Parental Language, Functional Utterance Type, and Play Context Impact Children's Usage of an Endangered Ancestral Language

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1. Introduction

Interest in the study and preservation of endangered languages has increased in recent decades as indigenous communities face imminent risk of ancestral language (AL) extinction as a consequence of economic and social factors (Grenoble & Whaley, 2006; Nettle & Romaine, 2000). Languages become critically endangered when adults no longer actively communicate with children using the AL and instead rely on a dominant language (DL) (Fishman, 1991). Efforts to study ALs not only help researchers understand linguistic and socio-cultural diversity (Evans & Levinson, 2009), but fuel language revitalization projects by engaging community members in language preservation.

Laz communities at the eastern end of the Black Sea have experienced intergenerational language shift stemming from industrialization of the regional economy starting from the 1950's (Hann, 1997). While it is still common to see elders conversing amongst themselves in Lazuri (the AL), concerns about preparing children for school entry, where Turkish (the DL) is the officially sanctioned language, have led parents to forgo usage of Lazuri and converse with children almost exclusively in Turkish. Most schoolteachers working in Laz communities come from other regions of Turkey and do not speak Lazuri. Hence, Laz children must speak Turkish at school; see Figure 1 (left).

Fig. 1. (left) Turkish instruction by non-Laz teacher at a Laz preschool; (right) toddler passively engaged in a Lazuri conversation with village elders.

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While being fully conversant in Turkish, Laz children may also have some passive knowledge of Lazuri from overhearing adult conversation; see Figure 1 (right). In the face of definite language endangerment (Moseley, 2010), there is a growing desire in Laz communities to encourage the preservation of their AL (Ascherson, 1996; Kavakli, 2015). The current study aimed to identify conversational practices, and more specifically functional utterance types and activity contexts, that promoted young children's usage of the less preferred AL. Functional use of language is shaped by the activity context and its unique discourse demands (Hoff-Ginsberg, 1991; Puccini, Hassemer, Salomo, & Liszkowski 2010; Tamis-LeMonda, Custode, Kuchirko, Escobar, & Lo 2019; Yont, Snow, & Vernon-Feagans, 2002). For example, parent-child exchanges at mealtime have been observed to be qualitatively different from those occurring while parents and children read a book together, see Figure 2. By varying the activity context, we sought to explore how caregivers addressed children with different functional utterance types, each of which placed unique discourse demands on the child to use their linguistic resources to respond appropriately. For Laz children, communicating in the less attractive AL (Lazuri) poses higher conversational demands; hence, we expected their language use to vary in accordance with the demands of the preceding functional utterance types. Our ultimate goal was to shed light on ways that caregivers might maximize their own use of functional utterance types to promote children's usage of the AL.

Fig. 2. (left) a mother directs her child by giving commands during mealtime; (right) a father reading a book with his child uses many labels and questions.

For the current study, we re-analyzed data from an earlier study (Yuksel & Brooks, 2017) in which caregiver-child dyads were asked to speak Lazuri while engaged in free play with culturally relevant toy sets. Previous analyses of the dataset indicated pervasive code-switching, with caregivers mostly complying with the instruction to speak Lazuri and children mostly responding in Turkish. For this report, we focused on whether families were successful in eliciting the AL or whether the child continued to speak in the DL, using features of the preceding caregiver utterance as predictors of child AL usage. We predicted that children's use of Lazuri would vary in relation to the discourse demands created by the caregiver's previous utterance. In particular, we explored how children used their linguistic resources to respond to the conversational demands of different functional utterance types produced across the two activity contexts.

2. Method
2.1. Participants

Fifty-nine children (27 girls, 32 boys; *M* age = 30.7 months, *SD* = 10.3, *range* 15–48) and their caregivers were recruited from Laz settlements in Ardeşen (71.2%) and Fındıklı (28.8%) in Rize, Turkey; see Figure 3. Participation was restricted to families where adults regularly spoke Lazuri at home. Over half of the children (57.6%) lived with or in close proximity to their grandparents, who were often the primary caregivers. About half of the children (*n* = 27) were recorded interacting with a grandparent (13 grandmothers, 14 grandfathers; *M* age = 61.8 years, *SD* = 8.4, *range* 50–80) while the others (*n* = 32) were recorded with a parent (21 mothers, 11 fathers; *M* age= 35.0 years, *SD* = 8.8, *range* 23–66). The previously reported analyses of this dataset (Yuksel & Brooks, 2017) did not include the analyses of functional utterance types reported here.
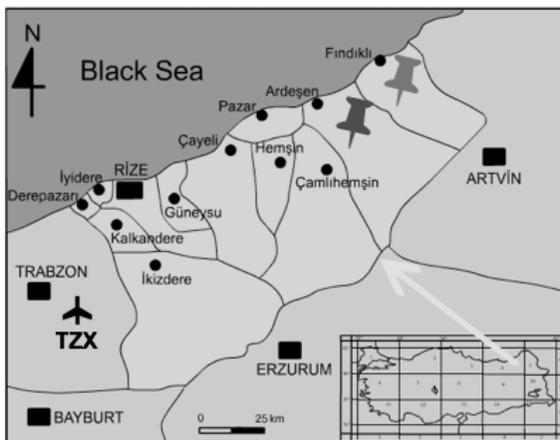

Fig. 3. Sites of data collection, marked by pins, near Fındıklı and Ardeşen, with permission for image reprint by Batan et al. (2018).

2.2. Procedure

Dyads were instructed to communicate in Lazuri (*Lazuri isinapi* [Lazuri speak]) while engaged in free play with animal farm and tea party toy sets; see Figure 4. Dyads played with each set of toys for 10 minutes. The video-recorded sessions were coded using SubTrak software (Takash, Lindtvedt, & Ragir, 2006). We coded each utterance for participant (child, caregiver), language (Lazuri, Turkish, or mixed [Lazuri and Turkish in the same utterance]), and functional utterance type. In the analyses reported here, we combined results for Lazuri and mixed utterances as both constitute examples of AL use. Based on prior work (Ninio, 1980; Peirce, 1865\1982; Tomasello & Farrar, 1986), we coded six functional utterance types: deictic, question, label, command, comment, invitation; see Table

1 for descriptions and examples. Utterances were independently coded by the second author and a trained assistant (a native bilingual speaker of Lazuri and Turkish) with high inter-coder reliability ($\kappa = .93$).

Fig. 4. Laz grandmother conversing with her 39-month-old granddaughter while playing with animal farm toys (left) and tea-party set (right).

Table 1. Examples of functional utterance types in Lazuri.

Type	Definition	Lazuri	English Gloss
deictic	Person uses a pronoun or other deictic expression.	**hamu ti hak**	[that one also here]
question	Person uses an interrogative form to query.	**puci so-ren?**	[where is the cow?]
label	Person labels object.	**ham dada**	[this is a toy]
command	Person uses verb into the imperative form.	**si ti oşvi!**	[you too, drink!]
comment	Person comments on event, action, or object.	**nako skva dada-lepe**	[what beautiful toys]
invitation	Person initiates a cooperative activity.	**haʒi çai şvaten**	[now let's drink tea]

3. Results
3.1. Descriptive Statistics

Table 2 presents the total numbers of utterances by caregivers and children in each language, and their distribution across functional utterance types. The caregivers followed instructions and spoke predominantly in Lazuri (75.8% of utterances) while children responded mostly in Turkish (80.6% of utterances). Caregivers produced, on average, 232.0 Lazuri utterances ($SD = 99.4$) and 74.1 Turkish utterances ($SD = 47.5$) whereas children produced, on average, 14.3 Lazuri utterances ($SD = 19.6$) and 59.4 Turkish utterances ($SD = 50.2$). Children's use of Lazuri was mostly restricted to one-word utterances as indicated by mean length of utterance (MLU) = 1.42 ($SD = .48$, range 1.00-3.00). In contrast, they produce a greater number of multi-word utterances in Turkish, MLU = 1.97 ($SD = .77$, range 1.00-4.13).

Table 2. Number of functional utterances by speaker and language. In parentheses are the standardized residuals for chi-squared tests.

	Caregivers (*n*=59)		Children (*n*=59)	
	Lazuri	Turkish	Lazuri	Turkish
Total	13690 (75.8%)	4369 (24.2%)	843 (19.4%)	3503 (80.6%)
Deictic	1760 (–8.0)	1048 (14.1)	144 (–6.0)	1075 (2.9)
Question	2778 (1.1)	808 (–2.0)	49 (–8.0)	697 (3.9)
Label	1814 (2.6)	439 (–4.5)	518 (19.2)	656 (–9.4)
Command	4718 (3.9)	1163 (–6.9)	64 (–0.3)	277 (0.1)
Comment	1811 (–2.6)	727 (4.6)	64 (–6.2)	640 (3.0)
Invitation	809 (2.0)	184 (–3.6)	4 (-4.9)	158 (2.4)

Next, we examined the distribution of functional utterance types across languages (Lazuri, Turkish) using chi-squared tests; see Table 2 for standardized residuals comparing frequencies of functional utterances types across languages for each participant group**.** Functional utterance types were not randomly distributed across languages: for caregivers χ^2 (5, N = 18059) = 403.90, $p < .001$; for children χ^2 (5, N = 4346) = 660.04, $p < .001$. Caregivers produced significantly more *commands, invitations,* and *labels* than expected in Lazuri and more *comments* and *deictics* than expected in Turkish. In contrast, children produced significantly more *labels* than expected in Lazuri and more *comments, deictics, invitations,* and *questions* than expected in Turkish.

3.2. Statistical Modeling

Our investigation asked which types of functional utterances were most effective in promoting children's use of Lazuri. Given that the data were coded according to six different types of functional utterance (see Table 1), we needed to reduce the levels of functional utterance before including it as a main effect in our statistical modeling. To do so, we split caregivers' Lazuri utterances into two categories: functional utterance types that promoted children's use of Lazuri, and those that promoted children's use of Turkish.

Children responded in Lazuri significantly more often when caregivers spoke in Lazuri using labels, χ^2 (1, N = 2329) = 309.44, $p < .001$, and questions, χ^2 (1, N = 2329) = 23.50, $p < .001$. Caregivers' deictic utterances in Lazuri neither promoted nor discouraged children to respond in Lazuri, χ^2 (1, N = 2329) = 0.001, p = 1. In contrast, when caregivers spoke in Lazuri using comments, χ^2 (1, N = 2329) = 19.53, $p < .001$, commands, χ^2 (1, N = 2329) = 56.96, $p < .001$, and invitations, χ^2 (1, N = 2329) = 21.129, $p < .001$, children more often responded in Turkish. Accordingly, for statistical modeling, caregiver utterance types were grouped as those that promoted Lazuri (labels and questions) and those that promoted Turkish (comments, commands, and invitations). Deictic utterances, having no effect on children's language production (i.e., they did not promote the use of either Lazuri or Turkish), were excluded from further analyses.

To analyze which aspects of caregiver speech and context promoted children's use of Lazuri, generalized linear mixed models (GLMM) were fitted to the data with fixed effects of the caregiver's preceding language (Lazuri, Turkish), the caregiver's preceding functional utterance type (i.e., types promoting Lazuri, types promoting Turkish), the activity context (tea-set, animal-farm), and child age (in months). Random intercepts of caregiver-child dyad were included in the model. This model had a significantly better fit than both the intercept-only model, $\chi^2(4) = 168.5$, $p < .001$ and a model with child age as the only fixed effect, $\chi^2(4) = 160.19$, $p < .001$. The model is presented in Table 3.

Table 3. GLMM of children's production of Lazuri based on caregivers' previous language and previous functional utterance type, play context, and child age.

	Estimate	Std. Error	z	p-value
(Intercept)	−1.72	0.62	−2.76	.006
PrevLanguage (Lazuri)	1.85	0.211	8.75	< .001
PrevFunc.Utterance (ProLazuri)	0.79	0.13	5.85	< .001
Context (Tea-set)	−0.57	0.14	−4.18	< .001
Age	−0.06	0.02	−3.26	.001

Formula in R: Lang. ~ 1 + PrevLang. + PrevFuncUtt. + Context + Age + (1 | ID)

All variables were significant in predicting children's use of the AL. The model confirmed that children were significantly more likely to speak in Lazuri after hearing a caregiver's utterance in Lazuri. Additionally, labels and questions (coded as *ProLazuri*) increased the likelihood of children responding in Lazuri as compared to other functional utterance types. Interestingly, the activity context also had a significant effect, with the animal-farm toys promoting usage of Lazuri over the tea-party set. That is, after controlling for the caregivers' preceding language and functional utterance type, children were more likely to speak Lazuri while playing with the animal-farm toys. Finally, child age was significant in predicting Lazuri usage, with older children producing fewer Lazuri utterances than younger children, indicating their stronger preference for speaking Turkish.

3.3. Effect of Play Context

To examine the differential effects of play contexts, we conducted a follow-up analysis. We hypothesized that the two activity contexts might have created different conversational demands for the children, so we counted children's functional utterance use by language and by context; see Table 4. Overall, children were more talkative when engaged with the animal farm. They produced, on average, 10.8 Lazuri utterances ($SD = 15.5$) and 35.2 Turkish utterances ($SD = 27.2$) when playing with the animal farm toys as compared to 3.6 Lazuri utterances ($SD = 7.0$) and 24.3 Turkish utterances ($SD = 25.5$) when playing with the tea party set. Children also produced a greater proportion of their utterances in Lazuri when engaged with the animal farm (23.5%) vs. the tea party (13.0%).

Table 4. Number of children's functional utterances by language and activity context. In parentheses are the standardized residuals for chi-squared tests.

	Animal-Farm		Tea-Set	
	Lazuri	Turkish	Lazuri	Turkish
Total	627 (23.5%)	2040 (76.5%)	211 (13.0%)	1412 (87.0%)
Deictic	61 (–7.6)	604 (4.2)	80 (1.3)	452 (–0.5)
Question	35 (–7.3)	444 (4.1)	13 (–3.4)	237 (1.3)
Label	470 (16.8)	468 (–9.3)	48 (3.2)	185 (–1.2)
Command	27 (–1.5)	125 (0.8)	36 (2.5)	148 (–1.0)
Comment	32 (–5.7)	326 (3.2)	32 (–1.8)	307 (0.7)
Invitation	2 (–3.7)	73 (2.1)	2 (–2.7)	83 (1.1)

In each play context, children's functional utterance types were not randomly distributed across languages: for animal-farm, χ^2 (5, N = 2667) = 578.11, p < .001; for tea-set, χ^2 (5, N = 1623) = 46.63, p < .001; see Table 4 for the standardized residuals comparing frequencies of functional utterances types across languages. When playing with the animal farm toys, children produced significantly more *labels* than expected in Lazuri, and more *deictics, comments*, *questions*, and *invitations* than expected in Turkish. While playing with the tea party set, children produced significantly more *labels* and *commands* than expected in Lazuri, and fewer *questions* and *invitations* than expected in Lazuri.

4. Discussion

In communities like Rize, Turkey, where a DL (Turkish) has supplanted use of an AL (Lazuri), urgent steps must be taken to promote use of the AL with children before the language becomes extinct. As is typical in situations where an AL is critically endangered, the Laz families we observed conversed with their children almost exclusively in the DL. As previously reported (Yuksel & Brooks, 2017), our instructions to communicate with the children in Lazuri led to extensive code-switching across conversational turns, with caregivers mostly complying in speaking the AL but with the children mostly replying in the DL. Despite caregiver concerns that the children would not speak or understand Lazuri, the children used the AL language in 19.4% of their utterances, suggesting that they had acquired some knowledge of the AL from overhearing adult conversations. This is a very impressive amount, considering that these children do not normally speak the AL. Caregivers participating in the study often noted how surprised they were that their children were able to produce so much Lazuri. This result is promising in suggesting that interventions to reverse language loss might be effective if families engage in AL use in the context of playful routines.

4.1. Functional Utterance Types in Lazuri and Turkish

For the current study, we aimed to determine which functional utterance types were most impactful in promoting the children's AL use. We found that caregivers' usage of questions and labels supported their children's attempts to speak Lazuri, as exemplified in excerpt (1), where a father plays with his 46-month-old daughter with the animal-farm in Fındıklı, Rize. Note that in all excerpts, **Lazuri** utterances are in **bold** and *Turkish* utterances are in *italics*. Here the Laz father's labeling and questioning were successful in encouraging his child to speak Lazuri. After the child questioned her father's labeling of **joxori** [dog], the father responded with a series of questions, which ultimately led to the child's agreement and repetition of the Lazuri word **puci**. [cow]. Such interactional routines appeared to provide a teaching context that matched the child's current ability to speak Lazuri. These question-answer dialogues resemble for the scholastic model where teachers expect children to respond to their questions. Such conversation eliciting exchanges involving questions and labels have been shown to facilitate children's vocabulary development (Hoff-Ginsberg 1991; Masur, Flynn, & Eichorst, 2005).

(1)
Father: **heya joxorien** (label)
            That is a dog.

Child: **joxori** (label)
            A dog.

Child: **joxori** *değil ki* (label)
            [Well, that] is not a dog.

Father: *aa inekmi*? (question)
            Oh, it is a cow?

Father: **pucieni**? (question)
            It is a cow, isn't it?

Child: **puci** (label)
            [It is a] cow.

Other functional utterance types led children to rely more on Turkish, presumably because the conversational demands were too great for the children to respond appropriately in Lazuri. This is illustrated in excerpt (2), where the same dyad was engaged with the tea-party toy set. In this excerpt, we see more language mixing, with the father initiating the play activity and instructing his daughter what to do next and how to use the toys. The father does not label the toys, as seen in (1), but he uses commands, invitations, and comments to engage his daughter in play. In return, the daughter does not produce any Lazuri.

(2)

Father: **kaxve paten** (invitation)
                           Let's do coffee.

Father: *tepsi* **muşi ti eşixi** (command)
                           Also, take out its tray.

Child   *tepsi* (label)
                           A tray.

Father: *servis***i** *taba***xi ti kon** (label)
                           [There] is also a plate for serving.

Father: **ma haʒi çai pa** (comment)
                           Now, I will make some tea.

Child: *evet* (deictic)
                           Yes [there is].

Despite the fact that the father-daughter dyad communicated in different languages and engaged in code-switching across conversational turns, the communicative interactions seemed to flow naturally and were mutually understood. As evident in (1), the 46-month old daughter seemed to understand the difference between **joxori** [dog] and **puci** [cow], which resulted in her correcting her father's labeling of the toy animals in Lazuri.

4.2. Effect of Play Context

As each of the dyads engaged in play with two distinct toy sets (animal-farm vs. tea-party), we were able to examine how the affordances of the play contexts affected usage of the AL. As illustrated in (3) and (4), where a mother played with her 41-month-old daughter in Ardeşen, Rize, the animal-farm activity proved to be advantageous in promoting AL usage by encouraging children to label the toy animals and actions. In (3), the mother-daughter dyad exchanged short utterances in which they labeled the toy animals—even associating one of the toys with their own duck, named Nazli. Like the father-daughter dyad in (1) and (2) above, the child in (3) seems to guide the communicative exchanges with her mother. After the girl started to sing a song in Lazuri and engaged in imaginary play by making animal sounds with the toy animals, the mother began to sing along and label the toys in Lazuri. When the girl subsequently recognized one of the toys and labeled it in Lazuri **çe biçi** [this is a boy], her mother followed suit by repeating the child's utterance in agreement.

(3)
Child:	*ördek* (label)
	duck

Mother:	Nazli (name)
	[Our duck called] Nazli.

Child:	starts singing in Lazuri while playing with the toy animals
	guli dadalaşkimi, makvali gurişkimi, ela gitraxudare, siti ma memişkini
	[rose my flower, my egg yolk, come here I sing for you, sing along with me]

Mother:	sings along with her child in Lazuri

Child:	**çe biçi** (label)
	[This is a] boy.

Mother:	**çe biçi** (label)
	A boy.

Child:	making galloping sounds with the toy horse

Mother:	**ntsxeni** (label)
	A horse.

Child:	**ntsxeni** (label)
	A horse.

In contrast, the language associated with the tea party set was arguably more complex, which apparently made it more difficult for the children to converse in Lazuri. In contrast to the referential communication style observed in the animal farm context, dyads used the tea-set context to enact cultural rituals in pretend play—treating the toys as if they were real objects—and using comments and commands to indicate, for example, how to hold a teacup, set up the table, or express politeness. In this context, dyads engaged in turn-taking conversations and commented on each other's actions and ongoing events. Given the prominence of the tea service in social life of the Laz culture, caregivers may have issued commands to ensure that their children served the tea correctly as demonstrated in (4), especially with a visitor [the second author] in their home.

Here the mother appeared to direct the behavior of her daughter while engaging with the tea set, for example, by telling her to drink again just as soon as she finished her tea. Despite the mother's repetitive commands and comments in Lazuri, her utterances were not successful in prompting the child to speak Lazuri. Indeed, the mother's frequent use of commands to direct the play behavior of her daughter suggests passivity on the part of the child (Tulviste, 2019).

(4)

| Child: | *çayim bitti* (comment) |
| | I finished my tea. |

| Mother: | **ar** *daha* **oşvi** (command) |
| | Drink again! |

| Mother: | **kodolobxi** (command) |
| | Pour me [some tea]! |

| Mother: | **kodolobobi** (comment) |
| | I poured. |

| Mother: | **ar** *daha* **kodolobimi** (commend) |
| | Pour into [my cup] one more time. |

| Child: | *tamam* (comment) |
| | OK. |

These findings, indicating how the affordances of the activity context serve to promote different functional use of language, are consistent with previous work documenting how characteristics of parent-child communication vary as a function of the discourse context (Puccini et al., 2010; Tamis-LeMonda et al., 2019; Yont, Snow, & Vernon-Feagans, 2002). In the current study, we observed how the caregivers used toy sets for different didactic purposes, relying heavily on labels to identify the various animal figures in the farm set and using the tea party to emphasize important social routines.

4.3. Community Efforts to Promote Language and Cultural Traditions

While conducting the fieldwork for the current study, we were able to observe ongoing efforts to promote language revitalization in the Laz communities of Rize, Turkey. Each language community has its own approach to deal with language endangerment (Grenoble & Whaley, 2006); for Lazuri, such efforts arguably trace back to the development of a standardized script to represent the orally transmitted language (Lazoğlu & Feuerstein, 1984) and to efforts to spread awareness of Laz ethnic identity and heritage through the creation of voluntarily run language-learning institutes, such as the Laz Institute in Istanbul and afterschool programs in Laz regions of Rize and Artvin.

Table 5 lists some of recent highlights of the Laz language revitalization process evident in the Laz communities of Turkey. Efforts to document and preserve the AL include print publications and media productions in Lazuri as well as annual festivities to celebrate traditional Laz rituals and practices, as depicted in Figure 5. Although promising, our observations that children growing up in Laz communities have very limited ability to speak the AL suggests that more needs to be done to encourage usage of the AL at home to ensure its survival.

Table 5. Laz language and cultural revitalization efforts with sources.

Year	Activity	Source
1999	Ismail Bucaklişi and Hasan Uzunhasanoğlu create first Lazuri-Turkish dictionary.	
2006	Charles, Steward Mott Foundation sponsors Yayla Fest, an annual celebration of Laz culture.	mott.org
2006	*Paponi* [Laz Börek] cookbook written in Lazuri, featuring over 100 traditional dishes and food stories	
2008	*FormuLaz* annual festival and traditional wooden car race held every August in Ardeşen, Rize.	
2011	First novel published in Lazuri: *Daçxuri* [Fire] by Murat Ercan, publisher Lazika Yayın Kolektifi.	sabah.com.tr
2011	Boğaziçi University (Istanbul) offers Laz language classes (elementary, intermediate, advanced).	boun.edu.tr
2011	*Çita Mapaskiri* [The Little Prince] by Saint-Exupéry translated into Lazuri, publisher Lazika Yayın Kollektifi	
2013	Afterschool programs in Laz settlements in Rize and Artvin offer Lazuri immersion courses.	aa.com.tr
2013	*Ağani Murutsxi* [New Star] monthly newspaper in Laz starts publishing.	m.bianet.org
2014	First TV broadcast in Lazuri language alternating with Turkish news and stories by Gelişim Televizyon	cnnturk.com
2014	Lazuri picture books *Çai Pşvat* [Let's Drink Tea] and *Porçoni Ǩaťu* [Dressed-up Kitty], by Peri Yuksel-Sokmen, illustrator Susan Wei, editor Irfan Çağatay.	

Fig. 5. In the Laz Cultural Center in Fındıklı, Rize, visitors learn to play the kemençe (bottle-shaped bowed lute) and paint folkloric scenes of traditional Laz life.

4.4. Conclusions

Children play an important role in language transmission and maintenance and should be viewed as active agents in the language socialization process, rather than passive recipients (Fishman, 1991; Luykx, 2005; O'Shannessy, 2015). For children to inherit an endangered AL, families must speak the AL with children while engaged in daily routines and other stimulating learning contexts, such as

imaginary play, that mimic day-to-day social activities and cultural practices. AL transmission has to occur at home because once children enter school, they will have wide access to mainstream DL resources, such as books, movies, video games, and websites, that do not exist in the AL. If caregivers want to raise bilingual children, they must recognize that the less prestigious AL will be in constant competition with the DL. Under such circumstances, it becomes crucial for Laz families to work together with their community to reinforce the perspective that acquisition of Lazuri is an asset and not a barrier to learning Turkish (Yuksel-Sokmen, 2015). It takes a village to raise a child, but it takes a whole community to preserve their linguistic heritage.

Children need to be provided with ample opportunities to speak the AL and have their AL use supported at home and in the broader community. Our findings highlight the importance of using labels and questions as a means of encouraging children to begin speaking the AL despite their limited proficiency. Even though the caregivers and children were code-switching extensively across conversational turns, the conversations flowed naturally with children for the most part seeming to understand what was said. This suggests that with additional encouragement and emphasis on AL usage within the home, the children will have the potential to become bilingual speakers, much as their parents and grandparents did in previous generations. Ultimately, to become competent speakers of Lazuri, children need to comprehend and master a variety of functional utterance types to communicate effectively. Caregivers' emphasis on questioning and labeling may serve as an initial scaffold to promote usage of Lazuri at home, and ultimately help children gain practice and confidence in using their AL.

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