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Use of languages in multilingual's everyday life in cognitive and emotional contexts

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Introduction

The idea for this work was born in relation to a stage, done between November and March 2017, for university. I taught Italian to foreign students in a foundation placed near to where I live. This foundation hosts refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants until they turn eighteen. They come especially from the Asiatic continent: Pakistan, Bangladesh, Afghanistan, and also from African states such as Mali, Nigeria, Burkina Faso and Ghana. They live in this foundation, eat, sleep and go to school. They study Italian from a A0 level to B1 to attend working classes to learn jobs such as baker, pizza maker, pastry chef and gardener. Very pleasant relations were established with these guys, able to speak so many languages, from two to even four-five languages, including dialects and idioms. The majority of them was consecutive or sequential bilingual (the definition implies that the second language is acquired from three years of age and it presents a high competence and fluency). It was born, consequently, the decision to deepen their linguistic knowledges. The aim of this dissertation is to know how bilinguals and multilinguals use the languages they own in their everyday lives and especially in emotional and cognitive contexts. Do they perceive, and express emotions based on a particular language? Does the first language remain forever the language of the heart? Is it only the first language the favourite channel to communicate and do cognitive tasks? The research started considering a background of studies made by the linguist Aneta Pavlenko, who offers new perspectives between the cross-disciplinary topic about bilingualism and emotions, which entails the fields of linguistics, neurolinguistics and psychology. From a questionnaire made by her and Jean-Marc Dewaele, *Bilingualism and emotions* (2001), it was taken inspiration to investigate the usage of languages made by bilingual. It was created a new questionnaire, due to this research, also consulting the works of Baker, C. (2001) and Bakic, A., & Skific S. (2016). In the existent literature, there is not an order about the factors that lead bilinguals to

prefer one language than another. In this research, it is going to be answered the following questions: do bilingual subjects use only the first language in cognitive contexts and to express their primary emotions? In which contexts, cognitive and emotional, it is preferred the L1 despite other languages or vice-versa? In the cases in which other languages are more used, does it happen in cognitive or emotional contexts? Many variables are going to be analyzed such as the order and the context of acquisition of both languages, the frequency and the context of use, the people with whom the languages are applied. Until now, the main matter about bilingualism, cognition and emotions involved bilinguals' selves, the idea that bilinguals have double personalities and that they express always their emotions and thoughts in the first language acquired. This questionnaire is a useful tool to explore this cross-disciplinary topic and to sustain that "it is a myth that bilinguals express themselves only in their first language" (Grosjean, 2010). The reason why it was chosen to develop this questionnaire to immigrants' people it is that they possess particular stories and past experiences that can influence their decisions about recollecting memories. Moreover, the subjects are all multilinguals and have faced late new cultures and languages that can affect their concepts about emotions. Data collected from the questionnaire are organized in the fourth chapter, while the results in the fifth. To reach this chapter, that is the core of this work, the investigation moves from the use of languages in a multilingual society, giving importance to definitions of bilingualism, all of its advantages and the results of language contact, phenomena very frequent for individuals with competences in two or more languages. It will also be a reflection about how nowadays is common to be bilinguals, especially in a multilingual society in which we are living. In the second chapter deeper linguistic questions about what a second language is are going to be analysed, with a consideration about how it is acquired and how a bilingual person lives with two languages that coexist. It is reported the main theory about second language acquisition by Stephen Krashen, with a deepening on the Critical Period Hypothesis. The chapter will end with the

differences and comparisons between adult L2 acquisition and child L2 acquisition. The discourses faced in this second part link the introductory chapter to the next and are useful to comprehend better the choices that participants are going to make answering the questionnaire. The third part of this work deal with emotions. It is important to underline that this work is in line with the linguistics field, so the topic is going to be tackled especially through linguistics lens. It is going to be explained what emotions are, the distinction between primary and secondary ones and what are the matters of concern of the research, so the relation between emotions and cultures and how emotions are influenced by different languages and vocabularies. The third chapter offers interesting suggestions because it gives an overview on the studies already done in the area of languages and emotions and it underlines how much of this field is still unknown and the need to lead new researches and insights about this multidisciplinary topic. The discussion will continue in the fourth chapter, in which it is reported all we know about participants, personal data, linguistic information and it is going to be explained the questionnaire and the modalities of administration. The results of the entire study are collected in the fifth chapter. In the final part, chapter six, it is going to be summarized all the work and there are going to be the answers to the researching questions. Then, conclusions are going to be drawn. The questionnaire elaborated for the investigation is visible in Appendix A; all the responses for each participant in Appendix B and personal comments in Appendix C.

I. Use of language in a multilingual society

In a 21st century global society such as ours, multilingualism could be considered the norm and not the exception (Valdés, 2012). It is not easy to count the number of multilingual people in the world but nowadays it is possible to affirm that multilingual speakers outnumber monolingual speakers (Tucker, 1999). It has been calculated, reports Grosjean (2010), that more than half of the population in the world is in contact with two or more languages and that “bilingualism is found in all parts of the world, at all levels of society, in all age groups” (Grosjean, 1982, p.1). In 2003 David Crystal guesses that two-thirds of the world’s children grow up in a plurilingual environment and that over 41% (or 235 million of 750 million) people worldwide who speak English, are plurilingual in English and some other language(s). The *Ethnologue* (2009) estimates more than 7000 languages are spoken in the 194 countries of the world, 38 languages per country. In Bhatia & Ritchie (2013) we can find a list of many languages spoken in a large number of countries in the world. Especially, there are Asian languages such as Hindi, Bengali, Punjabi and Chinese, but also European like Spanish and Portuguese. Obviously even English. This is caused by globalization, economic and political reasons, work mobility, conflicts, increasing phenomena of migration and the need of a *lingua franca*¹ as English. Many countries have two or more national languages and other regional or minority languages spoken in border areas. There are also states where is still used the language of ex-colonization for business and education, while in everyday life people talk in tribal or ethnic languages. The need to communicate across speech communities is the main cause of multilingualism, now a powerful fact of life around the world

¹ A language that is adopted as a common language between speakers whose native languages are different (Oxford Dictionary, 2018).

(Edwards, 1994). In this first chapter there will be given some definitions to clarify all the terms mentioned in this dissertation. The areas into multilingualism has expanded in the recent research are many, wrote Kemp (2009) and the problem of scholars working on different topics and within different traditions of multilingual exploration using different definitions, is long-standing. It occurs even because the study of aspects such as multilingualism do not include only countries or regions with their official languages, but also regional languages, minority languages, migration languages and dialects (Franceschini, 2009). Definitions are fundamental for theory and for this reason we will begin with the definition of ‘multilingualism’ and ‘multilingual society’ and then, with the definitions of ‘bilingualism’ and being bilingual, underling all the advantages of this quality and the characteristics of bilingual speakers. According to Butler (2013), it is important to underline that both multilingualism and bilingualism present multidimensional aspects to understand and they are studied in many disciplines because of their high social, psychological, and linguistic complexity. Further, it will be given the definition of *diglossia* due to the part of research of this work.

1.1 Definition of multilingualism and multilingual society

According to Wei (2013), a society in which more languages exist, or an individual who knows more than one language, presume differences in the languages; contacts between them and the capacity to handle those languages. Nau & Hornsby (2014), sustain that the differences among individuals and societies stay in levels of proficiency. There may be people who have same abilities in two or more languages and individuals who can understand a language but communicate better in another. One thing to underline is that often, even when multilingualism has an official status in a territory, the languages involved have different prestige and they are hierarchically positioned. In addition, they have different and specific functions. For example, one language could be used for

informal communication and another for public domain, education, institutions and media. This phenomenon occurs in states such as Pakistan and Bangladesh. In Asian countries, also, some subjects at school are learned in English while at home children are fluent in many other languages such as dialects of their region. The fact that the original dominating influence of the languages of the expansionist regimes have become intertwined with cultural prestige at a local level is reported by Edwards (2013). One interesting factor is that the prestige of a language is not given by the language itself, but it is given by the most respected members of the society, people who have political, economic and social power. In sociolinguistics, linguistic prestige is connected with power: in the language taken in consideration it does not exist something that gives a particular valour of that language, but the link of this specific language to occurrences of dominance establishes its power, that is going to be recognized and standardized (Van Herk, 2012). One concept expressed by Harshav (2007) is that nowadays societies are multilingual because minorities live with dominant language groups and because official language itself presides over numerous dialects. We have already seen that actually multilingualism is the norm for most people, but it is to put in evidence that in a personal level the occurrence of multilingualism has a great deal to do with pattern of social interactions (Edwards, 1994). Agreeing to Stavenhagen (1990), monolingualism is a characteristic only of a minority of the world's population. Thousands of ethnic groups live in two hundred (circa) nations. Moreover, in these nations there are about five thousand languages spoken (Stavenhagen, 1990). It seems that multilingualism can be referred to states rather than individuals. Edwards (2013) affirms "Multilingualism can also arise as a result of political union among different linguistic groups: Switzerland incorporates German, Italian, Romansch and French populations; Belgium unites French and Flemish speakers; Canada has English and French 'charter' groups and in addition there are also multilinguals federations results of colonial boundary marking and country creation such as Africa and Asia" (Edwards, 2013,

p.7). in the report made in 2007 by the Council of Europe, multilingualism is defined as the existence of more than one language in a specific place, irrespectively of the use made of them. A multilingual society shows linguistic and cultural pluralism, but it is not comparable the level of language proficiency to the community members. This “may differ and fluctuate over time” (Aronin & Hufeisen, 2009; Herdina & Jessner, 2002 in Kemp, 2009, p.12). The language proficiency is something that can vary, and it was one of the central aspects of discussion in giving definition of multilingualism and bilingualism. Recent definitions of multilingualism do not require individuals to be proficient to native speaker level: “The extent to which a speaker is required to be proficient has diminished” (Kemp, 2009, p.18). Kemp (2009), affirms that it is impossible to determine at what stage an individual becomes bilingual, even because it is changed the view of all the languages involved in the system of the individual and now the perspective is more holistic. In the concept of multilingualism, according to Aronin & Hufeisen (2009), is included the concept of bilingualism as its specific case.

1.2 Definition of bilingualism

“Bilingualism is a personal enrichment and a passport to other cultures”². This quote belongs to the linguist François Grosjean (2010), one of the most scholars studying the phenomenon. He gives a very broad definition: “Bilingualism is the regular use of two or more languages (or dialects), and bilinguals are those people who use two or more languages (or dialects) in their everyday lives” (2008, p.10). Like multilingualism, even defining bilingualism depends on the context and the disciplines of the studies. In 1977 Adler questioned if people “who speak two languages fluently but cannot write one or the other properly and grammarly, or

² In Baker, 2013, p.76.

neither” can be called bilinguals (p.6). In 1995, Liebkind suggested a condition of being bilingual with reference to feelings: if someone feel to be bilingual and if people consider that person being bilingual, he or she is bilingual. One reason why people are bilinguals is connected to movement. Political motives, economical situations, conflicts, educational factors, the hope of a better life. Past reasons are connected to colonization and military invasions, as we have already seen, and another element related is the intermarriage between immigrants and native people. Based on this fact, it is to say that even an adult can become bilingual, not only a child or an adolescence, with an accent quite distant from the native (Grosjean, 1982). There are other many interpretations. Indeed, the phenomenon is not easy to define, because the criteria of evaluation have never been uniformed and scholars use definitions agreeing with their field of studies. One of the main questions to evaluate the ‘bilingual status’, according also to multilingualism, regards the degree of proficiency required. Bloomfield (1933, p.56) reports a “native-like control of two languages” while for Haugen (1953, p.7) only “the point where the speaker of one language can produce complete, meaningful utterances in the other language” and, according to Diebold (1961, p.111) any “contact with possible models in a second language” could be a degree of proficiency. In 1969, Macnamara affirms that is bilingual who owns even a minimal competence in every of the following four linguistic abilities: listening comprehension, orally ability, reading and writing in a non-native language. Bilingualism has to be defined even based on the function that it has in the society. In fact, a trait to keep in consideration is the environment in which bilingual individuals are set in. “Large numbers of individual bilinguals’ function as linguistic mediators and represent the link between different groups” (Baetens Beardsmore, 1986, p.5). Nevertheless, one fact to keep in mind is that bilinguals are not translators, because it requires a formal context of learning and training. Paradoxically, if it is accepted that bilingualism has not got a unique definition, even monolingualism has the same status. Nowadays we can almost affirm that

nobody in the world is entirely monolingual, because even the change of register includes all linguistic levels (Paradis, 2007). The use of more than one language can vary lifelong due to the circumstances. As Favaro said (2012), the linguistic heritage of a person is not an immutable system, it is not definite in one time at all. Instead, it is a sort of fluid constellation where the inner hierarchies between languages vary continuously. Contacts and interactions are essential for becoming bilingual. Examining in particular the accent, it is to say that “having an accent or not in a language does not make you more or less bilingual, it depends on when you acquired your languages” (Grosjean, 2010, p.157). Of course, it is quite impossible being bilingual with an identical competence in both languages. This might be the case of some bilinguals who need a perfect fluency in only one language, or the case of who stops to study a language but continue to use it only in an oral form (Grosjean, 1982). These people are still called bilinguals even if only one language is the dominant and will be stronger. But which will be that language? The native one, or the second acquired? This is the topic question of this dissertation, and it will be answered later accordingly to bilinguals’ emotions. For the moment, we have to keep in memory that “balanced bilinguals, those who are equally fluent in both languages, are probably the exception and not the norm” (Grosjean, 1982, p.235) and that there are several factors that influence which language bilinguals chose such as contexts, locations, relations, ethnic background of the addresses, social distances, degree of formality, topic and type of vocabulary (Forslund, 2009).

1.2.1 Classifications of bilingualism and bilinguals

Not only the definition of the phenomenon of bilingualism but also inner classifications are not well distinct. The scale of the topic is very big, and it comprehends different categories of bilingual people and different types of bilingualism. It is essential to keep in mind the multidimension of bilingualism from which various classifications were determined by researchers. Based on

cultural identity and language usage variables, four groups of bilingual people are underlined by Skutnabb-Kangas (1981). They could be:

- *elite bilinguals*, which are people who made the decision to become bilingual. Especially, upper and middle classes are involved in this type of bilingualism, parents who travel, work for international organs and want their children to become competent in more than one language;
- *children from linguistic majorities*, which are children that are taught in a foreign language at school. This language will be the minority language of the society;
- *children from linguistic minorities*, or folk bilinguals (Fishmann, 1977), which need to be bilingual to get better education, economic and life's opportunities. Their first language has not got the same official status than the majority language, so they feel forced to learn the majority language. One risk that these children might have is to become rootless and have problems with their identity for an absent sense of belonging. "This is the largest group of bilinguals in the world" (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981, p.83);
- *children in bilingual families*, which have one parent speaker of the language of minority and one of the majorities and can learn both languages in a spontaneous way, without pressures to become bilingual. In this case a risk could occur: one language might be not well acquired, and the child might have bad experiences with the culture of the parent involved and with the parent's home country.

One question that could emerge after these definitions concerns being bicultural. A bilingual is not also bicultural, s/he may or not may be. Grosjean (2010) explains that bilinguals interact with two cultures and combine aspects of each, but there are also bilinguals monocultural. On the other hand, it is possible being bicultural with one language, as English speakers from Britain or USA.

Differently from languages, traits of two cultures are more difficult to deactivate (Grosjean, 2008). Other factors are crucial in relation of classification. According to when a person starts to acquire a second language there are other distinctions useful to do:

- from birth; we are talking about '*simultaneous bilingualism*' and related to children born from mixed marriages of speakers of two different languages. The bilingualism produced is often strong;
- from three years; '*consecutive or sequential bilingualism*'. In this case: "Much of the first language is already in place" (Malyuhina, 2012, p.34). In this type of bilingualism, it is necessary to give another division with regard to the adolescence period: sequential child L2 acquisition (before adolescence) and sequential adult L2 acquisition (after).

These two points can be summarized with a description like "early bilinguals". Late bilinguals are indeed individuals that have acquired one language before and the other after the age of 8 years (Moradi, 2014). This age represents a crucial point for a child, and it determines the end of a period of growth called by scholars "critical", explained in the following chapter of this work. According to Baetens Beardsmore (1986), late bilinguals are considered non-native speakers of the second language assimilated, because of the inadequacies using structural grammar and detecting linguistic ambiguities. Bilinguals, in fact, can also be classified based on fluency, proficiency (Pearl & Lambert, 1962) and L1/L2 mastery:

- *balanced bilinguals* are individuals that master the two languages learned with similar competences but they "will not necessarily be as good as a native speaker" (Maluyhina, 2012, p.35);

- *dominant, or unbalanced, bilinguals* are individuals more proficient and competent in one of the two languages, the dominant. It has been used more than the weaker and in particular contexts such as education or home;
- *complete/proficient* bilingualism denotes native-like linguistic abilities and competences in many cultural fields comprehending literateness, culture knowledge and use of correct communicative devices;
- *partial bilingualism* includes children who have reached age-appropriate proficiency only in one language;
- *limited bilingualism* entails a sufficient competence in both languages;
- *semilingualism* implies a low proficiency.

Going on describing the phenomenon we encounter another distinction given by Lambert (1974). He subdivided bilinguals into two categories depending on how the introduction of a second language influences the linguistic internalized skills of an individual:

- *additive bilinguals* can improve a second language without losing proficiency. It is seen as positive, because it implies changes that give something in addition to the person such as social, cognitive and linguistic benefits (Maluyhina, 2012);
- *subtractive bilinguals* are bilinguals who lose their L1 acquiring a L2.

An aspect to underline is that when it occurs an inference between L1 and L2 the two languages cannot develop naturally as well as when they do not interfere. To explain better, if L2 does not interfere with the L1 learning, both languages develop; but if the L2 has more prestige or it is more socially appreciable, the more proficient an individual becomes in L2, the more lose in his/her L1. An example was given by Holmes (1993). The scholar took Annie, a 20-year-old speaker of Dyirbal (Aboriginal language in Australia). Using this language only

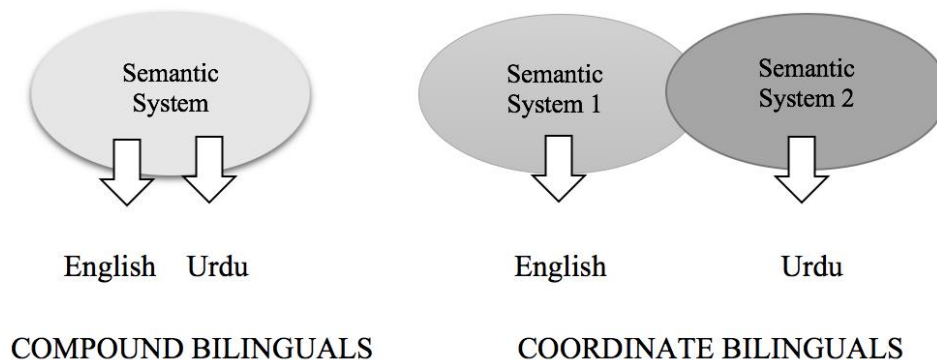
in familiar contexts and English at school, she became less competent in her first language. She experienced a language loss and the possibility to lose also the communication with the community and the elders' members of her place. Moradi (2014) defines additive bilinguals individuals who use two languages that are equally appreciated in the same society. Between *receptive* and *productive* bilinguals, the difference is found in functional abilities. The first can understand a language, in written or oral forms, but cannot produce it themselves; the second can do both (Edwards, 2013). To conclude this explanation about bilingualism, it is interesting to have a look at how the linguistic codes are ordered and collected in bilinguals' minds. The difference here is between (Weinreich, 1953):

- *compound bilinguals*, in this case there is a permanent contact between L1 and L2, that are saved in a unique unit of meaning. So, bilinguals can draw on a single store for two sets of linguistic codes. This occurs in families that are bilingual, can speak and use L1 and L2 based on special necessities, or among minority groups;
- *coordinate bilinguals*, present two meaning units where the linguistic codes are systematized. The semantic systems are two, one per language. The languages acquired do not have contacts because they were learned in different situational environments;
- *subordinate bilinguals* interpret their L2 through their L1. The meaning unit is one, the linguistic codes are two, but it is possible to access the L2 and understand situations only by using the first language.

In Figure number 1, it is graphically represented the last types of bilingualism due to clarify the systems explained. Here there are compound and coordinate bilinguals' organization and storage of linguistic codes. The arrows represent the two languages that in compound bilinguals are stored in a unique semantic

system, while in coordinate bilinguals there are two semantic systems and the languages are separated, one in each system.

Figure 1 – *Compound and coordinate bilinguals*

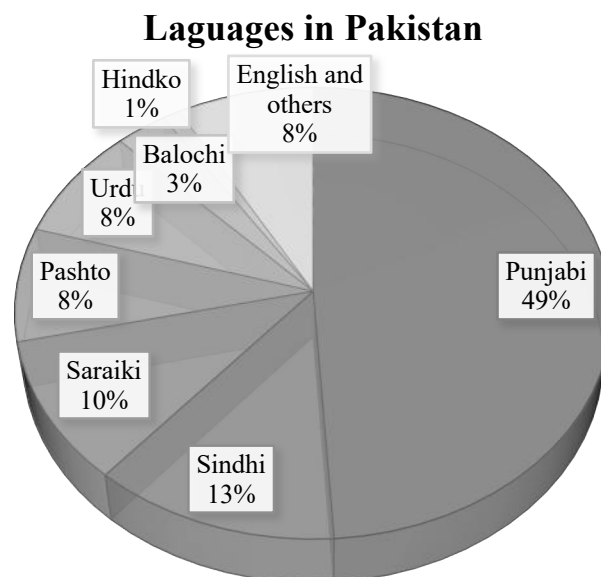


1.2.2 Bilingualism in society

Looking further into the use of the language in a multilingual society, it is to underline that bilingualism can exercise a role of benefit but also of problem. Why this opposition? We have already seen that nowadays bilingualism is a common phenomenon and that more or less, a huge number of states have more than one language spoken in here. Even if being bilingual presents many advantages: “People living in multilingual societies daily faced with the question of which language to use” (Coulmas, 2013, p.123) and there are “even more challenges posed by multilingualism” (Fasold, 1984, p.4). The first factor in danger in a multilingual country is that if a person could experience language loss, such as we have seen in subtractive bilinguals, even a language could die. Multilingualism can demolish nationalism because language is a unifying reason and it contributes to a sense of belonging to one nation. If a state presents challenges in communication, not only in a cultural way but also in an economic and trade way there could be problems and disorders. A language act as a glue for a nation and monolingual ones are seen as more stable. For instance, in Bangladesh, the language Bengali or Bangla acts as a binding force between two separated

communities living in Bangladesh and India (Sen Nag, 2017). Multilingual states during the years have tried to choose a national language, leaving behind minority languages more spoken by citizens, but fragmented. An example is Pakistan, where the languages spoken are about nine. The most common is Punjabi (48%), then Sindhi (12%) and Saraiki (10%), but none of these is the national language. The national language is Urdu, spoken only by the 8% of the population. This term, “Urdu”, means “army” in Turkish and it was developed in military camps. It was the language of trade and was chosen as a token of unity and *lingua franca*. The question of the language in Pakistan was difficult to develop. The imposition of Urdu in 1971 as national language starts non-acceptances by non-native speakers, who looks at this decision such as abandon language and culture.

Figure 2 – *Languages in Pakistan* (Source: CIA Factbook, 2017)



Pakistan was an English colony. Pragmatically speaking, the language of the old colony is the immediate choice for the language of governance in a nation, but it is usually a bad decision for nationalism. A solution could be adopting both languages, for instance in Ireland both Irish and English are declared national

languages and Irish is promoted and preserved, or in India, where English is the language of the justice and rules, but it has not a recognition, while Hindi is the official language. There could be states such as Mali, where the language that is official is the colonization language, French, and another linguistic solution is still in process, not without conflicts especially in educational fields. Going on with education, another example is Bangladesh, where the system is in English (co-official language of the country) and follows mostly the curriculum of UK, with an importance equal if not more than Bangla, national language, spoken by 98% of the population as first language. In Pakistan, Urdu (an interaction between Persian languages and Sanskrit language) was settled as a new language, produced by speaking-elites, but Punjabis do not recognize themselves in it. I collected some opinions by Pakistani people and some of them report: “I am a Pakistani and I believe that Punjabi is my national language, not Urdu”; “Urdu language was a tool used by the British to suppress the local civil society of our region and it has been the same tool since the last 70 years to suppress the poor Punjabi masses by not giving them education and official work in their mother tongue and language is a huge problem outside Punjab”; “Urdu has been used as a tool to suppress Punjabi language and culture for the sake of 'national unity'”; “Save Punjabi to save our identity, it needs recognition and support”. This underline a sense of separation between the population, that is divided in many ethnic-groups. Even if at school is taught Urdu, at home there are many other several dialects that are spoken. Teaching in an ethnic-language might be a solution but it could be against nationalism. It also might be in conflict with activities of the countries where the language of old domination is still the most used: bureaucracy, government administration, legislation, business, economy and media. A positive situation has place in Afghanistan. Here there are two official languages: Dari, the official name of the Persian language in Afghanistan and the most spoken (50% of population), and Pashtu (35%) (CIA, 2017). The first is the *lingua franca* of the country and the trade one. It is also the language of business, government and

higher education. Pashtu is the mother tongue of the largest ethnic group and it is also taught at school. Afghan government has worked since 1930 to standardize it (Ethnologue, 2018). Anyway, the conflict of the language needs other researches in sociolinguistic terms to explain better the phenomenon and to underline its importance and relevance not only in linguistic terms, but also human, cultural and political. Multilingualism is both a problem and a resource but being bilinguals entails quite a few advantages and benefits. Let's have a look.

1.2.3 Advantages of being bilingual

Effects of bilingualism have been studied for years. Although it is now assumed that there are more advantages than disadvantages in becoming bilingual, it was not always so. From the 19th century, in the sixties, knowing two languages has been considered a negative thing. Professor Laurie, in 1890, at Cambridge University said during a speech that living with two languages was the worst thing for a child because he or she will have a split intellectual and spiritual growth. And again: "If language is the soil in which intelligence grows, two languages produce a thin soil and monolingualism a much more rich and fertile soil" (Laurie, 1890, p.15). The first response about this topic was given by IQ mental tests (Darcy, 1953; Náñez *et al.*, 1992), particularly on verbal IQ, comparing monolinguals to bilinguals. The results reported by a Welsh researcher, D.J. Saer, in 1923, underlined a difference of ten points between monolingual and bilingual children from Welsh. His conclusion was that bilinguals were mentally confused and cognitively disadvantaged. It is to say that the issue of the period was the concept of 'intelligence' and that further researches of Saer *et al.* (1924) were done due to confirm this point, revealing similar difference between monolingual and bilingual students even at University. On the other side, some other factors were not studied such as the social class of the monolinguals, upper than bilinguals, and their education and socio-economic status. Moreover, tests were carried out in the weaker language of bilinguals. These elements conduce to

allocate the low results of the performances to the schooling and not to bilingualism. If the differences between bilinguals (the classifications made in the previous paragraph) were considered, it would have been easier to make comparisons and judgments. Going on, during the Fifties and Sixties there were made further researches about ‘intelligence’ and no discrepancies were evaluated between bilinguals and monolinguals, on the contrary, previous errors were stressed and it was established that bilingualism was not a disadvantage in a cognitive and intellectual way. In this period the factors that had not been evaluated before, such as familiar and socio-economic aspects of the bilingual child were studied, and many families started to push and support their children in learning a second language at school or at home. The actual benefits of bilingualism are attributable to Peal & Lambert who changed, in the 1962, the course of the research on bilingualism³. The two researchers led an experiment with 110 ten-years-old children, balanced bilinguals and monolinguals from French schools in Montréal, Canada. Eighteen variables were measured in relation to the intelligence quotient and bilinguals performed significantly higher scores in fifteen tasks, including verbal and non-verbal intellectual aspects. The intelligence of bilinguals was diagnosed more diversified and it was supported that bilingualism provides more benefits than disadvantages. In the work of Michael Paradowski (2010), professor of Applied Linguistic at Warsaw’s University, there is it a list, based on numerous studies, of the benefits of bilingualism. Following the order of Ruggeri (2013) they are:

- *communicative advantages*. Bilinguals are gifted with the possibility to raise with two languages and they are not late-speaking children. If parents communicate different native-languages, and a child acquires both fully, the linguistic sensibility of the child will be enormous. Bilinguals are great

³ Peal, E., & Lambert, W. E. (1962). Relation of bilingualism to intelligence. *Psychological Monograph*, 76, 1-23.

listeners and they will have better chances, compared to their peers, to establish closer relationships with others and with elder members of their families and cultural communities. The bilingual child owns two vocabularies and keeps them separate thank to a faculty called “cognitive decentralization” (Sorace, 2011). This faculty allows bilinguals to be more flexible towards people who have different perspectives. Bilinguals are more emphatic and mindful, and they can open to other cultures. They are also able to exit from their existential and ethical reference system even because there are more words, they know to express same contents;

- *metalinguistic advantages*. Bilingual children own a refined metalinguistic ability, due to their contact with two words for each term. Having an insightful recognition between letters and sounds, bilinguals can develop earlier reading abilities. Moreover, they are favoured in learning a third or fourth language (Sorace, 2011). Children are also able to communicate in an effective way and to identify the linguistic structures and functions; they have a sharper perception of language and a stronger consciousness (Galambos & Goldin-Meadow, 1990; Ewert, 2006). Bilinguals are smarter than monolinguals to focalize more to the meaning than to the sound of words, for example in learning a nursery rhyme. A monolingual will concentrate especially on the sound, while a bilingual on the meanings. An interesting research was conducted by A.D. Ianco-Worrall, a South African researcher. She made a linguistic experiment: she compared the answers of two groups of bilingual and monolingual children. The task was to select a word between ‘can’ and ‘hat’ to the question: “Which is more like cap?”. Between monolinguals and bilinguals from the seven years there were not differences in the choice, that was ‘hat’ (based on the meaning). However, in the younger group, between four and six, the choice was ‘hat’ for bilinguals and ‘cap’ for monolinguals. Ianco-Worrall concluded that bilinguals reach a sematic development two-three years circa before

monolinguals (1972). Other researchers that discovered this ability to distinguish between meaning and form are Bialystock (1986) and Yelland *et al.*, (1993). They also reveal that bilingual children are faster in reading their native language compared to peers;

- *cultural advantages*. Bilingualism facilitates tolerance and open-mindedness towards different populations, cultures, customs and traditions. It implies major flexibility and capacity of adaptation in distinctive contexts and a wider vision of world's perspectives. Curtain & Dahlberg in 2004 show that the study of a foreign language offers an exceptional comprehension of what is seen as strange and alien and transmits a positive effect on what is learned about other cultures. In addition, being bilingual raises in the individual a great interest in what concerns language and the various languages (Sorace, 2011);
- *intercultural advantages*. Bilinguals have the possibility, according to Baker (2001), to reach more global opportunities and to mediate between different cultures, thinking more critically, comparing and contrasting cultural concepts. Also, they can broaden their horizons. Beacco (2010), underlines the faculty in bilinguals to understand better emotional relationships with others and to challenge themselves and their known contexts;
- *personality advantages*. Another aspect that develops in bilinguals is related to their personality. First, people can use a language to strength their identity. Then, data sustain a higher self-concept and self-esteem during school years than monoglots. They demonstrate to be excellent foreign languages students but also, they want to improve their results in other subjects (Saunders, 1988). Following the cultural and intercultural advantages, in terms of personality the study of different languages enriches excitement towards new cultures and reduces feelings such as racism, xenophobia, intolerance, revulsion (Carpenter & Torney, 1974).

This fact is so important nowadays, because of the huge number of multi-ethnic and multicultural societies;

- *emotional advantages*. Bilinguals are more sensitive, and they are good, emphatic listeners; they adapt themselves to the language of the addressees. Being bilingual entails a personal development and a consciousness of being both outsider and insider, but bilinguals have the ability to witness their culture from a different perspective than monolinguals;
- *cognitive advantages*. Mental flexibility, abstract thought, transfer between languages, self-control. In 1962 Peal and Lambert demonstrated a superiority of bilinguals compared to monolinguals in intelligence and inhibition⁴ tasks. In addition, a great number of scientific studies have proved that bilinguals' subjects have an advantage in divergent thought (Kharkhurin, 2012) a better use of learning process, a bigger metacognitive competence (Bochner, 1996) and a better working memory (Fabbro, 2004). Lapkin *et al.*, (1990), in addition, sustains that their memories are sharper than monolinguals. Divergent thought is measured with questions. Children are stimulated to think about possible solutions about some problems. People with creative thought will produce more answers and original possibilities of solutions, even using creative strategies. In secondary schools in Belgium, it is reported by Armstrong & Rogers (1997), that after some tests, bilinguals score higher than monolinguals in math and language arts. This is involved to bilingualism because the mastery of two languages increases fluency, flexibility, originality and thinking processing. In 1995, Bruck and Genesee noticed the aptitude of bilinguals of improving verbal and non-verbal intelligence tests. According to McCardle and Hoff:

⁴ Inhibition permits the individual to stop doing something even if the task seems to be automatized (Fabbro, 2013). Bialystock (2002) affirms that the cognitive advantage regards only processes where inhibition is involved. In 2004 she led an experiment with monolingual and bilinguals in a tidying-up exercise. Bilinguals were faster.

“Bilinguals children’s brain is more trained to move in different areas of reasoning at the same time” (2006, p.47). Given that bilinguals have two languages simultaneously active in their brain, it has been claimed by the U.S. National Institute of Child Health and Human Development (2005) that they present a big ability in multi-tasking: they are able to handle more activities at the same time and they have an advantage in the rapid switch from one task to another, ignoring interferences. Wolff (2006) reported that bilinguals are better in institutionalized learning situations and that they can order significances in different ways. Other discoveries were made by Dr. Michael Phelps, in 1996, who sustains a correlation between bilingualism and lifelong benefits of developing the brain, especially the child’s brain, learning foreign languages (Paradowski, 2010). In cognitive advantages it is interesting to underline also that bilingualism works as a sort of prevention from the decline of cognitive functions. Professor Bialystock (2012) in one of her works decreed that bilingualism can act such a preventive factor with Alzheimer’s disease.

In relation to cognitive advantages, the work of S.J. Galambos and Goldin-Meadow (1990), sustain that the linguistic knowledge of bilingual children differs depending on the competence in the two languages learned. If the grade is high in both languages, better will be the performances. So, not everybody obtains all the advantages explained. A method to know if bilingualism has positive effects is to look at the Threshold Theory. It was developed by Jim Cummins (1981). There are three levels. On the left three arrows represent the movement to an upper level of proficiency of the bilingual child. First level: we found children who are limited bilinguals if compared to same-age kids. In these circumstances, with a low proficiency in both languages there could be negative and damaging cognitive effects. At the intermediate level, the kid will have a good competence in relation to the peers but only in one of the two languages. In this case no positive and no

negative effects will be found compared to the monolingual one. Last and upper level is for balanced bilinguals who have the correct level of proficiency in both languages and cognitive advantages.

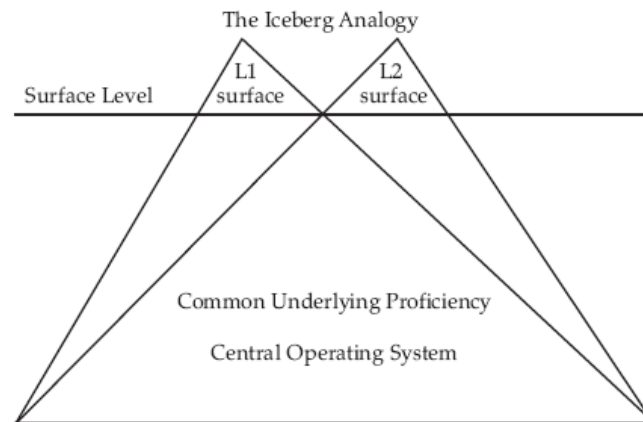
Table 1 – *Threshold Hypothesis* (adapted from Cummis, 1981)

Types of Bilingualism	Cognitive Effects	
A. Proficient Bilingualism (High level in both languages)	Positive cognitive effects	Higher Threshold level
B. Partial Bilingualism (Native-like level in one of the languages)	Neither positive nor negative cognitive effects	
C. Limited Bilingualism (Low level in both languages – may be balanced or dominant)	Negative cognitive effects	Lower Threshold level

Level attained

Researches on cognition suggest that the child has two thresholds to reach: the first is necessary to avoid negative consequences on cognition and it is defined with the competence of one language. With this competence the child can raise and arrives to the second threshold. It is reached when the two languages are well developed at a scholarly level. For example, the threshold is done if the child can understand lessons at school in both languages. Another well-known model realized by Cummis is the *Common Underlying Proficiency Model*, otherwise known as The Iceberg Analogy (1984). On the surface level there are L1 and L2 distinct aspects, but the underlying abilities are common, and they help bilinguals in terms of fastness and performance. This representation puts in evidence the benefit of being bilingual and distances the hypothesis that two languages can interfere each other. According to Cummins (1981), in addition, it is to considerate that a multi-languages speaker acquires languages faster than his or her counterparts.

Figure 3 – *The Iceberg Analogy*



Recent researches on the bilingual brain demonstrate also that the bilingual development implies more than the mere knowledge of two languages. Another ability built up by bilinguals is anticipation (Bonifacci *et al.*, 2010), caused by the fact that bilinguals are used to anticipate in two languages two different codes in their everyday lives. What emerges by these studies is that the bilingual subject, living in multilingual contexts, develops a cognitive flexibility more than his/her monolingual peers. Extra skills are obtained in language usage: transfers, borrowing, code switching, mixing, translations, loan. These phenomena are going to be explained in the next paragraph.

1.3 Results of language contact

Languages that are in contact can influence each other. Multilingual speakers sometimes find themselves in situations where it is required to switch between one language and another. It can provoke some distress to them, or, as we already seen, problems with identity, but, on the other side, cognitive and personal advantages. Pavlenko (2006), affirms that in traditionally monolingual societies bilinguals are seen such as persons with conflicting personalities, who suffer inner intellectual splits linkable to schizophrenia. In the article is also reported the opinion of more than one bilingual's individual who experienced "a strange

laceration, a gap between two languages and two mental universes that never coincided within himself” (Pavlenko, 2006, p.5). There are interesting to cite in addition to what we have already encountered the observations made by Olulade *et al.*, (2016), who have found evidence of increased grey matter and superior brain plasticity, in relation to language learning and not only for bilinguals but even for adults, using scanning techniques fMRI. FMRI “measures changes in the oxygen content of blood in the brain, and from that draws conclusions about neuronal activity” (Plamper, 2012, p.207). Olulade *et al.*, (2016), reported that measuring the grey matter volume in adult bilinguals and monolinguals, bilinguals show more grey matter on tasks of executive functions. These functions control and regulate the attention and the languages in use. Mixing of language can be seen as difficult to understand to observers and it can be categorized such a negative thing. Multilinguals know how to behave when speaking to monolinguals and they use only one idiom but, despite the ability, sometimes the manipulation of two or more languages conduces to complex forms of linguistic changing. These phenomena are diglossia, pidgins, creoles, code switching and mixing, loan words, borrowing and interferences.

1.3.1 Diglossia

The definition of diglossia reported by the Oxford Dictionary says that it is a situation in which two languages are used by same speakers under different conditions, in varieties high and low. The ability of bilinguals is in the manipulation of the varieties. The practice of these two languages happens in informal and formal contexts. For example, one language is more prevalent at home and the other in proper occasions. The most known situation of diglossia occurs in Arabia, where it is the coexistence of Standard Arabic and Colloquial Arabic (Ferguson, 1959). Ferguson was the first to introduce the discourse about diglossia. According to him diglossia represents a situation in which live together two varieties of the same language. One it is a dialect and one a higher variety,

used more written and in formal contexts than orally (Ferguson, 1959). In his work it can be found the distinction between diglossic situations from situations in which there is a standard language and regional dialects (Tollefson, 1983). The situation following diglossia entails two varieties of the similar language in the same society and, socio-linguistically talking, the differences between the two varieties, high (H) and low (L), are related to communicative purposes. In the table below, scenarios of language use in diglossic communities are reported.

Table 2 – *Situations of language use in diglossic communities* (Ferguson, 1959).

Situations	High Variety (H)	Low Variety (L)
Sermons in church or mosque	x	
Instructions to servants, waiters, etc.		x
Personal letters	x	
Political speeches	x	
University lectures	x	
Conversations with family, friends, colleagues		x
News broadcast	x	
Radio and soap operas		x
Newspaper editorials, news, magazines	x	
Captions on political cartoon		x
Poetries	x	
Folk literature		x

The H variety is associated in formal, literary and educational situations whereas the L in familiar situations, conversational and informal (Tollefson, 1983). The H variety, according to Ferguson, presents distinct characteristics from the L variety. These are: being a superposed, highly codified variety; the use of H variety in a respected body of literature; learning H variety in contexts of formal education; the use of H variety for written or spoken formal occasions (Tollefson, 1983). As said before, the most representative situation of diglossia occurs with Arabic. According the literature, this type of diglossia (the coexistence of literary and

dialectal Arabic), is called *classic*. It includes: two varieties related in a genetical way such as two dialects where the H variety (high) is not the mother tongue and the L variety (low) is the home language. In addition, the H and L varieties are used in distinct contexts, but they coexist (Alsaḥafi, 2016). In this case we are not talking of bilingualism. Classical Arabic is universally understood by Arabs, it has been imposed as official language in Arab countries, it works such a form of integration and it serves as “a constant source for the maintenance of the Islamic heritage and Arabic culture” (Amara & Mar’i, 2002, p.45), while the colloquial variance stresses local identity. In fact, it is formed by a multiplicity of dialects, different by locations and social variations. With Ferguson, another scholar interested in diglossia was Fishman, who systematized the phenomenon due to cover any sociolinguistic situation in which there were two or more languages used in complementary functions. He said (1967) that Ferguson spoke of high and low varieties as superposed languages and he extended the meaning of diglossia than Ferguson. He introduced the concept of the “domain of language use” in his work of 1972, where it is reported that the multilingual settings are ruled by speaker’s choices made in domains of language. The extended use of diglossia differs from the concept of Ferguson in two ideas: the first is that the communities do not speak with diverse varieties of the same language and the second, that speakers of H and L varieties come from separate social groups and use the two codes for intergroup communication. This happens because differently from *intralingual* diglossia of the classic type, in extended diglossic communities, or better *interlingual* diglossia, (Pauwels, 1986 p.15) each code represents a variety used at home and only one represents the H variety. Diglossia exists not only in societies in which there are several languages but also different dialects. It was also found a difference between bilingualism in society and diglossia explained by Hudson and this is in “social origins, evolutionary courses of development, and resolutions over the long term” (2002, p.2). The scholar, in addition, agrees with Ferguson and not with Fishman about the meaning of the term diglossia.

Fishman (1967) reports that he has tried to relate diglossia to compound and coordinate bilingualism in a table reported here in Table 3. The four quadrants represent different linguistic situations. The first includes communities in which are presents bot bilingualism and diglossia.

Table 3 – *Relationships between Bilingualism and Diglossia* (Fishman, 1967).

	Diglossia	
Bilingualism	+	-
+	1. Both diglossia and bilingualism	2. Bilingualism without diglossia
-	3. Diglossia without bilingualism	4. Neither diglossia nor bilingualism

An example are the Swiss-German cantons where it happens the alternation for students of High German and Swiss German as H and L variations (Ferguson, 1959). Another interesting example occurs with Eastern European Jewish males, who, before World War I, communicated in Hebrew (H) and Yiddish (L). It happens that their descendants added a third language (English) for *intra* and *intergroup* communication and contact (Weinreich, 1953). It is nowadays assumed that most of individuals are speakers of more than one language and many communities thought as monolingual are not. On the contrary, they are marked by diglossia and bilingualism especially if:

1. their speakers occupy range of roles (it happens for all societies);
2. there are social institutions that incites the access to several roles;
3. the roles in society are well differentiated (Fishman, 1967).

Quadrant three presents a situation in which there could be diglossia without bilingualism. It happens in societies in which, for example, there are linguistic groups, such as elites, that speak between them in one way, while common people talk in another language between them. All of them are not a speech community but instead monolinguals *intragroups* and bilingualism cannot advance. Only

politic and economy unify these groups, underlining different social classes. Continuing with quadrant two, again drawn from Fishman (1967), we arrive at bilingualism without diglossia. One thing to consider, said Fishman, is that during the studies about bilingualism, some disadvantages were found because of the social patterns related to the phenomenon were not taken into account. Having a look back to the industrialization in the west part of the world and in associated countries, society has always been separated in two parts: who rules and who produces, and these two forces also presented different speech communities. The progress of industrialization and urbanization led the popular masses to learn the languages of the upper group, without absorbing the sociocultural aspects. In conclusion, there were not clear differentiation in language between groups. The language used at home was the language originally used at work. There was less compartmentalization and languages influence each other more and this fusion become the mother tongue of a next generation. Bilingualism without diglossia is thought to be transitional (Fishman, 1967). Quadrant four presents neither diglossia nor bilingualism. This occurs with small and isolated societies without differences in speeches, such as clans or bands, who have particular rituals to access, based on age. Linguistic repertoires are secret until certain age for the community members. This situation, however, is not so stable because there are factors that make it impossible such as economic growth, contacts with others, all things that will conduce to bilingualism and/or diglossia. Continuing with extended diglossia, Myers-Scotton (2006) comments that it produces more instability than classic diglossia because speakers who have as second language the H variety have to maintain their first language as low variety. Another distinction about diglossia is based on types of structural relationships in diglossia and functional differentiation in diglossia. Types of structural relationships includes:

1. *similar varieties* recognized as single language. For example, the varieties of American English (Tollefson, 1983);
2. *standard plus dialects*. As it happens in most of Europe, where at home it is used one variety that differs from the language of school and institutions;
3. *unrelated languages*. Such as the analysis of Fishman (1967), explained before about national diglossia without national bilingualism.

In relation to functional differentiation of language varieties:

1. *binary H-L*. A distinction between H-L is maintained;
2. *ordered choice models*. It involves the choices of the speaker;
3. *stylistic functional differentiation*. Diglossia is seen such a pattern that enlarges the range of stylistic variability for the speaker;
4. *role differentiation*. Fishman (1967) underlines the compartmentalization of roles in communities and the use of a language that disagrees with a particular role, is seen such a “serious breach of the social consensus for language use” (Tollefson, 1983, p.6).

The key to maintain the diglossic community is in the linguistic culture of this community and even if diglossia seems to be a complex phenomenon, they are also to cite examples of polyglossia or triglossia. These communities present various combinations of languages, including, sometimes two dialects of the same language and another code, or three varieties of the same language but without clear boundaries. One example is the situation in Hong Kong, where Putonghua (Standard Mandarin) and English are the H varieties and Cantonese dialect an L (Alsaifi, 2016). It is well known that people in these diglossic situations codeswitch, main topic of next paragraphs.

1.3.2 Pidgins and creoles

These two phenomena are results of language contact, in fact, these are new varieties of language born after people with different idiom's contact. It is difficult to determine the numbers of pidgins in the world, due to their presence in many areas and because they are often short lived (Siegel, 2010). Gordon (2005) estimates there are currently over 50 different pidgins with 123 million people speakers and 23.1 million people who speaks creoles. Creoles can be found in ex-European colonies in the Caribbean, Africa, and regions such as south-western Pacific and around the Indian Ocean. It is interesting that millions of people have migrated and that the number estimated by Joseph (1997) of Haitian Creole speakers in the US is more than one million. Pidgins and creoles speakers count as the majority in a particular territory but the minority in a whole country (Siegel, 2010). The fact is studied by sociolinguists and linguists both, but there are disagreements about their precision definitions. Pidgins and creoles are development of interactions of dissimilar language's speakers and the majority of new words created derives from the language of the group with most power or prestige, called 'lexifer' or 'superstrate' (Siegel, 2010). The result is a language in which the vocabulary is small, and the grammar has little rules for tenses or plurals. A pidgin allows people speaking different languages to communicate with a code understandable by both. An example is Tay Boi, a language spoken in Vietnam that presents a reduced syntax and vocabulary. Some examples are *dus*, that may be 'dust' or 'he goes' became *he go* (morphemes fall from verbs). In addition, there is not a precise order of words for building sentences. The important is that it is comprehensible and used for communication (Nau & Hornsby, 2014). The use of pidgin occurs as everyday *lingua franca* in multilingual community, for religion and also government. Pidgins can extend and became 'expanded pidgin' from 'pre-pidgin' when they reach a status of important *lingua franca*. One example is the dialect of Melanesian Pidgin,

Bislama, spoken in Vanuatu, Australia. It develops and expanded its status because it was used, after the work in plantations, in home countries, brought by labors. A sentence in Bislama is:

“Woman ia bae I kilim ol pig long garen blong hem.”

“Woman this FUT SRP hit PL pig in garden POSS 3SG.”

“This woman will attack the pigs in her garden”. (Siegel, 2010, p.233)

Bislama is used in radio, parliament, religious context and possessed its own writing system. It derives from English (*long* means ‘along’; *ol* stays for ‘all’; *hem* is used for all persons). There are simplified words and tenses (*bae* is from ‘by and by’). The syntax is not casual, in fact it follows rules of Oceanic languages, such as the word *ia* (derivation form ‘here’, meaning ‘this’ in the context) that follows *woman* rather than preceding as English does with ‘this’ (Siegel, 2010). On the other side, the development of the mixing of two languages is called creole. These languages are parents: the base is still a pidgin daily used. Furthermore, it is also spoken to children as primary language, until becoming a community language of whom has received it as first linguistic input. Creole is used as native language and presents linguistic morphological features. An example of creole is given by reading signs in places such as Guadeloupe, France. The sign considered was photographed by Kim Hansen (2010, March 30) near a playground and it says: “Slow down, children are playing here!”.

Figure 4 – *Example of creole: Guadeloupéen/Guadeloupean Creole French*



Going deeper in the description of P/Cs (pidgins and creoles), they were studied first in 1960s by scholars, who evaluate them even more complex than expected, due the fact they were rule-governed. The system of pronouns and tenses may appear simplified, but it is not always so. For example, Bislama, already mentioned, presents two distinct second person pronouns than English. A curious event to investigate is that creoles languages have apparent similarities even though they are in very distant parts of the world (Hawai'i and Haiti, for instance). About it, Bickerton proposed the Language Bioprogram Hypothesis (1984): all the children who grow with pidgin as input, a language non-entirely complete, use “their innate linguistic capacity to turn it into one” (Siegel, 2010, p.237). To recap, creoles are similar because of the Universal Grammar⁵. Other theories about the similarity were put forward, giving rise to some debates and further researches. The last opinion is that creoles started by substrate languages, but it is important to underline the common point about them: every researcher agree “on the role of process of second language acquisition (SLA) in creole formation” (Siegel, 2010, p.238). As regard social role, both pidgins and creoles suffer a low prestige due their status of language born after colonization first of all, and second, the European languages were seen more successful and powerful in comparison. They also own more history, books that explained every linguistic aspects and vocabularies, while P/C not. Especially it is thought that P/C do not have a clear and standardized grammar, so they are catalogued more such mistakes than other languages. In Seychelles, Haiti, Netherlands Antilles and Aruba pidgins and creoles have been designed as languages of education with the officials English, French and Dutch, but only in primary schools. The colonization languages are still the languages of higher education and government. The Center for Applied

⁵ The Universal Grammar theory is credited to Noam Chomsky, American linguists and cognitive scientist, who reported his postulates first in *Syntactic structures*, 1957. To sum up the theory, it affirms that there are structural innate rules in humans and shared universal properties in all world's natural languages.

Linguistics in Haiti, in fact, reports that for population it is not a need to be literate in Creole and that language is especially for poor people and for who wants only to give his/her children a little education (Burtoff Civan, 1994). Bilingual programs were approved in the 2000s and they continue to exist (not in Massachusetts, abolished in 2003). Studies, in bilingual schools, on the scores after evaluating bilingual students, confirm the advantages of bilingualism, even because children are facilitated using their first language to self-expression. A strong opinion was also given by Bickerton who said that the fear of creoles languages was a wrong prediction and it failed, they are not enemies (1988), and this view is confirmed even by the last successes of bilingual programs in Netherlands Antilles and San Andres, Columbia (Siegel, 2010).

1.3.3 Borrowing, loan words and interferences

In the fields of language contact, one well researched area implies the status of foreign lexical elements that appear for bilinguals (Sankoff, 2001). Languages in contact influence each other and sometimes they seem to resemble. It happens because of a series of phenomena including, first of all, borrowings. A borrowing occurs when a language takes something from another language and includes it in its own system. The terms borrowed is included entirely in the linguistic system, phonologically, morphologically and syntactically (Poplack, 1981). This inclusion is permanent, not temporary such as code-switching, that implies the use of two or more different languages in the same utterance. Some borrowings may occur thousand years ago but nowadays it is difficult to evaluate something a borrowing, because of the grade of adaptation to the target language. An example of borrowing is the following: the word *orangutan* is a borrowing in English, the recipient language, from the donor language, Malay, in which *orang* means 'man' and *utan* 'forest' (Eifring & Theil, 2005). All languages can be donor and recipient languages but, most of all, the donor language enjoys cultural, social and political prestige while the recipient not. Nowadays English could be

the most donor language in the world and continents such as Africa or Asia have taken a lot of words from English, and also French, colonizer lands. There is not only the colonization motive to take borrowing, also the role a language can have of great civilization. Chinese and Arabic borrowings are very abundant in Japanese, Korean and Vietnamese the first and Urdu, Persian, Turkish, Swahili the second. In addition, even Persian is a language of borrowing for Urdu and Turkish (Eifring & Theil, 2005). A donor language can be also a dead language, namely a language without native speakers but still alive in a cultural sense, such as Classical Chinese or Sanskrit, Greek or Latin. There are different types of borrowing:

- *cultural borrowings*, such as *sushi* (Japanese), ‘gazelle’ from غزال *ghazāl* (Arabic) or *safari* (Swahili). These words express new concepts and are taken because without them there could be a gap in the vocabulary; they are more common than the core borrowings;
- *core borrowings*, such as *bāi-bāi* instead of *zài-jiàn* ‘bye bye’ in Chinese. In this case, there are borrowings of elements already presents in the recipient language, but particular expressions are used enough to enter in the common practice (code-switching) and they become parts of the other vocabulary.

Poplack (1981) includes another type of borrowing called *nonce borrowings*. They are words that do not adapt to the grammas of recipient languages. A word that is borrowed from a donor to a recipient language is called loan. A loan called direct, is a loan that borrows both semantic and phonetic aspects from the original word. Other types of loan can take only the semantic content, while the phonetic aspect is preserved in the original recipient language, so we have semantic loans; there are also loan translations, or calques, such as ‘blueberry’ in English. It is borrowed in Chinese with the translations of ‘blue’ and ‘berry’: *lán-méi*. In

addition, loan creations, elements that take language recipient's words to translate foreign concepts: 'computer', 'electric brain' English, it is become in Chinese *diàn-nao*. The last possibility is to maintain a word from the donor language and a word from the recipient, so we have loanblends or hybrids such as 'double room' in English that results *dabal* ('double') *kamra* ('room'). The major class of words borrowed is nouns, content words, and verbs. Researchers have distinguished borrowings from interferences, but the meanings are quite similar. In fact, interference is defined as subtypes of borrowing. Usually 'interference' is related to situations of second language acquisition, to explain, how the first language influences a second or other primary language (Winford, 2013).

1.3.4 Code-switching and code-mixing

These phenomena are very common in a society where two or more languages are used and in which bilingualism is a collective fact. Code-switching occurs in everyday speech, when there are used in the same discourse by the same person, two languages, that are interchanged and can be two different varieties (Fromkin, Hyams & Rodman, 2011). This switch is seen as an ability and the better a person becomes in its both languages, the more he or she code-switches (Forslund, 2009). Another interesting aspect is that a bilingual child of 2/3 years of age understands if his or her interlocutor has not catch what s/he wants to say (Ladberg, 1996). It is assumed that a language shift requires a couple of milliseconds for bilinguals (Bhatia, 2017). A sentence can start with a language and finish with the another. Sometimes bilinguals codeswitch because they do not know some lexicon or when they do not know information about a topic as borrowings and loanwords. Also, they change language when they, for example, know the belonging of a third person who approaches when two or more bilinguals are speaking. On the other side, they can also choose to continue with an unknown language on purpose, so they cannot get understood. Code-switching, they mark relationships of inclusion or exclusion and it implies changing not only the language but also the formality

of a situation (Grosjean, 1982). “The purposes of the conversation, the interlocutor, the topic, are some situations where bilinguals choose their language” (Grosjean, 1982, p.283). People can choose to use different languages due to places or interlocutors: a language is used at home or in religious contexts and another may be the language for education. In addition, according to Grosjean, the reasons for changing language are the environment, the culture, attitudes and feelings, because “people who are friends usually have agreed on which language of interaction they use if it is not a specific situation” (Grosjean, 1982, p.136). Sociolinguistically talking, code-switching is considered a fact that traces dominance and pride of the dominant language (Ifechelobi, 2015). Even situations that involve feelings and emotions led bilinguals to change language if they feel more confident in one code than another based on what they want to do or say. It is not certain yet if the choices are random or not, the last researches attain that the factors contributing the choices are lined to formal, functional and attitudinal features. In fact, it is to say that every switch signifies something (Edwards, 1994). It is also been proved that code-switching engages the manipulation of two mental grammars, and it implies great skills. There is no ungrammatical combination of languages in code-switching. For example, Edwards explains this trait reporting a dialog between two Mexican Americans:

*“Tu no fumas, verdad? Yo tampoco. Deje de fumar and I’m back to it again....
Se me acababan los cigarros en la noche. I’d get desperate, y ahi voy al
basurero a buscar, a sacar, you know?”*⁶ (Edwards, 1994, p.3).

In this case: “Speakers tend to use Spanish when self-conscious or embarrassed about their smoking, English when making more general or impersonal observations” (Edwards, 1994, p.3). Another scholar, Ladberg (1996), reports the

⁶ You do not smoke, right? Me neither. I stop smoking and I am back to it again... If I finish cigarettes in the night. I would get desperate, and I go to the dump to find them, you know? (Translation mine).

case of a Sami woman, who always felt strict when using Swedish because it was her education language and she played using Finnish. So, it is thought that bilingual and multilingual switch to express better themselves, by the use of a distinct language. This aspect is going to be well discussed in the third chapter of this dissertation. The most class of words used for codeswitching is nouns, because of they are quite free of syntactic restrictions (Romaine, 1995). Language mixing is very natural to bilinguals. Here there are three examples taken from Bhatia (2017). The first is Hindi-English, the second Spanish-English and the third Punjabi-English:

1. *ek aur chance milegaa?*

‘Will I get one more chance?’

2. I’m tired of my mother always telling me *que ya me dejo’ el tren*.

‘...that the train already left me’

3. *T’yan naal janaa*. Go carefully.

‘Go with care’.

The third is an example of code-switching (CS). The phenomenon occurs among the sentence while the first and the second sentences are examples of code-mixing (CM). In code-mixing various linguistic units are used within a sentence. These two constructs (CS and CM) are different from borrowings. The latter fill lexical gaps and do not influence the syntax of the recipient language. CM implies the birth of a new “grammar” because of the nature of two languages merging in one. Another difference is revealed on the basis of frequency and degree of integration, in fact borrowings are integrated and more used than code-mixings (Bhatia, 2017). Weinreich (1953) pondered code-switching as ‘interferences’ and other researchers see some internal mental confusion in bilinguals, but nowadays the

most accredited theory to codeswitch is because some words are better for emphasis and perceptions; situations, topic and contents than others. Bilinguals and multilinguals are free to choose any codes they want to communicate. Gumperz reports that code-switching produces continuity in speech rather than interference, and that “it makes allowance for speakers to increase the impact of their speech and use it in an effective manner” (1982, p.97).

II. The development of the two languages

The main topic of this section is the Second Language Acquisition theory. The chapter will explain how a bilingual person lives with two languages that coexist, and what this situation implies. The participants of this inquiry are bilinguals who acquired their second language at the age of 4-6 years, especially by educational contexts and family. They are considered, according with the definitions given in the first chapter, consecutive or sequential bilinguals, with a high competence and fluency in their L2. Moreover, they are additionally late bilinguals due to the fact that they have arrived in Italy and started to learn the language when they were 15 years old circa. This makes them multilinguals. Acquiring a second language is a long process with several stages. A second language is a different language than your native one, which you listen from your birth and in which you receive your first linguistic inputs. Any other language learned or acquired after your mother tongue is known as second language. Starting with definitions, we will analyze four types of second language: maternal, ethnic, foreign and second language. The chapter will continue looking further into the topic about the acquisition of language and the growth of two languages in bilinguals. It will briefly explain the main theories elaborated about the acquisition of language and the stages of the learning of the second one. It is also reported the theory developed by Krashen (Second Language Acquisition Theory or Monitor Theory and its hypothesis) in 1981, with a deepening on the Critical Period Hypothesis. Furthermore, the discourse continues with a follow-up on the explanations of the

rationales for second language acquisition and the theories about the role of the context and the environment. The chapter will clarify some questions such as is it easy for adults to acquire other languages and it will end with the differences and comparisons between adult L2 acquisition and child L2 acquisition. This second part links the first to the next one, based on emotions and how the perceptions of the latter are modified by the languages and cultures a bilingual individual possesses and joins. According to Balboni (2014), there are four linguistic types of situations involving a language that is not the native one to underline:

- *maternal language*. The maternal language is the language acquired during childhood, the first language used with family and relatives and with whom the child immediately interacts. Maternal languages are characterized by the origin of the acquisition, the speaker's abilities, the level of the personal identification with the first language and its function in everyday life (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981). It is important that in the early years of life the child is reached with a large input given by everyone who takes care of him or her. This is because until the age of three, linguistic elements are stored in the cerebellum, and not in the cerebral cortex (Balboni, 2014). After the age of three, every other language will be stored in the cortex, so the mother tongue is owned by the speaker before starting education, while second language and foreign language not. A person can have more than one first language, such as in plurilingual families, in which is given attention to use every language present in a family. The first language contributes to give a person his/her *forma mentis* (Balboni, 2014). Even dialects are first languages and Italian itself can be a second language for children who speak regional dialects in family and firstly hear it on television and at school;
- *foreign language*. A foreign language is existing in the country, but it is not the language used by the family, while it is used in academic institutions.

It has origin in another country. It is not spoken but taught, so it is not present daily in conversations and it is not a vital means of communication. It is acquired after the first language and it is a voluntarily choice, influenced by plans of the individual and his/her interests. Foreign language has a mediator or a teacher. For example, it is English for Italy;

- *ethnic language*. The Ethnic language is the one which is related to the cultural background of a family or state. It can be connected to religion, history and geography. For example, Muslim children from Indonesia use Arabic for religious functions, while Indonesian at school and at home, with, in most of the cases, the addition of a local dialect. Another example is the Italian taught in Brazil, which is, basically, the dialect spoken in Veneto in the late of 19th century (Balboni, 2014);
- *second language*. The second language is not a native language neither a foreign language. It is also not a second language in order of acquisition. A second language can be the language of a nation, for example, Italian for dialect speakers; the prestige language, as classical Arabic or Mandarin; the education language, such as French for North Africans (Balboni, 2014). The second language is acquired spontaneously because it is present in the environment in which someone lives. It is the case of immigrants, who are immersed in a context where it exists a language which is different by theirs. The language is spoken and so it is acquired by them, receiving an input in everyday life. Another example is Swiss, in which German and French live together and they are learned both as second languages.

2.1 The acquisition of language

Every child, from his or her first day of life, is exposed to a language. The first variety of language that is used by parents, models of learning, and that is going to be acquired spontaneously, will be independent from other linguistic inputs that

the child will receive, for example, from educational contexts. But how have we learned our language? There are not differences between two children living poles apart in the world: the process of acquisition is the same with the same modalities. There are not differences even between a child who acquires German and another who acquires a sign language, because the modalities and the steps are the same (Guasti, 2007). It is not yet established a definite theory about the acquisition of language, many hypotheses were formulated from the theoretic perspective and today the debate is still open. It is certain that there is an interaction between what is innate and what is acquired. The main question for the various theories is how much is innate in language. Here are the five-principal hypothesis to provide the foundation of language learning process:

- *behaviorism hypothesis*. According to this hypothesis, the thought is language, an interiorized verbal behavior. The language is considered a motor activity acquired with operant conditioning, concept developed at the beginning of the 20th century by two American psychologists: Edward Thorndike and, in the second half of the century, Frederic Skinner. Behaviorism comprehends all the responses emitted actively and independently from the stimuli. These responses can be strengthened or weakened by the consequences produced on the environment. When a child is born, he or she is a *tabula rasa*, and only by owning, in a progressive way, linguistic abilities, he or she will be able to explicit needs or wishes that will be or won't be strengthened by surrounding people, based on the accuracy or uncertainty of the child's expressions. The uncorrected ones, by the adults, will be deleted and the corrected will be a reinforcement;
- *nativist hypothesis*. This hypothesis was sustained by Noam Chomsky. He assumes that it exists a faculty of language proper of the human species, innate, genetically transmitted, the *LAD*: Language Acquisition Device (Hauser *et al.*, 2002) and a predisposition to acquire any language. All the

children exposed to a language acquire fast the faculty of comprehend and produce sentences in that language. From the birth we are potential speakers of every languages, but we fix only the phonetic and grammatical elements of the language which we are exposed to (Pinker, 1994). According to Chomsky (2006), children acquire without efforts the underlined principles of the language which they are exposed to, developing linguistic rules assimilated in a fixed temporary sequence. The acquisition of a language entails the setting of “Universal Grammar” parameters, a range of common mechanisms below every language; a genetic dispositive responsible for the language acquisition. Its mansion is to prepare the brain to receive linguistic inputs and to guide the child during the building of the linguistic competence. Universal Grammar is composed of a series of innate knowledges, principles that give a generic structure that will lead the child to assimilate any language and the parameters that determinate the syntactic variation between languages. A speaker judges an infinite series of sentences in the native language using unconsciously grammatic rules. The acquisition does not depend on the teaching, however the linguistic units and the value of the parameters of the first language are learned, for example: the order of syntagma and the expression or not of the subject (Balboni, 2014);

- *genetic hypothesis*. The swiss psychologist, biologist, pedagogue and philosopher Jean Piaget argues that the context does not influence the development of communicative skills in the child. He postulates the genetic hypothesis and the innate nature of the cognitive process. The child comprehends and uses certain linguistic structures only when his or her cognitive abilities are able to do so. Before dominating language, the child imitates and uses objects as symbols. Piaget speaks about the symbolic function of language, which is, at the beginning, egocentric and subordinate to the thought (Piaget, 1945);

- *social hypothesis*. The social hypothesis was developed by the soviet psychologist Lev Semënovic Vygotsky (1934). He claims that the evolution of language is a social process. The reciprocity between an individual and the society is very important because the human development can happen only through the exchange and the transmission of knowledges. Despite having an independent origin, language and thought fit influencing each other and becoming structurally independent. Thanks to the language, shape of social relationship, it is possible to transmit information. In this way, the language itself develops (Vygotsky, 1934). In the Fifties, when the cognitive psychology was developing in opposition to the behaviorism, the psycholinguistics (the study of linguistic behavior through a psychological lens), was born. The language becomes an inquiry's area, especially with the work of Chomsky.

2.1.1 Stages of the learning and acquisition of a second language

Bialystock affirms that both bilingual and monolingual acquisitions are equal. According to her, the factors that shape the acquisition process are inputs from the environment, the child's attention and perception and the elaboration of cognitive and conceptual competencies (Bialystock *et al.*, 2009). Going back to the definitions of bilingualism, especially to simultaneous bilinguals, we have seen that the simultaneous acquisition of two or more languages at an early age can be considered as the acquisition of many primary languages. According to Bhatia & Ritchie (2013), the linguistic competence of the bilingual child in these cases corresponded to that of monolinguals. The languages develop in a similar way between mono and bilinguals: the phonetic, morphosyntactic and lexical levels go hand in hand. Grosjean (1982), demonstrates that bilingual children pronounce their first words more or less in the same period of monolinguals: 11.2 months versus 11.6. Some scholars sustain that for bilinguals it is more complex

to develop the phonetic system, because of they are involved in two classifications, and it would be delayed the onset of language (Hoffman, 1991). Bialystock (*et al.*, 2009) reports that when the bilingual child reaches a little more than a year, s/he can demarcate phonological representation for both the languages present in his or her environment. Continuing with the analysis of the acquisition, it is interesting to report that the meanings of the words are overextended, and the preferred grammatical constructions are in first place the easier. The less complex phonemes appear before the more difficult, such as fricatives /f/, /s/ and /z/. Bhatia & Ritchie (2013) observe that, despite the fact bilinguals start to speak later than monolinguals, they do not present delays and they are still considered inside of the normal period of time for the development of language of monolinguals. For what concern the morphosyntax, the phases for bilinguals and monolinguals are the same. It is possible that bilinguals commit more errors, especially of simplification, and that they own a complete competence a little bit later than monolinguals. Morphosyntax and syntax categories are acquired by bilinguals on the basis of complexity and saliency. If the child is reached by two languages that provide similar traits and elements, such as no subjects or the presence of cases, these characteristics will be acquired simultaneously by the child in both the languages. The forms that are more difficult in one language than another and that are less used by speakers around the learner, will be mastered later. Considering the lexicon, having two words for the same meaning can provoke, in bilingual speakers, interference errors but also a list of cognitive benefits, as we have already seen in the previous chapter of this dissertation. Going deeper in the topic, in a semantic level, there are three steps elaborated by Volterra & Taeschner (1978):

1. the child owns a unique lexical system with words of both languages. The age in this period goes from 0 to 3 years, in which there is still a language mixing. For the child the two languages are only one idiom;

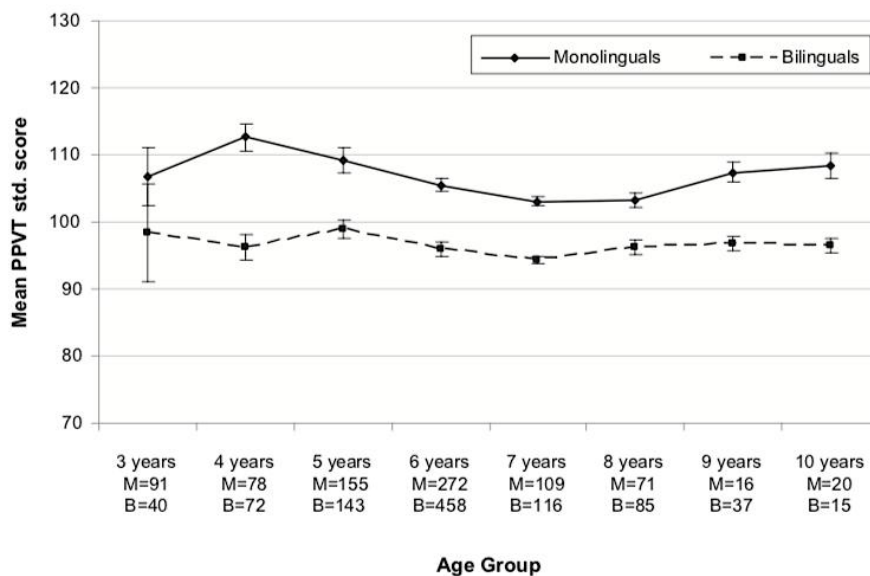
2. from the thirtieth months, it starts the development of two distinct lexical systems by the child, even if s/he continues to take as reference the syntax of only one language, while both are used. It conduces to a switch between grammatical rules of the two languages or to a creation of a mixed new structure. The child perceives the existence of two communication systems that are different and starts to select idioms according to the interlocutor;
3. from the third year of age, the child enters the last step of this model, showing a competence in the distinction of the two linguistic systems. S/he is able to separate the two idioms and to understand the contexts in which a language has to be used, and the situations in which it is necessary to use the other. The child knows that s/he is bilingual.

The model by Volterra & Taeschner was successively criticized, especially the first step. Other scholars sustain that at this point of the development, the child owns two lexical systems that are distinct (Bhatia & Ritchie, 2013). To put in evidence this hypothesis, here it is reported an experiment led by Kovacs & Mehler (2009), who presented auditory stimuli to 12-month-old infants raised in monolingual and bilingual environments. The task consisted in the presentation of combinations of three-syllable artificial stimuli with the structure ABA or AAB. They were not existent words and it was told the participants that the words were associated to toys, if they looked them to the right or to the left. In the same amount of time bilinguals learned both the responses, while monolinguals only one. Bilinguals demonstrated to be more flexible and to learn twice as much about language. The results provided examples of different performances in phonological tasks that “can be traced to the experience of building up two linguistic systems” (Bialystock et al., 2009, p.90). It is to say that the linguistic development in children happen progressively. Sometimes it seems to go faster, other times it seems to slow down. This is because the two languages acquired can overlap themselves, especially due to factors involving social, psychological

and environmental aspects. If a language is less present than another, if there is only a little support for the learner, if there were negative changes, the bilingualism could suffer a modification. Regardless of the number of languages spoken, or signed, in the environment, the first word appears at about one year of age (Petitto & Marentette, 1991). Factors that differ between bilingual and monolingual are not the timeframes, but which words are learnt, and the extension of the vocabulary acquired by bilinguals (Bialystock *et al.*, 2009). One strategy for word-meaning's acquisition is 'assignment'. The concept derives from the assumption that a thing can have only one name. Children assume that every new word corresponds to an unfamiliar object, but bilinguals already know that an object can have two or more names. The example reported by Bialystock (*et al.*, 2009) is that if a monolingual child hears the term "bik" and s/he is looking at two objects, a cup and something else unknown, for him or her "bik" will be the unknown, while for a bilingual it could also be the cup, because s/he already knows that objects can have more than one name. It is accepted that bilingual children perceive phonological word structures in a distinct way than monolinguals. There are differences in word learning strategies, but cognitive landmarks are comparable between monolingual and bilingual speakers. As regards the amounts of words of the latter's vocabulary, it is obviously bigger than their monolingual counterparts. Researches affirm that bilinguals and monolinguals achieve 50 words with the same timings, when both are one year and a half (Petitto *et al.*, 2001). The vocabulary that bilinguals have for each language contains few words than the entire vocabulary that a monolingual owns for his or her unique language. Considering the possession of two terms for each word, it is also difficult to estimate the exact number of total words in bilingual's vocabulary. Over that, an experiment was led by Bialystock (*et al.*, 2010). It was measured the receptive vocabulary of 1700 children between 3 and 10. The subjects were monolinguals and bilinguals. The last were all speaking English as community and school language. Figure number 5, (Bialystock *et al.*, 2009, p.

92), illustrated the results, in which it is visible that the mean standard score on the English Peabody Test⁷ of receptive vocabulary was higher for monolinguals than bilinguals.

Figure 5 – Mean Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test (PPVT) standard score and standard error by age and language group (monolinguals, M, vs. bilinguals, B).



It is possible to see that monolinguals perform a higher score, but the disparities were different based on the association with thematic fields. Bialystock (*et al.*, 2009) reported that at the age of six, all the children score well for what concerns the words associated with school and education, but bilinguals were worse about word’s associations of the ‘home’ topic. So, we can reconfirm that it is not simple to evaluate the amount of vocabulary for bilinguals, on the contrary, it is something really complex. Above all these aspects, what characterize the human being are sentences and utterances, grammatical combinations. The first word

⁷ The Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test, elaborated firstly in 1959 by Dunn & Dunn, is took as measurement of receptive vocabulary for Standard American English. The test takes twenty-five minutes circa and presents a series of pictures. The examiner shows, one by one the candidates, four pictures in one table and describes only one of them. The tester has to point the figure that matches with the description.

combination, according to Petitto (1991), appears at one year and a half, and then the combinations become more articulated. The steps about the grade of complexity depend on the language in question. The grammar is connected with the structure of the language, and with the lexicon. When the child arrives to own about 50 words (around a year and a half, of course), s/he begins to form the first sentences. We have seen that the acquisition of language for bilingual and monolingual children follows the same steps, but actually bilinguals own a different linguistic competence, that develops during years. They have a knowledge that is divided, and two representational systems, one per language. To understand better the bilingual mind, it is to take in consideration the inputs a bilingual child receives. The topic requires researchers not only in linguistic but also in cognitive systems. Bilingual minds are different than monolingual's in their functionality: the first have two languages that may confer benefits in a cognitive way, but also harder processing to take day-by-day (Slabakova, 2016).

2.2 Krashen's theory of Second Language Acquisition

The process of learning other languages in addition to the mother tongue is called second language acquisition. The second language can be introduced to a speaker by other speakers of this second language or in contexts such as school. The definition of second language comprehends also the mastery of a second language in a fluently way. It depends not only by external inputs but also on the willingness of the learner, his or her motivation, autonomy, identity and other psychological factors. People can learn a second language in a complete way. There is an important previous difference to put in evidence and that is between Second Language Acquisition and Learning. The SLAT theory is based on five hypotheses as it follows:

1. *Monitor Theory*. According to Krashen (1981), people develop second language's abilities in two independent systems, that are called

subconscious language *acquisition* (the most important), and conscious language *learning*. The Monitor Hypothesis entails that the learning system controls the acquisition center, so the last, producing language, would be monitored by what the student has learned. If the outputs match it is ok, if it is not, the monitoring of the learning system will correct the acquisition center (Davis, 2013). Krashen (1981), makes a distinction between learners who use the ‘monitor’ all the time, those who do not use it at all and those who use it appropriately. The ‘monitor’ acts in a planning and correction of deviations from “normal” speech, explaining the relationship between acquisition and learning;

2. *acquisition vs learning*. This distinction is the most fundamental of all the hypothesis. Language learning refers to a formal learning process settled in classrooms while language acquisition does not imply a formal training. It is a rational process and it does not produce permanent acquisition. The concept is linked to the traditional study in class, where there is an attention and an analysis on every single part of the discourse and on the rules of the language. Moreover, in class there is more grammar than conversations, less practice and more theory, the teacher is the biggest authority and it seems there is no place for errors, but only for perfection. To acquire is different than to learn. The acquisition is an unconscious process, it happens spontaneously, without grammar lessons. What is acquired enters in long-term memory. The acquisition is akin to an instinct that is possessed by humans, especially when they are children, while the more one grows, the more he or she will be slow in acquiring a new language (Balboni, 2014). It is the result of authentic relations between people living in the environments of the target language and culture. Language acquisition requires interactions and natural communication in which speakers are not careful about the form of their utterances but about the messages they want

to send. Errors and mistakes are normal and useful for the process of acquisition (Krashen, 1981);

3. *input comprehensible*. This hypothesis was formulated to explain how second language acquisition occurs. The learners have to receive a comprehensible input, easily understood and appropriate. The importance is the meaning of the input and not the form in which it is presented to learners (phonologically, morpho-syntactically, written, etc.). Adults are different than children, they do not possess the ability to acquire languages naturally and use more complex cognitive strategies. It is sustained, indeed, by Krashen (1985), that adults can acquire a second language only thank to a comprehensible input and without the activation of the affective filter.
4. *natural order of acquisition; $i+1$; zone of proximal development; interlanguage*. The notion of “zone” was first developed by Vygotskij in the Thirties and then by Bruner as “zone of proximal development”. It comprehends the zone in which are grouped the linguistic elements that are proximal (+1) to the elements already assimilated, *intaken* (i). The next element to acquire (+1) is not only proximal but also predictable and the next in a natural order for acquiring language rules. This order is not yet established, and it can be confusing because, in educational contexts, notions in textbooks and teachers do not follow clear sequences. Krashen rejects grammatical sequencing when the aim is language acquisition;
5. *affective filter hypothesis*. The affective filter is a mental screen. Our brain constantly works, and it produces neurotransmitters that contribute the storage of information. It happens especially in serenity state of mind, while in fear’s mood it produces a steroid that blocks neurotransmitters. This steroid produces a fight between the amygdala and the hippocampus. The first gland protects us from unpleasant situations and the second is involved in the process of storage (Cardona, 2001). So, the affective filter, is a mechanism that enters in functions as defender of the person when they

came states of anxiety and fear during the second language learning. It also comprises factors such as attitudes, motivation and self-confidence. Students of second languages with high anxiety have a high filter, that influences the learning development. They face 'mental blocks' that prevent comprehensible input from being acquired. If a student in class is relaxed, the inputs will reach him or her more effectively; if a learner has high motivation, self-confidence, a good self-image and a low level of anxiety s/he is very well equipped.

It is now offered an overview of the factors that are formed in the brain when we acquired our mother language and that rule the rapidity of activation, and the efficiency of the neuronal sub-systems specialized for the languages. These factors interact but monitor separately the linguistic, metalinguistic and emotional dimensions of the individual (Daloiso, 2009) and they are:

- *starting age* of acquisition of a language. The human language is a cognitive ability that is acquired in a natural manner during a critic period from zero to twelve years of age. In this timeframe the brain is particularly predisposed to acquire linguistic abilities. If the L2 acquisition starts from a tender age, the mechanisms of the elaboration of the mother tongue are activated and they can lead the child to acquire a competence similar or same of a mother-speaker;
- *frequency of exposition*. A minimum quantity of neural impulse is necessary to make the brain circuits work, triggering the activation threshold;
- *environment*. It is necessary to predispose an environment of acquisition that is stimulating and relaxed, to encourage an emotive involvement during the learning;

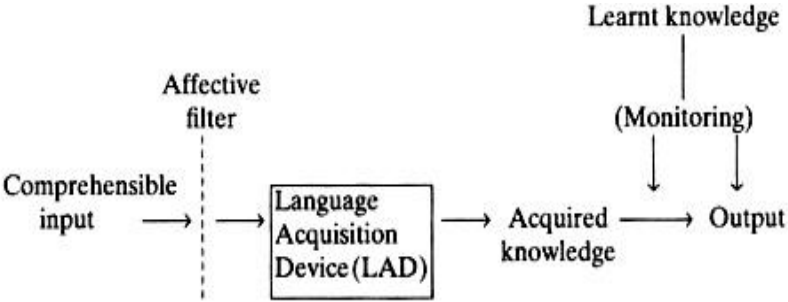
- *accuracy of the linguistic input*. It is based on the preparation of the people surrounding the child.

According to Haynes (2007), Second Language Acquisition's process occurs in five stages:

1. *preproduction*. It is also called "silent period" in which learners start to build wordlessly their vocabulary. It amounts to 500 words circa and it is constructed in a gradually way, especially due to imitation and inner repetition;
2. *early production*. The amount of words is double. The learner has the capacity of build short sentences with few words. S/he is also able to use short language forms, most of the time uncorrected, and to memorize short phrases;
3. *speech emergence*. Talking about the number of words known by the learner, here we are about 3000 words. Short phrases are produced as well as brief questions. An important role is given to illustrated stories. The learner, if sustained by pictures, can understand simple tales;
4. *intermediate fluency*. The vocabulary continues to increase, and it is duplicated from the speech emergence phase. Sentences are both spoken and written by the learner, who possessed also a good comprehension;
5. *advanced fluency*. The last stage deserves many efforts and it takes around 5-10 years to be reached by the learner, who could finally be considered near-native like for his or her proficiency in the second language.

To summarize all of these concepts, it is offered Figure 6, taken from Krashen (1985, p.16).

Figure 6 – The Input Hypothesis Model of L2 learning and production



2.3 The Critical Period Hypothesis

The majority of the scholars recognize a critical role of age about the mother language acquisition and second language acquisition. The first who noted the existence of a critical period was Eric Lenneberg. The researcher, in *Biologic Foundation of language* (1967), includes his theory, sustaining that the human language is acquired naturally during the critical period, from the birth to the beginning of the adolescence (twelve years circa). In this timeframe the brain is particularly predisposed to gain linguistic abilities. According to this hypothesis, it seems that the acquisition of language is easier during the infancy and that it will be harder after in adulthood. To sustain this theory, Johnson and Newport (1989), conducted a study examining the knowledge of English language of Chinese and Korean individuals in the USA. They conclude that the grammatical competence of these people was connected to the age in which they started learning English. Individuals who came in USA before the age of seven showed a competence level equal to native speakers. Newport, moreover, affirms that children with auditory diseases who procrastinate the exposition to the language aggravate their conditions, making more difficult the achievement of a good level of competence. The more exceptional studies about the influence of the age of acquisition are the analysis of the “feral children”, children who were forced to live their infancy outside the community, in a sort of beastly condition. They were abandoned or relegated and the more famous were Victor, the boy of *Aveyron* and

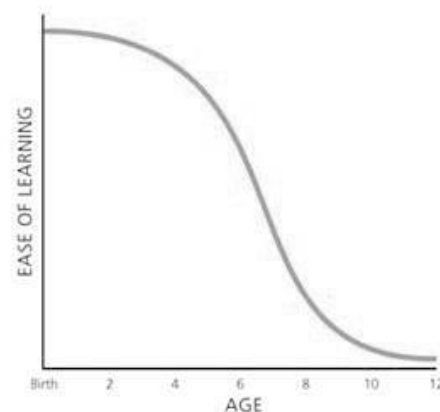
Genie. The first was saved by a doctor in the middle of the Eighteen century. The man tried to re-educate him, but he was never able to acquire the language. Genie was a girl born in 1957 in USA and segregated by the father, because she was considered delayed, until she was thirteen. She cannot develop any language and reach an adequate linguistic competence, even after seven years or rehabilitation. She cannot build sentences and associates two words neither. According to Dodman (2013), the majority of the categories of our mental schemes is built between 5 and 18 years. The capacity to develop a language is innate but the language is strictly linked to the environment. Other terms can be used instead of 'critical', in reference to the period. This is because there can be factors, as we have seen in the previous stories, that have a relevant influence such as solitary confinement, violence and linguistic deprivation. Consequently, other expressions can be formulated with the meaning: "the period during the growth in which the person has the best chances to acquire particular abilities", such as "sensible period" or "optimal period". Daloiso (2009) puts in evidence that the knowledge of the brain potentialities, that contradistinguishes the learning during the early years of life, induces to think that the exposition to more than one language can lead to the formation of groups of neurons with the function of elaboration of the inputs of each language. Knudsen (2004) presents the concept of "multiple critical periods". According to him, it is possible to individuate various temporal windows for the linguistic acquisition, that scan the steps of brain maturation of the areas related to the elaboration of language. These periods are:

- *from 0 to 3 years.* The pronunciation is perfect, even the development of the linguistic abilities and the competences of grammar. The acquired languages are represented in the same cerebral areas. The brain is still in a maturation phase and it has been studied that the lateralization is not yet started;

- *from 4 to 8 years.* This is the second period for the linguistic acquisition. The pronunciation is still perfect and even the development of linguistic abilities. The child own good grammatical competence. It is reported that there can be interferences between languages. Moreover, the lateralization process starts but the languages are represented in the brain in the same areas;
- *from 9 years.* The accent will be foreign. There can be syntactic, and in the acquisition of functional words, difficulties. It can be a major possibility of fossilization. The lateralization is complete and also the cognitive functions. The languages acquired belatedly are represented in different regions of the brain, which are more extended than the mother tongue's zones.

In the first and second period, so the early childhood, children show a natural curiosity to the languages, their linguistic behaviour is full of routines and in the neurologic plan it is present a really active and elevated brain plasticity with a prevalent use of the implicit memory. These periods are the most fertile for the acquisition of one or more linguistic codes and to approach them to bilingualism. In Figure 7 it is a graphic about the Critical Period of Learning. It is visible that from birth to adolescence the curve undergoes almost completely.

Figure 7 – *Critical Period of Learning*



Children use also mechanisms of imitation ruled by the mirror neurons, a particular typology of neurons characterized by the capacity of activation when there are some actions to perform or when actions made by others are observed. Recent research in linguistic field have shown that to recognize determinate phonetic sequences the brain activates the mirror neurons, simulating the processes involved in the production of that sounds (Daloiso, 2009). The concept of multiple critical periods implies also that the language has to be intended such as a set of interconnected components processed in different areas of the brain. These components follow autonomous maturation paths. Analysing the linguistic competence that can develop a person when s/he is exposed to two languages during the first, the second and the third period, it results that the difficulties, that are progressive, do not regard all the language components, but who will face a second language after nine years will meet more complications in phonetics and morphosyntax than in lexicon and semantics (Fabbro, 2004). Flege (*et al.*, 1999) sustains that by the critical age children can acquire numerous procedures related to different languages without conflicts or interferences in their use. When the critical period passed, children tend to activate procedural schemes linked to their first language when they talk in the second one.

2.4 Second language for adults: is it easy or difficult to acquire?

Some scholars believe that adults can acquire in an easy way second language because of three skills that they own in a higher manner than children: their cognitive level, logical thinking and self-monitoring abilities. Adults start from a point in which they have already passed the “acquisition period”. They are older and more mature than children. This fact confers them advantages in terms of working memory, conceptual and social development and command of speech styles. According to Bialystock (*et al.*, 2010), the language competence of a child cannot be compared to the competence of an adult. The first results less complete. Despite the fact that other scholars sustain that bilingual children perform better

than monolingual in language tasks, it is also claim that there are downsides of being bilingual. Bialystock (*et al.*, 2010), underlines that the acquisition of more languages can postpone the language development, and to consider that not all the learners are similar: there is someone faster and someone with more difficulties, according to their acquiring abilities. The scholar puts in evidence, also, that bilingual children might never master either fully language and that in the same age in which they are struggling with two vocabularies in mind, monolinguals have only one, so, having the same memory capacity, bilinguals are too tired and in trouble. Krashen (1981), sustains that adults can acquire a second language easily and that they make progress faster than children. A more recent study confirms this thesis (Ellis, 2013). Ellis says that adults have advantages in second language learning. The three areas in which adults have advantages cited above are:

1. *the aspect of cognitive level.* Adults have a thinking structure more matured than children. In Piaget's theory of cognitive development (1991), the author reports three stages of cognitive development and the third, which is from 11 to adulthood, is more complicated and advanced, and it brings adult to major benefits in grammar explanations;
2. *the aspect of logical thinking.* Adults possess the ability of critical thinking and logical thought. Their thinking mode is more improved than children's and their language consciousness is well developed. These elements contribute to raise adults' cognitive abilities of analysis, expression of sentences and to handle problems. Having the capacity to understand and comprehend more things, thanks to their experiences, they are more helped with second language acquisition;
3. *the aspect of self-monitoring ability.* Adults can analyse themselves very well during their process of acquisition of a second language, because they can notice their mistakes and work deeply on what is more critical. Adults

L2 learners, also, can use diverse strategies of learning, based on their autonomy and their needs. They can choose more consciously to carry on with a goal.

Taken into consideration the Critical Period Hypothesis, we have learned that some skills may be lost by adults after a certain age. Children acquire step by step, normally and gradually, while adults are out of step. Adults spend a lot of time and energy in L2 acquisition, but according to some researchers, they cannot achieve the same level of fluency, proficiency and competence as children learners. The aspects that give a big contribution to all of these theories are the aspect of age, the aspect of environment, the aspect of device, the aspect of mode and the aspect of motivation (Deng & Zou, 2016):

- *age*. The biggest action of age is on the brain: “the plasticity of the brain allows children to acquire the language. With the maturation of the brain, adults may lose physiological advantage in the second language acquisition” (Deng & Zou, 2016, p. 778);
- *environment*. Bilingual children acquire, by the daily exposition to their mother tongue, two languages. Although they have poor cognitive abilities, sometimes even the language is not inherent, but learning ability it is, and they still talk rather fluently. In this kind of environment, the learning is unconscious, smooth, enjoyable, while in classroom it is faker;
- *device*. According to Krashen (1981), human beings have a language acquisition device that goes weaker for adults. Adults can help themselves by using their L1 competences and system of already language’s knowledge in their L2 studying;
- *mode*. Children begin with imitations, while adults with their L1 abilities. Adults start from their mother tongue to extend language rules into their

second one and, compared with children's native language acquisition, they will encounter less chance of success;

- *motivation*. Adults' purposes in second language acquisition are complex and different. For children the acquisition is natural and pleasant, but for adults it needs attention, constancy, passion and a hard work.

Adults may live also a phenomenon of negative transfer of native language to their second and the reduction of that. For them, the acquisition is really complex and requires some efforts that children do not know, due to the naturality in which language goes on for them. Studying the differences between adults and children, it can lead to consider some items such as the importance for children to imitate. In this way, even adults can try to develop their capacity by audio-inputs and through repetition. Some researchers think that adult can own a second language using their cognitive skills, their logic and motivation, while others are in the opinion for which the most successful example of language learning is founded in children and in their innate capacity and inclination for learning and storing every kind of inputs, especially the linguistic ones. Every learner owns a unique personality, that contributes to the final result, and s/he faces different contexts and variables, inputs and environments. In the next paragraphs all of these aspects will receive more details and explanation, to have a complete vision of the second language acquisition for children and adults.

2.4.1 Rationales for second language acquisition, context theories and the role of environment

According to Baker (2001), the three reasons for which children or adults acquire a second language are ideological, international and individual. The first purpose may be assimilationist, or the aim can be the rapid integration of minority language groups into society. The assimilationist reason is at the expense of the minority language, while the preservation theory acts as the opposite. For

example, English is taught in the United States and in England to integrate minority languages, while there are also children in Ireland or New Zealand, Maori, who study their minority language to preserve it. Another societal reason is to increase harmony between language groups, as the case of Canada in which bilingualism helps English and French politicians and bicultural activists. Another type of reason is the international motive. Second language learning is encouraged for trade and economy, especially in a globalized world such as ours. In this section it also be present the reason to travel across continents, a common use that encourages people to learn European languages and other repertoires, even because “Languages provide access to information and hence power, new doors, new knowledge, new skills and new understandings” (Baker, 2001, p.112). The third reason underlined by Baker is the individual cause to learn a second language. According to him, second language learning is important because of the cultural awareness, and because culture is embedded in language. Another motive is for cognitive development, to sharp the mind and the intellect. Continuing with the individual reasons, even affective, careers and employment purposes might be contexts in which the acquisition of a second language can help. However, it has to be distinguished between informal and formal acquisition. Bilingualism can be achieved through an acquisition that happens in informal contexts such as street, neighbourhood and medias. A language can be learned by a child even without the family’s intention, by the peers, cartoons and internet. These environments seem weak, put they are full of inputs that can be really influential and potent as formal education. In early childhood becoming bilingual could be an unconscious and natural fact. On the other way, the school is the most appropriate formal place of acquisition. Teachers of foreign languages try to raise students’ interest with language activities, laboratories, funny exercises, pattern drills and so on. In these circumstances occur the initial stages of bilingualism. In Baker (2001), it has been reported that other contexts of formal education are voluntary language classes, especially to support better immigrants’ languages. Local groups in England and

Canada, where English is the dominant language of the community and the education's language, plan evening classes for learning the heritage language of parents. The reasons for these kinds of schools are founded in religion, culture and traditions of ethnic minority's groups. Synagogues, mosques and Orthodox churches are places in which languages and customs are still taught to children to maintain cultural roots. Classes do not exist only for children but also for adults. There are evening classes to gain certifications and qualifications in the target language and they exist distance learning methods, based on media. A course that is very significant is called "Ulpan" and it represents a mass movement of adult language learners of Hebrew in Israel (Baker, 2001), when it was established the State of Israel (1948). It consisted in a full-immersion course, with the goal on developing competence in spoken language. In formal contexts, the second language is imposed by teachers: for migrants it is essential to study, for other learners it can be a free choice. A model of second language acquisition is, according to Schumann (1978), the adaptation to a new culture. It is called acculturation. The scholar proposed this model based on the importance of context of the language community. It begins with the awareness that "Language is one aspect of culture, and the relationship between the language community of the learner and the second language community is important in second language acquisition" (Baker, 2001, p.115). This model was thought because of immigrants and ethnic minorities acquire a second language with a link to the acculturation process. It comprehends the adaptation to a new culture and new ways of thinking and feeling part of a community that is the majority language group. The factors that influence the acculturation model are social and psychological. The first is about the extent to which the L2 learners can identify themselves and have contacts with the majority's language speakers; the second, is the extent to which learners feel comfortable with the target language. These two factors present many other variables such as motivation and attitude, well studied by Krashen (1981), explained in the next paragraph. Another theory based on context is the

accommodation theory, by Giles & Byrne (1982). As well as acculturation, this model is dedicated to groups or intergroup situations. The main factor in this model is the relationship between the ingroup (the group of the L2 learners) and the outgroup (the community of the target language). It has to be smooth and constantly treated, because it always changes. There are many variables belonging to whom has to learn the language of the dominant group: s/he has to maintain a quiescent relation between the ethnic group and the dominant; has to know that his or her ethnic group has a low vitality and s/he has to open the eyes and consider the group boundaries 'soft and open' and not 'hard and closed' (Baker, 2001). Some scholars have criticized these context theories, sustaining that the arguments about inter-group relationships of the accommodation theory are merely individual, and do not express insights and frustrations by language minorities. These models, acculturation and accommodation, do not explain how a child or an adult acquires a second language but are useful because the topic about SLA (Second Language Acquisition) needs a cognitive-processing and a socio-psychological models to be explicated (Baker, 2001). A notable factor correlated to second language learning is the environment in which the language is learned. Many studies collected in Marinova-Todd, Marshall & Snow (2000), show interesting data such as positive effects on pronunciation in university students after phonological trainings, and the obtaining of a nativelike pronunciation even with the experience of a silent period in which L2 learners have only to listen without speaking. When the Critical Period Hypothesis became more considered, the attention of scholars was catalysed by age effects. In Flege (*et al.*, 1999), it was studied the proficiency of pronunciation of Korean-English bilinguals. It has to be noticed that even young learners, before age 5, have a significantly different pronunciation's proficiency from monolinguals. The scholars report also that children around preadolescence period could learn a second language but at the cost of their L1 and that it can be also the case in which older learners could recall their first language at the expense of their second.

Evaluating immigrants' situations, it is enlightened that, if older, they prefer to strengthen the L1 environment for themselves, delaying the L2 acquisition. If an older immigrant arrives in a foreign country, s/he will search environments correlated to their first language, that are more available. Younger immigrants will, on the other way, talk and read more willingly in the L2. But it is also to say that even an older immigrant will acquire a proficiency in the second language even with a smaller exposition, because of the living environment. It is so possible that older learners maintain their L1, while younger not. The latter could maintain both languages or have a dominant L2.

2.5 Child and adult L2 acquisition comparisons

Child L2 acquisition is to consider different from bilingual L1 acquisition, namely the exposure to two languages from birth. The limit to consider a child L2 acquisition is between the ages of 4 and 7 (Meisel, 2011), in which the process of acquiring the native language is already begun. A lot of constructions, that are complex, are not acquired by the child by the age of 4, but this is considered the age in which the native grammar is owned. In the previous chapters we faced with the age of 8 for the end of the period from which the acquisition may not proceed as the first language. It is still a debate for giving an age that is shared by all the researchers, in which it becomes the adult L2 acquisition, but in this dissertation, it is taken the age of eight, as Bialystock (*et al.*, 2009) reported. In Johnson and Newport's article (1989), it is studied that children acquire more successful than adults. The hypothesis reported in Slabakova (2016) is that if the acquisition path is the same, for both children and adults, it would be evident that in the background the process is leading by the Universal Grammar. If the adults' path diverges, it would be not. The question is not that easy, because even if similar patterns between children and adult could lead to UG hypothesis, adults might use other abilities, such as learning mechanisms (Unsworth, 2016). The factor that is fundamental for a normal acquisition is the quantity and quality of the input. For

a useful and successful acquisition, it has to be diverse, wide-ranging, rich in register, socially and communicatively important for the individual. According to Slabakova (2016), not only the quantity, but also the quality of the input has to be considered. It is reported that a person cannot acquire a language even if s/he is exposed every day, eight hours a day, to the radio. Languages need contexts, forms and meanings. Children and adults follow the same developmental paths in L2 acquisition, and they make the same errors. Adult L2 learners have a previously acquired language and for the Critical Period Hypothesis it would be very difficult for them to attain a second language successfully. Despite this fact, there are some studies which underline the possibility of highly proficiency for L2 adult speakers and that they apply same processing mechanisms as natives (Herschensohn, 2007). The age is a factor really important and it cannot be controlled by who is involved in adult L2 acquisition, but we have already highlighted the force of the input. It has to be copious, sustained and continuous (Slabakova, 2016). Quantity of input can influence the language development, and the difference here with children is that simultaneous bilinguals acquire two languages from the birth, while late learners have received less exposure. Adults can reach results that are comparable in terms of proficiency and grammar, but not about pronunciation. Age and inputs are two relevant factors to continue to analyze. It is interesting to cite two studies. The first is by Meisel (2008). He studied the acquisition of the agreement between subject and verb and the position of the clitic placement of German children acquiring French. They had the age of four and they made same errors as adults, L2 learners. The second study is by Kroffke & Rothweiler (2006), who have studied syntactic phenomena in L1 Turkish acquiring German. The children between three and four performed as monolinguals L1, while the older similar to adults L2. Surely, there are age effects regarding aspects of morphosyntax. For what concern the input, it is also to emphasize the weight of the variation in linguistic significance areas such as vocabulary, verbal morphology, nominal morphology and grammatical gender.

Also, complex syntax is considered affected by input factors. It is the case of the acquisition of *wh*-questions, passive sentences and relatives. Unsworth (2016), sustains an interaction between age and input effects, that have to be considered together. Another factor to quote is the L1 proficiency and the phenomena of transfer or other types of interferences between the L1 and L2. To sum up the three criteria to compare the child L2 and adult acquisition are: the age, L1 transfer and the developmental sequences of acquisition. For what concern the age, in addition to the Critical Period Hypothesis, it is to say that even cognitive capacities in different age groups have consequences. Furthermore, adults own a L1 that can be a potential for transfers. For children and adults with the same L1 there are similar transfer effects and these elements are more possible if the two languages learned (L1 and L2) are close. In conclusion, if it is to compare the processes of child and adult L2 acquisition, taking the developmental sequences, we can say that learners pretty progress through the same stages (Unsworth, 2016). Data collected by scholars, based on productions, elicitations and spontaneous productions, demonstrate that in most of the cases they are comparable, even considering the syntactic features in different languages, with longitudinal studies. Studies made until now include especially the morphology aspects, so the research needs more investigations, because it still present methodological weaknesses (Unsworth, 2016).

III. Linguistics and emotions

Researches made on multilingualism and emotions produced a complex and highly dynamic picture. People's language choices are not so predictable, and the ones made by multilinguals to communicate their emotions are related to socio-biographical factors, past experiences, psychological features and the present use of the languages (Pavlenko, 2014). All of these variables interact and lead to different linguistic behaviors. Words themselves acquire or lose power over time. The language of the heart may not always be the first we acquire, but it can change

throughout our lives, even for bilingual individuals. Some studies led in the field of bilingualism and emotions, report that the impact of the second language is different in relation to emotions. Many researches indicate that bilinguals perceive and discuss emotion states differently depending on the context and the language in which an event is remembered. In Pavlenko (2002) there is a collection of comments by several writers, who are bilinguals, about their mother languages. They describe them as languages that matter, languages of the senses and the deepest emotions. Nevertheless, it is argued by Pavlenko, that “It would be too simplistic to posit that bilinguals have positive emotional attachments to their first language and no attachments to their second, or additional, language” (2002, p.48). In support of this opinion, Pavlenko refers that negative experiences may provoke a language loss, especially in cases related to the Second World War, in which authors, one of them Gerda Lerner, rejected their first language because of the ideology contains in it. In Pavlenko (2002), it is evoked a memory in which a person felt hurt by her mother because the latter wants to ‘become English’ and it meant to become colder to her. Moreover, in a study made by Ervin-Tripp (1964) a 27-year-old Japanese-American was tested. He was born in the USA but grew in Japan. Describing pictures in both languages, he gave conflicting answers based on the language used with him. Answers in Japanese were more emotional and involved family members and feelings, while the American ones were colder and more formal. According to Dewaele (2015), speakers of more than one language, who live with more than one culture, are ideal subjects to question about the emotionality of their languages. Studies between Western and Eastern cultures have shown different approaches and a wide range of results. It is visible that cultures influence the experience and communication of emotions (Dewaele, 2013). Very interesting are considered the stories of immigrants who face a new culture. A series of applied linguists were fascinated by the emotional behavior of multilinguals and most researches were done focusing on diachronic variation, acculturation and socialization. Findings are hard to generalize but it would be

particular interesting to see further “to establish the effect of new and additional languages and cultures on existing emotion concepts and automatic processes” (Dewaele, 2015, p.358). In this chapter is going to be explained what emotions are, their definitions and the distinctions between them and feelings. The introductory paragraph will lead to a deepening in the field of primary and secondary emotions, giving explanation to theories such as those of psychologists Izard (1977), Plutchik (1980), Ekman (1982) and the linguist Wierzbicka (1999). It was decided to put in the researching questionnaire, showed in the next chapter, questions about bilingual’s daily preferences in expressing emotions, but only the basic ones, not the secondary. That is because the first are considered universal, and with them it was decided to insert also *love*, even if it is not an emotion. This matter is going to be faced in the second paragraph of this chapter. The third paragraph will introduce the complex topic about emotions and cultures. In it are going to be reported many studies about cross-cultural comparisons and are going to be answered questions such as if cultural distinctions reflect differences in emotional experiences of everyday lives or if cultures are different in the storage of emotions. The fourth paragraph is based more on the linguistics of emotions and will deal the relation between emotions and the words used to express them. In it are collected the more recent studies about language and emotions, done by linguists such as Dewaele and Pavlenko, who inspired the idea for this work. It will put in evidence interesting facts about world’s languages that are unique in every single term they own, some of them untranslatable in other languages. This chapter is the natural continuation to the discourse about the use of languages in bilingual’s everyday life because. After having encountered many academic definitions, it summarizes the more recent results regarding the topic of bilingualism and emotions. It contains also a lot of linguistic curiosities about several international languages. The chapter will conclude the theoretic part of the work, to introduce the proper research.

3.1 What are emotions?

The first question that will be answered in this paragraph is the most natural but maybe not so simple: what is an emotion? What are these fascinating *things* that occupy our conscience, modify our body and mind and drive our interest? For some scholars, emotions are passions more than actions. Aristoteles wrote that passions guide our thought and our survival, but they can go rogue; Plato said that emotions are like brats that try to escape from the human body (Goleman, 2015). If we evocate a situation in which we have experienced an intense emotion, such as fear, we can remember how we felt: blocked, eyes wide open, cold. There are also many ways of being sad, happy or angry in relation to the situation-stimuli, to the social environment, the physical conditions of the subject. On the other way, according to Goleman (2015), every kind of emotion is like an impulse to act, even because of the Latin meaning: from *ex-movēre*, to bring out, to shake and move you. These variations entail, in fact, modifications on body and facial expressions and they can also represent adaptive answers that evolve, as necessary for life's actions (D'Urso & Trentin, 2009). We cannot choose which emotion to feel. They are involuntary: sometimes we experience them in a private manner, other times our emotional expressions are evident for others and not for us. Emotions change in the life-span: when we are kids, they are more salient. Moreover, many of our emotions are socially related: they were born from our relationships and it is quite possible to individuate a series of components that go right together with a certain frequency, leading to a common knowledge about emotions. During centuries another interesting question was made: where are emotions? According to Egyptians they were in the left of our body, in the heart, while for LeDoux the centre of emotions was the brain (Palmpfer, 2012). Emotions are complex entities: we are talking about a process and an experience that are not homogeneous, they involve the entire organism, and processes that are cognitive, behaviouristic and psychological. Emotions are events which interest the

cognitive elaboration and the verbal and subjective knowledge to recollect them. Emotions make our experiences deeper and help us to construct stronger memories. Their contribution is noticeable in the intellectual and cultural development of the individual and in the human functions such as cognitive, motivational, emotional and neurophysiological. In West, emotions were defined about 1860 by theology, rhetoric, medicine and literature. Ninety-two were the definitions given during the last century. The first big intuition was of William James (1884), for whom emotions are physiological changes that happen inside humans, and the perception of these reactions is at the base of the emotional experience. So, the attention was put on the *arousal* mechanism, according to which we are sad because we cry, or we are afraid because we tremble, not the contrary. The reactions of an individual derive at first from his or her impulses, then they reach the rationality. Attention has to be paid even for terms that are often confused: emotion – affection – passion – thoughts – moods – feelings. It is not so easy to find a unity of meaning. Emotions, that have a biological foundation and can be studied objectively, are not feelings: the second have a longer duration, they cannot be studied at all and are combinations of emotions. In the same way, even emotions present different grades. The concept of feeling is universal: all languages appear to have a word for the concept of feel and the concept of emotions, that is culture-bound (Wierzbicka, 1999). It was Charles Darwin (1872) to realize, studying the emotion's expression, that between them some are innate and universal. "Emotions have a uniform core but are expressed variously in different cultures" (Plamper, 2012, p.98).

3.2 Basic emotions and the question of love

Some scholars have highlighted the fact that people of all cultures have the capacity of recognize and read in others' faces the same basic emotions: disgust, fear, joy, rage, sadness and surprise (Ekman *et al.*, 1982). It was possible especially at the end of 1980s by the use of functional magnetic resonance

imaging, an instrument helpful even for studying the acquisition of language in children. fMRI “measures changes in the oxygen content of blood in the brain, and from that draws conclusions about neuronal activity” (Plamper, 2012, p.207). These six emotions are automatic and instinctive responses to external stimuli, so they are universally recognizable, even because they have structures reconnectable to human biological bases. It is the right hemisphere that is predominant in the manifestations of emotional states, and in the comprehension and recognition of facial emotions (D’Urso & Trentin, 2009). The basic emotions are linguistically distinguished by people in all cultures. In every language there are words that link them to processes involving the body. “Every culture offers not only a linguistically grid for the conceptualization of emotions, but also a set of ‘scripts’, suggesting people how they feel” (Wierzbicka, 1999, p.240). According to James (1884), feelings are not always well separated one from another and every language imposes its own criteria to identify them. He also reports that they exist eleven different words for each race to describe emotions. For example, Dani people in New Guinea do not have words for the six basic emotions (Wierzbicka, 1999) but symptoms, as to blush, is universally, involuntary cognitively based. Words matter and have power to influence. The words of emotions are connected to colours and for talking about them people use figurative expressions and the term ‘like’. They are described via sensations. The language and the structure of values determinate the emotional experiences. “No one is more acutely aware of the reality of cultures than a bilingual who lives his or her life in two languages and two cultures” (Wierzbicka, 1999, p.241). Based on D’Urso & Trentin (2009), here are reported the basic emotions. ‘Surprise’ is explained with ‘joy’ and ‘fear’ because it is not considered primary for all the scholars, but in the questionnaire, it was decided to differentiate it, as to insert a question about ‘love’ even if it is not an emotion. This point is going to be illustrated after the descriptions of the primary emotions:

- *Disgust*. The object of the disgust is something unanimated. It is considered a fundamental emotion because of the fixed facial expression that is universal and because of its value is of protection of human beings, for their survival. It transmits indeed a refusal of contamination and repulsion. It evokes, for people, other emotions such as aversion and indignation;
- *Joy*. Joy is an emotion that follows the fulfilment of a request or the realization of a wish. Joy can be shared and is more intense than happiness, with whom is often associated. It entails a particular set of circumstances, a creative or socially useful action. It can be connected to *surprise*. Some studies have founded that the first reason to be joyful for people is falling in love, then to make happy who we love, to know that who we love wants to please us and to share a positive experience with those we love. It is an amount of activation of pleasure. The innate manifestation of joy is a smile, more contagious than every other emotion. It is associated to a positive mood in all studied cultures and it is so difficult to replicate in laboratory, even because of the connection with surprise. Joy has a more stable effect and it has been studied by scholars that we remember better verbal or visual material that grants with the emotional condition lived by the subject: our memory contains a bigger number of positive than negative information, that are more connected one another.
- *Fear*. The term 'fear' is used in many ways: to describe something that is present but also for something that may come in the future, or a pervasive status without an object, or an uncertainty preoccupation. It is used also for explaining something very unpleasant, a lack of knowledge, as to what the future holds, or something that seems a danger and we want to run away from it. Fear can differ between individuals due to their perception and valuation of stimuli. Every object, person or event could be seen as dangerous and potentially fearful. Some fears are innate or grow with age and then disappear. Some others have a rational base such as solitude for

adults. Izard (1977), proposed four categories to order the causes of fear: people; events of the external world; urges; other emotions and cognitive processes such as to imagine and to predict. The fear to be afraid is considered the heart of the problem: it is better to accept our emotions rather than fight against them. Some types of fear can also provoke pleasure, such as a controlled risk.

- *Rage*. It is correlated with something that has blocked our goals. It is undoubted that rage is a typical emotion, considered by all the theories and moreover inserted in the deadly sins as 'wrath'. It is a central emotion, prototypical because it is possible to identify, in it, tendencies to action and constant physiological modifications. It is also observed in babies and in animal species and it is one of the earlier emotions with joy and pain. Rage is certainly an emotional state that creates a need to express ourselves vigorously by action or by words. Its causes are an obstacle to the fulfilment of a wish and the imposition of a damage. Very young children that feel rage are the proves that they comprehend the relationship between voluntary actions and their effects, so they are able to make complex cognitive elaborations. We argue with ones we love rather than with people indifferent for us. Wrath is literally a passion that make us invaded of a force that is superior to our will;
- *Sadness*. It can be described as the sensation when desirable goals are lost but it can be applied even to situations where no goals are involved at all. It is a complex response for a loss event, similar to a grief. Sadness is the result of an impotence to have back the lost object and to delete the loss. The ego is restricted. The tendencies to action of sadness are inaction and solitary confinement. The emotional response of sadness has a genetic foundation and an adaptive function of survival. The facial expression of sadness is recognized in cultures so different among them and it happens

from the infancy. Even the richness of the vocabulary about sadness means the centrality of this experience.

In the questionnaire developed for this inquiry in the field of bilingualism and emotion, it was decided to insert questions about the primary ones. Why this decision? A matter of debate is if emotions are universal or relative. Pavlenko (2008), affirms that two concepts may be different in two languages, but it does not mean that even the experiences involved are different. Ekman (1992), and Izard (1977), sustain the existence of a set of basic emotions that represent innate states and responses across cultures, including the same facial expressions. Some researches distinguish between primary and secondary emotions. These are, for example, shame, pride or guilt, but are more difficult to be recognized. The basic emotions indeed are instantly and universally discernible. Studies about emotion talk were conducted in many fields such as anthropology, sociology and linguistics and it was discovered that communities share common understandings of emotion standards. Shaver (*et al.*, 1996) found that happiness/joy appear as a basic emotion in several multiethnic samples, included the Chinese, and that it is figured with an upturned mouth and contracted muscles around the eyes. Innate emotions are automatic. They are immediate reactions in which the cognitive process is at idle. Although, for processes like empathy or motivation, complex emotions, reactions and cognition interact. We have already encountered the study made by Ekman (1992), who proves that many facial expressions are genetically determined. Fundamental emotions are independent from the culture, and it is tested that also blind babies or infants show typical expressions reconnectable to emotions (Lo Iacono & Sonnino, 2008). A researcher who dedicated his work to emotions is Robert Plutchik. He distinguished primary to complex emotions and his thesis is that emotions are evolutive answers, useful because they help animal species to survive (Plutchik, 1980). Plutchik (1980). individuated eight emotional dimensions that are prototypical, but he argued that there are many languages to

describe emotions and that there are three different ways to refer to basic emotions: the subjective language, (the emotion referred by the subject); the behavioral language, (the behavior of a subject); the functional language (related to the type of function done by the behavior). To reassume, according to Plutchik emotions have three principal functions:

1. a motivational function, necessary to the conservation of the individual and the species;
2. a communicative function, because emotions let information spread within each individual. For example: to hug if you want to express affection;
3. an informative function, due to permit the individual to know his needs and goals and to be able to acquire and to act properly.

The question about love is the following: love is not an emotion because it is not a response to the environment. It does not change its status, it is like a promise. Why love is not considered as an emotion? Ekman (1992) proposes some criteria to define an emotion, claiming that they are marked by:

- distinctive universal signals;
- presence in other primates;
- distinctive physiology;
- distinctive universals in antecedent events;
- coherence among emotional responses;
- quick onset;
- brief duration;
- automatic appraisal;
- unbidden occurrence.

Izard (1992), adds as criterion the recognition of facial expressions and a unique feeling state, even if it is too much subjective and people, basing on their

subjectivity, can evaluate differently the same emotions. Ekman (1992), treats love as infatuation, involving at least two people, as jealousy or grief. Frijda (et al., 1991), define love “a disposition to respond emotionally to a certain object” and say that “sentiments are emotionally charged attitudes” (p.207). Love involves more than one emotion, perhaps it is the strongest of all the phenomena in the domain of emotions (Izard, 1992), but if we are in love, we are happy, so we are joyful; if we suffer for love, we are sad; if we have to fight for love, we experience anger. It was chosen to insert love in this research not in the guise of an emotion but because it is an everyday concept, according to Izard (1992), it is an integrant part of the emotional landscape and the most prototypical emotion in the minds of people. In poetries, songs, text-messages, we use many times the term “heart” to transmit our feelings. It is also the subject of many phrases: “much at heart”, “to die of a broken heart”, “to make the heart race”. Moreover, the focus of this work is on the use of languages in bilinguals in their everyday life, and love could be an integrant part of them. Dewaele (2008), collected some data from bilingual speakers about how they perceive strongest the phrase “I love you”. Two quarters reported that the L1 was strongest, a quarter said that both languages were strong, and a quarter indicated the L2. Analysis about the answers exposed that the variables were the context of acquisition of the L2, the age, the degree of socialization, proficiency, self-perceived dominance and the interlocutors, but what matters is that this indicates that the language of the heart can shift. A native speaker of Japanese with English as L2 who said that “I love you” has no proper equivalent in Japanese, even if it can be translated to *aishiteru*. It sounds sweet, but it is just a word that does not move the speaker in question, who affirms that the feeling is inner and there is not a reason to express it loud, as if love can be doubted. Japanese culture avoids the expression of emotions explicitly because they can evaporate quickly (Pavlenko, 2014).

3.3 Emotions in cultures

The topic of emotions has involved many studies and analysis to find if they exist culture-specific patterns, variations across cultures, differences or universalities. Some questions in the expression of emotions in different cultures that interest authors are indicated in Dewaele (2015): do cultural variances reflect differences in emotional experiences of everyday lives or do cultures differ in the memory of emotions, or both? It is required a deeper understanding of emotional lives of individuals and studies of measures of emotion, even because it is possible for cultures to have same backgrounds and factors of an emotion, that differ only in frequency. The first research program was led by Scherer, the only researcher who did wide and systematic transcultural surveys. According to him, emotions can be a universal psycho-biologic phenomenon and they can show a good grade of cultural relativity (D'Urso & Trentin, 2009). The author started his researches in 1979 and he has developed them in three steps, that are summarised in D'Urso & Trentin (2009). The first was a comparative analysis of four emotions: anger, fear, sadness and joy, in eight countries, of 779 subjects, with an open-answers questionnaire. With Wallbott (1988), Scherer affirm that questionnaires are the handful and trust worthwhile methods to investigate emotive experiences. Moreover, authors argue that the cognitive representations of primary emotions in questionnaires are credible and reflect the reality and that also questionnaires are necessary to comprehend the interaction between emotion and culture. The countries involved in the first study were: France, Holland, Germany, Belgium, Italy, Switzerland, Spain and Israel. Data collected inform that facial reactions are more common for anger and sadness, while movements are more frequent for anger and fear. Belgian and French subjects are more collaborative and report the higher number of emotions, while Spanish and Israeli people show less emotions. Joy is the emotion most uncontrollable, while negative emotions are all equally monitored. British and French people are the most controlled; Germans supervise

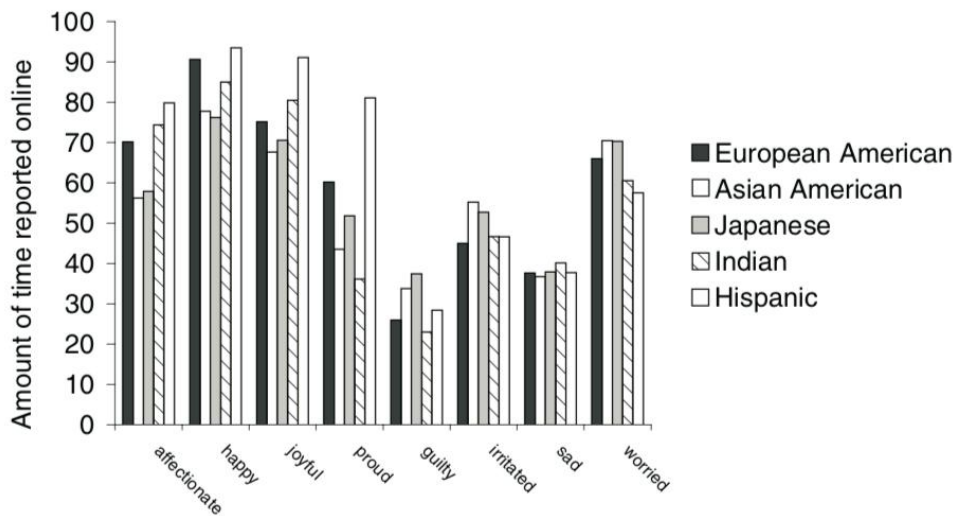
especially joy and sadness; Italians sadness and anger. Women are not so emotive as they are culturally considered, but they manifest fear more freely. Italians confirm to be talker and less controlled in all their reactions but are not the most tied to interpersonal relationships. English people present a high number of control mechanisms of all their reactions. Again Italian, Spanish and British subjects show more intense emotions, while Israeli are less responsive. The inquiry produced the idea that transcultural differences are difficult to explain without a role model that specifies social and anthropological parameters determinant for emotive experiences. The second research led by Scherer (details of this research are accessible in Scherer, Wallbott, Matsumoto and Kudoh, 1988), put in comparison two cultures: American and Japanese, different for costumes, cultural influences and traditions. Noticeable is the apathy showed by Japanese for death, cited four times more in Westerners talking about sadness. The loss, for Japanese people, is felt less radical because of religious beliefs. Considering the answers associated to each emotion, authors attribute more importance on similarities instead on differences between subjects of distinct cultures and they interpret these data as a confirm of the hypothesis according to which emotions have substantially universal structures, linked to biological bases. The third research about the cultural universality or specificity of emotions is called ISEAR (International Study on Emotion Antecedents and Reactions) and it has involved 37 countries and 3000 subjects. Data are accessible in Wallbott & Scherer (1988). In this research the emotions investigated are: joy, sadness, fear, anger, disgust, shame and guilt. Disgust is inserted because it is one of the basic emotions; shame and guilt are typically human sensations influenced by culture. It was utilized a questionnaire with close answers. Subjects describe their emotions or an emotive event and choose a series of alternatives, for example, about the period they have felt the emotion concerned. The survey has also a series of requests that verify cognitive evaluations about emotions. Anger and disgust were the emotions more frequent and more felt, while joy, sadness, fear, guilt and shame, in order, have

the lower results. Fear is the less persistent emotion, while guilt is longer. Sadness and joy are more intense than rage. All the means of the basic emotions taken in consideration were similar and higher than guilt and shame. The analysis of the variance on the study, reports that the factor “emotion” has a major incidence than the variable “countries”, so, Scherer and Wallbott (1988), conclude that there are profiles with universal patterns. Joy is the emotion less controlled; guilt and shame are the most monitored, while disgust and anger the less. There are not substantial differences between modalities of control of the emotions due to cultural factors. To sum up these three researches, when United States, Japan and Europe are compared, it is confirmed that fear, anger, sadness and joy manifested themselves with similar modalities and this is an element to sustain the hypothesis of a universal structure of basic emotions. Each of the emotive experiences reported presents a certain number of specific characteristics and this support the thesis that emotions are very similar for all the subjects tested and that it exists a common pattern. The fact that differences between countries are less relevant than the differences between diverse emotions is against the hypothesis according to which emotions are totally determined by the culture of the living environment. Cultural factors have an impact on the frequency of emotive experiences or on their memory, whereas for what concern the duration, the assessment has a more universal feature, but it depends on the emotion. Another author interested in transcultural inquiries on emotions was Rintell. He examined the expression of emotion in speech acts by second language learners and users (1990). He asked 127 foreign students at the University of Houston to choose the emotion that best characterized records they had to hear, and to rate the intensity of each emotion. The emotions in considerations were pleasure, anger, depression, anxiety, guilt, and disgust. In relation to English speakers, to whom the foreign students were compared, cultural backgrounds played an important role. In Dewaele (2011), it is reported that Chinese students perform very different from Arabic and Spanish students, and that disgust and pleasure are easier to identify than the other criteria.

“Results indicate that emotions are not only linguistic and cultural but also local constructions, and that judgments about emotions differ not only cross-culturally but also across individuals, across contexts, and across emotion categories” (Dewaele, 2011, p.51). Again, in Dewaele it is reported that many speech-acts are culture-specific such as raising voice, acceptable in southern Europe but not in Asia. In her work *Bilingualism and emotions* (2002), Pavlenko revealed that effects of familiarity with culture-specific scripts were visible and similar to Rintell’s, and they will be discussed in the fourth paragraph of this chapter. Continuing the analysis about emotions across cultures, in the literature it is found that individuals from Asia express lower levels of pleasant emotion and life satisfaction, with a great number of negative emotions, compared to Americans. The latter, with European cultures, tend to emphasize good feelings and this inclination is mirrored in the cultural norms of these groups, because pleasant feelings are seen as more desirable than unpleasant, while Asian people emphasize them equally (Scollon, *et al.*, 2004). Scollon, Diener, Oishi and Diener (2004), led a study of self-report measurements of positive emotions (pride, affection, joy and happiness) and negative (irritation, guilt, sadness and worry) including European American, Asian American, Japanese, Indian, and Hispanic students for a total of 416 students. They were chosen these emotions because of considered the major forms of pleasant and unpleasant ones and because they appear every day and in many emotion systems such as Plutchik (1980). It is interesting to highlight Mesquita’s thinking about collectivist cultures, in which “an emotion reflects the self in relation to others whereas in individualist cultures, emotions refer to the self as a separate, bounded entity” (Scollon, *et al.*, 2004, p.310). The study puts in evidence that there is more cultural variability in pleasant emotions, rated as desirable in most cultures, while the largest differences are in reports of pride, particularly for Indians. Even guilt is the most reported by Asiatic, and so do Japanese and Asian Americans. Sadness has not variability between cultures, happiness was the more felt (76%). In Asian cultures

pride and affection are associated with negative emotions and love-related concepts are connected to loss. The results of the inquiry suggest that reports of emotions are affected and different by intensity, and that memory is implicated, as well the valence of emotion in determinate emotions.

Figure 8 – Amount of Specific Emotions Reported by Cultural Groups (Scollon, et al., 2004, p.311)



The research shows cultural differences: European Americans and Hispanics present the uppermost ranks of pleasant emotions and the lowest of unpleasant, while Asian Americans, Japanese, and Indians are generally lower in pleasant feelings and higher in unpleasant feelings (Scollon, et al., 2004). For what concern the self-reported life satisfaction, it is evaluated that Midwesterners and Californians base on global reports of emotion, but it is suggested by this study that different groups used unlike types of information recalling emotions. The foundations for a biological or universalist hypothesis were born in 1872 with *The expression of the emotions in man and animals*, by Charles Darwin. In the late 1960s, Ekman and Friesen in six months watched many documentaries about daily lives in New Guinea and declared that they never saw an unfamiliar expression. Moreover, Ekman was convinced about the universals of human

emotions, that cannot be taught via cognitive processes and that are experienced regardless of whether they are named by the speaker's language (Ekman, 2003). Switching into children, there are many studies by Wang about emotional experiences and talk. He found that mothers from Europe and America want to raise 'emotionally-intelligent' children, able to regulate emotional responses, so they teach them to express their emotions, asking to show what they feel and encouraging conversations. Chinese mothers, on the other way, teach moral lessons and behavioral control of emotions (Wang, 2004). Another comparison was done by Keller and Otto (2009). They compared German with Cameroonian mothers. The first raise children the most emotionally expressive and autonomous possible, by encouraging positive emotions and face-to-face contacts; the second raise inexpressive and calm children, strong devoted to work. The results are children who do not need help or to complain. Also, they do not show stress to strangers (Keller & Otto, 2009). The study demonstrates that there is a cross-cultural variation and that different cultures affect socialization and the embodiment of emotions. Nowadays, with language contact, many expressions are influenced by English-language-media, such as in Russia in which are present new emotional interjections ("wow!", "yess!", "high five!"). It is argued that English-speaking societies encourage the expression of positive emotion. Cultural differences exist, even if they are weak, but they cannot be ignored, so it is also not acceptable the biologic hypothesis in its more radical form. Especially between Easterners and Westerners the differences are very marked: if in West the self is seen autonomous and self-confident, in East it is interdependent. The distinction was born because of diverse way of life-satisfaction: individualist cultures show more off than collectivist one, which internalize sentiments. In Japan, to express anger is a sign of immaturity. It is important to transmit harmony, so conflicts have to be avoided (Pavlenko, 2014). To find specific profiles for each emotion could be the better confirmation to a theory about fundamental emotions (D'Urso & Trentin, 2009). "It is up to future research to

resolve this dilemma and to determine whether, how, and when affective socialization may influence the ways in which our common biological endowment processes emotional stimuli and generates and regulates the somatic sensations and reactions we have come to interpret as ‘emotions’ (Scollon, *et al.*, 2004, p.269).

3.4 How emotions and bilinguals are influenced by languages and vocabularies

Some aspects regarding emotions are universal but significant differences remain in emotion language and concepts in relation to different cultural knowledges. This point is argued by Wierzbicka (2004), who sustains that bilingualism provides new perspectives on emotions to light up old debates and that the vocabulary of emotions changes from language to language. Pavlenko (2008), argues that emotions vary across languages and if bilinguals are compared with monolinguals. Moreover, emotions are prototypical scripts resulted from experiences that repeat and there are many relationships that are possible in bilingual lexicon such as co-existence, L1 transfer, shifts, attritions and internalization of new concepts (Pavlenko, 2008). Many examples can be provided to sustain that emotions are influenced by languages and vocabularies: pacific tribes have different terms to describe events and feelings than western societies such as the Ifaluk (Oceania) have an emotion called *fago* that represents a combination of love, sadness, pity, affection and compassion (Pavlenko, 2002). As a bilingual herself, Pavlenko (2002) says that bilinguals-immigrants transform their concepts about emotion according to the new speech community. This fact influences the use of their vocabularies and provoke some L1 transfers. It sustains the idea that not all bilinguals completely transform their emotions in discourses (Pavlenko, 2002). A linguist, Wierzbicka, noticed that many of her daily emotions were perceived differently comparing Polish, (Poland was her living country) and English (Australia was her native one), even giving attention to the grammar. Also, many of them were untranslatable in English. English presents few

intransitive verbs (“to rejoy”, “to worry”); a lot of monolexemic adjectives if you want to talk about inner states (Pavlenko, 2014) and in English contexts, experiences are described with different lexical categories, having no correspondence in Polish, such as “upset, frustrated or annoyed” (Pavlenko, 2002). Unlike vocabularies contain different shades of meanings and cultural scripts, such as Wierzbicka (1994), reported that for her “there is a difference between *gnie wac sie*, to produce anger inside us, and *byc zła*, to be angry, absent in English” (Wierzbicka (1994, p.136). In Russian, to express an emotion, it is used the verb “to move”, while in English, emotions are reported as states. In languages such as Polish and Russian are more frequent intransitive verbs, often reflexive, which represent emotions as actions self-manufactured (Pavlenko, 2014). The fact that the two languages present variances in their inner systems entails linguistic behaviors and choices by their speakers: in the same contexts L1 Russian subjects prefer intransitive emotion verbs while L1 English emotion adjectives. For nine percent of all emotion word, in Russian it is used the verb *perezhiwat’* with the noun *perezhivaniia*, translated, without a proper equivalence in English, with the phrase ‘to live through’. It transmits the process of experiencing and dealing with particular emotions, a sense of suffering for something emotional that is not only interior but also visible in actions. It is not the unique word without correspondence: many languages do not have twin words in English. Even for the emotion “anger”, Russian have two terms, German three, Mandarin Chinese five and Biblical Hebrew seven (Pavlenko, 2014). It is curious the fact that American L2 learners of Russian have in mind the term *serdit’sia* if they want to express anger, but L1 Russian speakers in it do not see any anger (Pavlenko, 2005). Other emotions, such as “envy” and “jealousy”, have only one reference in English, that is the word “jealous”, while in Russian there are *zaviduet* (envy) and *revnuet* (jealousy). A group of bilinguals Russian-English, in the study of Stepanova, Sachs and Coley (2006), has to hear a story and to pick words that describe jealousy and envy. Russian most distinguish the two terms while for

English they were equally suitable. In Pavlenko (2014) it is also reported that there is no English equivalent for the Bangla term *bhoi*. It is collocated in a scale of terror that implies a collective memory of violence, and “to fear/to be afraid” are not appropriate translations. The word is related indeed to the partition of British India in 1971 and it contains unspeakable communal suffering (Pavlenko, 2014). The familiarity we have with specific words in every language we own, modifies our abstract representations of these emotion-words. Many types of test were conducted to investigate the relation between bilinguals, emotions and if there were differences about the expression of feelings due to distinct languages. A group of researchers in 2006 used the Cultural Frame Switching model to investigate if bilinguals showed difference not only about emotions but also about their personal profiles throughout the use of different languages. They were Spanish-English bilinguals, who plus own cultural traits about the two idioms. The results show that bilinguals were more open, extraverted and conscientious in English rather than in Spanish. A question about feeling different due to language changes was given in the questionnaire *Bilingualism and Emotions* (Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2001-2003) and it was found that many participants felt more “fake” on their L1. Another type of test, bilingual’s story retelling having listened the same story in both languages, was led by Panayiotou (2004; 2006), who investigates English-Greek bilinguals. Greek was felt kinder and more sympathetic while in English stories were colder and more indifferent. The author also reveals a conceptual restructuring for the terms guilt and shame, *enohi* and *ntropi*. Even if they exist as equivalent expressions, bilinguals found that the correspondent translations differ with the belonging cultures. This feature was founded by Dewaele (2001), who reports that bilinguals code-switch not only between the languages they know, but also between their cultural repertoires. An anecdote: Greek has not got an equivalent word for the term *frustration*. The closer words to it could be *apogoiteftika* (disappointed), but it does not transmit the tension of frustration, or *tsantistika* (disappointed/upset), but it seems that you

are already give up (Pavlenko, 2014). The fact that English is considered a more formal and objective language is present even in the study of Bond and Lai (1986), who tested female Chinese students and their linguistic choices in economic, political and intimate topics, about sexual attitudes and personal stories. The students were bilinguals Cantonese-English. The result: English was more used in the latter two themes because of the distance that the language transmits to the subjects. It was like they felt embarrassed, so they chose English, to reduce their stress and anxiety. This is also the case of Ryoko (reported in Dewaele, 2015), a Japanese teacher who reveals that she prefers English to write essays because in it she feels more direct and clearer in exposition, while Japanese is used for poetic and artistic tasks. In the interview, Ryoko also unveils to use English when in anger, and Japanese when she felt hurt or sad or happy and that it is done even by her Japanese colleagues living in the US. To express anger, Japanese native speakers may only show an angry face and probably it is because of cultural difference: swearing is rare in Japan, while quite common in the United States (Dewaele, 2010). Similar for Korean-English bilinguals: expressing emotions in English was found easier because of the culture of more openness, while growing in Asian societies make you more careful in reading non-verbal signals (Kim & Starks, 2008). It is so well supported the fact that the second language entails a sort of “detachment effect”. The point for which the L1 is considered to have more emotional connotations is supported by many works of bilingual writers. We have already encountered at the beginning of this chapter the opinion of Pavlenko (2002), and now it is reported another quote. It is Rosario Ferrè, a Puerto Rican writer, who says: “Spanish still makes me suck faster at life’s breast... I can roll on the ground and frolic in Spanish because I don’t have to worry about anything; words always mean what they say. I love to make love in Spanish; I’ve never been able to make love in English. In English, I get puritanical” (in Kellman, 2003, pp.137-8). The author found that immigrants experiences are richer if recalled in the language in which they were taken, while if recollected in the L2 are less

intense, but Pavlenko (2005) argues that distinctive languages can have dissimilar emotional connotations based on the interlocutors and the situation. The L1 could not be always the language of the heart and the L2 the detachment one, and speakers may find easier and more natural to mix both to express better themselves and their thoughts. Of course, there are many variables that affect the use of the languages, for example the language that is acquired in formal classroom will be less used to communicate emotions despite contexts of authentic interactions; the cultural background plays a role in perception and use of emotional language and even the grade of socialization contributes as variable, because the more outgoing you are, the more competent and confident you are in sharing your emotions (Dewaele, 2013). Again Dewaele (2011), wanting to study deeper the variable about proficiency in high-skilled bilinguals, who practice two language constantly, using the questionnaire *Bilingualism and Emotions* (in collaboration with Pavlenko), found, from more than 1500 multilinguals, that the first language was felt emotionally stronger, powerful, and it was preferred for communicating feelings and for tasks such as mental calculations and inner speech, but, on the other side, an immersion in the LX, makes that the first language shifts into that language even to express thoughts and feelings (Dewaele, 2013). Shifts take place in the lexicons of bilinguals using their L2 and living in L2 contexts, in which their L1 images are partially overlapped with L2 concepts. Two authors who made a follow-up study with Turkish-English bilinguals living in Istanbul argue that the emotionality of the language depends on the emotional context in which the language was acquired and used, and not on the age of acquisition (Harris; Gleason, & Ayçiçek, 2006). The co-existence of two or more languages it is not easy, so speakers often code-switch, to remain understandable, giving two translations one per language, or expanding words' categories, even using them inappropriately. It may happen also that speakers “steal” new emotion terms or internalize emotions related to the second culture they attend. This was the case of Cathy Davidson, an American academic who assumed Japanese

hazukashii (shy) to express her embarrassment (Pavlenko, 2014). Linguistic phenomena that occur are also attritions: it is possible that a second language can help when a person wants to get away from negative feelings that fit in melancholy discourses liked to a specific language. “I learned to sound positive and to express my negative feelings as little as possible. I noticed that in Australia I hardly ever heard people complaining about their headaches, whereas in Russia one cannot get through a single day without hearing such complaints on the bus, at work or at home. In Russia I did not even think of them as ‘complaints’, but rather as an integral part of life...” (Gladkova, 2007, p.276). The questionnaire *Bilingualism and Emotions* (Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2001-2003), shows also preferences of bilinguals about swearwords. Despite a higher use of the first language, in which swearing is considered stronger, there were even examples in which it was favored the L2, because of the corresponding culture. Participants indeed found some L2 swearwords “really funny” and useful to escape social constraints of their first languages. Dewaele (2010) reported the words of Mustafa (Kurdish/Turkish L1, German L2) in which he says that he cannot use Kurdish for cultural reasons, and the example of Michelle (Taiwanese L1 and English L2), a young girl that uses English to swear with her Chinese friends in London because Chinese sociocultural norms forbid to swear, and in English it is funnier. Evidence of acculturation are visible in the study of Grabois (1999), in which he compared concepts of love, fear and happiness given by monolingual Spanish, monolingual English and English speakers acculturated L2 Spanish. The latter, late bilinguals, provided higher correlations with the native Spanish speakers. To conclude, we can affirm that, quite everywhere in the world’s inhabitants, emotions are influenced by different languages and vocabularies. Bilinguals grow with more than one language, simultaneous bilingual are well proficient in two, but it is not so assured that they will choose their first languages to express their feelings and prefer it to do cognitive tasks.

IV. Use of languages in bilingual's everyday life – presentation of the research

The topics that will be discussed in this chapter are the aims of this research, with the associated questions. It will be also explained the methods of administration of the materials, the previous studies and information about participants, tested by the questionnaire visible in Appendix A. Before showing the results, the predictions of the study are going to be reported.

4.1 The aims of this research

The aim of this research is to prove that it is not always the first language the one which it is chosen by bilinguals to express their emotion, to think in and to do their daily activities. The questions to answer are: do bilingual subjects use only the first language in cognitive contexts and to express their primary emotions? In which contexts, cognitive and emotional, it is preferred the L1 despite the others or vice-versa? In the cases in which other languages are more used, does it happen in cognitive or emotional contexts? The inquiry started from the works made by Pavlenko (2002; 2005; 2006; 2014) and Dewaele (2011; 2012; 2013; 2015). Both of them are linguists and have led researches in the wide field of bilingualism, specifically, in the communication of emotions in a variety of languages and contexts. Their works offer new perspectives between the cross-disciplinary topic about language and emotions, which entails the fields of linguistics, neurolinguistics and psychology. Interested by their studies, it was taken inspiration from a questionnaire made by both ‘Bilingualism and emotions’ (2001-2003) and the works of Baker, C. (2001) and Bakic, A., & Skific S. (2016), to elaborate a new one, that can comprehend the topics about emotions and cognition. The aim is to investigate the choices of bilingual immigrants, who own even more than two languages, in everyday simple contexts and tasks. This field is not so explored, and the studies already conducted are quite recent. Everything

is going to be considered primarily through linguistic lens to offer fresh perspectives between languages and emotions. Pavlenko headed this cross-disciplinary movement, giving a comprehensive and unique introduction. Now it is still missing a common route to follow and further researches need to be done.

4.2 The participants

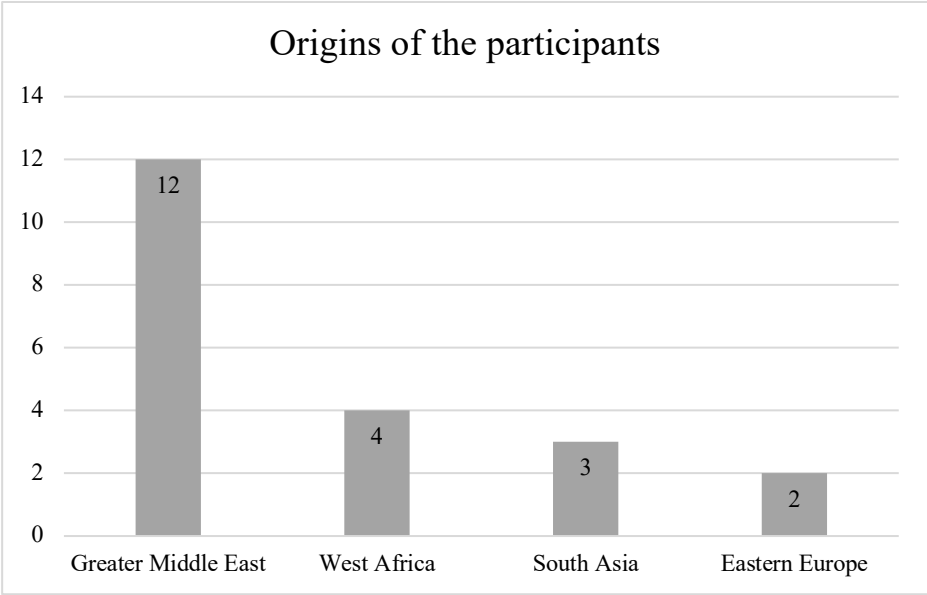
Participants of the inquiry are all immigrant people. The questionnaire was shared, via internet and on paper, to 35 subjects I personally met. 21 people have kindly answered. They are 4 women and 17 men. The men were involved in Italian lessons during the period spent for my university stage in the foundation *Opera Sacra Famiglia* in Pordenone. The stage period was from November 2016 to March 2017. They were students of Italian classes and come especially from Pakistan, Bangladesh and Afghanistan. A smaller number come from African countries such as Mali, Nigeria and Ivory Coast. The women involved are migrants who all have babies who attend Italian primary schools. In the following table are reported personal data of all the participants. All of them had no problems about giving their names and other personal data and information. For a practical question the subjects are numerated from 1 to 21.

Table 4 – *Personal data of participants*

	Age	Sex	Nationality	Ethnic group	Languages Spoken	Education	Years in Italy	Job
S.1	18	M	Pakistani	Muslim	4	Class 8	2	driver
S.2	18	M	Nigerian	African	4	Class 8	2	student
S.3	19	M	Pakistani	Muslim	4	Class 8	3	student
S.4	17	M	Pakistani	Muslim	4	None	1	student
S.5	18	M	Afghan	Muslim	4	Class 8	1	student
S.6	18	M	Pakistani	Muslim	4	Class 10	2	waiter
S.7	20	M	Pakistani	Muslim	3	Class 10	3	student
S.8	18	M	Bengali	Hindu	4	Class 10	2	student
S.9	18	M	Bengali	Hindu	4	Class 8	1	waiter
S.10	18	M	Pakistani	Muslim	4	Class 10	2	waiter
S.11	21	M	Afghan	Muslim	4	Class 12	3	cultural mediator
S.12	18	M	Afghan	Muslim	4	Class 8	2	waiter
S.13	19	M	Bengali	Hindu	4	Class 12	2	student
S.14	18	M	Afghan	Muslim	4	Class 8	2	student
S.15	19	M	Afghan	Muslim	3	Class 8	3	student
S.16	18	M	Malian	Senufo	4	Class 12	2	waiter
S.17	18	M	Ivorian	Muslim	4	Class 12	2	student
S.18	35	F	Arabic	Muslim	3	College	20	caretaker
S.19	20	F	Burkinabe	African	4	Class 8	4	housewife
S.20	33	F	Albanian	Caucasian	3	Class 8	23	housewife
S.21	35	F	Ukrainian	Caucasian	3	Class 12	18	cleaner

The average age is 20;8 (SD: 5,8). Information about the home country and the age they come to Italy were not asked in the questionnaire because of they were already known to me. To have an overview about the origin of the participants, here it is Figure 9 that permits to bring together the groups of subjects.

Figure 9 – *Origins of the participants*



The largest group is formed by 12 participants, who come from the Middle East (Pakistan 6; Afghanistan 5; Arabia 1); four participants from the West Africa (Mali, Nigeria, Burkina Faso and Ivory Coast, one per country); three participants come from Bangladesh and two from Eastern Europe (Albania and Ukraine). Ten participants have attended school until 14 years (Class 8), 5 have finished the high school (Class 12), 4 almost finished (Class 10). S.18 attended college in Arabia. One is completely illiterate, he has never attended schools before his arrival in Italy (the answers to the questionnaire were given with the help of a teacher of the foundation host). Almost the half of the participants (10), is still a student and the other half have found a work, especially in the restaurant business. To know better the languages spoken by the participants, in the next table are reported the information about them and the age and contexts in which they started to learn and use these languages. Table 5 includes also the ethnic group in which they identify with, the highest degree they reached and the current job they are doing.

Table 5 – *Linguistic information of the participants*

	L1	L1 age	L1 context	L2	L2 age	L2 context	L3	L3 age	L3 context	L4	L4 age	L4 context
S.1	Punjabi	From birth	Family	Urdu	4	Fam/School	English	7	Friends	Italian	16	School
S.2	Ejagham	From birth	Family	English	3	Family	Yoruba	3	Family	Italian	16	School
S.3	Urdu	From birth	Family	Punjabi	1	Fam/School	English	6	School	Italian	16	School
S.4	Urdu	From birth	Family	Punjabi	1	Family	Mewati	3	Family	Italian	16	School
S.5	Hazaragi	From birth	Family	Urdu	6	School	English	11	School	Italian	17	School
S.6	Pashtu	From birth	Family	Urdu	3	Fam/School	English	10	School	Italian	16	School
S.7	Urdu	From birth	Family	English	4	School	Italian	17	School			
S.8	Bangla	From birth	Family	English	6	School	Hindi	12	School/Fri	Italian	16	School
S.9	Bangla	From birth	Family	English	6	School	Hindi	12	Fam/Fri	Italian	17	School
S.10	Urdu	From birth	Family	English	6	School	Italian	16	School			
S.11	Pashtu	From birth	Family	Dari	6	School	English	10	School	Italian	18	School
S.12	Urdu	From birth	Family	Punjabi	1	Family	English	6	School	Italian	16	School
S.13	Bangla	From birth	Family	English	6	School	Hindi	12	Fam/Fri	Italian	17	School
S.14	Farsi	From birth	Family	Dari	3	Family	German	15	School	Italian	16	School
S.15	Farsi	From birth	Family	Dari	3	Family	Italian	16	School			
S.16	French	From birth	Family	Bambara	1	Family	English	6	Family	Italian	16	School
S.17	Bambara	From birth	Family	Madinka	3	Family	French	7	School	Italian	16	School
S.18	Arabic	From birth	Family	French	6	School/Fam	Italian	15	School			
S.19	Bobo	From birth	Family	More	3	Family	French	3	School/Fam	Italian	16	School
S.20	Albanian	From birth	Family	Italian	6	School	English	10	School			
S.21	Ukrainian	From birth	Family	Russian	3	Family	Italian	17	Work			

We can affirm that 6 participants speak three languages and 15 four. English is the most common language, learned by 14 subjects; the second is Urdu, by eight. Italian is the most shared language because individuals are all living in Italy and the most of them are continuing to study the language. Italian is the second language for S.20; the third language for five participants; the fourth for the other 15 participants.

4.2.1 Speaking, understanding, reading and writing abilities

It was requested to the participants in the questionnaire to evaluate themselves from 1 to 5 in four abilities: speaking, understanding and writing, in all the languages known. Here the means for all the competences.

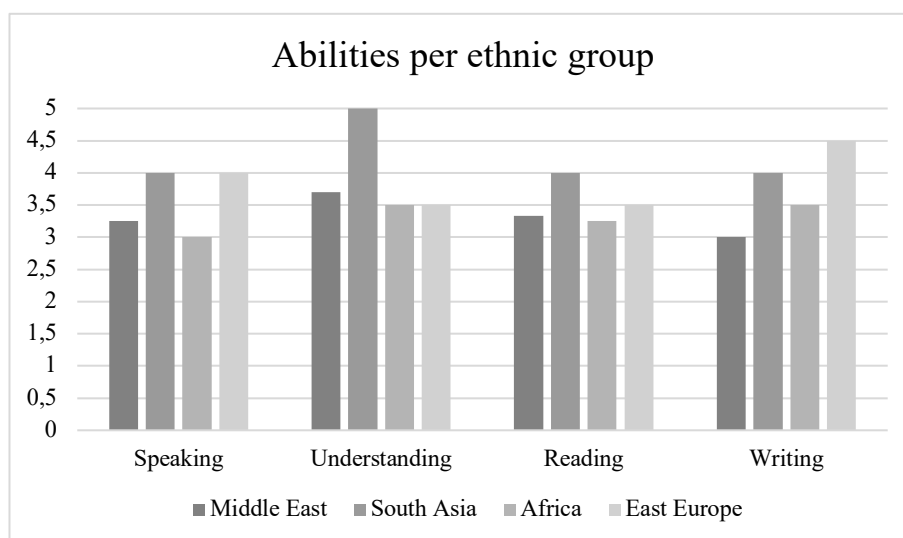
Table 6 – *Means of the four abilities of all participants*

	L1	L2	L3	ITA
Speaking	5	4,8	3,9	3,3
Understanding	5	4,9	4,23	3,9
Reading	4,8	4,71	4,04	3,33
Writing	4,80	4,66	3,61	3,2

All participants gave to their dominant language a point that is not minor less 4 out of 5. The ability with the higher results is understanding, than very similar are speaking and reading. The lower result is for writing. Overall, the results are very good and there are not deficiencies. The lower data are for writing and speaking in Italian. The higher are for speaking and understanding the L1 and understanding the L2. Understanding the L2 has a higher mean than reading and writing in the L1. L1 is not for everybody on the top because a participant is illiterate, and he cannot read and write any language. He is S.4. he went to school for the first time in Italy, because in his native country, Pakistan, he always helped his family in the fields. Despite his shortcomings in reading and writing, he evaluated with 5 and 4, higher numbers than other participants, his competences in speaking and understanding Italian. This because he has developed really good

oral abilities, maybe to compensate his gaps in the others⁸. Considering Table 6 it is also visible that L2 received results quite near the L1. This is because the study of that language came very early for all the participants (the mean of everyone for L2s is 3;9 years). Moreover, in speaking and understanding, L2 has higher means than the L1. This because many L2s know by participants are especially oral languages and local dialects. It is interesting above all to investigate the abilities of participants in the arrival language. Considering the period of time, they spent in Italy, it is evident that three participants, who are in that country for a lot longer have higher results in the Italian language. Participants in Italy from 2 years found writing the most difficult ability and understanding the easier. Going deeper in the results about Italian language, subjects were divided for ethnic group.

Figure 10 – *Abilities per ethnic group in Italian language*



Participants from South Asia scored the highest result (5 out of 5) in understanding, and for the other abilities are quite high (4). These subjects, coming from Bangladesh, were the better students in class. East Europe

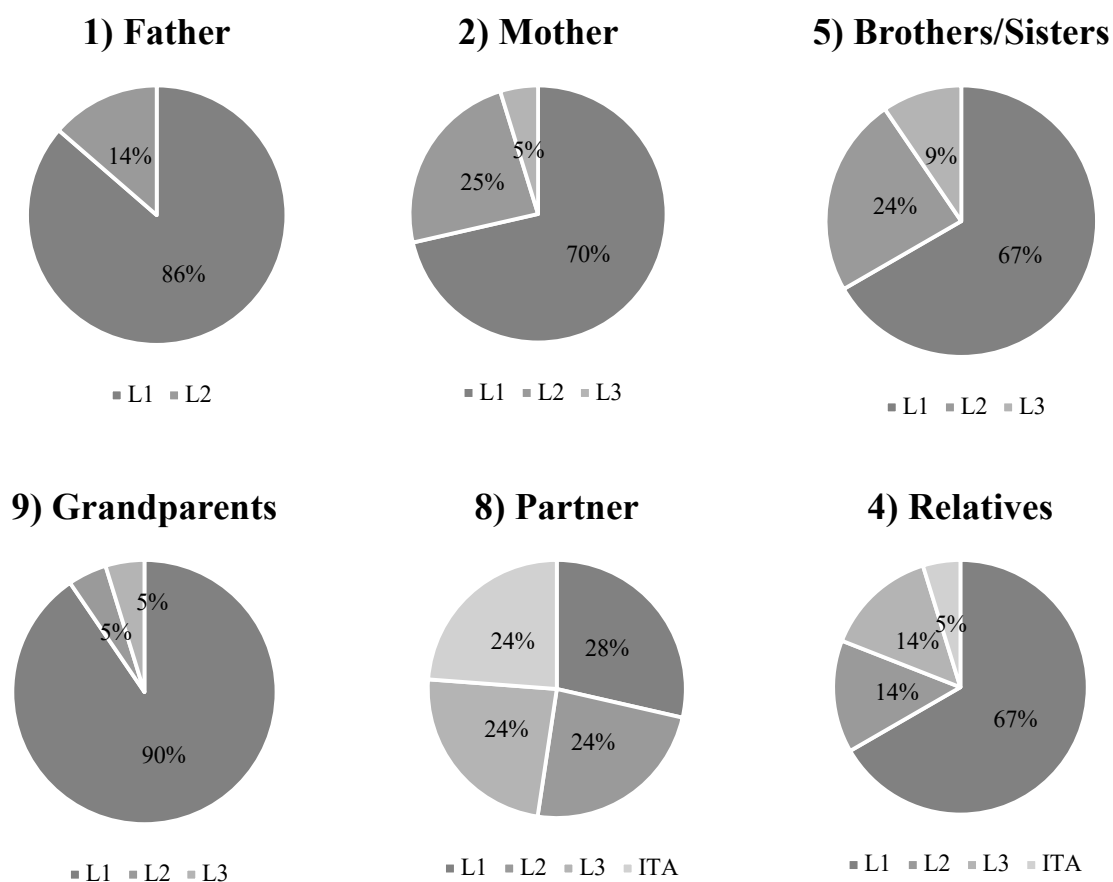
⁸ His evaluations are not casual, he did the questionnaire with an educator who followed him for all his path.

participants scored better in writing and speaking. They are both in Italy from more than 15 years. Participants from Africa evaluated themselves better in understanding and so the Middle Eastern. The context of acquisition of Italian was school for everyone.

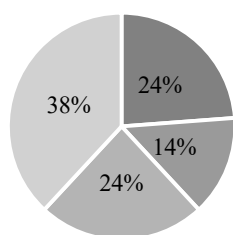
4.2.2 Languages used in different contexts with different people

In the questionnaire there were proposed nine questions to which bilinguals had to answer only by selecting a language. These data were required to know the usage of languages with selected people and in specific contexts such as school or work.

Figure 11 – *Which language do you usually use with these people/in and in these different contexts?*

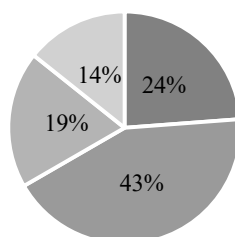


3) Friends in classroom



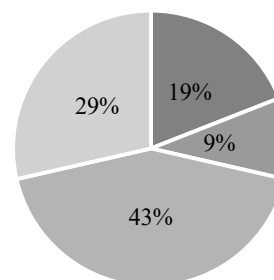
■ L1 ■ L2 ■ L3 ■ ITA

7) Outside the classroom



■ L1 ■ L2 ■ L3 ■ ITA

6) At work

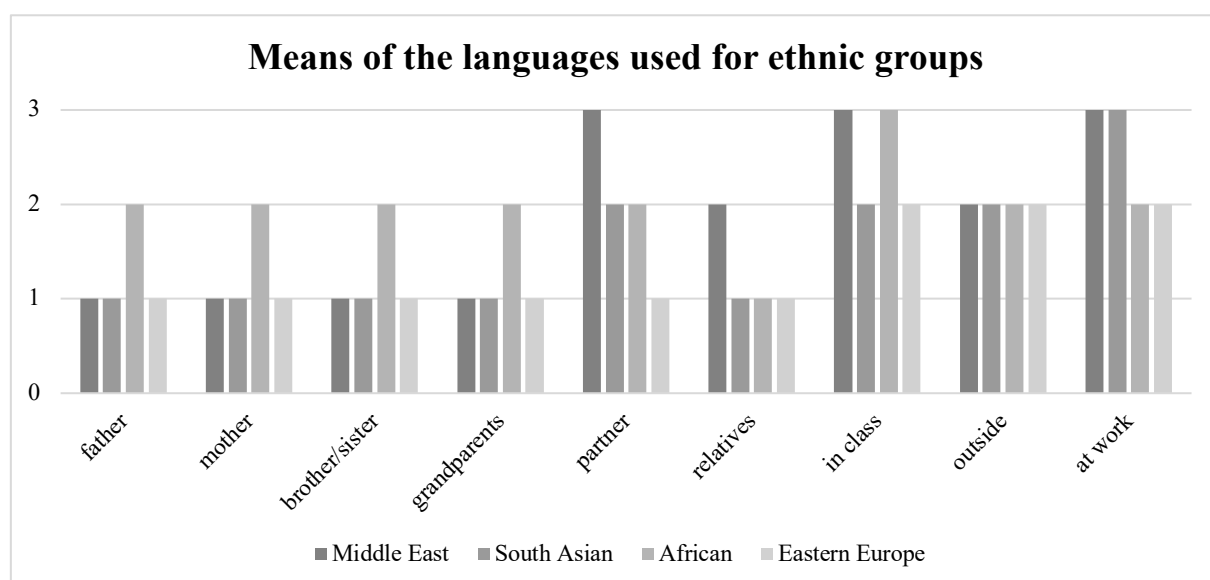


■ L1 ■ L2 ■ L3 ■ ITA

The first language, the most dominant and acquired predominantly in family, is the most used proper with family members. The contexts in which the percentages of the L1 are higher are with relatives: 86% (father); 70% (mother); 67% (relatives and brothers/sisters) and 90%, the highest, for grandparents. With family members the fourth language, the less proficient, is not used by anyone. This is understandable because of all the subjects left their native countries and their families behind. The higher percentage is with grandparents, 91%, and the followings with parents and siblings. With these categories even the percentages of the second language are quite high, more for “mother” and “brothers/sisters”. These languages are especially local dialects. Even participants who are in Italy for the longest time use their L1 to speak with parents, but for relatives they use even Italian. In context such as school, in classroom, the higher percentage is for the fourth language. This thing can be considered positive because it means that subjects make efforts for talking and studying in the local language, having in the fourth languages received the lowest levels of proficiency. Differently, outside the classroom it appears to be the second language the favourite one. This could be because 17 participants out of 21 are students of mixed cultures and proveniences who study in the same classrooms. To talk each other they have to find a common language and this language could be the second. The most common L2 are English, Urdu and Punjabi. Participants who used more Italian in

this context come from East Europe. The subjects who are still students and undertake to use Italian come from the Middle East. Even in the working context Italian has a good percentage, and similarly the L3. For the participants the majority of L3 are European languages (8 English; 5 Italian; 2 French; 1 German), and it can be seen that these are more useful to find a job in Italy. Figure 12 explains how the languages are used by participants divided for ethnic groups.

Figure 12 – Means of the languages used for ethnic groups



The contexts which entail the languages used with family members present a higher use of people from Africa of the L2 (local dialects) than the other participants, who have L1 as dominant and use it the most. With the partner are people from Eastern Europe to use the L1, while other participants use more subsequent languages. It could be that, because the two subjects from Europe are married with countrymen, they use more the common language, the dominant for S.21. The working contexts present a higher use of languages that are not the first for all the ethnic groups. Considering the education level of participants, it results that people from the Middle East have attended school until class 9, and the others

until class 10. Despite the fact that subjects from Middle East have “a year under”, they selected a lot the languages last acquired in working and class contexts. It could underline a desire to improve and use more languages too distant from the native ones. Even African subjects, who are all still students except one, selected their last languages more in class. The context in which people from South Asia use their latter languages is, instead, at work. All of them, in fact, are waiters and works in Italy, using even English when necessary. The more difficult context to pick a favourite language is with the partner. In this case all the percentages are very near. This means that love has no barrier and that it is the language of the beloved person that influences how we address to them.

4.3 The materials

4.3.1 The previous works

The principal material used for this research is the questionnaire that was created based on the works of Dewaele, J.M., & Pavlenko, A. (2001–3); Baker, C. (2001) and Bakic, A., & Skific S. (2016). The first couple of researchers have developed a web questionnaire called *Bilingualism and emotions*. It was maintained on the Birkbeck College’s (in London) website from 2001 to 2003 and there were collected 1039 contributes. This questionnaire contained primarily questions about background information and linguistic information. This part presented also preferences of bilinguals regarding the language they favor to use when talking with specific people. The more conspicuous part of the material was the second, in which there were many questions about self-perception in expressing emotions and in which language. The material developed by Baker *Patterns of language attitudes and language use* was a questionnaire in which there were listed many activities and bilinguals had to cross how often they did these routines. Then, there were given two lists of people and in the first, subjects had to answered how they talk to those people, and in the second, how these people talk to them. It was

requested what language was the favourite to do some everyday habits, to express some opinions about themselves (competences, comparisons with other bilinguals) and to what extent they agreed or disagreed quite a few of statements. In the study of Bakic & Skific *The relationship between bilingualism and identity in expressing emotions and thoughts* we found 25 open questions that comprehended both emotional and cognitive contexts. This questionnaire is smaller than the one proposed in this research. It was done by ten subjects and it does not collect more informative data about linguistic information and competences.

4.3.2 The questionnaire

The title of the material applied in this work is *Use of languages in bilingual’s everyday life*. It was shared online only with people I know. It was born in English and then realized in other two languages: French and Italian. The questionnaire was developed in English because the majority of the subjects have learned the language from the earlier years of school. It is also the co-official language of Bangladesh country. Italian was used because of a couple of individuals asked to try the Italian version. The questionnaire was also translated in French, because many African subjects know that language as first or second. Here are reported the preferences about the language in which to complete the material.

Table 7 – *Languages preferred to complete the questionnaire*

	English	French	Italian
Participants	14	4	3

The material is composed by five parts: personal data, language usually spoken, language fluency, daily activities and emotional features. Background

information require the gender, the age, the level of education (the higher degree) and the profession. There are two questions before the second part, and they are about the ethnic group in which participants most identify themselves and the most used language in their everyday lives. Linguistic information required are the languages known, the ages at which they were learned and the contexts of acquisition. The ages were a fundamental data for the aim of this research because it was important “to categorize” the grade of bilingualism. Then there is a part in which it is asked to vote some statements about the languages acquired: at what extent they are perceived useful, poetic and rich. There are no further explanations because in such a way, every voice could be read and interpreted freely. To know the habits of the participants, there are proposed nine questions such as: “Which language do you usually use with...” and a range of people and situations. Then there is a part in which subjects have to answer with the perception they have about their competences in all the languages they speak (speaking, comprehending, reading and writing). The last part is the more substantial. There are twenty questions mixed about emotions and cognitive preferences. Emotions involved are only the primary ones: anger, sadness, joy, disgust, surprise and fear. Some examples of questions about emotions are “If you are angry, in which language do you think to express your anger?” or “If something you do not expect happens, in which language do you express your surprise?”. The “cognitive” questions instead are: “In which language do you usually read books” or “Which language do you usually use when you count/you write your diary/you write a shopping list”. In addition to these questions there are three related to the words already encountered in the questionnaire: useful, poetic and rich and a question about “love”, even if it is not an emotion. Every question is followed by a “why” which is free to be or not be answered. It is up to the participants to give or not an explanation, a comment, an opinion. The questionnaire concludes with the possibility to present some suggestions to the author. Web questionnaires are not so used in the research about bilingualism, they are more used in psychology.

Even though, many scholars such as Wallbott & Scherer (1988) and Wilson & Dewaele (2009), affirm that they are a handful and trustworthy method for investigations on emotions and that they reflect data in a credible and valid way.

4.4 Procedure

The questionnaire was developed from December 2018. Results were collected for fifty days. It was done by participants mainly online. It was shared a google module. 19 persons did the inquiry online. The material was given by hand to four people, because of they were without PC or smartphome. They return the papers when completed. The contents of the questionnaire online and the paper one, were identical; the aspects were different because of the first followed the scheme of google and the second was made with Word. The questionnaire was shared to 35 people, and 21 have answered. One person has written that he was not able to evaluate himself and to make preferences about his languages; another one wrote that he cannot complete the module because it was too difficult for him; others have completely not answered.

4.5 Predictions

Looking at the previous studies done about the preferences of bilinguals in expressing their emotions or doing cognitive tasks, it can be assumed that the majority of the questions made in the researching questionnaire are going to have the first language as the favourite one. It does not mean, however, that it is going to be the unique language chosen by the participants. Being the latter consecutive or sequential bilinguals, namely that they started to learn another language very early (according to definitions from the third year of age to the eighth), they have a very well competence in that language, good proficiency and fluence. Another thig to take in consideration is the fact that these participants are migrants, and

until now, there are not similar studies with same subjects. Pavlenko's (2005) evaluated five criteria to identify relevant factors that bilinguals might use when involved in rating their emotionality or competences in their languages. These five criteria are:

1. *the age of the acquisition*. The language first learned is more emotional, it has a higher level of emotionality because it is precisely the first;
2. *the context of acquisition*. If the second language is involved in more intimate contexts, it will have more value, while if the second language was learned in formal contexts, not. A factor connected to this point is whether the participant has a partner with a different dominant language;
3. *the personal history of the speaker*. The past of people influences their memories: factors such as stress, violence and trauma are related to a language. Pavlenko (2005) suggests that "it is common to think about some negative experiences in the language that is emotionally further in order for speakers to distance themselves from negative feelings (pp.185-186);
4. *language dominance*. People feel better if they express their emotions in the dominant language, and this language can especially be the mother tongue;
5. *language proficiency*. Pavlenko argues that bilinguals find their L1 more emotional than their L2, even if they have a high proficiency of the latter.

In the analysis, even for cognitive contexts, criteria of Pavlenko will be used. There can be other criteria such as the "word type": if a word is a swear word it can be felt stronger in one language than another, even due to the different meanings that two languages can present. Maybe in one language there is a lack of linguistic contents. As regards cognitive representations, we have already encountered in the previous chapter the changes that may include different cognitive processes such as: category restructuring, expansion, internalization of

new emotion and narrowing (Pavlenko, 2014). The main prediction about this work is that the first language is not going to be chosen in all the circumstances presented in the questionnaire to express the primary emotions and to do daily routines. It is very likely that the majority of the questions will have the L1 in response, but there could be interesting aspects to investigate related to the preferences of the bilinguals. We are going to know also if the criteria evaluated by Pavlenko (2005) are applicable in the inquiry and it is supposed that especially the personal history of the speaker will have a particular relevance, due to the fact that all of the subjects are migrants. Before we get into the next paragraph, here are recollected in full the researching questions of the inquiry: do bilingual use only the first language in cognitive contexts and to express their primary emotions? In which contexts, cognitive and emotional, it is preferred the L1 despite the others or vice-versa? In the cases in which other languages except the first are more used, does it happen in cognitive or emotional contexts? It is thought that the cognitive contexts in which the L1 is going to be preferred despite the others could be the ones in which are required more intense and personal tasks (for example, to pray it is more complex than watching TV). In emotional contexts it is predicted that participants follow the criteria evaluated by Pavlenko (2005). The cases in which it is going to be more used other languages, it is suggested that they could be more emotional tasks than cognitive, in relation to the personal history of the subjects.

V. Results and analysis

The chapter will present the results of the research. Data are analysed following the criteria evaluated by Pavlenko (2005). The variables taken in consideration are: age of participants, origin, period of time spent in Italy, level of education, current job and sex.

5.1 Poetic, useful, rich

Table 8 – *How do you feel useful, poetic and rich your L1/L2/L3/ITA?*

Means of all participants												
	L1 Useful	L2 Useful	L3 Useful	ITA Useful	L1 Poetic	L2 Poetic	L3 Poetic	ITA Poetic	L1 Rich	L2 Rich	L3 Rich	ITA Rich
Mean	3,42	3,34	4	4,14	3,28	3,3	3,4	3,14	3,04	3,2	3,96	3,92

The table above reports the results associated to the request of evaluation from 1 to 5 about how the first, second, and eventually third and fourth languages were felt useful, poetic and rich by the participants. At first sight the higher evaluations about the usefulness and the richness are not for the first languages but for the last acquired. Participants gave the best scores to the usefulness of L4 that is Italian for 15 participants out of 21. The usefulness of L3 (for the majority of participants English) is well "voted". The other voices are quite similar, but overall L3 and Italian received the highest evaluations. The low result was given to the poetry of Italian. Evaluating all the means indeed highlight that L3 received 3,43/5 and Italian 3,72/5. Italian received the highest result 3,86/5. All the comparisons about the L1/L2/L3 and Italian means are visible in Table 9.

Table 9 – *Comparison of the L1/L2/L3 and Italian means of all participants*

	Mean		Mean		Mean		Mean
L1 Useful	3,42	L2 Useful	3,3	L3 Useful	3	ITA Useful	4,14
L1 Poetic	3,3	L2 Poetic	3,3	L3 Poetic	3,4	ITA Poetic	3,3
L1 Rich	3,05	L2 Rich	3,2	L3 Rich	3,9	ITA Rich	4,14

Table 9 reported the L1/L2/L3/ITA and the means at which they were acquired by participants. We discover that the higher values were given with age. Italian received higher percentages of usefulness, poetry and richness of the other languages. It is possible to see that the higher evaluations about the usefulness and the richness are not for the first languages but for the last acquired. This could be comprehensible if it is considered that all the participants have migrated to another country in which they currently live. For them it is more useful Italian than their mother-tongues for their everyday life. S.11 “The helpful language for me is Italian because I work with Italian people”. From Table 9, Italian is considered even richer than the first languages. The concept of richness includes how many words a language has and how it is considered prestigious, but in this point of the questionnaire it was not made explicit on purpose. Here too, the means about the richness of the languages owned by participants is higher for Italian compared to the L1. Analysing the results about poetry, in Table 10 the rate for the L1 equals Italian.

Table 10 – *Results of usefulness, poetry and richness based on the age of participants*

	Age	L1 Useful	L2 Useful	L3 Useful	ITA Useful	L1 Poetic	L2 Poetic	L3 Poetic	ITA Poetic	L1 Rich	L2 Rich	L3 Rich	ITA Rich
Mean	18-21	3,4	3,2	3,9	4,1	3,2	3,2	3,2	3,1	2,9	3	3,8	3,9
	Age	L1 Useful	L2 Useful	L3 Useful	ITA Useful	L1 Poetic	L2 Poetic	L3 Poetic	ITA Poetic	L1 Rich	L2 Rich	L3 Rich	ITA Rich
Mean	35	3,7	4		4,7	4	4		4,3	4	4,3		4,7

The younger participants continue to give the highest points to usefulness and richness of Italian, while the richness of the L1 received the lowest rank. Analyzing the overall mean, Italian received 3,73/5 in all of three usefulness, richness and poetry. The oldest participants gave to Italian the highest results, always for usefulness and richness. The lowest result: the usefulness of their L1.

Table 11 – *Results of usefulness, poetry and richness based on the origin of participants*

	Nationality	L1 Useful	L2 Useful	L3 Useful	ITA Useful	L1 Poetic	L2 Poetic	L3 Poetic	ITA Poetic	L1 Rich	L2 Rich	L3 Rich	ITA Rich
Mean	Afghan	3,8	3	3,4	4,3	3,2	3,6	2,2	2,5	2,4	2,6	3,4	3,5
	Nationality	L1 Useful	L2 Useful	L3 Useful	ITA Useful	L1 Poetic	L2 Poetic	L3 Poetic	ITA Poetic	L1 Rich	L2 Rich	L3 Rich	ITA Rich
Mean	Bengali	4	4	3,3	4	3,7	3,7	3,3	3,3	3,7	3,7	3,3	3,7
	Nationality	L1 Useful	L2 Useful	L3 Useful	ITA Useful	L1 Poetic	L2 Poetic	L3 Poetic	ITA Poetic	L1 Rich	L2 Rich	L3 Rich	ITA Rich
Mean	Africans	3	2,6	4,4	3,7	3,4	3	4,2	4	2,6	3	4,6	4
	Nationality	L1 Useful	L2 Useful	L3 Useful	ITA Useful	L1 Poetic	L2 Poetic	L3 Poetic	ITA Poetic	L1 Rich	L2 Rich	L3 Rich	ITA Rich
Mean	Pakistani	3,3	3,5	4,2	4,5	3	2,7	3,3	3	3,3	3,2	3,8	4,5
	Nationality	L1 Useful	L2 Useful	L3 Useful	ITA Useful	L1 Poetic	L2 Poetic	L3 Poetic	ITA Poetic	L1 Rich	L2 Rich	L3 Rich	ITA Rich
Mean	East European	3	4		5	3,5	4,5	4,5		4	4,5		5

Afghans gave the highest point to the usefulness of Italian. Overall, they gave to Italian the highest points. The lowest result was for the poetry of L3. Bengali people gave as Afghans the highest ranks to the usefulness of their L1 and Italian. Also, L2 received the same rank. Overall, they gave higher points to their L1 and L2 that have the same means. All the other results are quite similar of all the other languages. African people gave the higher scores to richness, on the contrary of their Afghans and Bengali mates. The language most voted was L3 (4,4/5). Similar to the other participants, L3 and Italian are the most important. The lower results go to richness of L1 and usefulness of L2 (local dialects). Pakistani subjects, as their mates, gave to Italian the highest points in usefulness and richness, while L2 received the lowest result in poetry. Considering the total means, they gave to L2 the highest results. People from Eastern Europe gave 5, the highest point overall, to usefulness and richness of Italian. Italian, considering the means of all the voices, received the highest mean of result: 4,83/5.

Table 12 – Results of usefulness, poetry and richness based on the years spent in Italy

	Years in Italy	L1 Useful	L2 Useful	L3 Useful	ITA Useful	L1 Poetic	L2 Poetic	L3 Poetic	ITA Poetic	L1 Rich	L2 Rich	L3 Rich	ITA Rich
Mean	1	4,7	4,3	4	4,3	2,3	2,7	3,3	2,3	4	3,7	3,3	3,3
	Years in Italy	L1 Useful	L2 Useful	L3 Useful	ITA Useful	L1 Poetic	L2 Poetic	L3 Poetic	ITA Poetic	L1 Rich	L2 Rich	L3 Rich	ITA Rich
Mean	2	3,2	2,8	4	4,1	3,8	3,2	3,3	3	2,9	3,1	3,8	4
	Years in Italy	L1 Useful	L2 Useful	L3 Useful	ITA Useful	L1 Poetic	L2 Poetic	L3 Poetic	ITA Poetic	L1 Rich	L2 Rich	L3 Rich	ITA Rich
Mean	3-4	3	3,2	3,6	4	2,4	3,4	3	4,3	2,2	2,4	4,2	4,3
	Years in Italy	L1 Useful	L2 Useful	L3 Useful	ITA Useful	L1 Poetic	L2 Poetic	L3 Poetic	ITA Poetic	L1 Rich	L2 Rich	L3 Rich	ITA Rich
Mean	20	3,7	4		4,7	4	4		4,3	4	4,3		4,7

People who have spent 1 year in Italy gave to their L1 an higher result than Italian. The lowest results are for the poetry of L1 and L2. This category maintains the highest mean in all the three items for their L1. Subjects in Italy from 2 years follow the line and gave to Italian usefulness the best point. Then, for L3 usefulness and Italian richness. The lowest result: L2 usefulness. Italian is more used than native languages. People in Italy from 3/4 years continue to increase the rank for Italian language rather their L1s. For the first time the highest result is for the poetry of Italian and also the richness., while the lowest: the richness of L2. Participants in Italy from more than 18 years gave to Italian their highest ranks, especially for richness and usefulness.

Table 13 – Results of usefulness, poetry and richness based on the level of education of participants

	Education	L1 Useful	L2 Useful	L3 Useful	ITA Useful	L1 Poetic	L2 Poetic	L3 Poetic	ITA Poetic	L1 Rich	L2 Rich	L3 Rich	ITA Rich
Mean	Class 8	3	3,1	3,9	4,1	3,4	3,2	3,3	2,7	2,5	2,6	3,9	3,6
	Education	L1 Useful	L2 Useful	L3 Useful	ITA Useful	L1 Poetic	L2 Poetic	L3 Poetic	ITA Poetic	L1 Rich	L2 Rich	L3 Rich	ITA Rich
Mean	Class 10	3,3	3,5	3,8	3,5	3	3,3	3	3	3,3	3,5	3,5	3,5
	Education	L1 Useful	L2 Useful	L3 Useful	ITA Useful	L1 Poetic	L2 Poetic	L3 Poetic	ITA Poetic	L1 Rich	L2 Rich	L3 Rich	ITA Rich
Mean	Class 12	3,8	3	4,2	4,3	3,4	3,8	3,8	4,3	3,4	3,8	4,4	4,5
	Education	L1 Useful	L2 Useful	L3 Useful	ITA Useful	L1 Poetic	L2 Poetic	L3 Poetic	ITA Poetic	L1 Rich	L2 Rich	L3 Rich	ITA Rich
S.4	None	5	5	5	5	1	2	3	2	5	4	4	5
	Education	L1 Useful	L2 Useful	L3 Useful	ITA Useful	L1 Poetic	L2 Poetic	L3 Poetic	ITA Poetic	L1 Rich	L2 Rich	L3 Rich	ITA Rich
S.18	College	5	4		4	5	3		4	4	4		4

Participants who have attend school until class 8 gave the highest results to L3 usefulness, richness and Italian usefulness. L1 remains behind, especially for the poetry. Subjects who have attend school until Class 10 follow the mates and continue to give the better results to L3/ITA usefulness/richness. Comparing with Class 8, Class 10 has a lower total mean on Italian language. People who have finished high school gave higher results not only in richness and usefulness of L3/ITA but also on the poetry of Italian. Compared to Class 8 and Class 10, Italian has the highest total mean. S.4, who has no education at school, ranks his L1 on the top, and so the usefulness and richness of Italian language. S.18, who went to college, gave quite the same vote for all her languages.

Table 14 – *Results of usefulness, poetry and richness based on the current job of the participants*

	Job	L1 Useful	L2 Useful	L3 Useful	ITA Useful	L1 Poetic	L2 Poetic	L3 Poetic	ITA Poetic	L1 Rich	L2 Rich	L3 Rich	ITA Rich
Mean	Students	3,2	3,3	3,8	4	3,1	3,3	3,3	3	3	3,1	3,8	3,9
	Job	L1 Useful	L2 Useful	L3 Useful	ITA Useful	L1 Poetic	L2 Poetic	L3 Poetic	ITA Poetic	L1 Rich	L2 Rich	L3 Rich	ITA Rich
Mean	Workers	3,6	3,3	4,2	4,3	3,5	3,3	3,5	3,3	3,1	3,3	4,1	4

Considering subjects who are still students, they gave to Italian usefulness 4/5 points, while the lowest result was given to L1 poetry and L2 richness. Overall, Italian is quite used as the third language, for the majority English. Workers ranks Italian with a higher mean than students: 4,14/5. As the other participants, they gave the best result to usefulness and richness of L3/ITA. The lowest result was for L1 richness.

Table 15 – *Results of usefulness, poetry and richness based on the sex*

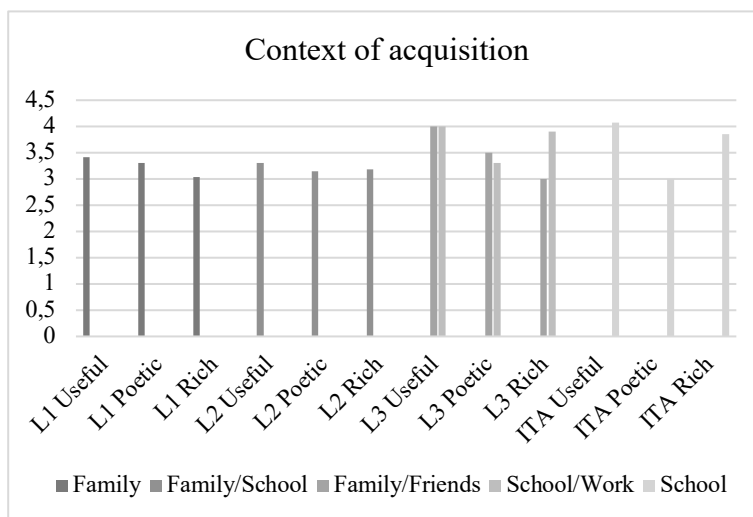
	Sex	L1 Useful	L2 Useful	L3 Useful	ITA Useful	L1 Poetic	L2 Poetic	L3 Poetic	ITA Poetic	L1 Rich	L2 Rich	L3 Rich	ITA Rich
Mean	M	3,5	3,1	3,8	4,2	3,3	3,2	3,1	3,1	3	3,1	3,8	3,9
	Sex	L1 Useful	L2 Useful	L3 Useful	ITA Useful	L1 Poetic	L2 Poetic	L3 Poetic	ITA Poetic	L1 Rich	L2 Rich	L3 Rich	ITA Rich
Mean	F	3,3	4	4,8	3	3,3	3,8	4,5	4	3,3	3,5	4,8	4

Men gave to Italian language 3,73/5. Their highest ranks were given to Italian usefulness and richness. The lowest: L1 richness. Women, in Italy for much longer than men, gave to L3 usefulness and richness the highest result, but they ranked well also L3 poetry. They overall gave a better mean to Italian language for all the items.

The usefulness of the first language is considered higher when acquired in school and working contexts (L3, ITA) than family ones. L3 received a high percentage for usefulness even in family context. It could be because the majority of participants acquired English as third language. The poetry is quite equal for all the contexts, the highest result was scored for the poetry of L3 acquired in family

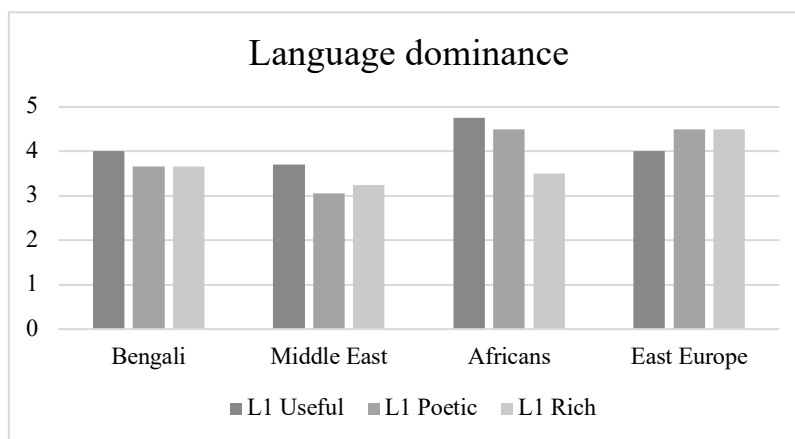
and friendly contexts. The richness of third and fourth languages, acquired in school or working contexts, have not equal.

Figure 13 – Results about the context of acquisition



Language dominance. The dominant language of participants from Middle East is their first language, except for S.18, whose language is French (L2). Participants from Bangladesh have their L1 as dominant. Subjects from Africa are the ones who use more their third languages (French). S.20 and S.21 have as dominant language the L2.

Figure 14 – Results about the language dominance



The dominant language is more useful for Africans; the poetry of dominant language received higher result for Africans and Eastern Europe participants than the Asian. Even the richness is higher for the Eastern Europe people. The lower results go to poetry and richness for Middle East participants.

Language proficiency. It can be reported here a table with the means (votes were from 1 to 5) that comprehends all the linguistic abilities: speaking, understanding, reading and writing in all the languages investigated.

Table 16 – *Language proficiency: means of all subjects for each language*

All subjects	
L1	4,9
L2	4,76
L3	3,9
ITA	3,43

Even if the fourth language has received the lowest results regarding linguistic abilities, it was the one which received the highest results in usefulness and richness. The third language, the less scored in linguistic abilities, received the highest result in poetry. The question about the usefulness, poetry and richness was related to other three requests made on the last part of the questionnaire. They were: 17) If you have to make a metaphor, or to write a rhyme, which language you speak is the most appropriate? 23) Which is the language you speak that has more words to express feelings? 28) Which is the language you speak that is more helpful for your everyday life? Table 16 reassumes the percentage's means of the answers given by participants.

Table 17 – *Useful, poetic and rich results*

	L1	L2	L3	ITA
28) Useful	24%	10%	33%	33%
17) Poetic	38%	24%	29%	9%
23) Rich	43%	24%	9%	24%

Age of acquisition. From the table it is possible to notice that the first language is not considered so useful from the participants, on the contrary, the third or fourth language are considered more useful than the native ones. Italian is considered more useful than the native tongue. Even the L3 is considered more useful, it could be because for 5 participants it is Italian and for others it is English or French, languages that are more common than theirs in a country such as Italy. L2 is not considered useful, probably because for the majority of the participants it is a local dialect, or the unofficial language, of their native countries (S.3, S.4, S.12 Punjabi; S.16 Bambara; S.17 Mandinka; S.19 Morè). The first language remains the more poetic, while Italian has the lower percentage 9%. 9% is also the result of the L2 in usefulness and for the L3 in the richness. For poetry, the age of acquisition reveals that native languages are seen more poetic than the subsequent.

Context of acquisition and personal history. Italian is felt more useful than native tongues because it is the arrival country of all these participants, so, they chose as more useful language a language that is not their dominant and in which they do not possess a high proficiency. The context of acquisition prevalent was the school. Italian, in this case, was chosen by S.20, the participant for much longer in Italy; S.19, who said that she felt Italian poetic because the first time she said “I love you” was in Italy; S.7, the subject that is a cultural mediator, so he has a high competence in Italian and S.13, a Bengali student who completed the high school.

Language proficiency and personal history. First languages were more chosen, so the languages with more proficiency. The richness of the language was related to the question about the amount of words to express feelings in a specific language. In this occasion, L1, the language with more proficiency, was the most selected. It could be because the question was related to poetry/expression of sentiments, in fact, the prevalent context of acquisition was family. S.18 said that her first language (Arabic) is the richest because “it has a huge vocabulary”; S.5 reports that he prefers his L2 or L3 (Urdu and English) because “they increase my feelings”. L1 is seen as more poetic because: “I can say very well a metaphor if it is in my L1” (S.9) and “it is my mother tongue” (S.17). Considering differently the evaluations made by men and women we can see in Table 18 that women gave higher points for all the categories.

Table 18 – *Comparisons between men and women’s means*

	Useful (L1/L2/L3/ITA)	Poetic (L1/L2/L3/ITA)	Rich (L1/L2/L3/ITA)
Men	3,5	3,17	3,4
Women	3,9	3,84	3,84

Women, compared to men, are older (30;8 years; 18;4 years) and are in Italy for much longer (16;2 years women; 2;1 men). The voice that differs the most is for the poetry: women see more poetic the languages they spoken. For all the categories, the female participant (S.20), who is living in Italy for much longer, has always selected Italian.

Language dominance. To underline: Pakistani participants do not select their dominant language for the tasks. they select the most the third language (English) for the majority, to make rimes. On the contrary, Afghani select almost at all their dominant language to make rhyme and poetic figures, for the richness of

vocabulary and the usefulness. Bengali picked their dominant language specially to make poetries.

5.2 Cognitive tasks

For what concern the last part of the questionnaire (twenty questions about the languages used in cognitive and emotional contexts), results are the following, divided for category. The cognitive occasions are listed in Table 19.

Table 19 – *Answers to cognitive tasks*

Contexts	L1	L2	L3	ITA
10) Read books	38%	24%	29%	9%
12) Count loud	41%	27%	9%	23%
13) Personal diary	43%	28%	24%	5%
16) Watch TV	13%	32%	23%	32%
19) Count silently	45%	23%	14%	18%
21) Think in your head	68%	14%	4%	14%
22) Practice sport	23%	14%	27%	36%
24) Mobile's settings	27%	18%	37%	18%
26) Write a shopping list	14%	24%	38%	24%
29) Pray	77%	14%	9%	

It emerges that the contexts in which the L1 is more used are when it is to pray and to think, to form silent phrases in the head. The first language is therefore the language of the faith, especially because “It makes me feel so good” S.19. Even the participants that are in Italy for a longer time picked their first languages: it is, in absolute, the voice for which no languages except the mother tongue are contemplated. The second percentage for L1 is 68% in “thinking in your head”.

To change the language in which we think, even if we are living in a foreign country, it is not so simple even after twenty years circa (S.6, S.19 and S.23 chosen their L1). S.23 explained: “Sometimes I talk to myself in Italian, it depends if I am in a bad moon”. S.21, in Italy for 23 years, is the unique participant who explained that she chosen Italian because “it is automatic and spontaneous”. The other contexts are when it is to count silently 45%, while the percentage is lower for counting loud 41%. Comparing the two similar tasks, it can be possible that participants feel more comfortable their L1s when they need a faster calculation, while, if they have more time, they try to concentrate and make an effort, using more their later languages. Here the comparisons of two comments of the same subject.

About counting silently: “L1 because it is my mother tongue” (S.12).

About counting loud: “L4 because I am surrounded all the time by Italians”
(S.12).

L1 remains the favourite (43%) even to write a personal diary. In this case it is visible also the lowest percentage received by Italian: 5%. Only one man, S.12, a cultural mediator, chose Italian “Because it is poetic”. S.19 and S.21, women, chose Italian too, and they are accordingly from 20 and 23 years in Italy. For the majority of the participants, however, L1, dominant and more proficient language, remains the language to write personal events (writing was the ability that also received lower self-evaluations). To read books maintains the L1 as first choice, but even the percentages of L3 are good because participants want to improve their Italian (if it is their L3), or other western languages (English or French): S.5 “I read in English because I am fully interested”; S.20 “I read in Italian because I want to improve”. S.21 selected her L2 because “Every evening I read to my children Italian tales”. Mobile settings are especially established in L3: English. It can be because that is the language of international communication and of social

networks. The majority of the participants live far from their families and they need some ways to interact. S.5: “In English I understand more”. When they practice sport, subjects said that they use more their fourth language, and this happens especially for men. When they finish lessons in the foundation in which they live, they attend other activities that are organized by educators. In these contexts, they are more motivated to talk in Italian. S.12 “I am always playing with my Italian friends”. Even a female participant, S.19, picked Italian “Doing sports in a group, I must talk in Italian”. The lowest percentages for the L1 in cognitive contexts are in watching TV (13%) and writing a shopping list (14%). For the first action the fourth language and the second received the same percentage (32%), but the comments of participants are all in favour of Italian: “I watch TV in Italian because I want to improve” S.5; “Italian because I live in Italy” S.7; “I want to learn Italian” S.12; “Italian because I live here” S.18. L2 has received a good percentage probably because many participants comprehended in this item the videos they watch on their smartphones. To write a shopping list it is preferred the third language, but many participants, in this item, answered that they do this routine in more than one language “It is indifferent” S.19. Comparing all the percentages of use of all the languages spoken we have that for cognitive tasks the L1 is used at 39%, L2 at 22%, L3 at 21% and Italian at 20%. It is interesting that Italian received a result quite close to L3, even considering that there were items, such as pray, that scored zero preferences for Italian. This could be because participants, living in a foreign country in which it is supposed they have to stay for a long period, want to improve their competences and they care to become more integrated, starting from the language. Counting all the preferences for men and women participants, the first have chosen most of all the times the first language (66 times), then the third (35), Italian (34) and the second (32). Women have selected the first language most of the times (19), then in order the other languages (L2, 15 times; L3, 11 times; ITA, 5 times). Italian language was especially selected for activities such as: practice sport, watch TV and write

a shopping list. The preference for the last item is especially because all the female participants fill out in Italian their shopping lists. Even in practicing sports, all the women chose Italian. The lower preferences for Italian are in thinking silently and especially for praying.

Table 20 – *Use of languages in cognitive tasks: overview*

Means of all participants		
	tot⁹	%
L1	77	36,7
L2	36	17,1
L3	36	17,1
ITA	57	27,1

By comparing the use of different languages in the performance of cognitive activities, we can see a clear preference to use the L1 (36.7%) for various daily activities. In particular, it is used to pray (16 respondents out of 21, or 76%), thinking out loud (14/21, or 66.6%), counting silently (10/21, or 47.6%) and write a personal diary (8/21, or 38%); even counting aloud is done preferably in L1 (38%). On the contrary, the activities that the participants prefer to play in Italian (27.1%) are: to practice sport (11/21, or 52.3%), to write the shopping list (9/21, or 42.8%) and watch TV (8/21, or 38%). The percentages that express the preference of the L1 are a little more decisive than those that express the preference of Italian. As for other activities or the use of other languages, the distribution appears more uniform and varied. Therefore, there are no relationships between the use of L2 and L3 (both at 17%) in the context of daily cognitive activities.

⁹ The indication refers to the number of items that received the same answer.

Table 21 – *Use of languages in cognitive tasks in relation to the age of participants*

Age: 17-21 years			Age: 30 years		
	tot	%		tot	%
L1	32	17,8	L1	11	36,7
L2	36	20,0	L2	4	13,3
L3	43	23,9	L3	0	0
ITA	43	23,9	ITA	15	50

Younger boys, aged between 17 and 21 years, show no particular preferences for the use of a language, on the contrary the percentages appear fairly homogeneous: 23.9% for L3 and Italian, 20% for L2 and 17.8% for L1. Unlike, the three ladies over 30 years show a marked preference for the use of Italian (50%), followed by L1 (36.7%). The use of other languages is marginal: 13.3% for L2 and 0% for L3, as 2 out of 3 do not speak more than 3 languages and the third one does not use it.

Table 22 – *Use of languages in cognitive tasks in relation to the origin of participants*

Afghans			Bengali			Africans			Pakistani			East Europe		
	tot	%		tot	%		tot	%		tot	%		tot	%
L1	19	38	L1	20	66,7	L1	11	22	L1	20	33,3	L1	7	35
L2	6	12	L2	1	3,3	L2	12	24	L2	15	25	L2	2	10
L3	13	26	L3	7	23,4	L3	7	14	L3	9	15	L3	0	0
ITA	12	24	ITA	2	6,7	ITA	20	40	ITA	13	21,7	ITA	11	55

By relating the use of different languages in daily activities with the country of origin of the participants, we can see that boys from Afghanistan prefer the use of L1 in most activities (38%), especially to pray, thinking and counting silently, data in line with what was expressed by the general group. Instead, they deviate

from it for their predilection for setting their mobile phone in L3 (23.3%), in most cases a European language. Even the Bengali boys prefer to use the L1 (the Bengali) in most of the activities (66.7%), followed by the L3 (Hindi, 23.3%), while showing a very low use of European languages (English L2, 3, 3% and Italian, 6.7%). They follow the general tendency to pray, think and count silently in L1 too. People from Africa, unlike the other groups, show a preference for the use of Italian (40%), followed by L2 (mostly local dialects, 24%) and L1 (another local language, 22%). The areas in which Italian is most used follow the general group line, that is to write the shopping list and practice sports. They differ from it for the use of Italian in silent counting (4 out of 5). Even the Pakistani boys show a preference for the use of L1 (mainly Urdu, 33.3%), followed by L2 (25%) and L3 (21.7%). Among the activities mainly carried out in L1, we always find to pray and think, while an anomalous data seems to be the preference to read books in L3. Participants from Eastern European countries, like the Africans, show a preference for Italian (55%), followed by L1 (35%).

Table 23 – *Use of languages in cognitive tasks in relation to the period of time spent in Italy*

1 year			2 years			3-4 years			20 years		
	tot	%		tot	%		tot	%		tot	%
L1	11	36,7	L1	24	13,3	L1	21	42	L1	11	36,7
L2	4	13,3	L2	22	12,2	L2	4	8	L2	4	13,3
L3	5	16,7	L3	20	11,1	L3	9	18	L3	0	0
ITA	7	23,3	ITA	20	11,1	ITA	16	32	ITA	15	50

Observing the use of languages in the performance of cognitive actions through the comparison between the years of stay in Italy, it can be noted that the newly arrived maintain a preference for the use of L1 (36.7%), followed by Italian (23.3%) as a learning language and used for everyday life. However, the percentages of the different languages are quite close to each other (13.3% for L2

and 16.7% for L3). The trend is even more homogeneous for people in Italy for 2 years, whose percentages all appear between 13.3% of L1 and 11.1% of L3 and Italian. The difference is more accentuated for subjects in Italy for at least 3 years, whose languages are polarized between L1 (42%) and Italian (32%), with significantly lower percentages for other languages. The trend inversion occurs in people living in Italy for more than 15 years, which show a clear preference for Italian (50%), maintaining a strong link with their L1 (36.7%).

Table 24 – *Use of languages in cognitive tasks in relation to the level of education*

No education			Class 8			Class 10			Class 12			College		
S.4	tot	%		tot	%		tot	%		tot	%	S.18	tot	%
L1	3	43	L1	31	36	L1	19	47	L1	20	41	L1	4	40
L2	0	0	L2	23	27	L2	8	20	L2	3	6	L2	2	20
L3	0	0	L3	10	12	L3	5	13	L3	6	12	L3	0	0
ITA	4	57	ITA	21	25	ITA	8	20	ITA	20	41	ITA	4	40

Participants who have attend school until Class 8 (14/15 years of age), selected for cognitive tasks more the first language (36%), than the second (27%). The percentage between the L2 and Italian is quite the same. The tasks in which L1 is more used are counting silently and to pray. Italian is more used in practicing sport, while L3 for mobile phone settings. L2 receive the highest rank for writing the personal diary. Participants who have attend school until Class 10 (16 years), chosen always the most L1, even more than participants "at Class 8", and they differentiate more than Class 8 between L1 and Italian to do cognitive tasks. L3, as for Class 8, received less preferences. The second language is selected as Italian. Italian was best used for watching TV, while L1 always for praying, thinking, but also for practicing sport. Class 8 gave to sport zero preference for L1. People who have attend school until Class 12 (they have finished high school), demonstrate that they use Italian for cognitive tasks as their L1 (41% - the same

percentage). Tasks in which L1 was still more used were to think, to pray and then to write a personal diary and to count silently. Italian was more selected for practicing sport, watching TV and writing a shopping list. The latter two have not preferences for L1, while practicing sport had only one vote for Class 10 but all the preferences of Class 8 and 12 went to Italian. S.4 who has never attended school in his country, has developed good competences, especially orally, in Italian. He selected only Italian or L1. L1 was chosen to mobile phone settings and, as the majority of the participants, for praying and thinking in the head; Italian was selected for counting loud and silently, for watching TV and for practicing sport. Totally, he selected more Italian than L1 (57% vs 43%). S.18 has attended college in her native country (Saudi Arabia) and she has been living in Italy for twenty years. She selected L1 in the same contexts of the majority of the other participants: to pray and to think in her head. Italian was chosen for writing tasks. L2 (French) was also well selected. Totally she chosen Italian as Arab (40%). The percentage is lower than S.4, despite the fact she is in Italy for longer and her linguistic competences higher than S.4.

Table 25 – *Use of languages in cognitive tasks in relation to the current job*

Students			Workers		
	tot	%		tot	%
L1	42	43	L1	35	32
L2	17	17	L2	19	17
L3	19	20	L3	17	16
ITA	19	20	ITA	39	35

Participants who works use Italian more than their L1 in everyday cognitive contexts. They still use L1 for praying and thinking, even for counting silently, but Italian received high percentages as well, especially in writing a shopping list; practicing sport and watching TV. Comparing with students, workers use Italian more even because they are in contact with Italian people more than the firsts.

Table 26 – *Use of languages in cognitive tasks in relation to the sex of participants*

Male			Female		
	tot	%		tot	%
L1	66	40	L1	11	27
L2	30	18	L2	5	13
L3	32	19	L3	4	10
ITA	38	23	ITA	20	50

Male participants, who are in Italy from 3 years circa, use at most their L1 in cognitive tasks (40%). The second language used is Italian (23%), but it does not have a big difference with L2 and L3. The tasks in which L1 is so used are praying and thinking. Practicing sport is preferred in Italian and so watching TV. Female participants, who are in Italy from much more than men, used Italian at 50%, especially in practicing sport and writing shopping lists. L1 is still more loved for praying. Thinking in the head received the same preferences for Italian and L1. Overall, female participants use more Italian than the other languages in cognitive contexts.

Age of acquisition. For what concern the age of acquisition we have seen the cognitive tasks in which the L1 is preferred: to pray and thinking in the head. The age of acquisition affects also to count loud, silently and to write a personal diary.

Context of acquisition. The third and fourth language, learned for most at school, affects contexts such as watching TV, practicing sport and also count loud. Activities that preferred the L1, learned in familiar contexts, remain to pray and to think.

Language dominance. Middle East participants use their dominant languages (Urdu, Punjabi, Farsi) predominantly. Even Easter Europe subjects, who have their L2 as dominant language, selected it the much. South Asian selected more

their dominant language, while Africans, who have French as dominant language, picked more Italian.

Language proficiency. To do cognitive tasks Middle East and South Asian participants preferred more their L1, in which are more proficient, while Africans use the most the languages in which they have less ability. East European selected more their L2 in which they scored a proficiency comparable to L1.

5.3 Emotions

Going on we face the result about the use of the languages for expressing the six primary emotions.

Table 27 – *Answers to primary emotions*

	L1	L2	L3	ITA
25) Fear	52%	24%	14%	10%
27) Sadness	53%	14%	19%	14%
20) Happiness	48%	9%	29%	14%
18) Disgust	33%	19%	29%	19%
14) Anger	33%	33%	24%	10%
11) Surprise	29%	33%	19%	19%

The higher percentages for the L1 are for expressing fear, sadness and happiness. They are all about 50%. The first language remains the more preferred for all the emotions except surprise, for which it is more taken the L2. It is to say that surprise is generally included in the basic emotions, but it is not easy to describe. “The emotional state of mind linked to surprise may be presented as an initial state of mind that is suddenly disrupted by something unexpected or predicted. Then comes another emotion depending of the valence (neutral/moderate,

pleasant/unpleasant, positive/negative) and the intensity” (Brizard, 2018, p.75). L2 is well chosen to express surprise and anger; L3 to express happiness and disgust. Italian has the lowest percentages for fear and anger; L3 received the same result for happiness and disgust. The following table represents the preferences in expressing each emotion. The development of the lines is not always decreasing from a high percentage for L1 to Italian. For some emotions, such as happiness, sadness or disgust, L3 has higher percentage than L2.

Table 28 – *Use of languages to express emotion: overview*

Means of all participants		
	tot	%
L1	56	38
L2	27	19
L3	27	18
ITA	37	25

Counting the preferences, there is a high selection of the first languages to express emotions (30%). In particular, first language is used more to express sadness, fear and happiness. Italian was the second language most selected (25%). The emotions most expressed in Italian were love (we have explained that it is not an emotion, but we consider it in this group for the results) and disgust. Disgust scored the same rank in L1 and Italian. Surprise is the emotions most difficult to analyse because it received the same preferences in L1, L2 and Italian. L2 and L3 have the quite same percentages of usage, not so high: 19% and 18%.

Table 29 – Use of languages to express emotions based on age of participants

Age: 17-21 years			Age: 30 years		
	tot	%		tot	%
L1	49	39	L1	7	32
L2	25	20	L2	2	9
L3	27	21	L3	0	0
ITA	25	20	ITA	13	59

Younger participants show a preference for their L1 (39%). The other languages are used without differences. The first language is more used to express sadness, fear and happiness. Italian is more selected in love. Ladies prefer the use of Italian language at 59%. Italian is more used to express disgust, anger and surprise. The first language is more selected for fear. For happiness and love L1 and Italian received the same percentages. L3 is not selected from anyone. S.20 and S.21 speak three languages, S.18 four, but they all do not use the third language.

Table 30 – Use of languages to express emotions based on the origin of participants

Afghans			Bengali			Africans			Pakistani			East Europe		
	tot	%		tot	%		tot	%		tot	%		tot	%
L1	19	54	L1	11	50	L1	7	20	L1	15	36	L1	4	29
L2	3	9	L2	2	9	L2	10	28	L2	11	26	L2	1	7
L3	7	20	L3	6	27	L3	8	23	L3	9	21	L3	0	0
ITA	6	17	ITA	3	14	ITA	10	29	ITA	7	17	ITA	9	64

People from Afghanistan use the most their L1 (54%) to express their emotions. Fear is the one which has received more preferences in L1, than disgust, happiness and love. The second language more used is L3 (for 3 participants English, 1 German and 1 Italian). In expressing anger, it is preferred the L2; for surprise L1 and L3 have the same result. Italian is not so used but much more than L2, especially for expressing sadness. Bengali participants scored preferences similar

to Afghans. L1 is the most preferred language, especially for expressing sadness. The L3 receive some preferences, the major for expressing love. Overall there are not relevant choices. Participants from Africa reveal a preference for Italian language, detectable also in cognitive tasks. In expressing emotions, they use prevalently Italian for surprise, then it is well used the L3 (disgust). Overall, the percentages are very close. There is not an emotion that is distinguishable to be expressed in L1. L3 is more selected in disgust. Participants from Pakistan use the most their L1, especially in expressing surprise, anger and sadness. Then they prefer the L2, that receive the same percentage in surprise. L3 scored the best result in happiness. L2 and L3 are not used with particular differences. Italian was more selected in expressing love. Participants from East Europe differentiate from the others. They selected Italian more than other participants, even because they live in Italy much more. Their percentage of Italian is very distinct from the other languages: 64% vs 7%.

Table 31 – *Use of languages to express emotions based on the time spent in Italy*

1 year			2 years			3-4 years			20 years		
	tot	%		tot	%		tot	%		tot	%
L1	12	57	L1	23	33	L1	14	29	L1	7	33
L2	2	9	L2	18	26	L2	19	39	L2	2	10
L3	5	24	L3	13	18	L3	9	18	L3	0	0
ITA	2	10	ITA	16	23	ITA	7	14	ITA	12	57

Considering the period of time spent in Italy, participants who are here from 1 year use more their L1 to express emotions. The emotion that has received more preferences is sadness. The second language most used is the third, especially to say, "I love you". L2 and Italian received the quite same percentages. The preponderant use of L1 is evident. Participants in Italy from two years, increase the use of Italian in expressing emotions and the difference between L1 and Italian is very changed compared to the one of people in Italy from 1 year. Comparing

also L2 and L3, L2 is more used in subjects in Italy from 2 years, on the contrary, the third language not. The first language is selected more to express happiness and sadness, emotions in contrast. L2 is more chosen in anger, as the L3. Italian has its best ranks in surprise, love and fear. Subjects in Italy from 3-4 years face a less use of Italian compared to participants in Italy from 2 years. This data is unexpected, as the fact that L2 becomes the favourite language to express emotions, in particular surprise. Subjects in Italy from 20 years circa demonstrate a prevalent use of Italian in expressing emotions: 57%. The second language used is their first. Italian is more selected in disgust (3 out of 3 preferences), anger, sadness and surprise. The first language is, on the contrary, used more for happiness and fear. L3 is no used at all.

Table 32 – *Use of languages to express emotions based on the level of education of participants*

No education			Class 8			Class 10			Class 12			College		
S.4	tot	%		tot	%		tot	%		tot	%	S.18	tot	%
L1	5	71	L1	28	40	L1	9	32	L1	11	31	L1	3	43
L2	0	0	L2	14	20	L2	10	36	L2	2	6	L2	1	14
L3	0	0	L3	16	23	L3	6	21	L3	5	14	L3	0	0
ITA	2	29	ITA	12	17	ITA	3	11	ITA	17	49	ITA	3	43

Participants who have attend school until Class 8 use overall their L1 to express emotions. The most expressed in L1 is fear, then disgust, happiness and surprise. The other languages are quite similar in their use. L3 results more used than the other two, especially for happiness. Italian was more selected to express love. Subjects who attend school until 16 years circa have selected more their second language to express emotions: love and anger. L1 is near with 32%. Italian received the lowest percentage. Overall, between L1 and L2 there are not particular differences in use. Participants who have finished high school selected

the most Italian and then their L1. Italian is preferred in expressing surprise and disgust, while L1 for expressing sadness. L2 and L3 are practically unselected. S.4 uses quite all the times his L1 and he selected Italian only for love and disgust. S.18 scored the same percentage for L1 and Italian. This is interesting. She has been live in Italy for 20 years and she reached the same use of Italian and Arabic to express her emotions. In particular she uses Italian for surprise, disgust and sadness and L1 for happiness, anger and fear.

Table 33 – *Use of languages to express emotions based on the current job of participants*

Students			Workers		
	tot	%		tot	%
L1	27	39	L1	29	38
L2	16	23	L2	11	14
L3	17	24	L3	10	13
ITA	10	14	ITA	27	35

Subjects who are still students have scored L1 as the most used for expressing emotions, while Italian has the lowest percentage. L2 and Italian are practically equal. L1 is more used in expressing sadness and then fear. Italian was no selected at all in expressing anger. Subjects who work in Italy, scored a result lower only for 1% compared to students in using their L1. Italian (35%) receives however a higher percentage, very near to L1 (38%). The emotions expressed in L1 are especially happiness, fear and sadness, while in Italian: love and disgust. L2 and L3 are homogeneous.

Table 34 – Use of languages to express emotions based on the sex of participants

Male			Female		
	tot	%		tot	%
L1	49	41	L1	7	25
L2	24	20	L2	3	11
L3	23	20	L3	4	14
ITA	23	19	ITA	14	50

Men chose especially their L1 to express emotions. The other languages are practically at the same level of usage. L1 was more selected to express sadness (10 out of 17 participants), fear and happiness (8 out of 17) and then surprise and anger. The emotion less selected is love (that is not an emotion). L2 and L3 are comparable. Italian was more chosen proper in love. Female participants use more Italian than their L1. Italian was especially selected for disgust, while angry, love, surprise, sadness scored the same. L1 was more preferred for happiness and fear. Female participants are in Italy for a longer time than men, also they have all babies who attend primary school in Italy and try to use more Italian at home even for them.

Context of acquisition. Fear and sadness received the highest percentages of being express in L1 (acquired from family - 54%). It was chosen the first language for fear because “I can speak in it very well” S.11; and “Because it is my language” S.17. Two participants (S.2; S.7), said that fear is easier to express in English, their second language. Even S.5 picked his second language explained that “I learned how to express it in Urdu”. Maybe this choice is made by the need to be understood by others (S.5 comes from Afghanistan and he is inserted in a context in which the majority of people talk in Urdu). S.18 chose her L1 but she reports that it depends on where she is. Sadness is on top with fear for its percentage of use of L1, but compared to fear, that has the less preferences in Italian, it has more expressions also in Italian. 7 participants have chosen, indeed, Italian for that

emotion. S.11 said explicitly that now he talks about sadness in Italian “because I have Italian friends and I work with Italians”; S.17 “Because I live in Italy”; S.18 “Italian because I communicate well”. S.21 said that it depends on the place in which she is. Three participants said that living in Italy it is spontaneous to express surprise in Italian: S.20, S.9 and S.11. the latter said that “living from three years in Italy and using Italian language every day, I express my emotions also in Italian”.

Personal history. S.5, who picked his first language for sadness, explained that it is because “my mum taught me how to handle”. S.5 has Asiatic origins. We have already encountered in chapter three how are different the types of education comparing eastern and western societies, and how it is important for eastern mothers to teach their children to maintain composure and decorum in emotional situations. Happiness obtained the 48% in L1 and 29% in L3. S.5 said that “I can discuss my feelings better in English” and the same for S.2 and S.3. the first language is still the favourite for S.9 who said, “I can explain from my heart happiness in Bangla”; for S.18 “My first language (Arabic) makes me feel good” and for S.21 “I lived my best memories in Ukraine”. Italian ranked more than L2 in happiness. Two participants in Italy from different time periods report, indeed, that for them Italian is easy (S.7, in Italy from 3 years) and spontaneous (S.21, in Italy from 23 years). S.11 picked Italian and wrote: “I am living in Italy and I want to stay”, as he wants to create happy memories in Italian because he is going to stay there for a long time. Disgust received the 33% of expression in L1. It is the emotion that was less explained by the participants, and the one that got more preferences in Italian (8 preferences). The emotion of anger is still on top as L1 to be expressed with, but L2 is very near too. It is interesting that two participants said that in Italian they “like” to be angry because “I learned a lot of bad words” (S.1; S.11). S.21 said that she uses Italian because she lives in Italy and that it is more immediate. S.5 specifies that he uses Urdu (L2), “Because I learn from the

movie how to express”. Considering the origin of participants, and counting the preferences for all the specific emotions, we can discover that people from Middle East use their L1 specially to express fear and sadness, and so people from South Asia. L2 is more used to express surprise for subjects coming from the Middle East, West Africa and East Europe. Disgust is more expressed in the later languages by people from Middle East and West Africa. It is curious that two opposite emotions such as sadness and happiness are expressed in “opposite” languages, the first and the last, for Middle East participants.

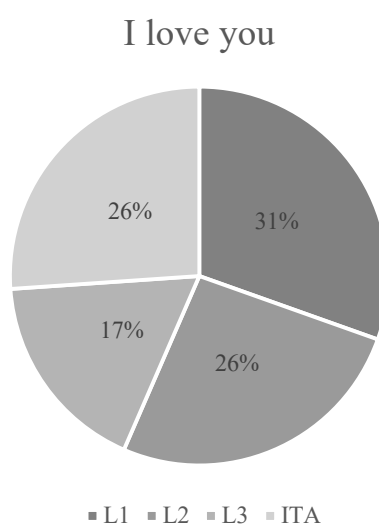
Table 35 – *Emotions more expressed by origin of participants*

	L1	L2	L3	ITA
Middle East	Fear/Sadness	Angry/Surprise	Disgust	Happiness
South Asia	Sadness			
West Africa		Surprise	Angry	Disgust
East Europe		Surprise		

Taking in consideration question n°27 of the questionnaire: In which language do you feel stronger the phrase “I love you”, data are confirmed because all the languages evaluated have a similar result. To the request “why?” (it was free to answer or not to “why” in all the questions from 10 to 30), half of the participants have replied. It is interesting to analyse three comments all made by female participants. S.19 said that her language to say, “I love you” is the fourth, Italian, because “the first time in which I heard it, it was in Italian”. S.20 chose her second language, Italian, because “it is more romantic”. Differently, S.21, in Italy for a similar period of time, reported that she prefers Russian, L3, because the word “love” in Italy is really overused: “In Italian to say *ti amo* makes me laugh because everyone always says *amore, amore* and for me it has less value”. A male participant, S.9, picked English, because it is “an international language”. It

evocates a sense of fraternity and the need to be understood. Recollecting the five criteria of Pavlenko (2005), in bilingual's rating emotionality, even if love is not an emotion, it can be found that the context of acquisition for S.19 and S.21 influenced the strength of the sentence "I love you" in different ways. It is possible to see from Figure 15 that the percentages in all the languages are so similar. The L1 is the preferred language (31%); L3 received the lower percentage, 18%, but overall, data are very close.

Figure 15 – *In which language do you feel stronger the phrase "I love you"?*

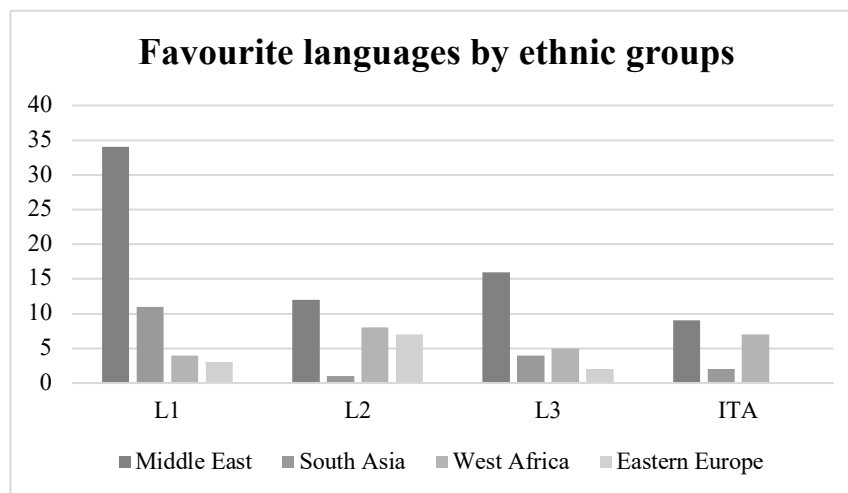


Looking deeper in the results, the first language was especially chosen by Afghans, while the fourth by Pakistani and Africans, even if they arrived in Italy only 3-4 years ago. S.20 is in Italy from 23 years and she has chosen Italian, her dominant language. S.21, who is in Italy from around 20 years, still prefer her second language, that is also her dominant one. This choice matches the criteria of Pavlenko (2005) for which despite the proficiency of a specific language, the first will be more adequate for expressing a feeling.

Language dominance. Overall the first language is the most used, but percentages of other languages are higher than expected. Participants showed many

preferences for Italian even if it is the dominant language of only one person, and this could be because some of them want to integrate themselves as much as possible and want to be understood. Here there are the choices made by participants divided for ethnic groups.

Figure 16 – *Favourite languages to express emotions by ethnic groups*



People from Middle East utilized their dominant language (L1), for all the emotions. Participants from South Asia use too their dominant language for expressing emotions (L1). West African, who have for dominant language their second or third language (French), have respectively chosen their dominant language also for expressing emotions. Participants from Eastern Europe too: they have the second language as dominant and in fact the L2 column is the higher for their languages.

Language proficiency. The languages known by participants are various and their competences are quite good for their first and second languages. As happiness, disgust presents higher preferences for L1 and L3, with lower in L2 and Italian. About it, we can evince that the majority of people who stayed longer in Italy use Italian to express disgust, while who stays in Italy for three years prefers his mother tongue because “I can express better” S.11. We can explain preferences

for L3 because other subjects reported that “I can express better disgust in English” (S.1; S.5). Surprise was the emotion in which L2 surpasses L1: 33% vs 29%. The second language was chosen because: “Not everybody understands my language and in English I use good words” S.2; S.8: “I do understand better English”; S.10: “For me English is easier to say something”; S.19: “Because it is natural to use French (L2)”. Others underline their L1: “It is easier to say something” S.9; “It is my home language” S.7. Summing all the percentages we have the L1 used at 43%, L2 at 22%, L3 at 21% and ITA at 14% for expressing the primary emotions. Analysing the results for Italian, visible in the figure above, it is curious that it is the most chosen for African participants when they gave in total themselves a lower rank compared to all the other subjects.

Question number 30 was about giving suggestions to the author of the questionnaire and it will be discussed in the next chapter, in which better and deeper comparisons are going to be made.

VI. Discussion

6.1 Answers to predictions

Recollecting the five criteria of Pavlenko (2005), that can influence the choices about the languages in which expressing emotions, it is to say that the results of the study made confirm most of them. Evidences are more visible if organized and explained point by point:

1. *the age of the acquisition.* Younger participants give the highest points to usefulness and richness of Italian, while the richness of the L1 received the lowest rank. The oldest participants gave to L3/Italian the highest results, always for usefulness and richness. The lowest result: the usefulness of their L1. The first language, the most dominant and acquired predominantly in family, is the most used proper with family members. In speaking,

understanding, reading and writing the L1 has the highest results and the Italian, of course, the lowest. L2 received results quite near the L1 because the study of that language came very early for all the participants (the mean of everyone for L2s is 3;9 years). In cognitive tasks, younger boys, aged between 17 and 21 years, show no particular preferences for the use of a language, unlike, the three ladies over 30 years, show a marked preference for the use of Italian (50%). According to emotions, younger participants show a preference for their L1 (39%). Ladies prefer the use of Italian language at 59%. Many comments made by participants report that choices about the L1 were because: “It is my mother language”. S.10: “I can explain the words from my heart in Bangla”; S.21: “I feel good in my mother language”. It is also to say that many comments revealed that it was chosen a language that can be comprehensible, consequently, these preferences were led by other motives rather than the age of acquisition. Thus, another factor that can be evaluated as criteria that influences the use of languages in expressing emotions is the need to be understood by others. That thing can affect bilinguals’ choices;

2. *the context of acquisition.* The usefulness of the first language is considered higher when acquired in school and working contexts (L3, ITA) than family ones. Italian is felt more useful than native tongues and the context of acquisition prevalent is school. The more difficult context to pick a favourite language is with the partner. In this case all the percentages are very near. This means that love has no barrier and that it is the language of the beloved person that influences how we address to them. The context of acquisition for S.19 and S.21 influenced the strength of the sentence “I love you” in different ways. The contexts in which the percentages of the L1 are higher are with relatives. In context such as school, in classroom, the higher percentage is for the fourth language. Participants who works use Italian more than their L1 in everyday cognitive contexts. Comparing with

students, workers use Italian more even because they are in contact with Italian people more than the firsts. L1, acquired in family, has higher results in linguistic abilities than the other languages, acquired at school. The third and fourth language, learned for most at school, affects cognitive contexts such as watching TV, practicing sport and also count loud. Activities that preferred the L1, learned in familiar contexts, remain to pray and to think. Participants said explicitly that living in Italy it is spontaneous to express some feelings in Italian: S.11 “living from three years in Italy and using Italian language every day, I express my emotions also in Italian”. Subjects who are still students have scored L1 as the most used for expressing emotions; subjects who work in Italy, scored a result lower only for 1% compared to students in using their L1. Italian (35%) receives however a higher percentage, very near to L1 (38%). Pavlenko (2005) argues that formal contexts of acquisition contribute to consider emotions words in other languages, except the first, weaker. In the present study, it was not always the case. S.1 said that he likes expressing anger in Italian; S.12 reveals that he has learned “a lot of bad words”. The context criterion should take in consideration the target language and its distinguishing features;

3. *the personal history of the speaker*. According to Pavlenko (2005), subjects who lived negative experiences tend to use languages that are more distant from the events to recollect them. S.5 said that he has learned *how* to express fear and anger in his second language; S.12 that *now* he discusses in Italian his sadness memories, and so S.19 “Italian because I communicate well”. S.2 finds easier to use English (L2) for fear and sadness. S.8 too, even for emotion of disgust. Overall, the supposition of Pavlenko is confirmed in the inquiry reported in this dissertation. It is to highlight that some participant chosen his L1 but giving interesting explanations as S.5 who, about sadness, chose his first language saying that

his mother taught him “how to handle”. Taking in consideration question n°27: In which language do you feel stronger the phrase “I love you”, half of the participants have replied. S.19 said that her language to say, “I love you” is the fourth, Italian, because “the first time in which I heard it, it was in Italian”. Differently, S.21, in Italy for a similar period of time, reported that she prefers Russian, L3, because the word “love” in Italy is really overused: “In Italian to say *ti amo* makes me laugh because everyone always says *amore, amore* and for me it has less value”. By relating the use of different languages in daily activities with the country of origin of the participants, they all follow the general tendency to pray, think and count silently in L1 too. People from Africa, unlike the other groups, show a preference for the use of Italian (40%) to write the shopping list and practice sports. Male participants, who are in Italy from 3 years circa, use at most their L1 in cognitive tasks (40%). Female participants, who are in Italy from much more than men, used Italian at 50%. About emotions: L1 is the most preferred language, especially for expressing sadness. Participants from Africa reveal a preference for Italian language, detectable also in cognitive tasks. Men chose especially their L1 to express emotions. Female participants use more Italian than their L1.

4. *language dominance*. For language dominance it is intended a language that is not automatically the first learned. For example, young immigrant children, whose parents have moved, may lose their first language because of phenomenon of attrition and they grow in the new country immersed in a different dominant language than their parents. The participant of the study who has moved before the others is S.21: she arrives in Italy when she was 10. She still uses Albanian, her first language, for some cognitive tasks, but she selected Italian, L1, for each emotion. The dominant language is more useful for Africans; the poetry of dominant language received higher result for Africans and Eastern Europe participants than the Asian.

For Middle East participants, who have L1 as dominant, it is more used with family rather than working contexts and the same is for South Asian participants. Africans use more their second/third languages in everyday contexts. Eastern Europe participants use their dominant languages in working contexts, while the firsts with partners and relatives. *In expressing love*, the first language was especially chosen by Afghans, while the fourth by Pakistani and Africans, even if they arrived in Italy only 3-4 years ago. S.20 is in Italy from 23 years and she has chosen Italian, her dominant language. S.21, who is in Italy from around 20 years, still prefer her second language, that is also her dominant one. This choice matches the criteria of Pavlenko (2005) for which despite the proficiency of a specific language, the first will be more adequate for expressing a feeling. In linguistic abilities, all participants gave to their dominant language a point that is not minor less 4 out of 5. Overall, in cognitive tasks the first language is the most used, but percentages of other languages are higher than expected. Participants showed many preferences for Italian even if it is the dominant language of only one person, and this could be because some of them want to integrate themselves as much as possible and want to be understood. For what concern emotions, participants use their dominant language for expressing them;

5. *language proficiency*. Pavlenko suggests that bilinguals consider their L1 more emotional than their L2, even if they are very competent. Even if the fourth language has received the lowest results regarding linguistic abilities, it was the one which received the highest results in usefulness and richness. The third language, the less scored in linguistic abilities, received the highest result in poetry. About richness, L1 was the most selected. S.18 said that her first language (Arabic) is the richest because “it has a huge vocabulary”; L1 is seen as more poetic because: “I can say very well a metaphor if it is in my L1” (S.9) and “it is my mother tongue” (S.17).

Participants selected a lot the languages last acquired in working and class contexts. It could underline a desire to improve and use more languages too distant from the native ones. In expressing love, S.20 in Italy from 23 years chosen Italian, her dominant language. S.21, who is in Italy from around 20 years, still prefer her second language, that is also her dominant one. This choice matches the criteria of Pavlenko (2005) for which despite the proficiency of a specific language, the first will be more adequate for expressing a feeling. Considering linguistic abilities, participants in Italy from 2 years found writing the most difficult ability and understanding the easier. To do cognitive tasks Middle East and South Asian participants preferred more their L1, in which are more proficient, while Africans use the most the languages in which they have less ability. East European selected more their L2 in which they scored a proficiency comparable to L1. The languages known by participants are various and their competences are quite good for their first and second languages. In expressing emotions, analysing the results for Italian it is curious that it is the most chosen for African participants when they gave in total themselves a lower rank compared to all the other subjects. The newly arrived maintain a preference for the use of L1 (36.7%) in cognitive contexts. The difference is more accentuated for subjects in Italy for at least 3 years, whose languages are polarized between L1 (42%) and Italian (32%). The trend inversion occurs in people living in Italy for more than 15 years, which show a clear preference for Italian (50%). Participants who have attend school until Class 8 (14/15 years of age), selected for cognitive tasks more the first language (36%). Class 10 differentiate more than Class 8 between L1 and Italian to do cognitive tasks. People who have attend school until Class 12 demonstrate that they use Italian for cognitive tasks as their L1 (41% - the same percentage). Tasks in which L1 was still more used were to think, to pray and then to write a personal diary and to count silently. Italian was

more selected for practicing sport, watching TV and writing a shopping list. S.4 who has never attended school in his country selected more Italian than L1 (57% vs 43%). S.18 has attended college in her native country (Saudi Arabia) and she has been living in Italy for twenty years. She chosen Italian as Arab (40%). Considering the period of time spent in Italy, participants who are here from 1 year use more their L1 to express emotions. The emotion that has received more preferences is sadness. Subjects in Italy from 3-4 years face a less use of Italian compared to participants in Italy from 2 years. This data is unexpected. Subjects in Italy from 20 years circa demonstrate a prevalent use of Italian in expressing emotions: 57%. Participants who have attend school until Class 8 use overall their L1 to express emotions. Participants who have finished high school selected the most Italian and then their L1. Italian is preferred in expressing surprise and disgust, while L1 for expressing sadness. S.4 uses quite all the times his L1; S.18 scored the same percentage for L1 and Italian. This is interesting. She has been live in Italy for 20 years and she reached the same use of Italian and Arabic to express her emotions.

Here are the three researching questions to which this inquiry is asked to answer.

1. Do bilingual use only the first language in cognitive contexts and to express their primary emotions? We can affirm that NO, bilinguals and multilinguals use also the other languages they speak and have learned.
2. In which contexts, cognitive and emotional, it is preferred the L1 despite the others or vice-versa? L1 for various daily activities was used at 36.7%. In particular, it is used to pray (16 respondents out of 21, or 76%), thinking out loud (14/21, or 66.6%), counting silently (10/21, or 47.6%) and write a personal diary (8/21, or 38%); even counting aloud is done preferably in L1 (38%). On the contrary, the activities that the participants prefer to play in Italian (27.1%) are: to practice sport (11/21, or 52.3%), to write the

shopping list (9/21, or 42.8%) and watch TV (8/21, or 38%). Counting the preferences, there is a high selection of the first languages to express emotions (30%). In particular, first language is used more to express sadness, fear and happiness. Italian was the second language most selected (25%). The emotions most expressed in Italian were love (we have explained that it is not an emotion, but we consider it in this group for the results) and disgust. Disgust scored the same rank in L1 and Italian. Surprise is the emotions most difficult to analyse because it received the same preferences in L1, L2 and Italian. Predictions about cognitive actions were quite fulfilled. To pray or to think silently, considered intense activities, received the highest percentages. It was expected that also tasks such as writing a personal diary or counting silently received high results, but in this case the percentages were higher for other languages rather than for L1, maybe because they are languages acquired at school and so linked to school tasks such as writing and counting. The choices about the languages were well explained by participants, from whom it emerges the will to learn and to improve their abilities in the languages of their country of arrival. This implies a constant work and exercise in the target language, different from the native one. Predictions about emotions revealed that the first language is not so chosen as it was expected.

3. In the cases in which other languages are more used than the first, does it happen in cognitive or emotional contexts? It was expected that other languages would be more used in emotional tasks and so it was, but with a percentage not so sharp. L1 in cognitive tasks was used at 36,7% and other languages at 61,3%. In emotional contexts the L1 was used at 38% and other at 62%. The table below reports the percentages of every variable considered, with the percentages of the two languages most selected: L1 and Italian.

Table 36 – Comparisons between cognitive and emotional tasks

	COGNITIVE	EMOTIONAL
YOUNGER	No sharp preferences	39% L1
OLDER	50% ITA	59% ITA
AFGHANS	38% L1	54% L1
BENGALI	66% L1	50% L1
AFRICANS	40% ITA	29% ITA
PAKISTANI	33% L1	36% L1
EAST EUROPE	55% ITA	64% ITA
1/2/3/4 YEARS IN ITALY	31% L1	40% L1
20 YEARS IN ITALY	50% ITA	57% ITA
CLASS 8-10	41,5% L1	36% L1
CLASS 12-COLLEGE STUDENTS	40% L1 & ITA the same	46% ITA
WORKERS	35% ITA	35% ITA
MALE	40% L1	41% L1
FEMALE	50% ITA	50% ITA

Italian was more selected in expressing emotions than L1 for older participants, female from Est Europe, who are in Italy from 20 years circa and have attend high school. Younger participants, in Italy from 1 to 4 years, prefer L1 in expressing emotions and with percentages all around the 50% with an exception for Africans, who selected more Italian to express emotions. Participants who have attend school until Class 8, and are still students, selected more their L1 to do cognitive tasks than in expressing emotions.

6.2 Final considerations

Participants themselves were required freely to leave a comment about the questionnaire (Question n°30). Six gave an opinion: S.2 said that all the questions were “so unique and interesting”; S.5 suggested to insert a question about future; S.14 wrote that “It was a new experience and I enjoyed it a lot, thanks”; S.18 thanked to be considered, he said he was satisfied and touched to be chosen as

participant; S.19 highlighted the importance to know many languages for our brain and S.20 wrote that the questionnaire was done really well. Evaluating all the items was so challenging. Linguistic backgrounds of participants were fundamental to know a bit of their personal history. They present different languages but a common past. All of them are bilinguals or multilinguals who moved from a country to another and started new life experiences, at first, to learn a new language. The majority of them (17 men) is in Italy from 4 years at maximum, while five subjects, all women, from 16 year circa. They present different linguistic competences and opinions about the inputs given. The criteria offered by Pavlenko (2005), were very useful to understand their choices, especially about the languages of emotions. These criteria comprehend even the past of subjects and their personal history. Analysing the answers about emotions for each language, the first was the more used, but, considering on the one side first languages and other languages on the other, overall the other languages were more chosen, especially Italian. It happens even in cognitive contexts: other languages were more selected than first languages. Cognitive task largely evaluated the will of subjects to improve their linguistic competences making efforts in using the language of the arrival country. It is visible from the comments made by participants, that the fact for which they live in a specific country make a contribution to choosing a specific language. Another feature present even in emotional contexts is the need to be understood by other people, and so the necessity to learn comprehensible ways of communication. The aspect that emerged the most is, to summarize, the desire expressed by the participants, to be integrated in the society, starting with the language.

Conclusion

This work started from the definitions of bilingualism, multilingualism and multilingual society, to have a portrait of the current world's situation of globalization and about the addressee of this inquiry; to comprehend better how these subjects learned all the languages they know, it was explored the topic of second language acquisition. The research proceeded by stepping into the field of emotions and bilingualism, to reach the core of the question and so the real use of languages done by bilinguals and multilinguals. Previous researches proved that the first language is not always the choice made by bilinguals for doing things or expressing emotions, and this was also the goal of this dissertation. For reaching this conclusion it was created a new questionnaire, in which were included many contexts of use of language. Differently from the other studies made, this questionnaire investigates linguistic information, linguistic abilities and the preferences of subjects in cognitive and emotional contexts. The factor that characterised this research is that all the 21 participants are migrants and have lived particular experiences that can influence their linguistic decisions. Studies that make comparisons between cognitive and emotional situations are not several, especially with these kinds of participants. In this analysis it is evinced that L1 is not the choice that subjects made automatically. On the contrary, it is visible the large use of all the languages known by multilinguals, even of the last acquired. More precisely, the first language was more selected in expressing emotions than doing cognitive tasks. Other languages were selected with good percentages and Italian, the last acquired for the participants, scored results higher than expected. The work contributes to research in the topic of bilingualism and emotions, especially for the type of participants: migrant people. Certainly, the categories of Pavlenko are useful to move in the phenomenon of bilingualism, in fact many answers of the respondents confirmed her hypotheses. However, having worked with subjects not only bilingual but multilingual, in migration contexts,

has shown that these categories are, however valid, but not sufficient to explain in depth their situation. In addition, or perhaps within the proposed categories, it would be appropriate to consider other characteristics of the participants, including: their country and culture of origin, the countries in which they lived, the number of languages spoken and the contexts of acquisition of them, the characteristics of their L1 and of the languages subsequently learned, but above all the desire for integration in the country in which they currently reside. About that, it can be suggested another criterion to evaluate the linguistic choices made by bilinguals: their desire to integrate in the society push them to use more the target language than the native one. This preliminary study involved only a limited number of participants. Since their participation was completely voluntary, it was not possible to create homogeneous subgroups that would allow a more accurate statistical comparison. The collected data, therefore, cannot be considered generalizable to a larger population. The factors mentioned before could be investigated deeper with other studies and subjects to make comparisons. By involving people with other characteristics, such as different provenance, periods of time in a specific country, ages, more women, could be useful and interesting to liken results. The need to be understood was very frequent in participants' opinions, and so, the fact that they want to improve Italian language. The research, if seen wider, puts also in evidence the precious work that teachers of Italian made with refugees and, above all, it leads to a reflection about the fundamental role that language has. It is indeed not just a mean of communication, but the most important innate capacity of our being and the connection that everyone has with the world.

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Appendix A: The questionnaire

Questionnaire: Use of languages in bilingual's everyday life

This is a researching questionnaire created by me for my Master Degree in Language Sciences at University Ca' Foscari, in Venice. It investigates the linguistic habits of bilingual people in some everyday contexts. It is composed by five parts: personal data, language you usually speak, language fluency, daily activities, emotional features. It will take about 20 minutes.

Data will be used exclusively for research or didactic purposes and they will be collected in anonymous form, whilst fully respecting privacy, as required by Legislative Decree 163/2017, former Article 13 Legislative Decree 196/2003 and former Article 13 European Regulation 2016/679. Thanks for your cooperation.

E-mail contact

Background Information

All the information will be kept confidential. If you would rather not identify yourself, please use random initials and a number, e.g., AV38. Keep in mind that even a dialect is considered a language.

Gender

Age

Education level (highest diploma or degree)

Occupation/Profession

Which ethnic group/community do you belong to or most identify with

Which is the language you use the most in your everyday life?

Linguistic information

	Language	Age at which you started learning the language	Context of Acquisition (family/school)
1st LANGUAGE (L1)			
2nd LANGUAGE (L2)			
(Eventually) 3rd LANGUAGE (L3)			
(Eventually) 4th LANGUAGE (L4)			

Statements about your languages

Here are some subjective statements about the languages you know. Please mark to what extent they correspond to your own perceptions on the scale from 1 (not at all) to 5 (absolutely).

For example: L1

Useful: 5

Poetic: 4

Rich: 4

	L1	L2	L3	L4
useful				
poetic				
rich				

Please, answer these following questions. Chose only one language.

- 1) Which language do you usually use with your father? L1 L2 L3 L4
- 2) Which language do you usually use with your mother? L1 L2 L3 L4
- 3) Which language do you usually use with your friends in classroom? L1 L2 L3 L4
- 4) Which language do you usually use with your relatives? L1 L2 L3 L4
- 5) Which language do you usually use with your brothers/ sisters? L1 L2 L3 L4
- 6) Which language do you usually use at work? L1 L2 L3 L4
- 7) Which language do you usually use with your friends outside the classroom?
L1 L2 L3 L4
- 8) Which language do you usually use with your partner? L1 L2 L3 L4
- 9) Which language do you usually use with your grandparents? L1 L2 L3 L4

Rate yourself!

On the scale from 1 (least proficient) to 5 (fully fluent) how do you rate yourself in speaking, understanding, reading, writing in all of the languages in question?

	Speaking	Comprehension	Reading	Writing
L1				
L2				
L3				
L4				

Please, answer these following questions. You are free to answer or not about “Why”.

- 10) In which language do you usually read books? Why?
- 11) If something you do not expect happens, in which language do you express your surprise? Why?
- 12) Which language do you usually use when you count loud? Why?
- 13) Which language do you usually use when you write your personal diary? Why?
- 14) If you are angry, in which language do you think to express your anger? Why?
- 15) In which language do you feel stronger the phrase "I love you"? Why?
- 16) Which language do you usually use when you watch TV? Why?
- 17) If you have to make a metaphor, or to write a rhyme, which language you speak is the most appropriate? Why?
- 18) If you see something that repulse you, in which language do you express your disgust? Why?
- 19) Which language do you usually use when you count silently? Why?
- 20) If you were recall some happy memories, what language would you prefer to discuss them with? Why?

- 21) Which language do you usually use when you think in your head, you form silently sentences (inner speech)? Why?
- 22) Which language do you usually use when you practice sport? Why?
- 23) Which is the language you speak that has more words to express feelings? Why?
- 24) Which language do you usually use for you mobile phone's settings? Why?
- 25) If you feel scary, in which language do you express your fear? Why?
- 26) Which language do you usually use to write a shopping list? Why?
- 27) If you were to recall some sad and difficult memories, what language would you prefer to discuss them with? Why?
- 28) Which is the language you speak that is more helpful for your everyday life? Why?
- 29) Which language do you usually use when you pray? Why?
- 30) Do you have any other comments and/or suggestions for the author of this questionnaire?

Appendix B: Tables with all participants' results

Evaluations on speaking, understanding, reading and writing

	L1 Sp.	L2 Sp.	L3 Sp.	L4 Sp.	L1 Und.	L2 Und.	L3 Und.	L4 Und.	L1 Read.	L2 Read.	L3 Read.	L4 Read.	L1 Wri.	L2 Wri.	L3 Wri.	L4 Wri.
S.1	5	5	3	2	5	5	4	3	5	5	4	3	5	5	3	3
S.2	5	5	5	3	5	5	5	4	5	5	5	3	5	5	5	4
S.3	5	5	3	2	5	5	4	2	5	5	4	3	5	5	3	2
S.4	5	5	5	4	5	5	5	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
S.5	5	5	3	3	5	5	4	3	5	5	4	3	5	5	3	3
S.6	5	5	3	3	5	5	4	4	5	5	3	3	5	5	3	2
S.7	5	5	4		5	5	4		5	5	4		5	5	3	
S.8	5	5	5	4	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	4	5	5	5	4
S.9	5	5	5	4	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	4	5	5	5	4
S.10	5	4	3		5	5	3		5	5	3		5	4	3	
S.11	5	5	4	4	5	5	5	5	5	5	4	5	5	5	4	4
S.12	5	5	4	4	5	5	5	4	5	5	4	4	5	5	4	4
S.13	5	5	5	4	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	4	5	5	5	4
S.14	5	5	4	3	5	5	4	4	5	5	4	3	5	5	3	3
S.15	5	5	3		5	5	3		5	5	3		5	5	3	
S.16	5	5	4	3	5	5	5	4	5	5	5	4	5	5	4	4
S.17	5	5	5	4	5	5	5	4	5	5	5	4	5	5	4	4
S.18	5	4	3		5	4	3		5	5	5		5	5	5	
S.19	5	5	4	2	5	5	4	2	5	5	4	2	5	5	4	2
S.20	5	4	3		5	5	3		5	4	4		5	4	2	
S.21	5	4	4		5	4	4		5	4	4		5	4	4	

Evaluations on usefulness, poetry and richness

	L1 Useful	L2 Useful	L3 Useful	L4 Useful	L1 Poetic	L2 Poetic	L3 Poetic	L4 Poetic	L1 Rich	L2 Rich	L3 Rich	L4 Rich
S.1	1	1	4	5	5	1	4	3	2	1	4	5
S.2	1	1	4		4	3	3		5	5	5	
S.3	4	4	4	4	3	3	4	4	3	3	4	4
S.4	5	5	5	5	1	2	3	2	5	4	4	5
S.5	5	4	4	3	3	3	4	2	4	4	3	2
S.6	4	4	4	4	3	3	1	3	4	4	3	4
S.7	1	2	3		1	2	3		1	2	3	
S.8	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
S.9	4	4	3	5	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
S.10	5	5	5		5	5	5		5	5	5	
S.11	5	3	3	5	2	4	2	5	5	5	4	5
S.12	3	2	4	4	2	2	1	1	1	2	3	3
S.13	5	5	4	4	5	5	4	4	5	5	4	5
S.14	3	3	3	5	4	4	3	2	1	1	2	4
S.15	3	3	3		5	5	1		1	1	5	
S.16	5	1	4	4	5	3	4	4	1	2	4	4
S.17	2	3	5	4	2	3	5	4	2	3	5	4
S.18	5	4	4		5	3	4		4	4	4	
S.19	2	4	5	3	1	3	5	4	1	1	5	4
S.20	4	5	5		4	5	5		4	5	5	
S.21	2	3	5		3	4	4		4	4	5	

Use of languages in cognitive tasks

	10) books	13) personal diary	12) count loud	19) count silently	16) watch TV	21) think in your head	22) practice sport	24) settings	26) write a shopping list	29) to pray
S.1	L3	L1	L3	L1	L2	L2	L2	L2	L2	L2
S.2	L2	L2	L2	L2	L2	L2	L2	L2	L2	L3
S.3	L3	L2	L1	L1	L3	L1	ITA	L3	L1	L1
S.4			ITA	ITA	ITA	L1	ITA	L1		L1
S.5	L2	L2	L1	L2	L4	L1	L3	L3	L3	L2
S.6	L3	L3	ITA	L2	ITA	ITA	L3	ITA	L3	L1
S.7	L1	L1	L2	ITA	L2	L1	L1	ITA	ITA	L1
S.8	L1	L3	L1	L1	L1	L1	L1	L1	L1	L1
S.9	ITA	L1	L1	L1	L1	L1	ITA	L3	L3	L1
S.10	L2	L2	L2	L2	ITA	L1	L1	L1	L2	L1
S.11	ITA	ITA	ITA	L1	ITA	L1	ITA	ITA	ITA	L1
S.12	L3	L2	L2	L1	L3	L1	L3	L3	L3	L1
S.13	L1	L3	L3	L1	L2	L1	L1	L3	L3	L1
S.14	L1	L1	ITA	L3	ITA	L3	ITA	L3	ITA	L1
S.15	L1	L1	L1	L1	L3	L1	L3	L1	L1	L1
S.16	L1	L1	L1	ITA	ITA	ITA	ITA	L1	ITA	L1
S.17	L3	L1	ITA	ITA	ITA	L1	ITA	ITA	ITA	L3
S.18	L1	ITA	L1	ITA	L2	L1	ITA	L2	ITA	L1
S.19	L3	L3	L2	ITA	L3	ITA	ITA	ITA	ITA	L3
S.20	ITA	ITA	ITA	L1	ITA	ITA	ITA	ITA	ITA	L1
S.21	L2	L1		L1	L2	L1	ITA	ITA	ITA	L1

Use of languages to express emotion.

	11) surprise	20) happiness	15) I love you	14) angry	18) disgust	25) fear	27) sadness
S.1	L2	L3	ITA	ITA	L3	L2	L2
S.2	L2	L2	L2	L2	L2	L2	L2
S.3	L1	L3	L3	L1	L1	L1	L1
S.4	L1	L1	ITA	L1	ITA	L1	L1
S.5	L3	L3	L3	L2	L3	L2	L1
S.6	L1	ITA	ITA	L1	L2	ITA	L1
S.7	L2	L3	L2	L2	L3	L2	L3
S.8	L3	L1	L2	L2	L1	L1	L1
S.9	L1	L1	L3	L1	L1	L1	L1
S.10	L2	L1	L2	L2	L1	L3	L3
S.11	ITA	ITA	ITA	ITA	L1	L1	ITA
S.12	L1	L1	L1	L2	L1	L1	L1
S.13	ITA	L3	L3	L3	ITA	L3	L1
S.14	L3	L1	L1	L3	L3	L1	ITA
S.15	L1	L1	L1	L1	L1	L1	L1
S.16	ITA	L1	L1	L3	ITA	ITA	L1
S.17	ITA	ITA	ITA	L1	L2	ITA	ITA
S.18	ITA	L1	L2	L1	ITA	L1	ITA
S.19	L2	L3	ITA	L3	ITA	L3	L3
S.20	ITA	ITA	ITA	ITA	ITA	ITA	ITA
S.21	L2	L1	L1	ITA	ITA	L1	L1

Appendix C: Comments of participants (Question n°30)

S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	S9	S10	S12	S14	S18	S19	S20	S21	S22		
10) To read books		Some times it is difficult	I don't read	English, Urdu because I'm fully interested	It is easier to understand	I like it	I like it	Because this is my mother language	Because I want to learn Italian language	Because I would like to learn Italian language and it's very useful in my day to day life	It's my language	Because I come from a Francophone country		To improve	Every evening I read to my children			
11) To express surprise	Because not everyone understood my language		It is my mother tongue	In English because I use both words	I actually do in L1 and L2	Because it is my mother language	It's my home language	Because I do better English	For me it is something	Because I am living from three years also in Italian		Because I'm living in Italy	If I am in Italy it is obvious, in Italian	Because it is natural	In Italian it is spontaneous			
12) To count loud	I find it easy		I'm in Italy	Hazragi because I know it well	Just naturally happens	I live in Italy	I like it		Because I am starting to learn Italian language	Because I am starting to learn all the times by Italian		Because I'm living in Italy	I'd rather prefer to live in Italy	Because I can write in it				
13) To write your personal letter	It is easier to understand		To exercise	English, Urdu because I can	Easier	I find it easy	I find it easy		Because I can write in Urdu	Because I learned a lot of bad words		Because it is my language						
14) To express anger	easy			Urdu, I learned from movie how to express					Because I can write in Urdu	Because I learned a lot of bad words		Because it is my language						
15) To say I love you	I like it			English makes me feel better and this sentence	Maybe Urdu is my mother language	I like this language	I find it easy		English is like Urdu	Because I live in Italy		Because I'm living in Italy		Because the first time I was in Italy	Because in Italian it is more romantic	In Italian it is more spontaneous		
16) To watch TV	Because people will understand most			Italian, because I want to improve		I live in Italy	I find it easy		I love Urdu	I want to learn Italian		Because I'm living in Italy						
17) To do a metaphor	Because people will understand most			Urdu, English because I can			I find it easy		Urdu, English because I can	Because I can speak very well		Because it is my language						
18) To express disgust	Because people will understand most			In Urdu or in Urdu I can express better			I find it easy		In Urdu or in Urdu I can express better	Because that's my mother language		Because I understand the language						
19) To count silently	I feel easy			Hazragi or in Urdu it is better	I also use L2 sometimes		I find it easy		I also use L2 sometimes	Because if my mother language		Because I live in Italy						
20) To express happiness	I find it easy		I find it easy	I can discuss my feelings better in Urdu			I find it easy		I can explain my heart by Urdu	Because I live in Italy and I want to stay		Because I live in Italy	Because I feel good		In Italian it is spontaneous	Because I lived in good memories in my country		
21) To think in your mind	I find it easy			Hazragi because I know it better			I find it easy		Because this is my mother language	Because this is my mother language		Because it is my language			In Italian it is spontaneous	Sometimes I depend on the Italian		
22) To do sports	I find it easy		I like it	English because I love it			I find it easy		Because I am always playing with my Italian friends	Because I live in Italy		Because I live in Italy	Doing sport in an Italian group, I must talk in Arabic, my mother tongue, because it is so rich		Because I live in Italy from a lot of years			
23) More words to express feelings	I love it			English, Urdu, increases my feelings			I find it easy		Because I can discuss my feelings better in Urdu	Because I live in Italy and I want to stay		Because I live in Italy	I feel good in French					
24) Mobile phone settings	I find it easy			I understand more in English			I find it easy		Because I can speak very well in Urdu	Because I live in Italy and all my contacts and all the data are in Italian		Because it is my language	I feel good in French					
25) To express surprise	I find it easy			Urdu, because I did it before			I find it easy		Because I can speak very well in Urdu	Because I live in Italy and all my contacts and all the data are in Italian		Because it is my language	It depends on where I live					
26) To write a shopping list	I find it easy		I like it	English, Urdu, (I did it before)	Both L1 and L2		I find it easy		Because I can speak very well in Urdu	Because I live in Italy and all my contacts and all the data are in Italian		Because I live in Italy	Italian fits so good					
27) To express sadness	I find it easy			Hazragi, because my mom taught me how to handle			I find it easy		Not I will discuss in Urdu because I have Italian friends and work with Italian	Because I live in Italy and I want to stay		Because I live in Italy	Italian because I communicate well					
28) The language more than your everyday life	I find it easy			English because I love this language the most			I find it easy		Because I work with Italian people	Because I live in Italy and I want to stay		Because I live in Italy	Italian because I am in Italy	Because I am in Italy and I speak Italian			It depends on where I am	
29) To party	I find it easy			Urdu, because I do it daily			I find it easy		Because I can speak very well in Urdu	Because I live in Italy and I want to stay		Because it is my language	Arabic, because I feel very good					
30) Personal comments	The mother and wife must be generous, I must be a great writer because most of all these things are increasing keep it up.			I did it, I ask someone if you ask about future? Good job.			I find it easy		Because I can speak very well in Urdu	Because I live in Italy and I want to stay	Thank, it was a new experience for me. I am satisfied for the first time of investigation. Good luck.	Because I live in Italy and I want to stay	Arabic, because I feel very good	The investigation is done very well.				