

Proof Delivery Form

Journal of Child Language

Date of delivery:

Journal and vol/article ref:

jcl

36_0/938

Number of pages (not including this page): 15

This proof is sent to you on behalf of Cambridge University Press. Please print out the file and check the proofs carefully. Make any corrections necessary on a hardcopy and answer queries on each page of the proofs.

Please return the **marked proof** within

3 days of receipt to:

Miles Lambert 18 Pasture Avenue Sherburn in Elmet LS25 6LG UK

To avoid delay from overseas, please send the proof by airmail or courier.

If you have no corrections to make, please email **child_language@yahoo.co.uk** to save having to return your paper proof. If corrections are light, you can also send them by email, quoting both page and line number.

- You are responsible for correcting your proofs. Errors not found may appear in the published journal.
- The proof is sent to you for correction of typographical errors only. Revision of the substance of the text is not permitted, unless discussed with the editor of the journal.
- Please answer carefully any queries listed overleaf.
- A new copy of a figure must be provided if correction of anything other than a typographical error introduced by the typesetter is required.
- If you have problems with the file please contact

epearce@cambridge.org

Please note that this pdf is for proof checking purposes only. It should not be distributed to third parties and may not represent the final published version.

Important: you must return any forms included with your proof.

Please do not reply to this email

Author queries:

AQ1: Please provide page numbers if any.

Offprint order form



PLEASE COMPLETE AND RETURN THIS FORM. WE WILL BE UNABLE TO SEND OFFPRINTS (INCLUDING FREE OFFPRINTS) UNLESS A RETURN ADDRESS AND ARTICLE DETAILS ARE PROVIDED.

Please advise if address registered with card company is different from above

VAT REG NO. GB 823 8476 09

Journ	al of Child	Languag	e (JCL)		Volume:		no:	
publisher (publication.	of each article will address below). Ple For an article by n	ase give the addres	s to which your offp	orints should be sent. T	hey will be desp	atched by surface	mail wit	hin one month of
Number o	of offprints requir	red in addition t	o the 50 free cop	ies:				
Email:								
Offprints	to be sent to (pri	nt in BLOCK C	APITALS):					
	Tyrints official with a straight will be supplied free to each first numed author and wart to a single uddress. Please complete this form and send it to the different holos). Please give the address to which your official prints should be sent. They will be deeparched by surface mult within one month of fisiatine. For an article by more than one author this form is sent to you as the first named. All extra officials are made in the installation with your co-authors. Interest of official prints required in addition to the 50 free copies: Post/Zip Code:							
Telephon	e:			Date (dd/mm/yy):		/	/	
Author(s)	:							
Article Ti	. •							
Press, Th	e Edinburgh Bui	lding, Shaftesbu	ry Road, Cambri	dge CB2 2RU, UK		Department, (Cambria	lge University
_	_			* * *		200		per 50 extra
1-4 pages	3	£41						£41
5-8 pages								
		£14	£18	£31	£53	£64		£14
Methods	of payment							
applicable is	n your country of resi d, please quote you	idence. If you live r	in any other country is r the VAT	n the EU and are not re				
Payment	must be included	d with your orde	er, please tick whi	ich method you are	e using:			
	Cheques should b	e made out to 0	Cambridge Unive	rsity Press.				
							en the order is	
		-			ıbol.			
	Card Number:							
	Expiry Date (m.	m/yy):	/	Card Verific	ation Number.			
								card number. For
G:	C						T	
Signature card hold						(Including VA) if appropriate)	_	

Transfer of copyright

Please read the notes overleaf and then complete, sign, and return this form to Emma Pearce, Cambridge University Press, The Edinburgh Building, Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge, CB2 8RU, UK as soon as possible.

	In consideration of the publication in JOURNAL OF CHILD LANGUAGE of the contribution entitled:					
	by (all authors' names):					
1	To be filled in if copyright belongs to you Transfer of copyright					
	I/we hereby assign to Cambridge University Press, full copyright in all formats and media in the said contribution.					
	e warrant that I am/we are the sole owner or co-owners of the material and have full power to make this agreement, and the material does not contain any libellous matter or infringe any existing copyright.					
	I/we further warrant that permission has been obtained from the copyright holder for any material not in my/our copyright including any audio and video material, that the appropriate acknowledgement has been made to the original source, and that in the case of audio or video material appropriate releases have been obtained from persons whose voices or likenesses are represented therein. I/we attach copies of all permission and release correspondence.					
	I/we hereby assert my/our moral rights in accordance with the UK Copyrights Designs and Patents Act (1988).					
	Signed (tick one) \Box the sole author(s)					
	one author authorised to execute this transfer on behalf of all the authors of the above article					
	Name (block letters)					
	Institution/Company					
	Signature: Date:					
	(Additional authors should provide this information on a separate sheet.)					
2	To be filled in if copyright does not belong to you a Name and address of copyright holder					
	b The copyright holder hereby grants to Cambridge University Press the non-exclusive right to publish the contribution in the journal and to deal with requests from third parties in the manner specified in paragraphs 4 and 5 overleaf.					
	(Signature of copyright holder or authorised agent)					
3	US Government exemption I/we certify that the paper above was written in the course of employment by the United States Government so that no copyright exists.					
	Signature: Name (Block letters):					
4	Demonstration of the Combridge Heimster Demonstration to accoming this particle should be					
	Requests received by Cambridge University Press for permission to reprint this article should be nt to					

Notes for contributors

- 1 The Journal's policy is to acquire copyright in all contributions. There are two reasons for this: (a) ownership of copyright by one central organisation tends to ensure maximum international protection against unauthorised use; (b) it also ensures that requests by third parties to reprint or reproduce a contribution, or part of it, are handled efficiently and in accordance with a general policy that is sensitive both to any relevant changes in international copyright legislation and to the general desirability of encouraging the dissemination of knowledge.
- 2 Two 'moral rights' were conferred on authors by the UK Copyright Act in 1988. In the UK an author's 'right of paternity', the right to be properly credited whenever the work is published (or performed or broadcast), requires that this right is asserted in writing.
- 3 Notwithstanding the assignment of copyright in their contribution, all contributors retain the following **non-transferable** rights:
- The right to post *either* their own version of their contribution as submitted to the journal (prior to revision arising from peer review and prior to editorial input by Cambridge University Press) *or* their own final version of their contribution as accepted for publication (subsequent to revision arising from peer review but still prior to editorial input by Cambridge University Press) on their **personal or departmental web page**, or in the **Institutional Repository** of the institution in which they worked at the time the paper was first submitted, or (for appropriate journals) in PubMedCentral, provided the posting is accompanied by a prominent statement that the paper has been accepted for publication and will appear in a revised form, subsequent to peer review and/or editorial input by Cambridge University Press, in **Journal of Child Language** published by Cambridge University Press, together with a copyright notice in the name of the copyright holder (Cambridge University Press or the sponsoring Society, as appropriate). On publication the full bibliographical details of the paper (volume: issue number (date), page numbers) must be inserted after the journal title, along with a link to the Cambridge website address for the journal. Inclusion of this version of the paper in Institutional Repositories outside of the institution in which the contributor worked at the time the paper was first submitted will be subject to the additional permission of Cambridge University Press (not to be unreasonably withheld).
- The right to post the definitive version of the contribution as published at Cambridge Journals Online (in PDF or HTML form) on their **personal or departmental web page**, no sooner than upon its appearance at Cambridge Journals Online, subject to file availability and provided the posting includes a prominent statement of the full bibliographical details, a copyright notice in the name of the copyright holder (Cambridge University Press or the sponsoring Society, as appropriate), and a link to the online edition of the journal at Cambridge Journals Online.
- The right to post the definitive version of the contribution as published at Cambridge Journals Online (in PDF or HTML form) in the **Institutional Repository** of the institution in which they worked at the time the paper was first submitted, or (for appropriate journals) in PubMedCentral, no sooner than **one year** after first publication of the paper in the journal, subject to file availability and provided the posting includes a prominent statement of the full bibliographical details, a copyright notice in the name of the copyright holder (Cambridge University Press or the sponsoring Society, as appropriate), and a link to the online edition of the journal at Cambridge Journals Online. Inclusion of this definitive version after one year in Institutional Repositories outside of the institution in which the contributor worked at the time the paper was first submitted will be subject to the additional permission of Cambridge University Press (not to be unreasonably withheld).
- The right to make hard copies of the contribution or an adapted version for their own purposes, including the right to make multiple copies for course use by their students, provided no sale is involved.
- The right to reproduce the paper or an adapted version of it in any volume of which they are editor or author. Permission will automatically be given to the publisher of such a volume, subject to normal acknowledgement.
- We shall use our best endeavours to ensure that any direct request we receive to reproduce your contribution, or a substantial part of it, in another publication (which may be an electronic publication) is approved by you before permission is given.
- 5 Cambridge University Press co-operates in various licensing schemes that allow material to be photocopied within agreed restraints (e.g. the CCC in the USA and the CLA in the UK). Any proceeds received from such licenses, together with any proceeds from sales of subsidiary rights in the Journal, directly support its continuing publication.
- It is understood that in some cases copyright will be held by the contributor's employer. If so, Cambridge University Press requires non-exclusive permission to deal with requests from third parties, on the understanding that any requests it receives from third parties will be handled in accordance with paragraphs 4 and 5 above (note that your approval and not that of your employer will be sought for the proposed use).
- Permission to include material not in your copyright
 If your contribution includes textual or illustrative material not in your copyright and not covered by fair use / fair dealing,
 permission must be obtained from the relevant copyright owner (usually the publisher or via the publisher) for the non-exclusive
 right to reproduce the material worldwide in all forms and media, including electronic publication. The relevant permission
 correspondence should be attached to this form.

If you are in doubt about whether or not permission is required, please consult the Permissions Controller, Cambridge University Press, The Edinburgh Building, Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8RU, UK. Fax: +44 (0)1223 315052. Email: lnicol@cambridge.org.

The information provided on this form will be held in perpetuity for record purposes. The name(s) and address(es) of the author(s) of the contribution may be reproduced in the journal and provided to print and online indexing and abstracting services and bibliographic databases

BRIEF RESEARCH REPORT

Child L2 development: A longitudinal case study on Voice Onset Times in word-initial stops*

ELLEN SIMON

Ghent University

(Received 16 November 2007. Revised 26 May 2008)

ABSTRACT

This paper reports the results of a longitudinal case study examining the acquisition of the English voice system by a three-year-old native speaker of Dutch. The study aims to examine whether the child develops two different phonetic systems or uses just one system for both languages, and compares the early L2 acquisition process with L1, simultaneous bilingual and late L2 acquisition. The results reveal that the child successfully acquires the English contrast between short-lag and long-lag stops, but gradually changes the Dutch system, which contrasts prevoiced with short-lag stops, into the direction of the English system.

INTRODUCTION

This study reports the results of a longitudinal case study examining the acquisition of the English voice system by a three-year-old native speaker of Dutch. Two main research questions are addressed: first, the study examines how and to what extent a young native speaker of Dutch acquires the production of a laryngeal system in a second language, in which he is suddenly immersed. The main question addressed is whether the child

^[*] I am grateful to the child for participating in this study and to the child's parents for generously allowing me to record their son over a period of seven months. I wish to thank John Kingston for many helpful discussions and feedback. Thanks also to Rebecca Danton for help during the data collection and to Christopher Butler and Filip Agneessens for help with the statistics. The paper has benefited from useful suggestions by two anonymous *Journal of Child Language* reviewers and an Associate Editor and by the audience at the New Sounds 2007 conference in Florianópolis. The research reported on in this paper has been made possible by a postdoctoral fellowship of the Belgian American Educational Foundation (BAEF)/Francqui Foundation and by a postdoctoral research grant of the Fund for Scientific Research – Flanders (FWO). Address for correspondence: Dr Ellen Simon, Ghent University, English Department, Rozier 44, 9000 Ghent, Belgium. tel: +32 9 264 36 47; e-mail: Ellen.Simon@UGent.be

makes a distinction between the L_I and L₂ phonetics or uses just one phonetic system for the production of both languages. Second, this study examines in what sense early L₂ acquisition of a laryngeal system is similar to or different from L_I, simultaneous bilingual and late L₂ acquisition. On the one hand, early L₂ acquisition is crucially different from L_I acquisition, as the child has already acquired the phonetics of the first language. On the other hand, it also differs from late L₂ acquisition, as the L_I system has only just been acquired by the child and may exert less influence on the L₂ than in late L₂ acquisition.

BACKGROUND

Although both Dutch and English have a contrast between voiced and voiceless stops, the contrast is phonetically realized in different ways in word-initial position. Whereas in Dutch the contrast is one between prevoiced and short-lag stops, English contrasts short-lag with long-lag stops. Dutch is therefore sometimes called a 'voicing language' (i.e. a language with a contrast between stops which are generally produced with prevoicing and unaspirated stops), while English is termed an 'aspirating language' (i.e. a language which contrasts short-lag with long-lag, aspirated stops) (Jansen, 2004: 1). Single word-initial voiced stops are nearly always produced with prevoicing in Dutch (Simon, 2009; Van Alphen, 2004). English voiced stops are usually not prevoiced, though some variability has been observed. Williams (1977), for instance, found a bimodal distribution in voiced stops produced by ten American English adults, with scattered items in the negative Voice Onset Time (VOT) range and a peak in the short-lag region. Normally, however, voiced stops in English are realized in the short-lag VOT region, with values roughly between 0-25 ms (Docherty, 1992; Flege, 1982; Lisker & Abramson, 1964; Simon, 2009).

With respect to the reported ages at which monolingual children acquire the laryngeal contrast in their native language, there is variation in the literature. This variation is presumably due to individual differences between children as well as to the use of different criteria for determining 'acquisition' (Macken & Barton, 1979: 42). Macken & Barton (1979), for instance, considered the English short lag-long lag contrast to be fully acquired by a child when the child produced stops with mean VOT values that fall within the adult VOT ranges. Van der Feest (2007: 128), on the other hand, divided children into two groups on the basis of whether or not they had produced 'at least one clear instance of a voiced initial target word and one clear instance of a voiceless initial target word'. Despite these differences in methodology, a comparison of studies examining the acquisition of the laryngeal contrast in voicing and aspirating languages reveals that the laryngeal contrast between obstruents in languages with a

short lag-long lag contrast is generally produced at an earlier age than in languages with a voicing lead-short lag contrast. English-speaking children have been reported to acquire the contrast between voiced and voiceless stops at around the age of 2;0 (Macken & Barton, 1979; Snow, 1997). Macken & Barton (1979) report that, after an initial stage in which there is no contrast at all between children's voiced and voiceless stops, children go through a stage in which they do make a contrast between the two categories, but both are realized in the short-lag region and consequently fall within what adults perceive as voiced stops. Children learning a voicing language, on the other hand, acquire the contrast between prevoiced and short-lag VOT at around the age of 3;0 or even later. Whereas the realization of short-lag voiceless stops is acquired much earlier, the production of prevoicing may not be fully acquired by the age of 3;0 (Kager, Van der Feest, Fikkert, Kerkhoff & Zamuner, 2007; Kuijpers, 1993; Macken & Barton, 1980; Van der Feest, 2007).

Table I summarizes the VOT ranges for Dutch and English children and adults reported in the literature. Since VOT depends on, for instance, speech rate (Kessinger & Blumstein, 1998) and place of articulation (Cho & Ladefoged, 1991), these values are rough indications.

Studies on simultaneous bilingual acquisition of a voicing and an aspirating language confirm the finding that the voice contrast in aspirating languages is acquired before the one in voicing languages. Deuchar & Clark (1996) conducted a longitudinal study with one child learning both Spanish and English from birth. At age 2;3 the child had acquired the voice contrast in English, but had not attained adult-like values in Spanish, as both voiced and voiceless stops were produced within the short-lag region (though the beginning of a contrast could be detected within this region). Kehoe, Lleó & Rakow (2004) investigated the acquisition of stop consonant voicing in four Spanish-German bilingual children and found that none of the children produced voicing lead in Spanish voiced stops at age 2;6. Similarly, Johnson & Wilson (2002) found that Japanese voiced stops were produced without prevoicing by two bilingual English-Japanese children aged 2;2 and 4;8. They also found that the two children produced voiceless stops with much longer VOTs than their parents, in Japanese (their mother's L1) as well as in English (their father's L1). Overlong VOTs are also reported by Watson (1991) in the French and English stops of French-English bilingual children.

The question whether children employ one system for both languages or two separate systems has been a central issue in the literature on bilingualism. Deuchar & Quay (2000: 46, 111–13) argue that the question 'one system or two?' cannot easily be answered by looking at inventories of segmental phonology, but that the when and how of language differentiation can be examined by focusing on the acquisition of a phonological contrast,

TABLE 1. VOT values for Dutch and English stops in adult and child speech

		VOT range	References
Dutch			
Adults	vcl.	0–20 ms	Lisker & Abramson (1964) $(N=1)^a$; Flege & Eeftink (1987) $(N=50)$; Simon (2009) $(N=10)$
	vcd.	prevoiced 86%: mean VOT: -118 ms	Van Alphen (2004) (N=10)
		prevoiced 97%: mean VOT: -115 ms	Simon (2009) (N=10)
Children	vcl.	mean VOT: o ms (age 1;2-2;11) ^b o-25 ms (age 2;5-3;9)	Van der Feest (2007) (N=11) Kuijpers (1993) (N=2)
	vcd.	prevoiced: -83 ms; unprevoiced:	Van der Feest (2007)
		prevoiced: -50 ms; unprevoiced: 17 ms	Kuijpers (1993)
English			
Adults	vcl.	60–90 ms	Lisker & Abramson (1964) $(N=4)$; Klatt (1975); Flege & Eeftink (1987) $(N=5)$; Docherty (1992) (N=5); Simon (2009) $(N=10)$
	vcd.	0–25 ms	Lisker & Abramson (1964); Docherty (1992)
		prevoiced: 7% prevoiced: 28% mean VOT of prev.: -101 ms	Simon (2009)
Children	vcl.	Stage I: short-lag stops for both categories	Macken & Barton (1979) ($N=4$)
	vcd.	Stage II: subtle contrast between vcl. and vcd. stops, but within adult short-lag region Stage III: target-like contrast,	
		sometimes with extreme long- lag VOT values for vcl. stops (age 1;6-2;1)	

^a The number of informants in the samples (N) is provided between parentheses.

like the voice contrast, which is realized differently in the two languages under investigation. Since the child in the present study has been raised monolingually until the age of 3;2 (see Method), this case study differs from simultaneous bilingual acquisition, as the child at age 3;2 has already acquired an L1 phonetic system. Studies on (late) L2 acquisition have shown that learners transfer VOT values from the L1 into the L2, both in perception (e.g. Pater, 2003) and in production (e.g. Flege, Frieda, Walley & Randazza, 1998; Suomi, 1980). Simon (2009) analyzed the production of

^b All studies on VOT in child speech report individual differences between children. Since we cannot discuss all individual results, values for age groups were calculated and presented.

the English voice contrast by sixteen adult native speakers of (Belgian) Dutch learning English and showed that the informants produced long-lag voiceless stops in English, but realized voiced stops with voicing lead. This difference was ascribed to the acoustic salience of long-lag stops compared to short-lag stops: L2 learners notice that English voiceless stops are different from Dutch voiceless stops, which triggers the acquisition process. Prevoiced stops, on the other hand, are acoustically non-salient and function as a major cue for the voice character of the stop in the L1 (see Van Alphen, 2004). Hence, even though prevoicing is acquired late, once it is acquired it is easily transferred into a foreign language.

HYPOTHESES

On the basis of the literature overview on L1, bilingual and L2 acquisition presented above, two hypotheses can be formulated regarding the development of the L2 English voice contrast by a Dutch-speaking child. Since L1 studies have shown that prevoicing is only acquired around the age of 3;0 or even later, the child's system will depend on whether he has acquired Dutch prevoiced stops at the moment he comes into contact with English. The two hypotheses can be formulated as follows: (1) If the child has acquired the production of prevoicing in Dutch at the start of data collection, it is predicted that he will transfer prevoicing into English. This hypothesis is based on the finding in L2 acquisition studies that once prevoicing is acquired, it is very difficult to lose it. (2) if the child has not yet acquired prevoicing in Dutch at the outset of this study, he will produce both Dutch and English voiced stops in the short-lag region. Since long-lag, aspirated stops are acoustically salient and acquired early in L1 and bilingual acquisition, it is assumed that the child will start producing English aspirated stops early in the acquisition process. As a result, the child's English system is predicted to have a contrast between prevoiced and long-lag stops (if hypothesis I is confirmed) or between short-lag and long-lag stops, i.e. the target L2 system (if hypothesis 2 is confirmed).

METHOD

Participant

The informant for this study is a male native speaker of Dutch, who was 3;6 when the first recording took place. The child, who in this paper will be referred to as George, moved with his Dutch-speaking parents from Groningen, a town in the north of the Netherlands, to the US (Massachusetts) when he was 3;2. He was exposed to English as a second language only three months later, when he started attending an American preschool, i.e. seven weeks before the first recording took place. His parents reported no hearing or speech impairments.

Language context

Before the family moved to the US, George had not had any extensive contact with English or any other foreign language. After George and his parents started living in the US, the language input George received was situationally determined: Dutch was the language used at home in childparent as well as parent–parent interactions, and English was used in the child's preschool and in the playground, so that the child was exposed to English most of the time on weekdays.

Procedure

George was recorded during eleven sessions over a period of seven months. The recordings took place every two or three weeks, with a longer break of seven weeks after session 4. The experiment, which consisted of a repetition task and a picture-naming task, was conducted both in Dutch and in English. The child was seated in front of a computer in a quiet room in his home, with a microphone positioned on a stand between the computer and the child. His speech was recorded with Adobe Audition 2.0. The Dutch and English recordings were carried out by native speakers of the two languages, so as to put the child in 'monolingual mode', rather than in 'bilingual mode' (see Johnson & Wilson, 2002: 274). The Dutch and English data collection sessions were conducted on the same day or within a couple of days, with the Dutch session preceding the English one. As the experimenters would play with the child for at least fifteen minutes prior to the commencement of the recording session, so as to activate the language in which data were going to be collected, it is assumed that the Dutch task which preceded the English one did not have an effect on the child's productions in the latter task. The reason why a repetition and a picturenaming task were conducted was that George knew relatively few words in English at the outset of the study and the repetition task allowed us to collect data without the child having to come up with English words himself.

Stimuli

The stimuli consisted of monosyllabic words with a single onset alveolar (/t/ or /d/) or bibabial (/p/ or /b/) stop. During the repetition task the child was shown pictures on a computer screen and simultaneously heard the name of the object spoken by a native speaker of the language over the computer. The words in the repetition task were monosyllabic minimal (or near-minimal) pairs, such as *poot* 'paw'-boot 'boat' for Dutch and *pear-bear* for English and were balanced for place of articulation of the onset stop (see Appendix A). Five Dutch and an equal number of English fillers (e.g. *snow* and *cloud*) were inserted.

In the picture-naming task, the child was shown pictures on a computer screen and asked to name the object or an object related to the picture. The picture naming task elicited 24 stop-initial words. Most words formed near-minimal pairs, in which the vowel following the stops was the same or had the same or a similar height (e.g. tuin 'yard'-duim 'thumb' for Dutch and tongue-duck for English) (see Appendix B).

Data analysis

The tasks were designed to elicit 12 target tokens in the repetition task and 24 in the picture naming task in each of the eleven sessions. (The number of tokens in each task was reversed in the first two sessions, as the child's active English vocabulary was relatively small at the outset of the study.) The child produced an average of 36 tokens per session for Dutch and 32 for English. In total, 394 Dutch and 352 English tokens could be used in the analysis. All VOT measurements were carried out in Praat (4.5.12; Boersma & Weenink, 2008).

RESULTS

The following two sections discuss the production of voiceless and voiced stops. Since the data do not show a normal distribution, non-parametric statistical assessments will be used. Results from the repetition and the picture-naming task are pooled, as the difference between the VOTs in the two tasks proved to be non-significant (Mann-Whitney test: for Dutch U=4167, Z=-0.139, p=0.890; for English U=3325, Z=-0.631, p=0.528).

Voiceless stops

The box-and-whisker plot in Figure 1 presents the results for Dutch and English /t/ and /p/ in all eleven sessions together. Outliers were identified as tokens with a VOT more than 1·5 times outside the Interquartile Range (IQR). Outlier values (>1·5 IQR) are presumed to be the result of abnormal speech rate or loudness and were excluded from the analysis.

Three main observations can be made regarding George's realization of voiceless stops in Dutch and English. A first observation is that the VOTs are significantly higher for English than for Dutch, for both places of articulation (Mann-Whitney two-tailed test for /t/: U=1600, $Z=-6\cdot398$, $p<0\cdot01$; for /p/: U=2795, $Z=-5\cdot054$, $p<0\cdot01$). Though the box plot shows that there is considerable overlap in the realizations of the tokens and the child does not clearly separate the Dutch VOT range from the English one, he does make a subtle contrast between Dutch and English voiceless

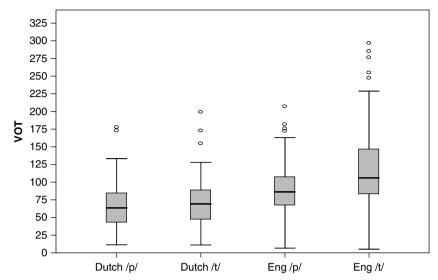


Fig. 1. VOT for /p/ and /t/ in all eleven sessions together.

stops. Note that the VOT range within which tokens are produced is extremely large, both in Dutch (ranging from 12·1-133·4 ms) and in English (6·3-163·1 ms). However, since variability is a characteristic of child language in general (see Macken & Barton, 1979: Table 1), this variability may not be the result of exposure to two languages.

Second, the analysis revealed that George's VOT values for Dutch stops are much higher than the adult L1 Dutch norm and that his voiceless stops are thus not typically Dutch. Whereas the VOT range of Dutch voiceless stops has been reported to be o-25 ms in child as well as in adult speech, the child's median VOT over all sessions is 70·1 ms for /t/ and 64·3 for /p/, which falls within the long-lag VOT region, typical of English voiceless stops (see Table 1). The box plot shows that George produces hardly any Dutch tokens within the short-lag region.

Finally, the child produced significantly longer VOTs in alveolar /t/ than in bilabial /p/ in English, but not in Dutch (Mann–Whitney two-tailed test for English: U=2318, Z=-3.731, p<0.01; for Dutch: U=3760, Z=-9.23, p=0.356). The finding in English is in line with earlier studies which have shown that the further back in the oral cavity the consonant is produced, the longer the VOT will be (Cho & Ladefoged, 1991). The finding that the child does not follow this place of articulation effect in Dutch may indicate that the child has not completely reached the adult VOT targets. Figure 2 presents the median VOT values for voiceless

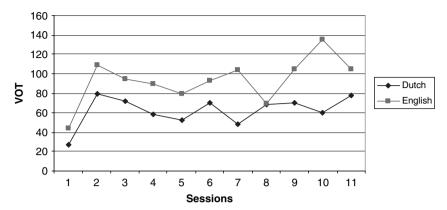


Fig. 2. VOT in individual sessions.

(alveolar and bilabial) stops in all eleven individual Dutch and English sessions.

Kruskal–Wallis tests were carried out for Dutch and English and revealed that there are significant differences in VOT distributions across the eleven sessions (Dutch: $\chi^2(10, N=181)=32\cdot87$, $p<0\cdot01$; English: $\chi^2(10, N=157)=44\cdot96$, $p<0\cdot01$). Post-hoc Mann–Whitney tests comparing the results of session 1 with those of session 11 show that there is a significant rise for both Dutch ($U=28, Z=-3\cdot202, p=0\cdot001$) and English ($U=29, Z=-2688, p=0\cdot006$). In the majority of cases, individual successive sessions do not show significant rises or falls, though there is a significant rise between session 1 and 2 for Dutch ($U=23, Z=-3552, p<0\cdot01$) and English ($U=33, Z=-1\cdot985, p=0\cdot049$), which may indicate that the child acquired the long-lag stops of English very early on in the acquisition process and simultaneously adjusted his Dutch stops in the direction of the English ones.

Voiced stops

Figures 3 and 4 present histograms displaying the frequency with which voiced stop-initial words were realized in binary VOT ranges in all eleven Dutch and English sessions respectively. The VOTs of Dutch and English voiced stops did not differ significantly according to place of articulation (two-tailed Mann–Whitney for Dutch: U=4208, Z=-1.019, p=0.308; for English: U=2703, Z=-1.450, p=0.147) and hence the results for bilabial /b/ and alveolar /d/ are collapsed.

Figures 3 and 4 show that for both Dutch and English there is a bimodal distribution: there are scattered items with negative VOTs and a high frequency of tokens in the short-lag VOT range, with a peak between

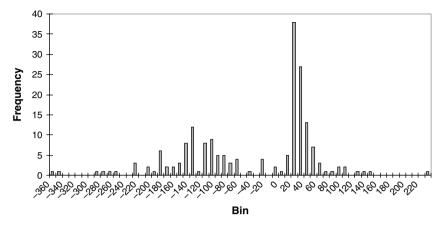


Fig. 3. Frequency of Dutch voiced stops in binary VOT ranges.

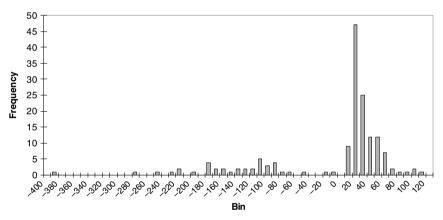


Fig. 4. Frequency of English voiced stops in binary VOT ranges.

20–30 ms for both languages. While there is a great deal of variability in the VOTs of George's Dutch and English voiced stops, there are clearly two main VOT ranges and hardly any tokens in between these two ranges, i.e. between -60 and 10. This means that the child's productions of voiced stops are not random and in fact similar to the distribution reported by Williams (1977) for adult L1 English speakers.

The graph in Figure 5 presents the percentage of prevoiced tokens in the eleven individual sessions in Dutch and English. A linear regression analysis revealed that in the Dutch sessions, there is a downward trend in the percentage of prevoiced tokens over the eleven sessions (regression coefficient $\beta = -8.240$, p < 0.01). No such trend can be observed for the

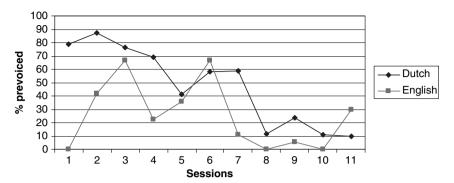


Fig. 5. Percentage of voiced stops produced with prevoicing in the individual sessions.

English data (regression coefficient $\beta = -2.481$, p = 0.327). The graph also shows that the difference between Dutch and English, which is as much as 78.9% in the first session, is considerably smaller in the last four sessions (with differences in sessions 8, 9, 10 and 11 of 11.8%, 18.3%, 11.1% and 19.4% respectively).

DISCUSSION

The case study examining the acquisition of the English voice contrast in stops by a three-year-old native speaker of Dutch aimed to answer two questions. The first question is whether George develops two separate phonetic systems for his L1, Dutch, and the L2, English, or whether he has just one phonetic component for both languages. Although the child's phonetic realizations of both voiced and voiceless stops in Dutch and English are variable, some clear trends could be observed. It was found that George's voiceless stops were realized in the long-lag VOT region in English as well as in Dutch and adults would thus categorize all the child's voiceless stops as aspirated. Since voiceless stops in Dutch are never aspirated, George's Dutch voiceless stops sound distinctively non-native. However, the analysis also revealed that over all sessions together George produced significantly longer VOTs in English than in Dutch. This indicates that he keeps a subtle contrast between Dutch and English voiceless stops.

The observation for the voiced stops is similar to that for the voiceless ones: here, too, George gradually moves the Dutch stops in the direction of the English ones. Whereas nearly all tokens are produced with prevoicing in the first sessions, the production of prevoicing in Dutch decreases as the English acquisition process goes on. Although George also produces a fair number of tokens with prevoicing in English, the last Dutch and English recordings contain hardly any prevoiced tokens.

Thus, when George was 3;6 and had only just begun learning English, he had acquired the Dutch phonetic realizations, with prevoiced /b/ and /d/ and unaspirated /p/ and /t/. However, when the child starts acquiring the English phonetics of voiced and voiceless stops, he moves the Dutch phonetics in the direction of the English target realizations. Even in the early sessions, the VOTs are high compared to the L1 Dutch norm, in which unaspirated stops have a VOT of around 20 ms. It is possible that these relatively high values are already an effect of influence from English in the weeks before the first recording took place (cf. Kuhl, Tsao & Liu (2003), who showed that even short-term exposure of Mandarin Chinese had a positive effect on American infants' foreign language phonetic perception).

In sum, the analysis revealed that George contrasts short-lag with longlag stops in both Dutch and English and thus adapts the Dutch phonetic system in the direction of the English one. However, even in the last sessions (9–11) the VOT values for English voiceless stops are higher than those for Dutch and in nine of the eleven sessions the percentage of prevoiced tokens is higher in Dutch than in English, suggesting that the child differentiates between the two languages, though not in a target-like manner. This is reminiscent of Stage II in Macken & Barton's (1979) analysis of L1 English child speech.

The second issue is the extent to which early L2 acquisition of a voice system is similar to or different from L1 acquisition, simultaneous bilingual and late L2 acquisition. The hypothesis formulated at the outset of this paper was that, if the child had acquired the production of prevoicing in Dutch at the start of the study, he would transfer it into English, as it has been reported that it is hard to 'unlearn' the production of prevoicing in an L2, if it is an acoustically salient cue to the voice character in the L1. Alternatively – if the child had not acquired prevoicing at the start of the study – it was hypothesized that the child would produce both Dutch and English stops in the short-lag region.

As hypothesized, the child acquired the phonetic realization of long-lag stops early on in the acquisition process, as even in the early sessions the VOTs for the English voiceless stops are well within (and sometimes exceeding) the target VOT range.

The analysis of voiced stops revealed that the child had acquired prevoicing in Dutch at age 3;6, since he produced the overall majority of voiced stops with voicing lead in the first session. However, the prediction that the child would transfer prevoicing into English was only partly borne out. While he does start producing prevoicing in English to some extent, the longitudinal analysis reveals that there was a downward trend in the production of prevoicing in Dutch, and that in the last four sessions hardly any Dutch or English tokens are realized with prevoicing. This

difference between the adult L2 learners in Simon (2009), who do not suppress prevoicing in Dutch and transfer it to English, and the child, who in the last recording sessions produces hardly any prevoiced stops in Dutch or English, could be ascribed to the fact that between the ages of 3;0 and 4;0, the child's L1 system can still easily change as the result of exposure to an L2. Whereas for adult L1 Dutch speakers the production of prevoicing is a long-time habit which is hard to 'unlearn' when speaking an L2 with short-lag instead of prevoiced stops, the child had probably only just acquired the production of prevoicing in Dutch. When he was then, at age 3;6, exposed to a language with short-lag stops, he easily gets rid of prevoicing again and produces short-lag stops instead of prevoiced ones. The case study illustrates how flexible a three-year-old child's L1 phonetic system still is and how easily it can be influenced by a foreign language, in which the child is immersed.

REFERENCES

- Boersma, P. & Weenink, D. (2008). Praat: doing phonetics by computer (Version 4.5.12) [Computer program]. Retrieved from http://www.praat.org/.
- Cho, T. & Ladefoged, P. (1991). Variation and universals in VOT: Evidence from 18 languages. *Journal of Phonetics* 27, 207–229.
- Deuchar, M. & Clark, A. (1996). Early bilingual acquisition of the voicing contrast in English and Spanish. *Journal of Phonetics* 24, 351-65.
- Deuchar, M. & Quay, S. (2000). Bilingual acquisition. Theoretical implications of a case study. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Docherty, G. J. (1992). The timing of voicing in British English obstruents. Berlin/New York: Foris Publications.
- Flege, J. E. (1982). The voicing contrast between English /p/ and /b/ as a function of stress and position-in-utterance. Journal of Phonetics 10, 335-45.
- Flege, J. E. & Eeftink, W. (1987). Cross-language switching in stop consonant perception and production by Dutch speakers of English. *Speech Communication* **6**, 185–202.
- Flege, J. E., Frieda, E. M., Walley, A. C. & Randazza, L. A. (1998). Lexical factors and segmental accuracy in second language speech production. Studies in Second Language Acquisition 20(2), 155–87.
- Jansen, W. (2004). Laryngeal contrast and phonetic voicing: A laboratory phonology approach to English, Hungarian, and Dutch. Doctoral dissertation, Groningen Dissertations in Linguistics.
- Johnson, C. E. & Wilson, I. L. (2002). Phonetic evidence for early language differentiation: Research issues and some preliminary data. *The International Journal of Bilingualism* **6**(3), 271–89.
- Kager, R., Van der Feest, S., Fikkert, P., Kerkhoff, A. & Zamuner, T. (2007). Representations of [voice]: Evidence from acquisition. In: E. J. van der Torre & J. van de Weijer (eds), *Voicing in Dutch*, 41–80. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Kehoe, M. M., Lleó, C. & Rakow, M. (2004). Voice onset time in bilingual German—Spanish children. *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition* **7**(1), 71–88.
- Kessinger, R. H. & Blumstein, S. E. (1998). Effects of speaking rate on voice-onset time and vowel production: Some implications for perception studies. *Journal of Phonetics* 26, 117–28.
- Klatt, D. H. (1975). Voice onset time, frication, and aspiration in word-initial consonant clusters. Journal of Speech and Hearing Research 18(4), 686-706.

- Kuhl, P. K., Tsao, F.-M. & Liu, H.-M. (2003). Foreign-language experience in infancy: Effects of short-term exposure and social interaction on phonetic learning. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 100(15), 9096–9101.
- Kuijpers, C. (1993). Temporal coordination in speech development. A study on voicing contrast and assimilation of voice. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Amsterdam.
- Lisker, L. & Abramson, A. S. (1964). A cross-language study of voicing in initial stops: Acoustical measurements. *Word* **20**, 384–422.
- Macken, M. A. & Barton, D. (1979). The acquisition of the voicing contrast in English: A study of voice onset time in word-initial stop consonants. Journal of Child Language 7, 41–74.
- Macken, M. A. & Barton, D. (1980). The acquisition of the voicing contrast in Spanish: A phonetic and phonological study of word-initial stop consonants. *Journal of Child Language* 7, 433–58.
- Pater, J. (2003). The perceptual acquisition of Thai phonology by English speakers: Task and stimuli effects. Second Language Research 19, 209–223.
- Simon, E. (2009). Acquiring a new L2 contrast: An analysis of the English laryngeal system of L1 Dutch speakers. Second Language Research 25(2), ■-■.

АОт

- Snow, D. (1997). Children's acquisition of speech timing in English: A comparative study of voice onset time and final syllable vowel lengthening. Journal of Child Language 24, 35–56.
- Suomi, K. (1980). Voicing in English and Finnish stops. A typological comparison with an interlanguage study of the two languages in contrast. Doctoral dissertation, Publications of the Department of Finnish and General Linguistics 10, Turku: University of Turku.
- Van Alphen, P. M. (2004). Perceptual relevance of prevoicing in Dutch. Doctoral dissertation, MPI Series in Psycholinguistics, Nijmegen: Radboud University Nijmegen.
- Van der Feest, S. (2007). Building a phonological lexicon. The acquisition of the Dutch voicing contrast in perception and production. Doctoral dissertation, Radboud University Nijmegen, Prince Productions.
- Watson, I. (1991). Phonological processing in two languages. In E. Bialystok (ed.), *Language processing in bilingual children*, 25–48. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Williams, L. (1977). The voicing contrast in Spanish. Journal of Phonetics 5, 169-84.

APPENDIX A. REPETITION TASK

Dur	ech	Er	nglish
[t]	[d]	[t]	[d]
tak 'branch'	dak 'roof'	toe	dough
top 'top'	dop 'cap'	tear	deer
tas 'bag'	das 'tie'	tail	day
Du	ech	Er	nglish
[p]	[b]	[p]	[b]
poot 'paw'	boot 'boat'	pear	bear

pie

pig

bye

big

APPENDIX B. PICTURE-NAMING TASK

beer 'bear'

bed 'bed'

peer 'pear'

pet 'cap'

[t]	[d]	[t]	[d]
toets 'button'	doos 'box'	toys	doll
tent 'tent'	den 'pine'	tongue	duck
tuin 'yard'	duim 'thumb'	tall	dark
tas 'bag'	das 'tie'	tail	day
tak 'branch'	dak 'roof'	toe	dough
top 'top'	dop 'cap'	tear	deer

Dutch	Dutch			
[p] pen 'pen' pan 'pan' poes 'pussycat' peer 'pear' pet 'cap' poot 'paw'	[b] bel 'bell' bal 'ball' bos 'forest' beer 'bear' bed 'bed' boot 'boat'	[p] pool piece park pie pig pear	[b] book bee ball bye big bear	