Bilingualism

(ENG512)

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Lesson-01

DEFINITIONS AND GUIDING PRINCIPLES OF BILINGUALISM

Topic No. 001-006

Introduction; Definitions of Bilingualism; Issues with Definitions of Bilingualism; Language Behaviour-Functionalist; Language Behaviour Similarities; Language Literacy and Bilingualism Approach

Bilingualism refers to the state of a linguistic community in which two languages are in contact with the result that two codes can be used in the same interaction and that a number of individuals are bilingual (societal bilingualism). It also includes the concept of bilinguality. Bilinguality is the psychological state of an individual who has access to more than one linguistic code as a means of social communication. The degree of access will vary along with a number of dimensions which are psychological, cognitive, psycholinguistic, social psychological, social, sociological, sociolinguistic, sociocultural and linguistic.

Definitions of bilingualism range from a native-like competence in two languages to a minimal proficiency in a second language and raise a number of theoretical and methodological difficulties. Between these two extremes one encounters a whole array of definitions as, for example, the one proposed by Titone (1972) for whom bilingualism is the individual's capacity to speak a second language while following the concepts and structures of that language rather than paraphrasing his or her mother tongue. They lack precision to be operationalized, while they also do not specify what is meant by native-like competence, which varies considerably within a monolingual population. These definitions also refer to a single dimension of bilinguality, namely the level of proficiency in both languages, thus ignoring non-linguistic dimensions. Language, in the first place is a tool which is developed and used to serve a number of functions, both social and psychological, which can be classified in two main categories: communicative functions and cognitive functions. Functions of language are universal but the linguistic forms vary across languages and cultures.

Functionalist Approach

There are at least two levels of language processing: the functional level, where all the meanings and intentions to be expressed are represented; and the formal level, at which all the surface forms used in the language are represented. Function plays a strong causal role in the way particular forms have evolved over time and in the way those forms are used by adults and acquired by children. The linguistic system is only one form of the realization of the more general semiotic system which constitutes the culture. It is good to make a distinction between social functions, cognitive functions and semiotic-linguistic functions.

Although the study of language can be conducted at several levels of analysis, the nature of language behavior like that of other complex human behaviors, remains the same regardless of the level of analysis across the following:

(1) There is a constant interaction between the dynamics of language behavior at the societal level and language behavior at the individual level.

(2) There is a constant and complex mapping process between the form of language behavior and the

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function it is meant to fulfil.

(3) Language behavior is the product of culture and as such it follows the rules of acculturated behavior.

(4) Self-regulation is a characteristic of all higher-order behaviors and therefore of language behavior. By this we mean that a behavior is not a mere response to stimuli but that it takes into account past experiences; furthermore, it does not follow a pattern of trial and error but is an evaluative response calling upon the individual's cognitive and emotional functioning adapted to a given situation.

(5) Finally, one concept central to this dynamic interaction between the societal level and the individual level is valorization. By valorization we mean the attribution of certain positive values to language as a functional tool, which will facilitate the fulfilment of communicative and cognitive functioning at all societal and individual levels.

In addition, when two languages are in contact there can be a state of equilibrium between the two languages in which case the use of both languages is constant and predictable. This equilibrium is not unlike the one existing in ecological systems. Any change of the relation between the two languages, due to a change in form–function mapping or to a change in valorization at any level, will provoke a change in language behavior of individuals.

Language and Literacy

Introducing an individual to the language used in literacy, mainly through the means of learning to read and write, will induce changes in his or her language behavior. For example, processing a written text calls to a greater extent on the use of decontextualized language. When few people were literate, the behavior of individuals was changed with little effect on the social structures. As more and more people become literate, linguistic forms are mapped onto new cognitive functions; when a critical mass is reached, a need for new social institutions such as schools (form) are created. In turn, these institutions serve the function of literacy; as the need to fulfill this function continues to grow, new norms, which evolve into a recognized fundamental right for education (form), are created. This, in turn, shapes individual behavior: when schooling becomes compulsory, all individuals in a given society are expected to master reading and writing, thus shaping their own individual behavior.

The two-level mapping between function and linguistic form is based on the assumption that linguistic forms are developed to express meanings and communicative intentions. As language develops, form–function mapping is not necessarily a one-to-one correlation: a single form can be mapped onto different functions, e.g. *it's cold in here* might have a referential function, meaning *the temperature is low*, or an instrumental-regulatory function meaning *turn on the radiator*. Conversely a single function may be served by several linguistic forms: an order can be expressed by an imperative, an interrogative, etc.

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Lesson-02

FORMS OF LANGUAGE AND CHANGE

Topic No 007-011

Language Change; Self-Regulation of Individual Behaviour; Language Change in Society; Development Aspects of Language Behaviour

Language Change

Language is never static but changes over time. Pidginsation is an example in this regard which is developed for the purpose of minimal communication between individuals/ groups speaking mutually unintelligible vernaculars. In the pidginisation process, limited and simplified linguistic forms are developed. As the need for communication or function increases in the society, new forms are created by the speakers. Gradually these new forms serve extended functions until pidgin evolves into a creole (form) as it becomes the mother tongue of the next generation, and thereby serves new functions. The forms of language undergo constant changes due to social changes, emergence of new technologies and contact with other languages. New forms apply to old functions, as when a new expression is used by teenagers; in the same way old forms apply to new functions, as for example; the English word *save* in using a computer; or new forms can be developed for new functions (e.g. new terminology).

Self-regulation

At the individual level, higher-order behavior is self-regulated. The individual takes into account the feedback mechanisms and readjusts behavior, similar mechanisms occur also at a collective level, for example, in the process of pidginisation.

Language Valorization

Certain functions are valorized more than others, e.g. the cognitive function in school. If different varieties of language, e.g. accents, are present in the society, one variety may be valued to the detriment of others. A similar situation happens in the case of multilingual societies. One or more languages will be highly valued, while others will be devalorized. At the individual level a similar mechanism operates. To the extent that the adults around the child value the use of language for certain functions. The extreme importance of valorization is evidenced at all societal and individual levels. At the societal level, if a minority language is not valorized and used as a tool for education, language attrition and language shift are likely to occur. At individual level, the positive valorization of a language will trigger off a motivational process for learning and using those aspects of language.

To sum up language behavior, we will focus on different societal and individual levels: societal (institutions, groups and social classes), social networks and interpersonal relations, individual (developmental, socio-affective, cognitive and neuropsychological processes as well as language behavior). At each of these levels, language behavior is dynamic: there are constant interactions amongst the determining factors within and between the different levels.

Development Aspects of Language Behaviour

Modeling of language behavior has been developed more at individual level than at societal level.

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Generally these models are rooted in a larger framework of psychological theorizing. According to Pinker (1996), a comprehensive theory of language acquisition must consider the following aspects: the state of the child at the onset of acquisition; the linguistic input and its context; the mental algorithms that turn this input into knowledge about the language; the end state of the process, i.e. a grammatically competent speaker, and the evolution of the process, i.e. what children understand and produce during the acquisition process. Linguistic and psychological approaches to language acquisition differ in the emphasis they put on to and the relative importance they attribute to each of these aspects.

In our functional approach, we consider that language development is rooted in the social interactions with the significant others; furthermore it has an important social- psychological component and an equally important cognitive component. Functions that language will later serve are developed before the child acquires the linguistic forms. According to Bruner (1975a), before developing language the child learns some communicative functions through cooperative actions, which are arrived at through joint attention with the adults who are interacting with the child. The child is initially equipped with 'a set of predispositions to construe the social world and to act upon our construal (Bruner,1990). Through interactions with other she will develop a pre-linguistic readiness for meaning, i.e. context sensitivity and a sense of functions before linguistic forms are accessed.

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Lesson-03

COLLECTIVE ASPECTS OF LANGUAGE BEHAVIOR

Topic No. 012-016

Language-Collective Aspects: Monolingual Situation; Bilingual Situation; Assumption; Social and Psychological Realities

Monolingual Situation

Even in monolingual situation, in addition to its communicative and cognitive functions, language has a social function. By this we mean that any utterance carries a social meaning in that, it reflects the position of its speaker in the power relations in the society which confers a particular social value to this utterance. It can be said that the whole social structure is present in every language interaction and that every interaction is mapped onto the social structure. Languages and varieties of language (accents, dialects, sociolects, and codes) have a recognized value on the linguistic market (Bourdieu, 1982) and can be placed on a hierarchical scale. Variations in discourse (i.e. in language behavior) are a result of the interplay between the objective dynamic forces of the market and the way in which the individual perceives, evaluates and responds to these forces.

Different language varieties and their values are learned in particular markets. The structures of social networks influence the individual's language behaviour and group solidarity can lead to the maintenance of local, non-standard norms, and resistance to linguistic change; whereas a loose and simplex network can lead to change in language (Milroy, 1980).

Bilingual Situation

When two or more languages are in contact, their relative functional use and relative valorization is very important. A state of functional equilibrium may also exist. In the case of diglossia, different use of each language is determined at the societal level. In that case we have a predictable form—function mapping. However, if the equilibrium is disrupted at one level, it will disrupt the equilibrium at all other levels. A change in the relative use of the two languages in the social networks, e.g. when the individual has a new network because of a job change, will inevitably provoke a change in the language behaviour of the individual. A change in the use of two languages at the societal level, for example, introducing a compulsory language of schooling, will bring about a change in the use of language in the social network, hence in the interpersonal interactions and the language behaviour of the individual. When enough individuals start changing their language behaviour (e.g. using French instead of English), this will in turn modify language use.

Language shift is defined as the change from the use of one language to the use of another language across generations; language attrition is a shift occurring within one individual. In both cases, it refers to the loss of functions, forms and language skills. The shift is complete when parents of one generation cease to transmit their language to their children and when the latter are no longer motivated to acquire an active competence in that language. Language behaviour is based on the following five principles:

(1) There is a constant interaction between the societal and the individual dynamics of language.

(2) There are complex mapping processes between the form of language behaviour and the functions it serves.

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(3) There is a reciprocal interaction between culture and language.

(4) Self-regulation characterizes all higher-order behaviours, and therefore language.

(5) Valorization is central to these dynamic interactions.

Social and psychological realities are simultaneous: any person is at one and the same time an individual, a member of social networks and groups and part of the wider society. The multidimensional nature of bilingualism, calls upon an array of disciplines ranging from neuropsychology to developmental psychology, experimental psychology, cognitive psychology, psycholinguistics, social psychology, sociolinguistics, sociology, the sociology of language, anthropology, ethnography, political and economic sciences, education and, of course, linguistics.

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Lesson-04

DIMENSIONS AND MEASURMENT OF BILINGUALITY

Topic No. 017-023

Introduction; Relative Competence; Cognitive Organization; Age of Acquisition; Exogeneity; Social Status; Cultural Identity

Bilinguality is a psychological state of an individual who has access to more than one linguistic code as a means of social communication. This access is multidimensional as it varies along a number of psychological and sociological dimensions. Some dimensions of relevance are:

(1) Relative competence: competence in both languages as either

(a) Balanced bilinguality: equal proficiency in both languages

(b) Dominant bilinguality: higher proficiency in one language

(2) Cognitive organization: compound bilinguality vs. coordinate bilinguality

(3) Age of acquisition: childhood (before the age of 11); adolescence (11-17 yrs), adult (after 17 yrs) acquisition and simultaneous vs consecutive bilinguality

(4) Exogeneity:

(a) Endogenous bilinguality: presence of both languages in the community environment

(b) Exogenous bilinguality: absence of the second language in the community

(5) Social cultural status: This includes either of the following:

(a) Additive bilinguality: (both languages encouraged equally give socially valorized cognitive advantage

(b) Subtractive bilingualism: (one language encouraged at the expense of the other, leading to cognitive disadvantage).

(6) Cultural identity:

a) Bicultural bilinguality: double membership and bicultural identity

(b) Monocultural bilinguality: L membership and cultural identity

(c) Acculturated bilinguality: L membership and cultural identity

(d) Deculturated bilinguality: ambiguous membership and anomic identity

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Lesson-05

SOCIETAL BILINGUALISM

Topic No. 024-026

Introduction; Dimensions of Bilingualism; Bilingualism-Typical Cases; Monolingual Bilingualism; Measurement of Billingualism

It is inevitable perhaps that an enormous amount of 'language contact' takes place when we speak of 'language contact'; we are therefore talking about people speaking different languages coming into contact.

Dimensions of Societal Bilingualism

Sociolinguists have shown how monolingual behaviour varies according to a number of parameters such as, e.g. role relation, relative status of speakers and languages, topics, domains, etc. which apply to language-contact situations and that the state of bilinguality interacts with these.

The bilingual community is either composed of two groups speaking two different languages as their mother tongue along with a small number of bilinguals speaking both languages, or a small number of both groups speaking a third common language, used as a lingua franca; or, as in the case of an exogenous language, some members of the community speak a second language that has no or few native speakers in the community. Any of these languages may be an official language of the community. Every bilingual community is situated between the two poles of a continuum, ranging from a set made up of two unilingual groups each containing a small number of bilinguals to a single group with a more or less large number of members using a second language for specific purposes.

Territorial bilingualism is a situation in which each group finds itself mostly within its own politically defined territory with the two (or more) languages having official status in their own territory; the official status of the other national language(s) varies considerably from country to country. Examples of territorial bilingualism include Belgium, Canada and India.

Another case of bilingual communities can be found in multilingual countries of Africa and Asia where, besides the native languages of indigenous ethnic groups or nations, one or more languages of wider communication exist cutting across these groups and nations' native to none or few of them. It can both be an exogenous language, normally inherited from a colonial past or a local language.

Finally, a bilingual community can be described as diglossic, that is, two languages are spoken by a variable section of the population, but they are used in a complementary way in the community, one language or variety having a higher status than the other and being reserved for certain functions and domains.

Monolinguality is more commonly found in economically dominant groups whereas the members of minority or subordinate groups tend to be bilingual or multilingual. Minority does not necessarily imply numerical inferiority, but refers rather to a subordinate status in the community. However, a subordinate group can use its numerical superiority to impose its own language norms through language-planning legislation which aims at ending the subordinate status of that group. Groups may speak to each other in their respective languages; or may understand it but not speak it.

The various dimensions of bilinguality and bilingualism bring out the multidimensional nature of these

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phenomena. Bilingualism must be approached as a complex phenomenon which simultaneously implies a state of bilinguality of individuals and a state of languages in contact at the collective level. Therefore, this phenomenon should be studied at several levels of analysis: individual, interpersonal, intergroup and societal. Several disciplines involved in the study of bilingualism have developed different methodologies; they all share the problem of operationalizing and measuring the concepts they make use of.

Measurement of Bilinguality

Comparative measures: The most frequently used technique for measuring the various dimensions of bilinguality consists in taking measures in each of the bilingual's two languages and comparing them. However, a direct comparison between measures in two languages is extremely difficult even when it is possible because we need a clear definition of what a native speaker's competence in that language is, which is very difficult to operationalize.

Monolingual Competence

At times monolingual competences of a bilingual speaker are compared with monolingual standards in each language. This comparative approach is the only valid one when bilinguality is measured on the 'additive— subtractive' dimension. Here a comparison is made between cognitive measures obtained for bilinguals and monolinguals.

Measures of Compound—Coordinate Bilinguality

The distinction between the compound and coordinate bilingual is one of semantic representations; it implies that for the coordinate bilingual, there is a greater semantic independence between his two linguistic codes, while for the compound there is greater semantic interdependence between the two codes. How can the degree of semantic independence and interdependence be measured? This is through language biographies, self-evaluation and judgments of bilingual production.

Measures of Bilingual Specificity

Translation and verbal flexibility are only measures in which the bilingual's behaviour is viewed as the sum of two monolingual behaviours. A bilingual also develops patterns of behaviour that are unique to his state of bilinguality (Grosjean, 1985a). For example, when bilinguals communicate with each other they can make simultaneous use of the resources of each of their languages, for example by borrowing words from one language while using the other (loan words) or by developing mixed or switched codes which are governed by their own specific rules. There is an attempt to correlate the degree of balance of bilinguals with a high level of competence in rule-governed code-switching.

Measures of Cognitive Correlates of Bilinguality

A considerable amount of empirical evidence suggests that a correlation between the development of bilinguality and cognition exists. The results of these studies are apparently contradictory insofar as they show either a cognitive advantage or a cognitive disadvantage of bilingual development as compared to monolingual development because the concepts of cognitive advantage and disadvantage are defined by reference to monolinguals.

Measures of Affective Correlates of Bilinguality

There is always a cognitive and an affective aspect to development. The affective component of bilingual development has to do with the relationships between the bilingual individual and his two languages. Since

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language is a social phenomenon, all affective reactions towards it are not limited to the language but applies also to the individuals and groups who speak that language.

Measurement of Bilinguality in Cultural Minorities

The measures of bilinguality previously mentioned are not applicable to all situations of languages in contact; and in particular, there are difficulties when we try to use them in a cultural-minority situation. This is especially critical in the case of the education of cultural-minority children because they follow curricula in the language of the majority, which is usually their weaker language Cummins (1984a), psychometric tests of academic language proficiency are not appropriate for the assessment of minority children because these children have not reached the level of development required for these tests.

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Lesson-06

LANGUAGES IN CONTACT

Topic No. 027-033

Languages in Contact Introduction; Reasons for Language Contact; What's in a Language; Who is a Bilingual; Language and Dialect

Language contact situations arise when speakers of different languages are put in a position that they need to interact with each other. There are several reasons for language contact. These reasons can be individual and voluntary, structural and non-voluntary i.e. where there is little individual choice for language use. For example, in a migrant situation, where everyone has to use the dominant language of the host country, other key factors resulting in language are political factors (for example, new language laws or colonialism, globalization, war or invasion); resettlement of people; religious affiliation; oppression, culture and identity negotiation, economy, education and technology and immigration.

Who is a bilingual?

The discussion revolves around how much proficiency in two languages is required by an individual to be labeled as a bilingual. A bilingual may be balanced where there is equal proficiency in both languages but this is a rare phenomenon. More often than not individuals have unequal proficiency in different languages across different skills. Usually this individual proficiency is in harmony with different functions associated with different languages.

Any construct of bilingualism incorporates within it a concept of language. This is again problematic because language definitions are also contested. Language is simultaneously, a linguistic, cognitive and social phenomenon. The linguistic phenomenon is evident in its structure and its composition of form, the cognitive aspect is related to the mental processes involved in language knowledge, while the social dimension is related to issues of power (for example, the difference between language and variety) in society.

The differences between dialect and languages are made on the basis of size. Language is believed to be a larger repertoire of linguistic items and subsuming dialects. The difference between a dialect and language is also explained in terms of their mutual intelligibility i.e. where two languages may not be mutually understood by speakers, the dialect of a language might be mutually understood. Lastly, a language holds more prestige than a dialect. However, these distinctions are not inherent qualities of a language or a dialect. Dialects may undergo a deliberate process of standardization that expands its vocabulary and its functions to give it a status of language. Language formation is a result of a deliberate decision-making. Several dialects are not mutually intelligible while some languages are mutually intelligible but still considered languages. The example, Urdu and Hindi can be cited here. Hence, the difference between the dialect and language is related to the power and status of its speakers.

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Lesson-07

SOCIOPOLITICS OF BILINGUALISM

Topic No. 034-037

Introduction- Sociopolitics of Bilingualism; Languages in Multilingual Contexts; Multilingualism as Resource; Language Planning in Multilingual Contexts

At a societal level, whole groups of people and, in fact, the language or languages they use can identify entire nations. Language, together with culture, religion and history, becomes a major component of national identity. Researchers of bilingualism generally agree that language choice is an 'orderly' social behaviour, rather than a random matter of momentary inclination. For the multilingual speaker, language choice is not only an effective means of communication but also an act of identity. Every time we say something in one language when we might just as easily have said it in another, we are reconnecting with people, situations and power configurations from our history of past interactions and imprinting on that history our attitudes towards the people and languages concerned.

Diglossia not only defines a concept but also develops an approach to bilingualism which has been extremely influential. It originates from the fact that the co-existing languages of a community are likely to have different functions and to be used in different contexts. A distinction is made between High (H) and Low (L) language varieties and Ferguson noted nine areas in which H and L could differ.

According to Fishman, relative stability can be maintained as long as societal compartmentalization of language lasts. When two languages compete for use in the same situations, as in the case of bilingualism without diglossia, language shift, a process in which a speech community collectively gives up a language in favour of some other, may occur.

Language as a Resource

Multilingual countries are often thought to have certain problems which monolingual states do not. On the practical level, difficulties in communication are one. It should be pointed out that there is no scientific evidence to show that multilingual countries are particularly disadvantaged, in socio economic terms, compared to monolingual ones. Although, it might be true that linguistic uniformity and economic development reinforce each other; in other words, economic wellbeing promotes the reduction of linguistic diversity.

Multilingualism is an important resource at both the societal and personal levels. For a linguistically diverse country to maintain the ethnic-group languages alongside the national or official language(s) can prove to be an effective way to motivate individuals while unifying the nation. Additionally, a multiethnic society is arguably a richer, more exciting and stimulating place to live in than a community with only one dominant ethnic group. For the multilingual speaker, the availability of various languages in the community repertoire serves as a useful interactional resource.

Typically, multilingual societies tend to assign different roles to different languages; one language may be used in informal contexts with family and friends, while another for the more formal situations of work, education and government. The favoured languages tend to be those that are both international and particularly valuable in multilingualism, as a national and personal resource requires careful planning.

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Language Planning

Multilingualism is a problem for government. The process of governing requires communication both within the governing institutions and between the government and the people. This means that a language, or languages, must be selected as the language for use in governing. However, the selection of the 'official language' is not always easy, as it is not simply a pragmatic issue. For example, old colonial language as official language though pragmatic will not, however, is a good choice on nationalist grounds. In many other multilingual countries which do not have a colonial past, such as China, deciding which language should be selected as the national language can sometimes lead to internal and ethnic conflicts.

Similarly, selecting a language for education in a multilingual country is often problematic. In some respects, the best strategy for language in education is to use various ethnic languages. After all, these are the languages the children already speak, and school instruction can begin immediately without waiting until the children learn the official language. Some would argue, however, that access to standard language is more important.

Language planning is not simply a matter of standardizing or modernizing a corpus of linguistic materials, nor is it a reassignment of functions and status. It is also about power and influence. The dominance of some languages and the dominated status of other languages are partly understandable if we examine who are in positions of power and influence, who belong to elite groups that are in control of decision-making, and who are in subordinate groups, upon whom decisions are implemented. It is more often than not the case that a given arrangement of languages benefits only those who have influence and privilege.

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Lesson-08

WHAT DOES IT MEAN TO BE A BILINGUAL?

Topic No 038-043

Functioning as a Bilingual; Mental Representation of Languages; Functioning in Both Languages; Changing Attitudes; Semilingualism; Stigmatization and Language Rights

A frequently asked question is whether a bilingual speaker's brain functions differently from that of a monolingual's brain. Quantitative analyses of the existing data often show that differences between them are the exceptions rather than the rule. Bilinguals do not seem to vary from monolinguals in neurological processes; the lateralization of language in the brains of the two groups of speakers is also similar.

A related issue concerns the mental representation of a bilingual's two languages and the processing emanating from such representation. Evidence exists for both separate storage and shared storage of the two languages in the bilingual's brain, resulting in the suggestion that bilinguals have a language store for each of their two languages and a more general conceptual store. There are strong, direct interconnecting channels between each of these three separate stores. The interconnections between the two languages comprise association and translation systems, and common images in the conceptual store act as mediators.

Speakers of different proficiency levels or at different acquisitional stages vary in strength and directness of the interconnections between the separate stores in language processing; for instance, those who are highly proficient in two languages may go directly from a concept to the target language, while those whose second language is weaker than their first tend to use the first language to mediate.

Although the more general definitions of bilingualism would include people who understand a second language in either spoken or written form or both but do not necessarily speak or write it, a more common usage of the term refers to someone who can function in both languages in conversational interaction. Bilingual speakers choose to use their different languages depending on a variety of factors, including the type of person addressed and different situations and contexts.

Code Switching

There is a widespread impression that bilingual speakers code-switch because they cannot express themselves adequately in one language. This may be true to some extent when a bilingual is momentarily lost for words in one of his or her languages. However, code-switching is an extremely common practice among bilinguals and takes many forms. It has been demonstrated that code-switching involves skilled manipulation of overlapping sections of two (or more) grammars. Some suggest that code-switching is itself a discrete mode of speaking, emanating from a single code-switching grammar.

One important aspect of the code-switching grammar is that the two languages involved do not play the same role in sentence making. Typically one language sets the grammatical framework, with the other providing certain items to fit into the framework. Code-switching; therefore, is not a simple combination of two sets of grammatical rules but grammatical integration of one language in another.

The possible existence of a code-switching grammar calls into question the traditional view of the bilingual as two monolinguals in one person. One consequence of the 'two-in-one' perspective is that bilingual

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speakers are often compared to monolinguals in terms of their language proficiency. For example, some researchers have suggested that bilingual children had smaller vocabularies and less developed grammars than their monolingual peers, while their ability to exploit the similarities and differences in two sets of grammatical rules to accomplish rule-governed code-switching was not considered relevant.

In some experimental psycholinguistic studies, tests are given without taking into account that bilingual speakers may have learnt their two languages under different conditions for different purposes, and they only use them in different situations. It is important to emphasize that bilingual speakers have a unique linguistic and psychological profile; their two languages are constantly in different states of activation; they are able to call upon their linguistic knowledge and resources according to the context and adapt their behaviour.

In addition to the social use of code-switching, some bilinguals regularly change their speech production from one language to another in their professional life. Interpreters and translators, for example, switch between languages as a routine part of their job. Often we think of professional interpreters and translators as special people with highly developed language skills in each of their languages. In fact, even they are rarely perfectly balanced in two languages. They are trained to translate from the 'passive' to the 'active' language. They are also trained to think rapidly of appropriate wording of ideas and produce words from a restricted area of meaning.

Another group of bilinguals engage themselves in cross-modality language production. This is the case with speech-sign bilinguals who, in addition to the oral modality, use the manual-visual modality in everyday communication. They are special in one aspect, i.e. the two different modalities allow for the simultaneous production of the two languages. In other words, one can speak and sign at the same time.

Attitudes

From the early nineteenth century to about the 1960s, there was a widespread belief that bilingualism has a detrimental effect on a human being's intellectual and spiritual growth. The early research on bilingualism and cognition tended to confirm this negative viewpoint, finding that monolinguals were superior to bilinguals on intelligence tests. However, serious issues regarding these discredit the evidence.

Semilingualism

A bilingual who could not acquire full competence in any of the languages were termed as 'semilinguals'. They were believed to have linguistic deficits in six areas of language (see Hansegard, 1975; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981):

1. Size of vocabulary
2. Correctness of language
3. Unconscious processing of language
4. Language creation
5. Mastery of the functions of language
6. Meanings and imagery

It is significant that the term 'semilingualism' emerged in connection with the study of language skills of people belonging to ethnic minority groups. Research which provided evidence in support of the notion of 'semilingualism' was conducted in Scandinavia and North America and was concerned with accounting for the educational outcomes of submersion programs where minority children were taught through the medium of the majority language. However, these studies, like the ones conducted also had

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serious methodological flaws and the conclusions reached by the researchers were misguided.

• First language may be specific to a context; a person may be competent in some contexts but not in others.

• Second, bilingual children are still in the process of developing their languages. It is unfair to compare them to some idealized adults.

• Third, the comparison with monolinguals is also unfair.

• Fourth, if languages are relatively underdeveloped, the origins may not be in bilingualism per se, but in the economic, political and social conditions that evoke under-development.

Unfortunately, although switching and mixing of languages occur in practically all bilingual communities and all bilingual speakers' speech, it is stigmatized as an illegitimate mode of communication, even sometimes by the bilingual speakers themselves.

Language Rights

Attitudes do not, of course, remain constant over time. At a personal level, changes in attitudes may occur when there is some personal reward involved. Speakers of minority languages will be more motivated to maintain and use their languages if they prove to be useful in increasing their employability or social mobility. In some cases, certain jobs are reserved for bilingual speakers only. At the societal level, attitudes towards bilingualism change when the political ideology changes.

Since the 1960s, there has been a political movement, particularly in the US, advocating language rights. In the US, questions about language rights are widely discussed, not only in college classrooms and language communities but also in government and federal legislatures. The legal battles concerned not just minority language vs. majority language contests, but also children vs. schools, parents vs. school boards, state vs. the federal authorities, etc.

The kind of rights, apart from language rights, that minority groups may claim include: protection, membership of their ethnic group and separate existence, non-discrimination and equal treatment, education and information in their ethnic language, freedom to worship, freedom of belief, freedom of movement, employment, peaceful assembly and association, political representation and involvement, and administrative autonomy.

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Lesson-09

ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF BILINGUALISM

Topic No. 044-048

Advantages and Disadvantages of Bilingualism; Communicative Advantages; Cultural Advantage; Cognitive Advantage; Disadvantages of Bilingualism

Communicative Advantages

1. Relationships with parents and extended family: Where parents have differing first languages, the advantage of children becoming bilingual is that they will be able to communicate in each parent's preferred language. Being a bilingual allows someone to bridge the generations.

2. Community relationships: Bilingual has a chance to communicate with a wider variety of people than a monolingual.

3. Transnational communication: One barrier between nations and ethnic groups tends to be language and bilinguals can bridge that.

4.Language sensitivity: Being able to move between two languages may lead to more sensitivity in communication because bilinguals are constantly monitoring which language to use in different situations, they may be more tuned to the communicative needs of those with whom they talk.

Cultural Advantages

Another advantage of being a bilingual is having two or more worlds of experience. Bilingualism provides the opportunity to experience two or more cultures. The monolingual may experience a variety of cultures; for example, from different neighbours and communities that are using the same language but have different ways of life. The monolinguals can travel to neighbouring countries and experience other cultures as a passive on looker. However, to penetrate different cultures requires the language of that culture. To participate and become involved in the core of a culture requires knowledge of the language of that culture.

Economic Advantages

There are also potential economic advantages to being bilingual. A person with two languages may have a wider portfolio of jobs available. As economic trade barriers fall, as international relationships become closer, as unions and partnerships across nations become more widespread, an increasing number of jobs are likely to require be a person to be bilingual or multilingual.

Cognitive Advantages

More recent research has shown that bilinguals may have some advantages in thinking, ranging from creative thinking to faster progress in early cognitive development and greater sensitivity in communication. For example, bilinguals may have two or more words for each object and idea; sometimes corresponding words in different languages have different connotations.

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Disadvantages

Some problems, both social and individual, may be falsely attributed to bilingualism. For instance, when bilingual children exhibit language or personality problems, bilingualism is sometimes blamed. Problems of social unrest may unfairly be attributed to the presence of two or more languages in a community. However, the real possible disadvantages of bilingualism tend to be temporary. Some bilingual children may find it difficult to cope with the school curriculum in either language for a short period of time. However, these are challenges that bilingual people have to face. The individual, cognitive, social, cultural, intellectual and economic advantages, bilingualism brings to a person make all the efforts worthwhile.

A more complex problem associated with bilingualism is the question of identity of a bilingual. However, it has to be said that for many bilingual people, identity is not a problem. While speaking two languages, they are resolutely identified with one ethnic or cultural group. Some immigrants, for instance, desperately want to lose the identity of their native country and become assimilated and identified with the new home country, while some others want to develop a new identity and feel more comfortable with being culturally hyphenated.

Bilingualism is not a static and unitary phenomenon. It is shaped in different ways, and it changes depending on a variety of historical, cultural, political, economic, environmental, linguistic, psychological and other factors. People's attitudes towards bilingualism will also change as the society progresses and as our understanding of bilingual speakers' knowledge and skills grows. However, one thing is certain: more and more people in the world will become bilinguals.

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Lesson-10

BILINGUALISM: FOUR ESSENTIAL CHARACTERISTICS

Topic No. 049-055

Describing Bilingualism; Degree; External Functions; Variations in Language Contact; Internal Functions; Alternation; Interference

Bilingualism is a relative concept, which involves the question of degree; function; alternation and interference.

Degree

The first and most obvious thing to do in describing a person's bilingualism is to determine how bilingual he is for the bilingual may not have an equal mastery of all four basic skills in both languages. It is necessary to test each of these skills separately if we are to get a picture of the extent of his bilingualism. If, however, we are only interested in determining his bilingualism rather than in describing it, other forms of tests are possible. The bilingual's mastery of a skill, however, may not be the same at all linguistic levels. Finally, a bilingual's familiarity with the stylistic range of each language is very likely to vary with the subject of discourse. To get an accurate description of the degree of bilingualism, different types and models of language tests have now been developed.

Functions: The degree of proficiency in each language depends on its function, that is, on the uses to which the bilingual puts the language and the conditions under which he has used it. These may be external or internal.

External Functions

The external functions of bilingualism are determined by the number of areas of contact and by the variation of each in duration, frequency, and pressure. The areas of contact include all media through which the languages were acquired and used. The amount of influence of each of these on the language habits of the bilingual depends on the duration, frequency, and pressure of the contact. These may apply to two types of activities: either comprehension or expression as well.

Contacts

The bilingual's language contacts may be with the languages used in the home, community, school, mass media and correspondence.

Variation in Contacts

Contacts with each of the above are as may vary in duration, frequency, and pressure. They may also vary in the use of each language for comprehension(C) only, or for both comprehension and expression (E).

Duration: The amount of influence of any area of contact on the bilingualism of the individual depends on the duration of the contact. A 40 years old bilingual who has spent all his life in a foreign neighborhood is likely to know the language better than one who has been there for only a few years.

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Frequency: The duration of contact is not significant, however, unless we know its frequency. Frequency for the spoken language may be measured in average contact-hours per week or month; for the written language it may be measured in average number of words.

Pressure: In each of the areas of contact, there may be a number of pressures which influence the bilinguals in the use of one language rather than the other. These may be economic, administrative, cultural, political, military, historical, religious, or demographic.

1. *Economic:* For speakers of a minority language in an ethnic community, the knowledge of the majority language may be an economic necessity.
2. *Administrative:* Administrative workers in some areas are required to master a second language.
3. *Cultural:* In some countries, it may be essential, for cultural reasons, for any educated person to be fluent in one or more foreign languages.
4. *Political:* The use of certain languages may be maintained by the pressure of political circumstances.
5. *Military:* A bilingual who enters the armed forces of his country may be placed in situations which require him to hear or speak his second language more often than he otherwise would.
6. *Historical:* The languages a bilingual learns and the extent to which he must learn them may have been determined by past historical events. If the language of a minority has been protected by treaty, it may mean that the minority can require its children to be educated in their own language.
7. *Religious:* A bilingual may become fluent in a language for purely religious reasons. A person entering a religious order may have to learn Latin, Greek, Coptic, Sanskrit, and Arabic.
8. *Demographic:* The number of persons with whom the bilingual has the likelihood of coming into contact.

Internal Functions

Bilingualism is not only related to external factors; it is also connected with internal ones. These include non-communicative uses, like internal speech, and the expression of intrinsic aptitudes, which influence the bilingual's ability to resist or profit by the situations with which he comes in contact.

Uses: A person's bilingualism is reflected in the internal uses of each of his languages. Some bilinguals may use one and the same language for all sorts of inner expressions. This language has often been identified as the dominant language of the bilingual. Other uses include, diary writing, counting, praying etc.

Aptitude: In describing bilingualism, it is important to determine all those factors which are likely to influence the bilingual's aptitude in the use of his/her languages or which in turn may be influenced by it. These may be listed as follows:

1. **Sex**: If sex is a factor in language development, as past research into the issue seems to indicate, it is also a factor in bilingualism (seePealandLambert,1962).

2**. Age:** Persons who become bilingual in childhood may have characteristics of proficiency and usage different from those who become bilingual as adults. It does, however, show a great deal of forgetting on the part of the child. Indeed, the child's reputed ability to remember is matched by his ability to forget. For him, to be a bilingual may simply mean a transition period from one native language to another.

3. **Intelligence:** Although it seems safe to include intelligence as a factor in bilingualism, we have as yet been unable to discover its relative importance. Experimental research in to the problem has mostly been limited to selected samples of persons of the same intellectual level.

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4**. Memory:** If memory is a fact or in imitation, it is also a factor in bilingualism; for the auditory memory span for sounds immediately after hearing them is related to the ability to learn languages.

5. Attitude: The attitude of a bilingual towards his languages and towards the people who speak them will influence his behavior within different areas of contact in which each language is used. The attitude of the speaker may be regarded as an important factor in the description of his bilingualism.

6. Motivation: It seems obvious that the motivation for acquiring the first language is more compelling than the motivation for learning a second. For once the vital purposes of communication have been achieved, the reasons for repeating the effort in another language are less urgent. In the case of simultaneous childhood bilingualism, however, the need for learning both languages may be made equally compelling. This may not be so for the person who becomes bilingual as an adult.

Alternation

Bilingualism also relates to the degree to which the bilingual and his hearers have mastered both languages determine the amount of alternation which takes place from one language to the other. This in turn depends on his fluency in each language and on its external and internal functions. Then we need to know under what conditions does alternation from one language to another take place? What are the factors involved? The three main factors seem to be topic, person, and tension. Rate and proportion of alternation may vary greatly in the same individual according to the topic about which he is speaking, the person he is speaking to, and the tension of the situation in which he speaks.

Interference

The characteristics of degree, function, and alternation determine the interference of one language with another in the speech of bilinguals. Interference is the use of features belonging to one language while speaking or writing another. The description of interference must be distinguished from the analysis of language borrowing. The former is a feature of "parole"; the latter of "langue." The one is individual and contingent; the other is collective and systematic. In contradistinction to the consistency in use of borrowed features in the speech of the community is the vacillation in the use of foreign features by its bilingual individuals. In the speech of bilingual; interference is not the same at all times and under all circumstances. The interference may vary with the medium, the style, the register, and the context which the bilingual happens to be using. Interference also varies with the style of discourse used, e.g., descriptive, narrative, conversational, etc. The type and amount of interference noted in the recounting of an anecdote may differ considerably from that noted in the give-and- take of everyday conversation. Interference may also vary according to the social role of the speaker in any given case. This is what the Edinburgh School has called register. Within each register, there are a number of possible contexts, each of which may affect the type and amount of interference depending on the context and the interlocutor. In each of these contexts, the interference may vary from situation to situation. In the last analysis, interference varies from text to text. It is the text; therefore, within a context or situation used at a specific register in a certain style and medium of a given dialect, that is the appropriate sample for the description of interference.

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Le**sson-11**

WHO SPEAKS TO WHOM AND WHICH LANGUAGE?

Topic No. 056-060

Who Speaks to Whom?; And Which Language?; Habitual Language Choice; Habitual Language Choice and Group; Language Choice and Situation; Language Choice and Topic

How can language choice-patterns be described? The basic conceptual problem in this connection is to provide for the variety of patterns that exist in stable form within a group's multi-lingual settings throughout the world in such a way as to attain factual accuracy. Some of the controlling regulatory factors in language choice are as follows:

(a) Group membership: This factor must be viewed not only in a purportedly objective sense, i.e., in terms of physiological, sociological criteria (e.g., age, sex, race, religion, etc.), but also, and primarily, in the subjective socio-psychological sense of reference group membership.

The very existence of certain reference groups seems to depend largely on location, setting or other environmental factors rather than on group consciousness or group-experience as such. It also seems unnecessarily difficult to analyze language choice within large, complex, literate societies in terms of the enormous repertoire of shifting reference groups which these provide. Thus, while we may admit that the concept of reference group membership enables us to recognize some invariables of habitual language choice in stable multilingual settings it does so only at a considerable risk, while leaving many exceptional cases in the dark.

(b)The regulatory factor of situation: This term has been used to designate a large (and, at times, confusing) variety of considerations. Indeed, it has been used to designate various separate considerations as well as theirco-occurrence. Each of these aspects of "situation" may shed light on certain regularities in language choice on particular social occasions. However, the possible co-occurrence of so many variables must also make it exceedingly difficult to use the concept "situation," for analytic purposes.

We can therefore, limit our use of this term to considerations of "style" alone, and attempt to cope with the other itemized features in other ways and in their own right. Situational styles pertain to considerations of intimacy-distance, formality-informality, solidarity—non-solidarity, status (or power) equality-inequality, etc. Thus, certain styles within every language (and, in multilingual settings, certain languages in contrast to others) are considered by particular interlocutors to be indicators of greater intimacy, informality, equality, etc.

Not only do multilinguals frequently consider one of their languages more dialectal, more regional, more sub-standard, more vernacular-like, more argot-like than the others, but, in addition, they more frequently associate one of their languages with informality, equality, solidarity than the other. As a result, one is more likely to be reserved for certain situations than the other. Thus, neither reference group membership nor situational style, alone or in concert, fully explain(s) the variations that can be noted in habitual language choice in multilingual settings or the organization of any particular multilingual setting.

(c) Topic: Even when reference group and situation agree in requiring a particular language, it is not uncommon to find that topic succeeds in bringing another language to the fore. The implication of topical regulation of language choice is that certain topics are somehow handled better in one language than in

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another in particular multilingual contexts. Thus, some multilingual speakers may "acquire the habit" of speaking about topic x in language X partially because that is the language in which they were trained to deal with this topic.

Topics tell us little about either the process or the structure of social behaviour. However, they usually exhibit patterns which follow those of the major spheres of activity in the society under consideration. We may be able to discover the latter if we enquire why a significant number of people in a particular multilingual setting at a particular time have received certain kind of training in one language rather than in another. Thus, while topic is doubtlessly a crucial consideration in understanding language choice variance, we must seek a means of examining and relating individual, momentary choices to relatively stable patterns of choice that exist in their multilingual setting as a whole.

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Lesson-12

DOMAINS OF LANGUAGE BEHAVIOR

Topic No. 061-065

Introduction; Institutional Contexts; Contexts-Micro Social Dynamics; Governmental Administration; Domain and Role Relations

Nine domains recommended by Schmidt-Rohr were: the family, the playground and street, the school (subdivided into language of instruction, subject of instruction, and language of recess and entertainment), the church, literature, the press, the military, the courts, and the governmental administration. Subsequently, other investigators either added or found that fewer domains were sufficient in particular multilingual settings.

Institutional contexts or socio-ecological co-occurrences attempt major clusters of interaction situations that occur in particular multilingual settings. Domains such as these help us understand that language choice and topic, appropriate though they may be for analyses of individual behaviour at the level of face-to-face verbal encounters, are related to widespread socio-cultural norms and expectations.

Language choices, cumulated over many individuals and many choice instances, become transformed into the processes of language maintenance or language shift. Furthermore, if many individuals (or sub-groups) tend to handle topic *x* in language X, this may well be because this topic pertains to a domain in which that language is "dominant" for their society or for their sub-group as a whole. By recognizing the existence of domains, it becomes possible to contrast the language of topics for individuals or particular sub-populations with the language of domains for larger parts, if not the whole of the population. However, the domains of language behaviour may differ from setting to setting.

The inter-relationship between domains of language behaviour define data societal- institutional level and domains defined at a socio-psychological level (the latter being somewhat similar to situational analyses discussed earlier) may enable us to study language choice in multilingual settings in newer and more fruitful ways.

A domain is a socio-cultural construct abstracted from topics of communication, relationships between communicators, and locales of communication, in accord with the institutions of a society and the spheres of activity of a culture, in such a way that individual behaviour and social patterns can be distinguished from each other and yet related to each other. For example, the "governmental administration" domain is a social nexus which brings people together primarily for a certain cluster of purposes. Furthermore, it brings them together *primarily* for a certain set of role-relations and in a delimited environment. Hence a domain is a higher order of abstraction or summarization which is arrived at from a consideration of the socio-cultural patterning which surrounds language choices.

Of the many factors contributing to and subsumed under the domain concept some are more important and more accessible to careful measurement than others for example, role-relations within a domain. Role-relations may be of value to us in accounting for the fact that our two hypothetical governmental functionaries, who usually speak an informal variant of language to each other at the office, except when they talk about technical, professional or sophisticated "cultural" matters, are themselves not entirely a like in this respect. One of the two tends to slip into French more frequently than the other, even when reference group, situational

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style, topic and several other aspects of communication are controlled. It would not be surprising to discover that his role is different, that he is the supervisor of the other for example.

In many studies of multilingual behavior, the family domain has proved to be a very crucial one. Multilingualism often begins in the family and depends upon it for encouragement if not for protection. Many investigators, have also differentiated within the family domain in terms of "speakers." However, two different approaches have been followed in connection with such differentiation. Braunshausen and also Mackey (1962) have merely specified family "members": father, mother, child, domestic, governess and tutor, etc. Gross(1951), on the other hand, has specified dyads within the family: grandfather to grandmother, grandmother to grandfather, grand-father to father, grandmother to father, grand-father to mother, grand-mother to mother, grandfather to child, grandmother to child, father to mother, mother to father, etc. The difference between these two approaches is quite considerable. Not only does the second approach recognize that interacting members of a family (as well as the participants in most other domains of language behaviour) are hearers as well as speakers (i.e. there may be a distinction between multilingual comprehension and multilingual production), but it also recognizes that their language behaviour may be more than merely a matter of individual preference or facility but also a matter of role-relation.

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Lesson-13

OTHER SOURCES OF VARIANCE AND DOMAIN CONFIGURATION

Topic No. 066-070

Introduction; Sources of Variation; Domain Configuration; Domain analysis-Contribution; Domain Analysis Challenges

Variance in language behaviour in multilingual settings is likely to be exceedingly complex. For highlighting patterns of language choice in multilingual settings, it would seem appropriate to distinguish at least between the following sources of variance:

1. Media variance: writing, reading and speaking: Degree of mother tongue maintenance or displacement may be quite different in each of these very different media. Where literacy has been attained *prior* to interaction with an "other tongue" reading and writing use of the mother tongue may resist displacement longer than speaking usage.

2. Role variance: Degree of maintenance or shift may be quite different in conjunction with *inner speech* (the language of thought, of talking to one's self,), *comprehension* (decoding, for self), and *production* (encoding, for others).There is some evidence that language shift is most resistant to inner speech.

3. Situational variance: Degree of maintenance or shift may be quite different in conjunction with *more formal, less formal* and *intimate* communication (Fishman, 1965a). Language shift is resisted more in intimate situations.

4. Domain variance: Degree of maintenance or shift may be quite different in each of several distinguishable domains of language behaviour.

Dominance Configuration

A description and analysis of the simultaneous, cumulative effect of all of the above-mentioned sources of variance in language choice provides a dominance configuration (Weinrich, 1953). Dominance configurations summarize data on the language choice behaviour. Repeated dominance configurations for the same population, studied over time, may be used to represent evidence of language maintenance or shift in a particular multilingual setting. Although the dominance configurations till requires much further refinement, it seems to merit the time and effort that such refinement might necessitate.

Contributions

The domain concept has helped organize and clarify the previously unstructured awareness that language maintenance and language shift proceed quite unevenly across the several sources and domains. It has shown that languages in certain domains appear to be more resistant to displacement than others (e.g., the family domain in comparison to the occupational domain) across all multilingual settings characterized by urbanization.

The simultaneous, concomitant effect of certain domains and other sources of variance and strict domain separation can also be studied in relation to their impact on language use. The domain concept has also helped refine the distinction between coordinate bilingualism and compound bilingualism by stressing that not only does a continuum (rather than a dichotomy) occurs but by indicating how one stage along this continuum

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may shade in to another.

The domain concept may help place the compound-coordinate distinction in greater socio-cultural perspective, in much the same way as it may serve the entire area of language choice.

When systematically interrelated with other sources of variance in language behaviour (media variance, role variance, situational variance) and when based upon underlying analyses of the role-relations and topics most crucial to them, domains of language behaviour may contribute importantly to the establishment of dominance configuration summaries.

Challenges of Domain Analysis: There are several methodological problems of data collection and data analysis. The substantive challenges pertaining to domain analysis are varied, as they will depend on the interests of particular investigators.

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Lesson-14

SOCIAL MEANING IN LINGUISTIC STRUCTURE

Topic No. 071-077

Introduction-Social Meaning in Linguistic Structure; Dialect and Group Membership; Regularity in Social Meanings; Constraints; Time, Setting, Situation and Event; Situational Code –Switching; Interactional Linguistics

In regular face-to-face interaction, the structure of that repertoire can be related to the verbal behaviour of members of the community in particular situations.

In Norway, local independence and distinctness of folk culture are highly valued, the dialect enjoys great prestige. A person's native speech is regarded as an integral part of his family background, a sign of his local identity. By identifying himself as a dialect speaker both at home and abroad, a member symbolizes pride in his community and in the distinctness of its contribution to society at large.

Formal education, however, is always carried on in the standard language, the language of official transactions, religion, and the mass media. Norwegian law sanctions two standard languages. In everyday interaction, a specific community may select among the two as the situation demands. Members view this alternation as a shift between two distinct entities, which are never mixed. A person speaks either one or the other.

The meaning attached to local descent and dialect use— being part of the "local team"—is clearly seen when we consider those members of the community who dissociate themselves from this "team." Traditionally, in northern Norway the local community of equals was separated from the landowning commercial and administrative elite by a wide gulf of social and judicial inequality. Since the latter were the introducers and users of standard Norwegian, the standard form was—and to some extent still is—associated with this inequality of status. Many of the functions of the former elite have now been incorporated into the local social system. Individuals who fill these functions, however, continue to be largely of nonlocal descent. Although they may pay lip service to locally accepted rules of etiquette and use the dialect on occasion. Since the different social meanings which attach to the dialect are regular and persistent, they must in some way be reinforced by the pattern of social ties.

There is by no means a simple one-to-one relationship between specific speech varieties and specific social identities. Recent linguistic writings have devoted considerable attention to speech events as the starting point for the analysis of verbal communication. It has been shown that aside from purely linguistic and stylistic rules, the form of a verbal message in any speech event is directly affected by:

1. The participants, i.e. speakers, addressees, and audiences;
2. The ecological surroundings; and
3. The topic or range of topics (Hymes, 1964; Ervin-Tripp, 1964).

Verbal communication may be seen as a two-step process. Step 1: Speakers take in clues from the outside and translate them into appropriate behavioural strategies. This step parallels the perceptual process by which

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referential meanings are converted into sentences. Step 2: These behavioural strategies are in turn translated into appropriate verbal symbols.

Setting

Setting is used to indicate the way in which natives classify their ecological environment into distinct locales. This enables us to relate the opportunities for action to constraints upon action provided by the socially significant features of the environment. The socio-ecological restrictions on personnel and activities still allow for a wide range of socially distinct happenings, for example school is used for class, all denoting a framework of specific status sets, i.e. systems of complementary distributions of rights and duties.

Alternative social definitions of the situation may occur within the same setting, depending on the opportunities and constraints on interaction offered by a shift in personnel and/or object of the interaction. Such definitions always manifest themselves in what we would prefer to call a social event. Events center around one or at the most a limited range of topics and are distinguishable because of their sequential structure. They are marked by stereotyped and thus recognizable opening and closing routines.

The distinction between situation and event can be clarified if we consider the behaviour of Hemnes residents who are sometimes seen in the community office, first transacting their business in an officially correct manner, and then turning to one of the clerks and asking him to step aside for a private chat. The norms which apply to the two kinds of interaction differ; the break between the two is clearly marked. Therefore, they constitute two distinct social events, although the personnel and the locale remain the same. The terms setting, social situation, and social event as used here can be considered three successively more complex stages in the speaker's processing of contextual information. Each stage subsumes the previous one in such a way that the preceding one is part of the input affecting the selection rules of the next stage. Thus, a speaker cannot identify the social situation without having made some decision as to the nature of the setting.

Situational Switching

When within the same setting the participants' definition of the social event changes, this change may be signaled among others by linguistic clues. The notion of situational switching assumes a direct relationship between language and the social situation. The linguistic forms employed are critical features of the event in the sense that any violation of selection rules changes members' perception of the event. Situations also differ in the amount of freedom of choice allowed to speakers. Some like greetings, petitions, and similar routines described by Albert (1972) similarly seem strictly determined.

Metaphorical Switching

In contrast with those instances where choice of variables is narrowly constrained by social norms, there are others in which participants are given considerably more latitude. Thus, official community affairs are largely defined as nonlocal and hence the standard is appropriate. But since many individuals who carry out the relevant activities all know each other as fellow locals, they often interject casual statements in the dialect into their formal discussions. The language switch here relates to particular kinds of topics or subject matter rather than to change in social situation. We will use the term metaphorical switching for this phenomenon.

In interactional sociolinguistics, therefore, we can no longer base our analyses on the assumption that language and society constitute different kinds of reality, subject to correlational studies. Social and linguistic information are comparable only when studied within the same general analytical framework. Moving from statements of social constraints to grammatical rules thus represents a transformation from one level of abstraction to another within a single communicative system. As Bernstein (1961) has pointed out, verbal communication is a process in which actors select from a limited range of alternates within a repertoire of

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speech forms determined by previous learning. Although ultimately this selection is a matter of individual choice, the rules of codification by which the deep structure of interpersonal relations is transformed into speech performances are independent of expressed attitudes and similar in nature to the grammatical rules operating on the level of intelligibility. They form part of what Hymes (1972b) has called the speaker's communicative competence.

Ethnographic investigation suggests the hypothesis that dialects have a social value as a signal of distinctness and speaker's identification with other members of local descent. This social significance of the dialect can only be understood by contrast with the meanings which locals assign to the standard. The standard is associated with education and power on the national scene and carries connotations of differences in rank which are unacceptable in the realm of informal local relations. The fact that all residents frequently switch between the dialect and the standard can only be explained through the analysis of particular speech events. The concepts of setting, social situation, and social event represent an attempt to explain the natives' conception of their behavioural environment in terms of an ordered set of constraints which operate to transform alternative lines of behaviour into particular social meanings.

The analysis presented in this chapter, demonstrate the importance of social or non-referential meaning for the study of language in society. In order to interpret what he hears, the investigator must have some background knowledge of the local culture and of the processes which generate social meaning. Without this it is impossible to generalize about the social implication of dialect differences.

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Lesson-15

CODE SWITCHING

Topic No. 078-083

Code Switching Introduction; Code Switching Definition; Speech Events; Indexicality; Speech Events; Conventions; Social Networks and Code Switching

A set of maxims referring to the choice of one linguistic variety rather than another relates to the negotiation principle. Referential content, what the conversation is about, obviously contributes to the social relationships of participants, but with content kept constant, different relational outcomes may result. This is because the particular linguistic variety used in an exchange carries social meaning.

This markedness model assumes that all linguistic code choices are indexical of a set of rights and obligations holding between participants in the conversational exchange. Markedness model means that all speakers have mental representations of a matching between code choices and rights and obligation sets. That is, they know that for a particular conventionalized exchange, a certain code choice will be the unmarked i.e. it will be a realization of an expected rights and obligations set between participants. They also know that other possible choices are more or less marked because they are indexical of other than the expected rights and obligations set. While the theory is universal, actual associations are speech community specific with speakers knowing what code choice is unmarked and which others are marked for exchanges conventionalized in the community. The rights and obligations balance for a speech event is derived from whatever situational features are salient to the exchange such as status of participants, topic, etc. The salient features will not be the same across all types of exchanges; they are, however, relatively constant across speech events under a single type of exchange. The model calls for a markedness continuum: speakers operate with degrees of markedness not categorical distinctions. They perceive one or more choices are more unmarked than others and among marked choices some are more marked than others. Further, the same choice is not necessarily unmarked for all participants in the same exchange.

A social network may be seen as a boundless web of ties which reaches out through a whole society, linking people to one another, however remotely but for practical reasons social networks are generally ‘anchored’ to individuals, and interest focuses on relatively ‘strong’ first-order network ties; i.e. those persons with whom ego directly and regularly interacts. This principle of ‘anchorage’ effectively limits the field of network studies, generally to something between 20 and 50 individuals.

Close-knit social networks seem to have a particular capacity to maintain and even enforce local conventions and norms, including linguistic norms. Even passive ties which entail an absence of regular contact, but are valued by ego as a source of influence and moral support (Examples are physically distant relatives or friends, such ties being particularly important to migrant families) offer sociolinguists to investigate relatively clearly definable communities. Thus, network analysis offers a basis for understanding the social mechanisms that underlie this process of language maintenance, the converse of language shift. Network analysis can also illuminate the social dynamics involved in this kind of inter-group difference.

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Lesson-16

LINGUISTIC DIMENSIONS OF BILINGUALISM- EARLY LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT

Topic No. 084-089

Introduction; Grammar of Code Switching; Linguistic Dimension-One System or Two; Linguistic Dimension-Bilingual Mixing; Bilingual Mixing; Linguistic Variation and Age

Michael Clyne argues that the grammatical constraints and the grammatical models of code-switching cannot be substantiated universally. He further develops the idea of 'triggering', which he proposed in his earlier work namely, an item of ambiguous affiliation—i.e. one belonging to the speakers' two systems triggers off a switch from one language to another. He points out that trigger words are not part of the switch, but indicative of the psycholinguistic process by which the bilingual speaker plans and produces his or her speech.

One System or Two?

The fact that bilingual children mix elements from their two languages is often interpreted as evidence for a unitary underlying language system. Fred Genesee's article examines the empirical basis for such a claim. He points out the serious methodological problems of some of the studies, and re-analyses selected case studies. He also offers new data from speech perception studies, arguing that young bilingual children are able to differentiate two languages from the earliest stages of bilingual development and that they can use their two languages in contextually sensitive ways. He points out that code-mixing itself is not good evidence for the unitary system argument. In fact, children's mixing may be related to mixed input by parents. Genesee calls for more serious research on the possible role of parental input in the form of mixed utterances.

Jürgen M. Meisel addresses the 'one system or two' question by focusing on the syntactic and morphological development of bilingual children however, instead of simply providing further evidence in support of the separate development argument, Meisel raises the theoretically more interesting question of whether the human language making capacity could allow the bilingual individual to separate the two simultaneously acquired grammatical systems from early on, without going through a phase of confusion. Through a longitudinal study of simultaneous French-German bilingual children, he argues that grammatical processing is in fact possible much earlier than is usually assumed on the basis of analyses of monolingual child language. He further speculates that this early development of grammatical processing ability could be explained by the fact that the task of acquiring two language systems simultaneously requires more attention to problems of form, rather than relying on semantic-pragmatic strategies alone.

Types of Mixing

By far the most frequent type of mixing to be reported involves whole lexical items, both content and function words. Some investigators have found that content words, and especially nouns, are the most frequently mixed lexical items. Others have reported specifically that adverbs, articles, pronouns, prepositions and conjunctions occurred in mixed utterances in descending order of frequency. Mixing at the level of the phrase has also been found. It is also reported when phrasal mixing occurred, the structural consistency of the utterances was maintained so that there were no lexical redundancies or syntactic errors. To the extent that this

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is generally true, it would argue against an interpretation of mixing in terms of linguistic confusion.

There have been reported examples of syntactic mixing, semantic mixing and pragmatic mixing also. Nevertheless, it is possible that bilingual children mix because they have heard mixing by their parents or other speakers in the environment. This makes it necessary to study the language models to which bilingual children are exposed in order to understand all possible sources of mixing. Rates of mixing vary from study to study and from case to case. Mixed utterances are reportedly more frequent in early stages of bilingual development and diminish with age.

Challenges: Reported rates of mixing are difficult to interpret or compare across studies owing to:

1. Differential exposure to the languages in question
2. The possibility of unequal or inequitable sampling of the child's language use in different language contexts and/or with different interlocutors
3. The lack of an acceptable metric of language development with which to identify children at comparable stages
4. Different operational definitions of mixing
5. Different histories

Adult code-switching: Studies of code-mixing in adults show it to be a sophisticated, rule-governed communicative device used by linguistically competent bilinguals to achieve a variety of communicative goals, such as conveying emphasis, role playing, or establishing socio-cultural identity. It has highly structured syntactic and sociolinguistic constraints. In particular, mixing of linguistic elements from one language into another is performed so that the syntactic rules of both languages are respected. There is evidence to the effect that intra-sentential mixing increases in adult bilinguals as their competence in the two languages increases. Adult bilinguals also switch between languages as a function of certain sociolinguistic factors, such as the setting, tone and purpose of the communication or the ethno-linguistic identity of the interlocutor. This language behaviour is referred to as code-switching (Sridhar and Sridhar, 1980).

What is thought to distinguish bilingual children's mixing from adult mixing is the lack of systematicity or compliance to linguistic rules in the case of children. The period of language mixing just described is generally reported to be followed by linguistic differentiation. Investigators studying children with different language histories have reported that differentiation occurs during the third year of life. At this time, the child is thought to have developed or to be developing two separate representations of his/her language systems or, alternatively, to have overcome the linguistic confusion characteristic of the earlier stage. He or she begins to switch systematically between languages as a function of the participants, the setting, the function of the message (e.g. to exclude others), its form (e.g. narration), and to a lesser extent, the topic of conversation. Bilingual children are reported to be especially sensitive to their interlocutors so that initially when differentiation occurs they tend rigidly to use the language they associate with the speaker even though he or she may express a willingness to use the other language.

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Lesson-17

EXPLANATIONS OF LANGUAGE MIXING

Topic No. 090-095

Introduction; Unitary Language System; Three Stage Model; Other Explanations Restricted Lexical Use; Other Explanations-Universal Operating Principles; Acquisition and Language Mixing

The Unitary-Language System Explanation

Language mixing during the early stages of bilingual development has been interpreted in general terms as evidence of a unitary-language system with undifferentiated phonological, lexical and syntactic subsystems. This would mean that 'Words from the two languages did not belong to two different speech systems but to one…' (In Hatch, 1978:27). Swain (1977) postulated a 'common storage model' of bilingual development according to which all rules of both languages are initially stored in a common location and subsequently tagged as appropriate for a particular language through a process of differentiation.

Three stage model

Volterra and Taeschner (1978) have interpreted language mixing in terms of a three stage model:

1. Initial unification of both lexical and syntactic subsystems
2. Differentiation of the lexicon but continued unification of syntax
3. Finally, differentiation of both the lexicon and syntax

The title of Swain's (1972) thesis—Bilingualism as a first language —exemplifies the unitary-system interpretation of early bilingual development. However, the evidence cited by the respective investigators may not sufficient to support such an interpretation. In order to uphold the unitary-system hypothesis one would need to establish that, all things being equal, bilingual children use items from both languages indiscriminately in all contexts of communication, which does not quite happen. Children from very young age are sensitive to the context, who they are speaking to and choose languages accordingly. Evidence of declining rates of overall mixing does not constitute sufficient proof that the child has only one language system. Mixing may decline with development, not because separation of the languages is taking place but rather because the children are acquiring more complete linguistic repertoires and, therefore, do not need to borrow from or overextend between languages. Some investigators have examined mixing as a function of interlocutor or context, but their analyses are incomplete or questionable. In the absence of sound and complete data on language use in different language contexts, an explanation of bilingual mixing in terms of undifferentiated language systems is open to serious question.

A number of other more specific explanations of bilingual mixing have been suggested. By far the most frequent of these is that bilingual children mix because they lack appropriate lexical items in one language but have them in the other language and, effectively, they borrow from one language for use in the other. Mixing may also decline as the child 'comes to recognize adult-imposed standards of behaviour and shows awareness of his own ability to meet them.' If this is indeed the case then differentiation would be more an issue of developing sociolinguistic competence than of underlying psycholinguistic separation of the language systems.

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Mixing has also been reported in cases of overly restricted use of specific lexical items. Imedadze (1978) and Swain and Wesche (1975) have suggested that in some cases bilingual children identify a referent with the lexical item in the language that was first or most frequently used to label it. They might insist on using that word at all times when talking about that referent regardless of the linguistic context. These instances of mixing due to lexical borrowing could be viewed as overextensions of the type observed in monolingual children (Griffiths, 1986) with the difference that bilingual children overextend inter-lingually as well as intra-lingually while monolingual children overextend intra-lingually only. In the case of first-language acquisition, it has been observed that particular overextensions of nominals usually cease once the child has learned what mature speakers of the language would consider a more appropriate word. This also seems a reasonable interpretation of bilingual overextensions (see also Goodz, 1989) and, in fact, accords with the tendency for bilingual children to mix less as their proficiency increases as noted earlier. Anglin (1977) has suggested that in fact under-extensions are more frequent than overextensions in monolingual development, but they often go unnoticed because they do not violate adult usage. Bilingual children may overextend longer than monolingual children because they hear more instances of particular nominals being used in specific contexts (e.g. the German nominal for 'glasses' being used in German contexts or with German-speaking interlocutors), whereas monolingual children are likely to hear the same nominals used in extended contexts (e.g. glasses used in all contexts in which the referent occurs).

Universal Principles

Slobin (1973) has argued for a set of universal operating principles which every child brings to bear on the problem of language acquisition, and for a number of language-specific strategies which are involved in the acquisition of aspects of a given native language. According to Slobin, the order of development of various grammatical devices is determined by the child's cognitive and perceptual development and by characteristics of the languages to be learned. It follows that children learning two languages simultaneously may be expected to mix aspects of their languages because of acquisitional strategies that are independent of language representation per se. More specifically, language mixing might occur in any given utterance of a bilingual child, even though his/her two languages are represented separately for two possible reasons. In one case, mixing might occur because the language system in use at the moment is incomplete and does not include the grammatical device needed to express certain meanings. If a device from the other language system that serves the same purposes was available, it might be used at that moment. In the other case, the grammatical device required to express the intended meaning is available in the language currently in use, but it is more complex than the corresponding device in the other language system and its use strains the child's current ability. Therefore, the simpler device from the other system might be used at that moment. In both cases, developing bilingual children can be seen to be using whatever grammatical devices they have in their repertoire or whatever devices they are able to use given their current language ability. Issues concerning acquisitional strategies in bilingual development are independent of the issue of language representation. These particular acquisitional strategies may result in differences in the utterances of bilingual and monolingual children but bilingual development is characterized by the same processes of acquisition as monolingual development. Indeed on theoretical grounds, one would expect bilingual and monolingual acquisition during infancy to be the same. There has been much speculation about a possible relationship between bilingualism, metalinguistic awareness and the effect this might have on language acquisition. While there is some evidence of such relationships, it is inconsistent and pertains to older bilinguals, either school-age children or adults only.

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Lesson-18

OTHER EXPLANATIONS OF LANGUAGE MIXING

Topic No. 096-100

Researching Bilingualism; Research Identity; Research Issues; Examples; Impact of Research Identity

The identity of the researcher is extremely important as it affects the aims and objectives of the research, the relationship with the people being studied and the choice of theoretical and methodological perspectives. Unfortunately, we do not always think about this question when we read other people's findings, or for various reasons the identity of the researcher is not made explicit in the research report. In studying the language behaviour of bilingual speakers, it is particularly useful to consider the following issues:

- Is the researcher monolingual or bilingual (in the appropriate languages for the study)?
- What is the ethnic origin and nationality of the researcher?
- Is the researcher male or female?
- What age group does the researcher belong to?
- What is the educational level of the researcher?
- What is the disciplinary background of the researcher (e.g. linguistics, psychology, neuroscience, speech therapy, sociology, education, administration and government, etc.)?
- What is the researcher's attitude towards bilingualism?

In the existing literature, there is very little detailed documentation of how the linguistic background and competence of the researcher affects his or her relationships with the people and their language behaviour being studied, although it is generally accepted that if the linguistic competence of the researcher is compatible with that of the people being studied, data collection should be smoother and more successful. Native competence certainly helps the research to reveal some of the minute linguistic details, particularly of nonstandard language varieties (e.g. Trudgill, 1974).

It may well be , however, that the number of researchers who can claim such competence is relatively small and that the majority of the existing studies of the language behaviour of bilingual speakers are carried out by non-native speakers of one of the languages. So researchers are lucky enough to obtain sufficient funding to employ a team of temporary assistants to carry out data collection and data analysis. However, problems of comparability may then arise as different researchers may impart their own perspectives to the phenomenon being investigated into the data collection and analysis. While such different perspectives are themselves interesting and provide valuable information worthy of studying, they create difficulties in interpreting the research findings. Sometimes even if a researcher with the appropriate linguistic background is located, he or she may not be of the ethnic origin or nationality appropriate or necessary for the study. This often happens when the language boundary crosses ethnic or religious boundaries, i.e. the same language is used by members of different ethnic or religious groups.

The effects of age, gender and educational background of the researcher on the data that he or she

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collects and ultimately analyses have been discussed extensively by sociolinguists (e.g. Milroy, 1987). Successful investigation requires the researcher's sensitivity to the context of the study, willingness to overcome difficulties and honesty about his or her identity, attitude and research agenda.

The issue of the disciplinary background of the researcher is equally important, not because different disciplinary traditions tend to have different research methods (e.g. sociologists tend to use questionnaires and interviews, and psychologists controlled experiments, and linguists tape recordings of conversation) but because their views are not always in agreement on what language is. For example, psychologists and neuroscientists may see languages as fairly clearly defined, discrete systems, each having its own name tag; in contrast, linguists, especially those with a sociolinguistic inclination, see language boundaries as fuzzy and problematic (see discussions in the section 'Language as a socio-political issue' of the Introduction). Even among the broad category of linguists, some maintain a distinction between 'language' and 'speech', whereas others believe such a distinction is unnecessary and fallacious. Consequently, some researchers insist that bilingual speakers possess two more or less discrete grammatical systems, while others argue that bilinguals have their own coherent system which cannot be judged by any monolingual norm. In practice, some researchers attempt to study bilinguals in two separate monolingual modes as well as a bilingual mode while others believe such an endeavour is completely fruitless and misguided.

Perhaps the most important issue related to the identity of the researcher is his or her attitude towards bilingualism. This is not a simple matter of seeing bilingualism as advantageous or disadvantageous to the individuals and the society. It is much subtler. Depending on their social and professional positions and personal interests, some bilingual researchers may believe that a generally positive portrayal of the speakers' bilingual ability is more desirable, and their investigations are designed in such a way that the results will highlight 'better' skills of bilingual speakers. Others may insist that only certain types of bilingualism are acceptable. For instance, some bilingual researchers believe that speakers with high proficiency levels in both of their languages do not engage in code-switching; in other words, code-switching is a sign of linguistic deficiency. It is therefore important to have a clear understanding of the ideology of the researcher when reading a published research.

This leads us to our second question about research objectives which is "What does the analyst want to find?" Although most published papers and books on bilingualism give fairly clear descriptions of the aims and objectives of the studies being reported, we, as readers, do not often make the link between the research agenda and the researcher's identity, background, personal interests and attitudes towards bilingualism. However, it is quite clear from the vast quantity of published work that, from a socio-political point of view, bilingualism research can never be truly 'value-free'. It is therefore necessary both for those who are planning a research project and those who are reading published results to be aware of such ideological influences on the aims and objectives of the research. In addition, researchers of different disciplinary backgrounds often have different research agendas, even though they may be working with the same language pairs, the same speakers, or the same data corpus. Findings and interpretations are in fact a result of having different terminologies and research agendas. Differences in the research agendas lead to different choices of a specific media for research. For example:

- Studies of the language development of bilingual children can be based on parental diaries, video-recording or audio-recording of children's play and conversation, or standardized tests and checklists.
- Studies of the language attitudes and language ideologies can be based on analyses of written documents or interview data.
- Studies of language processing of bilingual speakers, on the other hand, are normally based on

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experiments.

There is no one method that is intrinsically better than others. Good methods are those that are appropriate for the research agenda and can provide evidence for answering the research questions. We should be particularly aware of the possibility that style of research (e.g. ethnographic, experimental, survey, systematic observation) and use of tools (such as questionnaires, interviews, tape-recordings, tests, attitude scales) can carry with them a political ideology, a view of the person and a philosophy of knowledge. For example: surveys often aim for participative democracy whereas experiments are often about control; qualitative ethnographic observation aims for a holistic view of the person while quantitative variationist studies tend to fragment the person into variables; tape-recordings and detailed transcription of them aim for a 'mirror reflection', or a 'positivist' picture, of what actually happens, whereas in-depth interviews and critical analyses of them want to (re)construct particular versions of experience and reality.

We should also be aware of the fact that some researchers from specific disciplinary backgrounds (e.g. cognitive science, artificial intelligence) are carrying out research on bilingual speakers not with any interest in their bilingualism per se, but in order to validate theoretical models for some other purposes and contexts. Some of their findings may be interesting and relevant to bilingualism research generally, but they should be read with particular caution, as their methodologies are often driven by agendas which are not related to bilingualism at all.

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Lesson-19

RESEARCHING BILINGUALISM

Topic No. 101-105

Bilingual Education Introduction; Scenarios; Defining Bilingual Education; Bilingual Education and Language Teaching; Monoglossic Ideologies in Bilingual Education Scenarios

What is bilingual education?

We immediately think of someone who has a good command of two languages as bilingual; and the use of two languages in education as bilingual education but, as Cazden and Snow (1990) point out, bilingual education is "a simple label for a complex phenomenon." Colin Baker (1993: 9), one of the most perceptive scholars in the field of bilingual education, suggests that sometimes the term bilingual education is used to refer to the education of students who are already speakers of two languages, and at other times to the education of those who are studying additional languages. Bilingual education is different from traditional language education programs that teach a second or a foreign language. For the most part, these traditional second- or foreign-language programs teach the language as a subject, whereas bilingual education programs use the language as a medium of instruction; that is, bilingual education programs teach content through an additional language other than the children's home language. More than anything else, bilingual education is a way of providing meaningful and equitable education, as well as an education that builds tolerance towards other linguistic and cultural groups. In so doing, bilingual education programs provide a general education, teach in two or more languages, develop multiple understandings about languages and cultures, and foster appreciation for human diversity.

Traditional second or foreign-language programs often aim to use only the target language in instruction, whereas bilingual education programs always include some form of more than one language in at least some parts of instruction. Although the approach may be different, the development of some type of bilingualism is accomplished in both language-teaching programs.

Language-teaching programs in the twenty-first century increasingly integrate language and content, therefore, coming to resemble bilingual education; and bilingual education programs are paying more attention than ever to explicit language instruction also.

Although many second-language and foreign-language programs pay lip service to using only the target language in instruction, in reality bilingual ways of using languages are very often present in these programs, in the instructional material used, in the language use of the teacher, and certainly in the language use of the children. Moreover, sometimes in bilingual education programs one finds a language ideology that is very similar to that found in language-teaching programs, with teachers attempting to use only the target language in instruction: that is, no translation is provided and the teacher never uses both languages within the same lesson.

What continues to separate these two kinds of programs has to do with the broader general goal of bilingual education, the use of two languages to educate generally, meaningfully, equitably, and for tolerance and

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appreciation of diversity, and the narrower goal of second or foreign language teaching to learn an additional language. In educating broadly, bilingual education focuses not only on the acquisition of additional languages, but also on helping students to become global and responsible citizens as they learn to function across cultures and worlds, that is, beyond the cultural borders in which traditional schooling often operates.

Even the widely accepted definition of bilingual education being the use of two languages in education is not straightforward. As Baker (2001: 4) points out, "the ownership of two languages is not as simple as having two wheels or two eyes." and being educated bilingually cannot be equated to being given two balanced wheels like those of a bicycle: bilingual education is not simply about one language plus a second language equals two languages. The vision of bilingual education as a sum of equals reduces bilingual education to the use of two or more separate languages, usually in different classroom spaces, time frames, contexts, or as spoken by different teachers. In this reductive view, bilingual education has been often interpreted as being the simple sum of discrete monolingual language practices. Separate and full competencies in each language are expected of students. Furthermore, these "idealized" bilingual education practices take little account of how languages are used in society, or of real bilingual and multilingual practices.

Monoglossic ideologies of bilingualism and bilingual education treat each of the child's languages as separate and whole, and view the two languages as bounded autonomous systems. We contrast this monoglossic language ideology to one based on Bakhtin's (1981) use of heteroglossic as multiple voices. A heteroglossic ideology of bilingualism considers multiple language practices in interrelationship, and leads to other constructions of bilingual education.

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Lesson-20

BILINGUAL EDUCATION

Topic No. 106-110

Bilingual Education Introduction; Bilingual Education A New Angle; Global Practices; Bilingual Education Beneficiaries; Issues of Power

In the twenty-first century, our complex multilingual and multimodal global communicative networks often reflect much more than two separate monolingual codes. Bilingual education that is adaptive, able to expand and contract, as the communicative situations shift and as the terrain changes, is precisely what all children in the twenty- first century need. What is important for bilingual education, then, may not always be the full language parts in isolation, but the quality and the effectiveness of the integrated sum. One plus one does not always equal two. The language practices of bilinguals are interrelated and expand in different directions to include the different communicative contexts in which they exist.

What is needed today are practices firmly rooted in the multilingual and multimodal language and literacy practices of children in schools of the twenty-first century, practices that would be informed by a vision starting from the sum: an integrated plural vision. Educating children bilingually enables language practices that, like the banyan trees, build on each other in multiple ways and directions – up, out, down, across – but yet rooted in the terrain and realities from which they emerge.

Bilingual education, for us, is simply any instance in which children's and teachers' communicative practices in school that maximize learning efficacy and communication; and that, in so doing, foster and develop tolerance towards linguistic differences, as well as appreciation of languages and bilingual proficiency. Bilingual education in the twenty-first century must be reimagined and expanded, as it takes its rightful place as a meaningful way to educate all children and language learners in the world today. Bilingual education is here used to refer to education using more than one language, and/or language varieties, in whatever combination. In today's globalized world, bilingual education is at times criticized, on the one hand, because it is seen as maintaining separate linguistic enclaves, and, on the other, because it does not accommodate the linguistic heterogeneity of the times. For example, in the United States bilingual education is often blamed, first, for the ghettoization of U.S. Latino students in segregated classrooms, and, second, for the lack of attention paid in these programs to ethno-linguistic minorities other than Latinos.

However, these arrangements have much more to do with residential and social class segregation than with bilingual education per se. Although it is important to pay attention to all children with different ethno-linguistic profiles, it is Latino children who are often most in need of bilingual education programs in the U.S., for they constitute the greatest proportion of English-language learners in the country (approximately 75 to 79 percent), and yet receive but scant attention. Bilingual education is also often blamed because nations and states seeking legitimacy in the twentieth century have often claimed an immutable relationship between language and identity, using bilingual education as a means to strengthen that link (Heller, 1999).

In the United States, the growth of immigration and migration, especially of Spanish speakers, has unleashed a reaction against bilingual education. The states of California, Arizona, and Massachusetts have declared bilingual education illegal and the term "bilingual education" is often attached only to programs for recently arrived immigrants that are transitional in nature, and not to programs that include speakers of English and where two languages are used throughout the child's education. In fact, these two-way bilingual education

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programs in the United States are now called, in many instances, dual language education, again silencing the word "bilingual."

Within the European Union, bilingual education is being promoted under the banner of CLIL/EMILE, acronyms which refer to "Content and Language Integrated. The choice of CLIL/EMILE responds to the fact that the term "bilingual education" is politically loaded for certain European countries, even though these are bilingual programs that use more than one language in instruction.

In Canada, the persistent voices of First Nations peoples, and their efforts to revitalize and maintain their languages, continue to challenge the limitation of bilingual education only to the languages of power: English and French, and the recognition of the multilingualism of many countries in Africa and Asia in particular has also served to question the viability of bilingual education in only two languages in a more complex socio-linguistic order.

Throughout the world, bilingual education practices are becoming more popular than ever, and we use the term "bilingual education" because it enables us to link to the research, scholarship, policy, and practice of the last fifty years. We also use it because bilingual education is centered in schools where curriculum and assessment are mostly linear, inducing educators to think of language acquisition in similar ways. Thus, usually children are initially schooled bilingually, that is, in two languages, even when the intent is to develop proficiency in more than two languages, or even when many more than two separate languages are used in instruction.

Beneficiaries: The overarching principle of this book is that some form of bilingual education is good for all education, and therefore good for all children, as well as good for all adult learners. This is a principle that we have always held; one that was well established by Fishman (1976). Bilingual education is good for all language majorities, that is, powerful ethno-linguistic groups, as well as language minorities, those without power. Bilingual individuals enjoy cognitive and social advantages over monolinguals. As Fishman (1978b: 47) has said: "In a multilingual world it is obviously more efficient and rational to be multilingual than not."

Bilingual education has the potential of being a transformative school practice, able to educate all children in ways that stimulate and expand their intellect and imagination, as they gain ways of expression and access different ways of being in the world. By using a language effectively, one can access information extend social networks and build self-worth.

Monolingual education has at times been used as a way to limit access and legitimate the linguistic practices of those already in power. Bilingual education has the potential to give access to languages of power and bilingual education can also legitimize minoritized language practices. As such, bilingual education can be transformative. As Lewis says (1978: 20, our italics): "Bilingual education has been advocated for entirely pedagogical reasons, while the fundamental rationale for the proposal is to bring about greater political, economic, and social equality because all forms of education are concerned with the redistribution of power or the maintenance of its current distribution.

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Lesson-21

REIMAGINING BILINGUALISM

Topic No. 111-116

Geopolitics and Language Orientation: Bilingualism a Problem? Addressing Educational Failure: Bilingual Education-A Right; Bilingualism as A Resource; Bilingual Education Emerging Significance

The use of two languages in education is not new. Bilingual schooling is at least 4,000 to 5,000 years old. Greek–Latin bilingual education was the way to educate boys from Roman aristocratic homes. Bilingualism was seen as a form of enrichment. Many schools have always practiced some form of bilingual education. It has always been common, for example, for the school text to be written in a language or a register different from that spoken by the school children. Translation of classical texts into vernaculars, one form of bilingual education, has always been central to the notion of schooling. The reading of sacred texts in one language, with the study of commentaries written in another language, and discussion in yet another language, has also been a traditional way of schooling many ethno-linguistic groups.

It has also been common for teachers, whether bilingual themselves or not, to teach in a language other than the one the children speak with each other. The purpose of schooling and the bilingual practices observed have been often related to the oscillation between the language practices of the home and community and those of the sacred and classical texts studied in school.

As a result of industrial and urban developments in the nineteenth century, languages became "modern"; that is, languages which symbolized national identity were standardized, codified, and used in schools, to the exclusion of others. Especially after World War I and II, nations within the constructed "nation- state", whose languages did not coincide with the one elevated to privileged status, became cause for concern. Bilingual education became an instrument, in some cases, of improving the teaching of the language chosen for modernization, and, in others, of linguistically assimilating all people.

At the same time, in 1953, UNESCO, responding to the educational failure of children in colonial situations, issued an important resolution declaring that it was axiomatic that a child be taught to read in their home language. Based on this principle, efforts to use the children's language in education, especially in the early grades, gained strength, leading to the first official uses of what has since been termed "transitional bilingual education," that is, the use of the child's heritage language in the early grades and only until the child is fluent in the majority or colonial language.

Even this transitional bilingual education opened the door for schooling the masses, providing for the use of local languages, in addition to the other language, at times a colonial one, in the education of the young. Bilingual education was recognized around the world as being capable to do for the masses, and their children, what it had so well done for the elite – ensuring the acquisition of the languages of power through schooling while educating but the potential of bilingual education for all children did not fully materialize because language difference, in this modernist conceptualization, was seen as a problem.

As a right: The role of socio-historical processes in shaping particular forms of bilingual education, and in particular the role of class, ethnicity, race, language, and gender in such shaping, was given increased attention

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(Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson, 1994; Tollefson, 1991, 2002; Wiley, 1996b, 1999; Wright, 2004). Transitional bilingual education was increasingly criticized, as language minorities claimed their language rights and developed their own forms of bilingual schooling. Language minorities who had lost their home languages developed bilingual education programs that supported the revitalization of these languages.

As a resource: With the increasing awareness of other languages, and the dominance, especially, of English, but also of Chinese, Spanish, and Arabic throughout the world (Graddol, 2006), bilingual education has taken yet another turn, now growing often without the direct intervention of the state, and including forms that respond to a much more dynamic language use. UNESCO also proposes (2003: 30) three basic guiding principles, no longer simply focused on the mother tongue as a resource for all:

Bilingual Education for All

Mother tongue instruction as a means of improving educational quality by building upon the knowledge and experience of the learners and teachers;

Bilingual and/or multilingual education at all levels of education as a means of promoting both social and gender equality and as a key element of linguistically diverse societies;

Language as an essential component of inter-cultural education in order to encourage understanding between different population groups and ensure respect for fundamental rights

Mühlhäusler's "ecological approach" (2000, 2002) calls for "a situation of equilibrium whereby languages automatically readjust themselves to fit into the environment, and perpetuate themselves through language contact, rather than isolation" (quoted in Tsai, 2005: 11). The challenge of bilingual schools in the twenty-first century is to prepare children to balance their own linguistic ecology (Fettes, 2003), enabling them to go freely back and forth in their overlapping languages and literacies. Children and educators have to be made aware of their ability to "self-regulate", as languages take on complementary and overlapping roles in different domains of communication (Mühlhäusler, 2000, 2002), but without external language management by the state or even the school itself.

Fettes has shown how today's linguistic "geo-strategies" which he defines as strategies designed to ensure the co-existence of particular languages or language types (2003: 44) are different from the "politico-strategies" of the twentieth century, in which one language was imposed on others in the state. One of the biggest changes in the globalized community of the twenty-first century is the blurring of territory that was clearly demarcated by language and culture. Although many territories had only given the appearance of being homogeneous, they provided a context, even if imagined, to enforce monolingual schooling. In the twenty-first century, however, we are aware of the linguistic complexity of the world in which monolingual schooling seems utterly inappropriate.

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Lesson-22

GEOPOLITICS AND LANGUAGE ORIENTATION IN BILINGUALISM

Topic No. 117-121

Scenarios; Languaging and Education; Language and Political Control; State and Language; Globalization and Glocalization

Constructing Language

Languages are socially constructed. This is the reason why there is no consensus on the number of languages in the world. Any attempt to count distinct languages will be an artifact of classificatory procedures only. How a language is defined depends on the purpose one has in identifying a language.

The state: It is a common practice to associate a state with a single language. However, with multilingualism being the norm in many countries such an association has been called into question. A nation-state is a mental construct made up of affinities such as language with imagined people. The linguistic consequences of the construction of nation-states have been great. Few states have ever been monolingual in their makeup, and even today there are very few countries in the world that can be considered linguistically homogenous, yet the predominant ideology tends to associate monolingualism with the norm whereby the dominance of one language within the borders of a political entity is considered as more natural, more desirable, more efficient, and more productive for the sake of cohesion than reality warrants. States used language to consolidate political power, and in so doing established language academies, encouraged the preparation of grammars, dictionaries, and treatises to strengthen and standardize languages, and encouraged the enumeration of languages in ways that masked their differences or similarities.

This has important consequences for education, since it turns out that although there are more bilingual and multilingual individuals in the world than monolinguals, and more languages than states, the fact that education takes place in the de jure or de facto in official language means that most children in the world are educated in a language other than that of the home.

Globalization

The norms in the organization of work and methods of production brought about by new communication technology and globalization have greatly impacted languaging practices in the twenty-first century. National economies have become far more integrated in the global economy: money and workers have become much more mobile; the pace of technological change has accelerated. Increasingly, every language community must become aware of its position in a "dynamic world system of languages" characterized by vast and expanding differences in status and use. Many websites are using multilingual strategies. Although English is widespread other languages are used more and more.

Sociopolitical and socioeconomic changes have also resulted in dramatic population shifts and this immigration is characterized by transnationalism; that is, the ability to go back and forth to the country of origin, aided by improved transportation and technology. All these population movements bring about changes in language use, and amplify the presence of bilingualism, as other languages are also becoming important.

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What is different today from the ways in which people languaged in the nineteenth and twentieth century is that we can simultaneously and collaboratively engage in many different language practices at the same time, as happens in electronic instant messaging and chatting. Recently, the term "glocalization" has been coined to note the presence of the local in the global and vice versa. Roland Robertson defined glocalization as "the simultaneity, the co-presence of both universalizing and particularizing tendencies." As national identities have become fragmented through the weakening of the nation-state construction, the relationship between language and identity remain relevant.

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Lesson-23

LANGUAGING, EDUCATION AND LANGUAGE CONSTRUCTION

Topic No. 122-126

Languaging and Language Introduction: Language and Fixed Code; Dialects; Pidgins and Creoles; Languaging of Creole Speakers

People use language for many purposes. They use language for expression, for interaction, and to express reference (Ager, 2001) but language practices can also be turned into something about which people, communities, and states have opinions and feelings (Ager, 2001)that is, language practices or languaging also act as a symbol system (Fishman, 1996); they can become symbolic of the speech community itself or of sacredness. Thus, languaging practices are codified into languages. For example, Urdu has become an important identity marker for Pakistanis after independence. Some languages have acquired a sanctity dimension for example Arabic for Muslims.

Languages are not fixed codes by themselves; they are fluid codes framed within social practices, Hopper (1998: 157–8), for example, argues: "There is no natural fixed structure to language." Rather, speakers borrow heavily from their previous experiences of communication in similar circumstances, on similar topics, and with similar interlocutors. Systematicity, in this view, is an illusion produced by the partial settling or sedimentation of frequently used forms into temporary systems. According to this conceptualization, it is not languages that exist, but discourses that is, ways of talking or writing within a context. Michel Foucault, discourse conceives language as a form of social practice that naturally occurs in connected speech and written text with those who participate in the event. Pennycook (2007) goes beyond discourse to say that there is only languaging: social practices that are actions performed by our meaning-making selves. Dialects, pidgins, creoles, and academic language are instances of languaging.

Dialects

For linguists, the term "dialect" is a neutral term used for variants of a specific language. Romaine (1994) defines dialect as "a subordinate variety of a language," and refers to regional dialects, associated with a place, social dialects, associated with social class, and historical dialects referring to ancestors of present language varieties. There are also ethnic dialects spoken by ethnolinguistic groups.

However, people often reserve the term "dialect" for languages or ways of using language that are socially stigmatized. For example, many people think that what they speak to friends and families in informal settings is a dialect, and what they speak in school is a language. When states want to ensure that people who engage in certain languaging practices remain oppressed, these practices are often referred to as dialects; although when the speakers of these so called dialects achieve political power, they are then often designated as languages. Max Weinreich is often quoted as having said that "a language is a dialect with an army and a navy" (see Romaine, 1994: 12). This serves well to remind us that the difference between what people call a dialect and a language is most often not linguistic but social, and having to do with the power of its speakers.

Many lay people also assume that dialects are varieties of a language that are mutually intelligible, that is, speakers are able to understand each other. However, mutual intelligibility has little to do with language, and more to do with people, since it is people who understand each other. Many cases contradict the assumption

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that dialects are mutually intelligible whereas languages are not. For example Hindi and Urdu, though mutually intelligible are considered two languages.

Since, differences between what people call language and what they call dialects are often socially constituted, it is better to use the term "varieties" of language practices when speaking of different ways in which people use language, whether in standard or non-standard ways. It is important to emphasize, though, that these varieties are not isolated wholes, but consist of features that come in and out of the languaging that people do, with the different linguistic features that make up their linguistic repertoire.

Pidgins and Creoles

Pidgins are defined by linguists as languages that come into being in contact situations, and are used by speakers with different language backgrounds to communicate, typically to trade or in plantation contexts. For us, they are just another manifestation of how people language. Structurally speaking, pidgins are simplified; that is, they have little morphology and limited syntax, and they are not mutually intelligible with the language from which they derive their lexicon. Pidgins are always learned as second languages. In contrast, when pidgins become nativized and standardized, and adopted as the language of the home by a majority of the population, they are known as creoles.

Creoles are said to be lexically and structurally complex, and are learned as first languages. Michel De Graff (1999) has argued against what he calls "creole exceptionalism," that is, the idea that because creoles had no time to incorporate the parent- languages' complex grammars, and because they are so new, creoles are similar to each other and different from other languages. In fact, if you compare the evolution and structures of English with that of Creoles, De Graff argues, there is no way to distinguish one from the other. In this reconstituted view, a creole may just be the partial settling of language practices under certain social circumstances.

The languaging of creole speakers takes different features from their entire linguistic repertoire. They often move closer to the standard speaking what linguists refer to as an acrolect. Other times, their languaging has more features of the creole itself, leading linguists to refer to this variety as a basilect. The choice of words to describe this languaging positions the acrolect as superior to the basilect but viewed from the perspective of the speaker, and not from the language itself, creole-speakers choose and blend features from their entire linguistic repertoire, making their languaging more responsive to standard or creole features depending on their communicative intent and its function.

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Lesson-24

LANGUAGING AND LANGUAGE

Topic No. 127-132

Languages in Education: Standardization of Language and Literacy; Exclusive Use of Standard Variety; Academic Language Characteristics; Academic Language and Higher Order Skills

Standardization is not an inherent characteristic of language, but the result of a deliberate process. Standardization occurs by fixing and regulating such features as the spelling and the grammar of a language in dictionaries and grammar books which are then used for prescriptive teaching of the language. The term standard language is often used in opposition to standard is "vernacular:" the local language practices. Coulmas (2005: 215) defines standard as "a prestigious variety of language, providing a written institutionalized norm as a reference form for such purposes as language teaching and the media." The standard norm is decided and codified by a central group, disseminated through the institutions of the state such as education and then usage is constantly policed and users dissuaded from divergent practices, both formally and informally.

Schools pay a lot of attention to the teaching of language itself. Language is central in school because it is also the means through which teaching and learning occurs. Often times, however, this use of language in school, as controlled by the teacher and limited to what is considered "the standard," as such it has little to do with encouraging children's intellectual inquiry and creativity or with children's languaging. The ability to use the standard language is a developmental goal of education, but restricting the languaging of students may severely limit their communicative and intellectual potential, and their possibilities of becoming better educated.

Standardization and literacy are intrinsically linked, because, as Romaine has pointed out, "the acquisition of literacy presupposes the existence of a codified written standard, and standardization depends on the existence of a written form of language" (1994: 86).Since, literacy relies on the standard, the standard language itself is taught explicitly in school, and it certainly needs to be taught. Without its acquisition, language minority children will continue to fail and will not have equal access to resources and opportunities. However, the exclusive use of a standard variety for school has important implications for bilingual education. Without a lot of caution, the school's insistence on using only the standard variety of the home language can be detrimental, and may even aggravate the linguistic insecurity that many minority speakers feel.

The minoritized language practices of the home often have little to do with the standard minority language taught in school. There is a difference between the way in which language is used in academic tasks and in conversation and intimacy. The surface fluency so evident in conversational language is most often supported by cues that have little to do with language itself. In writing to someone we know intimately, much can be left unsaid because the meaning is often carried by what we know about the other person. In personal dialogue, we often ask the other person to repeat, to clarify, and to provide an example. Cummins (1981b) has called this use of language, language practices that are supported by meaningful interpersonal and situational cues, "contextualized language." Contextualized language, supported by paralinguistic cues, is what one uses for basic interpersonal communication, what Cummins calls "BICS."

To complete school tasks, and especially assessment tasks, another different set of language skills is needed. Students in school need to be able to use language without any extralinguistic support, in ways that are

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very different from the way in which we use language most of the time in real life. This decontextualized language is what is needed in order to participate in classrooms. Decontextualized language is also what students need in order to write the academic essays that require an unknown audience with whom communication is important, and in taking multiple-choice tests that force only one answer. Cummins (1981b) calls them Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP).

Cummins (2000) posits that academic language, both oral and written, is associated with higher-order thinking, including hypothesizing, evaluating, inferring, generalizing, predicting, or classifying and yet, Cummins argues that CALP is not superior to BICS, and that developmentally they are not separate but develop jointly within a matrix of social interaction. A major goal of schooling is to expand the use of decontextualized language that characterizes academic registers, but to do so, Cummins tells us, social interaction and the contextualization of academic language practices is most essential.

Contextual support, Cummins (2000) explains, can be external, having to do with aspects of the input itself, but contextual support can also be internal, having to do with the experiences, interests, and motivations that interlocutors have. The more students know and understand, the easier it is for them to make sense of academic language, since there is internal support for understanding the messages.

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Lesson-25

LANGUAGES IN EDUCATION

Topic No. 133-137

Imposition of Standard Language: Linguicism; Controlling Opportunities; Language Practices Regulations; Languaging in Schools

Powerful groups impose their language on the less powerful. In some countries, children are schooled in a language spoken only by a powerful minority within the country, and not by the majority of speakers. This educational practice privileges those who spoke the imposed language at home, severely curtailing educational opportunities for those who were schooled in a language they did not understand. This guarantees that the power stays in the hands of the Indigenous elite.

Prejudice against users of non-standard varieties of a language is as old as the history of language itself. Thinking about the situation of what has been called African American Vernacular English (AAVE) or Ebonics is instructive in this regard. Although many scholars have clearly shown that AAVE is logical and regular, and that its grammatical and phonological characteristics cannot be the cause of poor academic performance, the features that characterize this variety continue to be stigmatized. Even in schools with many African American teachers and in neighborhoods where most are African Americans, only an English standard is accepted, developed, and used in assessment.

This racism that is associated with language is what ToveSkutnabb-Kangas (2000) has termed "linguicism." There are many examples worldwide of using language to limit educational and occupational opportunities to those who speak the privileged language. This actually accentuates social differences, since they can only be acquired through formal education and not everyone has access to school. Pennycook (2002) has also shown how language use in education may create "docile" people, able to cooperate in their own exploitation.

The growing insistence in the use of standard written English in high-stakes assessment in the United States has to do with gate-keeping; that is, the ability to control who goes forward, and ensuring that only those who can write English natively, and without any features of language contact, can access higher education and professional positions. Written Standard English in U.S. school assessments is increasingly used to create differences between monolinguals and bilinguals which are then used as gate-keeping mechanisms for promotion, high-school graduation, and college entrance.

The obsession with language categories, as well as the school's insistence in using only "the standard" to teach, learn, and assess, has then much to do with the concept of governmentality as proposed by Foucault (1991). Foucault focuses on how language practices "regulate" the ways in which language is used, and establish language hierarchies in which some languages, or some ways of using language, are more valued than others. This has to be interpreted within the framework of "hegemony" developed by Antonio Gramsci (1971) which explains how people acquiesce to invisible cultural power. Erikson (1996: 45) defines "hegemonic practices" as "routine actions and unexamined beliefs that are consonant with the actions, entirely without malevolent intent, that nonetheless systematically limit the life chances of members of stigmatized groups." Our routine language practices become "regulatory" mechanisms which unconsciously create categories of exclusion. Thus, our discursive practices are one of the most obvious examples of hegemony in which we all, and especially educators, participate.

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Language is a social construction, linked to the construction of the nation-state, is a fact but that language, as socially constructed, has real implications for children's education is a most important reality. Despite the changes to our conception of nation-states as a result of globalization, language in school continues to operate mostly as it has in the past, distanced from the real ways in which children language.

The language use in bilingual schools is determined mostly by states that control whether all children are to be educated in one language or the other or in many, or whether the children's languaging is to be valued. But bilingual schools that act on their potential to be transformative must build on the children's complex languaging to also develop the languaging practices of schools, what we have learned to call "standard academic language.

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Lesson-26

IMPOSITION OF STANDARD LANGUAGE: REASONS

Topic No. 138-141

Scenarios; Bilingualism; Translanguaging; Balanced Bilingualism; Invisible Bilingualism

Bilingual children tend to have more metalinguistic skills and divergent thinking than monolingual children, thus enabling them to play with words and sounds of words much more than those who are monolingual. The teachers are often ignorant of this fact and dismiss this gift of bilingual children and see it instead as a burden.

Individuals and communities in settings throughout both the developed West and the developing world usually language bilingually, that is, they translanguage when they communicate. In many, perhaps most, settings in the world, it is normal and unmarked to translanguage in interactions between individuals who belong to the same bilingual culture. Sometimes translanguaging takes place across cultures.

Translanguaging, or engaging in bilingual or multilingual discourse practices, is an approach to bilingualism that is centered, not on languages as has been often the case, but on the practices of bilinguals that are readily observable. These worldwide translanguaging practices are seen here not as marked or unusual, but rather are taken for what they are, namely the normal mode of communication that, with some exceptions in some monolingual enclaves, characterizes communities throughout the world.

Early scholars of bilingualism, in particular Bloomfield (1933), only considered native-like control of two languages as a sign of bilingualism but later scholars, such as Einar Haugen and Uriel Weinreich, had much broader definitions of bilingualism, perhaps because as bilinguals themselves they were aware of its complexity, and they had worked in immigrant U.S. contexts where different forms of bilingualism were common. Haugen (1953) considered even minimum proficiency in two languages a sign of bilingualism. Weinreich (1953) labeled someone who alternated between the two languages as a bilingual. Diebold (1964) speaks of "incipient bilingualism" to designate those who are at the very beginnings of acquiring some competence in another language, thereby providing a minimalist definition of bilingualism.

Balanced bilingualism presents a picture of children and adults who are equally competent in two languages in all contexts and with all interlocutors. Although this is still a widely accepted idea, especially among educators, it has long been recognized that such a form of bilingualism does not exist. The belief in balanced bilingualism holds that a bilingual is like two persons, each fluent in one of the two languages. More realistically, a bilingual is a person that "languages" differently and that has diverse and unequal experiences with each of the two languages. The languages of an individual are rarely socially equal, having different power and prestige, and they are used for different purposes, in different contexts, with different interlocutors.

Translanguaging

When describing the language practices of bilinguals from the perspective of the users themselves, and not simply describing bilingual language use or bilingual contact from the perspective of the language itself, the

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language practices of bilinguals are examples of what we are here calling translanguaging. We borrow this term from Cen Williams (cited in Baker, 2001) who used it to name a pedagogical practice which switches the language mode in bilingual classrooms, for example, reading is done in one language, and writing in another.

Translanguagings are multiple discursive practices in which bilinguals engage in order to make sense of their bilingual worlds. Translanguaging therefore goes beyond what has been termed code-switching, although it includes it, as well as other kinds of bilingual language use and bilingual contact. Translanguaging for us extends what Gutiérrez and her colleagues have called "hybrid language use," that is, a "systematic, strategic, affiliative, and sense-making process" (Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López, and Alvarez, 2001: 128).

Bilingual families and communities must translanguage in order to construct meaning. Translanguaging is thus the only discursive practice that can include all family members. In bilingual communities, it is also important to translanguage in order to make sense of signs written in the two or more languages of the community, often communicating different messages. Additionally, translanguaging is an important practice among language minority children who serve as translators for their parents who do not speak the majority language. Orellana, Reynolds, Dorner, and Meza (2003) and Valdés (2002) have shown the value of the multiple literacies in which youth engage while translating for their families. Bilinguals translanguage to include and facilitate communication with others, but also to construct deeper understandings and make sense of their bilingual worlds. Bilingual communities translanguage extensively, sometimes using their languages for different modalities. For example, in the United States Latino children often select English for reading since more children's literature in English is available. However, the same children pray in Spanish since it is the language that the parentsuse in their bedtime prayers.

Technology-enabled communication facilitates complex languaging practices that question monolingual realities. In bilingual speech, Lüdi (2003: 175) tells us, "Rules and norms are activated that overlap single languages and govern the harmonic, i.e. the 'grammatical' mixing of elements from different languages." What we have is multiple discursive practices or translanguaging. Despite the ability of bilinguals to translanguage, monolinguals are often oblivious to the presence of these bilingual practices (what Hélot, 2003, 2006, 2007 calls "invisible bilingualism"), or dismissive of their significance, with any difference in language practices often evaluated as a deficiency. These practices are in no way deficient, they simply reflect greater choices, a wider range of expression than each monolingual separately can call upon, and convey not only linguistic knowledge, but also combined cultural knowledge that comes to bear upon language use.

Rather than focusing on the language itself and how one or the other might relate to the way in which a monolingual standard is used and has been described, the concept of translanguaging makes obvious that there are no clear-cut boundaries between the languages of bilinguals. What we have is a languaging continuum that is accessed.

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Lesson-27

BILINGUALISM AND TRANSLANGUAGING

Topic No. 142-146

Translanguaging: Bilingual Use of Language; Bilingual Contact; Bilingual Borrowing; Code-switching

Bilingual practices are in no way deficient, they simply reflect greater choices, a wider range of expression than each monolingual separately can call upon, and convey not only linguistic knowledge, but also combined cultural knowledge that comes to bear upon language use.

Studies have shown that the language use of bilinguals responds to their communicative and affective intent, as well as to the situation and the interlocutor. Fishman et al. (1971) proposed the construct of domains as such, domains are "a sphere of activity representing a combination of specific times, settings, and role relationships" (Romaine, 1994: 43). Domains allow scholars to make connections between, on the one hand, clusters of interaction and interlocutors, and on the other, more concrete social situations.

It is true, however, that bilinguals usually have differentiated use and competence in the languages in which they translanguage, having had exposure to various language practices. Sometimes, this differentiated use and competence has to do with personal preference. Grosjean (1997) refers to this language use of bilinguals as the "complementarity principle" and explains that any bilingual is never two monolinguals in one person, and any child, regardless of circumstances or education, will never be able to become two monolinguals in one person. Cenoz and Genesee (1998: 27) conclude that "multilinguals may not need the same levels of proficiency in all of their languages in all of the same discourse domains as monolinguals."

Bilingualism is not about 1 + 1 = 2, but about a plural, mixing different aspects or fractions of language behavior as they are needed, to be socially meaningful. Because the range of the linguistic repertoire of bilinguals is more differentiated than that of monolinguals, the linguistic choices for bilinguals are also greater. Gumperz (1982) has shown how language use of bilinguals has much to do with the desire to be socially distinct, as well as assimilating.

The fact that speakers select one variety or another, or even both simultaneously has to do with different values and attitudes, but also with different communicative intent and possibilities. Traditionally, bilingual language use has been studied from the perspective of the language itself, and not of its speakers, leading scholars to characterize bilingual speech as reflecting language contact. In his classic study, Weinreich (1953) referred to this with the term "interference." Since Weinreich, research has also shown that many features that were originally considered as so-called interference, or contact phenomena, were in fact developmental features not at all due to the other language in the speaker's environment, but similar to deviations from the norm that native-speaking children go through as they acquire a given language. Scholars nowadays prefer the term "transference" to refer to language contact phenomena at all linguistic levels. All speech is characterized by borrowing, that is, the taking of individual lexical items from other languages but the speech of bilinguals often reveals more borrowings or loans than that of monolinguals.

Code switching is the process of going back and forth from one language to the other. Code-switching may be of at least two types. The first type, intra-sentential, refers to instances in which the switch occurs within

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the boundaries of a clause or a sentence or intra-sentential between two or more sentences. Far from being a sign of inadequacy or sloppy language usage or lack of knowledge, it has been shown that code-switching is a sophisticated linguistic skill and a characteristic of the speech of fluent bilinguals.

Myers-Scotton (1990, 1993) has shown how code-selection in a code-switching environment is used to negotiate interpersonal relationships. Choice of code is motivated according to whether a given available code is marked, that is, whether it has social meaning, or not (Myers-Scotton calls this the "Markedness Model"). It assumes that when two or more codes are available, selecting a particular one is marked in the environment of the other that is not marked. The negotiating principle posits: through experiencing language in their community, speakers develop a sense of which code is unmarked for a given interaction. Unmarked choices are the most frequent and a marked choice implies a renegotiation of rights and obligations between participants.

For some, code-switching refers to the bilingual's ability to select the language in response to external cues and according to the properties of the linguistic system; code-mixing on the other hand, refers to combining elements from each language because the speaker does not know how to differentiate between them (Meisel, 1989). Code mixing is usually accompanied by reduction in the linguistic forms and the uses of that language as a result of a process of language attrition or loss.

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Lesson-28

TRANSLANGUAGING FRAMEWORK

Topic No. 147-152

Models of Bilingualism; Subtractive Bilingualism; Additive Bilingualism; Recursive Bilingualism; Dynamic Bilingualism; Plurilingualism

Subtractive Bilingualism

When monoglossic ideologies persist, monolingualism and monolingual schools are the norm, it is generally believed that children who speak a language other than that of the state should be encouraged to abandon that language. In this model, the student speaks a first language and a second one is added while the first is subtracted. The result is a child speaks only the second language. This bilingualism is characterized by increasing loss of linguistic features of the first language. Additive bilingualism for prestigious groups and the elite has always been additive, a model under which the second language is added to the person's repertoire and the two languages are maintained. Despite the benefits of this approach, bilingualism here is still seen from the perspective of a monolingual norm.

Recursive Bilingualism

The concept is used in cases when bilingualism is developed after the language practices of a community have been suppressed. When a community engages in efforts to revitalize their language practices, this is called recursive bilingualism as, for example in the case of the Maori of Aotearoa/ New Zealand, individuals are not starting from scratch and adding simply a second language. The ancestral language continues to be used in traditional ceremonies and by many in the community to different degrees. Therefore, bilingualism is not simply additive, but recursive. These bilingual individuals and communities often move back and forth along a bilingual continuum and in so doing, the language is not added whole, but in bits and pieces, as ancestral language practices are reconstituted for new functions. Indeed in these cases bilingualism is recursive because it reaches back to the bits and pieces of an ancestral language as it is reconstituted for new functions and as it gains momentum to thrust itself forward towards the future.

Dynamic Bilingualism

Dynamic bilingualism draws attention to the fact that bilingualism is not simply linear but dynamic, drawing from the different contexts in which it develops and functions. In the linguistic complexity of the twenty-first century, bilingualism involves a much more dynamic cycle where language practices are multiple and ever adjusting to the multilingual multimodal terrain of the communicative act. With language interaction taking place on different planes including multimodalities, that is, different modes of language (visuals as well as print, sound as well as text, and so on) as well as multilingualism, it is possible for individuals to engage in multiple complex communicative acts that do not in any way respond to the linear models of bilingualism proposed above. For us, this model of dynamic bilingualism is closely related to plurilingualism.

Plurilingualism

Plurilingualism is helpful in that it enables us to shed concepts of balanced bilingualism, or the idea that children be equally competent in two languages in all contexts and with all interlocutors. It extends the mastery of two or more standard languages to include hybrid language practices. Thus the concept of plurilingualism confirms the idea that one plus one does not always equal two. Increasingly, the world seeks to

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develop bilingual citizens who function within the plurilingual dynamics of the twenty-first century. For example, Posner (1991) suggests the concept of polyglot dialogue with everyone speaking their language, but understanding everyone else's.

Although it is acknowledged that plurilingual competence may be developed either through schooling, private study, or even participation in public life, the school is given a primary role in the development of plurilingualism as a positive value. This acknowledges that the educational system needs to develop citizens who are capable of linguistic tolerance towards speakers who "language" differently.

An educational value that is the basis of linguistic tolerance: Speakers' awareness of their plurilingualism may lead them to give equal value to each of the varieties they themselves and other speakers use, even if they do not have the same functions (private, professional or official communication, language of affiliation, etc) but this awareness should be assisted and structured by schools since it is no sense automatic (hence the expression: plurilingualism as a value). (Our emphasis, Council of Europe, 2000a)

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Lesson-29

MODELS OF BILINGUALISM

Topic No. 153-160

Questioning Assumptions: Semilingualism; Language Dominance; Mother Tongue; Second Language Learners; Heritage Language; Second Language Learning Process

Questioning Assumptions

The concepts of semilingualism, language dominance, and mother tongue emerge from a treatment of bilingualism from only a linguistic angle, and not from the perspective of bilinguals themselves who translanguage as common practice. Second, that if we adopt the angle of bilingual speakers who translanguage, then we could substitute the simple word "bilingual" for second- language or heritage-language learner. Putting bilingualism at the center of the discussion by insisting that these students are emergent bilinguals, or bilinguals engaging in complex translanguaging practices, can lead us to abandon a monolingual viewpoint and use a more heteroglossic lens, which would allow for a fuller vision of the range of language practices and experiences that bilinguals bring.

Semilingualism

The obsession with monolinguals as the norm of reference has led to the proposal of the concept of semilingualism, referring to the unequal performance of bilingual children in their two languages when compared to monolingual children (see Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa, 1976). The development of sociolinguistics has expanded our understandings of the languaging practices of bilinguals; that is, their discursive practices, and how these in turn are affected by social and political constraints. This increased understanding has led scholars to abandon the concept of semilingualism, no longer considering it a useful characterization.

Language Dominance

The dominant bilingual was defined as one for whom competence in one of the languages was superior to the competence in the other. Objecting to the use of speed tests to determine language dominance of bilinguals, Fishman et al. (1971) argued that where bilingualism is socially constructed, and not merely an occupation or hobby, the concept of language dominance as determined by speed tests is irrelevant. Bilinguals are much more than just two monolinguals, and often, as we will see, it is difficult to disentangle abilities and functioning in one language from that in the other. It is true, however, that for some tasks, and when requested to act monolingually, bilinguals might be more dominant in one language than the other. Language dominance is task-specific. Bilinguals generally translanguage. It is only when bilinguals are forced to choose only one language in carrying out a precise task that we may be able to speak of their language dominance for that exact event.

Mother tongue

Another common concept now challenged is that of mother tongue. The United Nations defines mother tongue as "the language usually spoken in the individual's home in his early childhood, although not necessarily used by him at present." This directive states that member states should promote the teaching of the mother tongue and the culture of the country of origin in the education of migrant workers' children.

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Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) argue "One may be a native speaker of a language even though one's mother was not [. . .]. It is not a useful term, but it is, nonetheless [. . .] widely used." In addition, Mother tongue tends to be used for language minorities and much less so for language majorities. The term therefore tends to be a symbol of separation of minority and majority, or those with less, as opposed to those with more power and status."

However, there are questions: How does one identify an individual's mother tongue when many are spoken by the mother in the home and acquired simultaneously, and often used in translanguaging ways? And how does one then acknowledge the role of the father and other relatives in societies and social groups in which the mother and the father have different language practices. What the state calls mother tongue may also not necessarily be the language of the home irrespective of the actual language used in the home.

Second-Language Learners/Speakers

The concept robs bilingualism of its possibilities of being considered as the norm for large sections of the world's population. Those who are learning a second language should be considered emergent bilinguals so that educators can understand that it will be impossible for their students to leave their home language practices behind if they are going to succeed in learning the additional language. Conceptualizing emergent bilinguals as sliding across a bilingual continuum enables us to move away from artificial categorizations such as second-language learner vs. fluent speakers – which are difficult to determine.

The concept of a second-language speaker is problematic. Is a second- language speaker someone who speaks with an accent? When does one stop being a second-language speaker? Terms, such as "second-language learner" and "second- language speaker," when studied from a heteroglossic and bilingual perspective make little sense. Instead, we should speak about "bilinguals," giving the term a full range of possibilities, and taking away the negative connotations associated with being second, and not first. Those who are learning a second language should be considered emergent bilinguals so that educators can understand that it will be impossible for their students to leave their home language practices behind if they are going to succeed in learning the additional language.

Heritage Language

The term "heritage language" is also often used to refer to languages spoken by ethnic communities. Although the term was not used in the United States, it has recently gained favor as the word "bilingual" has been silenced. The question is who is a heritage-language learner? Someone who has some ability in a language that their parents, grandparents, or distant ancestors speak? Or is it someone whose parents, grandparents, or distant ancestors spoke that language, although she/he no longer does? And then what proficiency in that language must one have in order to be categorized as a heritage-language learner?

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Lesson-30

QUESTIONING ASSUMPTIONS

Topic No. 161-165

Bilingual Ability and Development: Receptive Bilinguals; Bilingualism and Language Functions; Bilingualism-Elective or Obligatory; Bilingual Development in Children; Bilingual vs. Monolingual Children

Bilingual Abilities

Depending on the reasons for using their languages, bilinguals may have only oracy abilities in one language or the other – the ability to listen and speak – and not literacy abilities – the ability to read and write either language or vice versa or they may have, as the Deaf do, signacy, that is, the ability to interpret and produce signs. Any one of these language abilities may be manifested in different combinations among bilingual individuals.

Productive bilingual abilities mean that bilinguals are capable of speaking, writing and producing signs in more than one language.

Receptive bilingual abilities mean that they may understand, read or attend to, or interpret, signs in more than one language, although they cannot speak, write, or produce signs in more than one language. There are four circumstances that often produce receptive or passive bilinguals:

1. Children of immigrant or minority backgrounds whose home languages are not promoted in the wider society are often able to understand their parents and elders, but are incapable of speaking the language themselves.

2. Deaf children who are born to hearing parents, and whose education excludes the use of sign language, may not develop the ability to productively sign the standardized sign languages.

3. Those who have learned a language in traditional language programs may understand, read, and interpret the language learned well, although they may be incapable of speaking, writing, or producing signs. Scholars of extinct languages also have biliteracy skills but may never be in a position to develop oracy in a language that they have never heard.

4. Bilingualism can also be a consequence of language function, that is, the use to which one puts either language. In fact, language ability and language function are often interrelated, since one has to have the possibility to function and use a specific language or two languages in order to develop ability to engage in language practices that use either or both of the languages.

Elective vs. obligatory bilingualism: Some individuals choose to develop bilingual abilities, often the result of studying the language in school or through personal effort. That is, their bilingualism is optional. This type of bilingual has been referred to as "elite bilingual" by Fishman (1977b) and "elective bilingual" by Valdés and Figueroa (1994). Other individuals are forced to develop bilingual abilities. That is, their bilingualism is obligatory. For example, immigrants, indigenous peoples, and minorities who are forced to learn and use only language practices that are not those of the home. Hence, they are obligatory bilinguals. Valdés and Figueroa (1994) call them "circumstantial bilinguals.

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Children's bilingual development: There are initiatives now in several parts of the world that offer encouragement to become bilinguals; whereas in others, there is still often discouragement and denigration. "Acquisition" of an additional language is distinguished from "learning" another language. Acquisition, according to Krashen (1981b) refers to "picking up" a language, as is done in the family, in the street or community, or in informal ways. Most people who acquire a language develop oracy first. The term "learning" a second language is used to indicate the study of the language as is done in school or other formal settings.

Another important concept is whether children become bilingual either simultaneously, acquiring the two languages more or less at the same time in the home, or sequentially, that is, acquiring the second language at a later stage and usually once they go to school. Simultaneous bilingualism has been referred to as the acquisition of "bilingualism as a first language" (Swain, 1972). In the twenty-first century, the concepts of sequential and simultaneous bilingualism seem to work less well, as some children go to school earlier and participate in complex multilingual encounters, in reality and virtual reality, with ease and frequency from an early age.

The "milestones" of bilingual development and their timing are the same as those for monolingual children. There is no evidence that the fact that children growing up with two languages have to process more variation in the input has an effect on the rate of acquisition: on the whole, bilingual and monolingual children reach the milestones of development within similar age ranges. There is no evidence that bilingual children differ from monolingual children except for the fact that they produce mixed utterances in addition to monolingual ones; that is, they translanguage from an early age and young bilingual children know usually by the second year of life how to make the choice of whether to use one language or the other, or a mix of the two.

Some children growing up with bilingual input produce only one language. In fact, this is the most common pattern of interaction between bilingual immigrant parents and their bilingual children. This seems to offer support for the Intentionality Model for Language Acquisition that places agency of the child at the center of the developmental process (Bloom and Tinker, 2002).

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Lesson-31

BILINGUAL ABILITIES AND BILINGUAL DEVELOPMENT

Topic No. 166-169

Adult vs Child Bilingualism; Adult Bilingual Development; Child Bilingual Development; Adult vs Child Bilingualism Differences

Adults' Bilingual Development

Many adolescents who immigrate become bilingual through participation with their peers and through schooling. Adults also can develop bilingual fluency and biliteracy fluency, and reach high levels of competence when they study a second language in a well-designed educational program (Rivera and Huerta-Macías, 2008). The European Commission introduced Erasmus, an exchange program that encourages university students from different European countries to study for part of their degree in a different language in another country. This has now been extended to other parts of the globe under the name Erasmus-World. Tribal Colleges that are fully accredited and operated by American Indian tribes in the United States offer Native American language and culture courses.

Child vs. Adult Bilingualism

Many have proposed that there are advantages to the early introduction of a second language in school (Cenoz and Genesee, 1998: 28). This is based on the widespread belief that earlier is better for bilingualism yet, there seem to be no age-related differences in the process of language learning. Starting to acquire a second language in childhood is not in itself a sufficient condition for the development of full bilingualism. Genesee (2004: 555) summarizes the arguments saying: "Notwithstanding some compelling arguments" (e.g., Long, 1990; Scovel, 1988), empirical evidence in favor of a critical period for L2 acquisition has been equivocal, with some studies claiming evidence for the critical period and others evidence against it.

The development of bilingualism in school often has much more to do with pedagogical and student factors than with biological predispositions to acquire language. So findings, for example, on the effects of starting to teach children in kindergarten vs. secondary schools through the medium of a second language (what in Canada are known as early-immersion and late-immersion programs) have not been clear cut. Whereas some report the impressive progress of students starting at the secondary level, others find that students starting at kindergarten do better. But the differences between early onset and late onset of bilingualism in school are negligible by the time students are in secondary school.

Older students can make quick progress. Singleton (2001) has also shown that early second-language learners are neither more successful nor more efficient in acquiring a second language. The same has been found in foreign-language learning contexts because children have more time to practice and develop their bilingual competence, and because often the social and educational settings in which they participate are more conducive to authentic practice, it turns out they often appear to be more successful in developing their bilingualism. Yet, in formal educational settings, adults, able to use their metalinguistic skills in a first language more efficiently, learn more quickly than younger learners.

Children's communicative needs are also simpler than those of adults, and children's language practices are often supported through gestures and visuals. Thus, the language that children need is less complex and

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more contextualized than that needed by adults, leading many to think that they are better bilingual acquirers. In short, there is little evidence for a "critical period" for second-language learning, except perhaps for the development of a native-like accent, and adults are quite capable of becoming bilinguals.

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Lesson-32

ADULT VS. CHILD BILINGUALISM

Topic No. 170-174

Language Maintenance and Shift; Revitalization; Language and identity; Postcolonial and Hybrid Identity; Language Ideologies

Fishman (1968) argues that "The study of language maintenance and language shift is concerned with the relationship between change (or stability) in language usage patterns on the one hand, and ongoing psychological, social or cultural processes, on the other hand, in populations that utilize more than one speech variety for intra-group or for inter-group purposes." Language shift or maintenance does not happen in a vacuum, it occurs only when certain societal conditions are present:

1. Co-existence of more than one language – bilingualism;
2. Differences in power, value, and status conferred on each of the two languages that lead the group to maintain or abandon the home language;
3. Pressure in political, economic, or social forms from one of the two language groups.

The process of language shift among immigrant populations tends to take place over three generations in countries such as the United States or Australia. In situations of language shift, forms and uses are reduced (De Bot and Clyne, 1994) and eventually this leads to groups shifting their use of one language to another. In cases of minoritized languages, this may lead to language death.

The language maintenance of minority groups has not been looked upon favorably, whereas the language maintenance of majority groups has been considered natural and uninteresting. Many bilingual education programs for minoritized groups have goals of either language shift or language maintenance. For example, in the United States, what has become known as transitional bilingual education programs for language minorities encourages mostly Spanish-speaking children to shift quickly to English only.

Language Revitalization

The change from description of language shift situations to diagnosis and action is the purview of what Fishman (1991) has called Reversing Language Shift (RLS) and others have called language revitalization. In Fishman's Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) (1991), the higher the score, the lower the language maintenance prospects of a group. The GIDS provides a way by which ethnolinguistic groups can assess the threatened state of their languages (X) and mobilize resources on their behalf; Stage 8: X spoken by socially isolated old folks; Stage 7: X spoken by socially integrated and ethno-linguistically active, but beyond child-bearing age; Stage 6: X is normal language of informal spoken interaction between and within all three generations of family, with Y reserved for greater formality and technicality than those common in daily family life; Stage 5: X is also used for literacy in home, school, and community, but such literacy is not reinforced extra-communally. Stage 4: X is used in lower education that meets requirements of compulsory education laws; Stage 3: X is used in lower work sphere, outside of the community, and involving interaction between both speech communities; Stage 2: X is used in lower governmental services and mass media, but not higher levels; Stage 1: X is used in higher level educational, occupational, governmental, and media efforts. Fishman posits that the crucial stage beyond which there is no intergenerational mother-tongue transmission, and therefore, no possibility of language maintenance, is Stage 6: "Without intergenerational mother

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tongue transmission, [. . .] no language maintenance is possible." that which is not transmitted cannot be maintained" (Fishman, 1991: 113).

Language and Identity

Nationalist ideologies throughout the world continue to link language to identity unidirectionally. Language, as constructed, is not only a simple identity marker, but is capable of generating imagined communities and of constructing particular loyalties (Anderson, 1983: 133). Language, then, has much more than a semiotic and symbolic function; it also has a rhetorical function, used to discursively construct identity and solidarity. There is a reciprocal role between language and identity; that is, language use influences the identity formation of the group, while at the same time, the identity of the group influences the patterns of attitudes and language uses. Individual and social identity are mediated by language with speakers creating speech acts as acts of projection in which "the individual creates for himself the patterns of his linguistic behaviour so as to resemble those of the group or groups with which from time to time he wishes to be identified, or so as to be unlike those from whom he wishes to be distinguished.

Postcolonial identity involves not only "sameness" but by extension "otherness" and the development of hybrid identities which involve plural language practices. Hybrid identities are, as Holt and Gubbins (2002: 4) say "an attempt to link or acknowledge the past in the light of a different cultural environment rather than a mark of disloyalty." The construction of these multiple and hybrid identities rest on multiple factors beyond language, such as race, social class, age, generation, sexual orientation, geopolitical situation, and institutional affiliation (Bhabha, 1990; Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004).

Language Ideologies

Language ideologies represent the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, in addition to political and moral interests. Attitudes, values, and beliefs about language are always ideological, and are enmeshed in social systems of domination and subordination of groups, relating to ethnicity, class, and gender. One of the most popular ideologies is precisely that there is, or that there has to be, a link between language and identity, but it is important to recognize that this is a result of the homogenizing work of school in imposing a national standard. This is linked to Bourdieu's concept of linguistic practices as symbolic capital. This symbolic capital is distributed unevenly in the speech community, and as such, there is symbolic violence because the dominant ideas are naturally assumed and the oppressed recognizes the dominant group as superior.

Blommaert (1999: 10) says that linguistic ideologies are produced and reproduced through what people say and do not say, and do and do not do, through language itself. The study of language ideologies focuses, then, on the sociohistorical, sociopolitical, and socioeconomic conditions that affect the production of social meanings in relationship to language and to discourses. The social context can prevent individuals from accessing certain linguistic resources or adopting new identities. The language choices available to children and their parents, as well as the discursive practices that are encouraged and supported in school, have an important impact on children's identity.

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Lesson-33

BILINGUALISM: LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE AND SHIFT

Topic No. 175-180

Language Policy and Language Rights; Language Policy; Language Policy Dimensions; Language Policy Goals; Languages in Education; Bilingualism and Human Rights

Three components of language policy (Spolsky, 2004**):**

1. Language management – also known as language planning, language intervention, language engineering, or language treatment, and referring to direct efforts to manipulate the language situation

2. Language practices – the habitual pattern of selecting among varieties that make up its linguistic repertoire; related to what Hymes (1967) calls ethnography of speaking

3. Language beliefs or ideology – the beliefs about language and language use

The interactive way in which language is planned (or unplanned) and dictated from the top down, and the ways in which it is interpreted, negotiated (or planned) from the bottom up makes it impossible to differentiate between one level and the other and language beliefs and ideology interact with the two levels.

Focused on the linguistic dimension, the three dimensions of the language policy (LP) enterprise are:

1. **Corpus planning**: Changing the form of the language itself through standardization (standardizing language forms), graphization (developing a writing system), modernization (coining new words and terms)

2. **Status planning**: Modifying the status and prestige of the language

3. **Acquisition planning**: Developing new users of the language. Acquisition planning is especially relevant to those of us interested in bilingual education because school is the most important agent in acquisition planning

According to Cooper (1989), the LP enterprise can be carried out by three different kinds of actors – individuals; by communities and groups or by governments or other authoritative bodies. Most governmental agencies have been established to disseminate the language of the state beyond that of the native-born community. Examples are the British Council, the Alliance Française, the Goethe Institute, the Confucius Institute, the Japan Foundation, the Korean Foundation, and the Instituto Cervantes but LP can also be carried out by intergovernmental agents such as the World Bank which offers financial support in exchange for certain policies.

Ager (2001) discusses seven goals of language policy:

1. Identity, as when states impose certain languages as a link to specific identities. For example, France has maintained that it is a perfect hexagon and that only French is tied to French identity, thus silencing, until very recently, the other languages of France – Basque, Breton, Catalan, Corsican, Flemish, German, and Occitan.

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2. Ideology, as when states or groups impose different languages or standards as a result of an ideology. An example is the United States' recent federal law, No Child Left Behind, mandating students' annual progress reports that are based on written Standard English assessments (Menken, 2005, 2008).

3. Image creation, as when states try to ensure that a favorable view is taken of their history and language by projecting its language. It is well known, for example, that the British Council and the U.S. government have supported the greater use of English in international communication (Phillipson, 1992).

4. Insecurity, as when states or groups are wary of others and their languages.

5. Inequality, as when states or groups act on language in order to correct inequalities in society. This is the case, for example, of non-sexist language that came to be used especially during the 1970s and 1980s

6. Integration with a group. This was the case when, for example, in Wales, fol- lowing the Education Act of 1870, Welsh children were not only required to learn English in school, but prohibited from speaking Welsh.

7. Instrumental motives, as when groups or individuals acquire a second language because it will give them advantages, usually economic ones, in the market or in careers. This is the case especially of English throughout the world. With regards to acquisition planning, Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) outline 7 different kinds of LP activities that schools must carry out:

1. Determining which languages are to be taught within the curriculum

2. Defining the teacher-supply and identifying who would teach language

3. Determining what segment of the population will be exposed to language education

4. Determining the model and methodology that will be employed, the materials to be used, how and by whom the material will be prepared, and how it will be disseminated

5. Defining the assessment processes used for initial placement, in-course testing, and output summative testing

6. Defining the assessment processes for teacher performance and system performance

7. Determining how to support the activity fiscally and physically

Deciding on the type of education that is offered is language policy (Shohamy, 2006b). Most of the educational decisions and activities that are carried out within bilingual education programs are also instances of language policy. Thus, understanding language policy is very important for bilingual educators.

Language as Right

Beginning in the late 1970s and through the 1990s, language planning was criticized because it was conducted mostly by elites who governed in their own self-interest and reproduced inequalities (Tollefson 1991; Luke, McHoul, and Mey, 1990). During this time, theories of linguistic imperialism in language planning (Phillipson, 1992) received attention, as modernization and the role of the state were called into question. Critical theory was adopted to study the role of language in asymmetrical power relations between speakers. As such, language rights became an important field of study (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000), with an individual's right to use and learn his or her home language becoming recognized as a basic human right.

Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (1994) have identified two broad categories of Linguistic Human Rights:

1. Individual rights: The right of every person "to identify positively with their mother tongue, and to have that identification respected by others" (1994: 2). This includes an individual's right to learn and use

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their home language, including in education, as well as to learn one of the official languages in one's country of residence.

2. Community rights: "The right of minority groups to exist" (1994: 2). This includes the right to establish and maintain schools and other educational institutions, with control of curricula.

Skutnabb-Kangas (2000, 2006) then proposes that there are two kinds of LHRs:

1. Expressive, or non-instrumental rights which ensure people's capacity to enjoy a secure linguistic environment in their home language and a group's fair chance of cultural self-reproduction.

2. Instrumental rights which ensure that language not be an obstacle to meaningful participation in the democratic process and public institutions, and to social and economic opportunities.

Skutnabb-Kangas (2006) also proposes human rights can be negative or positive. Negative linguistic human rights refer to the right not to be discriminated against on the basis of language. Positive linguistic human rights refer to the maintenance and development of identity through the freedom to practice unique aspects of minority life.

Skutnabb-Kangas's (2000) model of Linguistic Human Rights for linguistic minorities rests on three principles for proper integration:

- **Positive promotion-oriented rights:** Language minorities must both enjoy a secure linguistic environment in their home language, as well as be able to use that language to participate meaning-fully in a democracy.
- **Both territorial and personal rights:** Attention must be paid to the home language of individuals, as well as that of groups in defined geographical territories.
- **Both traditional "hard law" rights codified in covenants and conventions, and "soft law" rights:** Such as those in declarations and recommendations are necessary, as signed in the last twenty years to protect the linguistic rights of minoritized groups. For example, the UN Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities (1992).

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Lesson-34

LANGUAGE POLICY AND LANGUAGE RIGHTS

Topic No. 181-184

Bilingualism in the Curriculum; Complexity Involved; Flexibility; Bilingual Allocation

Bilingual education is a transdisciplinary endeavor that requires an ecological and sociocultural perspective. Bilingualism, as well as structures of bilingual education programs, responds to sociopolitical interests because schools are most often under the influence of the state, issues of the different degrees of power of different languages are most important to consider in any bilingual education enterprise.

What makes bilingual education complex is that one has to think not only of pedagogy, approaches, and methodology, but also of how to allocate, arrange, and use the two or more languages in instruction. As the previous two chapters, this is a chapter about language policy.

Bilingual Allocation

Bilingual allocation refers to the time allotments given to one language or the other in bilingual education. Every school has to decide how many class periods will be dedicated to instruction through one language or the other. The most equitable distribution of languages (although not necessarily the most adequate) is, of course, a 50:50 allocation, where half the subjects are taught in one language, and half in the other. The most extreme, but perhaps one of the most popular ones is a 90:10 distribution, with one language used 90 percent of the time, and the additional language used only 10 percent of the time.

Most of the time, bilingual education programs have a sliding bilingual allocation. What we mean by this is that as bilingualism develops, the allocation of time to different languages changes. For example, transitional bilingual education programs may start out with a 90:10 allocation with the minority language being used 90 percent of the time while the second language is acquired. As children become more proficient, the instruction is increasingly done through the child's second language. By the time the child exits the transitional bilingual education program, the time allotment for the language might have completely flip-flopped, with the majority language being used 90 percent of the time, and the minority language being used only for one subject, usually literacy.

Immersion bilingual education also uses a sliding bilingual allocation. In total immersion types, 100 percent of the time is initially allocated to the majority child's second language but the child's home language is increasingly used until the two languages are equally divided in a 50:50 relationship.

Developmental bilingual education programs also often use a sliding allocation. The initial instruction usually follows a 90:10 relationship with the minoritized language used for 90 percent of the curricular time while it is strengthened As the power of the languages equalize, the other language may be allocated equal time in the curriculum but there are also developmental bilingual education programs which are 50:50 or that allocate the two languages in different combinations.

Bilingual allocation, especially in multiple multilingual educational programs, is often even more complex, with languages being weaved in and out. For example, a bilingual education program in India might start out with a 90:10 allocation, with 90 percent of the time devoted to a tribal language, and 10 percent of the time to the regional language in the earliest primary grade but soon afterwards, the tribal language might be

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phased out, and English introduced. Although the regional language might be prevalent at first, English might eventually be used 90 to 100 percent of the time, especially in tertiary education.

In reality all bilingual allocation arrangements are much more flexible than what we describe here since, as we will see below, the languaging bilingually of students and teachers greatly alter these percentages. Still, all bilingual education programs must make decisions about the bilingual allotment in their curriculum. The variability of bilingual allocation in bilingual education programs has to do with the resources available, including teachers and material, as well as societal goals. No one allocation is better than another. Equity between languages does not always mean equality in time allocation.

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Lesson-35

BILINGUALISM IN THE CURRICULUM

Topic No. 185-188

Bilingual Arrangements; Separation Time Determined; Place Determined; Teacher determined; Subject Determined

Even after languages have been allocated, educators must make decisions about how languages will be used or arranged in the curriculum. The languages of a bilingual education curriculum can be arranged either by strictly separating them or by using the two languages flexibly. Flexible language arrangements can be of two types – those which lead to convergence, which is the result of the dominance of one language over the other, and those which lead to multiplicity of languages. Thus, we treat three different types of language arrangements: strict separation; flexible convergence; flexibility multiplicity.

Strict Separation

Bilingual education programs following additive bilingual frameworks usually follow this structure. This is usually what happens, for example, in prestigious bilingual education, immersion bilingual education, and maintenance bilingual education programs. Decisions as to how the languages are to be separated follow one of four strategies: time-determined separation; teacher-determined separation; place-determined separation; subject-determined separation.

Time-determined

In this case, the school makes a decision as to when one language or the other is used. There are different alternatives as to how the languages are divided:

- half- or part-day
- alternate-day
- alternate-week

Schools that choose especially the half- or part-day alternative have to decide whether to keep the time of day always associated with one language or the other, or to switch the time in which the language is used. Some educators feel that children should be able to work in one language or another in the morning when they are fresher as opposed to the afternoon when they are more tired. And some educators believe that it is important for students to continue to work in the same language on the following day for at least a period of time, in that way offering continuity and reinforcement.

If there is only one bilingual teacher per grade, a time-determined separation of languages is preferable, with the teacher switching languages at specific times. The advantage of this arrangement is that teachers teach only one group of students. The disadvantages, however, are that teachers have to be quite literate and professionally educated in two languages and have to prepare material in more than one language. Another disadvantage is that children often have a difficult time understanding the language to be used, especially if the language of instruction keeps changing with time. To avoid children's confusion, one kindergarten teacher used to wear a different color apron for each language. So when the kindergarteners come in and see her wearing her red apron, they know she is teaching in Spanish; and when they see she is wearing a blue apron,

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they know she is teaching in English. Most teachers have a chart on the door and the board which signals the language being used during the day.

Teacher-determined

Here one teacher speaks only one language, and the second teacher solely speaks the other language. There are different manifestations of teacher-determined language-structuring:

Two Teachers, Two Classrooms

This is the strictest of this teacher-determined separation. It combines teacher-determined with time determined separation. Here one teacher teaches in one language at some time of day, while at the same time another teacher teaches in the other language. At an alternate time, the two teachers switch children. For example, in a bilingual Chinese–Italian school, teacher A teaches group A in Chinese which consists of twenty-five children. At the same time, teacher B teaches another twenty-five children in Italian, group B. At some determined time (afternoon, the next day, the next week) teacher A teaches group B in Chinese, whereas teacher B teaches group A in Italian. This arrangement is known as side- by-side and requires, at the primary level, two teachers who are bilingual but who in effect function as a monolingual teacher.

One advantage of the side-by-side teaching arrangement is that teachers use only one language in teaching, and only need to prepare in one language. Another advantage is that the teachers' bilingualism and biliteracy do not need to be fully developed. That is, it is possible to use two bilingual teachers who are only receptive bilinguals, able to understand the children and texts, but not completely literate to teach in two languages. The disadvantage of this arrangement at the elementary level is that teachers teach two groups of students, and thus, have to teach double the number of children. For example, teacher A above will teach a total of fifty children, instead of twenty-five.

Two Teachers, One Classroom

Another arrangement is to have two teachers within one classroom who speak only one language to the students but are able to facilitate their learning in the other language because they themselves are bilingual. This is the usual arrangement when there are enough resources, especially in early childhood. The advantage of this is that it provides language separation, while always ensuring that children are supported in the language they know best. A disadvantage, of course, is cost. Sometimes this arrangement is carried out with a teacher and a teacher-aide (para- professional) with each individual speaking a different language within the class- room. One disadvantage of this arrangement is that, when there is a minority language, the teacher-aide is often the person who speaks it. Thus, the professional teacher raises the status of the majority language, while the teacher aide further stigmatizes the minority language. Because of the importance that all schools attach to the development of the majority language, the opposite arrangement, that is, with the teacher-aide or paraprofessional representing the majority language, is seldom used.

Place-determined

This refers to situations where one particular classroom is used for instruction in one language, and a different classroom for instruction in the other. This is the structure used in many European classrooms and also in many Canadian immersion bilingual education programs. In each room, only one language is displayed and used by the teacher and the children. Most secondary schools also use this arrangement. In some classrooms, the left side is for one language, the right for the other. In others, different colors are used for the two languages. For example, in the United States it is quite common, as we have said, for teachers to write in blue for English and red for Spanish. of multilingualism in general.

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The advantage of this arrangement is that it provides a "language-surround," a context in which children's language development is supported by enabling them to only hear, see, read, and write in that particular language. The disadvantage is that the children have to change rooms, difficult in early primary education. Another disadvantage is that it discourages contrastive analyses of the two languages, a strategy that might be useful in the later stages of bilingual development. Most often, place-determined separation is done in conjunction with an arrangement that is teacher-determined. That is, the teacher stays in one room, teaches only in one language, and it is the children who change rooms. But it is also possible to have a teacher change classrooms.

Subject-determined

This occurs when different subjects are taught through one or another language. Bilingual secondary schools most often use this arrangement – with some teachers teaching an academic subject in one language, and others teaching other subjects in the other language. Although some bilingual education programs teach all subjects in the two languages to all students, this may not be necessary. In fact, Fishman (1976) has pointed out that teaching all subjects in the two languages, the kind of program that Fishman calls Full Biliterate Bilingualism does not reflect societal reality because balanced competence is a theoretical impossibility. Because bilingual education programs in the twenty-first century often serve children of different ethno-linguistic groups, many programs follow a mixture of the full and partial kinds; that is, all subjects, although not the same content material, are taught in both languages. This requires a lot of teacher collaboration, especially in programs with two teachers who share students.

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Lesson-36

BILINGUAL ARRANGEMENTS-FLEXIBLE CONVERGENT

Topic No. 189-193

Flexible Convergent Random Code Switching; Code Mixing Academic Concerns; Code Switching as a Pedagogical Tool; Monoliterate Bilingualism

Flexible Convergent

Flexible language use that drives towards convergence, that is, whose goal is to encourage language shift, is used in subtractive bilingual frameworks, and generally follows two patterns:

- Random code-switching
- Monoliterate bilingualism

Random Code-switching

It is well recognized that bilingual communities code-switch as a way to achieve their full range of expression. That is, just as monolingual communities style-switch from more formal to more informal registers, bilingual communities code-switch because they have at their disposal more than one code. As we have seen before, at times bilingual communities code-switch for specific communicative reasons or social motivations (Gumperz, 1982), but at other times code-switching is simply a discourse style (Zentella, 1997), often signaling multiple identities or membership in many cultures that the languages index (Myers-Scotton, 2006). Indeed, bilinguals who code-switch have also been shown to have a high degree of cognitive control over various languages simultaneously (Zentella, 1997).

Teachers who are members of bilingual communities will use their two languages in classrooms in ways similar to those in which they use them in the community. The randomness of those switches is not always appropriate in educational settings where the development of academic language is necessary. Random code-switching is often the way in which bilingual teachers use languages in transitional bilingual education classrooms. That is, they use two languages to teach the same content concurrently with frequent shifting back and forth between the two languages within a lesson, and with little thought as to why they are doing so. This way of using code-switching in the classroom is often referred to as Concurrent Translation, signaling that teachers go back and forth randomly. Sometimes code-switching responds to what Zentella (1997: 19) has called "following the child", as the teacher switches languages to imitate the language which the child has used. Yet, other times, teachers code-switch to engage emotionally with the child or take disciplinary actions.

Cummins and Swain (1986) provide evidence that a "mixing" approach produces weaker academic results than a "separation" approach. However, in recent years, CLIL/EMILE research in Europe has shown how code-switching, if properly understood and suitably applied, can in fact enhance cognitive skills for the content-matter of non-language subjects such as mathematics or history.

In the late 1980s, Rodolfo Jacobson attempted to develop a pedagogy that used code-switching as a pedagogical tool. Known as the New Concurrent Approach (in opposition to Concurrent Translation which we refer to here as "random code-switching"), Jacobson's approach taught teachers never to use intra-sentential switches (those switches that occur within a sentence and which are most common in bilingual communities), but instead to use only inter- sentential switches (between sentences) as a way of providing conceptual

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reinforcement and review. Although signaling the idea that code-switching as a pedagogical tool was not always a bad idea, the New Concurrent Approach failed to spread because it was based on an artificial bilingual use which could not be sustained in classrooms and teachers resisted.

Monoliterate Bilingualism

This bilingual arrangement requires that literacy be reserved only for the dominant language. The local vernacular is never read or written; it is merely used to support understandings and instruction. An example of this monoliterate bilingual arrangement is the one used in Mali. Since 1994, Malian teachers have used what they call pédagogie convergente (convergent pedagogy) in which there is convergence, or simultaneous use of both the children's mother tongues and French. During the first stages and until fifth grade, when French becomes the medium of instruction, the thirteen national languages, Bambara and Fulfulde being the most prevalent, are used to encourage dialogue and storytelling, with French only used in written expression (Traore, 2001).

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Lesson-37

FLEXIBLE MULTIPLICITY

Topic No. 194-197

Flexible Multiplicity; Bilingualism in 21st Century; Micro-alternation; Flexible Bilingual Arrangements

Bilingualism for the twenty-first century must be more than the knowledge of two languages. Abilities such as translation, language switching and designing information bilingually will be increasingly important, abilities that are supported by the community's translanguaging. The recursivity and dynamism of bilingualism today, that is, its adaptive nature to an increasingly socially complex context, demands bilingual skills that are much more than just monolingual skills in two separate contexts. If we focus then not on separate languages as we have done in the past, but on the bilingual or multilingual discourse practices that we need and that are readily observable in bilingual classrooms, we can see that bilingual arrangements that build on translanguaging are the only way to build the plurilingual abilities that we will need in the future.

Flexible multiplicity

The conception of bilingualism as linear and solely as 1 + 1 = 2 rejects any bilingual languaging which violates traditional concepts of language as an autonomous system. We argue that flexible bilingual arrangements in the classroom are not in themselves bad. The problem is that often these practices are put to the service of the majority language, as we have seen before, encouraging switching towards the dominant language only, and used progressively to take space and time away from the language until it disappears completely. Bilingual practices in the bilingual classrooms, and in particular code-switching, have been looked upon as bad practice. Scholars and educators have repeatedly held that code-switching violates diglossia and creates a linguistic hegemony that favors the language of power, thus leading to language shift.

Duverger (2005) makes a useful distinction between micro-alternation and macro-alternation in bilingual education. Macro alternation refers to a certain number of courses, or of lessons which form a didactic unity, taught primarily in one or the other language and where the use of a given language across the curriculum is clearly identifiable and highly visible. This does not mean that the "other" language may never occur in the slot where one language is the preferred mode. The "other language" could occur as complementary information, additions, openings, or extensions of subject matter, but should be limited and carefully controlled by the teacher. This type of alternation is useful in cases where one wants to underline the bilingual nature of a program.

Micro-alternation occurs when a course, which is predominantly handled in one language, makes use of elements of the other language. This type of code-switching is a reflection of what occurs naturally in bilingual communities and has long been considered taboo by the language-teaching profession and, yet, Duverger tells us that if controlled and understood by teachers it can help de-dramatize the concentration on language "purity" which often reduces learners to silence. As Duverger (2005) says, "Macro-alternation is programmed, institutionalized, demanding; micro-alternation adds suppleness, flexibility, and efficiency. The combination of the two is subtle."

What is important is to understand that it is not a flexible bilingual arrangement itself that leads to language shift or language maintenance or addition, but the uses to which these practices are put. Bilingual

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education programs which have mono-lingualism as a goal encourage language mixing in ways that lead to language shift but bilingual education programs which build on translanguaging practices ensure the functional interrelationship of the languages used in school.

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Lesson-38

FIVE FLEXIBLE MULTIPLE BILINGUAL ARRANGEMENTS

Topic No. 198-203

Five Flexible Bilingual Arrangements: Using Responsible Code-switching; Code-switching as a Pedagogical Tool; Classroom Examples; Dynamics of Unequal Power

Five flexible multiple bilingual arrangements can develop the multiplicity of multilingual practices that are important today:

- Responsible code-switching both ways
- Preview/view/review
- Translanguaging
- Co-languaging
- Cross-linguistic work and awareness

Responsible Code-Switching

The negative associations with code-switching in the classroom have been increasingly questioned by scholars. For example, Ferguson (2003) says that the evidence suggests that "CS [code-switching] is a useful resource for mitigating the difficulties of learning through a foreign language. There is a good case, then, for moderating official hostility to CS, for acknowledging its prevalence and, indeed, for incorporating awareness of CS as a resource into teacher education curricula."

It has been found that teachers use code-switching to focus or regain students' attention and to clarify or reinforce lesson material. Code-switching is a scaffolding technique in bilingual classrooms, making the additional language more comprehensible. It is not necessarily code-switching that is bad, but rather how language is used, and by whom, that shapes the students' perceived value of the two languages in a bilingual classroom affect the outcome.

Van der Walt, Mabule, and De Beer (2001) have coined a term "responsible code-switching." Van der Walt, Mabule, and De Beer (2001) argue that code-switching is a way of strengthening the connection to the students' home language and of providing meaningful input. The students' home language, as we have been arguing is an important resource to solve problems in the additional language and to develop that language (Cummins, 1979; 2000). Thus, it stands to reason that banishing the students' home language when instruction is taking place in a language they do not know well (even for half a day) is not appropriate.

Responsible code switching means to carefully control the quantity and quality of switching between languages in the classroom so as to serve the objective of the lesson. Van der Walt, Mabule, and De Beer (2001) caution, however, that teachers must monitor both the quantity and the quality of their code-switching. In terms of quantity, the main part of classroom instruction needs to take place in the language being developed. As to quality, teachers should code-switch to offer meaningful instructional support and not merely to give orders, instructions, call attention, discipline, or follow the language input of the child. That is, code-switching cannot be simply random.

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O'Neill and Velasco (2007) give three ways in which code-switching to the child's home language could be a useful and responsible pedagogical technique: when providing the definition of a word; when providing a linguistic summary; when providing a summary of a lesson in one language so that the child can derive more meaning, as well as focus on the language structures.

According to Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López, and Alvarez (2001), "hybrid language use is more than simple code-switching as the alternation between two codes. It is more a systematic, strategic, affiliative, and sense–making process." Hybrid language use in the bilingual classroom builds on the use and study of languages cross-linguistically to expand students' oral and written expression.

Fu (2003) provides a powerful description of how two languages– Chinese and English– can be used to expand the oral and written abilities of Chinese immigrant children new to the United States. By encouraging students to use Chinese in writing English, not only do students new to English develop writing faster, but explicit cross-linguistic analysis can occur. Chinese students in this school become aware of the fact that English, unlike Chinese, has verb tenses, and that English verbs, unlike Chinese, change endings and they are explicitly made aware of the fact that English has subject and object forms of pronouns, whereas Chinese does not but besides all these comparisons, Chinese children are taught to reflect on their own development as Chinese readers, on the role of graphic memory in remembering Chinese characters and in the relationship between shape and meaning. Chinese children reflect on the other strategies they use as English readers, phonics and meaning-based approaches.

Manyak (2001, 2002), working in a primary classroom of Latino Spanish speakers in California post-227 documented that in this "supposedly" English-only class, Spanish was frequently used in order to have students make sense of the material. He examined the blending of not only Spanish and English but also home and school registers this classroom. He found that, although useful, hybrid literacy pedagogy did not benefit all students equally.

In an autonomous region of Italy, bilingual education for all was introduced at kindergarten in 1983, at primary school in 1988, and in the middle school (ages 10 to 13) in 1994, backed up by extensive research from Italian, French, and Swiss specialists. Teachers and learners alternate between languages in order to eliminate linguistic obstacles. By exploiting both languages intelligently and in a relaxed fashion for pedagogic reasons, teachers use code-switching effectively. The goal is not to teach code-switching, but to capitalize on its natural occurrence in order to transmit knowledge and skills.

In situations of unequal power between languages, however, it is not enough to allow the use of minority languages in responsible code-switching when instruction is taking place in the majority language. For responsible code-switching to lead to bilingual abilities there must also be space for classroom instruction in the minority language itself even if translanguaging is allowed there. In situations of unequal power, when instruction is in the minority language, responsible code-switching into the majority language should be minimized by the teacher, so as to protect the minority language.

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Lesson-39

OTHER BILINGUAL ARRANGEMENTS

Topic No. 204-209

Other Bilingual Arrangements: Translanguaging Flexibility and Advantages

When the language chosen to preview, view, and review varies, it can be considered an instance of convergent multiple arrangements. Throughout the world, this is a popular arrangement at the secondary level. The instructor gives the gist, the preview, most often in the home language of the students, and thenteaches the lesson in a second language, and then reviews in a language understood by the students but sometimes this process is reversed, especially when students are at the initial stages of the emergent bilingual period. Teachers then preview the lesson in the students' second language, giving them specialized disciplinary vocabulary in that language, then teach the lesson in the language understood by students, and finally review in the second language. This has the benefit of explicitly teaching specialized lexicon, important in understanding content-matter especially at the secondary and tertiary levels.

Translanguaging, another way in which a more dynamic bilingualism can be nurtured in students, is by following bilingual curriculum that uses the methodology that Cen Williams has called "translanguaging." According to Baker (2001), translanguaging, developed specifically as a curriculum arrangement by Cen Williams in Wales, involves the hearing, signing, or reading of lessons in one language, and the development of the work (the oral discussion, the writing of passages, the development of projects and experiments) in another language. That is, the input and output are deliberately in different languages.

Cen Williams sees four advantages to translanguaging which are deeper understanding of the subject matter, development of competence in the weaker language, home–school co-operation, and integration of fluent speakers with early-level learners (as discussed by Baker, 2001). Baker (2001) clarifies that translanguaging is not about code-switching, but rather about an arrangement that normalizes bilingualism without functional separation. What makes translanguaging different is that the assignment of one language to be input or output is systematically varied so that students get an opportunity to use both languages receptively (understanding and reading) and productively (reading and writing). Baker adds that this kind of deliberate and systematic concurrent use of two languages is especially useful at the secondary and tertiary level. In most bilingual curriculum, translanguaging is even more flexible than what Cen Williams describes.

Example: In an advanced biology class given to secondary school, the students use that text alongside one written in Spanish that offers complementary material on the same topic. The instructional dialogue between teacher and students takes place mostly in Spanish but because students have to write the Advanced Placement examination in English, students write in both languages. Spanish is used most of the time in writing but English essays, based on those first drafted in Spanish, are carefully prepared.

Example: In a fifth-grade dual-language classroom in the United States, the children learn social studies in Spanish and although the New York State test is offered in both English and Spanish, all, except for one of the students in this class, choose to answer the exam in English.

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Lesson-40

MORE BILINGUAL ARRANGEMENTS FOR CLASSROOMS

Topic No. 210-213

More Bilingual Arrangements: Co-languaging; Cross-linguistic Awareness; Importance of Cross Linguistic Awareness

Co-languaging

Co-languaging means using both languages simultaneously. Use of technology also affects the ways in which curriculum is structured and instruction is delivered. For example, in Africa, a university's efforts to integrate students and include non-Afrikaans-speaking students rest on delivering the curriculum in a bilingual mode in the power point, with Afrikaans and English co-present. Having both languages present on the screen, each in a different color, enables the inclusion of all students while reserving room for Afrikaans, the language traditionally used in the university. Especially at the secondary and tertiary level, co-languaging is becoming a familiar curricular language arrangement when the content has to be delivered to different language groups simultaneously. Co-languaging is also used when the history teacher shows a video documentary in one language with subtitles in another. Sometimes, students work side by side in different languages, through computer-assisted instruction. In the primary classroom they often listen to books on tape in the two languages, sometimes different students listening to different languages, other times the same students going back and forth to one or the other language in co-languaging ways.

Cross-Linguistic Work and Awareness

Many bilingual education programs blend language-separation arrangements with flexible convergence types. Although some subjects are taught through one or the other language, a part of the curriculum is reserved for bringing the two or more languages together for contrastive analysis. Here, vocabulary, structures, and discourse patterns are contrasted. At other times, there is an instructional space for bilingual children to do cross-linguistic work which allows them to translanguage, using both languages flexibly, in much the same way as experienced bilingual authors, and bilingual communities, often do. For example, much attention is paid to how bilingual literary authors use cross-linguistic strategies for different effects, as the students' abilities to reproduce these in writing are expanded. Other times, actual languaging of bilingual communities is critically examined, as children reflect on this cross-linguistic use and its purpose and effect.

The importance of this cross-linguistic work and space is that it is possible to go beyond the languages of bilingual instruction, creating space for many language practices that are present in the classroom and the community, and many languaging patterns of the students. This arrangement makes it possible to build linguistic tolerance towards all varieties of languages and ways of languaging, acknowledging its valuable use beyond the classroom. This is crucial in developing multilingual awareness (García, 2007c). It has been found that the metalinguistic and metacognitive exercises offered in cross-linguistic work strengthen the students' languages. They also develop important associations between languages that learners can then draw on.

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Lesson-41

Translanguaging-A Closer Look

Topic No. 214-220

Translanguaging in Classrooms; Translanguaging and Translation; Considerations in Translation; Translanguaging and Adolescents; Reaction to Immersion Programmes

Despite curricular arrangements that separate languages, the most prevalent bilingual practice in the bilingual education classrooms is that of translanguaging. Here, students use language appropriately. Although teachers may carefully plan when and how languages are to be used, children themselves use their entire linguistic repertoires flexibly. When children with different linguistic profiles are involved in group work, children violate the language use norms of the classroom, using languages flexibly to support their understandings and building conceptual and linguistic knowledge. This language use in two way bilingual classrooms has been referred to as transdiglossic. Despite the language separations, children translanguage constantly to co-construct meaning, to include others, and to mediate understandings and it is perhaps this translanguaging, more than any other language arrangement that is responsible for children's bilingual acquisition. Play time becomes a translanguaging negotiation event and the only way in which activities can continue across the different languages. Finally, there is no simpler translanguaging than that which takes place in translations. It turns out that effective two-way dual-language classrooms rely on these in order to make sense of what is being taught.

An investigation in to language behaviour of multilingual adolescents, all of whom must learn and use a minimum of three languages in the school program in the European School of Brussels, show the language repertoire of all pupils oscillates between the exclusive use of the official languages of their lessons at the appropriate times, and translanguaging in unmonitored, informal interactions.

Despite the stigma attached to translanguaging practices in bilingual communities and classrooms, this data makes clear that translanguaging is indeed a powerful mechanism to construct understandings, to include others, and to mediate understandings across language groups. It is important for bilingual educators and bilingual students to recognize the importance and value of translanguaging practices. Too often bilingual students who translanguage suffer linguistic shame because they have been burdened with monoglossic ideologies that value only monolingualism. Due to this linguistic shame, they always shift towards the dominant language and monolingualism, robbing students of the possibility to develop their bilingualism. Bilingual teachers often hide their natural translanguaging practices from administrators and others because they have been taught to believe that only monolingual ways of speaking are "good" and valuable. Yet, they know that to teach effectively in bilingual classrooms, they must translanguage. This is also seen as a reaction to immersion programmes.

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Lesson-42

MODELS OF BILINGUAL TEACHING

Topic No. 221-225

Models of Bilingual Teaching: Convergent Teaching; Immersion; Multiple Bilingual Teaching; Complexity of Decisions

Convergent Teaching

What characterizes convergent bilingual teaching is the use of the two languages concurrently in ways that subordinate one language to the other following a flexible convergent arrangement. The teacher's intent is always to develop a language of power or to make content in the majority language understood. Thus, when the minority language is used, its only purpose is to support instruction in the majority language.

Immersion

The belief here is that the two languages are best developed in isolation. What characterizes this model of bilingual teaching is the explicit carving out of a space for both languages so that each would function with the privilege of a majority language. Thus, all schools using this bilingual teaching have a clear and explicit language policy of teaching monolingually for bilingualism. This immersion bilingual teaching is often used when the minority language has to be protected because of the encroachment of the majority language, or in cases where one of the languages is being revitalized.

Multiple Bilingual Teaching

Schools that adopt multiple bilingual teaching have a clear language policy that includes not only the development of bilingual proficiency, but also the translanguaging practices and plurilingual values of multilingual awareness and linguistic tolerance. Thus, the two or more languages are always used in combination–neither concurrently nor separately, but in a blending of the two practices.

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Lesson-43

BILINGUAL EDUCATION APPROACH AND METHODS

Topic No. 226-230

Bilingual Education Approach and Methods; Bilingualism and Grammar Approach; Bilingualism and Communicative Approach; Bilingualism and Cognitive Approach: Constructive vs. Transmission

Transmission pedagogy is built on a western empirical tradition which views knowledge as separate from the knower and as a collection of facts and concepts. Learning is viewed as the consumption, storage, memorization, and reproduction of information. Thus, students are perceived as empty vessels or buckets (Freire, 1970) that have to be filled, as they receive knowledge from teachers and textbooks. Teachers breakdown information in to small pieces and proceed in a linear fashion, attempting to cover content and going from the most basic to the most complex (Oakes and Lipton, 1999). Constructivist pedagogy, on the other hand, is built on the conviction that learning should involve social negotiation and interaction with others in authentic contexts that are relevant to the learner. In this tradition, teachers serve primarily as facilitators of learning (Cummins, 2001; Villegasand Lucas, 2001).

Bilingual education blends approaches towards education in general with approaches that are specific to language education. That is, bilingual education always integrates language and content. As Faltis(1997) has indicated, bilingual instruction is always a joint fostering of balancing support for development of both the home and the additional language, as well as content learning.

Grammatical Approach

The grammatical approach emphasizes the rules and structure of the language that is being acquired. Students are explicitly taught language rules and sentence structures and are engaged in much practice. In general, the grammatical approach relies on three distinct methodologies the grammar-translation method, the direct method, and the audio-lingual method.

The grammar-translation method has fallen in to disuse. It focuses on translation of complex texts and grammatical accuracy. In contrast, the direct method and the audio lingual method are still widely used. Both the direct and the audio lingual methods focus lesson explicit instruction of grammar. Students infer grammar structures as they repeat language patterns (Herrera and Murry, 2005). In the direct method, translation is avoided, and teachers model language patterns that students then repeat. In the audiolingual method, students practice patterns and dialogues to develop particular language structures.

Communicative Approach

Whereas the grammatical approach was based on behavior, the communicative approach is derived from a constructivist theoretical framework that suggests that language learning occurs as students draw meaning from experience and interpersonal interaction. The two most important language learning methods under the communicative approach are: immersion instruction and integrated content-based instruction (ICB).

Immersion methodology became popular as a result of the growth of immersion bilingual education in Canada in order to develop bilingualism in a minority language. Pedagogically, teachers plan content and

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language objectives concurrently. The method promotes the use of language that is slow and simplified, with guarded vocabulary and short sentences, while the grade level curriculum is used, although modified. Teachers generally use thematic instruction. Immersion methodology is also used throughout the world for revitalization of languages but the immersion instruction method is also used in countries that do not support bilingualism and has become most popular in monolingual instruction for immigrants and refugees, under the label "sheltered instruction."

Cognitive Approach

The cognitive approach emerged in the1980s as a view of learning based on the process of children's construction of meaning by using thinking and reasoning strategies. That is, learning is recognized to be as much cognitive as it is social and interactive. The emphasis on this approach is on the learner's metacognitive processes, that is, the active control over the cognitive processes that are used in learning (Flavell, 1979). The cognitive approach also emphasizes the students' interactions with text and discourse structures present in the classroom. It distinguishes between three types of knowledge: declarative knowledge, what we know; procedural knowledge, what we know how to do; and conditional knowledge, the knowledge of when, why, or where to use information and skills. Learning occurs in the interaction between these three types of knowledge which are stored in long-term memory frame works or schemata (in the case of declarative and conditional knowledge), or in production systems (in the case of procedural knowledge).

The cognitive approach supports the transfer of knowledge stored as schemata or production systems in one language to the learning of new tasks in a second language. As such, it is very prevalent in bilingual education programs that use the two languages with greater flexibility. The difference between both approaches is that whereas communicative approaches support language learning through authentic communication as social construction, the cognitive approach believes also in the explicit teaching and modeling of learning strategies and language.

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Lesson-44

21ST CENTURY NEEDS:SOCIAL JUSTICE AND SOCIAL PRACTICES

Topic No. 231-235

Principles and Practices: 21st Century Skills and Social Justice; Bilingualism and Equity; Bilingualism and Tolerance; Bilingualism-Expectations and Rigour; Bilingualism for 21st Century

Bilingual education teachers must be mindful of the two basic principles of bilingual pedagogy: social justice and social practice. Table13.2 outlines the corresponding dimensions of the two principles of bilingual education pedagogy. The sections that follow describe each of the dimensions and propose instructional practices that correspond to each:

Social Justice	Social Practice
1.Equity	1.Interactions and involvement
2.Language of child/ language tolerance	2.Language
3.Expectations and rigor	3.Collaboration and group work
4.Assessment	4.Relevance

Table13.2

Cummins (1986) has named the pedagogy that derives from the inter section of these two principles reciprocal interactional-oriented pedagogy and on a more recent occasion (2000), transformative pedagogy. Good pedagogy that ignores the social justice principle is in effective for bilingual instruction and good pedagogy that falls only under the social justice principle without potentializing learning as social practice is also ineffective for students who are developing bilingualism.

Social justice is the most important principle of bilingual education pedagogy since bilingual teaching combines two or more languages and cultures. It is thus important for equity between the two languages and content to be established, and for students of all linguistic and cultural backgrounds to be recognized as knowers (Freire, 1970). Schecter and Cummins (2003:9) have said: “In contexts of cultural, linguistic, or economic diversity, where social inequality inevitably exists, these interactions are never neutral: they either challenge the operation of coercive relations of power in the wider society or they reinforce those power relations.” This principle values the strength of bilingualism and bilingual students. It enables the creation of a learning context which is not threatening to the students’ identities but that builds multiplicities of language uses and linguistic identities, while maintaining academic rigor and upholding high expectations. A cultural and linguistically responsive pedagogy falls within this principle (Au, 2006; VillegasandLucas, 2001). Another important element of this principle relates to advocating for assessment that is valid for bilingual students. We comment on each of the four dimensions of the social justice principle below, as we describe instructional practices that are appropriate for each category.

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The social practice principle of bilingual pedagogy places learning through an additional language as a result of collaborative social practices in which students try out ideas and actions (Lave and Wenger,1991), and thus socially construct their learning (Vygotsky,1978). Learning is seen as occurring through doing (Dewey, 1897). Thus, an action-based pedagogy falls within this principle. In the field of language education, this is often referred to as task-based pedagogy (Ellis,2003).

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Lesson-45

LANGUAGE POLICIES AND ITS IMPLICATIONS

Topic No. 236-241

Language Policies and Implications; Languages in Pakistan; Urdu in Language Policy; Indigenous Languages; English and Linguistic Hierarchy

Pakistan is a country with at least six major languages and 58 minor ones. The national language, Urdu, has over 11 million mother-tongue speakers while those who use it as a second language could well be more than 105 million (Grimes2000). Few however, (17.29%) , having passed the ten-year school system (matriculation), can presumably read and understand a little English (Census 2001) and yet computer programs, including e-mail and the internet, function in English in Pakistan and not even in Urdu let alone the other languages. This means that most Pakistanis are either excluded from the digital world or function in it as handicapped aliens. Indeed, most matriculates from Urdu- and Sindhi-medium schools have such rudimentary knowledge of English that they cannot carry out any meaningful interaction, especially that which would increase their knowledge or analytical skills, with the computer. Only the 4.38% graduates (Census 2001) (The question then is whether it is cost-effective to create computer programs in Pakistani languages. This operation, or localization as it is called, is costly and time consuming. Should time and money be spent upon it? And if so, which should be the language or languages of localization; Urdu, the national language and the urban second language or Punjabi, the language of 44.15% Pakistanis? Or Sindhi, the language of 14.10% people but, in addition to that, a language used in the education system, media, administration and judiciary in Sindh? Or Pashto, a very important language spoken by 15.42 % people and also used in Afghanistan? These are important questions which can only be answered in the light of our values. That is why those with different values will have different answers.

Language Policy

Urdu: According to the constitution of Pakistan Urdu is the national language of the country and 'arrangements shall be made for its being used for official and other purposes within fifteen years' from 1973 when the constitution was made (Article 251 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan). Urdu is indeed the most widely understood language and the major medium of interaction in the urban areas of the country. Even ethnic activists agree that it could be a useful link language between different ethnic groups. However, it has been resisted.

Privileging of Urdu by the state has created ethnic opposition to it. However, as people learn languages for pragmatic reasons (Rahman, 2002), they are giving less importance to their languages. This phenomenon, sometimes called 'voluntary shift', though it is not really 'voluntary' (Nettle and Romaine 2000).What happens is that market conditions are such that one's language becomes deficiton what Bierre Bourdieu, the French sociologist, would call cultural 'capital' (Bourdieu, 1991). Instead of being an asset it becomes a liability. It prevents one from rising in society. The use of Urdu as a symbol of national integration has also jeopardized additive multilingualism recommended by UNESCO (2003) and, of course, by many eminent linguists and educationists as Urdu spreads through schooling, media and urbanization, pragmatic pressures make the other Pakistani languages retreat. In short, the consequence of privileging Urdu strengthens ethnicity while, at the same time and paradoxically, threatens linguistic and cultural diversity in the country.

Language Policy

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English was supposed to continue as the official language of Pakistan till such time that the national language(s) replaced it. However, this date came and went by as many other dates before it and English is as firmly entrenched in the domains of power in Pakistan as it was in 1947. The major reason for this is that this is the stated but not the real policy of the ruling elite in Pakistan. The real policy can be understood with reference to the elite's patronage of English in the name of efficiency, modernization and soon.

The elite has invested in a parallel system of elitist schooling of which the defining feature is teaching all subjects, other than Urdu, through the medium of English. This has created new generations, and ever increasing pools, of young people who have a direct stake in preserving English. Although their parents, themselves may not be at ease in English, they have invested far too much in their children's education to seriously consider decreasing the cultural capital of English. In recent years with more young people from the affluent classes appearing in the British O' and A' level examinations; with the world-wide coverage of the BBC and the CNN; with globalization and the talk about English being a world language; with stories of young people emigrating all over the world armed with English with all these things English is a commodity in more demand than ever before.

Pakistani government has rationed out English. Its stated policy was to support Urdu but that was only to create a subordinate bureaucracy at low cost (vernacular-medium education costs less than English-medium education). It was also to keep an anti-ethnic, centrist, ideological symbol potent and vibrant in the country. The state sponsored English medium schools for the Ministry of Defense, for example, have been given large campuses and grants for building schools which are far superior to government vernacular-medium schools.

Policy-indigenous Languages

According to the constitution 'Without prejudice to the National language, a Provincial Assembly may by law prescribe measures for the teaching, promotion and use of a provincial language in addition to the national language' (Article 251). However, the only provincial language which is used in education as well as in the lower administration and judiciary is Sindhi. Sindhi was used in Sindh ever since the British conquest and its use, as its supporters complain, is now less in the cities (especially Karachi) than it was in British days (Rahman1996: Chapter7). The only other language used by some schools up to class-5 and in the madrassas is Pashto. Except for these languages, and in these restricted domains, Pakistan's indigenous languages are not used as media of instruction on for adult literacy in any part of Pakistan.

Movements for the preservation of minor (or weaker) languages in Europe tell us, if a child is told that his or her language is inferior, the message being conveyed is that he/she is inferior. In short, one is giving a negative image to a child by telling him or her that the 'cultural capital' they possess is not capital at all but a stigma and a handicap. This makes the child reject an aspect, and an essential one at that, of his or her legacy, history, culture and identity. What is created is 'culture shame'---being ashamed of one's own true identity. The question is whether these threatened languages can be saved from extinction?

In Pakistan, as brought out earlier, the linguistic hierarchy is as follows: English, Urdu and local language. In Khyber Pakhtun Khwa and Sindh, however, Pashto and Sindhi are seen as identity markers and are spoken informally. In Punjab, unfortunately, there is widespread culture-shame about Punjabi. Parents, teachers and the peer group combine to embarrass students about this language. In all of the elitist English-medium schools the author visited there were policies forbidding students from speaking it. If anyone spoke Punjabi he or she was called 'Paendu' (rustic, village yokel) and made fun of. Many educated parents speak Urdu rather than Punjabi with their children. Pakistan TV plays use the term 'Urdu-medium' for lack of sophistication. The children of elitist English-medium schools are indifferent to Urdu and claim to be completely bored by its literature. They are proud to claim lack of competence in the subject even when they

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get ‘A’ grades in the O’ and A’ level examinations. They read only English books and not Urdu ones nor those in other languages. Indeed, the other languages are so low in prestige that education in them does not count as education at all.

These attitudes have a squeezing effect on Pakistani languages. Urdu is safe because of the huge pool of people very proficient in it and especially because it is used in lower level jobs, the media, education, courts, commerce and other domains in Pakistan. Punjabi is a huge language and will survive despite culture shame and neglect. It is used in the Indian Punjab in many domains of power and, what is even more significant; it is the language of songs, jokes, intimacy and informality in both Pakistan and India. This makes it the language of private pleasure and if so many people use it in this manner, it is not in real danger.

Sindhi, and Pashto are both big languages and their speakers are proud of them. Sindhi is also used in the domains of power and is the major language of education in rural Sindh. Pashto is not a major language of education nor is it used in the domains of power in Pakistan. However, its speakers see it as an identity marker and it is used in some domains of power in Afghanistan. It too will survive though Pakistani city Pashto is now much adulterated with Urdu words. Educated Pashtuns often code-switch between Pashto and Urdu or English. Thus, the language is under some pressure.

It is the over fifty small languages of Pakistan mostly in Northern Pakistan, which are under tremendous pressure. The Karakorum Highway, which has linked these areas to the plains, has put much pressure on these languages. The author visited Gilgit and Hunzain August 2002 and met local language activists among others. They all agree that their languages should be preserved but they are so appreciative of the advantages of the road that they accept the threat to their languages with equanimity. Urdu and English words have already entrenched themselves in Shina and Burushaski and, as people immigrate to the cities, they are shifting to Urdu. Even in the city of Karachi the Gujrati language is being abandoned, at least in the written form, as young people seek to be literate in Urdu and English---the languages used in the domains of power. In short, the smaller languages of Pakistan are under threat and any policy, which can help them cope with the dangers of internal linguistic pressure and globalization, should be welcomed.

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Lesson-46

PARADIGM SHIFT IN LOCALIZATION

Topic No. 242-246

Challenges Culture and Technology; Six Factors; Discussion of Cases; Concluding Discussion

Pakistan should not rest content with localization in Urdu alone. We should go in for what Kenneth Keniston calls 'cultural localization'. In this case, 'software written in one culture is adapted to the needs and outlooks of another' (Keniston, 1997). This is important because some assumptions and values do always go in the creation of computer programmes. Most of those who work on software development belong to the 'hacker' sub-culture. The 'hackers' are rebellious, anti-authoritarian, highly individualistic and talented people who detest tradition, hierarchy and family values. Accordingly, programmes they make reflect a high degree of individualism, irreverence, informality and egalitarianism (Carmel1996). These values are often resisted by other societies and Keniston has given many examples of this resistance from all over the world.

The internet promotes a culture of pseudo-egalitarianism and informality which actually breaks established norms of politeness in Pakistani society. First, there is the implied atmosphere of irreverence for titles, spellings and naming patterns in the way e-mail addresses are made, chatting is conducted and messages are sent. For instance, although Pakistani norms of politeness insist on the use of titles or honorifics with the name, the internet promotes just the opposite as the norm. This is already being done from a position of power by a small highly westernized elite which promotes forms of address which are against Pakistani norms of politeness (Rahman1999:Chapter10). The internet also promotes the same values and, since it appears modern, it impresses its users to condemn traditional forms of behaviour.

The internet also promotes the use of contractions which, in a country where only very tiny elite knows the standard British or American spellings, makes young people regard the standard as nothing but old fashioned legacies of the older generation. Then, because most programmes are American, the computer-literate young people tend to be excessively impressed by American values such as individualism, capitalism, market economy and the fragmentation of relationships.

In short, if true cultural localization takes place some of these objections can be met. However, one problem can never be overcome. It is that computers create the illusion of speed and power. They are like magic. They give the illusion of immense power and breathtaking speed at the tips of one's fingers. This creates a kind of 'hacker' culture among the digerati in Pakistan. They become impatient with all the processes of creating knowledge, beauty and relationships which traditional methods entailed. This visibly increases the gap between the older and the younger generation and increases the tendency to scoff at slow arts like writing letters. Whether it will decrease the capacity to read, write and create art--- all slow processes—cannot be determined at this stage but the fact remains that a fundamental change has occur red in the perception of knowledge in Pakistan.

Whereas traditionally knowledge was seen as part of civilized behaviour, it is now seen as information and skill. Whereas it was necessary for a learned, or even an ordinarily educated, man to know some history and literature---quoting or at least appreciating the masters of Urdu and Persian poetry was considered necessary fifty years ago--- it is no longer necessary. Indeed, the digerati place a higher value on skills---computer skills, skills of persuasion, advocacy, 'selling' etc, than on facts, analysis, literary and artistic

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appreciation and so on.

Whatever the problems associated with the computer, it is necessary to use it in Pakistan. So far the basis for its use is elitist power. When computer programmes are in English they increase the power of the elite. They also save money which, again, strengthens the ruling elite a sit invests this money in other power projects such as strengthening the armed forces, the bureaucracy and soon... In short, the use of English in the computers is an elitist project in Pakistan.

Localization in Urdu is a step forward towards increasing the power base of the people. Initially, however, the investment will not appear to be cost-effective in terms of pecuniary calculations. At the moment the people who are spear heading the localization programmes in Urdu in Pakistan use English also. However, if the government actually starts using computers in Urdu-medium schools, it can really benefit a very large number of people. The next step is localization through use other local languages in computer programming.

Culturally appropriate computer programmes in the indigenous languages of Pakistan will support and strengthen these languages. They will bring them more prestige and may, perhaps, encourage people to feel that they too can be used in modern domains. The major Pakistani languages are too large to be endangered. However, they need to be given more prestige to take their rightful role in the domains of power. It may, therefore, be pertinent to repeat the six factors outlined by David Crystal for the endangered languages. These are:

1. An endangered language will progress if its speakers increase their prestige within the dominant community.
2. An endangered language will progress if its speakers increase their wealth relative to the dominant community.
3. An endangered language will progress if its speakers increase their legitimate power in the eyes of the dominant community.
4. An endangered language will progress if its speakers have a strong presence in the educational system.
5. An endangered language will progress if its speakers can write their language down.
6. An endangered language will progress if its speakers can make use of electronic technology.

The last is especially relevant in the context of localization which we have been describing.

Case-1: The Fishermen of Balochistan and Sindh

These fishermen living on the coastal lines of Pakistan often venture out when storms and tidal waves are expected. They also become prisoners of India when they stray in Indian waters. If computers are installed in the village schools, post offices and other public places they can be warned of a coming natural disaster. They can so be educated about straying in to alien waters and, should they do so, what procedure they should adopt. In this case, the additional benefit can be that the school children, who read the e-mails in their own language and pass on the message to the fishermen, will develop a positive feeling for their language.

Case-2: Medical help in far flung areas supplementing the radio and TV

The computers can so be used to give information about basic health issues in far-flung areas especially those which become now bound during the winter. This information, in the local languages, should be on CDs and also on the web pages. As in Case-1, the computers should be located in prominent public places in villages and small towns.

Case-3: Advocacy through the Computer:

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People can be made aware of women's rights, children's rights, AIDS, family planning in their local languages through the computer. The novelty of using their own language through this new technology, the computer, will tend to disseminate these new ideas and make them more pervasive than they are at present.

Case-4: Literacy for Children and Adults:

Lessons in the local language as a bridge to the link language (which may be Urdu) may be given in attractive computer games which may be used for children in the morning and adults in the evening. This will make children acquainted with their own languages before moving onto other languages.

In short, Pakistan needs a localization policy but it should be a policy which empowers the common people rather than the elite or the multi-national corporations. Such a policy will also serve to raise the prestige of the indigenous languages of the country and save them from being further marginalized in this age of computerization and globalization. Pakistan's language policy has so far been in the interest of the elite. It has strengthened the English-using elite's hold over the most powerful and lucrative jobs in the state and the private sector.

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Lesson-47

THE POLITICS OF LANGUAGES IN EDUCATION

Topic No. 247-252

Politics of Languages in Education; Language and Social Power; Language Policy of Pakistan; Language and Inequality; Capability Approach and Inequality: Bourdieu Education and Language

Language is 'intimately related to the distribution of social power and hierarchical structures in society' (Gee, 1989, p. 20) and as such it can act as the strongest yet subtlest means of exclusion and marginalization (Bourdieu, 1991), both within education (Cummins, 2000) and in wider development processes—as revealed by Robinson's research in Africa (1996). Language not only facilitates access to knowledge but also mediates participation in and engagement with the social world. It filters control over resources, demarcates the horizons of what is both knowable and achievable, and delimits freedom of choice and effective opportunities for wider participation and access to valued goals. If education is to be seen as a process of knowledge construction, self-actualization, widening participation and decreasing vulnerability, then languages within education may be an important 'intervening variable' (Cummins,2000), affecting the extent of such transformative educational outcomes in multilingual contexts. However, the implications of languages in education for widening opportunities for participation and access remain an under-researched area. This paper is based on some key findings from a wider three-year qualitative study in Pakistan. The multidisciplinary study explores the political implications of languages in education in private and government schools, and their role in structuring inequality in terms of widening participation and access.

Pakistan is a multilingual country, with 49% of its population suffering from multi-dimensional poverty (United Nations Development Programme, 2011). Although the Economic Survey (2011) estimates the literacy rate at 57.7% and reports arise in school enrollments, studies such as Andrabi et al.(2007) and ASER (2012) report poor learning outcomes, specifically in government schools, revealing that there is a large majority of those 'in' schools but 'silently excluded' from any meaningful learning (Lewis, 2007a, in Lewis & Little, 2011). Participation in higher education is only 5% and is fraught with gender and regional disparities (Economic Survey, 2011).

In the absence of any separate document, language policies both national and educational are represented by statements related to language status and roles in official documents including the constitutions of Pakistan. On Independence Day in 1947, Urdu was declared the national language, while English was allowed to retain its colonial status as the official language until Urdu could assume the latter's functions. The regional languages were ascribed little role, although the provinces were given the right to promote these under the constitution. Though Urdu was the home language of only a small percentage of the population at the time, it was the language of the elite. Since these elite were, additionally, well versed in English, their access to coveted jobs and resources was greatly facilitated, raising much political conflict over the ascribed status of Urdu (Rahman,2006). Despite the constitutional commitment to replace English with Urdu, English remains a language of prestige, which is used by the elite, bureaucracy, military, higher judiciary, higher education and all other important official discourse.

Currently, government schools use mainly Urdu as the medium of instruction, although some provinces also use local languages at lower primary and secondary level (the latter in Sindh only). English is

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introduced at levels varying from Grade III to VI. Almost all private schools—specifically in urban areas use English as the medium of instruction and teach Urdu and Sindhi as languages (the latter is restricted to Sindh in schools preparing their students for local secondary school exams). Government schools are marked by not only poor infra-structure but also by the well-documented poor teaching/learning of English (Rahman, 2003; Mansoor, 2005). With access to English restricted on the one hand, and the down played role of local languages on the other, marginalization is inevitable. However, the extent and nature of this language-based inequality in structuring freedom of opportunities for wider participation and access remain under-researched.

The capability approach (CA) provides an evaluative framework for measuring inequality in social institutions and policies, which are sensitive to local socio-cultural contexts—a consideration not accounted for by other approaches. It goes beyond the human rights approach to education by emphasizing that just legal provision of the rights to education and within education is not enough for ensuring equitable outcomes (Robeyns, 2006; Tikley & Barett, 2011). It is important also to explore the factors that might constrain individuals from realizing these rights (Robeyns, 2006). Unlike human capital theory, CA does not restrict itself to the economically instrumental goals of education, and diminish the value of 'human being' to 'human resource' (Robeyns, 2006). It is rather deeply concerned with 'discrimination at individual level' (Unterhalter et al., 2007), which is mitigated in the exploration of aggregated benefits by human capital theory. The CA argues that the role of education is not just the 'accumulation' of human capital but also the expansion of 'human capabilities' (Saito, 2003). With its focus on human agency, the CA envisages individuals as 'agents of change' and emphasizes that the end of all development should be human well-being, for which education is important not just instrumentally but also intrinsically. It presents well-being itself as a multidimensional concept with different economic, social, affective, physical and psychological dimensions; while poverty implies the deprivation of capabilities or 'freedom of choices', which limits participation in and access to valued dimensions of life (Alkire, 2002).

The contribution of CA lies in foregrounding human diversity and emphasizing that educational equality must be estimated in the 'space of capabilities', i.e. the freedom of opportunity or the range of effective choices offered by education to achieve valued goals to individuals (Sen, 1992). It argues that mere access to resources in schooling is a poor measure of estimating inequality not only do individuals have different 'commodity requirements' (Saito, 2003), but the same resources may result in inequitable outcomes for different individuals because of the differences in personal and 'social conversion factors' in their unique contexts (Robeyns, 2006). It argues that, although 'functionings', i.e. formal achievements or school results, need to be part of evaluating inequality, a sole focus on these is insufficient (Unterhalter, 2007). This is because people may be able to achieve the same 'functioning', such as completing secondary school, but differ widely in terms of the freedom of choices and opportunities offered to them by that education (Robeyns, 2006). Thus, the same educational instruction would mean differently to individuals with different linguistic backgrounds (Unterhalter et al., 2007). However, differences among individuals need to be accounted for and should not transform in to disadvantage in an educational context (Terzi,2005).

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Lesson-48

THE STUDY

Topic No. 253-257

The Study: Methods; Sampling; Differential Linguistic Capital; Prevailing Linguistic Ideologies

This study uses a multiple case design, which restricts the generalizability of its results. The 16 cases selected were pairs of graduating final year students and their five-to-six years older, same-sex siblings. The cases were selected from seven schools (four private and three government), each with a student population of at least 300, participating in the provincial secondary school board exam, in two urban provincial capitals (Karachi and Lahore). The data were collected over a period of one year through (a) in-depth ethno-graphic interviews, (b) participant observation, and (c) documentary analysis.

In participant observation over a year, the aim was to discover the cultural knowledge they were using to 'organize their [language-related] behaviour and interpret their experience[s]' (Spradley, 1980, p. 31). The focus was on how different languages were being used by people in a variety of contexts and to what effect and why. Issues highlighted by participants also guided this process. Documentary evidence was guided by issues emerging from the research process, and included printed pamphlets, airline tickets, bank account opening forms and other policies and schemes, instruction manuals for appliances, and other material provided by different organizations and offices. These also included television programs, magazines, newspapers, national curriculum outlines, and language, science and mathematics textbooks studied in terms of the selection of language, the message being conveyed and the accessibility of material for the participants. In the analysis of data from documentary and participant observation only descriptive and exploratory methods were used (Sarantakos, 2005). A grounded theory approach was adopted to generate categories from the interview data.

The private school graduates (PSGs) in the study came from middle income groups, while the government school graduates (GSGs) emerged from lower middle and low income groups. All participants were multilingual and spoke Urdu and at least one more language. At the time of the study, all the elder siblings from private schools and lower middle income elder siblings from government schools were in higher education; while those from low income backgrounds were in low paid jobs (teaching in the case of females or skilled labor in the case of males). The comparison in this paper focuses on intergroup differences between private school graduates (PSGs) and government school graduates (GSGs).

According to self-reports, at the end of secondary school, none of the GSGs had learnt English beyond a minimal level and not even that in some instances. None reported having learnt Sindhi. However, 62% (10 out of 16) GSGs felt they had learnt Urdu. Significantly, all six who could hardly learn to read or write in any language, despite being from Urdu medium backgrounds, were from the lowest income groups. In contrast, all the PSGs reported being comfortable with their English skills, while 44% (7 out of 16) said they felt very confident. All the PSGs invariably qualified their Urdu as 'poor' and none except one (from a Sindhi family background) reported having learnt Sindhi at school. The implications of these language-learning differences for wider social participation emerge if viewed against the perspective of the prevalent language ideologies. English was the most valued language by both groups, and was seen as a symbol of prestige and 'good' education and family. In addition, the participants keenly acknowledged the growing significance

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of English in terms of opportunities for upward mobility. Both groups appreciated that Urdu was a mark of their national identity and an indispensible tool of communication across communities, but paradoxically few valued it because of its common use. Significantly, both groups referred to each other as either 'English medium' and 'Urdu medium' while sharing the mutual understanding that 'these days Urdu medium is a stigma. This signifying a 'colonial dichotomy between the 'Self' and the 'Other' in which the 'Self' is perceived to be 'superior' and 'civilized' compared to the 'Other', which is 'uncivilized' and 'inferior' (Pennycook, 1998, in Kubota, 2004, p. 39). Crucially, GSGs were well aware of these language-based ideologies and these seemed to instill in them a sense of 'shame' and 'guilt', which was evident in their discourse of all GSGs. 'What can we do if we are Urdu medium?' asked Nazia helplessly. In contrast, regional languages were hardly thought to be significant by anyone except two participants, and almost all reported that Urdu was replacing regional languages in their homes. The emerging hegemony of English in this context in contrast to its inequitable distribution in the two schools seemed to deepen the cleavage between different social classes and threaten the educated identities of GSGs. Hence, as Bourdieu (1991) suggests an elite seems to have been selected for positions of power and privilege by schools through the inequitable distribution of valued linguistic capital, reinforcing inequality rather than addressing it.

VU TOOLKIT

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Lesson-49

PRIVATE SCHOOLS AND LANGUAGES

Topic No. 258-262

Language Based Discrimination; Private School and Languages; Disempowering Impact; Higher Education and Languages; Silenced and Disenfranchised; Relishing Success

The study revealed language based discrimination was more in private schools than in government run schools. In private schools although Urdu was being used to explain concepts in classrooms, students were strongly discouraged to use any other language but English, even if it meant that some students could not participate meaningfully because they did not know the language. At times there were also punishments attached to speaking in Urdu. Here was the paradox of using but rejecting Urdu. The message was clear that the right to speak and to be heard was conditional to their speaking in English. In government run schools education was in Urdu, regional languages were tolerated and English language was almost never used. Here, although the local linguistic capital of the learners was accepted, the discrimination surfaced if a school had an English medium section starting from grade 6. Here, very clearly privileged treatment was given to the English medium sections, which wore different uniforms and were given more opportunities to participate in co-curricular activities and inter school competitions than their Urdu medium counter parts.

In higher education also those from Urdu medium felt as if they were silenced and disempowered if the subjects they were being taught were in English. While there was an option to choose some subjects in Urdu, the main texts leading to specific academic careers like medicine and engineering remained in English only. Hence, those excelling in their studies from government schools felt a change in their positioning among the peers. They did not only felt low self-esteem as they struggled with understanding the text, while watching those from the private schools sailing through it effortlessly but they also found it difficult to ask questions or participate in class. Hence, none except one girl, who belonged to a higher income bracket from the government school, was able to achieve her academic goal.

In contrast to the government school participants, those from private school explained a sense of freedom accompanied by a growing feeling of privilege. Even those who were not very confident in their English language skills, felt they were much better off than the government school pupils in their class, as they could understand the lectures easily, do the assignments and interact with teachers without inhibition because they knew the valued official academic language. Hence, even with the same text books, same classrooms, teachers and institutions, sitting side by side the outcomes in terms of capabilities to achieve valued goals were different because one group, already disadvantaged could not access the dominant academic language and was looked down upon by others because of this.

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Lesson-50

MARGINALIZATION

Topic No. 263-270

Marginalization; Preference for English; Self De-selection; Shame in Self; Confidence from English; Participation and Vulnerability; Insights for Education and Bilingualism

Language based marginalization results from devalourization of the linguistic capital that individuals possess, while making it difficult for them to access the valued linguistic capital. This obstructs wider participation and access and forces individuals to give up their career goals. Even when they are fortunate enough to be in a career of their choice, it impedes their upward career growth and promotions or an unleashing of the potential they have at their workplace. Not being given the opportunity to learn a language that is highly valued in positions of power, while devaluing of the language individuals have, infests them with a sense of shame in their own identity, a sense of unwarranted and unaccounted for sense of guilt, as if they have lesser talent than others. However, all this is only a manifestation of 'symbolic violence' a misrecognition that what they encounter is only a constructed arrangement that forces them in a position of disadvantage; and it is not their own lack of talent. If a dominant language, which is, used almost everywhere, for example in medical literature accompanying medicines or in air travel arrangements, banks and other offices is not accessible, it leaves individuals with a sense of vulnerability and alienation with their surroundings. They are socially excluded and marginalized because their agency to make informed choices is crippled.

On the other hand, those who possess the valued linguistic capital they feel naturally superior to others; they dominate opportunities related to career or academics with a sense of freedom and self-actualization. The lesson learnt is that educational institutions and language policy should embrace the linguistic diversity of a multilingual context and encourage additive bilingualism or learning of more than one language, rather than valuing a language at the expense of others and forcing the population towards subtractive bilingualism the latter results in the marginalization of the masses. Similarly schools should also encourage bilingualism for greater equity in learning outcomes, tolerance and understanding of the others that eventually contributes towards collective agency for development.

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