	Tone
(1) F	(5) Mix	(6) Mix	(2) I-E	(0) Missing	(2) Diff-I	(2) Diff-I	(4) N	(2) Non	(2) Ord