

Kendall A. King

akk25@georgetown.edu

Aubrey Logan-Terry

aubreyelizabeth@gmail.com

Additive bilingualism through family language policy: Strategies, identities and interactional outcomes

Bilingüismo aditivo por meio de política lingüística da família: estratégias, identidades e resultados interacionais

ABSTRACT – This paper summarizes data from two case studies of how two families enact language policies with the goal of cultivating early and additive bilingualism. The focus is on primary caretakers' everyday speech and their interactional strategies. Our aim is to provide insight and additional descriptive data concerning how family language policies are established, enacted, and negotiated in the home. The findings suggest that caretaker status (mother vs. nanny) plays a role in *quantity* of speech, but not necessarily in the *complexity* of that speech. All primary caretakers (that is, both mothers and nannies) tended to stick with their stated language policy and to avoid English; in contrast, children frequently used English in interactions with caretakers. In response to children's non-target language use, all caretakers were most likely to 'move-on' and to continue the conversation in the target language. However, mothers were found to be more likely than nannies to expand on and incorporate the child's non-target language utterance into their own turn. Nannies, in contrast, were more likely to engage in explicit teaching or prompting. The findings are discussed in terms of child learning opportunities but also with an eye to how caretakers' language use patterns are linked to their identities within the family.

Key words: bilingualism, language policy, child second language acquisition.

Resumo - Este artigo apresenta dados de dois estudos de caso a respeito de como duas famílias praticam política lingüística com o objetivo de promover bilingüismo precoce e aditivo. O foco recai sobre a fala diária de cuidadores principais e suas estratégias interacionais. Nosso objetivo é oferecer *insight* e dados descritivos adicionais sobre como políticas lingüísticas familiares são estabelecidas, postas em prática e negociadas no ambiente familiar. Os resultados sugerem que o *status* da cuidadora (mãe versus babá) tem um papel importante na *quantidade* de fala, mas não necessariamente sobre a *complexidade* dessa fala. Todas as cuidadoras primárias (ou seja, ambas as mães e as babás) mantiveram-se fiéis a política lingüística abertamente estabelecida na família e evitaram usar inglês; em contraste, as crianças freqüentemente usaram inglês em suas interações com as cuidadoras. Em resposta ao não uso da língua alvo pelas crianças, o mais provável era que todas as cuidadoras continuavam a conversa na língua alvo. Contudo, as mães mais do que as babás expandiam e incorporavam o enunciado da criança não produzido na língua alvo em seus próprios turnos de fala. As babás, em contraste, tendiam a se engajar em ensino explícito ou *prompting* (no sentido de induzir a criança a falar). Esses resultados são discutidos em termos das oportunidades de aprender que a criança tem, mas também em termos de como os padrões de uso da linguagem pelas cuidadoras estava ligado a suas identidades dentro da família.

Palavras-chave: bilingüismo, política lingüística, aquisição de segunda língua pela criança.

Introduction

Public stances on bilingualism and multilingualism long have varied across time and context. These ideologies of language – which can include beliefs about language learning, about particular languages, and about the relationship between language and intelligence – are also linked to broader societal attitudes, for instance, towards particular segments of the population (e.g., immigrants or ethnic minorities) or towards particular parenting styles

or practices (Dorian, 1998; Woolard, 1998). Such ideologies are both *shaped by* – and concomitantly play a role *in shaping* – scientific research on bilingualism. For instance, in the United Kingdom and the United States, bilingualism was widely and popularly linked with impaired intellectual and spiritual development, a view that was reflected and reinforced by studies indicating that English-speaking monolinguals outperformed bilinguals on measures of intelligence (Saer, 1924; see Baker, 2006; or Wei, 2007; for review of methodological short-comings of such studies).

Recent decades have seen much more positive attitudes towards bilingualism in many parts of the world. Knowledge of more than two languages – both within the research literature and within popular and media discourse – is now often linked with specific cognitive, cultural and economic advantages (Brohy, 2001; Bialystok, 1999, 2001; Cummins, 1979, 2000; Hakuta and Dias, 1985; Hakuta, 1987; Hendricks, 2007; Rosenberg, 1996). One of the more notable trends is the growing number of middle-class and middle-income parents who wish to introduce a second language to their children at a young age with the aim of fostering childhood bilingualism. So-called elites in the U.S., the U.K., Latin America and elsewhere have long aspired to this sort of ‘additive bilingualism’. Indeed, ‘additive bilingualism’ (Lambert, 1975) and ‘elite bilingualism’ (Fishman *et al.*, 1966) have often been used as synonyms (e.g. McCarty, 1995). What is new is that this sort of enrichment, additive orientation to bilingualism is increasingly incorporated into mainstream, middle-class child-rearing approaches in many world contexts, including the U.S.

Evidence of this shift is abundant. For instance, past work with economically and ethnically diverse parents in Washington, DC indicated that parents from many different walks of life viewed early bilingualism as an important goal for their children (King and Fogle, 2006). Promoting childhood bilingualism – like doing toddler math, attending art and music classes, participating in baby sign language and infant gym programs – is now common among middle income families, both language majority and language minority (also see Piller, 2005). This trend is likewise reflected in the stepped-up manufacturing and marketing of products that claim to promote early second language learning, including, for instance, the ‘Baby Einstein Language Nursery’ videos, the ‘Dora the Explorer’ line of bilingual talking toys for toddlers, and the Muzzy television series for children. (Dora the Explorer won a second ‘Toy of the Year’ Award as ‘Most Popular Property’ of the Year by the Toy Industry Association as well as ‘Best Girl Toy’.) Further, private baby and toddler language schools (with names like ABC Language Exchange, BrightSteps, Communkids to name a few) are popular in many cities. And dozens of websites (e.g., The Bilingual Pages, The Bilingual Families Webpage, The Bilingual Family Newsletter, Multilingual Munchkins, and Multilingual Children, among many others) provide aspiring parents of bilingual children with tips, discussion boards, and product recommendations.

Within the U.S., which for many years was characterized by near devout monolingualism, additional evidence of parental enthusiasm for bilingualism is found in the explosive demand for and development of one-way and two-way immersion (TWI) education programs (Lenker and Rhodes, 2007). Currently, there are more than 338 TWI programs in the U.S. (Center for Applied Linguistics, 2006), with the demand for TWIs often most intense among

English-speaking parents who want their children to acquire an additional language early and well (Montague, 1997). This major shift in parental orientations towards child language learning and bilingualism is also apparent in the area of family language policy.

Family Language Policy

The sorts of additive efforts for promoting bilingualism described above do not just happen naturally, but rather are the result of family decision-making, or ‘family language policy’, which we define as explicit (Shohamy, 2006) and overt (Schiffman, 1996) planning in relation to language use within the home among family members (King *et al.*, in press). The study of language policy includes analysis of language beliefs or ideologies (what people *think* about language); language practices (what people *do* with language); and efforts to modify or influence those practices through any kind of language intervention, planning, or management (what people *try to do to* language) (Spolsky, 2004). Nearly all work on language policy, both theoretical and empirical, has focused on language policy and planning efforts in institutional contexts such as the state, the school, or the work place (e.g., Palozzi, 2006; Ricento, 2006; Robinson *et al.*, 2006; Wiley and Wright, 2004). With few exceptions (e.g., Piller, 2001; Okita, 2001), very little attention has been paid to language policy within the intimate context of the home. Yet family language policy is an important area of investigation as not only does it set the frame for child-care interactions and ultimately, child language development (De Houwer, 1999), but it also provides a direct window into parental language ideologies, thus reflecting broader societal attitudes and ideologies about both language and parenting.

By far the most widely studied family language policy for the promotion of child bilingualism is the so-called ‘One-Person-One-Language’ (OPOL) approach (Billings, 1990; De Houwer, 1999; Döpke, 1992, 1988; Harding and Riley, 1986; Juan-Garau and Perez-Vidal, 2001; Kasuya, 1998; Lanza, 2004; Ronjat, 1913; Saunders, 1982; Taeschner, 1983; Takeuchi, 2006). OPOL, in idealized form, entails each parent speaking his or her native language with the child, thus allowing for consistent quantity and high quality input in two languages. In addition to being the most widely studied family language policy, it is also the most frequently recommended approach to parents by doctors, popular parenting books, magazines, and so forth (King and Fogle, 2006).

Research on OPOL families, however, suggests substantial differences in terms of: (i) how this policy is conceptualized and implemented across different families, (ii) how this policy is negotiated in everyday interactions, and (iii) how children’s resultant competency levels develop in each of the two languages (Takeuchi, 2006). Broadly speaking, research suggests that while some

children reared in OPOL homes attain very high levels of proficiency with the ability to actively use both languages in a range of contexts (Taeschner, 1983; De Houwer, 1999), many OPOL children are far more dominant in one of the two languages (Saunders, 1982, 1988), at times showing active, productive competence in just one language (Billings, 1990). In explaining these results, researchers have pointed to the importance of differences in parental interactional styles in maintaining or negotiating a more or less monolingual context with the child(ren) (Döpke, 1992; Lanza, 2004; Takeuchi, 2006), as well as the different societal statuses of the two languages (King and Fogle, 2006; Tuominen, 1999; Wong Fillmore, 2000).

Other researchers have challenged the (over) emphasis on the OPOL approach on the grounds that it is infeasible, elitist and not representative of most bilingual families and communities (Romaine, 1995; Döpke, 1992). Indeed, it is likely that OPOL has been the most widely studied approach *not* because OPOL families are the most representative of bilingual families, but because in such families (reported) language input is easier to quantify and measure by researchers. Many other family language policies to promote bilingualism have been reported to exist in the literature including, for instance, those which involve both parents using both languages (Zentella, 1997), those which entail parents speaking their second language to their child (Caldas, 2006; Saunders, 1982, 1988), and those which rely on extended family members or paid caretakers (Fantini, 1982; Kouritzin, 2000). Yet these family language policies have received much less academic attention or scrutiny, and the few examinations of such cases have not looked closely at interactional patterns, language choice, or opportunities for language use.

This study begins to fill these gaps by closely examining the policies, strategies and interactional outcomes of two families living in Washington, DC who are attempting to raise their children bilingually. In doing so, this study will focus on caretakers' child directed speech (CDS) (Snow, 1972; Phillips, 1973), viewed here as a code which arises due to constraints in communicating with 'a cognitively and linguistically naïve child in the here-and-now' (Pine, 1994; Newport *et al.*, 1977, p. 124). In both families, mothers attempted to use their second language (Spanish) with the child exclusively, while the other primary caregivers (full-time nannies) used their first language (Peruvian Spanish or Brazilian Portuguese) with the child. In both families, fathers, who were significantly less involved in child-care due to work and travel obligations and thus not considered primary caretakers, used their first language (English) with the children.

Research questions

The aim of this study was to examine in close detail how stated family language policies played out in

caretaker-child interactions within two families. We address three questions:

- 1) In naturally occurring, spontaneous interactions, what are the characteristics of caretakers' child-directed speech?
- 2) How does this speech vary across maternal and paid caretakers?
- 3) How does child language use correspond to caretaker speech patterns?

This study contributes to our efforts to understand bilingual child-rearing processes as together, the two families provide insight into the commonalities and differences in interaction that result from (i) maternal use of her non-native tongue, and (ii) intensive involvement with employed caretakers. These are potentially crucial issues as we know both quantity and quality of caretaker speech is critical for child language development (Dickinson *et al.*, 1993; Hart and Risley, 1995; Hoff, 2003; Hoff and Naigles, 2002; Huttenlocher, 1998; Snow, 1990). The aim of this study is thus to provide better descriptive data on how family language policies are implemented and negotiated in the home, as well as how such policies and practices are linked to both child language usage and caretaker identities in the family.

Methods

Study design and participants

To address our three research questions, we conducted two family case studies. In each family, native-English-speaking mothers residing in the U.S. attempted to use their second language (Spanish) with their child exclusively; fulltime nannies used their first language (Spanish or Portuguese) with the child, and fathers used their first language (English). In both homes, mother-father communication was in English, and mother-nanny communication took place in Spanish.

The primary caretakers in both families included the (i) mothers, who were university-educated, fulltime employed professionals, and (ii) the nannies, who were fulltime employed caretakers with high school degrees from South American institutions. Nannies spoke English as a second language at the intermediate level and had lived in the U.S. between five and ten years at the time of the study. Both mothers were advanced but non-native speakers of Spanish. Mothers had studied Spanish as a foreign language throughout high school and university, and had spent two to three years living in Spanish-speaking countries as adults. At the start of the study, both children were 2;0. Both were boys and the only children within their immediate families. Neither child had any known physical or cognitive handicap although at one point during the year of investigation, each was referred to a speech therapist for an evaluation due to perceived language delay or unclear

speech; in both cases, evaluations were conducted and no significant problem was identified.

In both families (referred to from here forward as Family A and Family B), parents had designated Spanish as one of the main languages of the home and had established language policies designed to promote early child bilingualism. For mothers, the goal was for children to become fluent and roughly balanced English-Spanish bilinguals. The mother of Family A is the article's first author with an academic background in the study of bilingualism; the mother of Family B as part of her MBA degree had completed several academic projects on bilingualism, business and bilingual charter schools. There were some differences between the two families: the father in Family B was deployed to Iraq for a year during month two of the study; and while the nanny from Family A was Peruvian and Spanish-dominant, the nanny in Family B was Brazilian and spoke Portuguese to Child B.

Data collection

For each of the two families, data collection included (a) qualitative interviews and written reflections by each of the caretakers collected monthly; (b) audio recordings from age 2;0 to 2;11 that consisted of mother-child play sessions, nanny-child play sessions, father-child play sessions, and family dinner sessions, each approximately 20 minutes in length; (c) a standardized parent report form for describing language and communication skills in infants and young children, the MacArthur-Bates Communicative Development Inventories: Words and Sentences in Spanish and English, at age 2;1 and 2;7; and (d) a monthly log of home language use patterns. The bulk of the analysis for the present paper focuses on audio recordings of mother-child and nanny-child play sessions.

Audio-recordings were conducted using a Sony portable minidisk digital recorder (MZ-B10), which remained at each family's home for the duration of the study. (Individual cassette tapes were collected monthly.) During the first week of every month, caretakers recorded the play sessions between the adults and the child and the family dinner session. Caretakers were asked to not read books during this time, to turn off the television or radio, and to play and interact as naturally as possible. Sessions lasted on average 20 minutes, 42 seconds (20:50 for mothers, 20:34 for nannies).

Data analysis

At the end of the data collection year, the recordings were transcribed in CHAT ('Codes for the Human Analysis of Transcripts') format (MacWhinney, 2000) by a team of

bilingual graduate student researchers. All recordings were then verified by the first author (a Spanish-English bilingual), and then analyzed quantitatively using 'Computerized Language Analysis' (CLAN) programs that can perform a range of quantitative analyses on transcript data. Specifically, for each recording, we calculated participants' English usage patterns; mean length of utterance (MLU) as a measure of syntactic complexity; and D (vocabulary in CLAN), as a measure of lexical diversity¹. Caretaker-child interactions were then analyzed qualitatively in order to investigate how caretakers and children negotiated language choice and the families' language policies. Of particular interest were the caretaker strategies employed in response to the children's resistance to family language policy through use of English. The analysis for this paper focuses on just the mother-child and nanny-child play sessions between 24 and 29 months of age (2;0 to 2;5). We target this period of development as research suggests these months often mark the beginning of rapid growth in productive vocabulary and syntactic complexity (Brown, 1973).

Findings

Findings are organized into two parts. The first section provides a quantitative overview of caretaker speech, describing the characteristics of the child-directed speech (CDS) produced by mothers and nannies in terms of quantity; lexical and syntactic complexity; and 'slippage' into English. The second section explores how slippage and language choice were negotiated by caretakers and young children in everyday interactions.

Caretaker speech: quantitative overview

Quantity of speech

In terms of quantity of speech, that is how much child-directed speech caretakers produced during recorded sessions, findings indicate that nannies talked significantly and consistently more than mothers across the sessions. This held true both in terms of average total number of words per session (619.3 by mothers and 1022.5 by nannies) and in average total number of utterances per session (192.4 by mothers and 295.5 by nannies) (see Figure 1). This was the case even though mothers' play sessions were slightly longer on average than those of the nannies.

Lexical and syntactic complexity of speech

Caretaker speech was analyzed quantitatively for both lexical and syntactic complexity. Lexical complexity

¹ D assesses vocabulary diversity, but unlike Type-Token Ratio [TTR] methods, accounts for variation in the size of language sample and thus overcomes the problem that samples containing larger numbers of tokens yield lower values for TTR (Duran *et al.*, 2004).

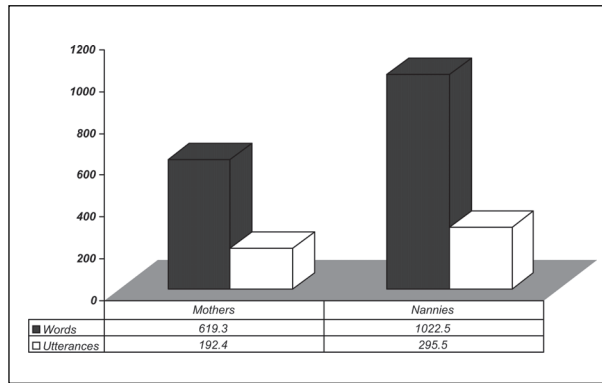


Figure 1. Average number of words and utterances per play session.

was assessed by D (Duran *et al.*, 2004), a measure that takes into account the range of vocabulary used by a speaker and the way it is deployed (i.e. how much repetition). Results indicate that caretaker speech varied individually with some adults consistently providing more lexically complex input than others, and no clear difference emerging between mothers and nannies or between families (see Figures 2 and 3). We see similar individual differences in terms of syntactic complexity as measured by mean length of utterance (MLU). For instance, Mother B had the highest overall MLU by far (as well as the highest D). Nanny B's speech, in turn, showed the least complex MLU (as well as the lowest D).

Overall, quantitative analysis revealed that nannies directed *more* speech at children than did mothers (both in terms of total number of words and total number of utterances). In contrast, speech complexity (lexical and syntactic) varied individually with some caregivers (e.g., Mother B) consistently producing more complex speech than others (e.g. Nanny B).

English 'slippage'

In both families, the primary stated language goal was for all primary caretakers *not* to use English with either of the boys. However, past studies of OPOL families

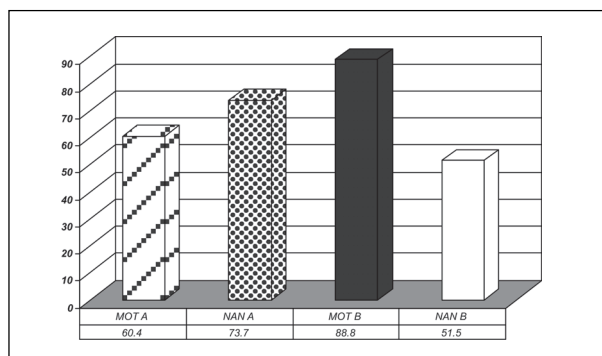


Figure 2. Average D for mothers and nannies.

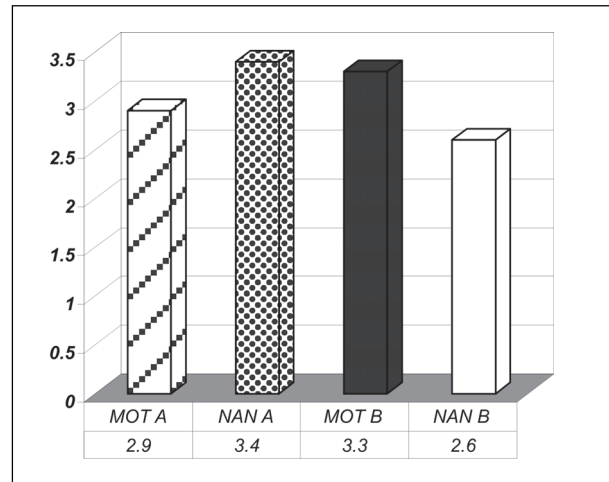


Figure 3. Average MLU for mothers and nannies.

indicate that caretakers often slip into the non-target language (Döpke, 1992; Juan-Garau and Perez-Vidal, 2001; Lanza, 2004; Takeuchi, 2006). To measure this so-called slippage, we assessed: (a) the mean number of English words (as a percent of total words used) per session, and (b) the mean number of utterances with one or more English words (as a percent of total utterances) per session.

As evident in Figure 4, caretakers used a limited amount of English with the children. Three of the four caretakers used English for fewer than 5% of their words. The exception was Mother A, who used English words at a rate of slightly more than 10%, and utterances containing one or more English words about 16% of the time.

Although all caretakers were perhaps more likely to remain 'on task' and use the target language while recording themselves, English slippage rates did not increase over time (either within or across recordings). This suggests that the initial English slippage rates were not low due to an observer's paradox, which diminishes over time (Norrick, 2000), but rather because the primary caretakers used the target language for most of the time with the boys.

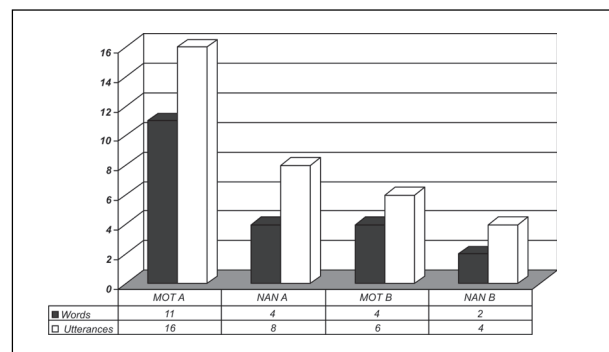


Figure 4. English slippage for mothers and nannies: percentage of words in English and percentage of utterances with one or more English word.

Caretaker strategies and child language use: qualitative analysis

Despite the fact that all primary caretakers mostly used the target language, both children used English extensively (see Figure 5). While the average percentage of English utterances used by all caretakers combined was only 8.5%, the two children, on average, used English utterances approximately 48.8% of the time.

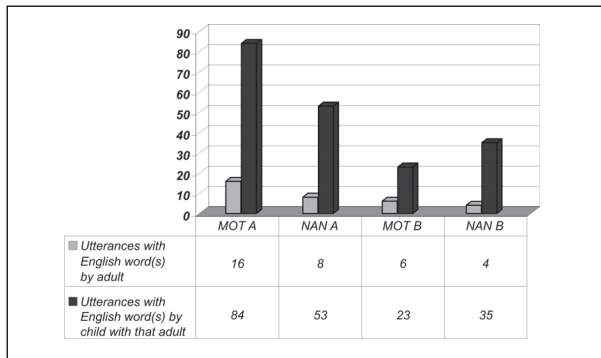


Figure 5. English use by caretakers and children (as percent of total utterances).

Given the children's apparent preference for English, our qualitative analysis sought to examine how the families' language policies were negotiated by caretakers and young children in everyday interactions. In particular, what strategies did the four caretakers employ when children responded in English and not in the target language? As noted in past research (e.g., Döpke, 1992; Juan-Garau and Perez-Vidal, 2001; Lanza, 2004; McTear, 1985; Ochs, 1988; Taeschner, 1983), caretakers have been found to do one of several things in response to children's lack of use of target language. These strategies can be understood as forming a continuum, as Lanza (2004) has suggested, with the left end representing a more monolingual interactional context and the right a more

bilingual interactional context (see Figure 6). Each of these strategies is discussed below.

Clarification / Repetition: Here, the caretaker makes a request for clarification or repetition in the target language, thus promoting a monolingual context in the target language. We have collapsed into this category Ochs' (1988) clarification requests, Lanza's (2004) minimal grasp and expressed guess strategies, and adult repetitions described by Döpke (1992), and Juan-Garau and Perez-Vidal (2001), among others. In essence, each of these moves prompts children to attend to or adjust their speech in order for the conversation to continue or for their needs to be met. Requests for clarification, in particular, have been suggested to stimulate linguistic and communicative competence 'in that they force children to monitor their language both for the forms they use and the ways in which they use these forms' (McTear, 1985, p. 169). Taeschner (1983) has referred to this type of technique as an educational strategy, suggesting that it is the best way to encourage children's bilingual development.

In Example 1, the nanny responds to the child's use of the English word 'bath' (line 5) by asking the child to clarify again where his mother is (line 6). In that same turn, she recasts the child's English word using a rising question intonation. This strategy requires the child to attend to his previous statement and prompts for restatement in the target language.

Similarly, in Example 2, the nanny responds to the child's use of the English word 'moose' (line 2) with a prompt and another question in Spanish about the name of the object (line 3). Thus, simultaneously she implicitly rebuffs the child's response in English and explicitly asks him to produce the word in the target language.

Not all caretakers pushed quite so hard for use of the target language. In the excerpt (Example 3), the mother responds to the child's English utterance (line 2) by repeating the word in Spanish (line 3). Note that in contrast to Example 2, the mother does not implicitly reject the child's

Monolingual ←—————→ Bilingual

<i>Strategy</i>	Clarification/ Repetition	Move-on	Expansion/Incorporation of English	Switch to English
<i>Description</i>	Adult requests clarification or repeats in target language (Döpke, 1992; Lanza, 1992; McTear, 1985; Ochs, 1988; Taeschner, 1983)	Conversation continues; adult ignores use of English (Döpke, 1992; Lanza, 1992)	Adult uses English word in expanded utterance in target language	Adult code-switches to English (Döpke, 1992; Lanza, 1992)

Figure 6. Caretakers' possible strategies in response to children's use of non-target language.

use of English, but rather offers praise in the form of ‘muy bien’ (‘very good’). Further, in contrast to the nanny in Example 2, she does not request that the child produce the Spanish form of the word, but supplies it herself, recasting the child’s ‘house’ as ‘casa’. This approach thus still encourages the child to attend to prior utterance (line 2), offers praise for his contribution, but does not push him to adjust his own speech. In this sense, the mother’s turn is much closer to the ‘move-on’ strategy.

Move-on: With this strategy, the caretaker ignores the child’s use of the non-target language and the conversation continues. The ‘move-on’ strategy is potentially less effective in fostering the child’s bilingual development because the caretaker essentially ignores the

language issue with this strategy, and does not strongly encourage or require the child to attend to his speech or to reformat or modify speech (Lanza, 2004).

Example 4 demonstrates how the caretaker ignored the child’s English utterances by continuing the conversation in Spanish or Portuguese. The child responds to the nanny in English (line 2). Rather than repeating the child’s statement in Spanish or requesting a clarification as in the examples above, she simply continues the conversation in Spanish (line 3).

Expansion/incorporation: This strategy entails caretaker incorporation of the child’s language choice and content into the following utterance in the target language. More specifically, in these two families, the caretakers use

Example 1. Nanny clarification/repetition in target language from Family B (child 29 months).

		Original	English Translation (Spanish/Portuguese original in italics)
1	Nanny B:	El celular de mamá esta tocando.	<i>Mom’s cell phone is ringing.</i>
2	Child B:	¿Mamá?	<i>Mom?</i>
3	Nanny B:	Sim mamá está tomando baño.	<i>Yes, mom is taking a bath.</i>
4	Nanny B:	¿Onde está mamá?	<i>Where is mom?</i>
5	Child B:	No bath.	<i>In the bath.</i>
6	Nanny B:	¿Onde? Está no baño?	<i>Where? She’s in the bath?</i>

Example 2. Nanny clarification/repetition in target language from Family A (child 24 months).

		Original	English Translation (Spanish original in italics)
1	Nanny A:	¿Y este quién es? ¿Como se llama?	<i>And who is this? What’s his name?</i>
2	Child A:	Moose.	<i>Moose.</i>
3	Nanny A:	¿Una ...? ¿Como se llama?	<i>A ...? What’s his name?</i>

Example 3. Mother clarification/repetition in target language from Family A (child 29 months).

		Original	English Translation (Spanish original in italics)
1	Mother A:	¿Qué es esto?	<i>What is that?</i>
2	Child A:	House.	<i>House.</i>
3	Mother A:	Muy bien, una casa.	<i>Very good, a house.</i>

Example 4. Nanny utilizing move-on strategy in Family A (child 26 months).

		Original	English Translation (Spanish original in italics)
1	Nanny A:	Mira.	<i>Look.</i>
2	Child A:	I didn’t did that!	<i>I didn’t did that!</i>
3	Nanny A:	Mira. Él se está llevando todos los truncos.	<i>Look. He is taking all of the branches.</i>
4		Son los truncos del árbol.	<i>They are the tree branches.</i>

the child's English word in the next turn in an expanded utterance in the target language. By doing so, caretakers affirm the child's utterance (even though it was in English); concomitantly, they keep the conversation going in the target language. This strategy, evident in Example 5 and Example 6, can be seen as a 'middle way' as it does not entail a complete switch into English, nor does it ignore or implicitly reject the child's attempt to communicate.

Switch to English: This strategy represents the caretaker's willingness to accommodate the child's language switch into English. This type of code-switching has been argued to be less effective than 'high-constraint insisting strategies' such as clarification/repetition in fostering bilingual language development because it allows the child to determine the language of interaction (Lanza, 1992).

In Example 7 we see that the nanny attempts to get the child to repeat Winnie the Pooh's name in Spanish ('Winipoo') (line 2), but after the child responds with 'Winnie the Pooh' (line 3), she herself confirms this English version of the character and then continues in English (line 4).

In Example 8, in response to the child's English utterance in line 4, the mother code-switches into English in line 5. It is notable that she asks for the child's preference three times in Spanish (lines 1, 2, and 3) before receiving an answer in English; perhaps out of eagerness to move ahead with conversation and activity (or simple weariness/frustration), by the time the child responds (line 4), she opts to continue rather than seek clarification or repetition in Spanish.

Strategy use by caretakers

How frequently do different caretakers use each of these strategies? To assess this, we first identified all non-target-language use by children; we then coded each caretaker response as one of the four types described above; lastly, for each caretaker, across the six sessions, we calculated the mean number of usages of each strategy as a percent of total strategies in response to non-target language use by child. Data suggest that all caretakers

Example 5. Mother utilizing expansion/incorporation strategy in Family A (child 29 months).

		Original	English Translation (Spanish original in italics)
1	Mother A:	¿Qué es allí?	<i>What's over there?</i>
2	Child A:	A road.	A road.
3	Mother A:	¿A road y que más?	A road <i>and what else?</i>
4	Child A:	And a tree.	And a tree.
5	Mother A:	Muy bien, un árbol. ¿Y qué más?	<i>Very good, a tree. And what else?</i>
6	Child A:	Bárbol.	<i>Tree.</i> (non-targetlike pronunciation)
7	Mother A:	Árbol, muy bien.	<i>Tree, very good.</i>

Example 6. Mother using expansion/incorporation of child's English utterance in Family B (child 27 months).

		Original	English Translation (Spanish original in italics)
1	Mother B:	¿Qué?	<i>What?</i>
2	Child B:	Dog.	Dog.
3	Mother B:	Si es otro dog. Un perrito.	<i>Yes, it's another dog. A dog.</i>
4	Child B:	Look this.	Look this.
5	Nanny B:	Ah ese aquí está.	<i>Ah that here it is.</i>

Example 7. Nanny from Family A switching into English (child 24 months).

		Original	English Translation (Spanish original in italics)
1	Nanny A:	Va a ser Winipoo.	<i>It's going to be Winnie the Pooh.</i>
2	Nanny A:	¿Cómo se llama?	<i>Trains or cars?</i>
3	Child A:	Winnie the Pooh!	Winnie the Pooh!
4	Nanny A:	Winnie the Pooh! That's right!	Winnie the Pooh! That's right!

tended to favor the ‘move-on’ strategy (see Figure 7). That is, they most frequently continued in the target language, employing this strategy 58.6% of the time in response to children’s non-target language use. The next most common strategy was code-switching into English (27.1%).

As evident in Figure 7, caretakers showed individual differences in strategy preference. For instance, Nanny B was most likely to stick to Portuguese, ignore Child B’s language choice, and to ‘move-on’, doing this 68% of the time in response to Child B’s English; she was also the least likely to ‘switch to English’, doing this only 22% of the time. In contrast, Mother A was most likely to follow her child’s lead and to switch into English (32.4%), and least likely to simply ‘move-on’ and ignore her child’s use of English (50%) when compared with the other caretakers.

Figure 7 also illustrates how both mothers were more likely than nannies to expand on their child’s English word in the following utterance. Mothers used the ‘expand/incorporate’ strategy nearly three times as often as nannies (mother mean = 9.3%; nanny mean = 3.55%). In other words, mothers were more likely to adopt this

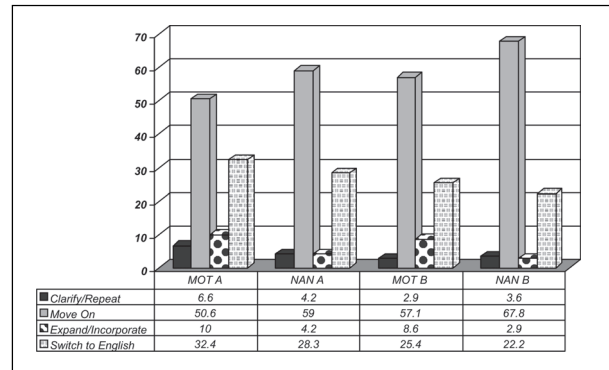


Figure 7. Caretaker strategies as percentage of total strategies in response to children’s.

‘middle ground’ strategy by incorporating and expanding on child’s previous utterance in non-target language, thus affirming what child said but also building upon it in the target language. For instance, in Example 9 and Example 10, Mother A uses the expansion/incorporation strategy and then recasts the child’s utterances in Spanish.

Example 8. Mother switching to English in Family A (child 27 months).

		Original	English Translation (Spanish original in italics)
1	Mother A:	¿Qué quieres?	<i>What do you want?</i>
2	Mother A:	¿Trenes o carros?	<i>Trains or cars?</i>
3	Mother A:	¿Trenes o carros?	<i>Trains or cars?</i>
4	Child A:	Trains.	Trains.
5	Mother A:	Trains, okay.	Trains, okay.

Example 9. Mother expansion/incorporation in Family A (child 27 months).

		Original	English Translation (Spanish original in italics)
1	Mother A:	¿ Qué esta comiendo baby?	<i>What is the baby eating?</i>
2	Child A:	A juice.	A juice.
3	Mother A:	¿ Juice?	Juice?
4	Mother A:	¿ Y aqui?	<i>And here?</i>
5	Mother A:	¿ Qué comida?	<i>What food?</i>
6	Mother A:	¿ Qué tipo de comida?	<i>What type of food?</i>
7	Child A:	Ice cream.	Ice cream.
8	Mother A:	Crema.	<i>Ice cream.</i>
9	Child A:	Crema.	<i>Ice cream.</i>
10	Mother A:	Crema.	<i>Ice cream.</i>
11	Child A:	Crema.	<i>Ice cream.</i>
12	Child A:	Open.	Open.
13	Mother A:	¿ Te lo abro?	<i>You want me to open it for you?</i>

Qualitative analysis suggests that nannies, in turn, were more likely to explicitly teach target language or to engage in explicit instruction. See, for example, Example 11, below, of Nanny A with Child A at 27 months.

In this example, Nanny A utilizes explicit instruction in both English (line 3) and Spanish (line 4).

Nanny B also engaged in explicit instruction, as evident in Example 12 below (see line 5).

Likewise, in Example 13, Nanny A initially attempts to utilize the repetition strategy (lines 2, 3, and 4), and then reverts to the use of an explicit request (line 5) by asking the child if he can say 'flower' in Spanish.

Example 10. Mother expansion/incorporation in Family A (child 27 months).

		Original	English Translation (Spanish original in italics)
1	Mother A:	¿ Dónde vas tú?	<i>Where are you going?</i>
2	Mother A:	¿ Dónde vas?	<i>Where you going?</i>
3	Mother A:	¿ Dónde vas con dada?	<i>Where are you going with Dad?</i>
4	Mother A:	¿ Airplane?	Airplane?
5	Child A:	¿ Airplane?	Airplane?
6	Mother A:	¿ Estás seguro?	<i>Are you sure?</i>
7	Mother A:	¿ Qué vas a hacer en el avión?	<i>What are you going to do on the plane?</i>
8	Mother A:	¿ Qué vas hacer en el avión?	<i>What are you going to do on the plane?</i>

Example 11. Mother expansion/incorporation in Family A (child 27 months).

		Original	English Translation (Spanish original in italics)
1	Nanny A:	Pone el sapo verde otra vez.	<i>Put the green frog again.</i>
2	Nanny A:	Y uno, dos, tres, el sapo verde.	<i>And one, two, three, the green frog.</i>
3	Nanny A:	Say sapo verde.	<i>Say sapo verde.</i>
4	Nanny A:	Diga sapo verde.	<i>Say sapo verde.</i>
5	Child A:	A blue train!	A blue train!

Example 12. Nanny explicit instruction in Family B (child 25 months).

		Original	English Translation (Spanish/Portuguese original in italics)
1	Nanny B:	Que mais que mais. E as cores Sebastian! As cores aqui.	<i>What else what else. And the colors Sebastian! The colors here.</i>
2	Nanny B:	¿Qué cor es? Amarelo.	<i>What color is it? Yellow.</i>
3	Chile B:	Ah ma.	<i>Ah ma.</i>
4	Nanny B:	Ah. ¿Qué cores sao, Sebastián?	<i>Ah. What colors are they, Sebastian?</i>
5	Nanny B:	Verde, Sebastian, verde. Diga verde.	<i>Green, Sebastian, green. Say green.</i>

Example 13. Nanny explicit instruction in Family A (child 24 months).

		Original	English Translation (Spanish original in italics)
1	Child A:	Flowers.	Flowers.
2	Nanny A:	No. Ese es la flor.	<i>No. That's the flower.</i>
3	Nanny A:	Ese es la flor azul.	<i>That's the blue flower.</i>
4	Nanny A:	La flor feliz.	<i>The happy flower.</i>
5	Nanny A:	Sí. ¿Se puede decir la flor feliz?	<i>Yes. Can you say happy flower?</i>

Mothers only rarely engaged in such explicit teaching and when they did so, the focus tended to be on pragmatically correct language, in particular on politeness, rather than on Spanish (Moerk, 1976; see also, Lanza, 2004). For instance, in Example 14, Mother A provides direct instruction concerning use of the word ‘please’; likewise, in Example 15 Mother B provides direct instruction about politeness by translating the child’s word ‘please’ into Spanish.

To summarize, in response to children’s non-target language use, although there was some individual variation, all four caretakers were most likely to ‘move-on’ and to continue the conversation in the target language. However, mothers were much more likely than nannies to use the expansion/incorporation strategy in response to the child’s non-target language utterance. Nannies, in turn, were more likely to engage in explicit teaching or prompting.

Child language use patterns

Many factors potentially influence children’s bilingual language development, their competencies in each of their languages, and their preferences for using those languages with different caretakers. These factors include status of the language outside of the home; language use patterns of peers, siblings and friends; and language choices of adults in the non-child-directed communication that surrounds them (e.g., Zentella, 1997; Hakuta and D’Andrea, 1992; Kouritzin, 2000; Shin, 2002). It is thus impossible to establish a direct causal link between a caretaker’s child-directed language and that child’s language use patterns (see Pine, 1994; Richards, 1994 for a related discussion of unresolved issues in first language acquisition). However, Family A provides a window into how caretakers’ language use patterns potentially impact even very young children’s language

behaviors. As described above, Mother A employed the greatest amount of English, using approximately twice as many utterances with one or more English words (16%) than Nanny A (8%). Correspondingly, we found that Child A used much more English with his mother than with his nanny. Eighty-four percent of Child A’s utterances with his mother contained one or more English word, compared with only 53% of the words used with his nanny.

This tendency for Child A to use greater amounts of English with his mother and more Spanish with his nanny might also be linked to the maternal strategies outlined above. Aside from most frequently switching to English, Mother A was also the most likely of all caretakers to use the expansion/incorporation strategy (doing this 10% of the time in response to non-target language use, compared with 4.2% for Nanny A). In short, we can speculate that Mother A’s tendency to *not* push hard for a monolingual Spanish context, despite her overall high levels of use of the Spanish language, could be linked to her child’s higher rate of English use with her compared with Nanny A.

Concluding discussion

While many families hope that their children will become proficient bilinguals, it is clear from past research that many will fail to meet this goal (Billings, 1990; Döpke, 1992; Pan, 1995; Sondergaard, 1981). In light of this situation, the present paper sought to describe how additive language policies were applied and negotiated in two similar families through detailed analysis of everyday interactions.

In terms of the characteristics of maternal and nanny speech in these two additive bilingual homes, the data indicate that nannies talked more than mothers across play sessions as measured both by number of words and by number of utterances. While nannies outpaced mothers on both measures of speech *quantity*, no clear group or

Example 14. Mother’s explicit instruction for politeness in Family A (child 26 months).

		Original	English Translation (Spanish original in italics)
1	Child A:	Move coffee.	Move coffee.
2	Mother A:	Por favor. Say move coffee please.	<i>Please.</i> Say move coffee please.
3	Child A:	Stop!	Stop!
4	Mother A:	Move coffee please.	Move coffee please.

Example 15. Mother’s explicit instruction for politeness in Family B (child 28 months).

		Original	English Translation (Spanish original in italics)
1	Child B:	Thank you.	Thank you.
2	Mother B:	Say gracias.	Say <i>please.</i>
3	Child B:	Gracias.	<i>Please.</i>

family patterns emerged in terms of speech *complexity*, with measures of lexical and syntactic complexity showing individual variation. Together, these findings suggest that caretakers' status (mother vs. nanny) possibly plays a role in *quantity* of speech, but not necessarily in the *complexity* of that speech. This is an important finding as the total quantity of child-directed speech has been found to impact children's first language development (Hart and Risley, 1995), and speech quantity likely also plays a role in second or bilingual language development.

As past research has suggested negative associations between caretaker's use of her non-native language with a child and that child's linguistic and academic development and performance (e.g., Snow, 1990; Dolson, 1985), one aim of this study was to examine characteristics of caretakers' non-native CDS. Speech complexity is important as research clearly indicates that children who hear longer utterances tend to build productive vocabularies at faster rates than children who hear shorter utterances (Hoff, 2003, p. 1374). Data from the present study suggest that speaking one's first or second language with the child, at least among these particular (high-proficiency) caretakers, does not impact caretaker speech complexity: for instance, the most complex speech was produced by Mother B in her second language (Spanish) while the least complex speech was produced by Nanny B in her first language (Portuguese).

In terms of 'slippage' into English, our findings suggest that all four caretakers tended to stick to the target language most of the time, thus indicating that in a general sense, the stated language policies were being implemented by adults (at the very least during sessions recorded). In contrast to caretakers, but consistent with past research (e.g., Lanza, 2004; Takeuchi, 2006), children often switched into English during the play sessions; 44% of all of their words were uttered in English.

In response to children's use of English, all caretakers were most likely to 'move-on', continuing the conversation in the target language. This is consistent with previous work on language choice in families, which found that parents favor more implicit discourse strategies (Kasuya, 1998). While all caretakers were most likely to either 'move-on' or code-switch into English, mothers and nannies differed in terms of their usage of the other two described strategies. More precisely, in response to children's English language use, mothers were nearly three times as likely to incorporate or expand on a child's previous utterance than nannies. This tendency can be understood as compatible with maternal desire to encourage speech, to engage children in interaction, and to provide positive reinforcement in response to any child attempt to communicate (King and Melzi, 2004). Indeed, both mothers noted during this period that they worked very hard at communicating with their boys, were at times concerned about their language development, and wanted

to do everything possible to help them talk. It is quite possible that this desire and concern to promote interaction in *any* language, unconsciously took precedent over stated family language policy and thus undermined other strategies (e.g., Clarification / Repetition) which would have created a more (Spanish) monolingual interactional context.

Nannies, in turn, were much more likely to use explicit pedagogical strategies such as 'say ...'. This tendency can be linked to their roles as professional caretakers and informal language teachers for the young boys. Both nannies were proud of the fact that their charges were bilingual and regularly noted to both mothers and researchers the small advances in the boys' production and comprehension skills. They saw the management of the boys' bilingual development as part of their job description and took this responsibility seriously. Nanny A, for instance, regularly gave Child A (unprompted) mini-lectures on the importance of speaking Spanish.

This mother-nanny difference fits with the general (and expected) finding that each individual caretaker seems to have a particular conversational style during interactions with the children. For example, Nanny B's speech consistently featured pedagogical discourse, with direct instruction and attempts to maintain a monolingual context, while Mother A consistently used a lot of backchannels and seemed to have a lower tolerance for silence.

More generally, these findings invoke Jean Berko-Gleason's seminal work on child-directed speech and the 'bridge hypothesis' (1975), which suggests different linguistic roles are fulfilled by primary and secondary caretakers. For instance, while mothers provide more linguistic support for their children by adjusting their own language downward (through simplified speech) and expanding their child's language upward (through expansion of the child's utterances), fathers or secondary caretakers are more challenging conversational partners, put more demands on the child, and use more directives. A central component of Berko-Gleason's hypothesis is thus that fathers, through their use of more complex speech, create a 'bridge' to communicating with individuals who are not members of their immediate families.

While Berko-Gleason's original hypothesis and the research which followed (e.g., Barton and Tomasello, 1994; Ratner, 1988; Davidson and Snow, 1996) was concerned with maternal and paternal speech and its potential relationship to first language development, this framework can also shed light on the present context. Like mothers and fathers in Berko-Gleason's work, nannies and mothers here potentially play different and complementary roles in promoting bilingual development. In the present data, this is evident in terms of differences in the quantity of talk and in their strategies in reaction to children's non-target language talk. In particular, nannies, with their more pedagogical, direct style and greater amount of total talk potentially complement the maternal 'expansion/'

incorporation' approach, which tends to affirm any child contribution. As additional (paid) primary caretakers, nannies' particular interactional styles potentially serve as a 'bridge' to competence in a language other than English as they more effectively negotiate a monolingual conversational context than do mothers. For families with additive language policy goals, this qualitatively and quantitatively different input might help them meet their bilingual aspirations. This last point dovetails with findings from Family A as well as with past research (e.g., Lanza, 2004) which suggests that differences in caretaker language use patterns and strategies are linked to child language use. The present study also highlights how small, micro-level differences in interaction, over time, potentially contribute to significant differences in child language competences.

This study aimed to provide better descriptive data of how two families enact language policies in order to cultivate additive bilingualism. There are some limitations to this research. As with all investigations of language development and interaction in naturalistic environments, this study could not control for many variables, including the children's different exposure levels to the respective languages and the caretakers' varying native languages and language proficiencies. As a case study, the present research is limited by a small number of participants. Although the project collected data over the course of a year, future research would benefit from examining an even longer developmental trajectory in order to further explore the ways in which family language policies are enacted as children reach new linguistic milestones and have greater contact with non-family members (e.g., at preschool).

Despite these limitations, this study provides some insight into how family language policies are negotiated in everyday interaction in additive homes. Of particular interest, and an area ripe for further research, is how caretakers' language use patterns are linked to their family identities. Here we saw how nannies seemed to view their role as pedagogical, as evidenced by their more monolingual language strategies and their tendency to use direct instruction in both family settings. In contrast, mothers seemed relatively reluctant to take on this teacher role, and proved eager to affirm and expand child speech through the use of expansion/incorporation strategies. Over time, these differences have the potential to impact family language choice dynamics, child language use patterns, and the success of additive family language policies in significant ways.

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Kendall A. King

Department of Linguistics, Georgetown University
Washington, DC, USA

Aubrey Logan-Terry

Department of Linguistics, Georgetown University
Washington, DC, USA