3. What do you see as the future of English as a global language? Do you agree with the predictions shown in Figure 4.2 ? Why is it important to think of English in the plural, English es , particularly now that second language speakers outnumber native speakers of English?

Study Activities

1. Using the list of factors in Table 4.3 , conduct a study on a minority language in your community to determine if there is likely to be maintenance or loss of the language over the next 10 years.

2. Explore online social media platforms (e.g. Facebook, YouTube, Instagram, etc.) to find and analyze examples of dynamic bilingualism.

3. Interview individuals from immigrant language minority families in your community. Is the 'three generation shift' pattern evident in some or most of those families? What have been the changes in language use and status since immigration in those families? What reasons do the families give for language change? What factors seem to aid language preservation?

CHAPTER 5

The Early Development of Bilingualism

Introduction

Childhood Bilingualism

The Simultaneous Acquisition of Bilingualism and Multilingualism

Differentiation Between Two Languages in the Infant

Storing Two Languages

Language Choices of Parents

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One Parent – One Language

Introduction

This chapter looks at the various ways in which young children become bilingual and multilingual. There are various routes to bilingualism and multilingualism , some from birth, others much later (see Chapter 6). Such bilingual routes include: acquiring two languages early on in the home; acquiring a second language in the street, in the wider community, in the nursery school, elementary or high school; and, after childhood, learning a second or foreign language in adult language classes and courses or by informal interaction with others. This chapter outlines different major routes to becoming bilingual early in childhood and examines some of the central issues involved in this more informal aspect of language development.

As the previous chapters of this book have illustrated, a discussion of bilingualism and multilingualism has to include psychological, linguistic, social and educational factors. Later in the book, it will be shown that political factors are also crucial in understanding bilingualism and bilingual education. While psychologists and linguists have studied the development of children's two languages, it is valuable to examine simultaneously the social and political context in which children acquire their languages. Early bilingual development in the home, for example, does not take place in isolation. It occurs within a community, country and culture , which means that the home is surrounded by expectations, pressures and politics.

For example, being a member of an immigrant community, an elite group, a majority or a minority language group are important societal or 'macro' influences in the acquisition of bilingualism. Consider the different life experiences of middle-and upper-class privileged bilinguals (e.g. children of diplomats, expatriates learning two prestigious languages), majority language children living in minority language communities, and minority language children living in majority language communities (e.g. immigrants, Native Americans). In each of these groups, societal pressures and family language planning may be supportive or conflicting, affecting choices, access and language outcomes. There are also 'micro' environments such as the street, crèche, nursery, school, local community and the extended family that similarly foster bilingualism. Such contexts tend to make dual language use by a child a constantly shifting rather than a stable phenomenon.

The variety of individual differences and social contexts makes simple generalizations about the development of bilingualism difficult and risky. The chapter therefore commences with a basic typology of the development of childhood bilingualism.

Childhood Bilingualism

More children worldwide grow up to become bilinguals or multilinguals rather than monolinguals . Some children become bilinguals almost effortlessly from birth. Others learn a language in school or later as adults. An initial distinction is between simultaneous and sequential childhood bilingualism. Simultaneous childhood bilingualism refers to a child acquiring two languages at the same time from birth, sometimes called

infant bilingualism, bilingual acquisition and bilingual first language acquisition (De Houwer, 2009). For example, where one parent speaks one language to the child, and the other parent speaks a different language, the child may learn both languages simultaneously. This is called the one parent-one language (OPOL) approach (Barron-Hauwaert, 2004). An example of sequential childhood bilingualism is when a child learns one language in the home, then goes to a nursery or elementary school and learns a second language. For these emergent bilinguals (see Chapter 1), there are no exact boundaries between simultaneous and sequential bilingualism , although the age of acquisition is often used as a marker.

In contrast, second language classes for children and adults usually foster bilingualism through direct instruction (see Chapter 6). This leads to a distinction between informal language acquisition and more formal language learning. However, the boundary between acquisition and learning is not distinct. Informal language acquisition can occur, for example, in a second language classroom. Thus, the distinction between naturally becoming bilingual and being taught to become bilingual has imprecise borders. Serratrice (2013) notes that the profile of bilinguals constantly changes as their need for and use of each of their languages can vary greatly over time, depending on such factors as context, purpose, the formality of the situation, and who they wish or need to interact with. The term dynamic bilingualism captures this ever-changing nature of language use by emergent bilinguals (O. García, 2009a).

The Simultaneous Acquisition of Bilingualism and Multilingualism

Parents, members of the public and politicians sometimes buy into the false belief that acquiring two languages from birth is detrimental to a child's language growth. On the contrary, babies appear biologically ready to acquire, store and differentiate two or more languages from birth onwards (Serratrice, 2013). Infant bilingualism is normal and natural, with evidence that it is typically beneficial in many ways: cognitively (see Chapter 7), culturally (see Chapter 18), communicatively (see Chapter 1), for higher curriculum achievement (see Chapters 11 and 12), and to increase the chances of employment and promotion (see Chapter 19).

To acquire successfully two languages from birth, babies need to be able to: (a) differentiate between the two languages, and (b) effectively store

the two languages for both understanding (input) and speaking (output). Research suggests infants have these capacities, making infant bilingualism very viable (De Houwer, 2009; Serratrice, 2013).

As early as eight months, but more often around a bilingual child's first birthday, they may utter their first words in both languages. While the growth in each language may be uneven due to differential experience in each language, the vocabulary of such bilingual children tends to show a similar number of meanings. Studies of early bilinguals 'that compare the total number of meanings (or conceptual vocabulary) that bilingual children expressed with monolingual children's total number of meanings found no differences between the two groups' (De Houwer, 2009: 229). Early bilinguals may even have an advantage compared with monolinguals in that they learn new words and labels for concepts at a faster pace (De Houwer, 2009). This may be due to their need to understand people referring to the same thing in two languages.

Differentiation Between Two Languages in the Infant

Infants show discrimination between the two languages very early. Memory for language sounds even operates in the fetal stage, such that the processes of bilingual acquisition appear to start before birth. Upon birth, newborns immediately prefer their mother's voice to that of any other mother, but not if the mother's recorded voice is played backwards. Also, newborns respond more to prose passages read to them regularly before birth than to new prose, even when not read by the mother. Thus an infant is not just recognizing the mother's voice. There is also immediate sound discrimination: the beginning of 'breaking the code'. There appears to be an immediate receptive language differentiation in the newborn particularly in intonation (De Houwer, 2009). Moon et al. (2013), in a study of newborn infants in Sweden and the US, found evidence that soon after birth, babies respond to the familiar native language they heard in the womb differently than to unfamiliar non-native languages. In a study by Byers-Heinlein et al. (2010) newborn babies born to bilingual Tagalog-English mothers could discriminate between, and showed preferences for, the two languages equally. This was in contrast to the control group of babies born to English monolingual mothers who showed a strong preference for English. Maneva and Genesee (2002) found that infants in the babbling stage (around 10–12 months of age) exposed to two languages from birth have a tendency to babble in their

stronger language and demonstrate language-specific babbling features of each language. Garcia-Sierra et al . (2011) found that the brains of infants raised in bilingual Spanish-English homes demonstrate a longer period of being open and flexible to different languages in comparison with infants raised in monolingual households whose brains typically narrowed to their sole language by the end of their first year.

Research has shown that by age two bilingual children know which language to speak 'to whom' and in 'what situation' (De Houwer, 2009; Serratrice, 2013). They are able to use 'appropriate language matching' when talking to others, and can even rapidly and accurately accommodate the monolingualism or bilingualism of a stranger and talk in the appropriate language (Deuchar & Quay, 2000; Genesee, Boivin & Nicoladis, 1996). Bilingual children tend to mix languages less when addressing monolinguals, but translanguage more when addressing bilinguals (see below) (Comeau et al. , 2003). Thus, the ability to use the appropriate language with a particular person occurs very early. A variety of factors affect a child's language choice: exposure to two languages in different social contexts, the attitudes of parents to the two languages and to mixing the languages, the language competences and metalinguistic abilities of the child, personality, peer interaction, exposure to different forms of language education, as well as sociolinguistic influences such as the norms, values and beliefs of the community.

Language Choices of Parents

When parents can potentially use more than one language with their children, there is language choice in raising their children. This choice has been referred to as 'private language planning' (Piller, 2001) and more recently as 'family language policy' (Schwartz & Verschik, 2013). Where parents have the ability to speak both languages to their children, there may be a latent understanding or sometimes a conscious strategy about which language to use with the child from birth upwards. However, Piller (2002) found that many couples do not make a conscious decision about which language(s) to use in the home. Such language choice may derive from a habit formed from the first interaction between the couple, compensation (e.g. using one's native language in return for not living in the homeland) and identity (projecting a desired self-image). Parents' attitudes to languages, their preferred identity, and an overall cost benefit analysis are also influential in their choices. Other influences include the

extended family and friends. Language choice may change depending on where a family currently resides. For example, a transnational bilingual Japanese-English family is more likely to use more Japanese at home while living in Japan but more English while living in Australia. Similarly, a bilingual Spanish-English family living in Nogales along the Mexican border in southern Arizona may find their use of Spanish at home decline if they move further north to Phoenix or Flagstaff.

Children's own preferences can be highly influential. As Fogle (2013) argues, 'Family language policy is not simply the result of parental ideologies and strategies, but rather a dynamic process in which children play an active role of influencing code choice and shaping family language ideologies' (pp. 196 – 197). Sibling interactions are also a major determinant of language choice (Barron-Hauwaert, 2011). Older and younger brothers and sisters play their part in shaping language interactions in the family. Multilingual extended families may have increased choices of language, particularly if coming from 'elite' circumstances. Grandparents, aunts and uncles, cousins and caregivers can all affect which language a child speaks with whom, when and where. Other families may not always have the luxury of options (e.g. less educated or disadvantaged minority language parents in a majority language community).

Some bilingual parents choose to use just one of their languages with the child. For varied reasons, a mother and father, for example, may use just Arabic or only English with the child. A different approach, as noted earlier, is the one-parent one-language approach (Barron-Hauwaert, 2004). For example, the mother may speak Arabic to the child and the father may speak English. Very few families obtain an equal balance between the two languages (e.g. as parents may speak to each other in one language). A third circumstance is when bilingual parents both speak the minority language to their children, leaving the child to learn the majority language outside the home.

Parents make language choices by conscious, subconscious and spontaneous decisions that are both general and local/specific (Lanza, 2007; Pavlenko, 2004). Piller (2002) found that parental choice of family languages relates to desired language, cultural and gender identity. Fogle and King (2013) found that child agency and language use patterns also have an impact on a parent's language behaviors. Thus, the societal

contexts in which the family is placed affect language choices. Such choices may be relatively stable across time, but there are also choices that reflect a local, particular event (e.g. when a stranger enters the house everyone changes to the majority language). Thus, strategies and choices are often pragmatically flexible in family language situations, as visitors and contexts change.

Emotions affect language choice and strategies. Different languages may be used by parents to convey the emotions of praise and discipline, love and instructions, such that parents are often multilingual and not monolingual in language interactions with their children (Pavlenko, 2004). Pavlenko (2004) observed, 'Many [parents] draw on multiple linguistic repertoires, uttering "I love you" in one language, endearments in another, and "Go clean your room!" in yet another' (p. 200).

Bilingualism in childhood is also influenced by factors outside of parents and the home. With recent immigrants, the parents may speak the heritage language , but the children (especially teenagers) speak to each other in the language of the street, school and television. Playing with neighborhood children, making friends in and out of school with majority language speakers and use of the mass media may help create bilingualism in the child. An alternative scenario is when the grandparents and other relations use a different language with the child than the home language. For example, Chinese-American children may speak English at school and at home with their parents and siblings, but acquire at least a passive understanding of Chinese through regular visits to extended family members (Rampton & Charalambous, 2012).

Types of Early Childhood Bilingualism

Broad types or categories of early childhood bilingualism may be considered based on the language or languages spoken by the parents to the children and the language of the community. Not all children fit neatly into such categories. For example, De Houwer (2009) suggests that the most typical input pattern a bilingual child experiences is a combination of hearing some people only speaking one language plus hearing other people speaking both languages on a regular basis. Some families also are exceptions (e.g. one of the parents always addresses the child in a language that is not his/her native language). Parents who have learnt Basque as a second language sometimes speak Basque to their children

so that it becomes their first language. There will also be an uneven distribution in the use of two or more languages, and that tends to change over time as family, social and educational circumstances, and language use opportunities vary. A bilingual child rarely or never has an equal balance in two-language experience. Hence, balanced bilingualism (see Chapter 1) is more of a myth than a reality.

1. One Parent – One Language

The one-parent one-language (OPOL) approach, as described earlier, is commonly viewed as a highly successful strategy (Example: mother speaks English; father speaks Dutch – the community language). However, it tends to imply incorrectly that it is only the parents that influence language acquisition. Community influences are also important (e.g. pre-school, extended family, mass media). A particular example is when children are raised in multilingual cities (e.g. Brussels, New York, Sydney), and the diverse language experience may add much variation to this strategy. As De Houwer (2007) found in research on 1,899 families in Flanders, Belgium, the OPOL strategy does not provide a necessary nor a sufficient context for the growth of bilingualism in children. The success rate in her families was 75%. Also, the OPOL approach is much more difficult than it sounds, and can be physically and emotionally taxing on families (Barron-Hauwaert, 2004; Okita, 2002). It assumes the child interacts equally with both parents – an unlikely scenario if one parent works outside the home and the other is the primary caregiver. Furthermore, the fact that it requires such constant conscious effort suggests that it grinds against the dynamic nature of bilingualism and the natural ways bilinguals actually use their languages in daily life (O. García, 2009a).

2. Home Language is Different from the Language Outside the Home

There is much variation within this category (e.g. in terms of parental first language, neighborhood and language of schooling). What is central is that the child acquires one language in the home, and a different language outside the home. Both parents will use the same language in the home, and the child will acquire another language formally or informally outside the home. One parent may be using their second language. (Example: father is a native English speaker but uses fluent Korean with his child; mother speaks Korean; the community language is

English.) The parents' language may be the same as that of the local neighborhood, or it may be different. If it is different, then the child may, for example, acquire the second language at school. One further variation can produce multilingualism. If each parent speaks a different language to the child from birth, the child may gain a third language outside the home. This often results in trilingualism. (Example: mother speaks German; father speaks Italian; the community language is English.)

3. Mixed Language

The parents speak both languages to the child. Translanguaging (see later) is acceptable in the home and the neighborhood. The child will typically translanguage with other bilinguals but not with monolinguals. However, some domains (e.g. school) may expect separation of language code. The community may have a dominant language or not. (Example: mother and father speak Maltese and English; the community language is Maltese and English.)

4. Delayed Introduction of the Second Language

Where the neighborhood, community and school language is a higher status and dominant language, parents may delay exposure to that dominant language. For example, parents may exclusively speak Farsi in the home until the child is two or three years of age, then add English. The tactic is to ensure a strong foundation in a heritage language before the dominant language outside the home becomes pervasive.

Limitations

One main limitation of this category system is that most types are concerned with 'prestigious bilingualism', where there is a relatively stable additive bilingual environment and a family commitment to bilingualism. In communities where subtractive bilingualism operates, and assimilation (see Chapter 18) is politically dominant, childhood bilingualism can be much less stable. Piller (2001) also suggests that, of the four types listed above, types one and two have come to be regarded as successful strategies, and that types three and four are more negatively evaluated. However, this masks a social class difference. Type one is associated particularly with 'elite' and middle class families. Types three and four are often found among relatively economically disadvantaged heritage language groups, immigrants and working-class families.

Note that the above types do not account for languages spoken by siblings or others who may be living in the home, or other major linguistic influences in the home such as books, mass media, the internet and social media. Also, there are agencies other than the family that can play a major role in early childhood bilingualism. Before the age of three, the language experience with neighbors, friends, crèche and the nursery school may be a particularly important part of becoming bilingual. This chapter continues by focusing on the relatively well-documented routes to childhood bilingualism.

Case Studies of Early Bilingualism

Some of the earliest research on bilingualism concerns detailed case studies of children becoming bilingual. For example, Ronjat and Escudé (1913) described a case of the mother speaking German and the father speaking French in a French community. This case study introduced the OPOL concept. While there have been a number of case studies of children growing up bilingually since then, one of the most detailed of case studies is by Leopold (1970). In his classic study of his daughter Hildegard from 1930 to 1949, Leopold spoke only German and his wife spoke only English to Hildegard at home. Leopold was a phonetician by training and made a comprehensive record of the development of Hildegard's speech, which he published in four books.

One important aspect of Leopold's studies is the shifting balance of the two languages in childhood. When Hildegard went to Germany, her German became stronger. When back in the US and attending school, Hildegard's English became the dominant language. Many bilingual situations are changeable, where, at an individual level (and not just at a societal level), the languages shift in dominance. Hildegard, for example was reluctant to speak German during her mid-teens, with German becoming the weaker language. Leopold's second daughter, Karla, understood German but spoke very little German to her father. In childhood, Karla was a passive bilingual. Yet at the age of 19, Karla visited Germany where she was able to change from receptive German to productive German, managing to converse relatively fluently in German.

A more recent longitudinal study of bilingual first language acquisition is by Taura and Taura (2012) who documented the linguistic and narrative development of a Japanese-English bilingual girl for 14 years from early

childhood (age 4;09) to late adolescence (19;01). The girl, referred to as 'M', grew up in Japan with an English-speaking mother and a Japanese-speaking father. She received most of her education in Japan except for Kindergarten and grade 6 which she received during extended stays in Australia. M attended a bilingual secondary school in Japan for grades 7–12 where half the subjects were taught in English and half were taught in Japanese. Despite the typological distance between English and Japanese, and despite far less exposure to English than Japanese during her lifespan, Taura and Taura found that with just a few exceptions, M's English language development was 'similar or identical to that of a monolingual [English speaker] in core linguistic areas' (p. 475). However, they acknowledge that it is difficult to tell if M's English proficiency would have been the same without the time she spent living and attending school in Australia. Nonetheless, like Hildegard in Leopold's study, M experienced some notable shifts in her language balance at various points during her childhood and adolescent years.

Other examples of shifting bilingualism in childhood are also found in shorter-term case studies by Fantini (1985) who details a child's shift between English, Italian and Spanish, and Yukawa (1997) who examines three cases of first language Japanese loss and re-acquisition. Yamamoto (2002) found in Japan that 'many parents testify, however, that in spite of their full-fledged care, their children have not developed active bilingual abilities' (p. 545). De Houwer (2003) found that among some 2,500 bilingual families, 1 in 5 children reared bilingually do not later use one of those languages. But as Quay (2001) concludes with regard to trilinguals: 'passive competence is valuable as the potential exists for his two weaker languages to be activated and used more actively later on … The status of strong and weak languages can change over the course of the child's life' (p. 194). De Houwer (2006) suggests that passive competence can rapidly change to productive competence by a major increase in input and a need to speak that language (e.g. visiting monolingual grandparents, a vacation).

Apart from the OPOL approach of raising children bilingually, there are other case studies showing different approaches. Two of these approaches have already been mentioned: each parent speaking a different language to the child; and parents speaking a minority language to the child who acquires a second language in the community or extended family. A third approach, which may be more common, occurs

where both parents (and the community) are bilingual and use both their languages with the children. For example, this is quite common across Spanish bilingual communities in the US and other English-speaking countries (Fuller, 2013; Potowski & Rothman, 2011). Parental mixing of languages can still lead to a child communicating effectively in two languages, especially as the child learns that the two languages have relatively distinct forms and uses.

An example of parents using both languages with their first-born is by Deuchar and Quay (2000). A simplified profile of such dual language use with Deuchar's daughter (from 0;10 to 2;3) follows:

Mother: Born in UK, native speaker of English, learnt fluent Spanish in adulthood.

Father: Born in Cuba, later lived in Panama and then UK, native speaker of Spanish, began learning English at high school and became fluent in English.

Language spoken to daughter by mother: English up to age 1, then Spanish. Spanish used by the mother when talking to the father; English when in the company of English speakers (e.g. crèche) or in a specific context (e.g. university campus).

Language spoken to daughter by father: Spanish except when English speaker present, then he used English.

Language spoken to daughter by maternal grandmother/caregivers/crèche: English.

Community: English.

Trips abroad: Spanish.

What is significant in this case study is that the daughter experienced her parents speaking both languages, with the context providing the rule-bound behavior. Both parents were fluent and effective role models in both languages, although each parent was a native speaker of one language and a learner of a second language. The switching between English and Spanish was not random but governed by the situation. This illustrates a danger of the OPOL model in that it can restrict discussion to

the home, as if the parents are almost the only language influence. In contrast, siblings, extended families, caregivers, crèche, pre-schooling, friends of the family and many varying contexts (e.g. religious, geographical mobility) often have an additional language effect (Barron-Hauwaert, 2011). Parents may be able to plan language use when together as a nuclear family, however, once other people enter the house, and especially in the child's language experience outside the home, parental control is limited.

The development of a child's bilingualism is affected by both local (e.g. street, school) and regional contexts. For example, Chang (2004) found in Taiwan that children can find themselves in an awkward language context. The pressure is to gain perfect English, but if they become too Americanized, for example in emotional expression, they can be rejected for not being Chinese enough.

One-Parent Families and Bilingualism

Most case studies of bilingual children have been based on two-parent families. Books dealing with raising children bilingually tend to assume the presence of two parents in the family home. By accident rather than design, this implies that a one-parent family has little or no chance of raising a child bilingually. This is not true. Two examples will illustrate this.

1. A second language is often acquired outside the home. In parts of Africa, children acquire one language at home or in the neighborhood and another language (or even two or three) at school or in inter-ethnic communication in urban areas (see, e.g. Chimbutane, 2011). Children of immigrant United States communities may acquire Spanish, for example, in the home and neighborhood, and learn English at school. A single parent who speaks French but resides in the US may decide to make French the family language so that the children may have the opportunity of bilingualism. In cases like these, the absence of a father or mother does not necessarily hinder a child's bilingual development.

2. In some cases, the maintenance of a family's bilingualism may be challenged by the absence of a parent. In cases such as those in (1) above, where one parent speaks the dominant language of the community to the children, and the other parent uses a minority language with them, the death or departure of the second parent may

mean that the family becomes monolingual. However, if the remaining parent is committed to the maintenance of the family's bilingualism, it can be accomplished in various ways.

The disruption of a family by death or divorce is typically traumatic for both parents and children. At times of great mental and emotional stress, when many practical difficulties and changes have to be faced, bilingualism may seem low on the list of priorities. However, single-parent families are often adept at meeting challenges and may look for ways of maintaining a child's bilingualism without causing further disruption to the child's life. In addition, where a child has undergone such stress, it may be wise, if possible, to avoid the added trauma of losing a language, a culture and an intrinsic part of the child's identity.

Trilingualism/Multilingualism

Many people are multilingual and not just bilingual. For example, some Swedish people are fluent in Swedish, German and English. Many individuals in the African and Indian continents speak a local, regional and national or international language. In the Republic of Zaire, children may learn a local vernacular at home, a regional language such as Lingala or Kikongo in the community or at school, and French as they proceed through schooling. Early trilingualism, when a child is exposed to three languages from birth, is rarer than trilingualism achieved through schooling (e.g. two languages learnt at school).

Particular examples of trilingual schooling are found in the Basque Country (Basque, Spanish, English) (see Cenoz, 2009), Catalonia (Catalan, Spanish, English) (see Muñoz, 2000), Finland (Finnish, Swedish, English) (see Bjorklund & Suni, 2000), Friesland (Frisian, Dutch, English) (Ytsma, 2000), and Romania (Romanian, Hungarian, English) (see Iatcu, 2000). Trilingual education is common throughout South Asia (Panda & Mohanty, 2015) and China (Feng & Adamson, 2015) with instruction in a regional and national language, plus English as an international language. A particular challenge in these settings, however is maintaining an appropriate balance between powerful international and national languages and the local and regional languages. Trilingual education is returned to in Chapter 11 .

One route to multilingualism is parents speaking two different languages to their children at home. The children then take their education through a

third language. Alternatively, the children pick up a third language from their grandparents, caregivers, visitors, playmates or the mass media. The majority language of the community is likely to influence the relative strengths of the three languages. The relative proficiency in each of the three languages may also change over time. Stable trilingualism seems less likely than stable bilingualism. Three languages can be acquired simultaneously or consecutively with a wealth of individual and societal variables interacting with such acquisition. Hence, simple conclusions about the development of trilingualism become difficult. However, metalinguistic awareness (see Chapter 7) seems to be a typical outcome of trilingualism (Jessner, 2006).

There are very few case studies of the development of multilingual children (see Quay, 2011 for a review). Wang (2008, 2011, 2015) provides a most comprehensive, detailed and thorough study as both an academic and as a mother. Her 11-year observation of her two sons acquiring French (their father's language), Chinese (Putonghua – their mother's language) and English (in the context of the United States) involved careful observation on a daily basis, videotaping and audiotaping. This remarkable study is refreshingly holistic, including linguistic and sociolinguistic perspectives, while at the same time revealing considerable parental insight and wisdom. Wang details the complexities, challenges and achievements of a decade of development, not only of three languages but also of related identity, personality and literacy.

Quay (2001) researched a child raised in German (spoken by the father to the child and the language used between mother and father) and English (used by the mother when addressing the child). Both parents were fluent in Japanese, which was the language of the local community (e.g. where their son attended daycare that operated in Japanese). There was a change in language exposure over the first two years, for example due to visits abroad and changes in the father's work schedule (see Table 5.1). Such changes are quite common for early trilinguals and bilinguals.

The table shows that this child was less exposed to German than English. At 1;3 it was not apparent that the child understood much German. Yet after two weeks in Germany at 1;3 the mother reports that he 'shocked us with how much he understood in German when spoken to by the extended family' (Quay, 2001: 174). This is also a common experience for families: understanding (and speaking) a second or third language quickly

grows once there is sufficient exposure and incentive. However, Quay also shows that the child was a developing trilingual rather than an active trilingual. This child preferred to speak Japanese to his parents as he had more lexical resources in Japanese, and his parents understood and accepted his Japanese utterances. He tended to be a passive trilingual, understanding English and German, but speaking Japanese.

Table 5.1 Language exposure of a trilingual child

Age of child	% English heard	% German heard	% Japanese heard
Birth to 11 months	70%	30%	0%
11 months to 1:0 year	50%	20%	30%
1:0 to 1:5 years	43%	23%	34%
1:5 to 1:6 years	45%	10%	45%

Note: Adapted from Quay (2001)

A case study by Dewaele (2000) follows Livia, who was raised in Dutch by her mother, in French by her father, with English acquired in her London neighborhood. The mother and father use Dutch when speaking together, making Dutch the dominant language of the family. English quickly became her 'default language' when meeting new children in London. From 0;5 to 2;6 Livia learnt Urdu from a childminder, thus becoming quadralingual at an early age. By 1;2 she had a passive knowledge of some 150 French, Dutch, Urdu and English words. Multiword utterances in Dutch and French appeared at 2;2. Awareness of her languages (metalinguistic awareness – see Chapter 7) came before her second birthday. The value of multilingualism was also understood at a very early age: 'If she doesn't get the cookie she ordered in one language, she codeswitches to the other, just to make sure we understand her request' (p. 5).

However, by five years of age, status and acceptance by peers had become important. Her father reports that she 'does not want me to speak French to her at school and addresses me …. in English, or whispers French in my ear' (Dewaele, 2002: 547). She wanted to avoid standing out from her peers, even in multiethnic London. In later childhood, Livia remained fluent in three languages but because 'she goes to an English school, is surrounded by English-speaking friends, watches English films, reads English books, hence the logical and inevitable dominance of

English. It is her social language and also her 'inner' language' (Dewaele, 2007: 69). Livia was also allowed to respond in English when her parents talked to her in another language. 'By insisting too much on using our languages, we feared we could create the opposite effect, namely a complete refusal to use the languages at all' (p. 70). Dewaele concludes that, by the age of 10, becoming trilingual from birth was not hard to achieve, but the difficulty predominately exists in the maintenance and development of all three languages.

In a review of research on trilingualism, Cenoz and Genesee (1998) conclude that 'bilingualism does not hinder the acquisition of an additional language and, to the contrary, in most cases bilingualism favors the acquisition of a third language' (p. 20). Cenoz (2003) also suggests that 'studies on the effect of bilingualism on third language acquisition tend to confirm the advantages of bilinguals over monolinguals in language learning' (p. 82). The cognitive advantages of bilingualism such as a wider linguistic repertoire, enhanced learning strategies, cognitive flexibility and metalinguistic awareness (see Chapter 7) and the development of enhanced linguistic processing strategies may help explain this positive effect of bilingualism on acquiring a third language (Cenoz, 2003, 2009). The linguistic interdependence hypothesis (see Chapter 8) also suggests that positive influences may occur from bilingualism to trilingualism (Cenoz, 2003, 2009).

Clyne et al. (2004) found multiple positive social, cultural and cognitive advantages of multilingualism. Such multilinguals were found to be effective and enduring language learners, whose bilingualism is a language apprenticeship for further language learning. They conclude that 'acquiring a third language at school boosts students' confidence in their bilingualism and makes them appreciate their home language more, in some cases even leading to a desire to maintain their heritage language in the future and pass it on to the next generation' (p. 49). Clyne et al. also found that acquisition of a third language awakens and deepens interest in other languages, cultures and countries, creating more multicultural and global citizens.

Codeswitching and Translanguaging

One issue frequently raised by parents and teachers of bilingual children of differing ages is about one language being mixed with another. Terms

such as Hinglish, Spanglish, Tex-Mex and Wenglish (respectively for Hindi-English, Spanish-English, Texan Mexican-Spanish and Welsh-English) are used – sometimes in a derogatory fashion – to describe what may have become natural practices within a bilingual community.

Codeswitching

Various terms have been used to describe switches between languages in conversation, and terminology remains a vexed issues (Gardner-Chloros, 2009). The terms codemixing and codeswitching were often used interchangeably, though some scholars make subtle distinctions between them based on where the switches occur. Here we will simply use the term codeswitching to refer to any switches between languages that occur within or across sentences during the same conversation or discourse .

Very few bilinguals keep their two languages completely separate, and the ways in which they mix them are complex and varied. Grosjean and Li (2013) distinguish between the 'monolingual mode' when bilinguals use one of their languages with monolingual speakers of that language, and the 'bilingual mode' when bilinguals are in the company of other bilinguals and have the option of switching languages. Even in the 'monolingual mode', bilinguals occasionally switch their languages inter-sententially. Here are a few examples of types of codeswitches:

Switching a single word within an utterance or sentence (Spanish/English):

Leo un magazine [I read a magazine]

Switching within a sentence (English/Spanish):

Please go to the mercado and buy some leche y queso. [Please go the store and buy some milk and cheese]

Switching from one sentence to the next (English/Welsh)

Come to the table. Bwyd yn barod. [Food is ready]

Many scholars study codeswitching from a linguistic perspective (e.g. 'where in a sentence can a speaker change languages?'). Some seminal and recent examples include Myers-Scotton (1997), Poplack and

Meechan (1998), Muysken (2000), Toribio (2004), and MacSwan (2013, 2014). One main language (called the matrix language) provides the grammatical rules that govern how something is said when there is codeswitching (Myers-Scotton, 2002). Codeswitching thus involves a rule-bound (e.g. word order, verb endings) use of the 'other' language, as such language insertions will fit those matrix language rules.

In contrast, language interference was a term that was once used to refer to when people acquiring two languages mixed their languages. Many bilinguals regard this as a negative and pejorative term, revealing a monolingual perspective and suggesting that there is a problem when a bilingual speaks. For the child, moving between languages may occur to convey thoughts and ideas in the most personally efficient manner. The child may also realize that the listener understands such switching. As Toribio (2004) suggests: intra-sentential [within sentence] codeswitching 'is not a random mixture of two flawed systems; rather, it is rule-governed and systematic, demonstrating the operation of underlying grammatical restrictions. Proficient bilinguals may be shown to exhibit a shared knowledge of what constitutes appropriate intra-sentential codeswitching' (p. 137).

Translanguaging

The term translanguaging has recently been introduced and has become highly popular in usage across different disciplines. However, since it is new, its meaning and use are still developing. For many scholars, translanguaging goes well beyond the relatively more linguistic idea of codeswitching. Thus codeswitching and translanguaging are not two discrete terms and have overlaps. In listening to a conversation in a classroom, to differentiate between codeswitching and translanguaging is often difficult. For O. García (2009a), codeswitching is a component inside translanguaging, with translanguaging incorporating codeswitching. However, there is a relatively long and solid tradition in linguistics research on codeswitching such that using both terms is currently important.

Translanguaging recognizes that the languages we use integrate, change and adapt to new learning and new situations, with effects on identity and experiences. We combine all our language resources to unlock meaning and share our understandings with others. Our use of two or more

languages changes across people, time, place and need. Translanguaging in bi/multilingual communication is thus fluid and dynamic, sometimes messy and inventive, making and conveying meaning as best as possible (O. García, 2009a). 'Trans' suggests continual movement across and between languages, but also suggests that such translanguaging is transformative in thinking and speaking, in identity and interpersonal relationships, for example.

Thus, translanguaging has recently been used in a different way to codeswitching by focusing on how bilinguals actually use their two languages in daily life as they draw upon all of their linguistic resources to make sense of their world and meaningfully communicate with others (O. García, 2009a). In other words, codeswitching tends to focus relatively more on the 'code' (i.e. the language itself), whereas translanguaging focuses relatively more on bilingual speakers and the ways in which they use their various linguistic resources (O. García & Li Wei, 2014). García acknowledges that from an external social perspective, the behavior of codeswitching and translanguaging may look the same, 'but seen from the internal perspective of the bilingual speaker, translanguaging behavior is clearly different' because it 'legitimizes the fluid language practices with which bilinguals operate' and also 'posits that bilinguals have a much more complex and expanded repertoire than monolinguals' (Grosjean, 2016: 1). Our discussion in this section will consider the natural ways bilinguals make use of codeswitching in their translanguaging practices (see Chapter 13 for further discussions on translanguaging).

Box 5.1 Language borrowing

Language borrowing refers to foreign loan words or phrases that have become an integral and permanent part of the recipient language. Examples are le weekend from English into the French language and der computer from English into the German language. All languages borrow words or phrases from other languages with which they come into contact. Words commonly used by English speakers such as patio , croissant and jaguar are loan words from Spanish, French and Portuguese respectively. Loan words may start out as frequently occurring codeswitches, though it is often difficult to distinguish between them. It may be more accurate to think of them as forming a continuum.

The Context of Codeswitching and Translanguaging

Children's codeswitching and translanguaging is influenced by the language model provided by parents and significant others in the family, school and community. If parents use both languages regularly, then their children may imitate. If, on the other hand, parents discourage mixing languages (e.g. by clear language separation), then less codeswitching may occur. What is culturally appropriate, the norm of the community, and what is valued by parents and others will have an important influence, as may the extent of the child's repertoire in each language.

Codeswitching and translanguaging may also be less acceptable for political, social or cultural reasons. If a power conflict exists between different ethnic groups, then language may be perceived as a prime marker of a separate identity, and codeswitching may seem disloyal. Some monolinguals have negative attitudes to codeswitching and translanguaging, believing that it shows a communication deficit, or a lack of mastery of both languages. Some monolinguals and bilinguals are language purists who strongly believe that codeswitching is a corruption of both languages. When scholar Ilan Stavans (2003) published a Spanglish dictionary, translated a portion of Don Quixote into Spanglish, taught a university course about Spanglish, and undertook other activities in defense of Spanglish, he reported receiving hostile messages and even death threats from individuals in the United States, Spain, Mexico, Colombia and Argentina (Stavans, 2014). But Stavans noted he has was also 'showered with great applause' and held up by many as a 'folk hero' and 'a subversive intellectual undermining the status quo' (p. 2). Codeswitching is thus not always acceptable, and that includes to bilingual speakers themselves. Some bilinguals adopt a relatively more monolingual approach and attempt to keep their languages separate. Bilinguals themselves may be defensive or apologetic about their codeswitching and attribute it to laziness or sloppy language.

Some bilingual education programs (e.g. dual language education, see Chapter 11) attempt to insist on a relatively strict separation of the languages. However, translanguaging can be a valuable thinking tool, including in the classroom. It does not happen at random. There is typically purpose and logic in changing languages, as will be shown below. It is using the full language resources that are available to a bilingual, usually knowing that the listener fully understands the dual language or multilingual communication.

If codeswitching is highly prevalent in a language group, it is sometimes regarded as a sign that the minority language is about to disappear. Such codeswitching may be seen by some as a halfway house in a societal shift from the minority language to the dominant majority language. Identifying the matrix (main, dominant) language that provides the rules from codeswitching becomes a key indicator of the health of a minority language. For example, if the matrix language is Navajo and there are English insertions, this indicator for the future of Navajo will be positive. However, if the grammatical frame is English, this indicator for Navajo may be negative.

Familiarity, projected status, the ethos of the context and the perceived linguistic skills of the listeners affect the nature and process of codeswitching and translanguaging (Martin-Jones, 2000). Thus, codeswitching and translanguaging are not just linguistic; they indicate important social and power relationships. A variety of factors may affect the extent to which children and adults switch between their languages. The perceived status of the listeners, familiarity with those persons, atmosphere of the setting and perceived linguistic skills of the listeners are examples of variables that may foster or prevent codeswitching and translanguaging. Such factors operate as young as two years of age.

The Purposes and Uses of Codeswitching

The following text mostly derives from the history of writings on codeswitching. However, given the overlap between codeswitching and translanguaging, much of the text also appears to relate to translanguaging. Codeswitches and translanguaging have a variety of purposes and aims. Translanguaging will vary according to who is in the conversation, what the topic is, and in what kind of context the conversation occurs. The languages used may be negotiated and may change with the topic of conversation. Also, social, economic, political, identity and symbolic factors can influence translanguaging. For example, competition between language groups, the relationships between the language majority and language minority , the norms of the community and inter-group relations in a community may have a major effect on the use of translanguaging.

Fourteen overlapping purposes of codeswitching and translanguaging will now be considered:

1. Emphasis . Codeswitches may be used to emphasize a particular point in a conversation. If one word needs stressing or is central in a sentence, a switch may be made (e.g. English/Welsh: ‘get out of the mud, hogyn drwg ! [bad boy]).

2. Substitution . If a person does not know a word or a phrase in a language, that person may substitute a word in another language. As Genesee (2006) suggests, ‘bilingual children might be compelled to draw on the resources of their more proficient language in order to express themselves fully when using their less well-developed language’ (p. 53). This lexical gap often happens because bilinguals use different languages in different domains of their lives. A young person may, for instance, switch from the home language to the language used in school to talk about a subject such as mathematics or computers. Similarly, an adult may codeswitch when talking about work, because the technical terms associated with work are only known in that language.

3. Concepts without equivalences . Words or phrases in two languages may not correspond exactly and the bilingual may switch to one language to express a concept that has no equivalent in the culture of the other language. This is part of the recent conceptualization of translanguaging. For example, a French–English bilingual living in Britain may use words like ‘pub’ or ‘bingo hall’ when speaking French, because there are no exact French equivalents for these words. Likewise, in Cambodian university courses on education policy, words and phrases such as ‘child-centered instruction’, ‘active learning’ and even ‘codeswitching’ may be used in English during lectures presented in Khmer, as standardized equivalents of these terms in Khmer have not yet been coined and widely adopted.

4. Problem solving . Children sometimes move between their languages to help think through a problem. Having tried a problem in one language, they may use their other language(s) to re-phrase and re-think. For example, different associations of words in another language, moving to or from the pedagogic language by teachers, or using the counting system in another language, may help problem solve. This is part of the origins of the term ‘translanguaging’.

5. Reinforcement . Codeswitching may be used to reinforce a request. For example, a French language teacher may repeat a command to accent and underline it (e.g. ‘ Taisez-vous les enfants ! Be quiet, children!’). An Arabic-speaking mother in New York may use English with her children for short commands like ‘Stop it! Don’t do that!’ and then switch back to Arabic.

6. Clarification . Repetition of a phrase or passage in another language may also be used to clarify a point. Some teachers in classrooms introduce a concept in one language, and then explain or clarify it in another language, believing it adds reinforcement and completeness of understanding.

7. Identity . Codeswitching and translanguaging may be used to express identity, shorten social distance, and communicate friendship or family bonding. For example, moving from the common majority language to the minority language which both the listener and speaker understand well may communicate friendship and common identity. Similarly, a person may deliberately use codeswitching to indicate the need to be accepted by a peer group. Someone with a rudimentary knowledge of a language may inject words of that new language into sentences to indicate a desire to identify and affiliate. The use of the listener’s stronger language in part of the conversation may indicate deference, wanting to belong or to be accepted.

8. Reported speech . In relating a conversation held previously, the person may report the conversation in the language or languages used. For example, two people may be speaking Spanish together. When one reports a previous conversation with an English monolingual, that conversation is reported authentically – for example, in English – as it occurred. For example a son might say to his mother, ‘Mi maestro me dijo, [My teacher told me] “you can’t go to the fieldtrip until your parents sign the form.”’

9. Interjections . Codeswitching is sometimes used as a way of interjecting into a conversation. A person attempting to break into a conversation may introduce a different language. Interrupting a conversation may be signaled by changing language.

10. Ease tension and/or inject humor . Codeswitching and translanguaging may be used to ease tension and inject humor into a

conversation. If discussions are becoming tense in a committee, the use of a second language may signal a change in the 'tune being played'. Just as in an orchestra, different instruments may be brought in during a composition to signal a change of mood and pace, so a switch in language may indicate a need to change mood within the conversation. A professor in Cambodia who mostly taught his courses in English described using codeswitching as a way of 'waking up' students who were drifting off.

11. Change of attitude or relationship . Codeswitching and translanguaging often relate to a change of attitude or relationship. For example, when two people meet, they may use the common majority language (e.g. Swahili or English in Kenya). As the conversation proceeds and roles, status and ethnic identity are revealed, a change to a regional language may indicate that boundaries are being broken down. A switch signals that there is less social distance, with expressions of solidarity and growing rapport indicated by the switch. Conversely, a change from a minority language or dialect to a majority language may indicate the speaker's wish to elevate their own status, create a distance between themselves and the listener, or establish a more formal, business relationship. For example, a Vietnamese American customer at a department store might notice the cashier is also Vietnamese and strike up a friendly conversation in Vietnamese, then ask for a discount. The cashier may switch the conversation back to English to indicate, 'Sorry, can't do that'.

12. Exclusion . Codeswitching can also be used to exclude people from a conversation. For example, when traveling on the metro (subway, underground), two people speaking English may switch to their minority language to talk about private matters, thus preventing other passengers from eavesdropping. Bilingual parents may use one language together to exclude their monolingual children from a private discussion. A doctor at a hospital may make a brief aside to a colleague in a language not understood by the patient. However, monolinguals sometimes feel threatened and excluded by codeswitching, even when that is usually not the intention of the speakers.

13. Change in topic . In some bilingual situations, translanguaging occurs regularly when certain topics are introduced. For example, English might be used to discuss the local sports team (e.g. 'Go Spurs Go!') while Spanish is used to discuss a recent episode of a popular telenovela (Spanish soap opera). Bilinguals may use English when discussing financial matters with American currency, but the home language when discussing currency used in the home country (e.g. 'Mi abuela en Guatemala wants me to send her 100 quetzales' [My grandmother in Guatemala wants me to send her 100 quetzals]. However, use of 'Spanglish' terms for American coins and currency are commonly used in the Southwest United States such as daime (dime), cuara (quarter), and dolar (dollar). Thus, codeswitching does not just involve clean switches between two languages, but also involves the creation of new terms in the mixing.

14. Imitation . In some contexts, children are simply copying the codeswitching and translanguaging practices of the peers and adults around them. If a daughter in England frequently hears her French-speaking father say 'Let's go to le boulangerie' [the bakery], chances are she'll start saying it that way too. When children are emulating adults, they may be identifying with higher status and more powerful people in their lives.

The chapter concludes by examining a topic related to translanguaging: children acting as interpreters for their parents and others.

Children as Language Interpreters and Brokers

In language minority families, children sometimes act as interpreters (or language brokers) for their parents and others (Guo, 2014; N. Hall & Sham, 2007). In first-and second-generation immigrant families, parents may have little or no competency in the majority language. Therefore, their children act as interpreters in a variety of contexts (as do 'hearing' children with deaf parents). Language brokering goes beyond translation. Rather than just transmit information, children act as cultural mediators, often ensuring the messages are 'socially and culturally translated' as in the following example:

Father to daughter : (in Italian): Digli che è un imbecille ! [Tell him he is an idiot!]

Daughter to trader : My father won't accept your offer.

Valdés (2003) argues that young immigrant's ability to use their bilingual skills to mediate for their families both linguistically and culturally in this manner is evidence of 'giftedness' that is rarely recognized by schools. This is extended by Orellana (2009) who researched immigrant children in Los Angeles and Chicago to explore how children translate and act as language and culture brokers at home and school, but also in the community and across institutions. Using two or more languages, children 'work' to shoulder the responsibility for some quite complicated verbal exchanges for non-English speaking adults. Orellana expands the definition of child labor by portraying children as working as unpaid translators. She also shows how such children's sociocultural learning and development is shaped by acting as translators.

Language minority students can be important language brokers between the home and the school. Also, when there are visitors to the house, such as sellers and traders, religious persuasionists and local officials, a parent may call a child to the door to help translate what is being said. Similarly, at stores, hospitals, medical and dentist offices, motor vehicle and social security offices, schools and many other places where parents visit, the child may be taken to help interpret and mediate interculturally. Interpretation may be needed in more informal places: on the street, when a parent is phoned, watching the television or listening to the radio, reading a note from school, reading a local newspaper, or working on the computer.

Pressure is placed on children in language brokering: linguistic, emotional, social and attitudinal pressure. First, children may find an exact translation difficult to achieve as their language is still developing. Words often have multiple meanings making interpretation far from a simple or straightforward process. Second, children may be hearing information (e.g. medical troubles, financial problems, marital issues, arguments and conflicts) that is the preserve of adults rather than children. Third, children may be expected to be adult-like when interpreting and child-like at all other times; to mix with adults when interpreting and 'be seen and not heard' with adults on other occasions. Fourth, there can be stress, fear and uncertainty for the child in providing an accurate and diplomatic interpretation. Fifth, seeing their parents in an inferior position may lead to children despising their minority language. Children may quickly realize

when language brokering that the language of power, prestige and purse is the majority language. Negative attitudes to the minority language may result. Sixth, bilinguals are not necessarily good interpreters. Interpretation assumes an identical vocabulary in both languages. Since bilinguals tend to use their two languages in different places with different people, an identical lexicon may not be present. Also, proficiency in two or more languages is not enough. Some reflection on language such as an awareness of the linguistic nature of the message may also be required (i.e. metalinguistic awareness).

Despite these pressures, language brokering may also result in positive outcomes for children and their families, such as the following:

1. Self-esteem . Children earn parental praise and status within the family, leading to gains in self-esteem.

2. Maturity . Children quickly learn adult information, learn to act with authority and trust, and take on great responsibility, leading to greater maturity.

3. Unity . Children and parents learn to trust and rely on each other, leading to greater feelings of family unity.

4. Empowerment . Children learn to take initiative such as answering questions on their own rather than relaying the question to their parents, leading to a greater sense of personal empowerment . But this can also lead to a shift of power from parents to children, and may cause parent feelings of inadequacy, frustration or resentment.

5. Metalinguistic awareness . Children learn to address the problems and possibilities of translation of words, figures of speech and ideas, leading to greater gains in metalinguistic awareness.

6. Empathy . Children learn to negotiate between two different social and cultural worlds while trying to understand both, and leading to greater feelings of empathy.

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed bilingual development in early childhood through themes of differentiating between languages. Parental influence

starts at the fetal stage with language difference being apparent at babbling stage. Children of two and three raised in two languages form birth will know ‘what language to speak to whom’.

One parent – one language is a well-documented and successful route to bilingualism in early childhood, but there are many other successful pathways. Some parents use two languages with their children. Some bilingual children are raised in one language but become bilingual early via influences outside the home. One-parent families can be as successful as nuclear and extended families. However, language loss can occur when political contexts are particularly unfavorable to minority language maintenance . Other families succeed in raising trilingual children, although it is not usual to become equally proficient in all three languages.

Codeswitching and translanguaging are frequent behaviors among bilinguals, with a variety of valuable purposes and benefits. Interpreting is a similarly frequent expectation of bilinguals – including young children in immigrant families.

Suggested Further Reading

Anderson, K. J. (2015). Language, identity, and choice: Raising bilingual children in a global society . Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

De Houwer, A. (2009). Bilingual first language acquisition . Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Key Points in This Chapter

Children are born ready to become bilinguals, trilinguals, multilinguals.

There is a difference between simultaneous (acquire two languages together) and sequential (acquire one language later than the other)