

TOPICS IN BILINGUALISM

Class 1: roadmap

What is the course about?

- Topics in Bilingualism is about, well, bilingualism. Bilingualism is more of a norm in today's world than it was previously.
- Myriad factors are responsible for this reality
- Even the erstwhile monolingual countries are fast accepting bilingualism as an unavoidable reality of the global village and incorporating more languages into their 'official language' list.
- The latest in this is incorporation of Hindi as an official language in UAE.

- Research in bilingualism has also been keeping pace with the changing linguistic demographics of the world.
- In the initial years, the focus of such research was to find out how bilingualism is deficient as compared to monolingualism.
- gradually, such shackles were broken and bilingualism research established itself as an independent and objective field of research.

- This is an intensely nuanced and rich domain of scientific endeavor and one can only mention the key points in a course spanning one semester.
- Keeping the complexity of the domain in mind, this course attempts to have the following modules through which to explain the phenomena.

The socio-historical perspective

this will include the social factors responsible for creating bilingualism, starting with the reasons for language to come into contact in the first place; various types of outcomes of language contact; bilingualism as a social phenomena: code mixing and code switching.

Relativity (cognitive linguistics)

linguistic relativity and bilingualism; languages deciding the world view and how bilingualism is a factor in this domain; languages coding habitual thought process and categorization are main issues in this domain; research involving bilinguals' performance on various non-linguistic tasks will be discussed.

Psycholinguistic research

- ✓ Processing: this domain will look into the language processing by bilinguals; parallel activation of a bilinguals' two language will be discussed in various domains of language like phonology, orthography, semantics etc.
- ✓ Effect of bilingualism: executive control, attention, ageing; controversy.

Language and brain

history of brain research with respect to language; bilingual brain; behavioral laterality.

Second Language acquisition

- child and adult language acquisition. Various factors responsible and so on.

SOCIO-HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE ON LANGUAGE CONTACT

Lectures 2-4

What is a language?

- This is often decoded by political forces rather than linguistic facts. While Mandarin and Cantonese are thought to be two varieties of the same Chinese language in spite of them being vastly different while Danish and Swedish are considered different languages even though they are mutually intelligible and very similar

Multilingual speech communities

- People have always moved ever since the beginning of our existence. This has, more often than not, brought languages in close contact, sometimes creating multilingual speech communities, where the community has access to a number of languages other than their own.
- A lot depends on how the communities were brought in contact and how they negotiate the social space between them.

Short description of the phenomena

- 1. reasons for language contact
 - a. war, conquests, colonization
 - b. slavery
 - c. migration --- forced or otherwise
 - d. inter-marriage
 - e. adjacent geographical areas---Sprachbund
 - f. trade or urbanization

- 2. types of contact
 - a. socially separate----
 - b. family level
 - c. market place contact, trade,
 - d. social contact

3. Differences in linguistic change due to types of language contact

- I. conquest/ war/colonialism
 - imposition of a language of wider communication
 - establishment of standard languages via institutions
 - thus transforming the local languages into a minority language
 - as a result the minority groups have a slow shift in language through stages of bilingualism realized over a long period of time

immigration

- a population moving into another
- mobility towards an already existing political scenario
- as a result, rapid assimilation resulting in language shift.

family level interaction

- a linguistic group is incorporated into another as spouses, servants, slaves, refugees adopted as equal members of the tribe etc.
- inter-marriage on a prolonged and large scale interferes with the language structure
- a new-comer (e.g. wives) adopt a new language with imperfections and pass it on to the children
- Also marriage of settlers with the 'native women' is a case in point

social level

- high degree of bilingualism among speakers of adjacent but (generally) genetically unrelated languages over a prolonged period of time.
- Contact affects all levels of language, specially phonology
- Results into a Sprachbund or a 'linguistic area'.

trade situation

- need to communicate between groups of people for trade purposes in market place----- gives rise to lingua franca
- also the plantation scenario where the work-force and the plantation owners do not share their languages
- typically gives rise to pidgins and creoles

RESULTS OF CONTACT

- Here are some of the most common outcomes of language contact between speech communities. Though creation of a multilingual community seems to be the easiest thing to happen in such situations, we have a plethora of other possibilities as well.

Pidgin and Creoles

- A pidgin is a system of communication used by people who do not know each other's language, but need to communicate with one another for trading or other purposes.
- Purpose:
 - 1. Immediate and practical need of communication between groups speaking different languages.
 - 2. created mostly in trade situations, like that of Papua new guinea.

Typical features:

- 1. Derived from a 'normal' language through simplification, reduction and admixture, often considerable, from the native language or language of those who use it.
- 2. spoken non-natively
- 3. a means of communication with the 'other' group, never a means of intra-group communication
- 4. Had to be simple to learn for those who benefited the least, the dominant group.
- 5. Specially constructed to suit the specific needs arising out of the contact situation. So the vocabulary and other constructions are also severely restricted, and cannot be used for a new situation and need.

- 6. Another situation where the pidgins grew was among the African slaves, when communities and they had to communicate among themselves and with the slavers. As the slaves did not have the opportunity to learn the masters' language properly, the pidgin remained the only language they communicated with others, thus identifying slaves with pidgins.

Grammatical features

- 1. Lexicon derived from the dominant language.
- 2. Phonology and syntax derived from the dominated language.
- 3. No morphology.
- 4. Severe structural simplification.

example

- Tok pisin: creole spoken in Papua new Guinea These lines are taken from a famous comic strip in Papua New Guinea:
- "Sapos yu kaikai planti pinat, bai yu kamap strong olsem phantom." "Fantom, yu pren tru bilong mi. Inap yu ken helpim mi nau?" "Fantom, em i go we?"
- Translation: 'If you eat plenty of peanuts, you will come up strong like the phantom.' 'Phantom, you are a true friend of mine. Are you able to help me now?' Where did he go?

How Pidgins compare with other types of languages

Pidgin

1.
 - not an example of bad 'X', it is itself a language , with a community of speakers.
 - It is never meant to make the speakers Master the L2.
2.
 - not case of heavy borrowing, as there is no pre-existing variety into which terms are borrowed.
 - nor does the grammatical simplification reflect existing phenomena in the donor language
3. no native speaker of the language, as the # exists along side actively retained mother tongues.

Other language varieties

- Interlanguage
- Borrowing
- any other language language

Pidgins and lingua franca

- Both pidgin and lingua francas appear similar on certain grounds, in that both are used for communication between people who do not share their mother tongue.
- But, a pidgin is actually a type of language, where as lingua franca refers more to the use of the language concerned.
- So, a language, whether or not a pidgin, can act as a lingua franca among different groups of people; French is the lingua franca among various African language speakers (when their languages are mutually unintelligible). For example, in Zaire for native speakers of Lingala and Kikongo.

Creole

- **What:** Creoles are pidgins that have acquired native speakers.
- **How:** in a linguistically mixed community where a pidgin is used as a lingua franca, children tend to learn it as their native language; especially if parents use it at home.
- **Features:** 1. creoles are natural languages 2. Tends to have prepositions, articles, tense, aspect, mood morphology, embedding etc. 3. simplification accompanying the creation of a pidgin is “repaired” while creating a creole----- creolisation.

De-creolisation

- a phenomenon that happens when a creole is spoken in a country where the language of communication is the creole's lexifier source language.
- Process: Gradual shifts towards the lexifier source language, with a range of intermediate structures.
- Basilect → mesolects → acrolect
(Creole) post creole continuum (source language)

The debate:

- Creoles prove the bioprogram (Universal Grammar) theory:
 - humans are born with the genetic resources to learn languages and this has certain universal rules.
 - It is proved by the existence of similar rules and structures prevalent in creoles all over the world, irrespective of the lexifier or the native source languages
 - Children are thought to impose structure on the pidgin thereby making it a natural language, following the rules of the UG.
 - Children use the rules of a natural language on a pidgin, without the existence of input (poverty of stimulus).

Vs.

- The difference between structurally enriched pidgins and creoles are actually negligible.
- pidgins develop over time and gradually tend to incorporate more grammatical features.
- So, its time and not the infant learners' contribution that can account for the grammatical complexity of creoles.
- the only notable difference between the two varieties is the existence of native speakers in one and not in the other

Creoloid

- These languages, though they show some admixture and simplification, are not post -creoles because they have not been creoles, because they have never been pidgins.
- Case in point is Afrikaans, a variety of Dutch spoken in South Africa. This language
 - Is mutually intelligible with Dutch.
 - Has a lot of mixture from Malay, Portuguese etc
 - spoken non-natively by speakers of Malay, Portuguese etc
 - was used for all social functions, and therefore, never subjected to reduction.

Dual source creoloid/Mixed languages

- mixed languages are distinct from other regular languages in that they are new languages and not the continuation of one of the ancestor languages.
- It is not what one of the ancestor languages could have become through diachronic changes.
- This is a mixture of elements of two languages, almost in equal degree.

- Also important is the fact that these languages cannot be clearly put under any of the genetic families that the ancestor languages belonged
- These languages are very often intrinsically connected to the formation of a new ethnic identity.
- These are cases where the source languages contribute equally to the creation of a new language
- the communities speaking them are not in the traditional dominant-dominated relationship.

Pitcairnese

- sometimes the dual source languages can become the sole language of a community.
- This happened in case of Pitcairnese, the language of remote Pacific Ocean island Pitcairn. This island community comprises of the descendants of British sailors, who carried out the mutiny on the Bounty and Tahitian men and women who went with them to hide on the island from the Royal British Navy

Mitchif

- this is a language spoken by the descendants of French Canadian fur traders and Amerindian women .
- it is a mixture of French and Cree.
- this had a major involvement of children in the development of the language thus avoiding simplification and reduction.
- The speakers are removed both in time and space from the ancestral languages and their cultures.
- This is a remarkable language where the noun phrases are in French, complete with inflections while the verb phrases are in Cree, including the complex verbal morphology of that language.

example

- | | | |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| • la fam | micimine:w | li pci |
| • the (fem.) woman | she-is-holding-it the | (masc) little-one |
| • French French | Cree | French French |
| • The woman is holding the child | | |

Mednyj Aleut

- spoken by a handful of elderly people in the Copper Islands in the North Pacific Ocean, east of Russia. This is spoken by descendants of Russian fur traders and Aleut women.
- unlike Mitchif speakers, the speakers of this language were never completely broken off from the source languages.
- Though the knowledge of Aleut is declining, Russian is gaining ground. 90% of the lexicon is derived from Aleut and the rest from Russian.
- Noun inflections are from Aleut and Verbal inflections from Russian

Media Lengua

- this is a Quechua derived mixed language spoken in the town of San Miguel de Salcedo in Ecuador. The lexicon is mostly derived from Spanish and the adverbs, pronouns, numerals, conjunctions etc. the verb and noun inflections, word order, subordinations etc are from Quechua.
- This is used both as first and second language by Indian peasants, weavers and construction workers among themselves.
- They also know both the source languages and use them. Spanish with non – Indians and Quechua with highland Indians.
- Researchers believe this language emerged during the construction of railroad in the area that saw labor migration and urban expansion of the place.
- however, the speakers of this language are not a distinct ethnic group.

Russenorsk

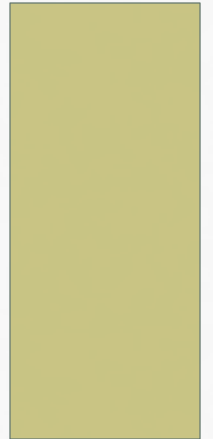
- this was a language spoken in the Northern Norway until 1917: Russian Revolution.
- It consisted of elements taken from Norwegian and Russian in almost equal measures and arose out of trade between Norway and Russia.
- Unlike colonial settings the contributing languages were spoken by people of equivalent wealth and technology.
- This also functioned as lingua franca by speakers of languages like sami, Finnish, Dutch and German.

Chindo/ Peranakan Chinese

- the Peranakan Chinese are the descendants of Chinese traders and Indonesian women and are a separate ethnic group.
- they use, for in-group communication, a mixed language that uses grammatical system of Javanese with the lexicon of Malay.

THE RESULT OF LANGUAGE CONTACT: CONTINUED

LECTURE 5



LANGUAGE SHIFT, ENDANGERMENT AND LANGUAGE DEATH

REASONS: A. MULTILINGUALISM

- 1. Language shift is always preceded by bi/multilingualism.
- 2. Move from language-choice-by-audience to language-choice-by-context is a good indicator of shift.
- 3. When the situation changes such that they code-switch in some contexts, to all speakers, shift appears to be inevitable

B. ATTITUDES, BOTH INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL:

- 1. reinforced/caused by contrasts in power/status/economic opportunity between speakers
- 2. language contact between two linguistic groups representing different social status and are at different scales of advancement
- 3. feeling of cultural inferiority results in eventual loss of the language and culture in question through a process of cultural assimilation

LANGUAGE DEATH:

- Shift leading to death --language death is the extreme case: the complete disappearance of a language most commonly a gradual process spanning several generations.
- Reasons:
 - 1. The speech community is in physical danger, due to catastrophic natural causes
 - 2. genocide (direct confrontation &/or slow process of spreading diseases hitherto unknown to the community
 - 3. shift in lifestyle that sees a shift away from the traditional way of life, which is central to the identity of the group, also contributes to the death of language.
 - 4. marriage outside the community

CLASSIFICATION OF ENDANGERED LANGUAGES: (UNESCO)

- potentially endangered languages, socially and economically disadvantaged, under heavy pressure from a larger language and beginning to lose child speakers
- endangered languages: have few or no child speakers, the youngest good speakers are the young adults
- seriously endangered languages: the youngest good speakers are 50 or older
- moribund languages: have only a handful of speakers, mostly very old
- extinct languages: have no speakers left

WHY BOTHER?

- To understand the language faculty itself
- to understand the general and specific cognitive processes at work
- Language loss entails loss of cultural heritage—
- Bring to light hitherto unknown relationships among different languages, thus shedding light on prehistory of human evolution as well

LANGUAGE REVITALIZATION: IS IT POSSIBLE?

- 1. totals immersion schools and literacy programs in the ethnic language
- 2. language policy of the Government
- 3. Case in point Hebrew, Maori, Hawaiian, certain Mexican languages etc.

DIGLOSSIA:

- The discussion on various types of dialects show that each has its own social distribution, making it the picture rather complicated. -----
- A society having many varieties at its disposal, depending on region, social class etc.
- But, in reality, very often, all the varieties are not exploited at the same time.
- To make matters simple, some societies have only two distinct varieties of a language ----- sufficiently distinct to call them different languages ----- ‘high’ and ‘low’ varieties, in societies like the Arabic speaking world, in Greece etc.

HIGH VARIETY

- a. highly codified
- b. has a large and respected body of written literature
- c. learnt by formal education
- d. generally of a earlier period or of a different speech community
- e. used for all formal and written purposes
- f. not used for ordinary communication, therefore, cannot be learnt as a first language.

LOW VARIETY

- a. generally less complex grammatically
- b. used for ordinary conversation and hence, learnt as a first language
- c. with or without written body of literature
- d. Differ according to region or social class etc.

- So these are different not only in terms of phonology, morphology and vocabulary,
- but also in terms of a number of social characteristics: function, prestige, literary heritage, acquisition, standardization and stability.

BI/MULTILINGUALISM

- In a society where there is no restriction on learning each other's languages, the Govt's policies encourage the same and social/cultural/political systems demand the use of more than one language, we have a fluid bilingualism. This is something we see in India where different communities, with their own language, have lived side by side through millennia thus resulting in wide spread bi/multilingualism.

BILINGUALISM AND DIGLOSSIA

- Diglossia is characterization of linguistic organization at socio-cultural level
- whereas bilingualism has more to do with individual linguistic behavior.
- Sometimes, they co-exist , at other times they can exist without the other.
- these combinations give us four possibilities:
 - Both bilingualism and diglossia
 - Neither bilingualism nor diglossia
 - Bilingualism without diglossia
 - Diglossia without bilingualism

Both bilingualism and diglossia

- there are communities that are both bilingual and diglossic, so much so that there are entire nations that are so.
- One such nation is Paraguay, where the entire population speaks both Spanish and Guarani.
- In Paraguay, the formerly rural population has learnt Spanish in order to enter status stressing spheres, like education, religion, government, high culture and so on.
- On the other hand, the city dwellers maintain the use of Guarani in domains of primary group solidarity and familial circumstances.
- Similarly, throughout Arab world, the upper and middle class males maintain the use of high [Koranic] and vernacular [gyptian, Syrian, Lebanese etc] Arabic

Neither bilingualism nor diglossia

- only very small, homogenous isolated speech communities can be said to qualify for this.
- Given little role differentiation or compartmentalization and frequent face to face interaction leads to a situation where members are differentiated to a specific role

Bilingualism without diglossia

- Both languages are used across domains.
- Sometimes, language use doesnot depend on domain any more but on topic.
- In the case of Singapore, the English-speaking speech community controlled the means of production. To create a level playing field, the People's Action Party (PAP) created English medium schools with mother tongue as a second language for all Singaporean children. The formal domains, like school etc maintain Tamil. There are language shifts at some places, maintenance in some other. But bilingualism without diglossia is present across all domains.

Diglossia without bilingualism

- this happens when two or more communities are united religiously, politically or economically into a single functioning unit, even though they are socially disparate groups.
- At this macro level two language or varieties are said to exist. However, one or both groups are marked by impermeable boundaries, in such a way that for outsiders, it is impossible to have role access or linguistic access.
- Pre WWI, many European communities had this arrangements where the elites and their countrymen had a diglossic situation. The elites would often speak French or some other High variety for their intra group purposes, since these two communities rarely interacted and had severely restricted role repertoires, there was no social bilingualism.
- Similarly, nationalized diglossia did not imply large scale bilingualism for many African countries, where the westernized elites and the common people did not speak the same language

bilingualism

- **who is a bilingual?**

- bilinguals should have native like competence in both the languages
- someone who has a minimal competence of a second language
- competence in all the four language dimensions.

- **levels of bilingualism**

- individual: a psychological state of an individual who has access to two language codes to serve communicative purposes
- societal : two languages are used in a community and a number of speakers can use two languages.

dimensions

- **organization of the two languages**
 - compound: one semantic system for 2 language codes , often refers to a speaker who learns both the languages at the same time, in the same context.
 - coordinate: two semantic systems for two language codes, refers to one who learns the languages in different contexts.
 - subordinate: weaker language is interpreted through the stronger language.

- **sequence of acquisition:**

- successive: when one language is learnt after another--- generally the adult learners
- simultaneous: learning two languages at the same time---infant learners

- **language proficiency/competence:**

- balanced: proficiency in both the languages are similar
- dominant: proficiency in language is higher than the other

- **Two views of bilingualism**

- fractional : this view takes the position that a bilingual is equivalent to two monolinguals put together and entails parallel linguistics competence---hence parallel linguistics processing.
- holistic: this view understands that bilinguals integrate the knowledge of and from both the languages and create something that is greater than each of the languages—sort of a meta-language system.

detailed look at the major socio-psychological backdrop relevant to societal bilingualism.

Social psychology of bilingualism

- Multilingualism is seen in negative light through scriptures in the western world. The story of Babel shows multilingualism as a result of God's curse on Noah's descendants. So, linguistic diversity is seen as a punishment.
- This sentiment has been perpetuated through various stages of colonialism and invasion, including that of taking over the entire Northern America by Europeans/Christianity.
- The world dynamics started changing in the last couple of centuries and the global trade and commerce demanded a new world order in terms of languages. Rising economies also played their part.
- Coupled with that was the rise in research that proved that ability to speak in more than one language is an advantage rather than a problem.
- Studies in the domain of cognitive science of languages showed language as a tool as many other higher mental functions and the inter-relationship between them makes this ability a unique one.

A. Influence of social context on bilingualism

- The social context impacts the process of becoming and remaining a bilingual.
- For example, a person speaking Spanish and English is considered a bilingual, but similar adjective is not always used for someone who speaks English and American Sign Language Or, Standard English and Ebonics, an African-American variety of English with low prestige.
- So, a lot depends on social consensus
- Another point in this regard is that bilingualism is not ability to use language as speech, in its input-output system. It has to be socially situated. Extra linguistic cues like gestures, intonations, gazes etc imbue meaning into the context of speech.

B. Bilingualism and social identity

- Language often is a marker of social identity. By this token, if bilingualism is part of in-group identity it will be accepted and embraced, but if it part of out-group identity, it will be discriminated against. Thus, stereotypes about groups impact how bilingualism is viewed.
- A society where the minority (out-group) speaks a language different from the majority (in-group) bilingualism is necessitated. As a result for a long time, bilingualism was considered a deficit, thought to hinder character formation etc.
- Like Mexicans in US are viewed as a low status group and consequently their language (Spanish) and also their bilingualism.
- However, the reverse is seen in cases where an out-group is seen as superior in socio-cultural aspects, their bilingualism may be looked up to. Case in point French-English bilinguals.

C. Assimilation and acculturation forces

- Depending on the language policy of a nation, the pressure to acculturate and assimilate differs.
- For example, the US uses the melting pot metaphor to merge all racial and ethnic differences to merge into a single culture, supporting only one language English. Immigrants are expected to abandon their culture and language in exchange for the American dream.
 - *Our new immigrants must be part of our One America...We have a responsibility to make them welcome here; and they have a responsibility to enter the mainstream of American life. That means learning English...(42nd President of USA William Clinton, 19th January, 1999)*
- this worked fine for most of European migrants, who became, through successive generations, part of the in-group, thus negates any need for bilingualism.
- However, other immigrants like Mexicans and Chinese or Asians in general, could not assimilate as smoothly because of their phenotype, the outer appearance. Their difference makes them open to discrimination and in turn makes them continue to identify with their culture to prevent isolation as well as to garner social support. This results in the maintenance of bilingualism in these groups.

D. Attitudes about bilingualism

- Attitudes are evaluations that can be positive or negative, which affect the behavioral levels of bilingualism.
- In Scandinavia, proficiency in two or more languages is encouraged and expected . But in Canada, even though French and English have equal status legally, tension often erupts that show that English is still accorded more prestige.
- In US, a person with French accent is seen a sophisticated one, even exotic , but not someone with Asian accent.
- This is true for even how the group itself sees its own bilingualism.

- Each of these factors need detailed understanding.

Social motivation

- Choice: bilinguals can exercise a choice of languages, to identify with the socio-psychological values attached with that language.

Code mixing

Healthy hai...isme aloe vera hai



- Spanish-*English* (from Valdés-Fallis 1978:1).

a. No, yo sí brincaba en el trampoline *when I was a senior*.

‘No, I did jump on the trampoline when I was a senior.’

b. La consulta era *eight dollars*.

‘The office visit was eight dollars.’

c. *Well, I keep starting some*. Como por un mes todos los días escribo y ya dejo.....

‘Well, I keep starting some. For about a month I write every thing and then I stop....’

• (2) Hindi-English

•

- a. *Train* men *seat* mil jaae to ...
• in get then

• ‘If one gets a seat in the train, then...’

•

- b. *Third Class* kaa *Dibbaa*...
• of compartment

• ‘a third class compartment...’ (lit.: compartment of third class)

•

- c. buund-ify kar-naa
• liquid-ify do-to
• ‘to liquefy’

•

- d. ye maamlaa naazuk hai *Let’s not talk about it.*
• This delicate matter is

• ‘This is a delicate matter, let’s not talk about it.’

•

- e. main kah rahaa huun ki *one in hand is two in the bush.*
• I say ing am that

• ‘I am saying that one in hand two in the bush.’

Definitions

- **Code-mixing and code-switching**
- **Code-mixing** : People incorporate small units (words or short phrases) from one language or dialect to another one. It is often unintentional and is on word level (intra-sentential).

Code-mixing refers to the mixing of various linguistic units (morphemes, words, modifiers, phrases, clauses and sentences) primarily from two participating grammatical systems within a sentence. In other words, CM is *intrasentential* and is constrained by grammatical principles and may be motivated by social psychological motivations

- *Code-switching*
- People (particularly bilinguals or multilinguals) intentionally switch from one language or dialect to another due to factors such as situations, subject, feeling and sense of belonging. It is often well-motivated and is on phrase or sentence level (intersentential).

Code-switching refers to the mixing of various linguistic units (words, phrases, clauses and sentences) primarily from two participating grammatical systems across sentence boundaries within a speech event. In other words, CS is *intersentential* and may be subject to some discourse principles. It is motivated by social and psychological motivations.

Some questions

- What kinds of elements (linguistic) can be mixed?
- Is Code-mixing (henceforth, CM) random/arbitrary? or Is there a grammar of CM?
- Why do bilinguals employ mixed speech any way?
- what is the social evaluation of code-mixed languages?

- *Is Code-Mixing a random phenomenon?*



- *Hindi-English*



- *I told him that* ram bahut bimaar hai

- Ram very sick is

- ‘I told him that Ram was very sick.’



**I told him* ki ram bahut bimaar hai

- that Ram very sick is

- ‘I told him that Ram was very sick.’

- Please Note: *= Ungrammatical sentence

Socio-Psychological and Linguistic/Pragmatic Motivations for Code-Mixing and Code-Switching

- *Linguistic and Pragmatic Functions*

A.1 *Quotations*

From a conversation two Chicano professionals. While referring to her baby sitter, the speaker says the following:

She doesn't speak English, so, dice que la reganan: "Si se les va olvidar el idioma a las criaturas."

'She does not speak English. So, she says they would scold her: "the children are surely going to forget their language.'

A.2. Addressee specification:

Another function of mixing or switching is to direct the message to one of the several possible addressees. Consider the following interaction in a typical multilingual educated Kashmiri family:

English-Kashmiri-Hindi [Kachru 1990: 63]

A: Hello, *how are you kaul Sahib?*

B: vaaray mahraj

‘Well, sir.’

A: valiv bihiv

‘Come in, sit down.’

A.3. Interjections

English-Hokkien [Tay 1989: 416]

D: *Do what?*

A: *System analyst* la

‘System analyst, what else?’

C: hà

‘Is that so?’

A: Programmer la.

A. 4 Reiteration

Reiteration or paraphrasing marks another function of mixing. The message expressed in one language is either repeated in the other language literally or with some modification to signify emphasis or clarification. The following examples illustrate the emphatic and clarificatory role of mixing, respectively.

English-Spanish: Chicano professionals [Gumperz 1982: 78]

A: *The three old ones spoke nothing but Spanish.* No hablaban ingles.

‘The three old ones spoke nothing but Spanish. They did not speak English.’

English-Hindi: Father calling his small son while walking through a train compartment. [Gumperz 1982: 78]

Father: *Keep straight.* [louder] siidhe jaao

‘Keep straight. Go straight.’

Nonlinguistic (Socio-psychological) Functions

- Social meaning in code switching:

Situational switching: Norway (case of Bokamal and Ranamal): B & R have distinct status and usage to indicate cues.

- As indexical of social negotiation:

Sometimes code switching takes place to signal personal rights and obligations relative to the other participants in the exchange, sometimes considering probable consequences, sometimes to signal multiple identities etc.. A case reported by Myers Scotton: Entrance to IBM Nairobi head office. A visitor, who is a school principal in Luyia area of Western Kenya approaches the guard and speaks Swahili, English and Luyia dialect fluently.

- Social network :

Studies on Chinese community in Tyneside in eastern England focuses on the language choice as opted by the various groups within this community. The Chinese community, as reported, does not live in identifiable settlements like other migrant groups. Instead, they are scattered around the city and generally maintain a low public profile. The first generation and the sponsored migrants are busy in a family owned catering business and do not develop social ties with non Chinese groups. However, the third group, i.e. the British born generation has a much wider social network. However, the family is the primary social unit, with a very strong internal authority structure. Language choice: between members of the first or sponsored generation of migrants, it is Chinese, with some English borrowings. Between the above two groups and the last generation, it is often a code switched variety depending on the task at hand

bilingualism

Module 2
relativity

Linguistic relativity

- Many thinkers have urged that large differences in language lead to large differences in experience and thought. They hold that each language embodies a worldview, with quite different languages embodying quite different views, so that speakers of different languages think about the world in quite different ways.
- This view is sometimes called the *Whorf-hypothesis* or the *Whorf-Sapir hypothesis*, after the linguists who made it famous. And although linguistic relativism is perhaps the most popular version of descriptive relativism, the conviction and passion of partisans on both sides of the issue far outrun the available evidence

linguistic relativity hypothesis embody two claims

- Languages, especially members of quite different language families, differ in important ways from one another.
- The structure and lexicon of one's language influences how one perceives and conceptualizes the world, and they do so in a systematic way.

- Together these two claims suggest that speakers of quite different languages think about the world in quite different ways. There is a clear sense in which the thesis of linguistic diversity is uncontroversial.
- Even if all human languages share many underlying, abstract linguistic universals, there are often large differences in their syntactic structures and in their lexicons.
- The second claim is more controversial, but since linguistic forces could shape thought in varying degrees, it comes in more and less plausible forms

Early studies on relativity with respect to bilingualism

- (Bloom, 1981)
- English and Chinese in processing counterfactual conditionals
- counterfactual conditional (a conditional that describes the consequences of events that did not happen)
- E.g.
 - *If John had seen Mary, he would have known that she was distraught* -- i.e., John did not see Mary
 - Vs.
 - *If John saw Mary, he knew she was distraught* -- i.e., we don't know whether John saw Mary
- The Chinese language does not distinguish between these two types of conditionals either lexically or grammatically, and so gives no information as to whether an event happened or not.

- Bloom created a counterfactual story about what would have happened if a philosopher named Bier had known Chinese, and asked Chinese speakers to answer questions about the story.
- Chinese monolingual speakers mostly did not interpret the story counterfactually, but those who knew L2 English did so more often.
- it provided clear evidence of effects of bilingualism on cognition.
- It was also the first study of bilinguals to look at ‘grammaticalized concepts’.

Why does additional language affect cognition

- *Some areas of differences*
 - The issue of codability
 - 'habitual thought'.

codability

- languages code concepts lexically.
- in other words, some concepts are grammaticalized, i.e. expressed morphologically or syntactically in one language but not in another.
- Having a grammaticalized concept means having a readily available lexical term for a concept.
- E.g. Alaskan language Dena'ina has different verbs denoting how trees grow on the mountains, like , 'growing on the upper mountain side', 'growing up the mountain in strips', 'growing up the slope of the mountain', and 'growing through the pass'.

Similarly,

- Languages differ as to how they segment a continuum into labeled categories. for example, Italian has a label for light blue (azzurro) and English does not.
- So speakers of English learning Italian are exposed to a new concept through a new label or word.
- Some categories are purely linguistic, for instance animate, inanimate entities put together in same category based on some culture specific properties on which the grammaticality depends.
- For example, women, fire and dangerous things.
- Lexical and grammatical categories correspond with the conceptual categories which the L2 learner has to learn

What gets affected?

- Sensory perception
- Perception of Color and categorization

Studies on bilinguals prove that their color categories are in between those of the monolingual speakers of both the languages. For example, Russian English bilinguals consider dark and light blue as more similar than Russian monolinguals.

Color: bilingual perception

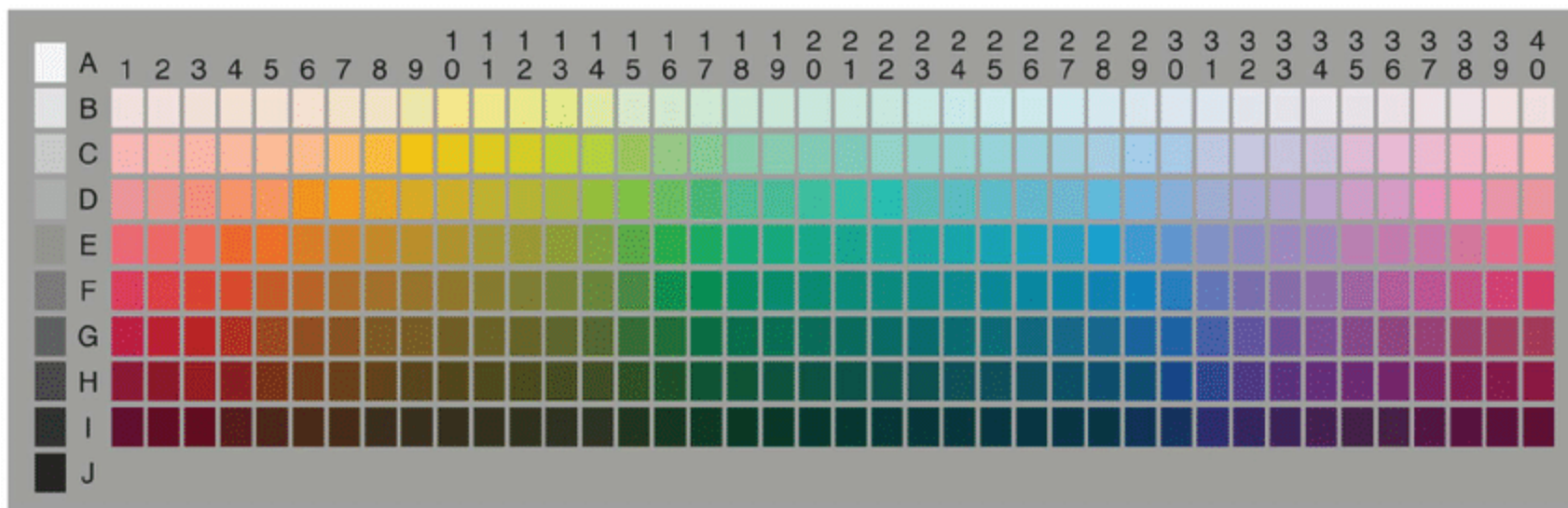
- Color perception has been a traditional test set for Whorf's principle of relativity, which states that speakers of different languages evaluate perceptual contrasts differently.
- Early studies showed that the speakers of Zuni, who do not distinguish between 'yellow' and 'orange' colors, do not distinguish the colors as frequently or accurately as English speakers do

- At the same time, the domain of color has also been used as a prime example of universality. Berlin and Kay claimed that despite the way languages name colors, their underlying representation must be universal.
- despite the way languages name colors, their underlying representation must be universal. This is because of the physical property of color itself and arguably the same physiology of vision in humans.
- They noticed that participants from diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds, showed English like color naming and prototype identification.
- This was taken as a proof of universalism.
- These subjects were immigrants to US with varying degree of acculturation and proficiency in English.
- Ervin showed that acquiring another language may lead to a shift in naming and prototype identification.

- Whorfism was revived in the 1990s, partly inspired by bilingualism research
- Hunt and Angoli [1991] claimed universalism, which was dominant at that time, was not compatible with the 'phenomenological experience of people who go back and forth from one language to another'.
- Also, a group of researchers around the same time argues that a bilingual is a unique language speaker with complete language system rather than being an imperfect version of the ideal native speaker [of the L2].

- Athanapolous carried out a replication of Ervin on Greek English bilinguals
- Greek has a two way distinction between *ble* [dark blue] and *ghalazo*[light blue].
- The participants were divided into two groups: high proficient L2 speakers living in UK and low proficient L2 speakers living in Greece.
- The task was to point to the best example of ble and ghalazo on the Munsell chips.
- Low proficient bilinguals showed a tendency to put *ble* away from *blue* focus while the high proficient group tended to put *ble* closer to the *blue* focus.
- This is in line with Ervin's finding of a shift towards L2 category in terms of color

Munsell color chart



Result of the study (Athanasopolous)

hue	10BG	5B	10B	5PB	10PB
9					
8			Advanced bilingual ghalazo		
7		Low proficient ghalazo			
6					
5					
4			Monolingual English blue Advanced bilingual ble		
3				Low proficient L2 ble prototype	
2					

- However, more interesting was the finding that the advanced bilinguals put the *ghalazo* towards the L2 color but towards a lighter hue far away from the L2 focus.
- Munsell chips shown as a two dimensional projection of hue [horizontal] and lightness [vertical, value 2 being the darkest]
- This study shows that whereas there is a semantic shift towards L2 prototypes, the speakers also maintain their perceptual distance between the two categories by further shifting *ghalazo* to ‘adjust’ this newly arranged system in their mind.

- *Linguistic tone, pitch patterns in languages, musical tone perception*

With regard to hearing, language has a link to pitch perception. Work on language and pitch perception has shown differences of perceiving the same pitch level differently by speakers of different languages depending on the pitch range of the first language. As a result bilinguals perform differently in these tasks compared to monolinguals.

Some researchers have also looked at the ability to perceive and produce musical tones in bilinguals who speak a tone language, e.g. Chinese. Mang (2006) showed that Cantonese English bilinguals are more in tune while singing English songs than English speaking children. It is thought to be the result of Cantonese being a tone language.

- *Taste terms and taste concepts*

Like basic color terms there are basic of taste terms as well in languages. In western languages these basic taste terms are sweet, salty, bitter and sour. But in Japanese and in Chinese, there is another taste concept called 'umami' which combines attributes of savouriness and meaty taste, found in parmesan cheese, soy sauce, marmite etc. studies have found that English learners of Japanese language could learn this concept by exposure to the lexical item and actual food samplings and this in turn affected their food categorizations.

Time, space and motion events

Motion verb:

- Languages vary a great deal in how they express motion in space. And studies in this domain have contributed to the revival of the linguistic relativity theory,
- Typically research in this domain focuses on identifying the scope of variation across different languages and how such variation can affect behavior.
- Depending on where the path information is presented in the verb phrase, languages are divided into verb framed or satellite framed languages.
 - Le garçon traverse [path] la rue en courant[manner]
 - The man runs [manner] across [path] the street

- Hence, French speakers mention manner, when it is an issue, and are less sensitive to the same. But English speakers make widespread communicative and cognitive use of this dimension.

- An interesting study tried to find out whether speakers of Greek [verb framed language] and speakers of English [satellite framed language] would attend to different aspects of a visual scene when watching a motion animation.
- They used an eye tracker to track the participants' gaze while watching a series of clip art animations.
- They were told that they would be asked to describe the event after watching it.
- It was found that the Greek participants looked at the path end point first and only later looked at the instrument depicting manner. English speakers showed the opposite pattern.
- However, no such effect was observed when they were told to remember the event without having to describe them.

Motion events:

- Descriptions of motion events in L2 learners are affected by their first language.
- On the other hand, the L2 also affects conceptualization in L1
- Japanese English bilinguals encode manner more in L1 Japanese than Japanese monolinguals.
- L1 descriptions of motion verbs in terms of manner and path are affected by L2.
- English learners of French find it difficult to convey the same level of density [path + manner] in their second language as expressed in their L1 and as a result often 'flout' rules of their L2 to manage the same.

Temporal events

- Temporal relations are encoded differently in different languages. In many languages, there are three basic temporal relations, simultaneity, before and after. These have corresponding tense and aspect markers. English marks both tense and aspect, modern Hebrew marks tense, but not aspect, Mandarin Chinese marks neither tense nor aspect.
- Although some morphemes have been identified as aspect marker of some sorts, they do not carry that function and meaning exclusively. For example, 'guo', which is understood as an aspect marker, can also mean 'to pass' as a verb and so on.
- Even when the aspect marker is present, the time of an event is usually jointly determined by aspect marker and other factors such as verbal semantics, situation type of the verb etc.
- In a study conducted on Mandarin Chinese speakers. The participants were presented with a set of pictures depicting three different temporal events [past, present and future]. And they were asked to describe them, individually. Chinese participants showed a tendency to describe past and future phases as present. However, when told beforehand that each action could assume one of the three temporal phases, this tendency disappeared. This is interpreted as reflecting their 'habitual way' of looking at things. This is in line with other similar findings on Indonesian language speakers. "direct lexical entry for a concept speeds up speaker's processing time"

- **Bilingual Chinese study:**
- The study used two groups of Chinese English bilinguals: high and low proficient.
- Material: 18 action events [blowing up a balloon, crossing a log, erasing something on a whiteboard etc]. One woman performed all the actions. A snapshot was taken at each of the temporal phases of the action event: about to cut a rope, is cutting a rope, has finished cutting a rope. Altogether there were 54 pictures. For each picture a Chinese sentence was created to describe the event. Another 62 pictures and sentences describing people or objects were used as fillers [this is a teacher, this is a pen...].
- The participants saw a total of 80 sentences [62 non target and 18 target]. Each sentence was followed by two pictures: one matched the sentence, other depicting the same action in a different temporal phase [target condition] or a different object or occupation [in non target condition]. The participants had to choose which of the pictures depicted the sentence by pressing a 'left' or 'right' key. This was an RT study.
- The results showed high proficient bilinguals had an advantage in accessing the temporal phase of the action in past and future phase, though not in present. The low proficient bilinguals performed like Chinese monolingual in the previous study.

Pidgin and Creole

Pidgin and Creole

Language varieties developed by speakers in contact who share no common language.

- **Pidgin**
 - Limited functions of use
 - Adjunct language (no one speaks only a pidgin)
 - Linguistically simplified
 - Develop their own rules and norms of usage

Examples

- West African Pidgin English
- Chinook Jargon, Native American, British, & French traders in the Pacific Northwest, 19th c.
- Solomon Island Pidgin, Solomon Islands

Examples cont.

On Caribbean slave plantations in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, West African people were deliberately separated from others who used the same language so as to reduce the risk of their plotting to escape or rebel. In order to communicate with each other, as well as with their overseers, they developed pidgins based on the language of the plantation bosses as well as their own languages.

Cont.

Creole

- Languages developed from pidgins
- First language of some members of a speech community
- Used for a wide range of functions

Examples

- **Jamaican Creole** (also called *patois*)
- **Krio** (Sierra Leone, Africa)
- **Gullah** (South Carolina & Georgia)
- Tok Pisin is one obvious example of a pidgin which has developed into a creole language. This makes it clear that the label of a language is not an accurate guide to its status as pidgin or creole. Despite its name, Tok Pisin is a creole because it has been learned as a first language by a large number of speakers, and has developed accordingly to meet their linguistic needs.

Linguistic Structure of a Pidgin Language

- Pidgin languages are created from the combined efforts of people who speak different languages. All languages involved may contribute to the sounds, the vocabulary and the grammatical features, but to different extents, and some additional features may emerge which are unique to the new variety. Nevertheless, it has been found that when one group speaks a prestigious world language and the other groups use local vernaculars, the prestige language tends to supply more of the vocabulary, while vernacular languages have more influence on the grammar of the developing pidgin.
- The proportion of vocabulary contributed to Tok Pisin by English, for example, has been estimated at 77 per cent, compared to about 11 per cent from Tolai, the local vernacular which has contributed the largest amount of vocabulary. The language which supplies most of the vocabulary is known as the lexifier (or sometimes superstrate) language, while the languages which influence the grammatical structure are called the substrate. So in Papua New Guinea, English is the lexifier language for Tok Pisin, while Tolai contributes to the substrate.
- Pidgins develop to serve a very narrow range of functions in a very restricted set of domains, they tend to have a simplified structure and a small vocabulary compared with fully developed languages. Pacific pidgin languages have only five vowels, for example: [a, e, i, o, u] compared to around twenty in most varieties of English. Consonant clusters tend to be simplified (e.g. pes for 'paste'), or vowels are inserted to break them into two syllables (e.g. silip for 'sleep'). Affixes are dispensed with. So words generally do not have inflections, as in English, to mark the plural, or to signal the tense of the verb. Nor are affixes used to mark gender, as in Spanish and Italian. Often the information affixes convey is signaled more specifically elsewhere in the sentence, or it can be deduced from the context, or it is referentially redundant. Every learner of French or Spanish, for example, knows that the grammatical gender of objects is strictly dispensable if you are interested in communication as opposed to impressing people.

Sources of Linguistic Features

- Superstrate: the socially dominant language
Most vocabulary from superstrate language (*lexifier language*)
- Substrate: socially subordinate language(s)
Most grammatical structure from the substrate language(s)

Example: Solomon Islands Pidgin

Superstrate: English

Substrate: Oceanic languages

What does -im mean?

Mino luk-im pikipiki

bulong

iu

I not see-HIM?

pig

belong

you

(“I didn’t see your pig.”)

***Mi no luk pikipiki bulong iu.**

English

I shot the burglar.

I shot ‘im.

*I shot’im the burglar.

Cont.

Solomons Pidgin

luk

transitive

‘look’

luk-im

‘see something’

intransitive

sut

‘shoot’

sut-im

‘shoot something’

Kwaio (Oceanic language)

aga

‘look’

aga-si

‘see something’

fana

‘shoot’

fana-si

‘shoot something’

Can you identify the superstrate of these Creoles?

1. mo pe aste sa banan.

French: *Seychelles Creole*

I am buying the banana.

2. de bin alde luk dat big tri.

English: *Roper River Creole*

They always looked for a big tree.

3. a waka go a wosu.

English: *Saran*

He walked home.

4. ja fruher wir bleiben.

German: *Papua New Guinea*

Yes at first we remained.

5. olmaan i kas-im chek.

English: *Cape York Creole*

The old man is cashing a check.

6. li pote sa bay mo.

French: *Guyanais*

He brought that for me.

Development of Creoles

Structural Similarities:

1. zero copula

di kaafi kuol

the coffee cold

(The coffee is cold.)

2. serial verbs: one verb fulfills a grammatical role

Gullah Creole English (So. Carolina & Georgia)

I tol pas mi

he tall pass me

(He's taller THAN me.)

Levels of creole/language status and the continuum

1. Acrolect “high speech”
2. Mesolect “middle speech”
3. Basolect “low speech”

In discussing the creole continuum in Guyanese English, Bickerton (1975, 24) has proposed a number of terms that may be used to refer to its different parts. He uses the term acrolect to refer to educated Guyanese English, a variety which really has very few differences from other varieties of Standard English. He uses the term basilect to refer to the variety at the other extreme of the continuum, the variety that would be least comprehensible to a speaker of the standard, perhaps even incomprehensible. Mesolects are intermediate varieties. However, these are not discrete entities, and there is variation within them. One important characteristic of these intermediate mesolects is that they blend into one another to fill the ‘space’ between the acrolect and the basilect. That space is, as we might expect, considerably socially stratified.

Creolization

1. When children learn a pidgin as their mother tongue, within a generation or two, native language use becomes consolidated and widespread. The result is a creole.
2. Major expansion in the structural linguistic resources: vocabulary, grammar, and style.
3. Shift in the overall patterns of language use in the community.

Decreolization

- Shift toward standard form of the language from which the creole derives.
- The standard language has the status of social prestige, education, wealth. Creole speakers find themselves under great pressure to change their speech in the direction of the standard.

Hypercreolization

- Aggressive reaction against the standard language on the part of creole speakers, who assert the superior status of their creole, and the need to recognize the ethnic identity of their communication. Such a reaction can lead to a marked change in speech habits as speakers focus on what they see as the “pure” form of the creole.

Linguistic features of Pidgins

Two pidgins for which English supplied much of the vocabulary

- **Cameroonian Pidgin**, Cameroon, West Africa
- **Korean Bamboo English**, Korea

Classifying Pidgins: Grammatical Complexity

- **Pre-pidgin** (or jargon)
- **Stable Pidgin**
- **Expanded Pidgin**

Pre-Pidgin

- When two or more groups who do not speak the same language come into contact, their needs to communicate to one another may lead to a pre-pidgin situation, in which one language, which is more dominant, becomes the source language. Pre-pidgin occurs before focusing leads to the achievement of stability and the development of shared norms, and where the pidginized forms are still relatively diffuse.

Stable Pidgin

- This is more regular and more complex and there are social norms regarding its use, was with *Russenorsk*, a trade pidgin used in northern Norway by Russian merchants and Norwegian fishermen over some 130 years (1785–1917). Because the language was used for seasonal trade, it did not expand much structuarally and had a core vocabulary of c.150–200 words.

Expanded Pidgins

- Pidgins that have developed a more formal role, as regular auxiliary languages. May have official status as lingua francas.
- Linguistically more complex to meet needs.
- Used for more functions in a much wider range of situations.
- [Tok Pisin](#) (Papua New Guinea) c. 1880
 - **expanded pidgin** currently undergoing **creolization**. Now has about 20,000 native speakers.
 - about 44% of the population

Creole Formation

- Creole formation involves expansion of the morphology and syntax, regularization of the phonology, increase in the number of functions in which the language is used, and development of a larger vocabulary. Even though the processes are different, it is still not always clear whether we are talking about a pidgin, an expanded pidgin, or a creole in a certain situation. For example, the terms Hawaiian Pidgin English and Hawaiian Creole English may be used by even the same creolist (Bickerton 1977, 1983) to describe the same variety. Likewise, Tok Pisin is sometimes called a pidgin, an expanded pidgin, and a creole.

Mixed Language

Mixed language is Ma'a, also called Mbugu, which is spoken in the Usambara Mountains of northeastern Tanzania. In this case, the structure of the language is largely Bantu (the Bantu languages spoken in the region, and by the Ma'a people, are Pare and Shambaa), but the lexicon is at least half from Cushitic languages or Masai, a language related to neither Cushitic nor Bantu. Thomason (2001, 200) reports that earlier descriptions of the language noted more structural features that were not Bantu, so the language cannot be simply described as a Bantu language with borrowings, but is a mixed language.

Media Lengua is another frequently cited case of language mixture, and is described as being of predominantly Quechua grammatical structure and 90 percent Spanish-derived lexicon (Muysken 1981, 52). Like other mixed languages, it is an ingroup language, spoken by people living in villages in the central Ecuador highlands. Muysken describes the motivation for its creation as the desire to express a distinct group identity which was neither acculturated into Spanish-speaking urban society nor completely part of the traditional rural Quechua culture.

BILINGUAL ACQUISITION

Childhood

Part 1

The history of childhood bilingualism study: [Bialystok, 1991.CUP]

- Initial studies were motivated by educational needs and policy.
- This was heavily biased against bilingualism in particular and against immigration in general
- Bilingualism was considered a disorder that should be treated by ruthless instruction in a majority language, eradicating the ‘invading language’
- Often this invading language was the language of home, heritage, culture of the child
- But the evidence was clear and loud. Immigrant children in North American schools were less successful than their monolingual peers
- Easy explanation was that bilingualism was to blame

- there was a change in perception in the early 1970s
- When the Anglophone Canadian children had been ‘sentenced’ to French immersion program
- These children were educated entirely or partially in French
- But they did not display the ‘bilingual pathology’, so bilingualism was not the culprit.

- Some recent developments in the field of language research has contributed to direct exploration of the linguistic and cognitive developments in bilingual children.

- Second language studies became 'mainstream': for a rather long time second language acquisition was considered a secondary issue. The more important problem to be solved was first language acquisition among children. Now that we know a great deal about that aspect, it's perhaps time to focus on the L2.

- Shift in emphasis in psycholinguistic research from product description to processes:
- with a shift in psychological research from behaviorism to cognitive aspects,
- second language acquisition among children was increasingly seen as co-developing with their intellectual development.
- Children's developments understood in terms of them developing schemas as a function of specific experiences. As they grow, these schemas are elaborated and restructured.
- The critical aspect of this theory is that children's experience determines important aspects of cognitive organization which, in turn, influences their intellectual achievement. Here comes the importance of bilingualism as an experience.

- There are three main approaches historically, to studying bilingualism among children. Though education remained a constant focus, it was more or less inferred from findings from these approaches.

Applied Linguistics

A.

Focus on 'contrastive analysis'. Linguistic comparison between two languages reveals the sources of difficulty for the learner. This depends on findings where the two languages differ from each other. The underlying theory was that learners learnt second language by substituting target language forms etc into the language they already know, i.e. their first language. So second language learning was explained through transfer.

B.

Transfer theory was replaced by 'creative construction' hypothesis in the mid 1970s. This says that one learns a second language by using the same processes they used for first language, all over again.

C.

Perhaps the most popular account of this process was given by Chomsky where it is believed that we learn language by setting principles and parameters on the Language Acquisition Device as per the language.

So second language learning involves resetting some of the parameters. This resulted in a deluge of articles describing “how speakers of language X mastered the Y (negation, question formation, past tense etc) of language Z”.

Sociolinguistic

- studies in this domain focused on the critical contextual facts that distinguished one bilingual from another: low Vs high status language, additive Vs subtractive bilingualism, full Vs. partial control of language etc.

Psycholinguistic

- this type of research focused on why some people learned a second language way better than others. Variables like aptitude, motivation, form of instruction etc. were assessed. Most importantly, second language learning was understood to be complex in ways that were thought irrelevant to first language acquisition.

- The problem with these lines of research was that:
- Correct description of similarities and differences of second language learning by children and adults did not emerge
- More importantly, the ‘effect’ of second language on the children was not investigated.

E. consequences of bilingualism:

- Early studies on childhood bilingualism argues for cognitive deficits as a result of bilingualism
- Later on, many studies find significant advantages of bilingualism. Many of these studies might have a little extra enthusiastic, but it helped to bring out bilingualism from the shackles of stigma in the following decades.

CHILDHOOD BILINGUALISM

Part 2

Simultaneous learning of two languages

- learning process through which a child becomes bilingual from early infancy, three stages can be distinguished:
 - (1) the child has one lexical system which includes words from both languages;
 - (2) the child distinguishes two different lexicons but applies the same syntactic rules to both languages;
 - (3) [about 2.9 to 3 years]: the child has two linguistic codes, differentiated both in lexicon and in syntax, but each language is exclusively associated with the person using that language.
-
- Only at the end of this stage, when the tendency to categorize people in terms of their language decreases, can one say that a child is truly bilingual.
 - Bilingual children more often than not, fall in the category of simultaneous, balanced, compound bilinguals in ideal condition.

- Studies have found that children simultaneously learning two languages at an early stage often cannot distinguish between their two languages.
- Almost all studies on infant bilingual language have found that children tend to 'mix' components of their two languages at all levels:
 - phonological, lexical, phrasal etc. scientists have claimed these prove the underlying unitary language system.

- pfeifTing [GERMAN/ENGLISH]: WHISTLING
- I asked him QUE YO VOY A CASA [English/Spanish] I asked him that I go home
- Putzen Zahne CON JABON [German/ Spanish]brushing teeth with soap
- A house PINK [French/English; French structure of using noun before adj]
- They open, THE WINDOWS? [French/English; French structure of using noun before adj]
- You want to OPEN the lights? [in French, the equivalent of 'turn on' in English is open, used for lights]

interpretations

- There are many interpretations of such mixing. One of them being the unitary language system, that proposed “ words from the two languages did not represent two different speech systems but one...”
- Child language acquisition also points to a debate on critical period hypothesis. Recent studies reveal that language learning abilities decline throughout our lifespan rather than after a particular point in time.(more on this later)

- When children learn two languages simultaneously, there are three stages of development that has been found to be common.
- Most of the empirical investigations of bilingual development have found mixing; phonological, lexical, phrasal, morphological, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic mixing have been reported

- Loan blends: words that are made up of phonological segments from two languages. E.g. kats [cat] from Estonian/Swedish bilingual, Swedish word for cat is /katt/ and Estonian is /kass/.
- Morphological mixing: pfeifting [whistling; German English; correct German word: pfeifend]
- Die Madchen's going night night [the girl is going night night]
- Phrase level: putzen zahne con jabon [German/Spanish] brushing teeth with soap

Stage I

- this is the first stage and at this stage, children have one lexical system that includes words from both languages. A word in one language almost always does not have a corresponding word in the other language. Words from two languages frequently appear together in two-three word constructions. Children at this stage do not use much of sentences.

- Often, children do not consider two corresponding words in two languages, not as corresponding. In one case reported, an Italian-German bilingual child used the words **la** ['there' in Italian] and **da** ['there' in German] to mean different things: la for visible things and da for invisible things.
- The child here is Lisa, lived in Rome, where the father spoke Italian and mother spoke German, always.
 - Lisa: miao miao [while coming from outside and going to her mother]
 - Mother: wo ist miao? {where is miao?}
 - Lisa: La miao. {there miao}
 - Mother : wo ist miao?
 - Pulling her mother outside and continuing the conversation
 - Lisa: da ist miao. {there is miao}

- Again, Lisa uses **da** and **daki** in interesting ways. **Da** is derived from **dare** [IIIP Sg; to give] and daki is derived from danke [thank you in German] . she uses the word 'daki' when she wants to thank someone, give something to someone, or to get something from somebody.
 - Daki bukh [her mother had just given her a book]
 - Daki [while giving a pencil to her mother]
 - Mamma tita daki [she wants her mother to give her the pencil]
 - She learnt to use da around 1 year 10 months and used it only to give something to somebody
 - Da [offering a sweet to her mother]

- So, at this stage, the child's speech has only one lexical form.
- Some researchers have called this form of language a "language system of his own".
- It is only when the knowledge of the two languages grow and the child is able to generalize across languages, that she is able to distinguish between two lexical systems.
- When the child reaches this stage, the child begins to use sentences in one language, the choice depending on the person being spoken to.

Stage II

- At this stage the child is able to distinguish words from different languages, but applies same syntactic rule to both.
- The child now has corresponding words in both the languages, in the sense that the same object is indicated by two different words pertaining to two different languages.
- Significantly, words drawn from two lexicons do not occur together in construction. However, how they arrive at this stage depends on some factors that may influence this choice.

- In case of Lisa, she learnt the word ‘occhiali’ [glasses] early as her father wears them. One day, her mother draws a woman wearing glasses and teaches her the word ‘brillen’ [glasses in German]. She then tells her to show the drawing to father and tell him what it shows.
 - Father: cos’è questo? [what is this?]
 - Lisa: ‘Brillen’ [she repeats ‘Brillen’ many times but never says ‘occhiali’]
 - Then she points to father’s glasses and says: ‘Occhiali’.

- She repeats the same every time she looks at father's glasses and insists on calling them 'occhiali' and does not agree to call them 'brillen'.
- Even after her mother tells her that 'occhiali di papi' corresponds to 'papa's brillen'
- It takes her a long time to agree that occhiali and brillen are essentially the same thing. But she remains strongly influenced by the context in which she learnt the two words.

Stage III

- At this stage the child speaks two languages differentiated at both lexical and syntactic level. However, each language is associated with the person using that language: one person—one language phenomena.

- e.g.
 - ein kleines haus [a small house]
 - questa e Lisa piccolina [this is Lisa small]

there are still times when they show interference, as this is a slow process. But it is safe to say that the differentiation starts at this stage.

- quetto e di Guilia libro [this is guilia's book, based on German structure: 'das ist Guilia's buch']
- instead of, questo e il libro di Lisa [correct structure]

Some other types of mixing

- Semantics: you want to open the lights? [French English bilingual child]
- Syntactic: they open, the windows? A house pink [French English bilingual]

Some other explanations for mixing

- Rate of mixing varies considerably across studies. A summary of various studies claimed that the rate of mixing is at 20% to 30% in Stage I, 12% to 20% at Stage II and 6% to 12% at Stage III and so on. Though this remains a fact, the explanations for the same is controversial
- Sometimes even the adult native speakers of English in Quebec use such mixtures in their language.
- It is possible that the bilingual children mix because they have heard mixing by their parents

- Often the context of language use by the child is not factored in by the researchers reporting the findings.

For example,

- Nellie a French English bilingual admonished her father so that he does not take away her barrettes, first in French [laisse les barrettes, touché pas les barrettes, papa] and then desperately in English [me's gonna put it back in the bag so no one's gonna took it].
- Here her attempt in French was primarily based on the fact that her father speaks French.

- In order to establish unitary system hypothesis, one needs to establish all things being equal bilingual children use items from both language indiscriminately in all contexts of communication. That is to say there should not be a predominant language for a particular context.

For example, the case of Lisa reports only her speaking to her German mother, but no evidence of her speaking with her Italian father is given.


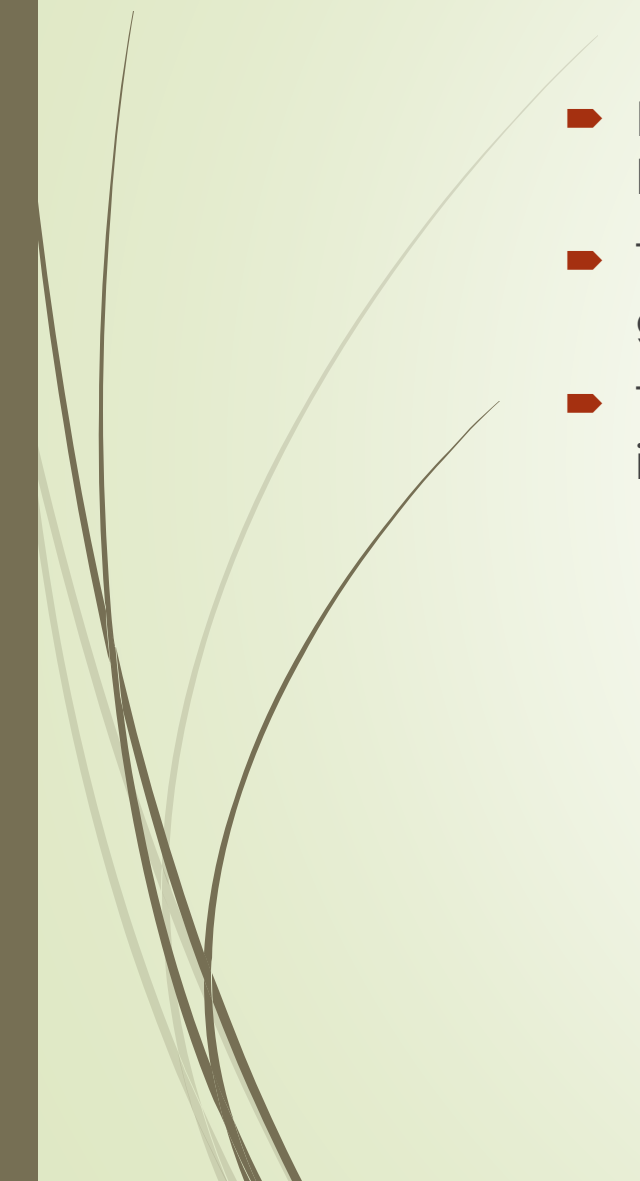
- Similarly, the report [Vihman 1985] of the bilingual child using Estonian in English context contrast the same with English use in Estonian context. But the author does not report use of English In Estonian Context.



- Children lack appropriate lexical items in one language and simply compensates them by borrowing from the other language. Vihman suggest child stops mixing gradually as they are made aware of societal norms and standard of behavior by the adults and they show their ability to adhere to them.
- Mixing might also happen due to restricted use of specific lexical items. Case in point is that of 'occhiali' , where her preference for the Italian term for the object was simply a result of her father [Italian] using glasses and thus using it more frequently than the mother.

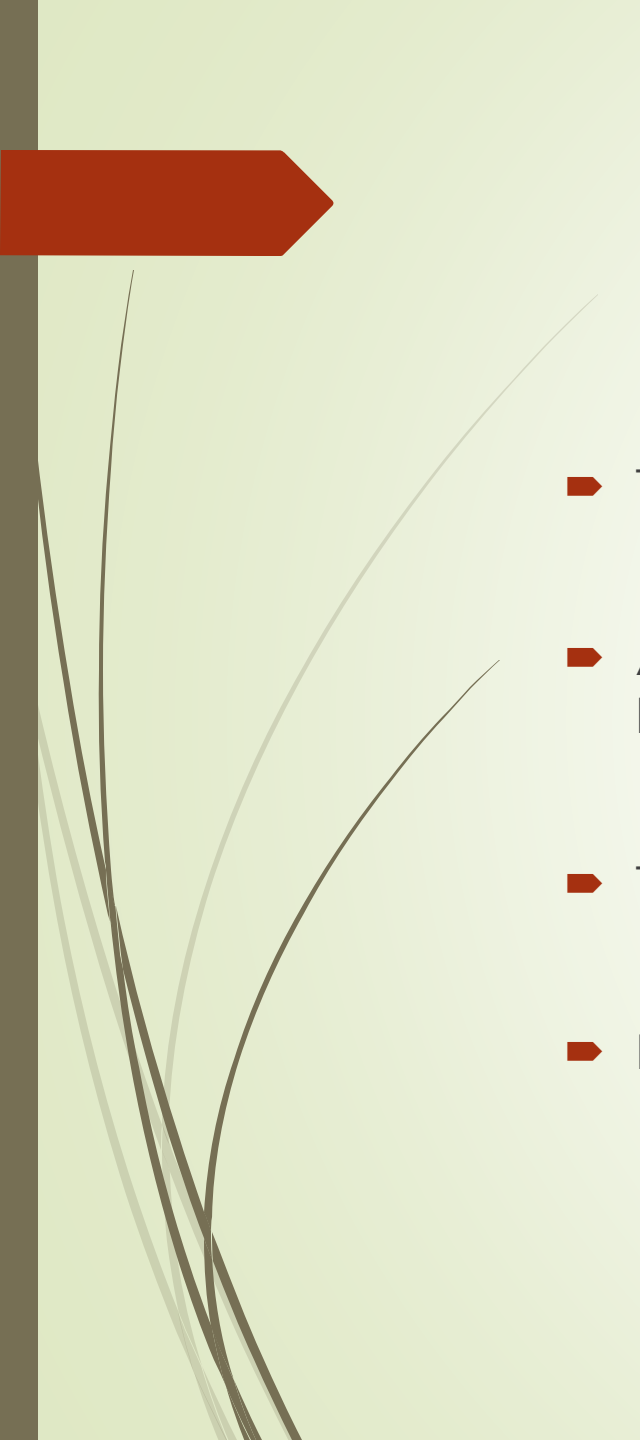
- Sometimes it is a matter of structural linguistic factors. Vihman (1985) reports that her son used English function words in otherwise Estonian context because English words were more simple and salient than their Estonian counterpart.
- Hence the reasonable explanation can be that of nature of acquisitional progress. Even monolingual children show overextension when they know only few words and uses them for a number of contexts. As their vocabulary grows, they use more varied and less overextended words.



Theory of Mind



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- 
- Humans are not born with the understanding that people have unique beliefs and thoughts. This is learnt.
 - This stage is arrived at through various developmental ladders that children go through
 - This includes the notion of attention and intention of others as well as imitation of other's mental states

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- First stage is that of attention
 - Children learn very early that looking is not just seeing but also a tool to be selectively used to gather more information
 - In fact infants have been found to be using this mechanism in their parents to getting attention to themselves
 - Infants as early as 7-9 months of age are capable of understanding attention in others; the development of this social skill is an important predecessor to developing ToM [Simon Barron Cohen].

- 
- This stage is followed by acting
 - And knowing that people act on that catches their attention: goal directed behavior
 - This behavior is dependent upon intention
 - People can have varying intentions and, therefore, different behavior

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- Imitation is often understood to be another important component of developing Theory of Mind. It has however, been contested.
 - Children use pretend play. This shows that they have developed the understand the different mental states attributable to different characters




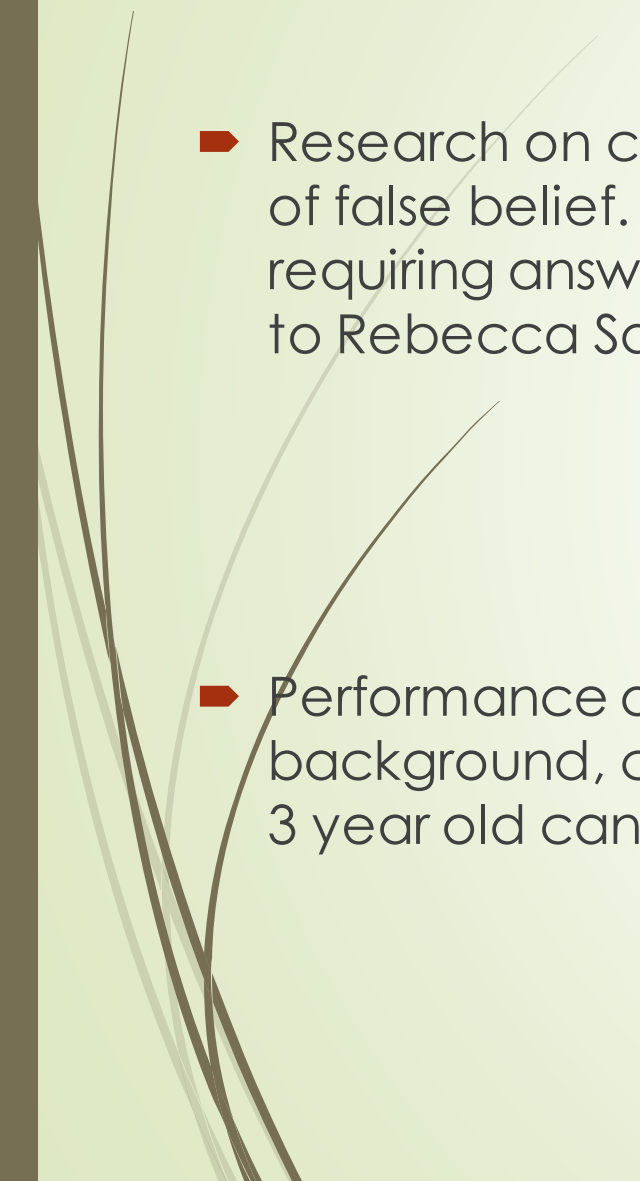
So,

- ToM refers to the ability to attribute mental states to oneself and others. The idea that others have intents, beliefs, pretension, knowledge etc. and that these can be different from one's own. In normal population this grows in us by the time humans are about 5 year old. However, atypical population, like ADHD, autism spectrum disorder etc. are shown to have delayed development of this attribute.

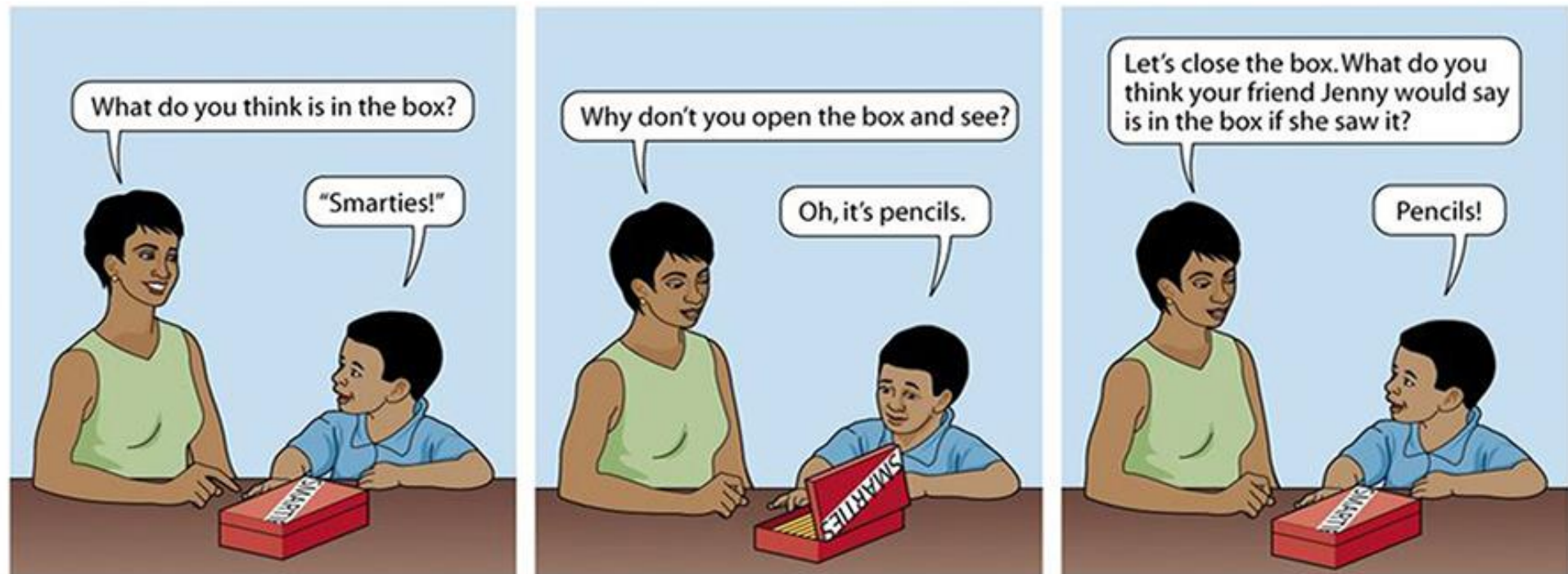


It entails,

- Others have beliefs, thoughts, intents etc...in short, a mind that may be different from our own
- Mental states cause behavior. This difference may result into different behavioral outcome hence having a theory of mind helps us predict other people's behavior
- This is an innate and potential ability that also requires social and other experiences to fully develop.
- This is not only a human behavior but also found in other primates, even birds and rodents

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- 
- Research on children in this domain typically concerns children's understanding of false belief. The tasks used are different variations of Sally-Anne stories, requiring answers on changed location and changed content questions. [refer to Rebecca Saxe videos available online].
 - Performance of children aged show that irrespective of language and cultural background, children aged 4 can perform correctly on false belief tasks whereas 3 year old cannot

A False-Belief Problem: The “Smarties” Task



Sally



This is Sally's basket.



Anne



This is Anne's box.

Sally puts her
red ball . . .



into her basket.



Sally goes out of the room
and leaves Anne alone.



Anne takes the ball out
of the basket . . .



and puts it in
the box.

When Sally comes back . . .





she wants to
play with the
ball.



Where will Sally look for her ball?



Two assumptions:

- ▶ ToM undergoes a conceptual change in the pre school years----- a change dependent upon the child's language development. Mastery of the grammatical rules of embedding tensed complement clauses enables ToM reasoning.
 - ▶ However, recent findings do not support the link between understanding sentence complements and ToM reasoning. Young children who do well on syntax and semantics tasks are still found unable to pass false belief tasks.
- ▶ improvement of performance on ToM task at a particular age may be attributed to the development of strengthening of inhibitory processes and pragmatic skills or general purpose executive functions

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- Irrespective of the theoretical account, it seems that the child's performance on story based ToM reasoning depends on the child's early exposure to conversations that teaches them that people have beliefs that can differ from their own

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- A strong data source for this assumption is work on deaf children from different backgrounds: sign language environment Vs verbal language environment.
 - Deaf children from sign language environment have early exposure to others' conversations about people's beliefs etc. and hence perform on par with hearing children.
 - In contrast, deaf children of hearing parents are commonly not exposed to conversations early and get the exposure only after they go to school. These children have difficulties in ToM tasks.



ToM and language

- Mental states cannot be observed directly.
- Nor is there any simple correlation between mental states and observable behavior.
- Hence one valuable way to learn about the elusive content of mind is to listen how people talk about the mind
- Research in developmental psychology suggests the importance of verbal communication for developing a theory of mind. Language ability seems to predict success in false belief task, independent of age [Dunn and Brophy 2005].
- A similar correlation was also found in samples of both healthy children and children with autism and other developmental disorders

THE ROLE OF ATTITUDES IN LANGUAGE SHIFT AND LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE IN A NEW IMMIGRANT COMMUNITY: A CASE STUDY

by

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Abstract

Telugu is the second most spoken language in India, after Hindi and over 80 million have Telugu as their mother tongue. It is considered one of the fifteen most spoken languages in the world. Telugu speakers are recent immigrants community to New Zealand and their current numbers are estimated to be over 10000, with their numbers growing rapidly. The study seeks to investigate language attitudes of mothers and children in the Telugu community and how they relate to loss of language in an English speaking country. The study reveals that although most of the Telugu people speak their own community language at home, the children are rapidly losing their language. The study points out that if the Telugu community regards the language maintenance as desirable, then explicit steps need to be taken.

Introduction

Over the past few decades, New Zealand has been transformed from being predominantly bilingual to a dynamic potpourri of multilingual society. According to the 2001 census there are more than 160 different languages spoken in New Zealand but most of them were identified with a minority communities, consisting of less than 1,000 speakers (New Zealand Statistics, 2003). One such community with its own well-developed language is Telugu, whose immigration levels have increased quite significantly in the recent past. According to the Census 2001 there are 1419 Telugu speakers in New Zealand and their numbers have nearly doubled during the period 1996 – 2001 (New Zealand Statistics, 2002). About one third of the Telugu community is under 20 years of age indicating the importance of language maintenance in an alien environment. Since 2001, the numbers continued to rise and it is estimated that there are about 10,000 Telugu speakers in New Zealand (Telugu Association of New Zealand, 2003).

Who are the Telugus?

The word ‘Telugus’ refers to people who speak the Telugu language. Telugu is also known as ‘Andram’ and is the official language of Indian state of Andhra Pradesh, which was established on the basis of linguistic affinity in 1956. About 70 million people in Andhra Pradesh and another 20 million people in other parts of India speak Telugu. It is also the second largest spoken language after the national language Hindi in India. There are many Telugu migrant communities in different parts of the world, such as the United States, the United Kingdom, South Africa, Mauritius, Malaysia, Singapore and Fiji. As mentioned earlier, Telugus started migrating to New Zealand and Australia in large numbers in recent times.

Objective of the Study

According to Hoffman (1991:186), “when a community does not maintain its language, but gradually adopts another one, we talk about *language shift* [while] ‘*language maintenance*’ refers to a situation where members of a community try to keep the language(s) they have always used”. Hoffman also observed that under certain cultural, social and political conditions, a community might opt to change one set of linguistic tools for another. This phenomenon is acute in the case of migrant communities. Various studies established the loss of language and shift in various migrant communities such as Dutch (Kroef, 1977; Folmer, 1992), Tongan (Aipolo, 1989), Greek (Verivaki, 1990), Polish (Neazor, 1991), Italian (Plimmer, 1994), Fiji-Hindi (Shameem, 1995), Cook Island Maori (Davis 1998), Gujarati and Samoan (Roberts, 1999) and Japanese (Nakanishi, 2000). The Telugu community in New Zealand cannot be immune to the language loss phenomenon; however, no previous study has covered this community so far and this study seeks to fill that gap.

One of the important factors that impact on shift and maintenance of language is attitude (Gardner, 1985, Holmes and Harlow, 1991). Attitude refers to “a hypothetical construct used to explain the direction and persistence of human behaviour” (Baker, 1992:10). So, it represents internal thoughts, feelings and tendencies in behaviour across a variety of contexts. The main objective of this study is to investigate whether there is any language shift among Telugu immigrants in Auckland and, if so, identify what role attitude played in the shift and maintenance of their language.

Significance of the Study

Many studies have established that change in language attitudes is one of the major factors affecting language shift among the linguistic communities in New Zealand. For instance, Roberts (1999) has done work on language shift and maintenance in three communities: Gujarati (the largest Indian language group), Dutch (the largest European language group) and Samoan (the largest Pacific Island language group). Similarly, Shameem (1995) has done work on Fiji Indians, which also has a great number of speakers in New Zealand. On the other hand, Holmes and Harlow (1991) have tried to illustrate some of the common characteristics of the communities in New Zealand, which have resisted language shift and have managed to maintain their ethnic language attitudes. The present study however is different as this is the first of its kind, which looks at the smaller Indian communities like Telugu speakers and also about language shift among the recent immigrant communities in New Zealand.

Methodology and Sampling

Telugu are scattered in all the suburbs of Auckland and so it became quite difficult to choose an appropriate sample. However, during the course of the search for a suitable sample, an ‘Indian Church’, which predominantly consisted of Telugu speakers, was discovered. This church not only served as a forum of worship but also as a place for socialising and supporting each other in an ‘alien’ environment. The sample chosen for this study is limited to the families attending this church, who were permanent residents and had lived in New Zealand for at least one year; the average time that the respondents had lived in New Zealand being two years.

The respondents fall into two categories: i) Telugu speaking mothers of school going children and ii) school going children of 11 years and above. In all, 14 mothers and 20 children were chosen for this study. Out of the 20 children, 14 were first-born children and 6 were second born children. The reason why mothers were chosen is because they were considered as repositories of culture and responsible for the maintenance of tradition and language. Children aged 11 and above were chosen as they use language with ease and they know to differentiate the use of language according to the situation while children below 11 years of age are still in their formative stage. Another reason for categorising the sample into two groups is to compare the changing attitudes of these two groups towards language shift in the community.

Collection of data was through self-reporting questionnaires and structured interviews from all the respondents. Interviews were conducted individually to minimise any external influence or bias in their responses. The questionnaire covered five major areas: a) language proficiency, b) attitude towards English, c) attitude towards Telugu, d) attitude towards bilingualism and e) language maintenance. The major findings are discussed in the next section.

Finding and Discussion

a. Language Proficiency:

The respondents – both children and mothers – were asked to report on the use of Telugu and English languages. Even though, Telugu is the mother tongue and used by all children while in India, the study reveals that its use has declined significantly to 85 percent in contrast to 100 percent use of English language. On the other hand, all the mothers (100 percent) reported use of Telugu and English for themselves and their first child; but the use of Telugu declined for the second born child (83 percent). Further, it is noticed that the loss of the Telugu language is greater in reading and writing skills than in speaking and listening skills, as hardly any of the children used Telugu. Clearly the loss of the Telugu language is rapid, as the respondents had lived in New Zealand only an average of two years.

b. Attitude towards English

As regards to attitude towards the English language, a set of questions were asked about what the respondents feel on the use and their attitude towards the English language in New Zealand. Both mothers and children reported a 100 percent positive attitude towards English. When asked whether they felt ‘proud’ to use the English language, 71 percent of mothers and 85 percent of children reported affirmatively. In fact, 55 percent of the children reported that they are encouraged by their parents to ‘use English always’. Such a positive attitude towards English enables the new immigrant community to succeed in an English-speaking environment.

c. Attitude towards Telugu

Respondents were also asked a set of questions relating to the use of and their attitude towards the Telugu language in New Zealand. The responses to the questions indicate mixed, and seemingly contradictory, views. While most of both mothers and children (95 percent) reported positive attitudes towards the Telugu language, the majority of mothers (57 percent) and children (60 percent) 'do not feel it is necessary' to learn Telugu. In fact, 50 percent of mothers feel that it is 'a waste of time' to learn Telugu in New Zealand. Such a mixed set of views towards the mother tongue indicates an ongoing conflict between their linguistic identity and utility of the language, as an enabling factor, to settle in a new environment.

Similarly as regards to speaking Telugu at home, while an overwhelming majority of mothers (86 percent) want to speak Telugu at home which is closely linked to their linguistic identity, relatively fewer children (65 percent) are willing to do so as they don't feel it necessary for their daily chores.

d. Attitude towards Bilingualism

As regards to the attitude towards bilingualism, the study reveals a divide between the two sets of respondents, namely mothers and children. While 100 percent of mothers feel that it is important to speak in both English and Telugu, only 85 percent of children felt it necessary. This may be due to the level of perceived difficulty by the respondents to be bilingual speakers - while 100 percent mothers felt it was not difficult to be a bilingual speaker, 80 percent of the children felt it was difficult. There appears to be a close relationship between the perceived difficulties and the need to be a bilingual speaker. In general, the attitudes reported towards bilingualism are consistent with the attitude towards Telugu where mothers report being more favourably inclined than children.

All mothers commented that their children mixed English words with Telugu. However, when asked whether they felt 'proud' of their bilingual ability, the respondents were not enthusiastic – only 57 percent of mothers and 55 percent of children felt so. Since a significant proportion (over 40 percent) is not favourably inclined towards bilingualism, it indicates that there is perceptible shift from Telugu to English. This finding is consistent with the attitudes found towards English and Telugu (paras 6.1, 6.2 and 6.3), which indicated a shift from Telugu to English. What is interesting is that such a shift is occurring in such a short period of two years.

e. Language Maintenance:

Language maintenance is crucial for its survival. Even though the loss of the Telugu language was clearly evident, the study reveals many interesting steps taken for its maintenance. Over 86 percent of mothers reported that they spoke Telugu at home and corrected their children's language. It was also reported that 64 percent of mothers enjoyed listening to Telugu songs while only 25 percent of children did so. Therefore, Telugu language maintenance was mainly through the use of entertainment resources such as videos and music.

It was noted in para 6.1 that the language loss is more in reading and writing compared to speaking and listening. Obviously, in order to maintain language those are the areas that need attention. However, the majority of the children (90 percent) and mothers (75 percent) do not want to learn/teach Telugu script. Such a negative attitude is definitely detrimental to the language maintenance efforts and leads to quick erosion of language ability and the consequent shift.

Concluding Remarks

The findings reveal that there is a clear evidence of language shift among Telugu immigrants to New Zealand. This is consistent with other studies for different languages such as Samoan (Pilkinton, 1990) and Fiji-Hindi (Shameem, 1995) who consciously placed more importance on English to enable them to integrate and settle in an English speaking country. However, the loss of the Telugu language is more in the written and writing skills than the listening and speaking skills. Further, this loss is found to be more in the second born than the first-born child.

It has been obvious that ‘necessity’ and ‘pride’ have been the two influencing factors of language shift. Both mothers and children have less positive attitude towards Telugu than English, which adversely affects Telugu language maintenance. Ironically, such a language shift is occurring at a time when the New Zealand government is encouraging bilingualism (New Zealand Herald, 2003).

From a functional point of view, the loss of the Telugu language many not necessarily cause any significant disability to the Telugu speakers in an English speaking country like New Zealand. However, if the Telugu community feels the need for language maintenance for reasons of cultural and ethnic identity, the study points to the need for the Telugu community to come together and take explicit steps rather urgently to prevent further loss of language and language maintenance. Telugus around the world now have a website (www.Teluguone.com) to network and maintain the culture. Cooperation with other minority language speakers for language maintenance can be of mutual advantage as the problems faced are similar in nature.

At present, the Telugu community faces a dilemma regarding two seemingly conflicting goals – whether to preserve linguistic identity or improve their children’s English language skills that are essential for their active professional career. The authors strongly believe that these are not mutually exclusive goals and that both the goals are achievable concurrently and contribute richly to the composite culture of New Zealand. The next stage of research covering a larger sample is likely to throw more light on this issue.

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Bilingualism in Holistic Perspective**By Iliana Reyes****University of Arizona, Tucson**

To appear in the Encyclopedia of Bilingual Education in the US

Editor Josué González

SAGE Publications

Most people in the world speak two or more languages, simply because multiple languages are used in their environment. Researchers and educators in the field of bilingualism and bilingual education have been interested in defining what “bilingual” means and how a bilingual person’s competences can be measured. Among the several views of bilingualism, two have predominated in the field: the fractional and the holistic perspectives. The fractional view describes bilinguals as being the equivalent of two monolinguals in one person. This view considers bilinguals as developing parallel linguistic competence in both languages simultaneously, and studies following this perspective often compare bilinguals with monolinguals.

The holistic view, proposed by Grosjean (1982), argues that each bilingual is a unique individual who integrates knowledge of and from both languages to create something more than two languages that function independently of each other. This view holds that the total of the two languages is greater than their sum because the two languages interact with each other to increase the functionality of each. Both perspectives describe as ideal the development of *balanced* bilingual competence in speaking, thinking, reading, and writing, meaning equivalent fluency in the two languages.

Balanced bilingualism is a concept that is not easily achievable; instead, bilingualism must be understood as a continuum in which language ability changes constantly in relation to the individual’s social, educational, and linguistic contexts. In addition, bilingualism may be described as simultaneous or sequential. Simultaneous bilinguals grow up learning two languages in their environment from infancy. Sequential bilinguals develop mastery, or at least some proficiency, in their native language before acquiring the second language.

Bilingualism emerges when two different language communities come in sustained contact. Language contact in different communities creates a variety of bilingual discourses that meet the needs of the members of those specific communities. Bilingualism is more valuable when some members of each language group are not bilingual. Logically, if everyone in a particular environment were bilingual there would no longer be a need for anyone to know both languages purely for communicative purposes. Some communities and countries have a policy of official acceptance of bilingualism, and consequently both languages are taught and have fairly equal status in society. For example, Belgium has an official policy of bilingualism in French and Flemish, not only on paper but in practice. Thus, in the school and community people receive training and motivation to learn both languages and use them in the public sphere.

In some countries the general public identifies a particular language with nationalism and labels the widespread use of other languages as a problem rather than an asset. An example of this dynamic in the United States are the so-called English-only laws that restrict the use of languages other than English in public schools. Such laws are motivated by political and ideological considerations rather than sound pedagogical theory or societal benefit. They have little if anything to do with what constitutes a good education or an adequate linguistic preparation for the future.

The research in this field shows that the child's native language is a good foundation on which to build the second language. In addition, English-only policies often have unrecognized impacts beyond education when speakers of other languages absorb negative attitudes toward their home language (or varieties of their home language) and culture that are prevalent in mainstream society. The effects of these attitudes are apparent in that historically, immigrant families in the United States have tended to preserve their native language as an important part of their culture. Immigrants traditionally have been bilingual for two or three generations after immigrating and eventually, abandon the immigrant language altogether. Today, immigrants evidence a stronger preference for speaking English and less motivation for preserving their native language, so that the shift to English monolingualism occurs more rapidly, in most cases in two generations. In this context English-only rules seem to be unnecessary since there is no threat on the English language posed by the new immigrants and their linguistic

orientation. Ironically, while English-only campaigns in the public schools promote having minority children abandon their home language and make the transition to English as soon as possible, private corporations which now tend to operate in several countries at once, regard second languages as a valuable job skill that increases U.S. competitiveness in the international marketplace.

It is important to note, however, that in addition to its purely communicative value, bilingualism has social, psychological, and cognitive benefits. In terms of their social communicative competence, bilinguals are able to maintain family communication and interaction across generations; psychologically, the identity of belonging to a particular language and culture group can increase bilinguals' self-esteem as well as the cohesion of their families. In terms of cognitive competence, studies have shown that young bilingual children have greater semantic flexibility than their monolingual peers in specific tasks such as object labeling. The findings of various studies differ on whether some cognitive benefits (e.g., metalinguistic awareness) may be temporary rather than permanent, adding to the existing societal ambivalence about whether the effort to maintain or develop bilingual competence is worthwhile. This ambivalence is due in large part to the fact that the researchers have not controlled for the effect of partial bilingualism as opposed to full mastery of both languages. There are indications in the research that fully bilingual and biliterate individuals benefit more from being bilingual than persons who are haphazardly or only partially bilingual. However, even if there is no easy answer to this question, there is no harm in a child being able to communicate with members of his or her family in their first language.

For whom is it most important to develop communicative competence in two languages, and why? Bilingualism develops when people participate in day-to-day activities that require them to use two languages. For example, it may be an asset to be able to address family members in the native language but be able to use the second language when necessary in the broader community. Beyond the linguistic competence aspect of bilingualism, it is also necessary to consider socio-cultural and political aspects. *Bilingualism is more than just speaking two languages.* Specifically when people,

children and adults, become bicultural through diverse socio-cultural experiences, this impacts their level of bilingualism. For bilinguals who live in the linguistic borderlands, whether geographically or ideologically, a primary goal is to develop and maintain their bicultural identity through preserving their customs, values, and ways of speaking among members of their community. Bilinguals who grow up in these borderlands develop a bicultural worldview and identity that governs when, with whom, and where they use each of their languages. From a negative perspective, the bilingual may be viewed as being “caught” between two languages and two cultures, proficient in neither. From a borderlands perspective, in contrast, the bilingual can be viewed as the creator of hybrid spaces where experiences and knowledge in two languages and cultures contribute to his or her abilities to negotiate the social, political and economic environment in which they live.

The languages people speak influence the cultural values they acquire as part of their bilingual world. Each language one learns brings with it a set of values, beliefs, and attitudes that belong to the members of a language community at a given point in time. Among immigrant communities, therefore, language is seen as a symbol and instrument of group identity. Moreover, the relationship between language and group identity varies as a function of the power relations between the different groups in a particular society. Children who attend schools in areas where their language is not valued and validated tend to learn early that the language of school is the one that holds power; as a result they typically become dominant in their second language, since most of their spoken and written instruction occurs in that language. In general, this type of ethnocentric environment leads to a form of subtractive bilingualism where bilingual children and youth feel continual pressure to assimilate by using their native language less and less. Children in such a situation may become either passive first-language bilinguals, able to understand but not use their native language or reluctant monolinguals in the majority language. When one’s native language is devalued (as, for example, with indigenous languages) and speaking the majority language is key to achieving economic and social success in the mainstream society, there is little motivation to retain one’s first language. This is why speakers of low-status languages typically do not resist the pressure to

assimilate linguistically and culturally into the dominant society, which typically leads to rapid loss of bilingualism.

When individuals do succeed in becoming fluent bilinguals, their socio-psycholinguistic competences in the two languages overlap creating a hybrid. One way this hybrid competency manifests itself is when speakers use both languages in the same conversation, a phenomenon known as code-switching. Historically and to some extent even today, critics have described code-switching pejoratively as reflecting an inability to speak either language properly (hence leading to epithets such as Chinglish, Spanglish, or Portuñol [a mixture of Portuguese and Spanish]). Even parents who are raising bilingual children have expressed concern that mixing the two languages may have negative educational consequences. There is no evidence however, that code-switching has negative effects on children's cognitive or linguistic development. Instead, research has identified code-switching and borrowing as instruments that competent bilingual speakers use deliberately as symbols of group identity. They may switch from one language to the other for pragmatic reasons, for example, to subtly convey their attitude toward the topic under discussion. Or, they may engage in code switching purely for fun as is common with teenagers in many cultures.

The experience of becoming bilingual has effects not only at the individual level, but also at the levels of family, community, and society. The circumstances of linguistic and biliteracy acquisition are in many ways unique to each individual child, because he or she is able to draw from two sets of linguistic and cultural resources. In terms of educational policy it is not enough for teachers, educators, and policymakers to consider only the linguistic aspect of bilingualism. A comprehensive understanding of how children become bilingual, how they acquire a second language and how they use each of the two languages in similar or different ways must incorporate knowledge of how social, cultural, and linguistic factors interact and influence their socio-psycholinguistic development. University professors and others who are responsible for preparing bilingual teachers must keep all of this in mind.

- Iliana Reyes

See also: Code-switching; High and low status languages; Highly qualified teachers; Views of bilingual education; Attitudes on language diversity; Language policy in global perspective; Bilingual education in the U.S. as seen from abroad; Metalinguistic awareness; Language and identity; Language maintenance goal denied.

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