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Speaking in our Dreams:

Focusing on the language bilinguism and multilingual use during their dream experiences
Speaking in our Dreams:

Focusing on the language bilinguals and multilingual use during their dream experience.

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M.Phil. in Applied Linguistics.

1998
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The specific topic of language in relation to dream has been quite neglected so far. In this dissertation I intend to provide reasons why the dreams should play a more prominent part. The fact that we can dream in a language different from our native one serves to demonstrate that humans beings share the ability to acquire and speak any language rather than a particular one. The variety of language that can enter the dream life seems to suggest that the apparent development of the various linguistic skills of the individual’s mother tongue are mainly related to the different linguistic environments, whose growth and development is noted in history and
ABSTRACT:

The following argument concerns an investigation of language use in dreams based on both theoretical and empirical research.

The aim of this dissertation is to suggest that the ability to acquire and speak a L2(s) is innate. This argument is further developed by suggesting that the L2(s) in question can actually enter the realm of dreams when part of the brain are not fully conscious, namely during sleep.

The specific topic of language in relation to dream has been quite neglected so far. In this dissertation I intend to provide reasons why the language of dreams should play a more substantial role in linguistic studies.

The fact that we can dream in a language different from our native one serves to demonstrate that human beings share the ability to acquire and speak any language rather than a particular one. The variety of language that can enter the dream life seems to suggest that the apparent development of the various linguistic skills of the individual's mother tongue are mainly related to the different linguistic environments, whose growth and development is rooted in history and time.
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APPENDIX 1: COMPLETED QUESTIONNAIRES

APPENDIX 2: EXPERIENCES OF L2 DREAMS
INTRODUCTION

The topic of this dissertation - second language (L2) and dreams - was prompted by personal experience. Back when I only spoke one language (i.e. my mother tongue - L1), I never questioned whether I was really speaking in my dreams or not. I would simply recall, the morning after my dream, one or more episodes that took place while I was dreaming.

Later, I went to live in a foreign country and I had to learn an L2, namely English. After a while, I realised that my dreams not only took place in environments that were not the familiar ones of my youth but that I was also communicating with the interlocutors present in my dreams in the new language acquired. This short personal account is provided by way of justification for my motivation to carry out this study.

As a result of the data collected in this empirical study, I discovered that my 34 subjects, who like me had became accustomed to the daily use of a foreign language, had experience of dreaming in an L2.

In my dissertation, I intend first to evaluate what the experience of dreaming actually involves.
I would also like to point out that this study, like others carried out in the field of dreams, relies on the collection of introspective data and therefore the conclusions that are drawn cannot be subjected to objective scientific testing. Accordingly, these conclusions have to be treated with some caution.

In order to collect such data, the researcher has to deal with one subject at a time, and each of these subjects has a unique personality. In addition, the interpersonal interaction between the researcher and the subject is also an important factor. This obviously involved a greater number of issues than would be present if the study were dealing with data of a "harder", less personal nature.

Webb (1968, p.56) comments in this connection:

"Sleep research has been almost exclusively atheoretical in its general approach and has been diligently devoted to the collection of empirical facts. No one can object to the gathering of empirical data but it has been my experience that data gathering in absence of theory or concepts may result in a mound of facts which often miss ultimate causes or effects or indeed may even bury them."

Although the actual cognitive activities taking place during sleep cannot be recorded, the time in which a person is dreaming can be measured in quite accurate ways. Already in the late 1950s research laboratories were able to
record when a person begins to dream, how often this happens in the course of
the night and the physiological changes involved in the process.

In my next chapter I intend to concentrate on the scientific aspects of the
dreaming experience such as REM (Rapid Eye Movement) sleep, which refers to
a short period of mental activity. It has been demonstrated that dreams take
place during the REM-period of a person's sleep. Thus, although the body is
relaxed, motor neurones in the brain appear to send electrical signals. The
sensory system also appears not to be totally shut down; in fact the visual cortex
allows the eyes to move rapidly beneath the closed resting eyelids.

In order to support the view that something does happen while the human
body is asleep, I will focus on EEG (Electroencephalographic) studies. This
refers to recordings made by an apparatus known as an Electroencephalograph
which is able to measure the actual electrical impulses that the outer mantle of
the brain emits at all times, while the body is awake and also while resting during
sleep.

I also intend to investigate the cognitive processes that take place in the
brain. I will do this by reviewing studies carried out by using a technique called
Magnetic Resonancing (MR) on mentation (i.e. unconscious thought processes).
Magnetic Resonance research studies the organisation of cognitive functions of
the brain.
With reference to the above studies, in the next chapter I will attempt to demonstrate that dreaming does actually occur and that even when we rest in our sleep there are certain mental activities that take place independently of our consciousness.

I hope to illustrate that the mental activities that take place during sleep also involve linguistic processes and performance. Therefore, for the speaker of more than one language, dreaming involves the usage and practice of the L2 as well as the grammar that governs it.

Chapter 3, which I have entitled "The language of dreams" will consider some researchers views on the presence of language in dreams.

In Chapter 4, I will present the methodology of my empirical study. This study took the form of an extensive 18-item questionnaire that was completed by 34 subjects who spoke two or more languages. The aim of this chapter is to shed light on what occurs during the REM phase of sleep (during which time dreams occur) for people who speak more than one language.

Chapter 5 presents the results yielded by the questionnaire. I discuss these results in light of the scientific tools presented in Chapter 2 (e.g. EEG which measures REM activity). I will base my conclusions on the analysis of the
data collected from the 34 subjects (who are learners or speakers of an L2) in relation to their dreaming experience.

The sixth and final chapter will draw conclusions on the bases of the evidence discussed relative to the notion that language is an active cognitive function. It is my intention to argue that during the seemingly passive state of dreaming, the brain is actually involved in a number of cognitive activities among which is the selection of an appropriate language in context for those who speak more than one language.

I hope that the reader will find this study to be as interesting and enlightening to read as it was for me to research and write it.

In this introduction I have presented my motivation for carrying out this study focusing on -second language and dreams-. With the support of studies carried out in the past, we now know that the dream experience is not a mere fantasy. It does actually occur and can now be recorded in its duration as well as in the changes that take place in relation with it, in the physiology of the body.

The aim of the next chapter is to provide the reader with enough scientific ground to support the view that mental activities are not shut down during sleep, especially during the specific time of dreaming. Among these mental activities I will emphasise linguistic processes and performance.
Sleeping is an imperative biological function of mammals - on this matter no one will disagree. During the time in which the body is at rest, living beings experience dreaming. As early as 1960 Dement (cited Webb 1968, p.28) reported:

"An ingenious experiment which firmly established that we have a need for dreams".

The occurrence of dreams can be testified in two ways: the person who experiences the dream may be able to recall the event once awakened, or the presence of dreams may be measured using scientific tools. I will now present some of these tools and other relevant concepts.

2.1 REM: Rapid Eye Movement

Alvarez (1995, p.90) reports that in 1953, Eugene Aserinsky recorded slow waves of rolling movement of the eyes during sleep. This process came to be known as Rapid Eye Movement (REM). Sleep can be broken down into two phases: the phase of sleep during which REM occurs is known as "dreaming sleep", while "thinking sleep" refers to the time when Rapid Eye Movement does not occur. This is also known as non-REM sleep. Aserinsky noticed that this wave activity of the eye cortex occurred only during certain periods of sleep. This
wave activity was traced as peaks and troughs. The tracing patterns recorded during the REM phase of sleep resembled those of the woken brain.

Later studies established a connection between REM sleep and dreaming. Winson (1990, p.42) bases his writing on laboratory studies, stating that:

"Researchers also discovered that a night's sleep is punctuated by periods in which the EEG readings are irregular in frequency and low in amplitude - similar to those observed in awake individuals. These periods of mental activity are called REM sleep. Dreaming takes place solely during these periods. While in REM sleep, motor neurones are inhibited, preventing the body from moving freely but allowing extremities to remain slightly active. Eyes move rapidly in unison under closed lids, breathing becomes irregular and the heart rate increases."

Experiments carried out by Aserinsky showed that if the subjects were awoken during the REM phase of sleep, 95% of the time they could recall vividly the dream that had just occurred. The REM period of sleep occurs up to four or five times every night during sleep. During these times, the brain is fully active and the subject, instead of being awake, dreams.
It has been demonstrated that the (REM) period that occurs during sleep coincides with the subject's recollection of dreams. REM provides evidence that the sensory cortex or, more precisely, the visual processing system is active during dream periods, although vision itself does not take place. It is now possible to affirm that dreams do take place during sleep, specifically during the REM phase. This has been evidenced by timing the REM phase against other physiological changes, such as: increase in the heart-beat, irregularity of breathing, fluctuation in body temperature, and muscle tension although the body is at rest. Numerous REM researches have confirmed that everybody dreams each night of their life, even if they might be unable to recall the event. Essentially, while the conscious is at rest, there are certain neurones in the brain circuit that are activated during REM, and this process coincides with the time when dreams occur. If the memory-coding process is at work the dream can be recalled. On the other hand, if the event is not recalled in memory, the subject will have no recollection of having dreamt. Dream recollection can be successful if the subject focuses attention on the dream event during the few seconds immediately after awakening.

"It is assumed that cognitive information processing is required to effectively transfer information from short-term memory into long-term memory storage in retrievable form."

(Goodenough 1978, p.140).
It has also been observed that during the night the interval between REM-states decreases and the dream length increases. The latter seems to explain why the dreams that occur during the last REM period of a night's sleep are more frequently remembered, while the ones that occurred in the earlier REM periods are more easily forgotten.

Overall, dreams seem to be more easily remembered if people are awoken during or shortly after a REM sleeping period.

2.2 WHY DO WE DREAM?

In the previous section, we saw that sleeping is a biological function, and through the study of REM it has been shown that dreaming does occur. In this section, I will evaluate some of the reasons that have been suggested for the importance of the phenomenon of dreaming.

Dreaming consists of unconscious processes involving more or less well defined images. Studies by Hobson are reported by Heynick (1993, p.266). It was suggested by Hobson that:

"There is a sort of shunting out for repairs of certain neurological systems during REM sleep" (Heynick 1993, p.266).
Dreams seem to have the purpose of recreating the harmony in the psyche that can be damaged by either cognitive or emotionally stressful situations that occurred in waking life. Pavlov (cited Webb 1968, p.39) considered sleep to be a protective response and even further a "restorative biological mechanism." Basically sleep as nutrition is vital for the survival of the living organism.

Durham (1860, cited Heynick 1993, p.266) noted that:

"Sleep appears to be that particular state of cerebral inactivity which is essentially associated with the nutrition and repair of the brain substance."

Heynick further cites Kraepelin (1987) who suggests that:

"The highest and most difficult performances of our mental life are the ones which most urgently require the interpolation of recovery period."

Hartmann (1973, p.147) also suggests that stress and worry, as well as new learning, require more sleep. He suggests that sleep, and specifically REM, "may have a role in consolidating learning or memory." This could explain why young mammals need more sleep than older ones, due to their almost constant involvement in new learning experiences every day.
Verschoor and Holdstock (1984, pp.73-74) report studies carried out by Fishbein into the importance of sleep, particularly REM - sleep. They suggest that:

"At the very least, sleep serves to fixate working memory traces, making them less susceptible to disruption by other interfering events."

They further suggest that:

"There is now an accumulation of experimental findings asserting the idea that sleep, and in particular REM sleep, has an important role in transforming newly acquired experiences into long-term memory."

According to Heynick (1993, p.266):

"More specifically, the action potential of the ... small neurones crucially necessary for attention and for the registering of events in memory are ... given a rest while their nuclei continue to manufacture vital synthetic enzymes."

Further studies have concluded that dreaming itself has a biological function and that it is important for all living beings to dream. Dermot and Fisher (1959, cited Mackenzie 1965, p.268) conducted an experiment in which the subjects were awoken just as the REM period of sleep began. Each time the subject resumed sleeping, the onset of the REM period was successively
sooner, and when finally the subject was allowed to dream, he recovered all the REM periods lost over the preceding nights. One particular subject had four hours and 52 minutes of REM - sleep out of a total of seven hours of sleep.

It has also been suggested that the chemical compound known as ATP (Adenosine triphosphate), which is a necessary catalyst for energy conversion, and responsible for the transformation of food energy into energy which the body can use, is actually inhibited as a result of prolonged depravation of sleep. According to Luby et al (1960, cited Webb 1968, p.19),

"Recent research has found substantial evidence to support the fact that after about four days of sleep deprivation the production of this critical energy substance almost ceases. Further sleep returns this balance to normal." If bodily energy can not be restored, obviously the organism can not survive.

The biological need for dreaming could also be due to the fact that Acetylcholine, the neurotransmitter that triggers dreams, needs to be regenerated during each resting session of the body.
2.3 EEG: Electroencephalography

Electroencephalography refers to a process by which, using a device called electroencephalograph the electrical currents or "brain waves" generated by the brain can be recorded with the aid of electrodes attached to the skull. A trained observer is able to detect when the sleeper is actually dreaming, by reading the tracing produced by connecting electrodes to the skull.

Webb (1968, p.16) reports that in 1929 the German psychiatrist Hans Berger constructed an apparatus that provided evidence that the living brain constantly emits very low electrical waves. He reports further studies that took place in 1937 by Loomis and his colleagues, in which it was shown that these electrical waves changed in intensity when sleep took place, and again that, according to the depth of sleep, more changes in the intensity of the brain waves occurred. The changes that took place during sleep were categorised into five different stages. Stages one to four constitute a sleep depth continuum and stage five refers to REM and this is associated with visual dreaming.

Paradoxically, the EEG recordings registered for a subject during the deepest phase of sleeping and dreaming are the same as those registered for the subject when fully awake; the eyes are rolling and numerous physiological changes take place. The difference between the waking-state and the deepest sleeping-state is that, in the latter state, the energy of the mind is as active as in
the waking-state but it is concentrated on the dream imagery, trying to transform the experience into a coherent event. EEG tracing provides evidence that the dream-state occurs on the verge of waking and that the difference between the state of waking and sleeping during this stage is that the subject is dreaming. The next stage is deep-sleep again.

The activity of the mind during the waking life is constantly dependent on the signals provided by the external world. The same activation of the brain occurs during REM sleep, the difference is simply that the external signals are internalised in a different way due to the resting of parts of the physiological and neurological system. Thus, even if thinking does occur, the attention process is somehow altered due to the changes that take place in the functioning of the brain and the absence of awareness of space and time.

In conclusion, we may say that EEG tracing records the electrical waves produced by the brain at all times. During the REM-state the brain wave patterns change, enabling the expert observer to read the tracing and pinpoint when the sleeper is actually dreaming.
2.4 SLEEPTALKING

EEG tracings provide evidence that sleep-talking does not take place during the deepest stage of sleeping, but rather during very light sleep. More precisely, the conclusions drawn by studies of sleep-talking testify that the latter occurs at the threshold between sleep and wakefulness. The subject is not aware of the event and has no memory of it occurring. Sleep-talking, when witnessed, has been reported to range from one word to a string of words. These can be totally unclear to the hearer or perfectly clear. It has also been stated that, when sleep-talking takes place during REM-sleep, it is likely to be more grammatically correct as well as more accurate in inflection and general structure. Horowits (1972, cited Arkin 1978, p.562) claims that:

"One may view REM-sleep as an occasion which permits varying mixtures of both lexical and image modes of thought representation, with lexical often overshadowing image expression; whereas in REM-sleep, the opposite situation prevails - image modes of representation have the ascendancy over lexical forms."

Hacker (1993, p.164) supports the above by claiming that:

"Speech is usually achieved only in dreams of superficial sleep, while in dreams of deep sleep the speech utterances ... appear less often and have special difficulty in gaining..."
access to memory. For it is only when vivid kinaesthetic or acoustic word-presentations are remembered that it is possible to state whether a word or a sentence really achieved adequate linguistic expression."

Kraepelin (1993, p.66) seems to support this view by stating that:

"Speech utterances in dreams are an almost daily occurrence, especially during half sleep in the morning before awakening and less often, in the evening before falling asleep."

The difficulty in reporting the speech of a dream, even almost immediately after awakening, is in astonishing contrast with the ability to report even unimportant episodes that take place in a person's life during the time of clear consciousness in day time. Hunt (1989, pp.216-217) claims that:

"Waking up begins the distancing from the dream episode
...Dreams, which seem real while they continue, ephemerally disappear into illusion as we awaken."

Why this contrast occurs leaves us with the unanswered question of what processes in the brain prevent us from accurately reporting the dream experience. Although it may be totally remembered at the time of awakening, the memory of the dream is soon lost. Hunt (1989, p.179) also suggests that:
"Dreams can be transformed in their very fabric by the cognitive operations of personal memory and imaginative metaphor."

Arkin (1978, p.526) provides evidence of how sleep-talkers can actually be unaware of their linguistic activity during sleep, stating that:

"at least six intelligent conscientious couples in recent years have volunteered that they can regularly engage their respective partners in prolonged sleep conversation with the sleep-talker experiencing complete lack of recall in the morning".

2.5 MAGNETIC RESONANCE (MR)

Magnetic Resonance (MR) is an imaging technique used to uncover the organisation of cognitive functions in the brain.

In a study carried out by Yetkin et al (1996, p.466), MR was used to compare the activity of the brain of subjects who had more than one language. The aim of this study was to find out which part of the brain is active during the processing of an L2 in which the subjects were more or less fluent. Results suggested that the left-frontal lobe of the brain was always active in all the
subjects performing language tasks. However, it speeded up in the language in which the subject was less fluent. MR imaging shows the different activation processes of the brain of multilingual subjects during L1, L2 and L3 language tasks, depending on the degree of fluency the subject has in each language. MR also sheds light on the processing of each different language.

Through the stimulation of the cortex in multilingual subjects, it has been demonstrated that a different group of neurones may be activated in the processing of different languages. All the subjects in this study gave evidence to suggest that a larger number of pixels were activated for the language in which each subject was less fluent.

The difference in activation of pixels between L1 and L2 was not very significant, while it was quite significant between an L3 and either an L2 or an L1. Yetkin (1996, p.476) concludes that:

"Functional MR imaging in multilingual subjects seems to measure more activation in the cerebral processing of language in which a subject is less fluent than in the cerebral processing of language in which the subject is fluent ... Activation decreases as proficiency in a language increases."
The reason why dreams are mostly unremembered in the waking state is due to the fact that the chemical molecules in the brain responsible for converting short-term memory into long-term memory are not available while sleeping. This explains why only a subject who is awakened while or immediately after a REM-period will be able to recall his dream with a certain degree of accuracy. In the above mentioned cases the information is stored in the short-term memory and it is still present and available for retrieval. On the other hand, if the subject is awoken even only five minutes after the REM-period has ended, the event stored in the short-term memory will be gone and the subject will be unable to recall even his most recent dream.

Allan and Hobson (1995, pp.164-165) propose a theory which suggests the following:

"The activation-synthesis hypothesis speculates that, in REM-sleep, the loss of neurotransmitters chemically alters the brain-mind so that it processes information in a different way. And not only are our thought processes different, but we lose our sense of self-awareness and our critical perspective on these radically altered thought processes".
This hypothesis seems to explain why dream experiences are so much more difficult to recall than waking experiences. The changes that occur in the physiology of the brain are what differentiate recall of a dream experience from recall of a waking experience.

The dream occurs while the subject is asleep, whereas the dream is recalled and reported when the subject is awake. Therefore, the recollection of the dream goes through the interpretation of the waking mind. This dilemma is summarised by Allan and Hobson (1995, p.148) who state that:

"Unfortunately, scientists never study the mind directly but always through the medium of language. Even when studying the waking mind, they only study the verbal reports of consciousness, not consciousness itself. When studying the mind in sleep, they must wake subjects up even to get reports. But then the subjects are obviously only reporting in one state, waking, what they recall of the previous state, sleep."

The changes that occur in the physiology of the brain also occur in the biology of the body. When a person recalls a dream experience, the recollection of the dream may not be totally faithful to the original experience. The subject will interpret the event with the aid of his or her own emotions related to it. It cannot be denied that events occurring in waking-life are also subjected to the personal
interpretation of the person living the experience. The distortion of events, of
things being said or done, are known as incidences of human misunderstanding.
We can all testify to that. Therefore the "revision" of a dream report, somehow, is
not different. If parts of an event that took place in a dream are not available to
the memory, the subject will unconsciously fill in the gaps according to the way
he or she feels about it, without taking the original information directly from
memory. The above is a natural "behaviour" considering that dreams have been
demonstrated to have the function of regulating the equilibrium of emotional
dysfunction that takes place while awake. Mackenzie (1965, p.273) suggests
that:

"The remembered pattern of the dream experience and the
dream as it is recalled and reported may be a kind of
collage made up of fragments that were quite differently
ordered during the dream state. The remembered pattern of
the dream, that is, may be partly the work of conscious
thought, which is endeavouring to reduce the dream
material to a more logical and coherent state."

In support of this view, Hunt (1989, p.178) opines that: "Meaning arises outside
the dream from its background context."

Another factor which must be considered in dream recollection is the speech of
others. How does the dreamer recall the speech of the interlocutors of his
dreams? Hacker (1993, p.172) claims that;
"This almost never involves genuine auditory hallucinations. Rather, in the process by which another person speaks in the dream, someone is usually seen simultaneously with the occurrence of vivid inner speech presentations, which, thanks to the amalgamation with the image of the person seen, fuses into a whole and appears as his utterance."

In so far as cognitive processes such as thinking are concerned, it must be noted that thinking does take place while dreaming, but also that the concentration process during dreaming is somehow altered and loosened up. Hartmann (1973, p.137) suggests that:

"One thing that is lacking in dreams is prolonged concentrated attention on a task; one is unable to concentrate on one item and avoid distraction by others."

He goes on to explain that:

"Sleep, and probably D-sleep specifically, may have a restorative function with respect to system of focused attention (especially the ability to focus on one item while ignoring others)."

The lack of attention during dreaming is caused by "change in the brain physiology", as suggested by Hobson (1995, p.147).
Freud believed that dreams are constructed around the most recent experiences the subject had. The events that took place during the day preceding the dream are the elements that play a role in the formation of the subsequent dream. He calls these elements "Day Residues". These are then transformed by the individual's unconscious mind and become mostly unrecognisable from their original waking experience. Greenberg and Leiderman (1966, cited Hartman 1973, p.15) support Freud's view, arguing that REM-sleep "may involve rewinding recent memories onto long-term storage tapes."

In this chapter I have presented the scientific tools adopted to record the time of dreams. The relation between REM, the period in which the recorded tracings are very similar to those of the woken brain, EEG, in which the electrical inputs emitted by the brain, "brain waves" resemble these of woken time, and the occurrence of dreams has been brought to light.

That dreams do occur during REM has been further supported by the fact that individuals awoken during or immediately after REM periods have vivid recollection of their dreams, while if awoken at any other times, they do not.

I have also mentioned how dreaming has been shown to have recovery properties for the psychophysical function of mammals.
Finally, I have introduced evidence on the presence of cognitive functions such as thinking and linguistic performance during dreams.

MR researches are of great value to my study. This has shown that in performing language tasks, the bilingual or multilingual person will be subject to the activation of different groups of neurones according to the degree of fluency in each of the L2s known. The activation of different processes according to respective languages is very interesting to note in connection with our consideration in the next chapter of the presence of L2s in dreams.

In the next chapter, in fact, I intend to focus on the presence of language in dreams and its structure.
Even if the dreamer feels that he remembers his dream just as he awakens and feels quite sure of its contents, he will realise that if he tries to recall it a few hours later it will have faded away. This is due to the fact that the dream has not been transferred from short-term memory into long-term memory. In order to make sure that the dream is remembered and that its verbal propositions are also remembered, it must be written down as soon as one wakes up. Another way to transfer the dream into long term is to repeat aloud the dream and its verbal propositions. Once transferred to long term memory in this way, the dream is then available for recall. Kraeplin (1993, p.66) argues that:

"Speech presentations from dreams adhere without a doubt incomparably more weakly than those of clear consciousness."

When a person is asked or simply wishes to recount his last dream experience, a sort of transference takes place. The dreamer may recollect and recount his dream, but inevitably, he will re-create a new version or at least use a different wording for the dream that occurred in a totally different space-time dimension.

"Inferences about auditory imagery and speech during sleep are often misleading. The majority of references to
speech are "about" what the character was talking about rather than quotations of what was actually said" (Antrobus 1978, p.577).

Upon awakening from sleep, one may recollect the experience one somehow "lived" while at rest. The immediate need of the cognitive system of humans is to make sense of the dreaming experience; therefore one reconstructs the event to make it suitable to one's own understanding. However, the simple change of state in both the physiological and biological sphere is enough to distance the subject from his/her own dream experience.

"Trying to put images in words may be very difficult, but the product of our effort in describing something in a verbal, sequential report of simultaneous and temporal actuality is transmitted into a different modality than it was experienced" (Meier 1993, p.62).

There is still considerable discrepancy on the issue of whether we actually talk in a particular language in our dreams or we dream in terms of images and only later transform these images into a coherent story. Today, it is accepted that the optical cortex responsible for vision is not shut down during sleep time, even while dreaming.
"Neurophysiological findings are congruent with phenomenological and cognitive-experimental evidence of two distinct cognitive processes in dreaming: a sequentially directed narrative component and a simultaneous visual-spatial component, each of which interacts with and may "entrain" the other" (Hunt 1989, p.172).

Heynicks (1993, p.162) states that his personal experience can be summarised as follows:

"The acoustic word-presentations ... were in themselves far more numerous then the optical ones. But it should first of all be noted again here that usually - especially in deep sleep - when I thought I was speaking with someone, the whole conversation was not heard word for word such that I had a clear acoustic presentation of the individual words. Rather, it was usually inner speech without reaching the hallucinatory clarity of acoustic and motoric presentations. On the other hand, in morning sleep or in cases of strong inner stimulation, or when the speech would be imparted with a special emotional force, it often came to true speech, that is, distinct acoustic word- and sentence-presentations which frequently tended to be accompanied by clear motoric presentations of the speech organs."
Foulkes (1978, p.15) suggests that:

"Dream images, considered singly, also have structure."

He believes that "the inner structure of the image, like that of the sentence, is propositional ... [and that] images have a verbal-propositional structure precisely because they are generated by mental systems which employ verbal codes ...

Words are the form in which dream images originated, and verbal-propositional structures mould the way in which images are expressed ... The rule, both between and within images, is that dream expressions are linearly, propositionally structured and that constituent elements of these structures can be reliably identified and assigned meaningful structural labels."

It is further argued by Meier (1993, p.67) that:

"Dreaming does not merely reproduce waking reality, and this inventive and constructive power holds just as true for speech as for any other dream characteristics."

Meier (1993, p.66) also suggests that:

"The well-formedness, the sentence elaboration, and complexity of the dream speech episodes indicates that syntactic and semantic competence in dreams function..."
comparably to waking linguistic capacities ... Beyond the use of dream reports, the phenomenon of sleep-talking adds further insight into the functioning of speech during sleep."

In the light of what has been said so far in relation to language, (considered as L1) and dreams, I wish to expand this notion to L2s in general. I am inclined to hold the view that the speaker of more than one language, who has acquired their L2s through professional training, will have learnt their L2s by "visualisation" of either rules of grammar or vocabulary by the aid of reading, rather than by speech alone.

Kraepelin (1993, p.59) states that there is "Immense importance attached to foreign languages in our school system, at least among the more educated classes, [and] we tend to learn foreign languages not, as in the case with the mother tongue, with our ears, but rather in the first instance preferably with the aid of visual images and motor images, so that we possibly have their elements relatively more readily at our disposal if the otherwise leading influence which the acoustic images of the mother tongue exert has been destroyed."
Kraepelin seems to support the view that bilingual or multilingual speakers will actually experience dreaming in L2s. I believe that the degree of such experiences is in direct relation to the fluency and how often the L2 in question in accordance with the "most frequently practised associations" carried out by the speaker during waking life. The associations to which I am referring are those related to the mechanisms of thinking that take place in the speaker's mind independently of his voluntary effort. When the speaker finds himself involved in a community where circumstances require him to grow more confident and become accustomed to an L2, this will prompt a certain degree of fluency in the language in question, which in turn will find its way into dreams.

Basically, thinking in an L2 is the first step toward the experience of dreaming in the L2 in which mental associations are carried out by the speaker independently of his will.

On the topic of L2s and dreams Meyer has carried out a very interesting study in which we are given evidence that L2s do indeed enter the sphere of dreams.

I will now outline her valuable study below:

Barbara Meier of the University of Zurich in Switzerland carried out a study in which she analysed the REM dream reports of 16 German-English bilinguals, half of whom were native English speakers living in Zurich and the
other half of whom were German speakers living in Atlanta. In each setting there were 7 female subjects and one male subject with a median age of 30 for each setting.

The study was carried out in a sleep laboratory, over four non-consecutive nights.

In the pre-sleep environment only German was spoken for two nights and only English was spoken for the two remaining nights.

On each following morning the subjects were asked to report their imagined speech, language phenomena and the sources of their dream imagery of their dream on the four non-consecutive nights.

The aim of Meier's study was to find out through the REM dream reports of these 16 bilingual subjects how fluency or mastery of more than one language might influence language selection and linguistic phenomena during REM dreams.

It is quite natural to think that human dreams in general are consistently based on social interaction of different sorts and that the main facilitator of such interaction is in fact speech. Barbara Meier states that

"Dreamed speech is an important feature of content. Verbal activity is the principal means of social interaction in
dreams. Words and thoughts are not necessarily transformed into dream imagery or dream reflection. They may be staged as verbal or cognitive activity performed by dream characters." Meier, 1993. p. 61.

Being fluent in more than one language does not restrict this generalisation. In the case of bilingual, in fact, it seems that the language selected for social interaction taking place during dreaming time, in order to express oneself, is simply the language more appropriate to the dream context as such. The pre-sleep environment, of course, may be a determinant of the language selected during REM sleep.

Before beginning the experiment each subject was asked to judge their oral competence, the age in which they started acquiring the L2, the context in which the process took place, and finally what they believed their overall proficiency to be in a scale ranging from 1 to 7. They all rated their proficiency quite high, namely between 6 and 7.

At each awakening on the next morning, the subjects were asked whether if what they had imagined happening in their sleep really happened, if there had speech going with it; if so, they had to indicate the appropriate rating on a 5-point scale, namely: Definitely L1, Probably L1, Could have been either L1 or L2, Probably L2, Definitely L2.
Among the results Meier obtained there were some very interesting ones. First there was an indication that in REM reports self-speech was definitely more frequent than speech carried out by the interlocutors present in the dream experience. Also it was suggested that the language used in the pre-sleep environment had a definite influence on the language selected by the bilingual speaker for the dream of the night in question. English-language sessions held in Atlanta produced more English REM dream representations than German ones and by the same token, German-language sessions produced significantly more German linguistic REM dream representations than English ones.

Overall, thus, the Meier experiment showed that at both sites, the language of the pre-sleep time was the language that had more REM dream representation than the language not being used for the night in question. In other words, the language of the session significantly effected the REM reports of the following morning. "Thus, the second language was the dominant language of the present living environment" (Meier 1993, p.68).

"In summary, the language in dreams is influenced by the language of the immediate context as well as by the linguistic context of dream sources....The pragmatic competence to select the appropriate language for a given dream situation, the general well-formedness of dreamed
speech, the adequate role of speech and thinking in the course of the dream events, and the typical non-bizarre quality of dream speech refute the view of dreaming as a non-organised sequence of randomly activated memory units." Meier 1993, p.75.


"It has been shown, moreover, that dream speech most often is both grammatically well formed and contextually appropriate".

I believe that this study is very valuable to my work in providing evidence that linguistic abilities do have a role in dreams. In the case of the bilingual and multilingual this phenomenon is simply more interesting to explore and analyse.

The aim of this chapter has been to give evidence through the work of the pioneers in the field of language and dreams- that linguistic processes do take place while we dream even if the actual performance of speech may remain dormant and only present itself occasionally.

The above groundwork provides enough information and material for me to proceed and introduce my work.
In my next chapter, in fact, I will present the description of the study I carried out in order to reveal the experiences of 34 subjects who have experienced dreaming in more than one language.
In order to ascertain in what language the dreams of those who speak more than one language occurs, I decided in my own research to construct an extensive 18-item questionnaire.

I personally administered the questionnaire to the whole sample of participants. I always tried to see my subjects one at a time, making sure that they would not be in a hurry to go some place else while with me. I also always tried to meet my subjects in peaceful places where they could first hear me, think about their answers and feel relaxed. Even when I did not know them particularly, I always did my best not to make them feel intimidated by the idea that their answers had to be moulded into "Standard English". I let them speak freely and I wrote down their words unchanged. As a result their answers have not been elaborated upon but simply reported in their original expression.

My findings are based on the answers provided by the subjects and the recall of the incidences of their dreaming experiences. What is most important is that I did not inform my subjects of what I was really looking for, in order not to bias their responses. Obviously all the questions are related to the languages they know, but no particular emphasis is laid on the language of their dreams.
Appendix A contains the text of the questionnaire (18 items) administered to and completed by the 34 subjects. My subjects come from different countries, cultures and traditions. They have a variety of L1s as well as a variety of L2s, ranging in number from one to five. The completed questionnaires are provided (as well) in appendix A.

The structure of the questionnaire was as follows:

1. The first three questions are typical of most questionnaires, requesting the name, age and sex of the interviewee.

2. Question four focuses on the first language(s) of the interviewee.

3. The next five questions concentrate on the subjects' L2s. I asked them how many L2s they knew; how these languages had been acquired (i.e. whether at school or in any other manner); how long they had been studying each one of their L2s. I also asked them whether they had chosen to study each of these L2s or there was some driving force that had led them to acquire the L2s in question.

4. I asked them to rate their knowledge of each of their L2s, on a scale that had the following range of categories: VERY POOR, POOR, AVERAGE, GOOD and VERY GOOD. Each subject was the judge of his or her own ability in each of the languages known.
5. It was only in question 12 that I asked them if they had ever experienced dreaming in each of their L2s. To my great surprise, none of my subjects found the question strange in any way. All of them, almost without stopping to reflect about it, indicated that YES, they had dreamt in an L2.

6. My next step was to ask them to grade what they considered to be their proficiency in each of these L2s during sleep. They were given the same scale as for their woken ability of the same L2s.

7. In question 14, I asked if they had experienced a dream in which the interlocutor was speaking one of their L2s where this person would normally have spoken the same L1 as they speak in waking life.

8. The next two questions concentrated on eliciting the language(s) in which the interviewee dreamed when he was in a country where one of his L2s was spoken and the language in which he dreamed once he came back to his native country (where his L1 is in everyday use).

9. The last two questions aimed to shed light on the topics or events Experienced during the L2 dream. I asked them to indicate whether they had ever recalled using words in a dream of which they were not aware they knew. Also, I asked them whether they had ever checked the actual existence of such words and the meaning attached to them.
As I have already mentioned above, 34 subjects were surveyed, 25 of whom were female, ranging in age from 17 to 53 years (median 30.36), and 9 were male, ranging in age from 23 to 48 years (median 31.3). Figure 1 and 2 show respectively in graph form sex and age of the participants.
21 of the females had only 1 L1 and 4 had 2 L1s and considered themselves to be bilingual. Of the 9 males surveyed, 8 had only 1 L1, 2 had 2 L1s and 1 male had 3 L1s. Figure 3 shows a graph from the number of L1 known by the participants.

Figure 2

As far as the L2s are concerned, 10 females had 2 L2s, 12 had 3 L2s, 2 had 4 L2s, and only 1 had 5 L2s. The males had 2 L2s, 4 had 3 L2s, 1 had 4 L2s, and 1 had 5 L2s. Thus, it seems that when people start learning languages, they do not stop after having learnt only one, but only a few go as far as learning as many as 4-6 languages. The majority of people I surveyed had between 2 and 3 L2s. In Figure 4 are represented the number of L2s acquired by the subjects of my research. The frequency of the L2s chosen is also reported in Figure 5.
21 of the females had only 1 L1 and 4 had 2 L1s (and considered themselves to be bilingual). Of the 9 males surveyed, 6 had only 1 L1, 2 had 2 L1s and 1 male had 3 L1s. Figure 3 show in graph form the number of L1 known by the participants.

![NUMBER OF L1s KNOWN](image)

As far as the L2s are concerned, 10 females had 2 L2s, 12 had 3 L2s, 2 had 4 L2s, and only 1 had 5 L2s. Three males had 2 L2s, 4 had 3 L2s, 1 had 4 L2s, and 1 had 5 L2s. Thus, it seems that when people start learning languages they do not stop after having learnt only one, but only a few go as far as learning as many as 4-5 languages. The majority of people I surveyed had between 2 and 3 L2s. In Figure 4 are represented the number of L2s acquired by the subjects of my research. The frequency of the L2s chosen is also reported in Figure 5.
The subjects who completed my questionnaire and detailed languages and countries of provenance were mostly my sample was composed of.

3 French
10 German
4 Italian
10 Spanish
4 Dutch
4 Japanese
4 Indonesian

The majority of the female subjects were female and male.

In Figure 6 are individual responses of provenance of the subjects of the study.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>21</td>
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<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>17</td>
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<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>12</td>
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<tr>
<td>Irish</td>
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<td>Italian</td>
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<td>Portuguese</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dutch</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indonesian</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The subjects who completed my questionnaire had different languages and countries of provenance more precisely my sample was composed of:

10 Irish-nationals, of whom nine were female and one was a male, and all of whose mother tongue was English

3 French female native speakers

4 Italian speakers of whom three were female and one was male

3 German speakers, two of whom were male and one of whom was female

7 Swiss-French speakers, six of whom were female and one of whom was male

2 Spanish female native speakers.

The rest of the sample comprised one female native speaker of Greek and an additional four males, one of whom was a native speaker of Arabic, one had Flemish as an L1, one was an English-native speaker from the USA and finally one was born in French Guyana, his native language being Creole.

In Figure 6 are indicated the countries of provenience of the subjects of this study.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COUNTRY OF PROVENANCE</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saudi Arabia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
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<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USA</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French Guinea</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Totals                | 9    | 25     | 34    |
98% of these bilinguals or multilingual had acquired their L2s either by compulsory teaching within the school system or by voluntarily enrolling in language classes. Some form of motivation appeared to be always present, taking the form either of a necessity to pass obligatory state examinations or of personal gratification.

The period spent learning an L2 varied from 6 weeks to 35 years of active involvement with the L2 in question. In the graph below, (Figure 7) is reported the time spent studying the L2(s) through professional teaching.

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>&lt; 1 Year</th>
<th>1 - 3 Years</th>
<th>4 - 7 Years</th>
<th>8 - 10 Years</th>
<th>11-15 Years</th>
<th>&gt; 15 Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
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<td>French</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 7

All the subjects surveyed had travelled to countries where a foreign language was spoken in order to deepen their knowledge of this language.
and to improve their ability and fluency in at least one of the L2s spoken.

In addition, the length of time spent in the environment where the L2 was spoken varied. It varied from travelling for a short while to countries where the L2s were spoken to living for different periods of time in the environments where the L2s in question were in everyday use. A minimum of six weeks and a maximum of 23 years were recorded in this connection. In Figure 8 is reported the amount of time spent in environments where a L2(s) was spoken.

TIME SPENT IN ENVIRONMENTS WHERE THE L2 IS IN EVERYDAY USE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>&lt; 1 Year</th>
<th>1 - 3 Years</th>
<th>4 - 7 Years</th>
<th>8 - 10 Years</th>
<th>11-15 Years</th>
<th>&gt; 15 Years</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>7</td>
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<td>Greek</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Figure 8
Only 7 of the individuals who completed my questionnaire had ventured to lands where a language unknown to them was spoken and had actually learnt it from scratch. In these cases, the triggering factors which had motivated the subjects of my experiment to learn the new languages were of a different nature. Overall, we could summarise them into four main categories:

- Travelling for cultural enrichment was the reason given for visiting countries where an L2 was spoken and, further, the need to communicate impelled the subject to make an effort to learn the L2 in question.

- An offer of work abroad prompted the learning of the L2 in question.

- The motivation arise from emotional ties that began in the country of the subject’s L1; for various reasons it became necessary to move to the country of origin of one of the partners.

Of the 34 subjects who participated in the study, at least one L2 was part of the curriculum of 23. Despite the fact that many of these students decided to take up one of their subjects, and teaching themselves to learning another language as an additional, extracurricular, subject, they still managed to learn their L2s by far personal motivation, independent of compensation from the school programme.
The reason for travelling to the countries in question was to visit part of the extended family that lives in these countries. The reasons for travelling abroad are reported in a graph form in Figure 9 here below.

![Reasons for travelling abroad](image)

Of the 34 subjects who participated in this study, 31 had had to learn at least one L2 as part of the school programme. Only 5 of these had limited themselves to learning only the compulsory L2s. The remaining 26 subjects had decided to pick up one or more L2 voluntarily. Three subjects out of the 34 had learned their L2s by pure personal motivation, independent of compulsion from the school programme.
With regard to subjects' rating of what they believed their proficiency to be, by basing their judgements on the scale elaborated above, the finding can be summarised as follows:

**VERY POOR**: The subjects that gave such a value to their proficiency in an L2 had either no professional training at all, or the training was to a maximum of one year in length. They had either never been in the country where the L2 in question was in every day use or they had spent a short period of time (up to a maximum of 4 months) there. Only three subjects out of the 34 applied this lowest rating to one of their L2s.

**POOR**: This rating was given by subjects that either had no training or received a relatively short period of professional training in the L2, ranging from 3 months to 4 years. All the subjects rating their proficiency in an L2 as POOR had either not lived in the country where the L2 in question was spoken or had only spent a very short period of time there, ranging from six to twelve weeks.

**AVERAGE**: All the subjects that rated their proficiency as AVERAGE had received professional training in the L2 (ranging from 2 to 13 years) and had spent a minimum of a month to a maximum of 2 years in the L2 country.
GOOD: The length of time attributed to professional training increased noticeably at this rating, ranging from a minimum of four years to a maximum of 20 years. Also, it appears that the subjects who rated their proficiency as GOOD had spent a more substantial length of time in the L2 environment, ranging from a minimum of 6 weeks to a maximum of 7 years.

VERY GOOD: The subjects that judged their proficiency with the highest value in the scale had been exposed to professional training in the L2 for at least 5 years up to a maximum of 20 years. The time spent in the L2 environment, as well, was significant, ranging from 5 months to 27 years time.

The data presented above shed light on the overall L2 learning experiences of the participants in this study, based on which, in turn, the experiences of dreaming in an L2 reported by these participants will be analysed.

All the subjects answered positively when asked whether they had ever experienced dreaming in any of their L2s.

The factors which had triggered the L2 usage during dreams seem to suggest the following:

As I have mentioned above, of the 34 subjects interviewed only 3 had learned L2s voluntarily. The L2 in which they had rated their proficiency as either
GOOD or VERY GOOD was the L2 in which they reported dreams to have occurred.

26 subjects had acquired one or more L2s in fulfilment of the requirements of the school programme, as well as for personal pleasure. The L2s emerging in the dreams of these learners are mainly the one(s) they had studied out of free choice, rather than the one(s) learned compulsorily at school. In addition, only the L2(s) in which they had rated their proficiency as either GOOD or VERY GOOD found their way into dreams.

Finally, only 5 out of the 34 subjects interviewed had learnt only the L2s imposed by the school programme. These subjects, as well, experienced dreaming in one or more of their L2s, and again the dreaming in one or more of these L2s only took place when the proficiency rated by the individual was at least GOOD or VERY GOOD.

Overall, we can say that, when the proficiency of an L2 was rated as VERY POOR or POOR, it was hardly every the L2 in which dreams took place, except during the time in which the subject was staying in the environment where the L2 was spoken. In this case, the fluency and proficiency achieved during the dream was actually higher than the real ability recognised (and rated) in waking time.
This can possibly be justified by the fact that staying in the L2 environment was emotionally charged by a motivation to be there e.g.: to be with a loved one or to be part of a culture long admired and to attain a more complete understanding of it. (A desire that probably comes to the surface during the less consciously aware period of the dream).

When an L2 that was rated as AVERAGE, found its way into dreams, either it had been studied for a minimum of 5 years and it was compulsory at school, or the L2 in question had had to be learnt due to circumstances, such as the necessity for the family to move to a new community and subsequently to adapt to the requirements imposed by that new community. An L2 which was rated as AVERAGE and learnt through free choice never found its way into dreaming life.

The L2s that were most frequently reported to occur in dreams were those that were rated as either GOOD or VERY GOOD. As already mentioned, the subjects I surveyed dreamt mostly in the L2 of which they had more knowledge, and if the L2 was learnt voluntarily, it was even more likely to arise in a dream.

When subjects studied an L2 as a compulsory subject at school, this L2 also found its way into dreams if the subject in question did not have any other L2 available which had been learnt voluntarily. It would seem that a condition for
the presence in a dream of an L2 which had been learnt compulsorily was for it to have been rated GOOD or VERY GOOD by the subject.

Thus, to further summarise, we can say that all the subjects surveyed had dreamt in one or more of their L2s, with a bias in favour of the L2s studied by free choice and, as well, the L2s in which proficiency was rated as GOOD to VERY GOOD.

I would now like to compare the ratings given by subjects to their actual L2 proficiency with the proficiency they considered applicable to the L2 as spoken in their dreams.

I would suggest that my subjects considered the L2 proficiency of their dreams to be either the same as in real life or superior to their actual proficiency. By superior I mean that the subjects claimed that when speaking an L2 in their dreams they seemed to enjoy not only greater comprehension of the L2 in question, but also improved fluency and a wider vocabulary. Many of the participants stated that during dreams they felt that their language ability was superior compared to their ability in real life. Many did go as far as to say they perceived their proficiency during dreams to be as strong as a native speaker's ability.
When they were asked if they had ever experienced a dream in which an interlocutor who had the same L1 as them spoke to them in any of their L2s, they provided different responses. These responses were so varied that it is not possible to draw one single conclusion based on one single condition. The results obtained are as follows:

- The majority of respondents (15 subjects, corresponding to one third of the entire corpus) stated that they had never had a dream in which an interlocutor with the same L1 as them spoke to them in any other of their L2s.

- Seven subjects were unable to give a precise answer, as they stated that they had no memory of such an occurrence.

- Eight subjects declared that this had happened to them and that they could in fact remember it very vividly because the interlocutors speaking the L2 were either a member of their family, (with whom they would generally communicate in their L1), or people to whom they were close, such as a room-mate, lovers or friends.

- Four subjects had a recollection of adapting the language they spoke in the dream to that of the interlocutors. They considered themselves to have performed with native speaker competence.
Figure 10 below shows the language spoken by the interlocutor during dreaming time.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>In your dreams, do people who speak the same L1 as you ever speak to you in an L2 known to you?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Memory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes, My Relatives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I only speak to strangers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Respondents</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 10

The variability of the usage of L2(s) in dreams as experienced by my subjects corresponds to the responses they gave to the question of whether they dreamt in their L1 or in any of their L2s when staying in a country where one of their L2s was spoken.

- Twelve subjects claimed that they would switch from their L1 to their L2 in relation to either the context of the situation presented in their dreams, or to the language spoken by the interlocutors in their dreams.

- Eleven subjects stated that the language of their dreams was directly related to the context of the linguistic event.
Nine subjects said that the language of their dreams was exclusively the language spoken by the community in which they were living.

Figure 11 below shows the language spoken in dreams by the subjects when staying in countries where one of their L2 was spoken.
The topics that presented themselves for discussion in the dreams of the participants were either of an ordinary and a general nature or emotionally related to the role of the interlocutor in the waking life of the individual experiencing the dream. The topics of the dreams are summarised in Figure 12.

![Topics of Dreams](image)

**Figure 12**

On returning to the country where the L1 was spoken, the subjects generally had one of the two following dreaming behaviour:
- either found themselves dreaming in the L2 as they had become accustomed to doing, and then switching back to their L1 after a while,
- Or they switched back to dreaming in their L1 immediately and only occasionally had dreams in which the L2 would intrude into the language commonly spoken in their native environment.

In Figure 13 is reported the language spoken during dreams when returning to their L1 country.

To the question in which I tried to find out if my subjects had memories of ever having dreamt words that were unknown to them. Words, of which they, on waking had had the curiosity to verify first the existence and as well check the real meaning I got the following responses:
- The majority of respondents (or 18 individuals) had no memories of such an instance.

- Seven participants claimed never to have experienced this phenomenon.

- Six subjects claimed that they had experience of using vocabulary that they would not use in waking life, but they actually either knew the meaning of the specific word or they had just learnt it and had not yet had the chance to use it in real life. None of them ever felt the necessity to check in a dictionary the meaning of the new or previously unused word.

- Three of the participants claimed not to have used any unknown words during their dreams but that simply their proficiency as well as fluency was superior to what they would consider it to be in real life.
As I mentioned in my introduction I carried out this brief study on the relation between second language and dreams in order to investigate whether people who were proficient in more than one language experienced dreaming in any of their L2s.

The first question that arose was whether we all experience dreaming. Many have no recollection of having ever dreamt and may claim that they do not dream.

Sleeping is a biological function and dreaming as well has been demonstrated to be necessary for the well-being of the organism of mammals. Experiments carried out during the 1960s individually by Dement and by Dermot and Fisher, demonstrated that a person awoken just before the REM period and therefore prevented from dreaming, would actually recuperate the lost time when finally allowed to enter the REM period and enabled to dream. In conclusion to this point we can confidently say that everybody dreams even if they do not remember the content of their dreams or even if they do not remember to have dreamt at all.

I would also like to emphasise that dreaming is an unconscious activity that distinguishes itself from wakefulness only due to the fact that while the body
is at rest it has no perception of external stimulus. (Revonsuo 1995, p. 185) expresses the opinion that:

"The link between dreams and consciousness is very intimate, since dreaming is a psychological reality at its barest, a subjective "virtual reality" existing independently of externally controllable stimulus inputs or meaningful behavioural outputs".

The time of dreaming has been scientifically recognised to take place during the REM periods of sleep. This time has also been recognised to have some sort of restorative function indispensable for the health of the whole organism.

William Fishbein, (1984) in Verschoor. G.J. and Holdstock, T.L., Vol. 14(3) p.73, in his article "sleep and memory: A look back a look forward" goes as far as to state that REM sleep has influences on memory’s ability of a person.

"Presumably subjects with higher level of REM sleep should remember better than subjects showing lower levels. This may be the case."..."Even human studies show that retarded children engage in less REM sleep than normal children, and intellectually gifted children engage in more REM sleep"...
The next question we asked was whether we actually speak while dreaming or we simply dream into images that only later, when awake, we "translate" into words that suits our personal interpretation in relation to the feelings produced by the dream experience itself.

Evidence appears to demonstrate that sleep-talking does actually take place, even though the experiencer will have no recollection whatsoever of such an event. Generally these events are recorded by someone that shares the same sleeping space of the dreamer in question. Because sleep-talking does occur we may be inclined to say that although talking aloud in our sleep is not frequent, it does happen. This revelation seems to suggest that the cognitive activity of thinking is not shut down not even when the body is at rest. The mental process of thinking only rarely comes to surface in the form of words, when dreaming, and more often remains at the mind level and is not expressed through words. Hartmann has supported the view that thinking takes place while sleeping as well as when awake. He claims that the difference lies in the ability to concentrate, which changes according to the two different states. While dreaming our concentration is scattered and loose. This lack of concentration prevents the dreamer from remembering either his dreams or his spoken words while dreaming.
As a summary answer to the question whether we actually speak or not while asleep we can say that "yes, we do" although speaking aloud might be the exception rather than the rule.

I find quite normal if, to most people, the question whether one does or does not speak while sleeping, is of very little interest. Most people do not even remember to have dreamt at all, because as we have seen through some of the studies I have presented, the dream experience is not stored in long-term memory, therefore the dream is forgotten almost immediately after having taken place.

Dennet, in an article titled "Are dreams experiences" in Dunlop 1977, p.245) concludes that if remembering is a sufficient condition for experiencing, then dreams are conscious experiences, as they are stored in memory, even if only in short-term memory. But I personally reject the view that dreaming is a conscious activity. Although dreaming is indeed an experience, if there did not existed such controversy on the conscious aspect of dreaming this study would not have been carried out. The difficulty rests, in fact, in the accepting dreaming as a mental experiences of which unfortunately we are not totally aware, because it takes place on the borderline between conscious and unconscious. After all we are not perfect machines.
The notion that dreams are experiences, in their own right, can be supported by the fact that it has also been demonstrated that if a subject is awoken during or immediately after the REM period, the dream is most likely to be recalled even in some detail. These studies seem to support the idea that cognitive activities such as thinking and occasionally speaking are not shut down in the time of sleep.

These studies become very interesting if we question what happens in the dreaming experience of the bilingual or multilingual person.

As I have already mentioned, my interest in the relationship between second language and dreams- grew as a consequence of my personal experience of living in an environment where a different language from my L1 was in everyday use. And, when I slowly realised that this new reality had entered my dream life independently of my desire or consciousness, I thought it was worth deepening my understanding of it.

My curiosity drew me to collect data relevant to the topic from 34 subjects that, like me, had experienced using L2s in their dreaming.

To date the actual cognitive activities taking place cannot be recorded, but since the 1950s research laboratories have been able to record the time in which dreams take place, quite accurately.
Webb, (1968, p.30) expresses the view that

"Whatever else dreams may be, they are products of our brains which have been conditioned by our unique past and our present needs. It is from our brain and our brain alone that the dream emerges".

Because as Alvarez, (19995, p.163) has pointed out

"The activity of the brain never ceases, even in deep sleep".

We have seen that the time known as REM, which occurs at various intervals, from four to five times in the course of the night in every individual, refers to short periods of mental activities, in which the brain is fully active. This can be confirmed by the fact that the traces recorded of the period of REM are very similar to these in which the brain is awake. It has also been demonstrated that dreaming does occur during these periods. Thus, while the body is fully at rest, paradoxically, the brain is active, as well as the visual cortex, which allows slow waves of rolling movement of the eyes, from which REM got its name (Rapid Eye Movement).

I have also devoted some attention to the EEG studies. As we have seen in the previous chapters, the Electroencephalograph is adapted to measure electrical impulses emitted by the outer mantle of the brain. It has been demonstrated that there are times during sleep in which these impulses have the
same intensity as in waking time. It has been further evidenced that these times coincide with periods of REM. This seems to support the idea that dreaming does in fact involve active mental activities in which the visual cortex is also active; these periods of time are referred to as "visual dreaming". The difference in relation to the mental activity of sleeping and wakefulness is that when awake the person's mind is conditioned by the external signals provided by the environment while, when sleeping, the thinking process is internalised and not subject to external events.

Studies on Magnetic resonancing, (MR) investigate cognitive processes taking place in the brain. The interesting reflection about this technique is that through different studies experts have been able to demonstrate, in the case of the bilingual or multilingual, that there are unconscious thought process which involve linguistic processes and performance taking place of which the experiencer is totally unaware. In these studies it has been suggested that there are processes occurring in the brain of bilingual or multilingual subjects that are altered during the performance of tasks depending on whether they occur in their L1, L2 or L3. It seems that the speed of activation of certain mental processes depends upon the fluency the subject has in the language in which he is performing the task. Evidence has been provided for more activation of neurones for less fluency. It has also been suggested that different groups of neurones are activated depending on the language that has been processed.
In the first chapter of my short study I mainly presented the above mentioned research foundation, in order to be able to demonstrate that:

- First - dreaming does occur independently of the personal ability to recall a dream.

- Second – neither mental activity nor linguistic activity is shut down during sleeping time, especially during the REM periods.

After providing a scientific foundation and evidence from studies carried out by researchers who concentrated their attention on the dreaming experiences I presented my personal study carried out with the aid of an 18-item questionnaire whose aim was to ascertain the dreaming experience of these who had one or more L2s.

The answers to the 18 questions have been provided in this document in the form of an appendix. The above mentioned questionnaire was completed by 34 subjects who gave grounds to believe, through their answers, that L2s do enter the world of dream. I can now sustain what I suggested on p. 6 of this study namely that:

"During the seemingly passive state of dreaming, the brain is actually involved in a number of cognitive activities among which [is] the selection of an appropriate language in context for these who speak more than one language"
"In speech and dream we have the prime instances of human intellectual creativity, and ones in which practically all human beings participate. We are forever saying things we never said before and dreaming things we never thought before..."

"For both speech and dreams, only the surface phenomena are available for observation. Simple introspection of speakers and dreamers as to how they create are uniformly useless. in both cases, the available data, collateral observations and intuitions, and formal modelling must be used to attempt to reconstruct, symbolically, the generative act. (Foulkes 1978, pp.135-36)

On the basis of the present data it seems that for a person to experience dreaming in a L2 there are two major implications:

- first, that the knowledge of such a language is well established in the person cognitive system and
- Second that the learning activities are somehow present in the person's life and therefore related to the dream time and especially REM sleep. This last claim receives supports from other sources:
Professor De Koninck of the School of Psychology, of the University of Ottawa, in an article titled "Intensive Learning, REM sleep and REM sleep Mentation.", Explains that:

"In other words, the better the mastery of the new language, the sooner it found its way into dreams....The implication appears to be that REM dreaming activity reflects daytime pressures on cognitive activity and learning but that dream content is not involved in the actual learning process. In other words, learning and memory exercises are not taking place within dream content. Dreams do indeed appear to mirror, as Foulkes has proposed, the level of cognitive competence achieved.

As I have already stated in my discussion in the previous chapter, what has been suggested from the analysis of the data is that the L2s that have found their way into dreams are these in which individual subjects consider themselves to be fluent. It seems to me that the reason for this could be that fluency and proficiency in a language involves a certain amount of spontaneous thinking in that language. Thus, if a person is confident enough in a language to be able to think in that language directly without the need to translate his thought from L1 to L2 before uttering a sentence, this enables the subject, to be able to think in the L2 in question also while dreaming.
Interesting findings emerged from my study;

- The L2s rated as GOOD or VERY GOOD were always present in dreams.

- L2s studied as "free choice" opposed to "compulsory" were the ones most likely to emerge in dreams.

- The amount of professional training and time spent abroad are definitely important factors but it also seems that motivation other than studying a language in order to pass an exam at school produced better results in terms of fluency than the compulsory L2s studied in the school system. Those subjects that went abroad for reasons such as: work, cultural enrichment, emotional reason or even those who had families in some of the countries where an L2 is spoken not only evaluated their L2 ability as either GOOD or VERY GOOD, they were also the ones that most frequently experience a L2s in their dreams.

At this point there is nothing more that I can add to my conclusion; I know that the sceptical who do not believe that language is a faculty present during the dream - time, will not have been persuaded by my small and atheoretical study.

Unfortunately, the tools we have to understand scientifically the content of dreams themselves are very scarce. More time is needed in order to understand the mysteries of the human brain.
My aim, though, was not to provide the sciences with some "answers" but rather to consider and shed light on certain aspects, such as linguistic performance and thinking, during the neglected time of dreams.

I hope that the reader has found some interesting observation, and I also hope that in years to came, when more about the functions of the brain will be uncovered, particular attention will be given to the phenomenon of L2s and dreaming.

In Appendix 2, the reader will find some personal experiences that I either found on the Internet or have been sent to me. These are very interesting and peculiar, but are enough of an incentive to make believe that more work could be carried out in the field and that many people would be happy to help.

Total words: 14,986.
APPENDIX 1: SAMPLE OF QUESTIONNAIRE PROVIDED TO 34 SUBJECTS AND THEIR CORRESPONDING ANSWERS.
TEXT OF QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Name

2. Age

3. Sex

4. First language spoken in childhood (L1).
   (If you acquired two or more L1s simultaneously as a child, please indicate this and specify the language in question).

5. Second/foreign languages (L2s) known.

6. How did you acquired the L2 concerned:
   - at school?
   - in countries/communities where the L2s are in everyday use?
   - in some other way? (Please specify)
   (If more than one of the above applies, please indicate which, (combination of) factors apply to different L2s, please indicate the pattern for each L2 separately).

7. How long have you been learning the L2s you know? (Please give a separate answer for each L2 known).

8. How long have you spent in countries/communities where the L2s you know are in everyday use. (Please give a separate answer for each L2 known).

9. Were your visits to these countries/communities motivated by a desire to improve your knowledge of the language/culture in question, or were there other reasons. (Please give a separate answer for each L2 known, specifying any reason other than language improvement/cultural enrichment.

10. Rate your proficiency in each of the L2s you know, using the scale: VERY POOR - POOR - AVERAGE - GOOD -VERY GOOD.
11. Did you study your L2s from choice or because they were imposed by the educational system or some other necessity? (Please give a separate answer for each L2 known, providing full details of the factors involved).

12. Have you ever had dreams in which you experienced yourself using your L2s? (If so, please provide details, giving a separate answer for each L2 known).

13. What was your impression of your proficiency level in your dreams? (Give a separate answer for each L2 known, using the same scale as above: VERY POOR - POOR - AVERAGE - GOOD - VERY GOOD; if different dreams were associated with different proficiency level, please give details, including details of your circumstances when you had each of the dreams in question).

14. Have you ever had dreams in which people you know, and who have the same L1 as you, were speaking one of your L2s? (If so, please give details).

15. When you have been visiting a country/community where one of your L2s is in everyday use, what has/have been the language(s) of your dreams?

16. What has happened in respect of the language(s) of your dreams when you have returned home after visiting a country/community where one of your L2s is in everyday use?

17. If you have experienced yourself using your L2s in dreams, what were the topics involved, and how do these relate to your usual range of topics in the languages in question. (Please give a separate answer for each L2 known; if different dreams were associated with different kinds of topics, please give details, including details of your circumstances when you had each of the dreams in question).

18. Have you ever used in dreams L2 words which you were not aware that you knew? (If so, please give details, including details of any checking you did of the words in question on waking; please indicate the circumstances in which any dreams you refer to took place).
SUBJECT 1:

1) Manuela Spinelli.
2) 24.
3) Female.
4) Italian. German. French.
6) I learnt them at school. I have studied English for 8 years, (Primary and Secondary schools), then I moved to Ireland where I attended University and completed my 4 years degree in English and German. Currently I am doing a Masters in Linguistics, still in Ireland.

I studied German in Secondary schools for 5 years and continued my study at University level for 4 years, one of which I spent in Germany.

I studied French at school for 3 years.

7) English: 13 years.
   German: 9 years.
   French: 3 years.
8) English: 5 years in Ireland.
   German: 1 year in Germany.
9) English: I went to Ireland because I wanted to improve my English and I knew that the only way to acquire a language is through full-immersion into the speaking environment of the language in question. By going to University I had to force myself to improve my skills. I found myself developing a feeling for the language that I would have never achieved through books.

German: I only spent 1 year in the country with the same intent I had for the English language.

10) English: VERY GOOD
German: GOOD
French: POOR

11) I have decided to study English and German, but French was part of the program.

12) Yes, I have experienced L2 in my dreams.
I started to dream in English after at least 6 months I have been living in Ireland and I was not speaking Italian at all. I did not realise that I was dreaming in English until one day I woke up in the middle of the dream and I realised that I was thinking in English. I did not remember the dream but I remember it concerned a situation in which I was speaking to some native speaker.

My dreams in German were very few and concentrated in the period in which I was working all the time and constantly speaking German. My dreams were never just in German, but they were a mixture between English-German or Italian-German.

13) English: VERY GOOD.
German: POOR to AVERAGE
French: I never experienced dreaming in French.
14) **English:** At the very beginning my dreams were a mixture of Italian-English, I would dream of my Italian friends in Dublin interacting with Irish friends, but they would always speak their native language. I would use Italian when speaking to my Italian friends and English with the Irish ones. Now, after 4 years in Ireland I do not make that distinction anymore. My dreams are either in Italian or in English, not regarding the place in which they are set and the people I talk to.

15) **English:** Because I have been living in the country for so long I now dream either in English or Italian. They never get mixed up, although they did at the beginning.

**German:** I used to dream either in English or Italian with occasional German utterances.

16) see above.(Q.14)

17) **English:** I can dream about any situation or circumstances at all. If I dream of a particular situation regarding something which has happened in Italy, then I would dream in Italian.

**German:** The German that came up in my dreams regarded work situations or pub-talk, as I was working in a pub.

18) I do not remember.
SUBJECT 2:

1) Claude Von Hildebrand.

2) 45.

3) Female.

4) French.

5) German.

6) German: At evening schools.
   English: At evening Schools.

7) German: 10 years.
   English: 10 years.

8) German: 23 years living in German speaking countries.
   English: 6 weeks.

9) German: My family moved to Germany, and later when I got married I was living in Zurich, for 7 years.
   English: For personal pleasure.

10) German: GOOD.
    English: GOOD.

11) German: I was living in Germany, therefore I had to learn the language.
    English: It was required for work reasons.
12) **German**: I used to dream in German when living in German speaking countries.  
**English**: I have continuous dreams related to work.

13) **German**: GOOD.  
**English**: GOOD.

14) I have no recollection.

15) I am not sure, but I would say that the language spoken in the country would also be the language of my dreams.

16) I do not particularly remember but I believe that going back home, I would switch back to my L1.

17) **German**: Social, ordinary things.  
**English**: My dreams are always related to work situation.

18) It happened to me to dreams and use words that I knew but that I would not use when awake, and that is why I noticed the event.
SUBJECT 3:

1) Andres Von Hildebrand.

2) 48.

3) Male.

4) Spanish: Because born in South America.
   English: Spoken at home.
   French: I went through French education at school.
   German: I had to learn when I went to live in Zurich.
   Portuguese: I learnt it through schooling.
   Italian: I am very curious and interested in the culture.

5) German.
   Portuguese.
   Italian.

6) Spanish: I learnt it in my childhood spent in Colombia.
   English: Was spoken at home by my family.
   French: I acquired it through schooling.
   German: I learnt it living in a German speaking country.
   Portuguese: I learnt it through travelling.
   Italian: I am very curious and interested in the culture.

7) French: 12 years.
   German: 7 years.
   Portuguese: 1 year.
   Italian: 3 years on and off.

8) French: It is now 15 years that I live in Geneva.
   German: I spent 7 years in Zurich.
   Portuguese: I go to Portugal for work 6 weeks a year.
   Italian: I was there for 9 weeks holiday.
9) French: We moved to live here in Geneva for work reasons.
   German: We moved there at the time for work reasons.
   Portuguese: I had to learn it for work.
   Italian: I am very fascinated by the culture.

10) French: VERY GOOD.
    German: AVERAGE.
    Portuguese: GOOD.
    Italian: POOR.

11) French: My parents sent me to French schools.
    German: I had to learn when I went to live in Zurich.
    Portuguese: Either I learnt the language or my firm could not carry out business with certain countries.
    Italian: Personal satisfaction and interest.

12) Yes, I always dream in one of my L2s.

13) My performance in dream time is always VERY GOOD, independently of the language of my dream.

14) Most of the people I know speak more than one language, and in my dream I often speak to the interlocutors present in my dreams in the language they most prefer in waking life.
Being in a foreign country has not imposed its language on my dreams, the language of my dreams is always related to whom I am talking to.

16) Again, the language of my dreams is determined by the person who is part in my present dream and the language I believe this person to be more familiar with.

17) The topic of my dreams are never associated to a specific language.

18) Impossible to say. I remember of people and situations but I often forget the themes of my dreams, as I often forget what has been said in real life.
SUBJECT 4:

1) Cecille Von Hildebrand.

2) 22.

3) Female.

4) French.
   German.

5) English: At school.
   Italian: 6 years.
   Spanish: Travelling.

6) English: I spent 6 weeks in Italy, (Rome and Florence).
   Italian: I went to Italy to see how I would get on with my Italian.
   Spanish: I went to South America for the sake of travelling as well as to learn the language.

7) English: Dublin 5 months.
   Italian: I spent 6 weeks in Italy, (Rome and Florence).
   Spanish: 3 months in Colombia, (South America).

8) English: I went to Ireland to improve my English.
   Italian: I went to Italy to see how I would get on with my Italian.
   Spanish: I went to South America for the sake of travelling as well as to learn the language.
10) English: VERY GOOD.
   Italian: GOOD.
   Spanish: GOOD.

11) English/Italian: Were imposed by the school system.
    Spanish: Was a complete free choice.

12) Yes, I dreamt in all my L2s, as long as I stayed longer than 3 weeks in the country
    where the language in question was spoken.

13) English: VERY GOOD.
    Italian: GOOD.
    Spanish: GOOD.

14) I have no recollection of such an event.

15) I generally dream in the language in use in the country where I am staying.

16) Once back home I keep thinking and possibly dreaming in the L2 I was accustomed
    to in the foreign community. After a week or so that I am back, I switch back to my
    L1 in my dreams, although I keep thinking in the foreign language for a couple of
    weeks longer.

17) Generally I dream of everyday situations due to the amount of concentration paid
    during the day in understanding what is going on.

18) I would say that in my dreams I adopt new words just learnt. But, I never had in my
    dreams, a vocabulary unknown to me.
SUBJECT 5:

1) Beatrice Von Hildebrand.

5) German.
   English.

6) German: I was living in Zurich from when I was 3 to the age of 10. My parents were speaking French at home, but I was living in a German speaking environment, and the teaching was done in German as well.
   English: The language was imposed in the school program.

7) German: 15 years.
   English: 6 years.

8) German: 7 years in Zurich.
   English: 5 weeks in Ireland.

9) German: I had to learn it as I was living in Zurich.
   English: Once, I went to Ireland in order to improve my English, and once just to visit relatives.

10) German: GOOD.
    English: AVERAGE.

11) Both German and English were imposed by the school system.
12) Yes, I dreamt in German.
    I do not remember to have dreamt in English.

13) German: VERY GOOD.

14) No, I do not remember.

15) I am sure that when I was in Germany I was dreaming in German, but when I was
    in Ireland I do not remember to have dreamt in English.

16) When I go back home, I immediately switch back into my L1.

17) I only dreamt of everyday things.

18) I do not recall.
SUBJECT 6:

1) Isabelle Von Hildebrand.

2) 17.

3) Female.

4) French: At home.
   German: At school.

5) English.
   German.

6) Both learnt at school.

7) English: 5 years.
   German: 8 year.

8) English: I spent 6 weeks in Ireland.
    German: I spent the first 7 years of my life living in Zurich with my family.

9) I was motivated by my desire to improve the L2s.

10) English: AVERAGE.
     German: GOOD.

11) English: I chose to learn it.
     German: It was imposed by the school programme.

12) Yes, I dreamt in both languages but not often.

13) English: VERY GOOD.
     German: VERY GOOD.
14) It happen to me the opposite, in which I was speaking French to a very good friend of mine that only speaks German and I remember that I was very surprised of her carrying out a conversation with me in French.

15) I do not remember dreaming in English during the time I spent in Ireland, but I am certain that I was dreaming in German while staying in Germany.

16) Once I am back home, I simply switch back to my L1.

17) I would generally dream of ordinary situation.

18) It happened to me that in my dreams I would use words I did not know the meaning of, but I did not even remembered these words when awakening. I was just aware that my vocabulary was richer during dreaming time.
SUBJECT 7:

1) Christian Saam.

2) 23.

3) Male.

4) German.

5) English.

6) I learnt all of them at school.

7) English: 12 years.

8) English: 6 months. (See above)

French: 3 years.

French: 3 weeks spent to France.

Latin: 7 years.

Latin: I have no experience of it.

French: I learnt it mainly at school, I also went to France a couple of times.

Latin: I only learnt it at school.

French: School would be the dominant factor, but I have also gone to English speaking countries, such as England, New Zealand and Ireland. Also, I used to listen to English spoken at radio programmes.

French: I learnt it mainly at school, I also went to France a couple of times.

Latin: I only learnt it at school.
9) I think I did travel abroad in order to improve my language skills, but that was only one of the many reasons. I went to New Zealand because it was the furthest and more interesting place I wanted to go to, and I did go because at the time I also had plenty of money at my disposal. I went to England first in a class situation and then later with friends. Presently I am an Erasmus student in Dublin. I went twice to France just for fun.

10) English: VERY GOOD.
   French: AVERAGE.
   Latin: POOR.

11) English: This is the first L2 taught in school and we can also say that it is compulsory in Germany.
   French: I studied it for personal interest.
   Latin: As above.

12) Yes, I have dreamt in English, actually it happens increasingly often lately.
    I surely have not dreamt in Latin.
    I can not remember having dreamt in French.

13) English: GOOD, for what I remember.

14) I can not remember such an instance.

15) I was in France for a too short period of time thus, I can not remember having ever dreamt in French.
    For what concerns English speaking countries I usually dream in both English and German.

16) I believe that when I get back home I go straight back into my L1 but I can not be sure because I do not consider English a total L2, on the contrary I grew up with it and I would not pay much attention to my language switching during dream times.
17) I would not remember the topic of my dreams, but I can say that my proficiency while dreaming is equal to the proficiency of my waking time.

18) I have one particular memory of once waking up and being aware of having used a word in a certain context, realising later that up to then I had been using that same word in an inappropriate manner.
SUBJECT 8:

1) Miriam Wolf.

2) 19.

3) Female.

4) Swiss German, which is a sort of dialect of German.

5) French.
   English.
   Italian.

6) German: At home and at school.
   French: At home.
   English: At school.
   Italian: In the Italian spoken section of Switzerland as well as in the time spent in Italy.

7) German: 8 years.
   French: 8 years.
   English: 6 years.
   Italian: I never really studied it at school.

8) German: I only went for 2 weeks holiday.
   French: My family moved to the French speaking part of Switzerland when I was a child, so it is now 15 years that I speak French.
   English: I have never been to English spoken countries.
   Italian: Part of my family is Italian, so I go there, occasionally.
9) Italian: My visits to Italy are motivated by keeping contact with my relatives, and that implies that I had to make an effort to improve my Italian.

German: Part of my relatives still live in the German speaking part of Switzerland, and that is the main reason why I keep practising my German.

10) German: GOOD.
    French: VERY GOOD.
    English: AVERAGE.
    Italian: VERY POOR.

11) German: Imposed by the school system.
    French: Imposed by the school system.
    English: Imposed by the school system.
    Italian: I wanted to learn it because of my family relations.

12) I generally dream in Swiss German, although I do not speak that language since I was a child. I remember then while I was studying English I occasionally dreamt that I was speaking it with my French friends.

13) Swiss German: GOOD, even better than I speak it.
    English: AVERAGE.

14) It never happen to me that the language of my conversation in my dreams was not shared.

15) When I go to Italy I guess my dreams are a mix of Italian and French.

16) When I come back from my journeys to Italy I generally switch right back into my L1.

17) I only dream of very ordinary things.

18) The language of my dreams is always very basic.
SUBJECT 9:

1) Jenny Bessot.

2) 19.

3) Female.

4) French.

5) German.

6) I learnt them both primarily at school.

7) German: 10 years.

8) English: 6 years.

9) German: 1 month in Germany.


11) In both cases I went abroad to improve my L2s.

12) German: AVERAGE.

13) English: AVERAGE.

14) The L2s I studied were imposed by the school system.

15) I did experience dreaming in English a few times, but always under the effect of alcohol.

16) English: AVERAGE, but surprisingly fluent.
13) No, the people of my dreams had English as their L1, and that is probably the reason why I dreamt of myself speaking English, because they could not speak French.

15) When it happened to me to dream in English I was in England.

16) I just dreamt in my L1.

17) I only dreamt of very casual conversations.

18) All I remember is being astonished, once I woke up, with the fluency of my speech.
1) Eamonn Galdwin.

2) 24.

3) Male.

4) German.

   English.

   French.

   Italian.

   Indonesian.

5) Italian.

   French.

   Indonesian.

6) Italian: By going and visiting relatives during summer holidays.

   French: I learnt it at school.

   Indonesian: By living in the country.

7) German: I learnt German at school since I was 16. My mother is German and my father is Irish. Until I was 13 I refused to speak German; my mother would speak to me in German and I would answer in English. Since I was 6 week old, up to my adolescence years, my family and I were living in Nigeria, and that helped me to escape speaking German. I guess I had a mental block on German. I consider German an L2 although is the one I speak better among my L2s, as a result of my living in Germany when my family moved there at the time I was 16.

   French: I studied it 4 years at school.

   Indonesian: I had an intense 6 weeks experience.

8) German: My visits to Germany are countless.

   Italian: I spent one month a year for 7 years.

   French: Just short visits to France.

   Indonesian: 6 weeks.
9) German: I go to Germany to visit my family as well as improving the language.
Italian: I was mainly visiting, but at the same time I now realise that I benefited from it in the acquisition of some Italian.
French: I mainly went for pleasure, but the language improvement was also one of the reasons.
Indonesian: I only went there for the interest I had for the culture and in order to communicate with the people I learnt the language.

10) German: VERY GOOD.
    French: POOR.
    Italian: POOR.
    Indonesian: POOR.

11) German: I had part of my school education in Germany, therefore I had to make an effort with the language.
    French: Imposed by the school system.
    Italian: It was a matter of necessity, in order to communicate.
    Indonesian: As above.

12) I either dream in German or in English, it does not matter where I am. I do not remember having dreamt in any other language, although I am sure that I sometimes dream in terms of geroglifics; I can not explain it, is a visual thing. It seems to me that words came to me in unknown languages as a tease, just because I can not understand them.

13) German: VERY GOOD.
    Other L2s: POOR.

14) Yes, it happens to me that English speakers speak German to me in my dreams: also, when I was 18 I dreamt of a school friend of mine who, in my dream was speaking really poor German. I was trying to explain something to him, but he could not understand me.
15) In my dreaming time I am always expressing myself in English or German.

16) I keep dreaming in either English or German.

17) There is no difference between English and German in the choice of topic of my dreams.

18) I never experienced this.
SUBJECT 11:

1) Gregorie Tosetti.

2) 25.

3) Female.

4) French.

5) English.
   Spanish.
   Dutch.

6) English: I learnt it at school.
   I also spent 1 year in Australia as an exchange student when I was 18. I have now been in Ireland for 1 year working in a French Tourist Office.

   Spanish: I learnt it at school.
   Dutch: I learnt it in Holland.

7) English: 15 years.
   Spanish: 10 years.
   Dutch: 3 months.

8) English: I spent 2 years in the speaking community.
   Spanish: I was in Spain for 3 months.
   Dutch: I was in Holland for 3 months.

9) English: My interest has been primarily for the language, but I was also interested in the Irish culture.
   Spanish: I went over mainly to learn the language.
   Dutch: I had a Dutch boyfriend.
10) English: VERY GOOD.
Spanish: AVERAGE.
Dutch: POOR.

11) English: Was imposed by the school system, but I also wanted to learn it.
Spanish: Was imposed at school, so I decided to improve it by going to a country
where Spanish is spoken.
Dutch: It was not a real imposition, but from the moment I decided to follow my
boyfriend in Holland I had to get familiar with the language in order to be entirely
part of his world.

12) English: Yes, I do dream in it.
Spanish: No, I do not dream in Spanish.
Dutch: I did dream in Dutch.

13) English: GOOD.
Dutch: VERY POOR.

14) When I was in Australia once I dreamt that my little sister (7 years old) was with
me, while instead she was at home in France. The strange thing is that she was
speaking English to me, and we were horse back riding. At that time she could not
do either. I remember that everything was so vivid that I woke up and I remember
that dream to these days.
When I am in English spoken countries I may dream in English or French. Spanish: When in Spain, I used to dream in French. Dutch: Because my Dutch was very poor, I would speak English most of the time over there, so my dreams would mostly be in English, sometimes in French, and only rarely in Dutch. Once I dreamt that somebody was speaking to me in Dutch. I could not understand a single word, that is how I knew that it was Dutch. I panicked, I wanted to say something but I was unable to, it was very frustrating. I think that it was a nightmare.

When back home I generally dream in French, although I often dream in English.

It is more a feeling. At times I feel that I dream in English from what I say or simply from what I think at first, when I wake up in the morning, or for where I recall my dream had taken place. If my dream is set in France, the language of my dream is French.

I do not remember.
SUBJECT 12:

1) Fausto Farace.

2) 32.

3) Male.

4) Italian.

5) English: I studied it for 11 years and I have been living in Ireland for 7 years.
   Spanish: I studied it for 2 years, and I have been visiting Spain, once, for a month, in summer time.
   French: I studied it for 2 years, and I have been in France for short several periods of time for a total of 2 months.

6) I am currently living in Ireland where I have been living for the last 7 years.

7) See above.

8) I moved to Ireland for work reasons.

9) French/Spanish: I went to Spain and France for holiday, but as well with the desire to improve my L2s.

10) French: POOR.
    Spanish: AVERAGE.
    English: VERY GOOD.
11) English: It was required in my school program, but I also wanted to learn it.
French/Spanish: I wanted to learn them in order to have a better understanding of
the culture and to help myself during travelling.

12) I know I dreamt in English but I have no memories of having dreamt in French or
Spanish.

13) English: VERY GOOD. Although I feel I can not say with certitude the language of
my dreams. I tend to believe that generally I dream in Italian, but I
could not say because more than language itself I remember images. I remember
concepts rather than the means by which these concepts have been expressed. If I
think about it immediately after I awake, I might remember the language of my
dream and even the words that have been said, but later I have the tendency to
reduce everything to a more schematised concept rather than focus on the
language which instructed me on the named concept. Unfortunately, the fact that I
dream in English would not came as a surprise anymore because I am too used to
speak English all the time. Thus, I find it natural that at night time my mind carries
on with the language of the day.

14) I have no memories of it.

15) I like to believe that I mostly dream in Italian.

16) I dream in Italian, I suppose.

17) Mainly I dream of ordinary context that somehow take some exaggerate turn out.
   e.g. I got a mushroom growing on my knee.

18) No.
SUBJECT 13:

1) Annalisa Gironi.

2) 34.

3) Female.

4) Italian.


8) French: No applicable. English: I am currently living in Ireland and I have been living here for the last 7 years. German: 3 months.

9) My prime motivation was to improve my L2s.

10) French: AVERAGE. English: VERY GOOD. German: GOOD.
11) French: Was compulsory in my school program.
   English: I chose to study it.
   German: I chose to study it.

12) French: I do not remember to have ever dreamt in French.
    English: I dream in English most of the time.
    German: I used to dream in it while staying in Germany.

13) German: The proficiency of my dreams was higher than in reality, so it would be VERY GOOD instead of GOOD.
    English: It seems to me to be the same level: VERY GOOD. Thus, when I dream in either of my L2s I feel that my knowledge of vocabulary and fluency could be the one of a native.

14) No, I can not remember of ever dreaming of such a thing.

15) German: As I already mentioned above, when I have been visiting Germany I was dreaming in German but also in Italian sometimes. English: At the beginning of my staying in Ireland my dreams were either in English or Italian, in the last few years I have noticed that I constantly dream in English.

16) Once I go back to my native country I stop dreaming in my L2s.

17) The circumstances of my dreams involve interpersonal relationship, for example talking to people I know about ordinary things.

18) Not that I remember of.
As I already mentioned above I spent the first 7 years of my life in England, plus 1 year there and for 1 year as an Erasmus student in University. Now I am in Dublin and I will be here for another year.

I was born in England and I lived there with my family until the age of 7, then my family moved to Greece.

I only spent 20 days in Germany.
9) English: I did travel abroad to improve my L2. As I already mentioned above I spent the first 7 years of my life in England, plus I went back to England for 1 year as an Erasmus student in University. Now I am in Dublin and I will be here for another year.

German: I just went for a short holiday.

10) English: VERY GOOD.
    German: POOR.

11) I did choose to study the both of them.

12) Yes, I did experience dreaming in one of my L2s. I never dreamt in German, but I did dream in English.

    Note: I first noticed to have dreams in English when I went to England studying at University.

13) English: VERY GOOD.

    Note: The language of my dreams depends on the context and people involved in one of my dreams, e.g., Greek, I would speak Greek as well, otherwise I would switch to English.

14) No, I have not dreamt of people with the same L1 as mine, speaking to me in my dreams, with one of my L2s.
15) Most of the time I dream in Greek, but I dream in English more than I would if I was in Greece.

16) When I go back to Greece, my L2, especially English, truly conditions the language I use in my dreaming speech. In fact, for the first couple of months I keep dreaming in English.

17) Generally, I dream of everyday experience or topic of discussion.

18) Yes, it did happen that I used terminology in my dreams that I would not use commonly. But, when that happens, I am always aware of the meaning of these words. I simply know that I would not use them in my everyday speech.

Note: The language of my dreams depends on the context and people involved in it. If the people present in one of my dream speak Greek I would speak Greek as well, otherwise I would switch to English.
SUBJECT 15:

1) Mary Roche.

2) 53.

3) Female.

4) English.

5) Irish.
   French.
   Spanish.

6) Irish: I learnt it at school and through summer camp experiences.
   French: I learnt it at school and by going to France.
   Spanish: I learnt it at school and by living in Spain.

7) Irish: 12 years.
   French: 12 years.
   Spanish: 2 years.

8) Irish: As I am Irish, it was part of the school program.
   French: I was in France for a total of 1 year. 3 months each time for 4 times.
   Spanish: I have been living in Spain for the last 27 years.

9) French: I went to France in order to improve my French. (I did my B.A. in French).
   Spanish: I first went to Spain to learn the language and later to be with the man I married.

10) Irish: POOR.
    French: GOOD.
    Spanish: VERY GOOD.
11) Irish: It was compulsory at school, but I also liked to study it.
French: I choose to study it.
Spanish: I choose to study it.

12) I think that I dream in Spanish all the time. I am in fact conscious that I do dream in Spanish. I also think in Spanish in term of internal organisation of thoughts. I do not think I ever dreamt in Irish or in French.

13) My proficiency in my dreams is generally VERY GOOD.

14) It happened to me to dream of someone I know who speaks my L1, communicating with my husband (who only speaks my L2), in a single language which I would not know. I remember that they were carrying out a cordial friendly conversation. Also I remember dreaming of my mother and father in my L1, when staying in an one of my L2 speaking country.

15) I dream in my L2 (Spanish).

16) It happens that my L2 (Spanish) is now more significant to me emotionally than my L1, because I have my family-relations built over there.

17) I believe I dream of ordinary, everyday situations.

18) I have the feeling that when I dream in Spanish I am very fluent, even more than I am in reality. I have no recollection of using words of which I do not know the meaning of, on the contrary I fly through conversations in my L2, in my dreams.
1) Maggie O'Sullivan.

2) 25.

3) Female.

4) English.

5) Irish.
   French.
   Italian.

6) Irish: I learnt it at Primary schools.
   French: I learnt it at Secondary schools.
   Italian: I learnt it at University level.

7) Irish: 19 years.
   French: 14 years.
   Italian: 8 years.

8) Irish: 2 years.
   French: 6 months.
   Italian: 1 year.

9) Irish: I had to learn it for practical reasons, as I was living with an Irish family.
   French/Italian: In order to improve my L2s.

10) Irish: AVERAGE.
    French: GOOD.
    Italian: VERY GOOD.
Irish: Was compulsory at school, but I kept practising it because of the circumstances mentioned above and also for personal interest.
French: As for Irish.
Italian: I chose to study it at University.

12) Yes, I do dream in my L2s.
French: When I was working in France, as an au-pair I used to have nightmares in French about my job and my employer.
Italian: Before my final exams at University I used to dream about my exams in Italian.
Irish: I do not remember of having dreamt in Irish.

13) The proficiency level of my L2s, in my dreams, is the same as in real life. It is not a feature of the dream. Thus:
Irish: AVERAGE.
French: GOOD.
Italian: VERY GOOD.

14) No.

15) I do not precisely remember. But I would say that my dreams are a mix of my L1 and the L2 in context.

16) The L2s continue to be a present feature if the people or places of my dreams are from the L2 communities.

17) French: Arguments with my employer.
Italian: I used to dream of Dante and Pirandello.

18) No.
SUBJECT 17

1) Margaret Leahy.

2) 36.

3) Female.

4) English.

5) Irish.

French.

Spanish.

Italian.

6) Irish: I learnt it at school and I also spent sometime in the Gaeltacht. French: I learnt it at school and I also spent two years in France. Spanish: I learnt it at University and I also lived in Spain for one year. Italian: I lived in Italy for two years.

7) Irish: 14 years. French: 5 years at school (Secondary level). Spanish: 5 years (Secondary level). Italian: 2 years, just by living in Italy.

8) Irish: I spent 3 months in the Gaeltacht in summertime. French: I was in France for two years. Spanish: I lived one year in Spain. Italian: I was living in Italy for two years.

9) The main reason why I spent time in these countries was to improve my L2s, but I also wanted to discover about the culture, as well as working and have fun.
10) Irish: GOOD.
   French: VERY GOOD.
   Spanish: VERY GOOD.
   Italian: GOOD.

11) Irish: It was imposed on me by the educational system.
    French: Imposed.
    Spanish: I chose to study it.
    Italian: I had to learn it because I was offered a job in Italy.

12) I actually did dream in Irish.
    Just recently, I dreamt that I was at the Gaeltacht learning Irish together with other students. Strangely enough, the other students on the course happened to be the same group of students to whom I am presently teaching English. Being foreigners their level of proficiency in Irish was very poor, and I was helping them out. In my dream I remember that I thought that my Irish was good but not as good as I wanted it to be. I think I dreamt in Irish because prior to that I found myself in a situation where Irish was spoken and probably I was not too happy about my performance in that occasion.
    I am sure that I have been dreaming in my other L2s. Unfortunately, it did not happen recently, therefore I have no memories of it.
    In general, though, I can say that if I am in any of the countries where one of my L2s is spoken or if I am in a situations where I have to speak in one of my L2s for a certain limited period of time, then the language of my dreams would be the L2 of the community where I am living in or, I am temporally part of.

13) In general, I think that the proficiency level of my L2 during dream-time matches the proficiency of my waking time, therefore:
    Irish: GOOD.
    French: VERY GOOD.
    Spanish: VERY GOOD.
    Italian: GOOD.
14) No.

15) Usually, I dream in the language spoken in the particular country, but not always.

16) I keep dreaming in my L2 for a while, but eventually I revert back to dreaming in English.

17) The topics of my dreams would generally be related to what I am doing or experiencing at the time in question. Because I usually only dream in the L2 spoken in the given community, my dreams would mostly be linked to the culture of the country.

18) No, not that I can remember, because I am not one of these people who pays particular attention to what they dream.
SUBJECT 18

1) Fenola Keagh.

2) 28.

3) Female.

4) English.
Switched from Irish to German. German. French. All learnt at school.

5) Irish.

German.

French.

6) All learnt at school.

Irish: (From age 4-16). Primary and Secondary schools.

German: (From age 12-20). Secondary school and University.

French: As for German.

7) Irish: 3 weeks in summertime for 6 years in Irish speaking communities.

German: I spent two summers working in Germany for a total of 8 months and, I also went for frequent visits, business trips of up to four weeks duration.

French: One academic year spent in France and a few visits thereafter.
9) Irish: All periods spent in the Gaeltacht of the west of Ireland were motivated by a desire to improve my Irish for the purpose of the State Examinations and, secondly, as a way to use up some of the long summer holidays and thirdly, out of an interest in the language. In that order.

Recently, my motivations to improve and use my Irish was increased by the Department of Education's requirements for secondary school teachers to be conversant in Irish and to take an oral and written examination, "Ceard Teastas", in order to became eligible to apply for teaching position in State Schools.

German: All visits were motivated by a love for the language. Summer visits were also motivated by a need to work and make money in a different environment, away from home.

French: The year spent there was a requirement of the degree course as well as a necessity to improve my fluency for my final examination.

10) Irish: AVERAGE.
German: VERY GOOD.
French: GOOD.

11) All the languages I studied were encountered through the educational system.
Irish/French: Were both compulsory, though I was interested in them, nonetheless.
German: Was optional after the first year and I continued to study both German and French at University level.

12) I did dream in my L2s depending on which language I was involved with at different times.

13) Irish: GOOD, better than I might have considered myself to be, in everyday use. This is probably because Irish will always be latent, and deeply ingrained in my subconscious from having studied it for so long and at such an early age. I could probably improve quite rapidly if I took the time to practice.

German: My German is always VERY GOOD, better even that I might feel it is in real life.

French: I have not dreamt in French for some time, so I could not say what my level of proficiency was.
Note: The times I seem to dream in any L2s, are when I am feeling under pressure for language related reasons. e.g.: coming up to an event where my language skills may be tested in some ways. The more stressed I feel about the situation, the more frequently I dream in the L2 or have a "language event" in my head. It may be a run through of the actual situation or a normal conversation with the person with whom I will be engaging in the L2 in real life.

As far as I can remember my proficiency is always as good as, if not even better than in real life. I feel uninhibited in my dreams, the dreamt event is never a stressful occasion.

14) Irish: After it had taken place, I dreamt about an oral exam I took last year. Despite my success in the real exam, in my dream I was totally fluent and got to say much more than I had the opportunity to in the actual exam.

German: I dreamt that I was speaking German with a teacher or lecturer who had the same L1 as myself. I also dreamt of people with whom it might be normal to be communicating in German despite a common L1, often a boss or a colleague with whom business meetings might be conducted with L2 native speakers.

15) Very much 50:50 (L1:L2), and always an element of the TL of the country I am visiting.

16) The L2 has continued to be a feature of my dreams for several weeks after my return. Depending on the length of time I spent in the country.

17) Irish: I recall dreaming about vocabulary and situations prepared for an exam.

German: Mostly related to real events such as conversations I have had with native speakers at work. Frequently relating to problems or events about which I was anxious. e.g.: preparing for an exhibition or a presentation to clients, or something going wrong coping with the L2.

French: I have no recollection of my last dreams in French.
I have not been vigilant, but I often have the feeling that my communicative ability is very good in my dreams. I might not have come into contact for a very long time with some of the words that came up in dreams, but they would never be unknown, though.

Comment: Overall, I would say that I dream in the L2 when I am worried about my proficiency, and I always seem to impress myself with how good I am in my dreams, despite my anxiety in real life. In fact, I would say that I perform better in my dreams than I do in real life!
SUBJECT 19

1) Mary M. Galvin.

2) 32.

3) Female.

4) English.

5) Irish.

French.

Spanish.

6) Irish: Primary and Secondary schools.

French: Secondary school.

Spanish: University level.

7) Irish: 13 years.

French: 5 years.

Spanish: 5 years.

8) Irish: In Irish speaking areas for one month.

French: Two weeks summer holidays spent in France for three years during Secondary school.

Spanish: Summer holidays while in college for a total of five months during three years time. Also one year spent in Columbia,(South America).

9) Each summer through the schooling years I was sent to foreign countries so that I could improve my L2s.

10) Irish: POOR/AVERAGE.

French: AVERAGE/GOOD.

Spanish: VERY GOOD.
11) Irish: It was imposed by the educational system.
   French/Spanish: I choose to study them both.

12) Yes, when I am in any of my L2's speaking country for any length of time.
   Irish: I dreamt in Irish when I was sent to the Irish College for a month and during
   that time, we were only allowed to speak Irish.
   Spanish: Because the friends I have in Spanish speaking countries are not native
   English speakers, I find myself dreaming in Spanish all the time.

13) Spanish: VERY GOOD, and although I can not differentiate between specific
   dreams, I always have good feelings about my dreaming in Spanish.

14) No.

15) I dreamt in English or Spanish, but mostly English.

16) After my full-immersion into Spanish, generally when I came back I keep
   dreaming in my L2 for a while, and then slowly go back to my L1.

17) I dream of me talking to people. I remember, for instance, of me meeting different
   L2 speakers, exchange few words with them and then to find the same person(s) in
   my dream and talk and talk...

18) Not That I am aware of, I have not memory of this.
SUBJECT 20

1) Maria Jose' Gonzalez.

2) 39.

3) Female.

4) Bable.(Australian dialect)
   Castillian Spanish.

5) French.
   German.
   English.

6) French: At Secondary school.
   German: At University.
   English: At University.

7) French: 5 years.
   German: 5 years.
   English: 20 years.

8) English: I spent almost 13 years in Ireland.

9) English: I was first brought to Ireland because of my interest toward the language, the culture as well as personal enjoyment.

10) French: POOR.
    German: POOR.
    English: VERY GOOD.
11) French: It was imposed.
   German: It was imposed.
   English: I studied it by choice.

12) I use English in my dreams.

13) English: VERY GOOD.
    I do not remember using any other of my L2s.

14) I would not remember.

15) It alternates.

16) When I used to spend the summers in Ireland I would have occasional dreams in English. On my return in Spain I would dream in English.

17) I do not remember particular instances to be able to comment.

18) I do not think so.
SUBJECT 21

1) Una. (She prefers not to give her surname)

2) 26.

3) Female.

4) English.

5) Irish.

6) Irish: Primary and Secondary schools.
   German: Secondary schools and University.

7) Irish: 12 years. (From the age of 4 to the age of 16).
   German: 9 years.

8) German: 10 months in Germany.

9) German: I was sent over to learn the language.

10) Irish: AVERAGE.
   German: GOOD.

11) Irish: It was imposed.
    German: I choose to study it at University in order to be facilitated in finding a job.

12) Irish: It is less frequent in my dreams.
    German: I do speak German in my dreams especially if I am in the country or I have immersed myself in the language during the day.
13) Irish: It came as natural: VERY GOOD.
   German: Fluent: VERY GOOD.

14) German: It is usually to strangers with whom I speak.

15) I generally talk German in my sleep.

16) Sometimes my L2 would resurface, some week after, while during dreaming I am talking in my L1.

17) Mostly everyday things. Recently Irish politics comes up with Gerry Adams, but this is naturally linked with the events of Easter.

18) No, I do not think so.

Note: Irish very seldomly comes up in my dreams, and when it does, it is very natural, I am aware that it is Irish and I have full command of it.
SUBJECT 22

1) Val Smalley.

2) 32.

3) Male.

4) American English.

5) Spanish.

6) French.

7) Spanish: I acquired both L2s at school. I deepened the knowledge of my Spanish while I was visiting Mexico and other countries in the South of America.

   French: I first learned it at school, but then I practised the language during my two visits in France.

8) Spanish: I have been spending at least three or four weeks in Mexico.

   French: I have spent two months in France.

9) In both cases the reason for travelling to these countries was only for holiday.

10) Spanish: VERY GOOD.

    French: POOR.

11) In both cases, it was my personal choices to learn these languages because I liked them and I wanted to be able to use them.
12) Yes, I had dreams where I was using Spanish, I have never had dreams using French.

13) As far as I can remember my proficiency in my dream was VERY GOOD, and I was able to converse with the people involved.

14) No, never.

15) Most of the time my dreams are in English. I would say, though that whenever I have dreams in Spanish it is either when I am after two weeks in Mexico or when my dreams involve people that can only speak Spanish.

16) I am quite influenced in my dreams for perhaps two or three weeks after I get back to the English speaking environment. After that period of time my dreams in Spanish do not occur that often.

17) The topics are various, but they usually refer to things that I do when I am in Mexico. i.e. surfing, swimming, camping.

18) I can not remember any such instance.
SUBJECT 23

1) Ana Balen Rincon.

2) 20.

3) Female.

4) Spanish.

5) English.
   German.

6) English: I learnt it at school.
   German: I took private classes.

7) English: 10 years.
   German: 1 year.

8) English: I have been in Dublin for 7 months.
   German: I have never been in Germany.

9) I have always liked to study languages, I also think that they are very important if one wants to find a good job.

10) English: AVERAGE.
    German: VERY POOR.

11) English: It was imposed by the school system.
    German: I choose to study it.

12) English: I had my first dream in English one year ago. Since then I have had several dreams in which I was speaking English. In general, this happens, when I am interacting, in my dreams, with people who only speak English.
13) English: AVERAGE.

14) No, I have not.

15) It depends from the context of my dream.

16) It seems to me that when I go back home I dream in English for the first few days.

17) I dream of simple situations in which I am chatting with people I meet, or where I ask information about where a certain place is, or even situations in which I am purchasing a certain item from a shop.

18) I think it may have happen to me but I can not remember true instances of it.
SUBJECT 24

1) Paola Kelly.

2) 31.

3) Female.

4) English.

5) Irish.
   French.
   Japanese.

6) Irish/French: At school.
   Japanese: In Japan.

7) Irish: 27 years.
   French: 20 years.
   Japanese: 3 years.

8) French: I was sent to France for short period of time in school trips, holidays and exchange programmes.
   Japanese: I spent 3 years in Japan.

9) French: All my visits to France were organised in order to help me to achieve a better proficiency in the L2.
   Japanese: It is a long story.

10) Irish: VERY GOOD.
    French: GOOD.
    Japanese: AVERAGE.
11) Irish: Imposed by the educational system.
   French: Also imposed but later I studied it by choice.
   Japanese: I had to learn it in order to survive.

12) Japanese: I had dreams about being able to make speeches in the language without making a show of myself.

13) Japanese: VERY GOOD.

14) No.

15) When in Japan I was always dreaming in Japanese.

16) My L2 revert into my L1 when I get back home.

17) I generally dream of formal situations in which I have to address a large number of people.

18) Generally I do not remember my dreams.

19) English: 13 years.
   French: 7 years.
   Spanish: 1 academic year (32x30 mins).

20) English: I have been living in Ireland for 16 years.
   French: A few months.
   Spanish: 5 weeks (Spain and Peru).

21) Ireland: I had different personal reasons to move here.
   French: I travelled to France for holiday as it was convenient whilst I was living in Germany and France was a neighbour country.
   Spanish: I travelled to Peru and Spain for pleasure.
SUBJECT 25

1) Unnamed subject.

2) Unaged subject.

3) Yes! Female.

4) German.

5) English.
   French.
   Spanish.

6) English: From the age of 10 up to leaving certificates level.
   French: From the age of 12 to school leaving exam level.
   English: It became the main language of every day communication when I moved
to Ireland 16 years ago.
   Spanish: I took one year of beginner classes.

7) English: 13 years.
   French: 7 years.
   Spanish: 1 academic year (32x90 mins).

8) English: I have been living in Ireland for 16 years.
   French: A few months.
   Spanish: 5 weeks.(Spain and Peru).

9) Ireland: I had different personal reasons to move here.
   French: I travelled to France for holiday as it was convenient when I was living in
   Germany and France was a neighbour country.
   Spanish: I travelled to Peru and Spain for pleasure.
10) English: VERY GOOD.
   French: AVERAGE (not actively used much).
   Spanish: POOR (just enough to get by).

11) English: It was imposed.
    French: At the age of 12 I had to choose between French or a science subject, so I took French.
    Spanish: I always wanted to learn Spanish and I decided to do it when in preparation to travel to Peru.

12) English: I constantly dream in English.
    French: I was never aware of dreaming in this L2.
    Spanish: I might have dreamt of speaking Spanish on occasion. The learning and use of Spanish is a much more recent experience for me than learning the other two languages.

13) Spanish: AVERAGE. I do not remember any specific details, apart from a general feeling of being able to negotiate basic communicative situations (asking for directions, booking hotel rooms, etc) ahead of these situations actually occurring. In these circumstances my perceived proficiency level was Average.

14) This did not happen in my dreams.

15) Most recently, Spanish seems to have filtered through into my dreams when travelling in Spain.

16) Visiting Germany seems to influence the language of my dreams to a certain extent, but I do not have any clear recollection of specific experience; I do generally notice a shift in my usage of the two competing languages, English and German. After a week or so in Germany, German becomes stronger, I am aware of my German accent becoming more accentuated when speaking English during that time, (when phoning Ireland, for instance).
17) As I mentioned above, Spanish seems to have featured in my dreams usually related to topics normally encountered when using the language, albeit with inflated proficiency. Speaking Spanish required a conscious effort on my part. I have not actively used French in the last number of years, and it does not seem to feature in my dreams at all.

18) Sorry, I have no recollection, I do not remember many dreams at all.
SUBJECT 26

1) Rhora Drerran.
2) 24.
3) Female.
4) English.
5) Irish, French, German, Spanish, Italian.
6) Irish: At school. (Forced to study it).
   French: At school.
   German: At school and later at University.
   Spanish: Learnt in private school for 3 months.
   Italian: Learnt at University.
7) Irish: 12 years.
   French: 8 years.
   German: 10 years.
   Spanish: 3 months.
   Italian: 4 years.
8) French: 2 months in France.
   German: 5 months in Germany.
   Spanish: 2 weeks in Spain.
   Italian: 1 year in Italy.
9) French/German: To visit the country and study the L2.
   Spanish: To study the L2.
   Italian: For holiday and improve the L2.
10) Irish: VERY GOOD.
   French: AVERAGE.
   German: GOOD.
   Spanish: AVERAGE.
   Italian: GOOD.

11) Irish: Forced to study it.
    French/German: I choose to study them.
    Spanish/Italian: I Studied them for pleasure.

12) I dream in all my L2s depending in what country I am in.

13) In my dreams my language proficiency is AVERAGE.

14) Generally the people of my dreams are foreigners.

15-16) see Q12.

17) I dream of anything and I speak of different things.

18) I do not remember.
SUBJECT 27

1) Claudia Casamassima.

2) 32.

3) Female.

4) Italian.

5) English.
French.

6) I first studied them at school and later in community where they are in everyday use.

7) English/French: 5 years.

8) English: 1 year.

9) The main reason why I came over to Ireland was to study music but also to improve my knowledge of the language.

10) English: GOOD.
French: AVERAGE.

11) Both English and French were imposed in the educational system but I did not mind that.

12) Yes, I have dreamt in both my L2s, but I do not remember any detail.

13) English: GOOD.
14) Yes, I dreamt of my mother speaking English to me, when she does not speak the language in question.

15) I dream in the language spoken in the country.

16) My L2s have gradually changed back to my L1.

17) I would not like to speak of the topics of my dreams, I can only say that they did not particularly relate to the language itself.

18) I would not know.
SUBJECT 28

1) Roise Nic Strofam.

2) Age unknown.

3) Female.

4) English.

5) Irish.
French.

6) I learnt my L2s at school as well as in the L2s environments.

7) Irish: 25 years.
French: 18 years.

8) Irish: I teach it daily.
French: I spent about 1 year in France.

9) In relation to both my L2s I am interested in the languages as well as the culture they are imbedded into.

10) Irish: VERY GOOD.
French: GOOD.

11) They were both compulsory in school but I enjoy L2s.

12) Yes, I dream in my L2s whenever I am in the area where they are spoken.

13) Irish: GOOD.
French: GOOD.
14) I can not remember.

15) I dream in English/Irish in Ireland and in English alterned with French in France.

16) I revert dreaming in English if I am not in strict contact with my L2s.

17) Almost anything in connection with the type of things I was doing.

18) I do not remember.
SUBJECT 29

1) Brian O’Curmain.
2) 33.
3) Male.
4) English.
5) Irish, French, German, Occitan, Greek.
6) Irish: At school and at Gaeltacht.
   French: At school and in France.
   German: By being in Germany.
   Occitan: By being in the south of France where it is spoken.
   Greek: By being in Greece.

Note: My study of the spoken and written languages in the various places was active and on-going.

7) Irish: I have been learning it since I was 4 years old. All together I must have studied it for 7 years.
   French: I began studying French at Secondary school. Later, when I was 18 I went to France for a year and a half.
   German: I was in Germany for 2 years when I was 20.
   Occitan: I learnt it by conversing with the people over 50 year of age when I was in the south of France.
   Greek: I studied it when I was 28 for 1 year.

8) See Q7. I answered these 2 question together because the time spent in the country, at times has been the only means by which I acquired the L2 spoken.

9) I primarily travelled to foreign countries for cultural/linguistic enrichment.
10) Irish: GOOD.
    French: AVERAGE.
    German: AVERAGE to POOR.
    Occitan: VERY POOR.
    Greek: POOR to VERY POOR.

11) Irish: It was first imposed then, I choose to keep learning it.
    French: As for Irish.
    German/Occitan/Greek: I choose to study them.

12) Yes, I have dreamt in all the 5 of them.

13) Irish, French, German: VERY GOOD.
    Occitan, Greek: GOOD comprehension.

Note: In general the spoken performance in my dreams, of the L2s I know, seems similar to the real life one. Perhaps sometimes, the L2s practised in my dreams is more fluent, but definitely the degree of comprehension is higher. Thus, even in Occitan and Greek I can follow easily whatever has been said.

14) It happen to me to speak Irish to people with whom I would speak English in real life. Or to speak French to people that in real life would only speak German.

15) The language I use in my dreams depend on the context I find myself involved into. If, for instance, I dream of the Gaeltacht while I am in France, my dream would be in Irish. Conversely, if my dream take place in France and, I would still be in France when awakening, than the language of my dream would be French or Occitan.

16) When I go back home after having been away I keep dreaming of the foreign places but unfortunately the language of my dream is English, my L1.
The topics of my dreams correspond to the activity I find myself involved in, in real life. For example when in Greece I dream of speaking to orthodox monks about religion and life, or when in France of eating dinner with Occitan speakers, etc.

I have no recollection of specific words but I know it happened with Irish, where somebody would say something and I would question the person on the meaning of a specific word and be happy to have learnt it. Unfortunately, once I awake I cannot remember the word in question.

General remark: My recollection is often of others using the L2, I do not remember, generally, what I say.
SUBJECT 30

1) Bellahi Brahim Vall.

2) 34.

3) Male.

4) Arabic.

5) French.
    English.

6) Yes, I learnt them at school.

7) French: 20 years.
    English: 2 years.

8) French: I spent 20 years in France.
    English: I am presently following a full-time year course at University, in Ireland.

9) French: I grew up in France.
    English: I came here because of curiosity about the culture.

10) French: VERY GOOD.
    English: GOOD.

11) French: It was imposed by the educational system.
    English: I choose to learn it.

12) French: Yes, I was dreaming in French while I was living there.
    English: Even if rarely, I have experienced dreaming of me speaking in English in my sleep.
13) French: VERY GOOD.
   English: VERY GOOD.

14) No.

15) French: When I am in France I dream in French.
   English: Since I am here in Ireland, I dream in the language spoken by my interlocutor.

16) When I get back home I generally keep dreaming for a while in the language of the foreign country I was visiting, but I soon go back to Arabic.

17) The topics of my dreams generally are related to the interests of the person I am speaking to. For what I can remember I often dream of amusing situations where there is plenty of laughter.

18) Sometimes I make up words in English, just for fun, but I never considered to check these up on the dictionary to verify if they actually exist independently of my creativity.
SUBJECT 31

1) Koer De Schepper.

2) 28.

3) Male.

4) Flemish.

5) English.

French.

German.

Spanish.

6) I learned all my L2s at school, but I feel that my knowledge of these L2s is limited due to the fact that I have not been learning as well as I could have if I lived in the countries where these languages are spoken. In fact, I believe that English is the L2 I know better because by being in Ireland for almost 4 years I have learnt to think in the language in question.

7) English: 6 years.

French: 6 years.

German: 2 years.

Spanish: 1 year.

8) English: I have been living almost 4 years in Ireland.

9) English: I first came to Ireland on an Erasmus' programme. My main interest was directed toward social work. After that I have been working for 2 years in that field.
10) English: VERY GOOD. French: GOOD. German: AVERAGE. Spanish: POOR.

11) I did languages at school, therefore all my L2s were imposed by the educational system.

12) English: this is my only L2 in which I dream into.

13) English: VERY GOOD.

14) English: As far as I can remember, I dreamt of people speaking in English to me while in real life they would communicate with me in my L1. When that happens, though, we would not have long conversations in English but rather short expression would pop up.

15) English: When I am in Ireland I dream in both languages: Flemish, which is my L1 and English, my L2.

16) When I go back to Belgium I seem to dream more in English at first, then slowly with time I start dreaming in my L1 but I keep dreaming in English as well.

17) I should have written down my dreams the next morning in order to answer this question so that I would be able to comment on this, but as it is I can not see any relation between the topic of my dreams and the language involved. Maybe there isn't any...

18) I am not too sure.
SUBJECT 32

1) Samy Nalege.

2) 28.

3) Male.

4) Creole. French.

5) English. Spanish.

6) English: I learnt it at School, later in college and by being in English speaking countries.
   Spanish: At school.

7) English: 7 years.
    Spanish: 5 years.

8) English: I have been living in Ireland for 3 years.
    Spanish: I spent 2 months in Spain.

9) English: I first came to Ireland to improve my English.
    Spanish: I just went for a summer holiday.

10) English: GOOD.
     Spanish: GOOD.

11) English: I wanted to learn it.
     Spanish: I choose to learn it.
12) English: Yes, I dream in English, and I am surprisingly good at it.
Spanish: I never dreamt in Spanish.

13) English: VERY GOOD.

14) Yes. Sometimes I dream of having conversations with my flatmate in English, which is strange because we have the same L1.

15) Usually I dream in the language I am most exposed to.

16) I never dream in Creole, I generally dream in French but not straight away on my return to my native country.

17) English/French: I dream of everyday life in both languages.

18) I do not have particular memories of this instances.
SUBJECT 33

1) Annick Ferre'.
2) 51.
3) Female.
4) French.
5) German.
   English.
6) German/English: I learnt them both at school.
7) German/English: I have been studying them both for approximately 35 years.
8) German: 1 year.
   English: 20 years.
9) German: I went to Germany to improve the language.
    English: I came to Ireland for personal reasons.
10) German: POOR.(Now).
    English: VERY GOOD.
11) German/English: I choose to study them.
12) German: I never dreamt in German.
    English: I do dream in English.
13) English: VERY GOOD.
14) No.
15) The language of my dreams alternates, depending on whom am I talking to and, what are the topics of conversation.

16) When I go home I keep dreaming in both, my L1 and my L2.

17) I can not recall any particular dream at the moment, but they tend to relate to areas or people closely linked to the L2s I speak.

18) No that I remember of.
SUBJECT 34

1) Valerie Hascoet.

2) 27.

3) Female.

4) French.

5) English.
Spanish/Italian.

6) English/Spanish/Italian: I first studied them at school, then I kept studying them at University level.

7) English/Spanish/Italian: I studied them for 17 years.

8) English: 7 years.
Spanish/Italian: I spent some short holiday time in the countries where the L2s are spoken.

9) English: I came to Ireland in order to study and work.
Spanish/Italian: My visits to the countries where these L2s are spoken were mainly motivated by the wish to improve the L2s in question.

10) English: VERY GOOD.
Spanish/Italian: AVERAGE.

11) English/Spanish/Italian: I choose to study them.

12) English: This is my only L2 in which I dream in.

13) English: VERY GOOD.
14) No.

15) Either English or French.

16) I still dream in either English or French.

17) The topics of my dreams would generally cover daily conversations, but mainly emotional situations.

18) No.

Note: In my dreams, each person speaks only one language, the one I use with them on a one-to-one basis in real life. However, unlike in real life, I almost exclusively use my L2 in dreams, even when my interlocutors use my L1. I believe this is because my L2 (English) is truly the language for my emotions, which is what (my) dreams are all about, after all.
The only way I see to account for it is to propose that dreams do not directly involve language, but rather there are ideomotoric signals. When we remember the communication in our dreams, we re-language language upon them.

APPENDIX 2: EXPERIENCES.

From: Claire Latham

Here is a question for you to consider: If dreams were in a language, what language would it be? ASL is my second language and my husband’s first. However, I also dream in sign still with fifteen years of exposure to the language.

K-L-L, Dreams of foreign languages in dreams

From: Karen Kay

More recently, I went to Paris for 10 days to celebrate my 40th birthday. I took a language course in French every night. I dreamt about ordering food, buying concert tickets, buying my train ticket, changing trains, and so on. The dreams were rehearsals of possible situations that might occur. The dreams continued in this fashion for a couple of nights after I got back, but later when the dreams took place in France, but the language was English. (Talk is cheap.)
Re: L2 and dreams.
From: Dr. Joel M. Hoffman. [joel@exc.com]

"The only way I see to account for these is to assume that dreams do not directly involve
language, but rather more abstract communication. When we remember the
communication in our dreams, we superimpose language upon them."

Re:7.729, Disc: Language in dreams.
From:[JudiLabath@aol.com]

..."Here is a question for you to consider: If dreams are a-lingual, why do some people talk
in their sleep? ASL is my second language and my husband's first language. We both sign
in our sleep. I dream in sign still with fifteen years of exposure to the language..."

Re:7.717, Disc: foreign languages in dreams.
From: Karen Key.[Karenk@netcom.com]

"More recently, I went to Paris for 10 days to celebrate my birthday, and I dreamt in
French every night. I dreamt about ordering food, buying groceries, buying my Orange
Card, changing trains, and so on. The dreams were rehearsals of stressful situations that
might occur. The dreams continued in this fashion for a couple of nights after I got back,
but after that, the dreams took place in France, but the language was English. (C'est la
die)."
Re: Foreign languages in dreams.
from: Birgit Kellner, [kellner@ipc.hiroshima-u.ac.jp]

..."Foreign language proficiency in dreams is much higher than in reality: native Italian
speakers-English
native English speakers-Chinese
native English speakers-French
native English speakers-German
native English speakers-Czech

All informants had these experiences while they were living in the country in question (or, if they also have such experiences "at home", they did not specify this.

Andrea Osburne (OSBURNEA@CCSUA.CTSTATEU.EDU) reports that she gets similar accounts inher second language acquisition class."

Birgit Kellner also tackle another interesting point, which is as follows: "I would find it highly interesting to compare dream-recollections of "wanted" foreigners (diplomats, scholars, managers or otherwise socially accepted foreign residents) with those of "unwanted" ones (illegal immigrant workers, prisoners, refugees, asylum seekers)." This interesting query stems from the perplexities a foreign may encounter in "the general attitude towards foreigners" in a given society. "Insofar as embedded prejudices set general parameters for behaviour to foreigners, they also preclude expectations on foreigners' ability/likelihood to learn/speak the language and thus have effects on foreigner's (for lack of a better term) linguistic identity."

Re:7.717, Disc: Foreign languages in dreams.
From: Joel M.Hoffman [joel@exc.com]

..."I am convinced that dreams are a-linguistic, that is, dreamt without recourse to language."..."We have communication without language during dream, and words imposed only later when the dream is remembered."
Re:7.717, Disc: Foreign languages in dreams.
From: Rebecca Larche Moreton. [mlrlm@sunet.backbone.olemiss.edu]

"In reference to Joel Hoffman's suggestion that dreams are a-linguistic and that we do not actually use any language in our dreaming interactions: what is going on when people talk in their sleep? Here they are at least speaking their native language. And in reference to William J. de Reuse's theory that what we remember doing in a dream is not necessarily what we were actually doing (we could go much further and say that we are rarely doing what we dreamed we were doing, we're mostly sleeping); yet it would be interesting to study which parts of the brain are actively involved during those dream-periods in which we "remember" having spoken any language."

Re:7.717, Disc: Foreign languages and dreams.
From: B.Diels. [B.Diels@student.kun.nl]

"Being all but an expert in this field, I hesitate to react to Mr. Hoffman's remark that dreams would be a-linguistic..." ..."This does not quite convince me. If dreams would be totally a-linguistic, one could dream of speaking any language, but this doesn't seem to be the case: people seem to dream only of speaking languages that they more or less know. I guess that someone who doesn't speak a word of Chinese in real life will never be speaking Chinese in his dreams. When a poor speaker of a certain language dreams of speaking it fluently, we of course must conclude the dream deceives him. But this does not necessarily mean he doesn't speak a word at all in his dream (and therefore, that he dreams the content of the conversation, rather than the words)- it could also mean that this person's judgement of his performance is deceptive. Many who ever woke up at night with a brilliant idea that had to be written down immediately or it would be lost for ever, will have found out the morning after how deceptive night time judgements of one's own genius are. I think judgements of one's linguistic capabilities are no exception to this."
Re: Real astrology

Posted by: Carla Beret on March 01, 1997 at 14:59:39:

"I have finally began to dream in French, a second language for me. This dream was one of many with French overtones and language. I was in the French countryside with my mother. We were staying in a small town with a friend of hers. Their house was tiny and situated on the top of a hill. My mother's friend had a son that was my age. His name was something different, but I called him Pierre. In the week we were there we fell in love. Then we had to leave the house suddenly because my mother got into a fight with her friend. Pierre and I were distraught and we exchanged addresses. I said my sad, French goodbyes, and we left. When we left the house, my French left too as we started to speak English. C'est tout"

Addressed to me.

From: Wang Zhenyu.[wzyem@pubms.pku.edu]

"Dear Miss Pagnozzi,

I am interested in your programme. I can render no help except tell you my experience. In the old days I never have an English speaking dream. After I graduated from a normal University and professed as a teacher of English, I began to dream English speaking dreams. Now I am a graduate student majoring in English Linguistics and I keep a regular lip practice of English. The English speaking dreams become quite common to me. Wish you success!"
"From 1991 to 1994 I was learning Czech through total immersion (and no language lessons) in the Czech Republic, while I had a job there. I can't tell you how the command of Czech I had in dreams related to my actual productive ability at the time"...."The only thing I can tell you, though, is the strange roles Czech and my native English ended up playing in my dreams until I returned home to the US. Once I had reached a certain level of Czech fluency, all dialogues that I dreamt were in a domestic setting were in English, and all that occurred in a public setting (e.g., in a school, in a store, on the street) were in Czech. This means that in my dreams my Slovak girlfriend--who could not speak English--would be speaking perfect English in my apartment but Czech if we went outside. I often had dreams that took place in the US, and if the scene took place in, say, a grocery store, the black store clerk in New York, and all the customers, would be speaking Czech, because they were in a public setting, while the people at a friend's house would be speaking English. This pattern remained until sometime after I returned home."
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