

The Bilingual Child

How does a child become bilingual? The answer to this intriguing question remains largely a mystery, not least because it has been far less extensively researched than the process of mastering a single first language.

Drawing on new studies of children exposed to two languages from birth (English and Cantonese), this book demonstrates how childhood bilingualism develops naturally in response to the two languages in the children's environment. While each bilingual child's profile is unique, the children studied are shown to develop quite differently from monolingual children. The authors demonstrate significant interactions between the children's developing grammars, as well as the important role played by language dominance in their bilingual development.

Based on original research and using findings from the largest available multimedia bilingual corpus, the book will be welcomed by students and scholars working in child language acquisition, bilingualism and language contact.

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The Bilingual Child

Early Development and Language Contact

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For our children:

Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings hast thou ordained strength . . .

Psalm 8:2

「…從嬰孩和吃奶的口中建立了能力…」 詩篇第八章第二節



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Series editor's foreword

The series Cambridge Approaches to Language Contact was set up to publish outstanding monographs on language contact, especially by authors who approach their specific subject matter from a diachronic or developmental perspective. Our goal is to integrate the ever-growing scholarship on language diversification (including the development of creoles, pidgins and indigenized varieties of colonial European languages), bilingual language development, code-switching and language endangerment. We hope to provide a select forum to scholars who contribute insightfully to understanding language evolution from an interdisciplinary perspective. We favour approaches that highlight the role of ecology and draw inspiration both from the authors' own fields of specialization and from related research areas in linguistics or other disciplines. Eclecticism is one of our mottoes, as we endeavour to comprehend the complexity of evolutionary processes associated with contact.

We are very proud to add to our list *The Bilingual Child: Early Development and Language Contact* by Virginia Yip and Stephen Matthews, a most authoritative book that combines the latest scholarship on language contact and child language development in a multilingual setting. It has the distinction of being based on the most extensive longitudinal database on the subject matter to date, involving a relatively large population of children studied over a long period of time, and contributing to the relevant research areas insights from an examination of typologically and genetically quite unrelated languages: Cantonese and English. Three of the protagonists are the authors' own children, whose speech constitutes the core and largest part of the database. These data are compared with those obtained from children in similar bilingual families, in inter-peer interaction settings which generated the most naturalistic and reliable data an investigator can collect. This book presents findings from this unique gold mine.

Students of various aspects of language contact must be asking any subset of the following questions and others: Are children really perfect language learners? If they are, do they manage to keep separate the systems of the different languages to which they are concurrently exposed? If they are not, to what extent do their transfer phenomena differ from those of adult L2 learners? What particular insights can the study of such a population contribute to scholarship

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Series editor's foreword

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on community-based language contact phenomena, such as the emergence of creoles and indigenized Englishes? Can the labels 'L1' and 'L2' apply to situations of bilingual child development, or is it more appropriate to speak of 'dominant' and 'subordinate' languages? Are these situations inherently different from those in which the child is exposed to different dialects of the same language? Will having a dominant language affect the direction of transfer from one language to the other? Is there some sort of division of labour in the way one language influences the other, for instance, morphology in one case but syntax in the other, one particular aspect of syntax in one language but another in the other language? What is the role of the social ecology in determining language dominance in bilingual children? In such populations, to what extent does one child replicate another, and under what particular conditions?

These are among the many questions that Virginia Yip and Stephen Matthews address in this exciting book. Even if some readers disagree (on some details) with the authors, they will find substantive information and theoretical challenges prompting them to rethink their own positions. In my own personal case, with my own bias that 'language acquisition' is a misnomer for what is otherwise a 'system-construction' process by the learner, I have enjoyed learning more about how competition and selection operate in a multilingual feature pool and what ecological factors influence the young learner's selections. I am more convinced now that language boundaries are more real to the linguist than they are to the speaker, although the latter aims at speaking one rather than the other language on a particular occasion. There must also be some constraints on how elements from separate languages can be combined into a new system (not necessarily along the lines sought by students of code-switching), and The Bilingual Child addresses this kind of issue. By the same token it seems necessary to distinguish between, on the one hand, features imported intact from the other language into the one intended to be spoken and, on the other, those modifications that are taking place in a particular language because the structures of the languages in contact are partly congruent.

This book, to which I do more justice by enumerating some of the questions it addresses than by attempting to summarize, is a rich addition, with new sets and kinds of data, to the literature on language contact. I am sure most scholars tired of repetitions of the same kinds of data that do not question established positions will be happy with *The Bilingual Child*, especially because its tenor is also non-polemical. I feel especially privileged that the authors chose Cambridge Approaches to Language Contact as the venue to disseminate their findings.

Salikoko S. Mufwene, *University of Chicago*



Preface

Compared to mastering a single language, the process of becoming bilingual in the child's first few years of life has been much less comprehensively studied, and therefore remains all the more enigmatic and intriguing. The title of this book, *The Bilingual Child*, is intended to refer generically to a child who learns two languages in early childhood. The book tells the stories of how six children became bilingual in Cantonese and English given exposure to both languages from birth. We provide a detailed account of how childhood bilingualism develops naturally in response to the two languages in their environment. This intimate account is presented through our dual perspectives as parent-researchers continuously observing and participating in our own three children's bilingual experience.

Parents and researchers alike often raise basic questions such as the following about children's bilingual development:

- · Are two languages too many for a child?
- Do children confuse the two languages?
- Can they be equally proficient in both?
- If children have a 'language instinct' as has often been suggested, how does this instinct cope with two languages at the same time?

While the book reports an abundance of research findings, we also hope to alleviate some typical concerns of parents and demonstrate that two languages are not a burden for a child, and that children have the ability to differentiate the two languages from early on. They can develop high proficiency in both, though one language may develop ahead of the other. To account for this ability we appeal to a *bilingual instinct* which enables the child to develop two languages in response to dual input in the environment. With developing knowledge of two languages, young bilingual children are able to produce language forms and functions of stunning complexity as a result of integrating features from two grammars. We shall show that the product often comes about through the interaction of two language systems, reflecting language-specific properties and universal factors.

Though the children studied grow up bilingually in Hong Kong, their experience should in many ways transcend the specificities of this particular context

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and speak to the bigger picture of how children become bilingual. The findings reported here are based on a large-scale multimedia corpus which documents the bilingual development of the six children from age one to four and a half and is now in the public domain. Many of the examples discussed in the book come to life when heard or seen on digitized audio and video files, demonstrating the interactions of the bilingual children in real-life contexts. We have also made use of diary data collected by ourselves in the case of our own children. The combination of corpus and diary data yields a rich database from which the strength of our arguments is derived.

Though each bilingual child's linguistic and cultural background as well as developmental profile is unique, the process they go through shows some common features that set them apart from monolinguals in interesting ways. In children with one language developing ahead of the other, features of the stronger language often find their way into the grammar of the other language. But the interaction is by no means a one-way street: features of the weaker language also influence the grammar of the stronger language in certain respects. Thus transfer in both directions is found in bilingual development.

Our sub-title, Early Development and Language Contact, represents an interdisciplinary effort to integrate insights from two fields. The two languages to be learned may be said to be in contact in the bilingual child's environment as well as in the mind of the child. Throughout the bilingual child's development, there are clear and systematic signs that the two language systems interact with each other, shaping the child's overall development. Looking beyond bilingualism at the individual level, we draw parallels between bilingual development in children with bilingual and multilingual communities. In cases such as those of Singapore Colloquial English, Hawaiian Creole English and other creole languages, contact between languages gives rise to new languages with similar features to those we observe in children's bilingual development. A second theme of this book is therefore that of languages in contact. We know that languages influence each other. But how does this actually happen? What does the development of bilingual children tell us about the interaction of the languages in contact? Do bilingual children themselves play a role in spreading features from one language to another? To illustrate these possibilities, we shall see that the English our bilingual children produced bears striking similarity to the English spoken in Singapore, known as Singapore Colloquial English, which is born of a multilingual situation in which several varieties of Chinese are prevalent in the environment. This suggests that the way Chinese and English interact in the mind of the child may shed light on the way the same two languages have interacted in multilingual societies such as Singapore.

In the age of globalization, contact between individuals and between communities has become intensified and the bilingual experience will become the norm in many children's early development. In writing this book we hope to



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raise the awareness of the assets of being bilingual and help bilingual children to affirm and appreciate their dual heritage – especially those born of parents from two different languages and cultures.

The process of language development has often been described as an odyssey, suggesting a journey full of mystery and excitement. We invite the reader to share the highlights of our discovery in the bilingual child's journey toward active bilingualism in the following chapters.



Acknowledgments

The research findings reported in this book come from a series of projects that have spanned over a decade of work, beginning serendipitously when our first bilingual child was born. The gestation period for this book has necessarily been a long one, as it took some seven years to produce three bilingual children and another few years to put our ideas together and write up the book. It has taken three 'co-authored' bilingual children to witness the process of bilingual development in a close and intimate manner. When we see the structures appear in the first, then the second, and followed by the third child, it is immensely gratifying to confirm the pathway taken by these children on their way to bilingualism. We feel compelled to share what we have observed with interested readers.

We thank Salikoko Mufwene for welcoming this book to the CALC series. Sali has been a source of immense inspiration and support as editor and scholar in many interdisciplinary fields. His meticulous comments have rendered our book much more readable and coherent. Brian MacWhinney has been indefatigable in his pursuit of excellence: we thank him for being the architect behind our multimedia bilingual corpus, his interest in bilingual acquisition and his constructive comments on our manuscript.

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xviii Acknowledgments

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Abbreviations

APS Argument from the Poverty of the Stimulus

ASP aspect marker

BFLA Bilingual First Language Acquisition
BSLA Bilingual Second Language Acquisition

Cancorp The Hong Kong Cantonese Child Language Corpus CHAT Codes for the Human Analysis of Transcripts

CHI child

CHILDES Child Language Data Exchange System

CL classifier

CLAN Computerized Language Analysis

COP copula verb

CP complementizer phrase CPE Chinese Pidgin English

CRD Constituent Recognition Domain

DEM demonstrative DO direct object

DOC double object construction

DP determiner phrase
DUR durative marker
EC empty category

HCE Hawaiian Creole English

HKCAC The Hong Kong Cantonese Adult Language Corpus

interlanguage ILinterjection INT INV investigator indirect object IO inflectional phrase ΙP LF Logical Form L1 first language L2 second language

MLU Mean Length of Utterance

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xxii List of abbreviations

MLUw Mean Length of Utterance in words

Mx grammatical category x in a model language M

N noun NOM nominalizer NP noun phrase

NPAH Noun Phrase Accessibility Hierarchy

OV object verb PASS passive PFV perfective POSS possessive

PP prepositional phrase PRED predication marker

PRT particle
PTCP participle
R recipient
RC relative clause

RVC resultative verb complement

Rx grammatical category x in a replica language R

S subject SAI subject

SAI subject – auxiliary inversion
SCE Singapore Colloquial English
SFP sentence-final particle
SLA second language acquisition
SLI Specific Language Impairment

SVC serial verb construction SVO subject verb object

T theme

TRS transitive verb UG Universal Grammar

V verb

VAC verb-adverb construction

VO verb object VP verb phrase

VPC verb-particle construction 2sg second person singular 3sg third person singular

Conventions used in the examples taken from the transcripts

[>] overlap follows
pause between words



•••
VV111

< > repetition of words in the utterance

[//] retracing with correction

[/] a speaker begins speaking, stops and then repeats the earlier

material

xxx unintelligible string of words