Syntactic aspects of code-switching in bilingual Spanish-Swedish children

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this essay was to analyze bilingual children in conversation. The essay examines under what syntactic circumstances bilingual Spanish / Swedish speaking children code-switch. The data for this essay is based on recordings of two of the author’s family members. The focus is on how bilingual children code-switch, if it is more likely for bilingual children to code-switch when the syntax of two languages are in alignment and if there is a dominant language. The collections of recordings are based on real conversations between two bilingual children. The two participants in the study are Spanish and Swedish speakers; they were born and raised in Sweden with Hispanic parents. The children have been exposed to both Spanish and Swedish at home. To be able to obtain the data the author only took the most important parts from the transcripts; both audio and video recordings were made to capture spontaneous conversations between the two brothers. The results show that the two participants code-switch most frequently at points when the syntax of the two languages is in alignment.

Keywords: code-switching, syntax, bilingualism, second language acquisition
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1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 General

We live in a multicultural world where the majority of the world’s population speaks more than one language. In every part of the world there are people using more than one language in their everyday life. In today’s reality, bilingualism is a common occurrence among children. Bilingualism is a phenomenon that surrounds us all the time. Today’s technology, travel and studying abroad have led to a necessity for knowing a second language. In our society there are millions of marriages involving spouses with different language backgrounds. Children in bilingual families have been brought up to use two languages when speaking. Language is seen as a source of communication and a symbol of their identity. A person that knows more than one language is regarded as a bilingual person. Knowing more than one language can be seen as having an extra asset for further learning, it can also open doors to broader communication opportunities.

Being a bilingual child can have its positive sides, however, there are also negative aspects. According to Cantone (2007) code-switching during conversation has often been misinterpreted as indication that bilinguals lack competence in speaking one or both languages. Gardner-Chloros (2009) claims that a person that switches between several languages at the same time when communicating with others is a code-switcher. Code-switching is therefore seen as an important aspect of bilingualism. For children that speak more than one language, code-switching becomes a communication tool that they use to make themselves understood on a regular basis. It is easier for children to code-switch because they do it unconsciously; therefore it is more common and more acceptable to code-switch.

1.2 Aim

The aim of this essay is to analyze syntactic aspects of code-switching among bilingual children in conversation. The essay seeks to examine under what syntactic circumstances a bilingual Spanish/Swedish child native speaker code-switches and what clause elements are being code-switched during conversation. The hypothesis explored here is that code-switching is more likely for translational equivalents where the syntax of Spanish and Swedish are in alignment.
2 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

This section will discuss several definitions of bilingualism including what code-switching is and why it occurs when bilingual children communicate. Based on previous research, this essay will describe how the area of bilingualism has been approached in previous investigations.

2.1 The definition of bilingualism

According to Grosjean (1982:1) bilingualism exists everywhere in the world; it is a phenomenon that has presumably existed since the beginning of language in human history. Among sociolinguistics it has been noticed that language is not just an instrument of communication. It is also a symbol of social or group identity. When discussing bilingualism, Cantone (2007) refers to language choice, which means that bilinguals have the possibility to choose which language they want to speak and use. Language choice is strongly affected by the social environment a bilingual person is exposed to. According to Cantone (ibid: 2) to be able to define a person as bilingual there are factors that need to be taken into consideration. Firstly, one has to consider the external and internal factors that exist. External factors have to do with the language community that the speaker is exposed to, i.e. if the social setting is bilingual or if it is a case of individual bilingualism. It also has to do with attitudes that the language user has towards language mixing, socio-political status of languages and the function that speech has in certain contexts. Internal factors involve language proficiency, the level of formality and intimacy, what the interaction between the languages is like and other factors related to the development of two languages.

Secondly, the attitude a bilingual person has towards the language he or she uses is another important factor to the study.

According to Cantone (2007) there are different ways to analyze bilingualism by simply looking at which of the languages is used with whom and for what purpose. This approach has to do with the study of language choice, which means that a bilingual person has the possibility to decide and choose for themselves which of the languages they want to speak. Weinreich (1968:9-11) cited in Cantone (2007) highlights three types of bilingualism, referring to them as compound, coordinate, and sub-coordinate bilingualism respectively. Essentially, the way one learns a language is said to have an impact on how concepts are encoded and stored in the brain. Compound bilingualism stands for a person who learns the two languages in the same context and situation so that two words, one in each language, have one common significance and representation in the brain, thus creating an
interdependence between the two languages. In contrast, coordinate bilingualism is postulated on the basis of an independency between the two languages. The person learns the two languages in different contexts, so that each word has its own specific meaning. The third type of bilingualism proposed by Weinreich (ibid) cited in Cantone (2007) is referred to as sub-coordinate bilingualism. In this case, one language is stronger and more firmly rooted in the individual than the other one, meaning that the more rooted language has been acquired first. A further explanation provided by Weinreich is as follows:

In this case, one language is stronger and faster than the other one, which results in establishing one meaning, namely the one of the language which has been acquired first. Whenever the second, weaker language (WL) is used, the representation recalled will be that of the stronger language (SL)

Weinreich (1968) cited in Cantone (2007:5)

2.2 Six different types of childhood bilingualism

According to Romaine (1999) there are six types of childhood bilingualism. These are outlined briefly below.

Type 1: ‘one person one language’. The parents have different native languages with each having some degree of competence in the other's language. The language of one of the parents is the dominant language of the community. The parents use different approaches; they speak their own language to the child from birth.

Type 2: ‘non-dominant home language’, ‘one language – one environment’ The parents of the child have different native languages and both parents speak the non-dominant language to the child, who is fully exposed to the dominant language only when outside the home and especially in the school environment.

Type 3: ‘non-dominant home language without community support’ The parents share the same native language. However, the dominant language is not one of the parents' languages and this situation exposes the child to a new language. The parents speak their own language to the child.

Type 4: “double non-dominant home language without community support” In this situation, parents have different native languages. The dominant language is not one of the languages that the parents speak. Therefore the parents each speak their own language to the child from birth.

Type 5: ‘non-native parents” The parents share the same native language. The dominant language is the same as the parents’ language. The dominant language is the same as the
language that the parents speak. One of the parents always addresses the child in a language which is not his/her native language.

*Type 6: ‘mixed languages’* The parents are bilingual. The people and community around may also be bilingual. The strategy that the parents use is to code-switch and mix languages when speaking to the child.

Romaine (1999) explains that each of the types described above has something in common with the others. For example, in types 1 and 2, the parents have different languages and the language of one is the dominant language of the community. What distinguishes them is the strategy used to address the child. In type 1 the child is exposed systematically to both languages at home, while in type 2, exposure to the community language is generally later and outside the home. In type 4 the parents also have different native languages, but neither one is the same as the dominant language. Here children are exposed to the two languages of their parents in the home and introduced to the community language later outside the home environment. In this case the outcome is a trilingual child. Romaine (1999) claims in addition that, in type 3 and 5 the parents share the same language, but in one case (3), the language of the parents is not the community language, and in the other, one of the parents addresses the child in a language which is not native to him/her. Type 6 is perhaps a more common category than it might seem to be on the basis of its representation in the literature. In other words, multilingual communities are in the majority in the world’s population. Thus many children grow up where individual and societal multilingualism coincide.

### 2.3 Bilingual syntax

Syntax it is defined by Braidi (1999) as the rules of a language, which govern the arrangement of words in the formation of sentences in a language. In accordance with Hawkins (2001) an important part when speaking two languages is learning how words fit together to form phrases, and how phrases fit together to form sentences. The properties of words and phrases are known as the syntax of a language. The study of syntax involves uncovering those properties of language which are involved in the construction of grammatical sentences in different languages. A grammar, in the sense that the term will be used here, is a set of instructions for 'generating' all well-formed grammatical sentences in the language. These instructions according to Hawkins (2001) specify how phonemes making up the words in sentences are pronounced, what their syntax is and how meaning is defined. The instructions must be sufficiently restrictive to exclude all ungrammatical sentences.
2.4 Code-switching

Code-switching is a very important feature of bilingualism. Grosjean (1982) refers to Pietro (1977) who defines code-switching as the use of more than one language by communicants in the execution of a speech act. Code-switching can involve a word, a phrase or a sentence. Code-switching is different from borrowing a word from the other language and integrating it phonologically and morphologically into the dominant language. In code-switching the switched element is not integrated; instead there is a total shift to the other language. Grosjean (1982) makes the difference between code-switching and borrowing. Code-switching occurs when a speaker of two different languages switches between the two when communication with other people who also understand both languages. Borrowing, on the other hand is when words from another language are taken and incorporated into a given language because there is no word in that language that adequately expresses what that wonder represents.

Code-switching is a really regular feature of bilingual speech. Monolinguals sometimes have a very negative attitude toward code-switching, which they see as a grammatical mixture of two languages, an aspect that is perceived as an 'insult' to the monolingual’s language rules. Bilinguals who code-switch extensively are often said to know neither language well enough to communicate in either one perfectly alone and they are called 'semi-lingual' or 'non-lingual'. According to Cantone (2007) it is well known that bilinguals mix their two languages, but it is not always regarded as a grammatical way of speaking. Code-switching has often been criticized, mainly by monolinguals, but also by bilinguals. Many speakers feel that it creates an uncomfortable mixture of languages, which is produced by people who are careless in the way they speak and the lack of ability to separate the two languages when speaking.

Illustration 1. Illustration of the difference between a code-switch (the alternate use of two languages) and a borrowing (the integration of one language into the other).

Grosjean (2010:58)
Grosjean’s (2010) figure above shows how the code-switching phenomenon occurs in bilingual children. At the beginning of the sentence the mother tongue is used and right in the middle of the conversation a word falls away. It is there where the bilingual child includes a word or phrase from the language of communication. After that it is easy to prevent code-switching and turn to borrowing, a principal stage in which the bilingual child borrows words from the language of communication. Grosjean (2010) argues that the child automatically includes loan words in their own linguistic repertoire when speaking.

In previous studies on bilingual speech, there is much evidence that bilinguals tend to mix their languages during conversation, often within single utterances. Mixing the languages has often been misinterpreted as evidence that bilinguals lack competence in speaking one or both languages. Bilinguals often switch varieties in order to communicate some aspect in addition to the superficial meaning of their words. The characteristic ways in which bilinguals combine their languages in a particular community represents a means of expressing their group identity, like a characteristic accent. Gardner-Chloros (2009) gives a clear example of what code-switching can look like;

[A Chicano professional talks about her attempt to cut down smoking]
They tell me “How did you quit Mary?” I don’t quit. I … just stopped. I mean it wasn’t an effort that I made *que voy a dejar de fumar por que me hace daño* o (that I’m going to stop smoking because its harmful to me or) this or that uh-uh. It’s just that I used to pull butts of the waste paper basket yeah. I just used to go look in the … *se me acababan los cigarros en la noche* (if my cigarettes would run out on me at night). I’d get desperate *y ahí voy al basarer a buscar, a sacar* (and then I go to the wastebasket to look for some, to get some) you know.

(Gumperz, 1982:81) in Gardner-Chloros (2009:66)

According to Grosjean (1982) bilinguals have been tested for the ability to understand and express themselves, both verbally and in writing. Grosjean (2010) shows that when bilingual students communicate with others, their code-switching occurs unconsciously; they are not aware of what language should be used. Code-switching is the alternative use of two languages. This means that the speaker makes a complete transition to a different language for a word, a phrase or sentence, and then returns to the first language.

Cantone (2007) refers to Grosjean ’s (1998) psycho-linguistic approach to language mixing, considering code-switching as a complete shift from one language to the other, either for a word, a phrase or a whole sentence. During a dialogue with another bilingual individual, at a
given point a bilingual person has to make a decision, which is for the most part unconscious, about which language to use. Grosjean (ibid: 55) argues that the level of activation of the two languages will be different in accordance with the interlocutor. If a bilingual is speaking to another bilingual, both languages will be activated. By contrast, if a bilingual is in a monolingual context, the state of activation of the two languages will be different. A language is said never to be fully deactivated in a bilingual. Basically, the language mode proposed by Grosjean is intended as a continuum on which the bilingual moves.

Language mixing is said to occur when the bilingual is in a bilingual situation, i.e. when he/she interact with other bilinguals. In this situation, both languages will be fully activated and as a result lead to language mixing, for example, code-switching or borrowing. Code-switching does not only relate to a momentary linguistic need; it is also very useful communication recourse. It takes place unconsciously; speakers are often relatively unaware that they are switching from one language to another. Their main concern is transmitting a message or a purpose and they know that the other person will understand them whether they use one or two languages when transmitting the message.

2.5 Early mixing

According to Cantone (2007) language mixing means that a word from language A or an utterance which contains elements from languages A and B is mixed into the language context of language B. Most of the studies on language mixing try to explain mixing in young bilinguals. It is either a lack of pragmatic competence, meaning that they do not know the word in one language and therefore use the equivalent word in the other language, or a lack of grammatical competence. What this means is that the children will use certain structures which have already been acquired in one language in the other language. Despite claiming that in bilinguals the two languages develop separately, some kind of interaction might reveal itself. The most evident interference is language dominance, namely, when one language is more dominant than the other. This might lead to unidirectional mixing, because most words are only available in one language.

Nearly all studies according to Cantone (2007) on early bilingualism have established that children mix their languages, independently of the environment being monolingual or not. Since grammar develops naturally in children, structural rules will not be applicable at an early stage of language acquisition. Thus, language mixing either follows no rules, or it depends on rules which are different from those governing adult mixing. Given that early
child mixing is considered to be structurally different from later mixing, it must also be defined differently. Meisel (1989) cited in Cantone (2007) points out that there is some confusion in the literature when it comes to defining the terms language mixing and code-switching. Meisel (1989) claims that it would be more appropriate to use the latter definition when children have already acquired proficiency in both languages.

2.6 Reasons for Code-switching

Bilinguals usually explain the reason why they code-switch on the basis that they lack the facility in one language when speaking about a particular topic. They switch when they cannot find an appropriate word or expression or when the language being used does not have the items or the appropriate translations for the vocabulary they aim for. They have not learned or are not equally familiar with the terms in both languages. Very often a bilingual knows a word in both language X and language Y, but the language Y word is more readily available at that moment when speaking language X. He or she may switch to language Y to say the word but later on in the conversation will use the equivalent word in language X. Grosjean (1982) gives the example:

*Baila* (dance) Mommy.
That *papel* (paper).
*Está* (it is) raining.

(Padilla and Liebman, 1975) in Grosjean (1982:182)

Grosejan (1982) refers to Gumperz (1970) in his research in making the claim that code-switching is a communicative resource that builds on the participants´ awareness of two contrasting languages. Gumperz (ibid: 152) claims that code-switching is meaningful in much the same way that lexical choice is meaningful: it is a verbal strategy, used in much the same way that a skillful writer might switch styles in a short story. For many bilinguals, code-switching helps them to amplify or emphasize a point.

An´... an´... an´ they tell me, “how did you quit, Mary?” I di´n´quit. I ... I just stopped. I just stopped. I mean it wasn´t an effort that I made. *Que voy a dejar de fumar porque me hace daño?* (That I´m going to stop smoking because it´s harmful to me?) this or tha´, uh-uh,

(Gumperz, 1970) in Grosjean (1982:152)
3 METHODOLOGY

3.1 Material

The data for this essay is based on the author's own recordings. This collection of recordings was made with the intention of investigating bilingual children’s ability to code-switch. These collections of recordings are based on real conversations between two bilingual children. The participants that were recorded for this essay were two brothers born in Sweden that are native speakers in Swedish and Spanish. The collection of recordings was made by the author. The material consists of recordings of various conversations between the two participants in different everyday situations. These situations encompass conversations that occur with the parents, playing video games, meeting other native speakers and spontaneous situations.

Although a major database of bilingual child language data exists in the form of the CHILDES database, the data was difficult to use for the purposes of this essay. An example of a transcript from CHILDES can look like this:

| MOT:  | vos vamos a subir . | mor:  | pro:per|nos=us vpres|i-1P&PRES=go prep|a=to vinf|subi-INF=go_up . |
|-------|---------------------|-------|--------|------------------|------------------|------------------|
| 13    | %mor:               | 14    | *MOT:  | ven cuco vamos a acostar . |
| 15    | %mor:               | 16    |       | co|ven=come vpres|cuca-1S&PRES=emerge_cocoon vpres|i-1P&PRES=go prep|a=to vinf|acosta-INF=put_to_bet . |
| 17    | *MOT:               | 18    |       | vamos a dormir . |
| 19    | *MOT:               |       | %mor:  | vpres|i-1P&PRES=go prep|a=to vinf|dormi-INF=sleep . |

The figure above resembles a conversation between a mother, a father and a child. It is quite difficult to understand the transcripts, which are not always coherent. More significantly, it is difficult to envisage extralinguistic aspects of the interaction as it is difficult to work out the exact parameters of the context. Nevertheless, it was actually easier and more efficient to use one’s own recordings. One chooses the time, the location and the participants. The brothers were chosen because they have all the attributes that were required. The two participants are both Spanish and Swedish speakers, where the dominant language is Swedish, due to the fact that it is the language of communication. The two participants are
ten and thirteen years old. They live in a Spanish and Swedish linguistic environment, where the Spanish language is used more at home and the Swedish language is the language of communication in school and outside the home. The essay will focus on empirical material obtained from the two Swedish-Spanish brothers. The recordings will be transcribed to written form. The two brothers were born and raised in Sweden, both of the parents are Chilean, but settled in Sweden at a very young age. Both of the parents speak Swedish as a second language. The brothers are exposed to both Spanish and Swedish at home.

3.2 Method
This essay will analyze bilingual children when they code-switch. The essay's focal point is on Spanish - English children and where the syntax of Swedish and Spanish is in alignment. There have been a great deal of research on bilingualism; the methodology of following a close family member originated in the work of Leopold Werner (1939), a German professor. According to Lanza (2004) Werner wrote a four-volume diary study of his daughter Hildegard’s simultaneous acquisition of English and German. With regards to the recording methodology presented in the study, the idea was derived from Volterra and Taeschner (1978) who employed a combination of diary notes and audio recordings. Volterra and Taeschner made monthly recordings of thirty minutes over an extended period of time on Taeschner’s two daughters that spoke Italian and German. The children were exposed to both languages from birth.

This essay is based on a qualitative process, which according to Patel and Davidson (1994) means that the empirical material can be qualitative adaptations of texts of others, such as books, articles, own material or diaries. It is also possible to do a qualitative process and analyze a video or an audiotape. In this case the second option is being used; video and audio recordings are being transcribed to written form by the author of this essay. The transcripts focus on the important features of the spoken language and utterances from the two brothers, as well as the syntactic aspect of bilingualism.

This study consists of numerous recordings that were made over a period of two weeks. There were 15 short extracts recorded between 3-4 minutes long and there were extracts that were up to 10 minutes long. All the recorded data was compounded to a whole extract of 65 minutes long and was then divided into 7 transcripts. Only the most important parts from the transcripts were used. Both audio and video recordings were made to capture spontaneous conversations between the brothers, and the Spanish speaking parents. Several of the
recordings were made at home to create a more spontaneous, natural and relaxed atmosphere. Activities that the participants did during the recordings were mostly spontaneous playing and conversation with each other about various things. Some of the recordings were also made during mealtimes where the whole family was involved in conversations about daily situations, such as school and sport activities.

This essay focuses on the way that code-switching occurs and if the code-switching occurs where the syntax of the two languages are in alignment. The objective was to see if the two languages have a similar syntax and to see the arrangement or position of the clause elements when the two languages meet, when code-switched. The recordings were mainly done to see what the children’s grammatical structure in both languages are like when they code-switch. The main focus is on Spanish word order (Subject Verb Object; henceforth SVO) and Swedish word order (SVO).

The results will be presented in the next section divided into identified code-switching analyzed on the basis of clause elements, subject, verb and object. In that way it will be easier to show the results of where the syntax of both languages is in alignment. In order to present the results, the use of descriptive English-Swedish contrastive grammatical framework for English as outlined in the grammar book by Vannestål (2007) and for Spanish, Fant, Hermerén and Österberg (2004).

3.3 Problems and limitations
During this procedure there were quite a few problems encountered. The time aspect was the greatest obstacle when recording the two participants. From the beginning there was a two week timeline planned to cover all the recordings; however the recordings took more time than originally envisaged. It was hard to actually have the two participants speak together and be in the same place at the same time. A disadvantage with recording and later transcribing was that the data gathered was sometimes not enough to form the basis for analysis.

The limitations mainly concerned capturing the recording of the brothers speaking, where there was often insufficient time to catch all the speaking moments. Sometimes the participants noticed the recording camera which proved to be a source of distraction. The author of this essay tried to be as discreet as possible when capturing the recorded.
The observer’s paradox was a problem in this study. On several occasions the participants saw the recording devices and did not speak to each other over protracted periods of time. This was a major problem in the whole recording procedure, because it could take more than 30 minutes for the actual conversation to start. On other occasions when the recording devices were discovered, the participants were not always serious in their conversations. However, the author managed to conceal the recording devices before the participants knew they were being recorded.

3.4 Ethical aspects
The ethical aspect of the recorded participants in this study was not a concern, since the parents gave the permission, as the participants were below the age of majority. This is based on the research - ethical principles set out by the Swedish Research Council (2002). The researcher’s own ethical responsibility is the foundation for all research. The principles address both the research process and the protection of individual participants. When it comes to protection of the participants, this principle is conceptualized in four elements: information, consent, confidentiality and use. A number of specified rules within these concepts involve the participants’ right to be informed about the research aims and their involvement in the research, to decide about their participation, and to be able to withdraw from research at any time and if they choose to do so, without there being any pressure or consequences. In Sweden, there are no particular rules when it comes to research with children, apart from the principle of informed consent, which states that parents of children under the age of 15 have the right to give informed consent on behalf of their children.¹

4 RESULTS

4.1 The syntactic alignment

The collected recordings show that the two participants code-switch the most when they speak Swedish. However, code-switching also occurs occasionally in Spanish depending on who they are speaking to. It is clear that when Child B code-switches he uses the article *el/la* in Spanish to point out a person or special surroundings even in Swedish. He also code-switch during the object. When child B articulates a sentence, he shows clearly that the word order changes in Swedish. Instead therefore of saying the object in Swedish he code-switches to Spanish. For example in the sentence from transcript 6, see the Appendix.


Child B utters the beginning of the sentence in Spanish when he is referring to his father he uses the article *el* and then he switch back to Swedish to utter the subject. Instead of completing the sentence in Swedish he code-switches when he is referring to the object, the target of the sentence, in this case “yogur” (the yoghurt). To be able to show where the switch occurs between Swedish and Spanish the sentence must be divided into the following clause elements:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[1]</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>El pappa köpte yogur</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S</td>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Swedish</th>
<th>Pappa köpte yogur (<em>Dad bought youghurt</em>)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The syntax of the two languages meets when Child B utters the transitive verb, which needs the object in the sentences and in this case the object is *yogur* which is the target of the sentence. It is here the code switching takes place. The verb *köpte* in Swedish is a transitive verb. The word order of both Spanish and Swedish are similar. The results show that the in
this particular sentence is that the child uses an article in Spanish to emphasize the word *pappa* (Dad).

In the extract above, the word order in both languages is S V O. Child A who is the older brother code-switches more than Child B. In the extract below Child A uses Spanish as the dominant language and only changes one word to Swedish.

|---|---|

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>Marcos spelar guitarra</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S</td>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Swedish</th>
<th>Marcos spelar gitarr (<em>Marcos play the guitar</em>)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S</td>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this sentence the word order is still S V O in both languages. The recorded data shows that Child A utters the sentence in Spanish and code-switches before the object, meaning that the code-switching takes place when Child A comes to the verb this time. Once again the verb is a transitive verb. The verb is uttered in Swedish, and by code-switching the verb Child A does not make any major changes in the sentence. The word order remains the same in both languages. *Guitar* is the object which is the code-switched item in the sentence, both in Spanish and Swedish. The only thing being code-switched in this sentence is the object, guitar.

The data show that during Child A’s conversations he managed to change the typical word order more than once. In the example below, which is a imperative. Child A is asking his mother if the father returned the book (see transcript 5, Appendix).

When translating the sentence completely to Swedish the word order is also changed to V S O. Child A, shows a tendency to change certain words that still does not disrupt the word order. The syntax of the two languages is in alignment. In this case Child A manages to change the word order by producing the verb before the subject; the object still remains at the end of the sentence. The sentence still has a word order when Child A utters an imperative. Furthermore in this example the result shows that the syntax of the two languages is in alignment when there is a transitive verb and the word is code-switched, in this case *boken* (book).

Once again, the results show that the word order between the languages is not different. In this extract from the recorded data, transcript 6, see Appendix. The basic syntax is the same. The syntax of the languages meets up when Child A utters the object, in this case “tijera” (scissors). Both in Spanish and Swedish, Child A is articulating a demand when he code-switches. The basic syntax is the same if we look at SVO clause elements.
In the results one of the recorded transcript shows that Child B changes his base language depending on whom he is speaking to. In the example below Child B is having a conversation with his cousins that were visiting. The cousins are native Spanish speakers and do not know Swedish; still Child B code-switches while speaking. Transcript 7, see Appendix.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>Mamá hyr una película</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Swedish</th>
<th>Mamma hyr en film (Mother is renting a movie)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Child B is aware that his cousins do not understand Swedish; however he is still code-switching to Swedish when it comes to the verb of the sentence. Instead of completing the whole sentence in Spanish, he turns to his communicative language, Swedish, and code-switches the verb *hyr* (*renting*). The word order of the sentence does not change; it remains exactly the same in Swedish if the whole sentence were to be translated. In this case *mother* is the subject, and she is the one doing something, she is renting the movie, which is in this case the verb, and the object is película (*movie*). The fact that the word orders in both languages are the same makes it easier for Child B to code-switch between the two languages without breaking the syntactic pattern of the clause elements.

### 4.2 Clause elements being code-switched

The following transcripts that are presented in this section show longer extracts from the recorded data. Here the focus is on what grammatical features the children code-switch between Spanish and Swedish. The table is included below with different sentences from various transcripts, (see Appendix) are a mix of sentences articulated in both Swedish and Spanish. Five of the seven extracts have the communicative language, the dominant one, as the base language, in this case Swedish. Both children turn to their communicative language
when having a conversation instead of using their mother tongue, Spanish. The results below show that the dominant language is Swedish.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentence</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[7] Child A: Nej, men no dice nada, det står på spelet att man kan, va heter det…. Sluta</td>
<td>No, it does <em>not say anything</em>, it says on the game that you can, what is it called…. stop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[9] Child B: <em>Ese spöke era malo i boken.</em></td>
<td>That ghost was mean <em>in the book</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[11] Child A: Jag och Frank spelade ett krigar spel MW3, och de hade massa <em>pistolas.</em></td>
<td>I and Frank played a war game MW3, and they had a bunch of <em>guns/weapons.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[12] Child A: <em>La prueba</em> gick bättre än vad jag trodde. <em>La profesora</em> sa att alla hade klarat provet.</td>
<td>The test went better than I thought. <em>The teacher</em> said that all of us had passed the test</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sentences [6], [7], [10], [11] and [12] are completely uttered in Swedish and one or two words are code-switched. Child A and Child B use the Swedish language the most and tend to articulate the verb and object in Spanish. The results show that the children change their main language depending on whom they are talking to. In the five examples above the children are speaking to each other or with their parents.

In the two remaining sentences, [8] and [9], the whole sentence structure is entirely in Spanish; they are speaking with relatives or friends who are native Spanish speakers and have only Spanish as their language of communication. Even though the children are aware that their relatives do not understand Swedish, the results show that they still code-switch during the conversation. In the third sentence Child B says *där* in Swedish and the rest of the sentences end in Spanish. Same thing happens in the forth sentence where Child B speaks about a book he has read in school. He begins with Spanish to express *ese* meaning *det* (that) in Swedish. Child B goes on and later replaces the subject into the Swedish word *spöke* (ghost) and switches back to the Spanish *clause* structure. Child B finishes his sentence with *i boken*. He changes to the Swedish adverbial (*var/where*). There are a number of occasions where the children code-switch from Swedish to Spanish. The results show that the code-switching happens in the longer extracts when they speak in Spanish, in contrast to when
they speak Swedish. When they speak Swedish there are only certain grammatical elements code-switched.

The following table provides an overview of when the code-switching occurs and which clause elements are the ones being code-switched the most during the majority of the recorded data in Swedish. The clause element representation is that of Estling Vannestål (2007).

[Table 1]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Predicative</th>
<th>Adverbial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Transcript 1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transcript 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transcript 3</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transcript 4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transcript 5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transcript 6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transcript 7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 1;* illustrates an overview of how many times the different clause elements are code-switched during the majority of the recorded data in Swedish.

The table shows what grammatical elements were code-switched during the recordings of their conversations, where the children code-switched to Spanish. The objects in Spanish are the dominant grammatical element which the children use when they speak Swedish. Also the verb is one grammatical element that is being code-switched to Spanish on a regular basis. There are no signs of predicative being code-switched to Spanish, although there are some adverbials being code-switched.

In transcript 5 (see Appendix), child B code-switches the adverbial, *when* – mañana (tomorrow).
The participants during the Swedish conversation were most of the time the two children’s parents and a few times a couple of friends. There are several recordings where the two children are speaking to each other during snack, dinner, watching football and playing Play Station. The language used during these conversations was Swedish with some features code-switched to Spanish.

[Table 2]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transcript</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Predicative</th>
<th>Adverbial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Transcript 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transcript 2</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Transcript 3</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transcript 4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transcript 5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transcript 6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transcript 7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2; illustrates an overview of how many times the different clause elements are code-switched during the majority of the recorded data in Spanish.

The second table above shows which if the grammatical elements the children use while code-switching from Spanish to Swedish. What can be seen from the recorded data is that the dominant clause element is the object.

During the conversations in Spanish the participants were in most cases the children and relatives. The results show that the parents and relatives for the most part speak Spanish when they speak to the children. This means that both Child A and Child B use Spanish as base language during these conversations.

Child B: Jag kan göra dom mañana.
5 DISCUSSION

The whole definition of bilingualism according to Grosjean (1982) is a linguistic phenomenon. Cantone (2007) mentions that bilingual children have the possibility to choose which language they want to speak. Language choice is strongly affected by the social environment a bilingual child is exposed to. In the results it is clear that both child A and child B are exposed to a bilingual environment. Having both parents speaking Swedish and Spanish to the children every day certainly exposes them to both languages on a daily basis. The results and the environment the children are exposed to coincide with two of the different types of childhood bilingualism that Romaine (1999) mentions.

The participants of this study have common characteristics with type 1 “one person one language”. The parents have different native languages with each having some degree of competence in the other language. The language of one of the parents is the dominant language of community. They speak their own language to the child from birth. It is the same process that child A and child B has been put through; the parents have spoken both languages to the children from birth. The results also coincide with type 5 (non-native parents) just by having parents that are not native speaker in Swedish from the beginning. Cantone (2007) claims, that it is important to define a person as bilingual depending on external and internal factors, meaning that external factors have to do with the language spoken in the child’s surrounding. Child A and child B are exposed to the Swedish language almost 75% of the day, leaving only 25% exposure to their mother tongue, Spanish.

Cantone (2007) argues that it is important to look at which of the languages are used with whom and for what purpose. The implication here is that a bilingual child has the possibility to decide and choose for themselves which of the languages they want to speak. Looking at the recorded data and what the results show, it is clear that in most cases child A and child B decide to speak the dominant language, Swedish and code-switch by adding Spanish articles at the beginning of the sentences or in the middle of a Swedish sentence that is articulated. For example;


The results that have been collected for this study show that the Swedish language is the language that they refer to immediately when speaking to each other and to the parents in most of the recorded conversations. Cantone (2007) quotes the researcher Weinreich (1968) in her study and the sub-coordinate type of bilingualism. The authors explain that one
language is stronger and faster than the other one, which results in establishing different significance from the languages that have been acquired first. When comparing the results to Weinreich (ibid: 5), Swedish is basically the stronger language since it is the language the participants hear outside the home and the language they communicate with.

5.1 Code-switching
Grosjean (1982) claims that code-switching can involve a word, a phrase or a sentence. When bilinguals code-switch there is a total shift to the other language, an example from the recorded data, transcript 7, see Appendix.

[5] Child B: *Mamá hyr una película*

In the example below the whole sentence is in Spanish except for the verb *hyr* which is in Swedish. This coincides with Grosjean's (1982) theory about code-switching. This theory states that a word, a phrase or a whole sentence can be code-switched. The verb *hyr* is a shift from Spanish to Swedish. Furthermore, Cantone (2007) claims that there is a great deal of evidence that bilinguals tend to mix their languages during conversation, often within single utterances. See the example below.

[7] Child A: *Nej, men no dice nada, det star på spelet att man kan*

Grosjean (2010) shows in his study that when bilingual children communicate with others, their code-switching occurs unconsciously. In the figure below Grosjean (2010) shows how code-switching occurs in bilingual children’s utterances. In the beginning the mother tongue is used and in the middle of the dialog a part falls away. It is here the bilingual child includes a word or phrase from their second language.

In the example below that is taken from transcript 7 see Appendix, one can see the similarity between the illustration that Grosjean (2010) presents when it comes to how code-switching can look like, mentioned on page 7. This example is from a conversation Child A is having with his mother and brother about a vacation out of the country.

The sentence starts with the communication language, Swedish, and in the middle of a sentence a part falls away; it is the verb *jugamos* that occupies the word that is omitted from the sentence and continues in Swedish.

### 5.2 Word order of code-switched elements

When it comes to the syntax of both languages, it is clear that Spanish and Swedish have the same S, V, O clause element structure. The results show that the syntax of both languages is in alignment when the children code-switch during the transitive verb. The Spanish word order is more flexible. The results show that there is no major difference between the two languages in this respect. The result shows that the syntax of both languages is in alignment when child A and child B code-switch during a conversation. The example below from transcript 4 (see Appendix) follows the subject, verb and object structure:

Child A: *Marcos spelar gitarran*.

The word being code-switched is the word *gitarran* which is the object in the sentence. Grosjean (1982) argues that bilingual children switch when they cannot find an appropriate word or expression. Very often a bilingual child knows a word in both language X and language Y. In this case language X is Swedish and language Y is Spanish. The language Y (Spanish) word is more available at that specific moment when speaking language X (Swedish). Cantone (2007) mentions that the structure of the word order is similar, because in this case child A and child B use certain structures that they have already acquired in Swedish when speaking in Spanish. Hawkins (2001) claims that an important part when speaking two languages fluently is learning how words fit together to form phrases, and how phrases fit together to form a sentence. The example below from transcript 5 (see Appendix), shows how child A has managed to fit together the Spanish words with the rest of the Swedish sentence.

Child A: ¿*Devolvió pappa boken*?

Child A. Unconsciously uttered the beginning of the question with a Spanish word *devolvió* (return) and managed to fit in together with the rest of the sentence without disrupting the sentence order in both languages. The syntax of both languages is in alignment where child A uttered the verb *devolvió* and the subject *pappa*. This study shows that code-switching most commonly occurs where there are some sort of syntactic equivalence or alignment between the two sentences. Through the results it is clear that Swedish being the language
that the children hear outside the home is the dominant language and is the language that they always reach for immediately.

In section 4.2 the results show what grammatical word clauses the children code-switched between Spanish and Swedish. The utterances presented in the results are both in Swedish and Spanish. The table on page 20, show that both children use the Swedish language the most and tend to articulate the verbs and objects in Spanish. This can be connected with Grosjean’s (1982) view on code-switching. Grosjean claims that bilinguals switch when they cannot find an appropriate word or expression.

During the majority of the recorded data in Swedish the clause element being code-switched are clearly the objects. The objects are code-switched into Spanish. The results show that this is related to Grosjean’s (ibid) research about children during dialog with another bilingual individual. According to Grosjean, the level of activation of the two languages will be different in accordance with the interlocutor. If a bilingual is speaking to another bilingual, both languages will be activated. In this case both child A and B are aware of the knowledge that both of them have in Swedish and Spanish. Therefore, it is easy for them to code-switch between the two when they cannot find the right word or the appropriate translations for the vocabulary they are aiming for. Both of them know that they will be understood, and that they will get their message through.
6 CONCLUSION

The aim of this essay was to analyze the use of code-switching among bilingual children during conversation. The main focus was on the syntactic position in the language and its structure where the code-switching takes place. The results of this study have confirmed the hypothesis that code-switching occurs where there is some measure of syntactic alignment between the two languages. The bilingual children code-switched on several occasions during their conversations. They spoke mostly in Swedish and code-switched some words to Spanish, demonstrating that Swedish is probably the dominant language and is the language which is most influential when child A and child B speak Spanish. Language dominance, according to Grosjean (2010) means knowing one language better than other one, which implies greater degrees of proficiency in the dominant language. The results in this study show that the children have more knowledge in Swedish and manage to code-switch without disturbing the word order of both languages. In most of the analyzed transcripts Swedish was the base language and therefore it is possible to draw the conclusion that Swedish is the dominant language for the participants.

The main outcome of this study was whether the syntax of the two languages are in alignment when code-switching. The transcript showed that the syntax of the two languages was often in alignment in terms of an object following a transitive verb in instances of code-switching. When child A and child B spoke Spanish there were more objects than verbs as code-switched items and when they spoke Swedish they mixed in articles in Spanish all the time; however the code-switching was more noticeable when they switched the verb and object.

For further research it could be possible to investigate bilingual children on a deeper level, perhaps see how their code-switching would develop during a longer period of time. One could make more recordings and perhaps do a longitudinal study where one could write a personal diary on the bilingual children’s progress. That would give the researcher more information to work from and provide a more widely-applicable result.
REFERENCE


WEBSITE:

Transcript 1

Family meal discussing participant B’s football game.

Father: Om du inte betalade medlemsavgiften är du inte försäkrad och får inte spela på matchen. Det var det han försökte säga.

Mother: vad sa du tillbaka?

Child B: inget, han sa till alla?

Mother: y tu le dijiste algo?

Child B: no

Mother: ¿Quién más estaba hijo?

Child B: El Svante, todos estaban ahí, pero no el Domino.

Mother: El Domino no estaba? Y a qué hora tienen que estar allá el domingo?

Child B: A las tio tror jag.

Father: Sí, si es a las once tienen que estar ahí a las diez. Lo van a poner en la página.

Child B: Ja, jag tror det. Och vilka som ska spela. De ropade upp mig.

Father: Ropade de upp dig?

Child B: Ja du är med i matchen, sa han.

Mother: Y que más hijo?

Child B: Nada más.

Father: Y a los demás también le dijo?

Child B: Ja, fast inte typ Hugo och dem eller Wilmer

Father: Ja dem har spelat för mycket.

Child B: Ja, el Felix no estaba, han var inte där i onsdags eller i tisdags heller.

Father: a lo mejor estaba de semester.
Child A comes in and starts conversation with the parents.

Child A: man kan inte spela, du måste göra den där grejen. Det står det

Child A: huh va?

Mother: Que cosa es?

Child A: Jag fick det en la caja, jag har den där. Jag vet inte hur man gör, men det står någonting om descargar någonting,

Father: no descargar nada?

Child A: nej, alltså kan du läsa åt mig? Det står vad man ska göra

Mother: que dice la caja?

Child A: jag ska visa dig en grej

Mother: Dime tu lo que dice la caja

Child A: Nej, men no dice nada, det står på spelet att man kan, va heter det…. Sluta

Mother: ¿Qué cosa? ¿Qué dice?

Child A: Ja, men att man kan …. Sluta

---

Transcript 2

Mother and children A and B are having a quick conversation about their day at school.

Mother: Y a la Bella le gusto?

Child B: Si

Mother: ¿De qué se trataba?

Child B: hmm, eee…. De… nose.

Mother: era un cuento?

Child B: si, era un cuento, ya, stäng av den!

Mother: Encontraste a algun?
Child A: Ja!
Child B: encontraste una niña?
Mother: a quien encontraste? Y que hicieron?
Child A: andamos en bici
Mother: y para donde fuiste?
Child A: till vattentornet.

Transcript 3
Watching the football game Barcelona vs. Chelsea.
Child B: Messi kan ju hoppa in där och skjuta.
   År han ny?
Father: no, parece que es argentino.
Child B: Det verkar som han är ny, för jag har inte sett honom.
Father: viste Marcos, ese es el tiro que te digo yo, de lejos.
Child B: Det är ju inte långt ifrån, det är vid straffområdet.
Father: utanför straffområdet.
Child B: Han dribblade ju fram till straffområde.
   Sacate las cejas!
Father: Tenía una M?
Child B: Ja. Skjut un, sidan är ledig.
Mother: El Alexis tiene los mismos zapatos que tienen los del Kalmar FF.
Child B: Vem?.... Jaha…. El Jonathan.
   Dom där är skit coola. Man kan välja med skinn.
   Nicka över då!
Father: saque de ezquina!
Child B: Där kan han skjuta in. Han kunde ha..... Nummer 5 kunde ha skjutit in, den var ju straffområdet.

Papá, esa es la nueva pelota de futbol?

Father: Si, para la Champions league.

Child B: Jaha, quien es él?

Father: El español, el Mata.

Child B: Ya po, arráncate con la pelota! Kolla!

Father: Rött kort till Chelsea?


Sister: Varför har han mössa på sig?

Father: porque antes ha chocado con el arco.

Child B: Ja. Kunde han spela med sån där mössa?

Father: si.

Child B: Är det bomull eller är det en sån hård? Det borde vara bomull.

Gol Gol, ja det var mål, hur gjorde han målet förresten? Gol Gol!

Mother: Vem gjorde det?


Father: Iban dos solos.

Child B: Gol! Un gol más, un gol más.

Father: Otro?!

Child B: Messi, borde skjuta in i mål bättre! Det är bättre att vära där vid målläge,

passa ..... hur säger man? ...... passa in!

Father: tarjeta roja!

Child B: Nej!..... vadå?

Father: Al Terry. Le pego al Alexis Sanchez.

Child B: Una tarjeta roja! Qué bien-
Father: La otra vez también le pego al Alexis.

Child B: Mirra mirra.

Father: Mirra ahí le pego.

Child B: en el poto (trasero)

Father: le pego un rodillazo en la espalda.

Child B: Där, en la espalda.

Father: Que echen para fuera al Chelsea nomas


Sister: Åh Messi är en sådan Diva, jag tycker inte om honom.

Father: A él le pasan la pelota para que el haga lo que quiera.

Child B: Kolla skorna, åh såg du dribblingen pappa?

Father: Estaban todos los malos!

Child B: Skjut in! Inget mål för Chelsea, skjut iväg den då!..... över lingen då!

Father: ooo.... gol

Child B: gol! Wooohoo

Father: Ya están clasificado Barcelona.


Father: De nuevo lo patearon?

Child B: var det med höger elle vänster?

Father: höger höger, Marcos, höger.

Mother: Donde dejaron la llave?

Child B: esta allá

Father: el Chelsea

Child B: fan också, 2-2
Father: porque andaba el arquero adelantado?
Child B: hoppas dom gör ett mål här un!.... inlägg! Dom måste stå där bak.

---

**Transcript 4**

Random conversation at home with their mother.

Mother: Y el Marcos?
Child A: Marcos spelar guitarra. Han är på sitt rum. Marcos! Kom hit!
Child B: Vad vill du?
Mother: Que hicieron en la escuela hoy?
Child B: men åh, var det bara det?
   På rasten juamos fotboll. Alla andra leker stenåldern, så himla tråkigt. Men jag och Jonte jugamos fotboll med killarna i den andra klassen.
Child A: tråkigt!, vem bryr sig?
   Marcos har du läst ut den där boken?
Child B: Ja faktiskt. Den handlar om ett spöke. Ese spöke era malo i boken.
Mother: te gusto el libro?
Child B: sådär, men Matías du läser aldrig böcker ju, sluta kommentera.
Child A: Jag läser visst, mycker que tu. Jag läser svårare böcker, kapitel böcker inte sådana bebis libros som du. .... ha ha ha
Mother: Termina Matías.
**Transcript 5**

Random conversation between the two children.

Child A: Donde está el papá?

Mother: fue a la biblioteca


Mother: no sé, porque no le dijiste.

Child A: pero jag sa ju det. Åh ni lyssnar nunca.

Child B: du får väl gå och låna om den igen.

Child A: nej det pallar jag inte.


Child B: men du har väl redan klarat todo el juego redan?

Child A: Ja nästan alla kampanjerna, men jag får inte spela online för el papá. Det kostar ju inget.

Child B: Men är Batman spelet online också?

Child A: ja man kan spela där también.

Mother: y porque no hace las tareas mejor?

Child A: jag har redan gjort mina läxor.

Child B: inte jag, jag har veckans ord och la matemática kvar.

Mother: Marcos, que estas esperando?

Child B: Men åh! Måste jag? Jag kan göra dom mañana.
Transcript 6

Child B: vem är paketet till?
Mother: que no vas a ir a un cumpleaños?
Child B: just det, men har jag ingen fotbollsträning imorgon då?
Mother: jo innan kalaset.
Child B: ska pappa köra mig?
Mother: jag tror det.
Mother: Matías como te fue en la prueba de inglés?

Child B: el pappa köpte yogur. Du vet ese med frukt i. Den är god. Puedo comer uno?
Mother: gör det du
Child B: men hämta den själv, latmask
Child B: åh latmask. Här har du. Ska vi spela wii sen?
Child A: nej det är tråkigt och bara för småbarn, ha ha ha. Nej jag skämtar bara, vi kan spela juiced istället.
Child B: okej då, men jag är först.
**Transcript 7**

Child A: Que vamos hacer ikväll? Vilken tid kommer dom hem?
Child B: Jag ve tinte. Mamá hyr una película i alla fall. El papá y la mamá åkte nyss till hemmakväll.
Child B: Ja, hoppas en tecknad. Vi har ju inte sett smurfarna än.

---

Child A: mamma ska vi åka någonstans på sommarlovet?
Mother: jag tror det, vamos a ver si tu papa no trabaja.
Child B: Ja vi åker till Barcelona så kan jag få Messis autograf
Child A: tror du det själv eller?
Child B, ja men i så fall tenemos que ir al fylgplatsen primero