

Early bilingual development of Turkish children in Berlin

Since the beginning of 1970's, Berlin has been an important centre of concentration of the migrant population from the Mediterranean countries, especially of migrants from Turkey and, by now the population is composed of adult immigrants and their second and third generations children. Further, as a result of the most recent population movements within the European Community and from Eastern Europe, bilingual issues will remain crucial for some time to come.

Both theoretical and practical aspects of bilingualism are thrown into sharp focus against the background of natural language contact situation in which the children of migrants spend their formative years. Prominent among these are questions of language development and language use.

In the present circumstances, we find simultaneous or early sequential acquisition of a variety of pairs of languages of greater or lesser typological and genetic similarity, allowing the linguist to focus on issues of language-specific, universal and general cognitive strategies in cross-linguistic studies.

A second set of acquisitional issues concerns the linguistic effect of factors such as the extent and quality of discourse with native speakers of both languages on processes of language acquisition and processes of language attrition and language loss.

A third aspect of protracted societal bilingualism concerns the nature and extent of mutual influence of bilinguals' languages on each other. This ranges from the psycholinguistic issue of separation vs. fusion of linguistic systems in very young bilinguals to the linguistic constraints on language mixing in older children, adolescents and adults, and the relationship of these factors to historical change in languages in the speech community by way of the development of ethnic varieties, convergence, etc.

In addition to these theoretical issues, practical problems associated with bilingualism are of particular importance. Among the problems most relevant for the second and third generation children and adolescents are those which centre around education, including the question of whether, when and how mother tongue instruction is to be provided, the implementation of German as a second language instruction, possible modifications in the instructional methods or materials for instruction to accommodate to the linguistic needs of the pupils.

For all of these purposes, basic information about the language development of

the children is essential, but to date there has been relatively little empirical evidence on the languages of the bilingual children. The project presented here is an attempt to partially fill this gap for the children of migrants from Turkey as well as to address the theoretical and practical issues in bilingualism in childhood.

This chapter presents an overview and survey of selected results of a longitudinal study of pre-school and early school age Turkish/German bilingual children in Berlin, the 'KITA' study¹. The chapter is organized as follows. First of all, an overview of the KITA study with its research questions, social setting and methodology is presented. In addition, the major findings regarding the development of both Turkish and German are summarized, focusing on some aspects of development of the lexicon, nominal and verbal morphology, and on the use of these linguistic structures in narrative and conversational discourse. Moreover, the issue of the relationship between morphosyntactic development and communicative competence is taken up and illustrated with comparison of parallel texts in Turkish and German for one child.

The KITA study

The KITA study was a five-year longitudinal investigation (1987-92) of the speech of preschool and early school-age children who attend(ed) a bilingual day-care centre ('Kindertagesstätte', or 'Kita') in Berlin-Kreuzberg. This district has a high proportion of migrant children, especially of families from Turkey. About 90 per cent of the children in the Kita speak Turkish at home. A brief overview of the setting in West Berlin during the period of data collection is given in the next section.

Demographic and sociolinguistic overview

(Immigrant) children's patterns of language acquisition and language use are shaped not only by linguistic and cognitive universals, but also by the environmental and social framework they grow up, which, in turn is to a large extent determined by the demographic characteristics of the community and its educational policies and practices.

The special situation of Berlin as an 'island' within East Germany before reunification accentuated the general tendencies of population decline of the native German population. Among the important demographic factors which play a role in the processes of maintenance or loss of a minority language as well as of patterns of acquisition and use of the majority language are the density and age distribution of

¹ The KITA study, *Natürlicher bilingualer Spracherwerb von Kita-Kindern: Vom Krippenalter bis zu den ersten Grundschuljahren*, was funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG), under its *Language Acquisition* research program, 1987-1992.

the minority population and its spatial distribution in the place of settlement. These characteristics not only determine the opportunities for contact between the speakers of the majority and minority languages, but also influence the degree of pressure on the political policy makers to take special measures to provide for the education of minority as well as majority children.

Table 1 gives a demographic overview of West Berlin, and of Kreuzberg, the district with the highest foreign population, where the children in our KITA study live. As Table 1 shows that the minority population is unevenly distributed geographically.

Table 1. Percentage of non-Germans in Berlin (West) and selected districts

<i>Year</i>	W. Berlin	Kreuzberg	Wedding	Tiergarten	Schöneberg	Neukölln
1978	9.41	23.94	17.38	15.35	14.29	9.30
1980	11.20	27.31	19.88	18.33	17.59	11.61
1986	12.51	28.43	20.85	19.85	18.31	13.30
1990	14.32	30.60	23.72	21.71	19.96	16.03

In 1990, non-Germans of all ages represented 14.32 per cent of the population of West Berlin but the proportion of minority children under 6 was 22.4 per cent. In Kreuzberg, the figures are 30.6 per cent for all non-Germans, but 42.5 per cent for children under 6. The figures are even higher for certain neighbourhoods such as Mariannenplatz, where the KITA is located, nearly 2/3 of the population under 6 is non-German, primarily Turkish-speaking.

These population statistics alone suggest that children growing up in this neighbourhood live in a multilingual community in which Turkish plays a prominent role in the interactions at home, in the neighbourhoods and, also at school, while German may play a subsidiary role. This tendency is exacerbated by the local educational policies, which result in many foreign children attending classes without any German peers. (For a recent discussion of these school policies and their consequences for language development, see Kardam and Pfaff, 1993).

Kita language policy

It can be readily understood that language development is seen as one of the most important educational issues in Berlin. It is widely recognized that contact with German peers plays a major role here and there has been an attempt in recent years to provide such contact in day-care centres. Most Kitas in Berlin (or Germany) follow a language policy which is German-dominant, though some caretakers who can also speak Turkish (or other home language) may also be employed.

In contrast, the VAK Kita, in which our study was conducted², had adopted a bilingual policy of ‘equal rights for both languages’. During the time of our investigation, while the proportion of children of migrants from Turkey was about 90-95 per cent, the rest German children a few children of mixed marriages, the caretaker staff was composed of equal numbers of native speakers of Turkish and of German who generally followed the policy of speaking their mother tongue to all children, whether Turkish or German.

In the Kita, the children were thus exposed to native adult varieties of both Turkish and German from a very early age, as young as six months in some cases. Although they were also exposed to a number of different native and non-native, child and adult varieties of both these (and other) languages at home and in the neighbourhood, the fact that many of the children spent the majority of each week-day at the Kita made this an ideal setting in which to examine what might be simultaneous acquisition of two first languages in a very different setting from the usual one-parent-one-language situation. This is what we initially expected, but, as will become clear, not what we found.

Sample

Our sample covered the age range from 2-8 and included Turkish children (n=22), German children (n=5), and children of mixed marriages (n=4), coded T, D and TD, respectively, as shown in Table 2.

Table 2. KITA sample

	German		Turkish		Turkish - German	
	N	Age range	N	Age range	N	Age range
Sample	5	1;07-4;10	22	1;01-8;05	4	1;10-6;09
Subsample	3	1;10-4;06	6	1;08-8;05	1	4;02-6;09

Note that our sample overrepresented the proportion of German native speakers to facilitate the cross-linguistic and cross-acquisition type comparisons.

Methodology

Recordings averaging half an hour, longer for the older children, were made separately for each language every month--at the Kita for those preschool children and, for those who had started school, at home, after school.

² The Kita is organized by the Verein für die Förderung ausländischen und deutschen Kinder (VAK).

The children were recorded, individually or with another child, by teams of two Turkish or two German investigators, who used a variety of toys, books, pictures, etc. and who engaged the child in conversation about these as well as about events and topics which went beyond the 'here and now' of shared experience as much as possible. Interactional contexts were identified as A (Actions, playing with toys) B (looking at books), C (Conversation) and N (Narrative), but actually, these tended to blend into each other, and this was in fact encouraged in order to maximize the naturalness of our 'conversations' with the children.

These recordings were transcribed for quantitative analysis. (See Pfaff et al., 1987 for details.)

Research issues and linguistic features investigated

As noted above, our general research interests were concerned with (1) cross-linguistic comparison of the acquisition of Turkish and German, (2) cross-acquisition type comparison of first and early second language acquisition patterns and (3) the investigation of language contact phenomena.

The focus of the investigation was the development of language mixing, morphosyntax and discourse strategies in both languages. Our initial focus was on development of the lexicon and nominal and verbal morphosyntax; later, as we came to know the children better, we were able to incorporate observations of conversational strategies.

Morphosyntax was of particular interest to us because of the typological divergence between Turkish and German.

Thus, we examine several areas in which Turkish and German differ strikingly in grammatical typology. In both nominal and verbal morphosyntax, Turkish differs from German, in general, in being agglutinative, with regular and transparent morphology, and specifically by having a different set of grammaticized categories in the adult languages.

In nominal morphosyntax, Turkish case and number marking are expressed by nominal suffixes, while German expresses case, number and gender fusionally on articles. In Turkish, gender does not occur at all as a grammatical category; neither natural nor grammatical gender is morphologically marked, while German marks both natural and grammatical gender.

In verbal morphosyntax, Turkish marks tense, mood, aspect, voice, and so on as verbal suffixes while German uses paraphrastic auxiliary plus main verb constructions. In addition, Turkish marks a progressive category which is not marked in German. In addition, Turkish uses non-finite forms, variously termed 'deverbal adverbs', 'gerunds' or 'converbs' to express grammatical relations between clauses expressed by subordinating conjunctions or adverbials in German. In contrast, German non-finite forms, infinitives and past participle are used with finite auxiliary verbs to form modal expressions, perfectives and passives, all of which are expressed by suffixes on the main verb stem in Turkish. The two languages are similar in

that subject agreement is marked with inflectional suffixes, however Turkish is a prodrop language while German is not.

Cross-linguistic investigation of first language acquisition, e.g., Slobin ((ed.), 1985) have identified significantly different patterns of development of the morpho-syntactic marking of parallel notions by children acquiring languages of different types. We compare the development of these young Turkish/German bilingual children with the results of investigations of monolingual Turkish children (Aksu-Koç, 1988; Aksu-Koç and Slobin, 1985; Ekmekçi, 1979, 1986; etc.) and German children (Clahsen, 1982, 1988; Mills, 1985; Tracy, 1991; etc.) and, additionally with studies of simultaneous bilingual acquisition involving these languages, (Leopold, 1949; Meisel, 1989, 1990; Saunders, 1983; Taeschner, 1983 etc. for German) and with the growing number of studies of the sequential acquisition of Turkish and/or German or Dutch by migrant children.

Obviously these topics require far more than a short article to explicate. In the following section, I will simply summarize some of our major findings on the development of Turkish and German, illustrating the points with examples from two KITA children who differ in language dominance³. In the final section, I briefly comment on a pair of comparable passages in both languages from one child.

Developmental Patterns

Bilingual acquisition

Although their early exposure to both languages initially led us to expect that the children would display the characteristics of 'simultaneous acquisition of two first languages', our analysis of their developing competence to date reveals that their language acquisition patterns differ significantly from those 'Type 1' bilingual children of mixed marriages most frequently reported in the literature on early child bilingualism (see Romaine, 1989).

Instead, we find a pattern of successive first and second language acquisition with clear patterns of language dominance, strikingly different for the Turkish and the German children. After an initial phase of producing only Turkish, all the Turkish children acquired productive competence in German, though, as we will see, this may be quite nonstandard. The German children, with one exception, did not develop productive competence in Turkish despite the fact that they were vastly outnumbered in the KITA by their Turkish peers, most of whom almost always spoke Turkish to each other and to the Turkish caretakers.

³ The children, coded T05 and T16 are German and Turkish dominant respectively. For more detailed information, see Pfaff et al., 1988, 1991 and Pfaff, 1993.

The obvious conclusion is that co-presence in the KITA of German and Turkish native speakers was clearly not sufficient to effect native-like acquisition in the other languages. Clearly the values and language use patterns of the surrounding community came through even to these very young children.

Language dominance

Language dominance varies and turns out to be significant for the patterning of all the linguistic and interactional variable investigated.

The majority of the Turkish children are clearly Turkish-dominant. Their acquisition of Turkish proceeds essentially like that reported for monolinguals (Aksu-Koç, 1988; Aksu-Koç & Slobin, 1985; Ekmekçi, 1979, 1986) while their acquisition of German differs strikingly from that reported for monolinguals (Mills, 1985; Clahsen, 1988) and is in some respects similar to the patterns characteristic of natural second language acquisition of German by adults and older children (Klein & Dittmar, 1979; Clahsen, Meisel & Pienemann, 1983; von Stutterheim, 1986; Kuhberg, 1987; and others).

For Turkish children who are German-dominant, the acquisitional patterns for Turkish morphosyntax are like those of monolinguals only in some respects, while some structures do not develop to the same extent, if at all, a pattern termed 'stagnation' by Verhoeven and Boeschoten (1986). This stagnation goes along with a tendency to avoid or limit their interaction in Turkish in favour of German, as we will discuss below.

Development of lexicon and language mixing

We analysed instances of mixing of Turkish and German in the individual interviews. As these were conducted primarily in one of the other language, it is not surprising that our findings majority of mixes are lexical items and short phrases from one language in the context of the other, in a form consonant with the Matrix Language Frame model proposed in recent papers by Myers-Scotton (1990, 1992). That is, we find there is always a clear base language which dominates morphosyntax.

Thus we find word morphological integration of German nouns with Turkish case inflections, e.g., *U-Bahn'da* 'in the U-Bahn (subway)' in Turkish interviews or of integration of German verbs, nouns or adjective as verbs in Turkish by means of a postposed 'dummy verb' *yapmak* 'make or do' which carries the tense/aspect and agreement information, e.g., *tanzen yapıyo* 's/he's dancing'. Similarly, we find Turkish nouns occur in German with preposed definite articles, e.g., *der köpek* 'the

dog'⁴. Such structures, which are violations of Poplack's the free morpheme constraint (German stems with Turkish inflections) or of the equivalence constraint (Turkish auxiliary postposed to German verb stem) are frequent but these can readily be accounted for in her framework as patterns of 'nonce' borrowing.

The extent of mixing, as indicated by an analysis of type-token ratios, was clearly related to the children's developing language proficiency, but also notably toward the requirements of communication in the wider community outside the KITA. The children rapidly develop toward distinct norms in Turkish and German, approximating the requirements of the 'monolingual mode' in German, with decreasing admixture of Turkish elements in German but approaching a 'bilingual mode community norm' which permits the incorporation of lexical items from German into Turkish (see Pfaff et al., 1988, and Pfaff, 1990b).

It is of interest that mixing patterns differ with language dominance and highly indicative of the situation in Berlin-Kreuzberg that the patterns we find for Turkish-dominant children are very similar to those found for Turkish-speaking adult migrants in the Netherlands, while only the few German-dominant children's patterns are parallel to those they found in Turkish children in the Netherlands (Boeschoten and Verhoeven, 1985).

Nominal and verbal morphology

As far as the development of morphological marking is concerned, our finding clearly reflect the typological differences between Turkish and German. Briefly acquisition of Turkish inflections poses no problem, as is found for Turkish monolingual children (Aksu-Koç and Slobin, 1985), while acquisition of the appropriate case, number, gender marking in German is complicated by the syncretism of the article system, as is true for monolinguals as well (Mills, 1985).

The bilingual children make relatively few errors in Turkish morphology. This is particularly striking for the suffixes which express case, subject-verb agreement and tense-mood-aspect. Those errors which do occur are characteristically different for Turkish-dominant and German-dominant children. Further distinctions are to be found when one examines the frequency and distribution of the suffixes quantitatively or in context.

The acquisition of German morphology, however, is far more difficult for the bilingual children we studied than would be predicted by the typological syncretism of the system. Their patterns of acquisition differ strikingly from those observed for monolinguals, even for the German-dominant T05 and is more like patterns of second language acquisition of German observed for adults and older children.

⁴ Many children, however, especially at first do not use articles in German, see the section on 'Development of nominal morphology in Turkish and German'.

The following sections briefly illustrate these points with material from the KITA study.

Development of Nominal Morphology in Turkish and German

Before turning to the acquisition of morphosyntactic marking of nominals, it is appropriate to look briefly at the development of argument structure of utterances in Turkish and German.

Figure 1 summarizes the use of NPs in both Turkish and German by two children over a period of nearly a year, T16 (3;10-4;9) and T05 (4;4-5;2). The overall length of the bars in the graph corresponds to the number of instances of NPs with lexical heads produced by each child in each language and the size of the patterned segments within each bar represents the percentage of the indicated semantic / case functions⁵.

Language dominance is reflected in the proportion of overt NPs in Turkish and German. T16 has more NPs in Turkish than in German, while T05 has more NPs in German than in Turkish.

Further, the distribution of overt NPs over the different case functions differs systematically for Turkish-dominant and German-dominant children. The proportion of naming (NP-essives and cop-essives) is notably higher in the non-dominant language. These observations about the distribution of overt NPs actually reflect differences in the discourse strategies employed by the children in their dominant and non-dominant languages. We will return to this topic later.

As far as the development of morphological marking in Turkish is concerned, as noted above Turkish poses no problems; even the German-dominant T05 makes few 'errors'; only a few of those, notably instances of possessives marked only on a preceding possessive pronoun but not by the standard Turkish inflection on the possessed noun, e.g., T05 4;10 *benim para (=param) var* 'I have money' can arguably be taken to represent transfer from German and, even here it equally plausible to claim that this represents a universal tendency toward more analytic marking. The Turkish-dominant children sometimes overgeneralize lexically idiosyncratic possessive forms, e.g., T16 4;6 *sonra bebeğin kolusunu (=kolunu) koparmak istiyo* 'then he wants to take the doll's arm off'. Forms such as *kolusunu* are not 'errors' in case marking, *per se*, but represent overgeneralization of the

⁵ Semantic/case categories used are defined in Pfaff et al., 1988. For Turkish, in which the case markings more nearly correspond to underlying semantic functions, we have used the traditional case labels for the marked cases. For German, where the correspondences are more complex, we used semantic labels. In both languages, we distinguish naming (essives) from other uses of the nominative such as agent, experiencer, and so on.

NP essives are isolated nouns, possibly with indefinite articles, while Cop(ular) essives are nouns used as predicate nominals. The latter are realized without overt copula forms in Turkish and, frequently, though nonstandardly, in German (see Pfaff et al., 1988 for examples and discussion).

Case Function of NPs in Turkish and German for T16 & T05

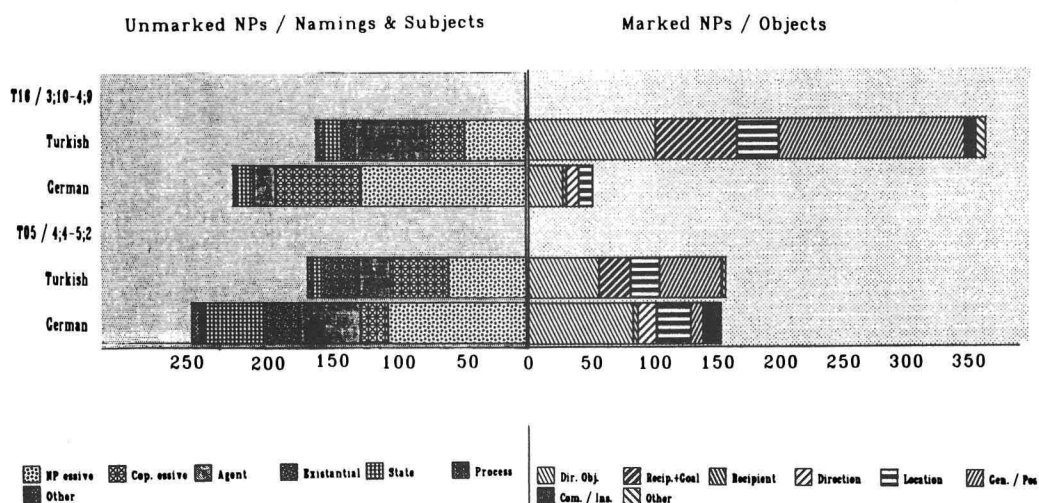


Figure 1. Case function of NPs in Turkish and German for T16 & T05.

regular rules to certain lexical items. Such forms are also reported in monolingual pre-schoolers' speech (Ekmekçi, 1986). (See Pfaff and Savaş, 1988; Pfaff, 1993 for further discussion).

Acquisition of German nominal marking, discussed at length in Pfaff 1992, is problematic for these children and patterns differ strikingly from L1, even for the German-dominant T05.

The proportion of Ø article usage, e.g., *Ø Eisenbahn* is kaputt '(the) train is broken.' by Turkish children is much higher than for the German monolinguals and persists longer.

The use of definite article forms as demonstrative pronouns, rather than personal pronouns, e.g., *ich habe den gesehen* nich (=ich habe ihn nicht gesehen, 'I haven't seen him' are much more predominant for Turkish children than for German L1 learners.

While case marking does seem to be acquired, as illustrated by the above example, the choice of article form is nonetheless very frequently nonstandard, as a result of its being confounded with the category gender.

Gender is difficult in German because of the high degree of apparent arbitrariness

of the distribution of nouns among the grammatical gender classes⁶. This grammatical subsystem is of special interest because of the psycholinguistic problems it poses for the learner. Mills (1986) has pointed out, that, although gender errors in German first language persist until 8 or 9, the rules are essentially acquired around age 2. In contrast, for second language learners of German, this area of grammar is notoriously difficult and may never be fully mastered. Turkish has no grammatically marked category gender, neither natural nor grammatical. However, the subset of natural gender items could be expected to be mastered early if the semantic primacy hypothesis holds in either L1 or L2.

It is very striking in our study that the category of gender does not seem to be acquired at all. This pertains not only to grammatical gender items, e.g., *dann hab hier stellt, die Hund* (std masc, *den Hund* 'then (he) put (it) here, the dog' T16, but also to natural gender items, e.g., *dann wieder sind kommen, die Mutter und die Vater* (std. masc. *der Vater*) 'then (they) came again, the mother and the father'. The incidence of nonstandard natural gender items is, perhaps, even more frequent than nonstandard grammatical gender, tending to disconfirm the hypotheses that semantic primacy determines the process of second language acquisition (see Pfaff, 1992 and Thiel, forthcoming).

Development of Verbal Morphology

As suggested in the brief contrastive overview of Turkish and German, the systems of the two languages are quite different. In this section we simply summarize some of the major findings with respect to finite and non-finite verbs in both languages.

With respect to the particular finite forms used, we find several differences between the forms used by Turkish and German-dominant children. (see Pfaff et al., 1989 for detailed presentation of quantitative results for both languages; Pfaff, 1992 for a discussion of aspects of German and Pfaff, 1993 for aspects of Turkish). Some of the findings are listed below:

Turkish: The forms which occur are essentially error free for all children, essentially however there is a definite difference with respect to which forms are used, with the German-dominant children like T05 having a much more restricted inventory of forms.

For finite forms, it is striking that the German-dominant T05 the 'evidential', *-mlş* forms very rarely while the Turkish-dominant T16 uses them frequently in narratives. It is not the case that T05 substitutes the wrong suffix where *-mlş* forms would be expected. Instead, as in the narrative excerpts to be discussed below, he describes scenes, from a perspective in which progressive, past or future forms are

⁶ While Köpcke and Zubin (1984) have pointed out a number of semantic and phonological rules which apply to a large proportion of nouns, there remain many exceptions, some extremely frequent in the lexical inventory of young children.

appropriate. As with the results for case marking, these results for verb morphology are linked to the children's conversational strategies, as we will see in the next section.

Even more striking is the fact that while the Turkish-dominant T16 uses non-finite forms throughout the period of our investigation, the German-dominant T05 uses no finite forms at all. In this respect, as for the types of language mixing discussed above, the Turkish-dominant children we studied in Berlin more nearly approximate the language behaviour of monolinguals than do Turkish children in the Netherlands, whose Turkish is more like that of our German-dominant children⁷.

German: We find fewer differences in the type of verbal constructions attempted, but a greater difference in their realization than in Turkish. Agreement inflections for main verbs are frequently nonstandard, despite the fact that the system is similar to Turkish, where almost no nonstandard agreement is observed. Initially, Turkish-dominant children produce zero copula structures, which are not found for German-dominant children. Zero auxiliary forms are much less frequent, but we find overgeneralization of auxiliary *haben* (rather than *sein*) with verbs of motion or change of state.) Finally, there is a tendency for Turkish-dominant, but not German-dominant children to use compound verb structures, with forms *ist+verb* or *mach+verb*, as in *alle Kinder is Jocken anziehen* 'all the children are putting on jogging suits (T16:5;02)' *Elefant komm. die mach hauen* '(the) elephant comes. he is fighting' T12 3;10. It is noteworthy here that the form *is* appears to be invariant and occurs with both singular and plural subjects. This is not the case, however for occurrences of the regular copula, which varies appropriately for person-number agreement with 3sg and 3pl subjects, *is(t)*, *sind*. See Pfaff, 1991, 1992, for further discussion of such forms.

Conversational strategies

In this section we examine two dimensions of conversational strategies employed by the children: (1) global strategies related to the children's interaction with the interlocutors and (2) local strategies related to the perspective taken by the children in producing narratives.

⁷ Turkish/Dutch bilingual children in the Netherlands show extremely restricted use of gerunds of any type (Verhoeven, 1988: 448-9; Boeschoten, 1990a: 100-120), suggesting stagnation in acquisition of complex structures and possible overgeneralization and reanalysis of the structures.

From our observations of the KITA children, from informal observations reported by parents and caretakers and from self-reports of language choice by older children⁸, it is clear that linguistic dominance correlates with preferred language used in everyday interactions in their families, with friends, etc.

In contrast, in the conversations we recorded with them, the children's language choice was limited; they understood that they were expected to use one language in so far as possible, Turkish with the Turkish interviewers, German with the German interviewers. Our preference for the 'monolingual mode', as Grosjean terms it, in our play sessions enabled us to investigate the relationship between everyday interaction and the development of the children's linguistic competence in each of their languages.

We approached this question by examining the types of discourse structure characteristic of the conversations we have recorded with the children in their stronger and weaker languages in different elicitation contexts, focused on the 'here and now' in structured interactions, games with toys or looking at picture books, or in conversation drawing on the child's own experience, fantasies or opinions on a variety of topics beyond the 'here and now'. Not surprisingly, the child's willingness and ability to engage in such conversations was more likely to take a larger proportion of the interview time in the interactions in the child's preferred, or dominant, language. Even in the more structured 'here-and-now' oriented interactions, children were more able to direct the conversation themselves in their dominant language, while in the other language they tended to rely much more on scaffolding provided by the interviewers.

Table 3 gives a schematic overview of our preliminary findings.

⁸ See Pfaff (1991) for discussion.

Table 3. Conversational strategies in Turkish and German.

	Turkish-dominant T16 (3;11 - 5;8)		German-dominant T05 (4;4 - 6;0)	
	<i>Turkish</i>	<i>German</i>	<i>Turkish</i>	<i>German</i>
Reliance on scaffolding	little	much	much	little
Detail	frequent	rare	rare	frequent
Questions	few	few	some (for vocab)	few (for info)
Topic initiations	few	very few	rare	some
Digressions	many (to convers.)	many (back to activity)	many (to diff. act.)	many (to convers.)
Ease of elic. free conv.	easy	difficult	difficult	easy
Delegating turn to another	rare	frequently to sister	whenever possible to interviewer or mother	rare

Local strategies: narrative perspective

We turn now from the children's interactional strategies to their the choice of forms and structures within their linguistic competence in a given language to satisfy the requirements of their communicative 'tasks' in the interviews. For instance, in talking to us about a book, children can adequately participate in the 'task' by producing descriptions of the individual pictures or by producing a connected narrative, or by offering us their opinions and suggestions about how the characters in the story should have acted. This is obviously a matter of individual variation in interactional style, but by comparing the texts elicited by the same book, we can begin to see how the children's productions are in part determined by their linguistic competence. For this reason, we made an effort to elicit parallel conversations in both languages from all the children in our subsample. One set of such parallel conversations was elicited in looking at the book, *Lady and the Tramp*⁹.

⁹ Walt Disney's *Lady and the Tramp* Ladybird Books. This is a picture book (with text in English - which none of the children in the KITA study could read). The protagonist is the dog, Lady, who lives

In Pfaff 1993, the narrative perspectives and strategies in the Turkish of two children, T05 and T16 are illustrated in detail. Here we examine the other side of the story as well, illustrating some of the striking differences in conversational strategies and forms used in their dominant and weaker languages with parallel examples in both Turkish and German. Some indication of whether the realizations are standard or nonstandard is provided by the glosses, though this is not the primary concern here.

Jim gives his wife a Christmas present

Picture shows Jim giving his wife a the dog, Lady, in front of a Christmas tree

1. T16: *burda Weihnachtsmannbaum yapmışlar*
'here Ø (= they) made a Santa Claus tree'
2. T16: *Tannenbaum*
[Interviewer mentions dog as gift]
"Herzlichen Glückwunsch x Weihnachtsmann."
'Christmas tree'
'Best wishes x Santa Claus (Christmas man)'
3. T05: *bu Weihnachten diye*
'this (= Christmas tree) (is) for Christmas'
4. T05: *guck mal, der Mann hat ihn (=Darling) als
Weihnachten ein kleines Hund gekauft.*
'look, the man bought her a little dog for Christmas'

Turkish: In (1) and (3) both children focus on the Christmas tree which is in the background. T16, the Turkish-dominant child refers to the presumed prior actions of the couple decorating the tree. She uses a *-miş* form denoting non-witnessed action. The German-dominant child T05, in contrast, simply identifies the tree's function in a sentence without an overt verb.

German: In (2) and (4) the children's utterances differ maximally. T16 simply gives a name for the tree, and when the interlocutor points out the dog, she provides a formulaic greeting. T05 explicitly addresses the interlocutor and explains the scene, referring not only to what is visible, but to the inferred prior action.

with a young couple, 'Jim dear' and 'Darling'. When they go away, Aunt Sara comes to stay with their baby and chases Lady out. Lady meets another dog, Tramp, with whom she has some adventures before returning home with him to a happy ending.

Aunt Sarah chases Lady

Lady has been looking at the new baby, Aunt Sarah, fearing she will hurt the baby, chases her away with a broom. Lady runs down the stairs.

5. T16: *burda da köpek hemen koşturuyo burda da o da köpeğe vurmak istiyo.*
'and here the dog immediately runs here and she wants to hit the dog'
6. T16: *"Du Hund, geh weg von hier, von die kleine Baby!"*
"'you, dog, go away from here, from the little baby!'"
7. T05: *dövüyo*
'Ø (=aunt) is hitting Ø (=Lady)'

INT *neden dövüyo?*
'why is Ø (=aunt) hitting Ø (=Lady)?'

bu bu bunu hiç görmedi diye
'because this (=aunt) has never seen this (=Lady) before'

bu da korkmuş
'and this (=Lady) was afraid.

sonra kaçıyo
'then Ø (=Lady) runs away'
8. T05: *denn kommt seine Tante, und dann hat er schnell Angst, die Lady.*
'then his aunt comes and he gets scared right away, Lady'

der kennt sie nich. Der holt sich ein Besenst(iel)
x wollt er ihn verkloppen.
'he (=she) doesn't know her. he (=she) takes a broomst(ick) x she wants to hit him (=Lady).'
- ich mein aber, der muß das sagen "Ich bin sein Mann, seine Familie"*
Des muß man sagen, sonst schlägt er ihn nich.
'but I think he should say that: "I'm his (=Lady's) man [owner, patron], his family".
one has to say that otherwise (=so) he (=aunt) won't hit him (=Lady).

Turkish: T16 uses deictic pronouns only with reference to the pictures in the framework of telling the story to the interlocutor. She uses lexical nouns to refer to the participants in the story. T05 uses a sequence of simple sentences, notable for the use of deictic pronominal reference to all story participants.

German: T16 makes up a direct quote to express the situation, using almost a stereotypic ‘foreigner talk’ German for the aunt to address the strange dog she fears will hurt the baby. T05 provides a not only a full explanation of Aunt Sarah’s actions, he offers his opinion about what Jim should have said to her so that she would understand that Lady was part of the household. The forms are quite non-standard, but the point is clear.

Lady and Tramp chase chickens

5. T16: *burda da köpek xxx istiyomuş bunları*
‘and then here the dog wanted xxx, these’
6. T16: *will das essen*
‘Ø (= (s)he, they) want(s) to eat that’
7. T05: *o zaman bu böyle yaptı, bak! bu bunu yicek diye.*
‘then this did like this, look! because this is going to eat this’
8. T05: *der wollte die Hühner fressen.*
‘he wanted to eat the hens’

Turkish: The picture represents an action. T16’s version in (5) expresses the motivation for the action, using a *-mİş* form while T05’s version in (7) focuses on the actions itself. Note that T05’s use of *-DI* form *yaptı* ‘did’ is combined with emphasis on witnessing the event, with the imperative *bak* ‘look!’ directed to the interlocutor. His version of the motivation is expressed by use of the future form, *yicek* ‘he is going to eat’.

German: In terms of perspective, these two utterances are almost parallel to the utterances in Turkish, but with reversal of the speakers. Here it is T05 who focuses on the past intention while T16 uses present tense. Structurally, T16 uses deictic reference (with null subject) while T05 uses a pronoun and lexical object.

Dogcatcher

Dogcatcher with a net; the dogs in a cage.

9. T16: *burda da kafeste kalmışlar;*
köpekler kafeste kalmış
‘and here Ø (= the dogs) stay (3pl) in the cage’

'the dogs stay (3sg/pl) in the cage'

10. T16: *dann hab er (dogcatcher) Ø (=Lady) nehmt*
"ich wußte nich von wen ist der" die weiß nich x dann hab (Ø=3s)
hier stellt, die Hund.
der (=dogcatcher) hab zu ihm (Lady) böse.
'then Ø (=he) takes Ø (it) "I didn't know who he belonged to" he
doesn't know [or Ø doesn't know her/it] x
then Ø (=he) put Ø (=it) here, the dog.
he is angry at him/it.
11. T05: *o zaman bu ko- bunlar korkuyola.*
'then this ko- these are afraid.'
12. T05: *dann kommt der Mann und fangt Lady und der Tramp.*
'then the man comes and catches Lady and the Tramp'

Turkish: Here, T16 refers to the resultant stage using *-mİş* forms as is customary in storytelling. Note her use of alternative non-redundant plural marking: a marked 3pl verb form when the subject is null, but an unmarked 3rd person verb form when the explicit 3pl subject is used. T05 refers to the emotional state of the dogs pictured as an ongoing process using the progressive *-yor* form.

German: T16 uses two strategies for clarification here: direct quotation to provide the rationale for the dogcatcher's action and postposed lexical NP, *die Hund*, to identify referent which is not obvious from the nonstandard pronouns and null arguments. T05's version, in contrast, is syntactically straightforward, agent and patient are lexical NPs.

Rat in the garden or in the house

Lady and Tramp confront a rat in the garden, it runs into the house into the baby's room. They chase it. Aunt Sarah misunderstands and thinks the dogs are attacking the baby.

13. T16: *burdan da burda da bi bi şey buldu*
'and from here and here Ø (=Lady) found something'
- ... *onu görmüş*
'... Ø (=Lady) saw it'
- eve gelmiş.*
'Ø(=Lady and Tramp) went into the house'

burda da kızıyo gene
'and here Ø (=aunt) gets angry again'

burda da kızıyo köpeğe
'and here Ø (=aunt) gets angry at the dog'

14. T16: *hier xx , in die Babyzimmer liegt was, das, da druff x xx hier hab
widersieht ihn, dann hab immer böse, die Großmutter.*
'here xx, something's lying in the baby's room, that, on top of that
x xx here Ø (= aunt) saw him again, then Ø is always (=still)
angry, the grandmother'
15. T05: *weißt was, wenn er so (wide eyed stare) macht, da fürcht er sich mit
eine Ratte.*
'know what, when he (=Lady) does this (stare), he's afraid of a rat'
16. T05: *bu ne?*
'what's this?'

Turkish: T05 asks a question, delegating turn to the interlocutor by asking for a lexical item with a simple formula consisting of deictic NP and question word.

German: Here T16's deictic reference, unintelligible syllables and vocabulary gaps are difficult to reconstruct, one of the relatively few such instances in the context of looking at books. T05's question here is of an entirely different sort than in Turkish; this time it is a rhetorical formulaic phrase which allows him to continue to hold the floor, giving commentary.

Puppies

Picture shows that Lady and the Tramp (after a 'marriage ceremony' performed by Jim and 'Darling') have puppies. Two of the puppies look just like Lady, one looks just like Tramp.

17. T16: *burda da çocukları varmış bunun. bi de bunun çocukları varmış.*
'and here there are her children, and there are his children.'
- bunun bi tane, bunun bi tane*
'one of hers and one of his'
- bunun iki tane, bunun bi tane*
'two of hers and one of his'
- bunların ikisi de bunun çocuğu, bu da bunun çocuğu.*
'and these two are her children and this is his child.'

18. T16: *hier die (=Lady) hab zwei Baby krieg,
die (=Tramp) eine Baby krieg.*
'here she has had two babies, he one baby.'
19. T05: *o zaman bebek bebekler - bu bu bu iki tane çocuklar bunun, da bu
bu çocuk bunun -*
'then the baby, babies - these two children are this one's (=Lady's)
this child is this one's (=Tramp's)'
20. T05: *Der Tramp hat ein Baby und der Lady hat zwei Babys ein Junge
und ein Mädchen.*
'Tramp has one baby and Lady has two babies, a boy and a girl.'

Turkish and German: Both children attempt to account for the appearance of the puppies as having either Lady or Tramp as parent. It is clear that the confounding lack of grammatical or natural gender marking in German plays no role in this. The answers in Turkish are similar in content in that attribution of parenthood follows appearance.

Conclusions

In the preceding examination of the Turkish and German speech of Turkish/German bilingual children, we have touched on several different aspects of their grammars: lexical and structural inventories, frequency of alternative realizations, and errors. The type of analysis illustrated above attempts to interrelate the use of linguistic forms, structures and systems with discourse-interactional features of communicative competence. We believe that such an integrated approach is particularly appropriate to a study of acquisition and attrition in very heterogeneous bilingual communities such as the Turkish population in Germany.

We have seen that while actual errors in Turkish are relatively infrequent even in German-dominant children's speech, there are clear differences in the inventory of structures used and in the frequencies with which the various alternatives are employed. In German, in contrast, children, such as T05, who are German dominant, make many 'errors'. This is not simply a reflection of the morphological transparency of Turkish vs. opacity of German. It seems to be the case that children growing up in this particular environment have little enough effective contact with German so that their patterns of language acquisition of German are more like L2 than like L1 learners, though, it is clear that they are much closer to the native norms than immigrant adult L2-learners. Nonetheless, all the children whose language we investigated are able to sustain communicative interaction in both languages, an aspect of their linguistic competence which frequently gets lost in studies which focus only on the acquisition of formal norms of monolingual speech.

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