



René Appel  
and Pieter Muysken

*Language Contact  
and Bilingualism*

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## LANGUAGE CONTACT AND BILINGUALISM

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René Appel and Pieter Muysken

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Bilingualism



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Language Contact and Bilingualism was originally published in 1987 at  
Edward Arnold, London (ISBN 0 7131 6491 3).

Cover design: René Staelenberg, Amsterdam

ISBN 90 5356 857 3

NUR 611

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#### PREFACE FOR THE AAA-EDITION

*Language Contact and Bilingualism* was originally published in 1987 at Edward Arnold. This is an unchanged reprint. Since 1985, the field has undergone a tremendous development, leading to a host of new surveys and a few specialized journals, such as *International Journal of Bilingualism*, *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, and *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition*. We refer those interested in later writings on this topic to the comprehensive textbook by Donald Winford, *An introduction to contact linguistics* (Oxford, Blackwell, 2003). Some of the more fundamental theoretical studies that have appeared since the original publication of our book are:

- Sarah Grey Thomason and Terrence Kaufman, *Language contact, creolization, and genetic linguistics*. Berkeley, Cal.: University of California Press, 1988.
- Janet L. Nicol, *One mind, two languages*. Blackwell, Malden, Mass. & Oxford, 2001.
- Michael Clyne, *Dynamics of language contact. English and immigrant languages*. Cambridge approaches to language contact. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2003.
- Carol Myers-Scotton, *Contact linguistics. Bilingual encounters and grammatical outcomes*. Oxford: Oxford University Press 2002.

Pieter Muysken and René Appel  
Amsterdam and Nijmegen, September 2005



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## Preface

For a number of years we have been doing research and teaching courses on different aspects of language contact. René Appel has worked on minority languages and particularly on the educational problems of children of migrant workers in the Netherlands. Pieter Muysken has focused on Quechua-Spanish language contact in the Andes, relating this to more general aspects of creolization and language mixture.

Particularly in planning our courses on language contact, however, we felt that the problems and concepts both of us had been dealing with were closely interrelated. It came to be a challenge to explore the relations between social, psychological and (socio) linguistic aspects of language contact more explicitly in this book. We are not certain that our exploration has been successful everywhere, given that so many disciplines with different research traditions are involved.

We would like to thank all the students and fellow researchers at the Institute of General Linguistics of the University of Amsterdam who have commented on earlier versions of material contained in this book. To conclude, we would like to acknowledge an indebtedness that will be obvious to all insiders: we have named our book with the title of Uriel Weinreich's pioneering work, *Languages in contact*, in mind. We are quite aware that it remains difficult to go beyond the depth of insight achieved in Weinreich's writings.

Amsterdam, September 1986



# 1 Introduction: Bilingualism and language contact

Imagine the history of mankind, not as a history of peoples or nations, but of the languages they speak. A history of 5000 languages, thrown together on this planet, constantly interacting. Imagine [he treaty of Versailles nor as an event of international diplomacy, but in terms of people putting on [heir best French to make themselves understood and achieve the greatest advantage. Think of Cortes' conquest of Mexico in 1532 not as an outrageous narrative of bravery, cruelty and betrayal, but in terms of the crucial role of his Indian mistress Malinche, interpreter between Aztec and Spanish. Think of the sugar plantations, where [he uprooted slaves were thrown together, as meeting places for many African languages.

Imagining all this, two things come to mind: first, how closely the history of languages is tied up with and is a reflection of the history of peoples and nations. Second, how little we know of languages in contact. Far more is known about the economic consequences of Balkanization, the disintegration of the Austrian empire, than of what happened to all the languages of the *Kaiserliche und Königliche Reiche* when it fell apart in 1918. This book tries to provide the concepts needed to understand what it means for two languages to come into contact. What happens in communities where several languages are spoken? How can speakers handle these languages simultaneously? When and why will the different languages actually be used? Which consequences does language contact have for the languages involved? These are the main issues we address here.

In this chapter we will give a bit of background to the discussion by sketching a few of the conceptual problems, listing some of the reasons why researchers have wanted to look at language contact (hoping that these may be valid for the reader as well), describing some of the major types of language contact in the world, giving a brief history of the field and presenting, finally, a sketch of the different contributing sub-disciplines and an outline of the book.

## 1.1 Bilingualism: concepts and definitions

Language contact inevitably leads to bilingualism. Generally, two types of bilingualism are distinguished: *social* and *individual* bilingualism. Roughly speaking, societal bilingualism occurs when in a given society two or more languages are spoken. In this sense, nearly all societies are bilingual, but they can differ with regard

2 Introduction: Bilingualism and language contact

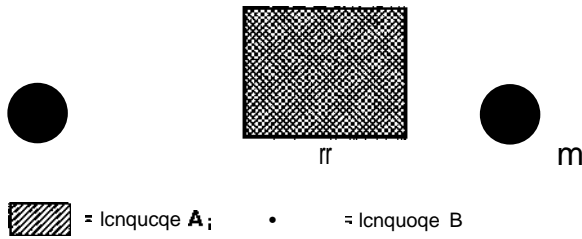


Figure 1.1 Schematically represented forms of societal bilingualism

to the degree or form of bilingualism. Theoretically, the following forms can be distinguished (see Figure 1.1).

In situation I the two languages are spoken by two different groups and each group is monolingual; a few bilingual individuals take care of the necessary intergroup communication. This form of societal bilingualism often occurred in former colonial countries, where the colonizer spoke English, for instance, and the native people a local language. In societies of type II all people are bilingual. Approximations to such a form of societal bilingualism can be found in African countries and in India. Often people have command of more than two languages.

In the third form of societal bilingualism one group is monolingual, and the other bilingual. In most cases this last group will form a minority, perhaps not in the numerical or statistical, but in the sociological sense: it is a non-dominant or oppressed group. Situations like III can be observed in Greenland, for example, where the people who speak Greenlandic Inuit must become bilingual, i.e. learn Danish, while the Danish-speaking group, which is sociologically dominant, can remain monolingual.

Of course, forms I, II and III are only theoretical types which do not exist in a pure form in the world we live in: different mixtures are much more common. The linguistic situation of most countries is far more complex, with more than two groups and more than two languages involved. It is useful, however, to keep the ideal typology in mind when we describe complex bilingual societies.

It is fairly clear what *individual* bilingualism is, but determining whether a given person is bilingual or not is far from simple. Many people in Britain have learned some French in school and practice it on their annual holiday, but are they bilingual in the same way as young Puerto Ricans in New York, who use both Spanish and English with equal ease? To what extent must a speaker have command over the two languages in order to be labelled a bilingual? Must he or she have fluent oral and writing skills in both languages? Must a true bilingual be proficient in productive (speaking, writing) as well as receptive tasks (listening, reading)? Which components of the language are the criteria: vocabulary, pronunciation, syntax, pragmatics?

In the history of the study of bilingualism various definitions have been proposed. We will give two extreme, but well-known variants. Bloomfield made the highest demands. According to him, a bilingual should possess 'native-like control of two or more languages' (1933: 56). At the other extreme, Meenamara (1969) proposed that somebody should be called bilingual if he has some second-language skills in one of

the four modalities (speaking, listening, writing, reading), in addition to his first-language skills.

The problem of a *psychological* definition, in terms of proficiency, seems to be unsurmountable, not because of measurement problems (which are complex enough by themselves), but because it is impossible to find a general norm or standard for proficiency. Therefore we prefer a *sociological* definition, in line with Weinreich (1953: 5), who said that 'the practice of alternatively using two languages will be called here bilingualism, and the persons involved bilinguals'. Somebody who regularly uses two or more languages in alternation *is* a bilingual. Within this definition speakers may still differ widely in their actual linguistic skills, of course, but we should be careful not to impose standards for bilinguals that go much beyond these for monolinguals. The very fact that bilinguals use various languages in different circumstances suggests that it *is* their *overall* linguistic competence that should be compared to that of monolinguals. All too often imposing Blomfield's criteria on bilinguals has led to their stigmatization as being somehow deficient in their language capacities.

With regard to the terminology used in this book, two more things:

(1) The terms *bilingual* and *bilingualism* also apply to situations where more than two languages are involved. Only in obviously appropriate cases will we sometimes use the terms *multilingual* and *multilingualism*. (2) In this book the terms *bilingual/ism* refer to conventionally recognized languages and *not* to dialects of languages (for instance, London Cockney and Received Pronunciation), although we are quite aware of the fact that many research findings and concepts in the study of bilingualism carry over to bidialectism.

Any definition of bilingualism has to come to grips with a central problem in the social sciences: that of scale and of aggregation. Are we talking about individuals, about families, neighbourhoods or whole societies? What can 'language contact' possibly mean, since 'language' is an abstraction? Speakers can be in contact, metaphorically speaking two grammars might be said to be in contact in the brain of an individual, but languages as whole entities? We do find bilingual societies where many individual speakers are not bilingual, particularly societies organized along caste lines, or with very strong social divisions. An example of the latter would be the province of Quebec before the Second World War, where an English-speaking urban bourgeoisie coexisted with a French-speaking farming community (cf. form I in Figure 1.1).

A second problem has to do with our definition of languages as well. Is it meaningful to speak of language contact given the fact that we do not know how to distinguish between languages and dialects? Hindi and Urdu are two, religiously differentiated, varieties of essentially the same language: Hindi is spoken by Hindus and Urdu by Moslems. Is there a possibility of language contact here, or just of dialect mixture? The same holds for Dutch and German along the eastern border of the Netherlands. Where does it become meaningful to speak of the two languages being in contact? How different do the two codes have to be?

A third set of problems has to do with the level of grammatical analysis that we deal with. If we accept the replacement of the central notion of 'language' by that of 'grammar', then we surely should speak of 'grammars in contact'. Then again, if we accept the notion common in generative grammar since the late 1970s that grammars



consist of a number of independent components, (the phrase structure component, the transformational component, the lexicon, the phonological component), then the question is whether we should not be dealing with components of grammars in contact. This problem may seem very academic, but in chapters 10 and 13 we will argue that it is crucial for understanding what is going on.

## 1.2 Reasons for studying language contact

Turning now to reasons for studying language contact, we can discern strong impulses both from social concerns and from developments in language studies. Countries such as Belgium and Canada, both with language groups that are sometimes opposed to each other, have created centres for the study of bilingualism, stimulated research and produced outstanding scholars. It is hoped that a thorough and dispassionate analysis of bilingual language behaviour will help us to gain insight into the language problems of groups and individuals and thus support language planning and educational policies. This type of research has been recognized as crucial in countries such as India, which faces a combination of languages spoken of daunting complexity, and has become one of the world's centres for language-contact research. Sometimes it is called 'the laboratory of multilingualism'.

In addition to these countries, characterized by a long history of bilingualism, a large number of countries, particularly in the industrialized West, have become bilingual on a large scale in the last 20 years due to migration. The presence of groups of migrants has had a great impact on these societies: suddenly a number of myths about monolingual and monocultural national identity were shattered. The political emancipation and educational needs of the migrant groups have stimulated in turn a whole new series of language-contact studies, both in Europe and in the US and Canada.

It is not only minorities of migrants that have participated in these processes of political and cultural emancipation, however, but also a number of traditional minority groups. These groups have clamoured for political decentralization, recognition of their own language and culture and bilingual education. This, in turn, has led to a number of studies on language-contact issues.

On the level of ideology, these developments have not remained without repercussions. The process of decolonization has left the former colonial powers, one might say, with a lot to think about. A strong tradition of historical research has emerged that focuses on the conditions, processes and consequences of colonialism, both for the colonizing powers and for the Third World. This tradition has enriched our perception of colonization itself considerably, and allows us to look at the propagation and expansion of the European languages in a wider perspective. It also allows us to develop a vocabulary and conceptual model for talking about systems, including languages, influencing each other.

The cultural developments in the West of the 1960s led to a return to the study of the vernacular languages, away from purism, including the spoken languages of minority groups. An early manifestation of this was the emergence of Black and Amerindian studies in the US in the early 1970s, and certainly the study of language-contact phenomena has profited from this development. Here phenomena such as creole languages were involved that clearly did not fit into a purist conception.

When we turn to linguistics itself, the study of language contact has developed into a paradigm for sociolinguistics as a whole. Sociolinguistics as a discipline has stressed the diversity in language use. The study of diversity leads, of course, to a focus on the clearest example of diversity: multilingualism. All the major issues in the sociolinguistic study of the so-called monolingual speech communities reappear in enlarged form in the study of language contact: style shift, linguistic change, code selection and speech repertoire, attitudes, and perhaps variation. Both societal pressures, then, and trends internal to our cultural perceptions and internal to linguistics have fostered the study of language contact from a number of different perspectives. We will turn to these shortly.

### 1.3 Situations of language contact

In section 1.1 we presented a schematic typology of bilingualism. Here we will attempt to describe what the dominant language contact situations in recent history are. Such a survey can only be very provisional and tentative, particularly because space and time play tricks on us. What seems like a stable situation now may rapidly change in the future, or be the interim result of an extremely drastic change that escapes our view.

A first historical situation of language contact is the linguistic archipelago: many often unrelated languages, each with few speakers, spoken in the same ecosphere. Such situations are rare at this moment, but must have been frequent in the precolonial era. Examples now are the Amazon basin and the Australian desert, where many aboriginal peoples still live in tribal groups. Sociolinguistically these areas are characterized by extensive bilingualism, linguistically by widespread diffusion of words and elements of grammar from language to language.

A second setting for language contact involves more or less stable borders between language families. One such border runs between the Romance and Germanic languages through Switzerland (where French and Romansh are spoken in the South, and Swiss German in the North) and Belgium (where Dutch and German are spoken in the North and French in the South). Another example is the border between the Indo-European and Dravidian languages running through India. It is hard to generalize across these cases: for India extensive borrowing is reported, and this does not seem to exist in Switzerland, and only marginally in Belgium. These differences appear to be due to the very different power and status relationships obtaining between the languages involved. In this book we return to such differences repeatedly. If one thing can be learned from language-contact studies it is how important the overall social context is. Sociolinguistics is not like chemistry, and when you put two languages together the same thing does not always happen.

The third type of situation in which language contact occurs is the result of European colonial expansion. Colonialism has not only created a number of societies in which high-prestige European languages coexist with the native languages of the conquered peoples. New varieties of the colonial languages were created also, resembling the original in the case of English, French, Portuguese and Spanish in the New World and in Australia, but also in often unrecognizable form, as in the Creole languages of the Caribbean, West Africa and the Pacific. Very roughly, the spread of the colonial languages can be represented as shown in Map 1.1.



Map 1.1 Schematic representation of the European colonial expansion

A fourth situation reflects individual pockets of speakers of minority languages, cut off by the surrounding national languages. Examples include Welsh and Gaelic in Great Britain, Frisian in the Netherlands, Basque in France and Spain. Often these groups reflect traditional populations, already in existence when new peoples and languages swept in.

The final situation is in some sense the result of a reverse migratory movement: the influx of people from the post-colonial Third World societies into the industrial world. People from the Caribbean have migrated to North America and Europe, people from Central America predominantly to the US, and people from the Mediterranean predominantly to Western Europe. Again, Map 1.2 gives some idea of these movements.

The result of these migratory patterns has been mentioned already: newly and uneasily multicultural and multilingual societies, faced with hitherto unknown educational problems but also with cultural enrichment and new possibilities.

The history of peoples and languages is *very* rich. Of many developments and languages all traces have disappeared. These types of language-contact situations are certainly not the only ones. Imagine all the sociolinguistic upheavals caused by the conquests of the Romans or the Mongols. When we look at a region such as the Balkans, which now is relatively stable, we realize how many linguistic changes involving many different languages must have taken place there. Present stability is the result of movement in the past.

## 1.4 The history of the field

The roots of the linguistic study of language contact go back at least 100 years to the comparative and historical tradition of the nineteenth century. William Dwight



Map 1.2 Schematic representation of the post-colonial migration (0 Europe and North America

Whitney (1881) explicitly discusses the role of borrowing in language change, and we will return to his views on the matter in chapter 14. Hugo Schuchardt documented a number of complex situations of language contact in publications from 1880 onward, and was the founder of modern creole language studies. His most complex contribution to this field, part of *Kreolische Studien IX* (1890), has not been followed up. In the wake of Schuchardt's work a number of other creolists, including Hesseling (e.g. 1899, 1905) and Turner (1949) have continued to develop the linguistic study of language-contact phenomena. Their work will be discussed in chapter 15, on pidgins and creoles.

Finally, work that can be viewed as presenting the first truly comprehensive view of language contact dates from the early 1950s, including both Weinreich's seminal *Languages in Contact* (1953) and Haugen's detailed study, *The Norwegian Language in America* (1953). These contributions can be considered at the same time as laying the foundation for what later came to be called the discipline of sociolinguistics. Quite independent of these scholars, we should mention Marcel Cohen's work in France, who started out as an Arabist and whose work gradually came to include a strong concern for language-contact phenomena, as shown e.g. in his *Pour une sociologie du langage* (1956).

## 1.5 Contributing disciplines and structure of the book

*Bilingualism* or *language contact* in itself is not a scientific discipline. It is an issue, a subject or a field of study to which various disciplines can contribute. The disciplines can interact or, on the other hand, function independently, because of differing viewpoints, methodologies or terminologies.

When in a given society languages are in contact this may be of interest for sociologists or social anthropologists. Languages are social phenomena or social institutions, and the division of a society into social groups is often reflected in linguistic divisions. Linguistic behaviour and attitudes towards languages in a bilingual society often give further insight into social norms and values. In most cases, the sociological approach to bilingualism involves a language as a whole, disregarding its different varieties, processes of internal change and structural aspects. In the first part of this book we will deal with data, viewpoints and theories from this 'sociology of bilingualism'.

More general topics such as the relation between language and (social) identity and the functioning of two languages in a community will be discussed in addition to more specific topics such as the position of minority languages in the school, the effects of bilingual education, and the problem of language planning.

Earlier in this chapter we made a distinction between societal and individual bilingualism. The bilingual individual can be profitably studied from the perspective of psychology. The second part of this book, *The bilingual speaker*, discusses psychological aspects of bilingualism, such as the different ways in which the two languages may be stored in the bilingual brain, the way in which a second language is acquired, and the psychological consequences of being bilingual.

The third part of this book is called *Language use in the bilingual community*. Here especially the contribution of sociolinguistics *per se*, i.e. the study of socially governed linguistic behaviour, will be presented. The chapters in this part will contain information on the languages people choose in interaction situations, or how they avoid making a specific choice, on ways in which people with different language backgrounds interact, and on the social consequences of specific interaction patterns.

The discipline of linguistics proper can contribute by discovering what happens to the structure of languages when they are in contact. This linguistic perspective is presented in the last part of this book. Do languages change when they are in contact with other languages? Can they borrow rules of grammar, or just words? Can languages mix, and how can new languages emerge out of language contact?

Distinguishing between sociological, psychological, sociolinguistic and linguistic contributions to the study of bilingualism and language contact is in many ways unsatisfactory and artificial, because they are so inextricably interrelated. It is impossible to study a psychological topic such as the cognitive consequences of individual bilingualism without taking social factors into account such as the relative status of the languages involved. In the same way it is impossible to study the phenomenon of transfer in second-language acquisition without making a detailed comparison of the two linguistic systems involved. Therefore we will often refer to chapters in other parts of the book.

The subject matter of this book is a complex one, with societal, psychological and (socio)linguistic aspects that can only be separated on an abstract analytical level. This separation is reflected in the organization of this book because for us it was the only way to present an overview of research results from different disciplines. We hope it will not hinder the reader in developing a coherent view on the subject of language contact. Whatever the reason that there are so many languages spoken in the world (and people have been pondering this question since the Old Testament), the fact is that there are; and another fact is that many people find themselves at the

Frontier of two languages. What we try to show in this book is that there are many ways of coping with this situation. The structural characteristics of the languages involved impose an outer limit on the possible linguistic outcomes of language contact. Which strategy is chosen by any one speaker depends on many factors: the relation between the speaker and the languages, and the societal context in which the speaker finds himself. We continue to be amazed at the versatility and resourcefulness of speakers: multilingualism is not just a problem, it can be a triumph of the human spirit.

## Further reading

People interested in modern studies of language contact should consult Mackey's *Bilingualisme et contact des langues* (1976), an encyclopaedic survey with much relevant material and Grosjean's *Life With Two Languages* (1982), a highly readable book with many accounts of personal bilingual experiences. Fasold's *The Sociolinguistics of Society* (1984) documents the relations between the study of language contact and sociolinguistics in general. Baetens Beardsmore's *Bilingualism; Basic Principles* (1982) stresses psycholinguistic aspects, and the title of Skumabb-Kangas's *Bilingualism or xcr- The education of minorities* (1983) is self-explanatory. In addition there are a number of collections of articles, of which we mention Fishman (1978) and Mackey and Ornstein (1979), both focusing on sociological subjects: demography, language maintenance and language and education, and finally McCormack and Wurm (1979), which contains articles on a variety of subjects, including code switching and language planning.



# Social aspects of the bilingual community

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## 2 Language and identity

Sançak is an eight-year-old Turkish boy who has lived in the Netherlands for about five years. Approximately half of the children of the school he attends are of Turkish or Moroccan nationality. Their fathers had come to the Netherlands as migrant workers, and later on their families came over. The language of [the classroom is Dutch, but the four Turkish children have one morning per week instruction in Turkish by a Turkish teacher (in a separate classroom). Sançak is a very sociable child, but most of the time he seeks the company of Mamouta, another Turkish boy. Although Mamouta generally prefers to speak Dutch, Sançak always speaks Turkish with him. Furthermore, he also counts in Turkish when he is doing arithmetic. In his view his family will 'soon' return to Turkey, Turkish is a more beautiful language than Dutch, and he longs to live in Turkey. He is delighted when a Dutch-speaking person asks something about Turkish or tries to learn a few Turkish words from him. Sançak is a lively, expressive child, but sometimes rather disobedient. When he goes against the rules of the classroom, and the teacher reprimands him, or when something is going on which he does not like at all, he can suddenly burst out in a stream of Turkish (though he always speaks Dutch with the Dutch teacher). When children are singing Dutch songs with the teacher Sançak may jump up from his chair and start singing (and dancing) a Turkish song.

Evidently, Turkish has a special meaning for Sançak. It is the language in which he is most fluent, and when he uses it with Mamouta, he can have Mamouta (who is his best friend) all to himself because there are no other Turkish boys in the classroom. But perhaps more importantly, sometimes he does not use Turkish to convey a message but only to mark his own identity as a Turkish boy who does not agree with the course of events in the Dutch classroom. In singing a Turkish song Sançak demonstrates a part of Turkish culture, of which he seems to be rather proud.

Language is not only an instrument for the communication of messages. This becomes especially clear in multilingual communities where various groups have their own language: e.g. the Flemish in Belgium and the Gujaratis in India. With its language a group distinguishes itself. The cultural norms and values of a group are transmitted by its language. Group feelings are emphasized by using the group's own language, and members of the outgroup are excluded from its internal transactions (cf. Giles *et al.*, 1977).

Therefore it is a common assumption in sociolinguistics - an assumption which is



validated by many personal observations and research data - that languages carry social meanings or social connotations. In this chapter we will deal with this assumption from the perspective of the relation between language and identity in bilingual communities. In the sociological and sociolinguistic literature a group's identity is often called its *cultural* or *ethnic identity*, or its ethnicity. In section 2.1. we will discuss the concept of ethnicity and its potential links with language. The main question to be answered here is: is there always a categorical and necessary relation between language and ethnicity?

If a language has social meaning, people will evaluate it in relation to the social status of its users. Their language attitudes will be social attitudes. Section 2.2. reports on studies of language attitudes.

## 2.1 Language and ethnicity

Everything that differentiates a group from another group constitutes the group's identity. Although there are no fixed criteria, a group is considered to be an ethnic group with a specific ethnic identity when it is sufficiently distinct from other groups. For instance, sailors certainly constitute a group, but they would not qualify as an ethnic group. The group of Spanish-speaking people living in the USA and coming from Mexico (often called Chicanos) on the other hand, definitely constitute an ethnic group. They have their own native language, and such a group is therefore often called an 'ethnolinguistic group'. For quite some time it was assumed that the ethnic groups we find in our modern societies were dying out, because they were expected to integrate into mainstream society and give up their own life style, culture, language and identity. But the perspective on ethnic groups and ethnic identity has changed. Glazer and Moynihan (1975:4) argue that ethnic groups were formerly seen as relics from an earlier age, but that there is 'a growing sense that they may be forms of social life that are capable of renewing and transforming themselves'. Glazer and Moynihan also note that a new word reflects this new social reality: *ethnicity*.

Many scholars have tried to define the concept of ethnicity, i.e. they have tried to establish which features are characteristic of an ethnic group. We will not try to reproduce or summarize the often heated debate on the definition of ethnicity, but confine ourselves to the views of two scholars who are especially relevant here because they discuss ethnicity in relation to language.

According to Fishman (1977) we must take three dimensions into account when we think of ethnicity. The most important dimension is termed *paternity*; ethnicity is 'in pari, but at its core, experienced as an inherited constellation acquired from one's parents as they acquired it from theirs, and so on back further and further, *ad infinitum*' (Fishman, 1977: 17). In this way ethnicity is linked up with a feeling of continuity. The second dimension is that of *patrimony*, i.e. the legacy of collectivity - defining behaviours and views: pedagogic patterns, music, clothes, sexual behaviour, special occupations etc., which are somehow inherited from earlier generations. *Phenomenology* is the third dimension, and it refers to the meaning people attach to their paternity (their descent as members of a collectivity) and to their (ethnic) legacy. Phenomenology has to do with the subjective attitudes of people towards their membership of a potential ethnic group.

Another approach is represented by Ross (1979), who distinguishes two schools of

thought with regard to the definition of ethnicity. The first one is *objektivist*, claiming that the ethnicity of a group is defined by its concrete cultural institutions and patterns: a distinctive language, distinctive folk tales, food, clothing, etc. In fact, this view restricts itself to Fishman's dimension of patrimony. The second school adheres to a *subjectivist approach*. Ethnicity is supposed to reflect a shared us-feeling, while the members of the group may differ considerably in clothing, religion or even language. In such a group, the subjective factor - the us-feeling or the us-against-mem-feeling - overrides the importance of other objective factors not shared. LeVine and Tabouret-Keller (1982) illustrate this point with the example of West Indians in Great Britain. Initially, West Indian immigrant groups were characterized by island labels and island identities but the attitudes of the majority of white Britons led to the development of a sense of a common enemy on which a new, general West Indian identity could be based. This subjective approach to the definition of identity cannot be seen in terms of Fishman's dimensions. Fishman stresses the origins of identity, even in his dimension of phenomenology which regards the meaning people attach to things they have inherited. The subjective view of ethnicity claims that it can develop as a reaction to actual circumstances. For Fishman (1977) language is the *symbol par excellence* of ethnicity: 'Language is the recorder of patrimony, the expression of patrimony and the carrier of phenomenology. Any vehicle carrying such a precious freight must come to be viewed as equally precious, as part of the freight, indeed as precious in and of itself' (Fishman, 1977:25). The importance of language is amplified by the fact that it is used to cope with other ethnic experiences. People talk about all kinds of cultural or ethnic activities and issues, and therefore language is connected with these. A kind of associative link is developed. Relevant cultural items - types of clothing, aspects of wedding rituals, etc. - find their expression in the language, and it is often thought that they cannot be expressed in another language.

In various studies the relation between language and ethnicity had been demonstrated. Mercer *et al.* (1979) studied a group of bilingual Gujarati and English-speaking students in Leicester. The students were either themselves immigrants or the first-generation offspring of immigrants from the Indian subcontinent or East Africa. With respect to identity, Mercer *et al.* could distinguish three groups: those who identified themselves as Indian, those who identified themselves as British, and those with a 'mixed' British-Indian identity, favouring a synthesis of British and Indian elements. Members of the Indian identity group were most positively oriented towards the use and maintenance of Gujarati, they also emphasized most strongly the function of Gujarati for maintaining links with their Indian homeland and cultural heritage. Those choosing a British identity showed the least positive attitude towards Gujarati, and the 'mixed' group also in this respect had an in-between attitude.

Guboglo (1979) reports on language and ethnic identity in the Udmurt Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. According to him, language has an integrating function with regard to ethnic identity. The relation between language and certain aspects of Udmurt culture is shown in the following data: in Udmurtia, 33 per cent of the Udmurt-speaking people in the cities and 46.3 per cent of the villagers have opted for the traditional Udmurt childbirth ritual, however, the respective figures for the people with another mother tongue are 13.4 and 21.2 per cent. Of course, these data cannot be interpreted causally. It is impossible to say whether

speaking Udmurt 'causes' the choice for the traditional childbirth ritual, or the other way round. It can also be the case that there is another factor which causes both.

The use of creole by black (and white!) British adolescents was studied by Hewitt (1982). A 16-year-old black young man gave the following answer when Hewitt asked if he enjoyed speaking creole, i.e. the London variety of Jamaican creole: 'Yes. 'Cos I feel . . . sounds funny. I feel black and I am proud of it, to speak like rhar. That's why, when I talk it, I feel better than when I'm talking like now. You know what I mean?'

.. When I speak more dread I feel more lively and more aware. In a way I feel I am more happier (Hewitt, 1982:220). The word 'dread' is a key concept in black youth culture, and, according to Hewitt, close involvement with white society contradicts the ideal definition of 'dread'.

Lowley *et al.* (1983) interviewed representatives of three American ethnolinguistic groups: French, Spanish and Yiddish. They concluded that all three groups wanted to maintain their specific ethnic identity alongside their American identity, and that they considered their ethnic mother tongue to be its most vital and visible expression. The minority language or ethnic mother tongue turns out not to be an indispensable aspect of ethnicity, however. Ross (1979) notes that in some cases, e.g. among American Indians, a feeling of ethnicity is developed when individuals or groups give up their own language in favour of a common lingua franca. In the view of Edwards (1981), language, as one of the most noticeable manifestations of identity, is most susceptible to shift and decay. Just because language is so public people have often wrongly assumed that it is *the* most important component of identity. Particularly where minority groups want to integrate into mainstream society the regular, daily function of the mother tongue decreases. The language can maintain a ritual function, and other markers of identity can be preserved as well, if they have a function in the private life of individuals. Edwards assumes that these remaining aspects do not hinder participation in mainstream culture, and are not an obstacle to getting ahead in society.

Apte (1979) shows that there is not always a one-to-one relationship between language and ethnic identity by describing the language situation of the Marathi-speaking community of Tamil Nadu, a state in the southern part of India, where Tamil is the official language of the state (see also the introduction to chapter 5). The community of Marathi speakers consists of approximately 50,000 people. Marathi is the official language of the state of Maharashtra on the west coast of India, where it is spoken by 41 million people. The present-day speakers of Marathi in Tamil Nadu are nearly all descendants of Marathi speakers who immigrated approximately 200 years ago. According to Apte, three major caste groups can be distinguished in the Marathi community in Tamil Nadu. Deshastha Brahmins; who were closely associated with the Tanjore kings as administrators and priests; tailors, who appear to be later immigrants; and Marathas who are Kshatriyas (warriors) and were the ruling caste of the Tanjore kingdom.

The major distinction is between the Brahmins and the non-Brahmins. For ideological reasons, the Marathi-speaking Brahmins are linked to their counterparts in the dominant population, the Tamil Brahmins. The tailors stress their caste identity within the framework of the pan-Indian social structure. They also show association with their homeland in terms of their religious behaviour. Apte argues that the two groups, with the same mother tongue, have different ethnic identities, and that there is very little communication between them. This Indian example

makes clear that there may be other factors than language, such as caste, social class or political affiliation, which mark the demarcation line between ethnic groups.

So far we have discussed the relation between language and identity on the basis of the (false) assumption that languages are homogeneous. However, many varieties of a language can be distinguished. Ethnic groups may develop an ethnic variety of a language that originally belonged to another group, gradually dispense with their own minority tongue, and consider the ethnic variety as one of the carriers of ethnic identity. An example of this is the English spoken by Italian Americans, a group that has more or less successfully integrated itself into mainstream American society, and has overwhelmingly switched to English. Nonetheless, particularly inside the Italian community, Italo-Americans will sometimes speak with a special intonation pattern, pronounce certain vowels and consonants in a way reminiscent of the early immigrants, use certain cultural content words (e.g. *mozzarella*), and show certain syntactic characteristics in their speech, for instance the omission of pronominal agent, as in (1)

(1) Go to a Scorsese movie (instead of: I go to ...)

Another example of ethnic marking concerns utterances like (2) and (3) in the speech of Jewish Americans, and of Jewish New Yorkers in particular:

- (2) A Cadillac he drives
- (3) Some milk he wants

For most speakers of English these sentences are unacceptable, because a constituent that is topicalized, i.e. moved to the front to receive emphasis, must be definite, as in (4)

(4) This book he has read (but not that one)

Although the pattern of (2) and (3), according to Feinsrein (1980) has also spread to non-Jewish New Yorkers, it may be assumed to mark ethnic identity. The occurrence of topicalized indefinite noun phrases can probably be ascribed to the influence of Yiddish in which topicalization is a much more generally applicable process.

Returning to the main question of this section, we can state that there exists a categorical, necessary relation between language and ethnicity. As Lieberman (1970) noted in his study of the language situation of ethnic groups in Canada, there are many instances of ethnic groups with distinct languages, but also many instances of distinct ethnic groups with a common language. Ethnic differences do not always find parallels in linguistic differences, and vice versa. Furthermore, if we apply the approach to ethnicity proposed by Fishman, it is clear that language is not an obligatory part of patrimony, although if it is, it will generally be highly valued in the dimension of phenomenology. Following Ross's distinction, we can state that in the objective view of ethnicity the relation between language and ethnicity is accidental. Language may be or may not be included in the group's cultural bag. According to the subjective view, group members more or less consciously choose to associate ethnicity with language. The relation is subjective, as in the case of the West Indian

creole speakers studied by Hewitt. Various aspects of bilingualism can only be understood rightly if the (potential) language-ethnicity relation is taken into account. Therefore this issue will reappear in many of the following chapters, for example in the next one.

## 2.2 Language attitudes

The fact that languages are not only objective, socially neutral instruments for conveying meaning, but are linked up with the identities of social or ethnic groups has consequences for the social evaluation of, and the attitudes towards languages. Or perhaps we should put it differently: if there is a strong relation between language and identity, this relation should find its expression in the attitudes of individuals towards these languages and their users.

The underlying assumption is that in a society social (or ethnic) groups have certain attitudes towards each other, relating to their differing social positions. These attitudes affect attitudes towards cultural institutions or patterns characterizing these groups such as language, and carry over to and are reflected in attitudes towards individual members of the groups. This chain is represented in Figure 2.1.

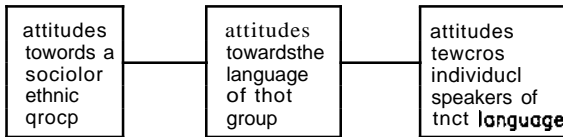


Figure 2.1 Schema representing the formation of attitudes

Generally, two theoretical approaches are distinguished to the study of language attitudes. The first one is the *behaviourist* view, according to which attitudes must be studied by observing the responses to certain languages, i.e. to their use in actual interaction. The *mentalist* view considers attitudes as an internal, mental state, which may give rise to certain forms of behaviour. It can be described as 'an intervenlog variable between a stimulus affecting a person and that person's response' (Fasold, 1984: 147).

Nearly all researchers in the field of language attitudes adhere to this latter view, although it poses serious research problems because internal, mental states cannot be directly observed, but have to be inferred from behaviour or from self-reported data which are often of questionable validity.

In the mentalist approach, the following two methods are most commonly used for investigating language attitudes. The first one is called the *matched-guise technique*. It was developed in Canada by Lambert and his associates in the late 1950s and early 60s. In the basic set-up of a matched guise (*mg*) experiment, tape-recordings are made of a number of perfectly bilingual speakers reading the same passage of prose in both of their languages. The order of the recorded fragments is randomized, i.e. first

speaker A in English, then speaker B in French, speaker C in English, speaker A in French, speaker D in French, etc.

Subjects whose language attitudes are being studied listen to these recordings under the impression that each speaker has been recorded once. The subjects (or judges) evaluate and rate the personality characteristics of the speakers, mostly on so-called semantic differential scales (Osgood, Suci and Tannenbaum, 1957). These scales have opposite extremes of certain traits at either end, and a number of blank spaces in between: the points of the scale. Examples of frequently used traits are: intelligent/dull; Friendly/unfriendly; successful/unsuccessful; kind/cruel; aggressive/nmid; trustworthy/unreliable. The subjects will not recognize two fragments as being read by the same speaker, and differences in reactions to the two fragments will reveal underlying language attitudes.

The second technique is that of the *questionnaire*, containing various types of questions on language and language use. Questions may be open or closed. Questionnaires with closed questions may also employ the semantic differential, or multiple-choice items. Questions like the following could be asked (in a language-attitude study in Wales):

- Rate Welsh on the following scales (e.g. beautiful/ugly; modern/old-fashioned; logical/illogical).
- Rate English on the following scales (the same scales).
- Do you agree with the following statement: more Welsh-speaking TV-programmes should be broadcast. (agree/do not agree/no opinion).
- Howard was born and raised in Cardiff where he learned to speak Welsh. Now he lives in Manchester where he hardly ever speaks Welsh. Do you consider Howard to be a Welshman? (yes/no/no opinion).

As we stated above, most research on language attitudes follows the mentalist perspective. A central problem in this field is that mental states have to be inferred from a certain kind of behaviour. Language-attitude studies have become a central part of sociolinguistics, but we will not go further into the many theoretical and methodological issues pertaining to research in this area (see Fasold, 1984 for an excellent overview). Here we want to show what the results of language-attitude studies contribute to our understanding of the relation between language and identity.

In a first study (Lambert *et al.*, 1960) English-speaking Canadian (EC) university students and French-speaking Canadian (FC) students rated the personalities of a series of speakers, the matched guises of fluent English/Canadian French bilinguals (EC and FC guises). The EC were strongly biased against the FC and in favour of the EC guises in their judgements. The same speakers were rated as being better looking, taller, more intelligent, more dependable, kinder, more ambitious, and as having more character in their EC-guises than in their FC-guises. In this respect, the EC-judges who spoke French as a second language did not differ from monolingual judges.

This result was not very surprising, because it could be expected that ECs would downgrade speakers of Canada's non-prestige language. But the real surprises were the evaluations by the French students. They also rated the EC-guises more

favourably on a whole series of traits, except for kindness and religiousness, for which they gave more positive ratings to the FC-guises. A very striking result was that the FC students rated the FC-guises much more negatively on many traits than the EC-students had. Lambert (1967:95) considers 'this pattern of results as a reflection of a community-wide stereotype of FCs as being relatively second-rate people, a view apparently fully shared by certain sub-groups of FCs'.

This *mg-study* was replicated in many different language contact situations. For example, Lambert, Anisfeld and Yeni-Komshian (1965) investigated the attitudes of Arab-Israeli and Jewish-Israeli adolescents towards Hebrew and Arabic. The judges turned out to rate the representatives of their own group more favourably than the representatives of the other group. For instance, both the Arab and the Jewish listeners judged their own language group as more reliable, better looking, friendlier, and the like. In an *mg*-experiment on the language attitudes of black South African students towards English and Afrikaans (Vorster and Proctor, 1976) highly significant differences were found between the English and the Afrikaans guises. The English guises were expected to be much better looking, to have a higher-status job, to be more likeable, more sociable and kinder. Vorster and Proctor assume that the English stereotype is of a 'nice' person, whereas there are some indications that the Afrikaans stereotype is of a 'physically strong' person.

In studies of the language attitudes of children, it was found that at the age of 10 they generally do not yet have the cultural stereotypes prevailing among adults, and that above 10 they seem to acquire these stereotypes and begin to exhibit negative evaluations of speakers of a minority language (cf. Day, 1982).

The fact that language is often linked with specific activities or situations may cause a problem in the interpretation of results in language-attitude research. Most studies have used tape-recordings of the reading of formal prose or spontaneous speech concerning informal topics. However, certain languages do not seem appropriate for certain contexts, for example, the reading of a passage of a scientific article in a non-prestige minority language (cf. chapter 3). If this factor is not taken into account, it may influence the ratings of the speakers.

Carranza and Ryan (1975) did precisely this in their study of the language attitudes of Chicano and Anglo adolescents in Chicago. The Chicano students had learned Spanish at home, and the Anglo students in high school foreign-language classes. Both groups had to rate the personalities of 16 speakers on a tape. Four speakers used English in a home context, four Spanish in a home context, four English in a school context, and four Spanish in a school context. The researchers did not use the matched-guise technique. Each speaker was recorded in his mother tongue, which made the passages as close to standard or 'normal' as possible. In general, English was rated higher than Spanish. But Spanish was more favourably judged in the home context than in the school context. Contrary to the expectations of the researchers, there were no differences between the two groups of students in this respect. According to Carranza and Ryan these results show that listeners take the appropriateness of the language variety for a particular situation into account in their judgements, but this conclusion seems only to be partially supported by the findings of the study.

Until now we have only discussed the attitudes towards a language in general,

although especially in contact situations languages cannot be viewed as homogeneous wholes. Often in a bilingual community two linguistic varieties can be distinguished: the standard variety of language A and a non-standard contact variety of A (influenced by language B), and the standard variety of B and a non-standard contact variety of B (influenced by A). Most Mexican-Americans set a high value on standard Spanish and deprecate their own Spanish, which is often considered to be just border slang. But it is also noted that younger speakers, and especially the ones who identify themselves as Chicanos, assign positive ratings to speakers of local Spanish varieties such as Tex-Mex (see for instance Flores and Hopper, 1975). The attitudes towards local varieties of English differ from these towards Mexican-American Spanish. In the case of English, accented speech is associated with inferior status, and judges consistently show a negative attitude towards it (cf. Ryan and Carranza, 1977).

Turning now to a completely different context, Bentahila (1983) studied the attitudes among Arabic-French bilinguals in Morocco. Three languages were involved: Classical Arabic, Moroccan-Arabic (the 'standard' vernacular in Morocco) and French (a compulsory subject in primary school, and used in many scientific, commercial and technical contexts). From the answers to a questionnaire Bentahila concluded that Classical Arabic was judged as the richest and most beautiful of the three languages, and French was considered the most modern and useful for studies. Bentahila furthermore conducted a matched-guise experiment in which three speakers participated: two of them spoke 'High Moroccan French' (which is very close to that of a native French speaker) and one French with a strong Moroccan accent in addition to Arabic. The first two were rated much higher than the third one in their French guises (in comparison with their Moroccan-Arabic guises) on traits related to status or education. French pronounced with a heavy Moroccan accent did not rate significantly differently from Moroccan-Arabic, i.e. accented French was not strongly associated with prestige and sophistication.

The general explanation for the results of language-attitude studies rests on the assumption that languages (or linguistic varieties) are objectively comparable, grammatically and logically, but that the differences in subjective evaluation of speech fragments is caused by the differences in social positions of ethnolinguistic groups. However, are languages comparable? This question was mainly studied in relation to two varieties of one language (standard and non-standard), but there is no reason nor to extend the conclusions to languages.

Giles *et al.* (1979) report research on this issue, carried out in Canada and Wales. Two hypotheses were contrasted: the inherent value hypothesis (one variety is better or more beautiful than the other) and the imposed norm hypothesis (one variety is considered to be better or more beautiful because it is spoken by the group with most prestige or status). Giles and his colleagues found support for the second hypothesis: a dialect which was judged negatively by speakers from the community where it was used, in the case French Canadian in Canada, did not receive low ratings from non-users in Wales. According to Edwards (1982:21), 'we are on a fairly safe footing if we consider that evaluations of language varieties - dialects and accents - do not reflect either linguistic or aesthetic quality *per se*, but rather are expressions of social convention and preference which, in turn, reflect an awareness of the status and prestige accorded to the speakers of these varieties.'

Although speakers of non-prestige languages generally receive lower ratings in



attitude studies than speakers of prestige languages, a distinction must be made between the ratings on different personality traits, especially when the rating is done by members of the non-prestige social groups themselves. For example, in the first matched-guise experiment by Lambert and his associates (Lambert *et al.*, 1960) the French Canadian judges rated the French Canadian guises more favourably than the English Canadian guises on the traits 'religiousness' and 'kindness'. In their study on the evaluation of Spanish and English, Carranza and Ryan (1975) distinguished status scales and solidarity scales. Status traits were: educated/uneducated; intelligent/ignorant; successful/unsuccessful, wealthy/poor. Solidarity traits included: friendly/unfriendly; good/bad; kind/cruel; trustworthy/untrustworthy. As was noted above, speakers of English were in general assigned higher ratings than speakers of Spanish, but the difference was smaller for solidarity scales than for status scales. A striking example of this differential attitude can be found in work done on Quechua-Spanish bilinguals in Peru (Wölck, 1973), where it was found that the ratings for Quechua (compared to Spanish) were higher on social or affective criteria like ugly/pretty, weak/strong and kind/unkind, while Spanish received higher ratings on traits like low class/high class and educated/uneducated.

Members of non-prestige social groups or linguistic minorities seem acutely aware of the fact that certain languages, i.e. non-prestige languages or minority languages, do not have a function in gaining upward social mobility. Spanish in America, French in Canada, Moroccan-Arabic in Morocco, or Quechua in Peru therefore are not associated with academic schooling, economic success, etc. That speakers of minority languages exhibit a negative attitude towards their own language in many respects, does not imply that they do not attach any importance to it. The language may be highly valued for social, subjective and affective reasons, especially by speakers from the younger generation in migration contexts or generally by people who feel a certain pride in minority culture. This form of *language loyalty* reflects the close relations between the language and the social identity of ethnolinguistic groups. Nevertheless there is not a one-to-one relation between identity and language. A distinct social, cultural or ethnic identity does not always have a distinct language as counterpart, while groups with distinct languages may have largely overlapping identities. Furthermore, identities and languages are not monolithic wholes but are clearly differentiated, heterogeneous and variable. This makes their relation in specific situations even more intricate.

## Further reading

The two most informative collections of articles on language and ethnicity are H. Giles (ed.) *Language, ethnicity, and intergroup relations* (1977) and H. Giles and B. Saint-Jacques (eds.) *Language and ethnic relations* (1979). J.J. Gumperz (ed.) *Language and social identity* (1982) contains articles on identity from the perspective of the ethnographic study of interaction. One issue of the *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* (nr. 20, 1979) is devoted to the subject 'Language planning and identity planning'. Similarly the *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* (vol. 3, no. 3, 1982) has a special issue on language and ethnicity in bilingual communities.

A well-known early source on language attitude studies is R.W. Shuy and R.W. Fasold (eds.), *Language attitudes: Current trends and prospects* (1973). For a recent collection on language attitudes, we refer the reader to E.B. Ryan and H. Giles (eds.) *Attitudes towards language variation* (1982).

### 3 The sociology of language choice

In many communities, not one language is spoken, but several. In these communities bilingualism is the norm, rather than the exception. The functioning of the two languages requires a particular set of norms for the speakers, and a functional specialisation of the languages involved. Rare that here, as elsewhere, we are talking about two languages, but in many situations more than two languages are involved. To get an idea of the complexity of the problem, take a situation such as Mauritius (Moorghen and Domingue, 1982). On an island with less than a million inhabitants, over 10 languages have sizable groups of speakers. Most of these are associated with particular ethnic groups, often descendants of migrants from South Asia, and in addition there is the colonial language, French (to some extent sharing this status with English). In between there is Creole, which on the one hand is the ethnic language of a particular group, termed General Population by Moorghen and Domingue, and on the other hand functions as a lingua franca. Thus a businessman with a Bhojpuri ethnic background may use English on the telephone when dealing with a large company, French when negotiating a building permit with a government official, joke with his colleagues in Creole, and then go home to speak Hindi with his wife and both Hindi and Creole with his children: Creole when making jokes, Hindi when telling them to do their homework.

We can approach the division of labour of the two languages involved, and hence the problem of choosing between the languages, from a number of different perspectives, which can be schematically presented as in Table 3.1:

**Table 3.1:** Sociological models for language choice

PERSPECTIVE	DOMINANT CONCEPT	PRINCIPAL REFERENCE
society	domain	Fishman (1965; 1972)
language	<b>diglossia</b>	Ferguson (1959)
speaker interaction	decision tree accommodation	Sankoff (1972) Giles (1973)
function	functional <b>specialization</b>	Iakobson (1960); Halliday <i>et al.</i> (1964)

We will now go on to discuss these different perspectives in turn, illustrating each of them with a characteristic example from a bilingual society. The first two perspectives, formulated in terms of the concepts of domains and diglossia, could be considered deterministic: the emphasis lies on a set of given societal norms rather than on the ways speakers construct, interpret and actively transform social reality. They will be dealt with in the first section. The second two perspectives (discussed in section 3.2) take the individual as their point of departure, and the fifth perspective, finally, attempts a more general, integrative point of view, in terms of the functions that a given language has.

### 3.1 Deterministic perspectives

The *domain* takes social organization as its conceptual basis. When speakers use two languages, they will obviously not use both in all circumstances: in certain situations they will use one, in others, the other. This general perception has been explored in a number of articles by Fishman, who has been studying Puerto Ricans in New York, work that has resulted in such famous research reports as 'Bilingualism in the Berrie' (Fishman *et al.*; 1968a). The point of departure for Fishman (1965) was the question: who speaks what language to whom and when?

One type of answer involves listing the various factors involved in language choice, such as group membership, situation and topic. Obviously, since language can be used to express one's identity, the identity imposed by one's group membership is a crucial factor in language choice. A West Indian in London will want to mark his or her ethnic origin in some way in speech. Similarly, the situation in which the interaction takes place has an important influence. Two Mexican Americans may find themselves speaking English at work, but when they see each other in a bar later on in the evening, Spanish is used. Finally, the topic of conversation may influence the choice of language. In most bilingual societies topics like the state of the economy and the rate of unemployment will tend to trigger a different language than kidding around or local gossip.

We will leave it to the reader to think of yet other factors influencing language choice; in the literature a number have been put forward. Language choice turns out to be subject to the same factors as all kinds of language behaviour. This approach runs the risk of fragmentation: the many interacting factors lead to an enormous number of possibilities, i.e. an enormous number of possibly differing interaction situations, and no single coherent picture emerges. The fragmentation becomes evident when we look at specific cases, such as the situation of Moroccans in the Netherlands. The general pattern of language choice (which could be given for Moroccans in Belgium and France in the same fashion, with only minor modifications) is given in Table 3.2.

Tables such as the one presented give only an incomplete picture: many situations are not mentioned, and in different situations possible interactions are not listed (such as grandparents at home). A complete list is hard to imagine, since life itself is infinite in its possibilities, and trying to describe the language choice for each situation would be an enterprise fit for Hercules, and in any case theoretically very unsatisfactory.

For this reason, Fishman conceived of the notion of domain as something more abstract, a clustering of characteristic situations or settings around a prototypical

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**Table 3.2** Situations in which three different languages are used.

Moroccan vernacular = Moroccan Arabic or Berber, depending on the group, and for Berber-speakers, even on the specific situation

	Moroccan vernacular	Dutch	Arabic
Home			
husband/wife			
parent/child		+	
friend (adult)			
friends (child)		+	
Shopping			
Moroccan store			
Dutch store			
Education			
Dutch school			
Moroccan school			
Religion			+
Work	+		
Official institutions		+	
Migrant organizations			

theme that structures the speakers' perceptions of these situations. Thus a visit to a municipal housing office and an interview with a paediatrician share some features that makes them both belong to the institutional domain that generally calls for a particular language choice. Through the notion of domain, thought of as more than a convenient sociological abstraction, Fishman was able to avoid the excessive fragmentation involved in listing yet another situation that calls for a particular language.

The sociolinguist investigating bilingual communities needs to determine what the relevant domains are. This can differ from community to community. In Caribbean societies the street plays a very different role, for instance, than in urban Germany or Britain: the division home/street is much less rigid in the Caribbean, and the choices governing language behaviour at home hold for the street as well.

The notion of *diglossia* takes the characteristics of the languages involved as its point of departure. It is not only possible to look at bilingual speech behaviour from the point of view of the situation. It is also important to focus on the languages involved. This was the approach taken by Ferguson in an early article, by now a classic, in which the notion of 'diglossia' was developed (1959). In his definition, diglossia involved two varieties of a linguistic system used in a speech community: a formal variety, termed H (high), and a vernacular or popular form, termed L (low). Each variety has its own functions in the speech community, ranging from political speeches in H to informal conversations with friends in the L variety. The formal type of speech has a much higher prestige as well, often associated with its religious functions and with a literary and historical heritage. The H variety is standardized, often internationally, and relatively stable. It is not acquired by children as a first language, but later on in life. Finally, Ferguson claims that the H variety tends to be grammatically more complex than the L variety: it tends to have more obligatorily

marked grammatical distinctions, a more complex morphophonemic system, less symmetrical inflection and less regular case marking.

Consider the following sentences from Classical Arabic (CA) and Moroccan Arabic (MA) illustrating the linguistic contrasts Ferguson (1959) meant:

(I)	CA qàla	rabiçun	li-tabi-hi:	'uridu	xizànatàn
	MA qal	rbiç	l-bḥḥa-h :	bgir	wahed I-maryu
	said	Rabi	to father-S	want-I	a cupboard
	CA 'ahuttu	fi-hà	kutub-i	wa-'	adawàt-i"
	MA baš ndir	fi-h	le-ktub dyal-i	u-l-	tadawa
	for put-1	in-3	the books of-1	and	the things
	Rabi said to his father. I want a cupboard to put my books and things in.				

In example (I) a number of contrasts between the varieties can be seen as characteristic of diglossia. In CA there are case endings: *rabiçun* and *xizànatàn*, and these are absent in MA. Furthermore in MA it is possible to put person markers only on certain nouns, such as *bba-h* 'father-3', but not with most nouns. For example, the CA form *kUlub-l'my books* is replaced by the MA periphrastic form *le-ktub dyal-i* 'the books of-me'. Finally the CA synthetic purposive infinitive 'ahuttu is replaced by a periphrastic form in MA. It is also striking to observe the basic grammatical parallelism between the two varieties, coupled with lexical and morphological differences.

The classical case of a diglossic system is the Arabic-speaking world, where in each country there are local vernacular forms of Arabic spoken alongside the traditional and international Classical Arabic, which approaches Quranic Arabic. Here Ferguson's concept applies rather well in most countries: Morocco would be a good example. Classical Arabic and Moroccan Arabic are separate as regards the functions they fulfil. Classical Arabic has a rich tradition of grammatical commentaries and treatises, a great literature, high prestige as a religious and a cultural language. Not all Moroccans learn it, and those who learn Arabic learn it much later than their own vernacular. (Berber-speaking Moroccans learn Classical Arabic always after they have learned Moroccan Arabic.) Moroccan Arabic, on the other hand, is barely recognized as a separate language, it does not have an officially recognized written form, and has less complex verbal paradigms, as can be seen from the example given above.

There are also lots of cases, however, where the concept of diglossia is less adequate in describing stable bilingual situations. We will briefly mention a number of divergences. In Paraguay, for example, there appears to be a classic division between Spanish and the original Amerindian language Guaraní in terms of Ferguson's (1959) L and H varieties:

**Table 3.3** Different characteristics of Spanish and Guaraní

GUARANI (L)	SPANISH (H)
private life	public life
low prestige 'Indian'	high prestige 'international'
mostly oral literature	rich literary tradition
acquired at home	acquired outside the house by most speakers
little standardization	clear standard norm

Even though Guarani is dearly viewed as the indigenous language and Spanish as the colonial language, many Paraguayans, including non-Indians, are bilingual between Spanish and Guarani (Rubin, 1968). As for the linguistic characteristics, however, the situation is unlike the one sketched by Ferguson. Not only are the L and the H forms unrelated, but using Ferguson's criteria Guarani is grammatically much more complex than Spanish.

A second type of situation where Ferguson's concept loses its usefulness lies in the centre of the Arabic world: urban Egypt. Here the description given above for Morocco used to apply as well, but now a whole range of varieties intermediate between vernacular Egyptian Arabic and international Arabic is emerging, leading to a blurring of the distinctions between H and L forms, and to a redefinition of linguistic norms (cf. e.g. Meiseles, 1980; Diern, 1974). In fact, the situation may be changing now even in Morocco itself where it is becoming more and more clear that there are H and L varieties within Moroccan Arabic itself and the distinction between Classical Arabic and Moroccan Arabic may become blurred as well.

In the third place, consider regional minority languages in contemporary Western Europe. An example is Provençal. In the Middle Ages, Provençal was a standard language with a flourishing literary tradition, but the formation of the French national state caused the hegemony of the Langue d'oïl (the French from the North) over the Langue d'oc (Provençal). For many years this led to a diglossic situation in Provence, where French was the H variety and Provençal the L variety, conforming in every way to Ferguson's typology. As Provençal disappeared from the home, however, due to a general decline in its use, a new situation arose: Provençal remains in some ways the L variety, but mostly in terms of being a language of local identification. It is not learned at home any more, but outside, perhaps as late as adolescence, and is reacquiring some of its H functions, but only on the strictly regional level (Kremnitz, 1981). The situation of Provençal, in this respect, may well be characteristic of more traditional minority languages in Western Europe that have been losing ground.

Finally, the criterion of relatedness used by Ferguson is not unproblematic in another respect as well. We have seen in the case of Paraguay two totally unrelated languages, but consider a situation such as Haiti, cited by Ferguson. In Haiti, of course, we find Haitian Creole spoken by the people in addition to French, spoken by the urban elite. Sociologically French functions as a classic example of an H variety, and Haitian as a prototypical L variety, but scholars working on creole languages agree that Haitian Creole and French are only related in the very superficial sense that the vocabulary of Haitian is mostly derived from some form of French. Structurally, the two languages have very little in common. In chapter 15 we return to the question of what structures languages such as Haitian possess and how they are related to the European colonial languages.

Studies such as Rubin's analysis of Paraguayan bilingualism and the careful analysis of the situations in Egypt, Haiti and Western Europe have led, in fact, to a gradual redefinition of the term diglossia. It is now used to refer to bilingual communities in which a large portion of the speakers commands both languages, and in which the two languages are functionally distinguished in terms of H and L.

### 3.2 Person-oriented approaches

Both the analysis in terms of domains proposed by Fishman and the notion of diglossia suggested by Ferguson require a very large perspective: overall social norms. How do individual speakers and listeners deal with these norms? Are they strict, or fluctuating? We will now look at ways of dealing with language choice that take a more microscopic perspective.

One more person-oriented way to approach the problem of language choice is through the model of the *decision tree*. In this model the speaker is faced with a hierarchical set of binary choices, which can be represented formally as a tree. Taking again an adult Berber-speaking Moroccan in the Netherlands as an example, the tree might be as in Figure 3.1.

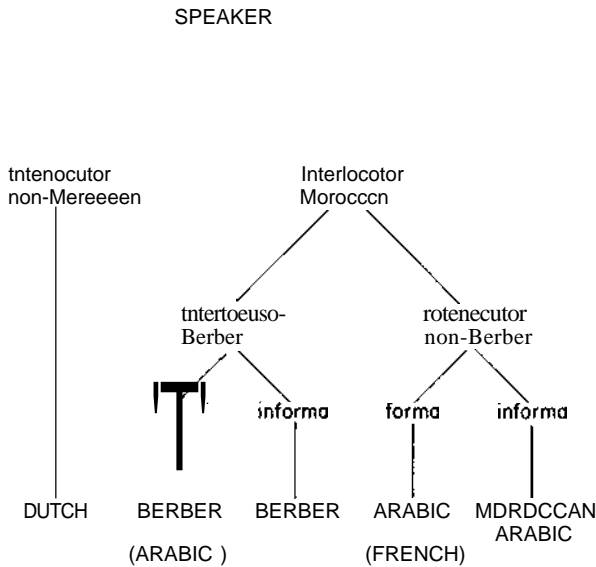


Figure 3.1 The Decision Tree model for the language choices of Moroccans in the Netherlands

Factors such as the ethnicity of the interlocutor, the style, the topic of conversation determine which language is finally chosen. The great advantage of the decision tree model is its descriptive clarity, but it suffers from a certain rigidity. In many situations more than one language is possible, often speakers are observed to make choices that are not exactly predicted by the tree model, and the model seems to exclude the use of two languages at the same time in one situation (code switching).

For this reason Sankoff (1972) has proposed combining the deterministic tree model with a more interpretive model, along the lines developed by Gumperz and Hernández-Chavez (1971). Suppose that the tree model only gives the ordinary, expected or unmarked choice for each situation. In many cases, however, there is the option for the speaker of introducing a marked choice, to indicate a special intention, irony, a change of style, or what have you. Sankoff (1972) at the same time shows



scepticism towards the categorical use of the interpretive approach, however, on the basis of her own research in New Guinea. She studied a community in which three languages were spoken: Buang, the language of the tribe, Tok Pisin, the lingua franca, and Yabem, a language introduced by the missionaries. In many cases it was simply not possible to determine the unmarked choice, for instance in political speeches, in which all three languages were used systematically. In chapter 10 we return to the cases where more than one language at the same time seems to be called for.

Within social psychology there has been an attempt, primarily by Howard Giles and his colleagues, to develop a model of language choice called the Interpersonal Speech Accommodation Theory (cf. Giles, 1973; Giles *et al.*, 1973). The main idea behind it is that language choice cannot be explained adequately by referring to situational factors only. Aspects of the interpersonal relation have to be taken into account. The model, which was initially developed to explain accent change within one language, stresses the relation between the participants. The essence of Giles's theory is derived from social psychological research on similarity-attraction, which claims that an individual can induce someone else to evaluate her or him more favourably by reducing the number of dissimilarities between her or himself and the other. Speakers will automatically adjust themselves to each other, both in gestures and often positioning of the body and in the type of speech. This may carry over to bilingual settings, and one way of interpreting the choice of a particular language is in terms of the other speaker's language and identity.

The process of adjustment is called *accommodation*. In fact, accommodation may work in two opposite ways. The first way is convergence: the speaker uses the language that the hearer knows or likes best. A bilingual inhabitant of Brussels, for instance, addresses somebody from Flanders in Dutch, even though the latter may know some French in addition to Dutch. The second form of accommodation is divergence: the speaker tries to create distance between himself and the hearer by maximizing differences in language use.

Giles *et al.* (1973) illustrate the process of speech accommodation with an example provided by Dell Hymes. Consider a westerner speaking to a Tanzanian official. When this Westerner starts using Swahili this form of accommodation does not induce the approval the speaker expects, because the official will think that the Westerner considers him not proficient in English, which is an insult. Accommodation should proceed in the following sequence: the Westerner uses English first, so that the Tanzanian can show his skills in this language, and after that the Westerner switches to Swahili to express solidarity.

Roughly along the same lines, but from a different perspective, Gumperz and his colleagues have worked on language choice in terms of the common understanding of speaker and hearer. Language forms do not have a social meaning by themselves, but only in so far as the participants in the interaction agree on this meaning. The latter is crucial; the social meaning of language does not depend on the speaker alone, not on the hearer alone but on an agreement, the result of negotiation as it were, between speaker and hearer. There is no fixing of the situation at one point of time, but rather the participants' on-going process of interpretation of the situation. Particularly in multilingual communities the conventions by which the social meaning of the forms of language used is interpreted are not automatically shared by the participants in

interactions, rather they need to be established and reinterpreted in the course of each conversation. Blom and Gumperz (1972), in research directed at language use in Norway, distinguish three levels in the interpretive process. First, the *setting* is determined: the locale for the interaction, the socially recognized chunk of the environment. An example of such a setting may be the downtown post office. Within a given setting, different *social situations* are possible; which one is valid at a particular moment is determined by the interactants on the basis of the *constellations* of particular people, in a particular setting, at a particular moment of time. Within the setting of the post office, different social situations are possible. One would be a stamp-buying interaction, another one a chance encounter with an acquaintance. Finally, given a specific social situation, speaker and hearer need to come to terms with the question in which *social event* they find themselves. Events have clearly defined and socially recognized sequencings, centre around a limited range in topics, etc. To continue with the post office example, the notion social event may refer to the way the participants in the chance encounter choose to keep their distance, use the encounter as a way of renewing old ties, etc. Each of these options requires a specific set of routine remarks and gestures, confronts the speaker with complex choices, in other words. The three notions setting, situation and event are not given, once again, but need to be interpreted and recreated by speaker and hearer in each interaction.

Working within this paradigm, Heller has written a number of papers on the choice between English and French in present-day Montreal, both in the workplace and in public places. The following is an example from a restaurant interaction (1984):

waiter: Je reviens dans une minute.  
           J'LLBE BACK IN A MINUTE.  
           (Pause. Second look.)  
           Anglais ou français, English or French?  
 Patron: Ben, les deux. WELL, BATH.  
 Waiter: Non, mais, anglais ou français? NO, BUT,  
 Patron: It doesn't matter,  
           c'est comme vous voulez. .AS YOU LIKE  
 Waiter: (Sighs)  
           Okay, okay, I'll be back in a minute

Language choice, according to Heller's ethnographic observation, is a very complex process, not just the reflection of the changing sociolinguistic realities of Montreal but part of that reality.

### 3.3 Function specialization

A model which has the potential to integrate the various approaches given above is one in terms of functional specialization. Language use involves various functions of the language system; following research by Jakobson and Halliday, Muhlhäusler (1981) distinguishes six functions – six uses to which a language may be put:

- 1 the *referential* function: by referring to extralinguistic reality information is transferred. This function is often thought to be the only function of language, and any knowledge of a language implies command of this function;
- 2 the *directive* and *imperative* function: by using standard greetings, conventional

modes of address, imperatives, exclamations, and questions contacts are made with others and enough of an interactive structure is created to ensure cooperation;

3 the *expressive* function: by making one's feelings known one can present oneself to others as a unique individual. Many non-fluent speakers have great difficulty with this function;

4 the *phatic* function: in order to create a channel of communication and to keep the channel open speakers make use of conventionalized openings, closings, and ways to signal turn taking, and if necessary, also of language forms that identify the in-group within which interaction is taking place;

5 the *metalinguistic* function: by using language the speaker's attitude towards and awareness of language use and linguistic norms are made known;

6 the *poetic* function: by means of jokes, puns and other word play, and conscious style and register shifts language is played with, so that the use of language becomes a goal and source of joy in itself

Now what do these different functions have to do with language choice and bilingualism? Simply that different languages may fulfil different functions in the lives of bilingual speakers, and in bilingual conversations a choice for one particular language may signal the primary functions appealed to at that moment. The functions listed here encompass the approaches that we have briefly described above.

We all know how hard it is to make puns, let alone write poems, in a foreign language even if we feel perfectly comfortable making an airline reservation in it. The same holds for the metalinguistic function: many English-speakers will remember the time they were in a shop in Paris trying to ask, in French, how something they wanted to buy is called in French.

Not only can (as the attentive reader will undoubtedly have noted) the different functions of language be hierarchically arranged from 1 to 6 with respect to the differing demands they make on our command of a language, but they also differ in the domain in which they are most frequently called upon. Something like the parallel in Figure 3.2 is not entirely far-fetched:

formal	institutions	referential
	work	directive/integrative
	the street	executive
	cultural life	phatic
	friends	metalinguistic
intimate	<b>family</b>	poetic

**Figure 3.2** An integration of the domain and the functional perspective

The parallel is not perfect because the functions are much more abstract than the domains, but it may be safely said that the more one moves towards the lower end of the domain column the more the functions at the lower end of the right-hand column play a role.

The integrative potential of the functional model can be illustrated, perhaps, in Figure 3.3:

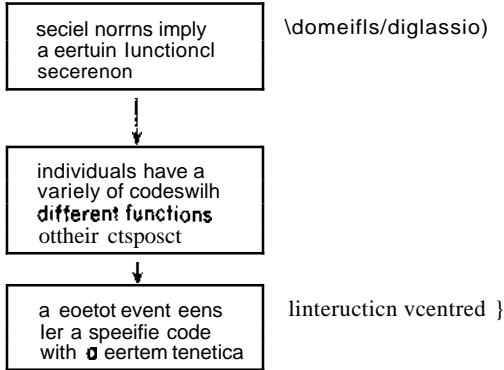


Figure 3.3 Abstract representation of the way in which language choices are made

The notion of function links the deterministic with the interaction-centred approaches.

Before concluding this chapter we should note that not all cases of bilingualism can be discussed satisfactorily in terms of the notion of functional specialisation adopted here. In chapter 11 on strategies of neutrality, an alternative approach will be explored: There may be situations in which two languages are used which do *not* have clearly separate functions.

## Further reading

Two volumes of articles give a good overview of the classical approaches to the problem of language choice: J.A. Fishman (ed.) *Readings in the Sociology of Language* (1968) and J.J. Gumperz and D. Hymes (eds.), *Directions in Sociolinguistics* (1972). More recent studies focus on language choice in relation to other topics, and further reading on these is provided in chapters 2, 4, 10 and 11.

## 4 Language maintenance and shift

When Dolly Pentreath died in December 1777, the last native speaker of Cornish passed away. Cornish was formerly spoken by thousands of people in Cornwall, but the community of Cornish speakers did not succeed in maintaining its language under the pressure of English, the prestigious majority language and national language. To put it differently: the Cornish community shifted from Cornish to English (cf. Pool, 1982). Such a process seems to be going on in many bilingual communities. More and more speakers use [the majority language in domains where they formerly spoke [the minority tongue. They adopt the majority language as their regular vehicle of communication, often mainly because they expect that speaking that language gives better chances for upward social mobility and economic success. As Dressler and Wodak-Leodolter (1977:35) point out in an article on language preservation and death in Brittany (France): 'it is necessary to present oneself as a member of the national majority to acquire positions (like jobs, official functions and educational facilities)'. In such cases the minority language is in danger of becoming obsolescent.

When a community stops speaking a minority language, of course this language will not always be extinguished. For example, if the Gujarati-speaking people in England shifted to English completely, Gujarati would not become a dead language. There are millions of speakers of Gujarati in other parts of the world, especially in India. For the (erstwhile) Gujarati community in England it would be a dead language.

Sometimes it seems that 'shift' can be equated with 'shift towards the majority or prestigious language', but in fact 'shift' is a neutral concept, and also shift towards the extended use of the minority language can be observed. For example, in the last decades French has strengthened its position in Quebec at the expense of English. After a period of shift towards the majority language, there is often a tendency to reverse the process, because some people come to realize that the minority language is disappearing, and they try to promote its use. These defenders of the minority language are often young, active members of cultural and political organizations that stand up for the social, economic and cultural interests of the minority group.

Why does one language survive and another one disappear? In section 4.1. we will give an overview of the factors that govern language maintenance and shift. Knowledge of these factors does not guarantee insight into the process of language shift, since people bring this about in their daily speech, and it is on this level that

explanations for shift must be found. This approach will be outlined in section 4.2.

When a language is reduced in its function, which happens in the case of shift towards the majority language, generally speakers will become less proficient in it, i.e. *language loss* is taking place. Language shift linked up with loss will finally result in *language death*. In section 4.3. we will further discuss these issues.

## 4.1 Factors influencing language maintenance

In various publications, for instance Glazer (1978), Gaarder (1979) and Clyne (1982) factors influencing language maintenance are discussed. Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977) have constructed a model to systematize the many factors operating. They propose a combination of three main factors (status, demographic and institutional support) into one factor which they call 'ethnolinguistic vitality'. According to Giles *et al.* (1977:308), '[the] vitality of an ethnolinguistic group is that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup situations. From this, it is argued that ethnolinguistic minorities that have little or no group vitality would eventually cease to exist as distinctive groups. Conversely, the more vitality a linguistic group has, the more likely it will survive and thrive as a collective entity in an intergroup context.' With respect to the minority language, this implies that high vitality will lead to maintenance (or even shift towards extended use) and low vitality will result in shift towards the majority language, or, in some cases towards another more prestigious vernacular. In this section, we will largely follow the model presented in Giles *et al.* (1977), although it must be noted that the terminology in that model partly seems somewhat circular, and therefore trivial: the more *vitality* a group has, the more likely it will *survive*.

The first main category of factors distinguished by Giles *et al.* concerns *status*.

*Economic status* is a prominent factor in nearly all studies on language maintenance and shift. Where groups of minority language speakers have a relatively low economic status, there is a strong tendency to shift towards the majority language. For example, most speakers of Spanish in the USA find themselves in the low-income groups. They associate speaking English with academic achievement and economic progress. Spanish gets the stigma of the language of poor people, and parents who themselves sometimes have a poor command of English try to urge their children to speak English, because they have internalized the societal attitudes towards Spanish. Immigrant workers in Western Europe are also more or less forced to believe that their low economic status is mainly caused by the fact that they speak a minority language, for example Turkish, Serbo-Croatian or Greek. Immigrants who want to get ahead in society place a high value on speaking the majority language. This will negatively affect the use of their own language. According to Li (1982), Chinese Americans of lower socioeconomic status tend to be more easily assimilated than are those of higher status. The low-income Chinese Americans show the highest propensity for shift away from the Chinese mother tongue.

Economic changes, i.e. modernization, industrialization and urbanization, are important variables in the description of language maintenance and shift. Rindler Schjerve (1981) in an article on Sardinian notes that this type of economic change has led to a trend to use more Italian, which is associated with 'modern life' and higher

standards of living. In periods of modernization minority languages often suffer a double stigma: they are spoken by poor and traditional, old-fashioned people who cannot fully cope with the reality of modern economic life. However, economic changes might also affect language maintenance positively. Paulsen (1981) writes about the Fering language, a Germanic language spoken on the islands Föhr and Amrum off the North Sea coast of Germany in the North Sea, and describes economic developments in the sixteenth century. After a strong reduction of the income from the fishing of herring, a school to teach young boys the art of navigation was founded. The islands were thus able to offer the new Dutch overseas companies many well-trained sailors and officers, mainly for whaling in the Arctic and for the Far East shipping. This resulted in nearly three centuries of economic independence which was a safeguard to the position of Fering.

*Social status* is very closely aligned to economic status, and it is probably equally important with respect to language maintenance. A group's social status, which here refers to the group's self-esteem, depends largely upon its economic status. Speakers of Quechua in Peru, Ecuador and Bolivia will generally consider themselves to have low social status, and tend to shift towards Spanish, which has the connotations of higher social status.

*Sociohistorical status* is derived from the ethnolinguistic group's history. Many groups can refer to periods in which they had to defend their ethnic identity or their independence. These historical instances can be viewed as mobilizing symbols which inspire individuals to struggle for their common interests as members of an ethnolinguistic group, as group members in the past did. The Flemish people, for example, can draw inspiration from their struggle against French domination. The 'Guldensporenslag' (Battle of the Golden Spurs) in 1302 when Flemish troops held their own against French-speaking nobles, still has mobilizing power. Tupac Amaru, the eighteenth-century Peruvian rebel against the Spanish colonial regime, stressed Quechua as a symbol of the glorious Inca past, and gained a large following as a messianic leader.

*Language status* can be an important variable in bilingual communities. For instance, French, Russian, English and Spanish have a high status as languages of international communication. Therefore it would be easier to preserve French in Quebec than Ukrainian, Vietnamese or Dutch. However, it should be noted that status within a community should be distinguished from status outside the community. French has high status outside Canada, but in Canada English has higher status. Also, in the Arabic world Arabic has very high status, because it is the language of the Koran, i.e. the language of God. In Belgium, France and the Netherlands, however, Arabic is not held in high esteem by most people.

Language and social status are closely related in the sense that the latter influences the former. The self-ascribed language status will be low especially if the minority group speaks a dialect of the language in question. Many speakers of Spanish in the South-West of the USA have negative attitudes towards their variety of Spanish, they view it as 'only a dialect', or a kind of 'border slang', and not as a real language. This feeling of linguistic inferiority is particularly strong in cases of a minority language which is not standardized and/or modernized (see chapter 5). For this reason, a creole language like Haitian Creole has a low status in New York where there is a large community of Haitian immigrants and refugees. Languages with low status are in danger of becoming obsolescent. Whether this will happen also depends on the status

of the 'competing language', which will often be the majority language. Immigrants in Denmark will have a weaker tendency to shift towards Danish than immigrants in England towards English, because of the higher status of English compared to Danish generally.

*Demographic factors* constitute the second main category in the model of Giles *et al.* (1977). They concern the number of members of a linguistic minority group and their geographical distribution. The absolute number of speakers of a certain language becomes important when it decreases. Such a development implies decreasing usefulness of the language in question, which in turn will give rise to language shift away from the minority language. Clyne (1982) studied language maintenance among immigrants in Australia, and he concludes that there is no general correspondence between numerical strength and language maintenance. For one group, the Maltese community, however, such a correspondence could be found when comparing data on language shift in various Australian states. The two states with relatively large Maltese populations turned out to have the lowest rates of shift towards English, and those with very few Maltese immigrants had very high rates of shift (see Table 4.1.).

Table 4.1 Maltese population ratio in four Australian states and language shift towards English in first generation immigrants, i.e. immigrants born outside of Australia (table adapted from Clyne, 1982)

State or territory	% of Maltese born in total population	language shift (%) in first generation
Victoria	0.81	29.29
New South Wales	0.52	28.31
Northern Territory	0.06	66.67
Tasmania	0.02	67.95

The percentage of speakers maintaining a minority language can be strongly influenced by the occurrence of mixed or inter-ethnic marriages. In these marriages, the most prestigious language generally has the best chance to survive as the language of the home, and hence as the first language of the child. Pulte (1979) conducted a household survey in several Oklahoma Cherokee communities in an attempt to obtain data on language maintenance and shift in Cherokee families. Although Pulte concludes that Cherokee is still flourishing in a few communities, he also notes that in every family where a Cherokee-speaker was married to a non-Cherokee-speaker, the children were found to be monolingual speakers of English.

Clyne (1982) also provides data on the effects of marriage between native speakers of English and speakers of other languages, so-called Anglo-ethnic marriages. Table 4.2. (compiled on the basis of two tables in Clyne's study) presents the rate of language shift in the second-generation children of intra-ethnic and Anglo-ethnic marriages.

Table 4.2 shows that shift towards English is nearly complete for children from Anglo-German, Anglo-Maltese and Anglo-Dutch marriages. With respect to other intra-ethnic marriages (with no native English-speaking parent) Clyne states that the number of children born from these is too small to generalize, but it appears that most of them adopt English as their main language, except in cases where one of the parents, particularly when it is the father, is of Italian or Greek origin.



Table 4.2 Rate of language shift in the second-generation children of intra-ethnic and Anglo-ethnic marriages in Australia

Birthplace of both parents or one parent	% language shift of 2nd generation children of intra-ethnic marriages	% language shift of 2nd generation children of Anglo-ethnic marriages
Germany	62.3	96.2
Greece	10.1	68.4
Italy	18.6	78.5
Malta	53.7	94.6
Netherlands	80.0	99.1

The geographical distribution of minority group members generally affects language maintenance and shift considerably. As long as they live concentrated in a certain area, minority groups have better chances of maintaining their language. The importance of this factor can be illustrated with examples from all over the world. Especially in Quebec where many French-speaking Canadians are concentrated, French is a vital language, while in other parts of Canada, where the speakers of French live more dispersed, there is a tendency to shift away from French (cf. Lieberman, 1967). Li (1982), in his study on language shift of Chinese Americans, found that third-generation Chinese-Americans residing in Chinatowns shifted substantially less often towards English than their agemates living outside Chinatowns. For example, less than 30 per cent of the third-generation Chinatown residents aged 20-39 had adopted English as their mother tongue, while this was the case for 50 per cent of the group living outside Chinatowns. In the same way the distribution of minority language speakers can change because of immigration and emigration patterns. Jones (1981) shows that Welsh, which was in Wales unquestionably dominant at the end of the nineteenth century, has been forced back in areas where large-scale immigration of workers from outside Wales took place in the first decades of this century. Emigration during the depression in the 1930s from mining valleys where Welsh was widely spoken has had the same result. With respect to the more recent period, Jones points to tourism and the in-migration of English-speaking retired people and second-home ownership. The consequences were (and are) that the concentration of Welsh speakers is becoming lower, and mixed Welsh-English communities arise with a shift towards English.

Urban-rural differences are important in the analysis of patterns of language shift as well. Generally, rural groups tend to preserve a minority language much longer than urban groups. Hill and Hill (1977) studied language shift in Nahuatl-speaking communities in Central Mexico (Nahuatl is also known as 'Mexicano' or 'Aetec'). They found that the settlement of rural people in cities and industrial suburbs fostered shift towards Spanish. In an article on the survival of ethnolinguistic minorities in Canada, Andersen (1979) concludes that research in Saskatchewan has indicated that members of ethnic groups (such as Ukrainians) living on farms have maintained their language better than those living in small towns and villages, who in turn have resisted shift towards English more strongly than those in large urban centres.

Probably, the geographical distribution in itself is not the causal factor in language maintenance and shift, but related communication patterns and the absence or presence of daily social pressure to use the prestigious language. When residing on a farm, where perhaps the neighbours are members of the same linguistic minority

group, there is not much need to use the majority language. The home is the most important domain of language use, and this domain is reserved for the minority language. On the contrary, people living in urban centres will be forced in various situations to use the majority language daily, which will weaken the position of the minority tongue.

The third main cluster of factors proposed by Giles *et al.* (1977) is that of the *institutional support factors*, which refer to the extent to which the language of a minority group is represented in the various institutions of a nation, a region or a community. Maintenance is supported when the minority language is used in various institutions of the government, church, cultural organizations, etc. In politically well-organized minority groups (such as the Chicanos in the USA) minority languages are often a vehicle of expression.

*Mass media* can affect language shift considerably. In the above-mentioned study by Hill and Hill (1977), it is argued that the shift from Nahuatl towards Spanish is also brought about by the introduction of electricity and radios in the early 1940s. Nowadays, many ordinary dwellings in the area studied in Central Mexico have high-fidelity stereo consoles, television and radio which will further promote the use of Spanish. Broadcasting in minority languages, on the other hand, can boost these languages, just like the publishing of newspapers, books, etc. in minority languages.

When the minority language is also the language of the *religion* this will be an impetus for its maintenance. For example, German has held a rather strong position in the United States for a long time, compared with immigrant languages like Dutch and Swedish, because it was the language of the Lutheran church. Religion can also be a general divisive force, which among other things affects language maintenance. Kloss (1966) studied the language situation of the Old Order Amish and Old Order Mennonites of German descent living in Pennsylvania, who speak Pennsylvania Dutch (from *Deutsch* = German) as their mother tongue. According to Kloss, the point of departure for these Old Order groups is their religion rather than nationality or language. They maintain their language in order to more fully exclude worldly influences and, perhaps, because change in itself is considered sinful. Neither language nor nationality is valued for its own sake, (Kloss, 1966:206).

Providing *governmental or administrative services* in the mother tongue can stimulate maintenance. In modern societies every individual has to interact frequently with representatives of local or national authorities. If the medium of communication is always the majority language, this will diminish the usefulness of the minority language.

*Education* is very important with respect to language maintenance. If children's proficiency in the minority language is fostered at school, and they learn to read and write in it, this will contribute to maintenance.

Government activities concerning languages in multilingual communities will be further dealt with in chapter 5, *Language Planning*. One of these activities might concern education, for example establishing facilities for education in the minority language in addition to the majority language. It will be discussed in chapter 6, *Bilingual Education*,

Besides the main factors distinguished by Giles *et al.* (1977), we further mention *cultural (dis-)similarity* as an important variable in the analysis of language maintenance/shift. On the basis of data on language shift of immigrants in Australia, Clyne

(1982) concludes that when the cultures involved are similar there is a greater tendency for shift than when they are less similar. German and Dutch immigrants, who have culturally much in common with the English-speaking Australian community, show a greater shift towards English than Italian and Greek immigrants, who will experience a greater cultural distance.

Before we turn to the next section, in which the process of language shift itself will be discussed, three things must be said about the factors presented thus far:

1 The various factors and sub-factors are presented separately, but they may correlate strongly. For example, a group with a low economic status will often have a low sociohistorical status as well; it will not have control over mass media and it will not be able to fight for educational programmes in the minority language.

2 Since so many factors (probably interrelated) play a part, it is impossible to predict language maintenance or shift for certain groups. Most research on this issue is purely *post-hoc* and descriptive, and a fully-fledged theory of language maintenance is not available.

3 The factors considered do not influence language maintenance and shift directly, but only indirectly via intervening variables, as is represented in Figure 4.1.

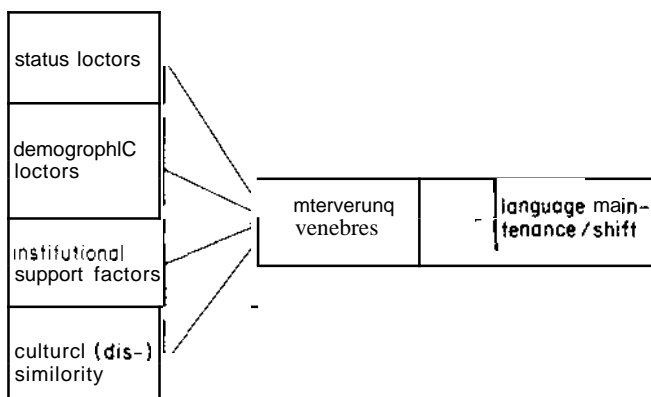


Figure 4.1 Factors affecting language maintenance

The crucial question is of course: what are these intervening variables? How do the large-scale sociological factors influence individual behaviour, and thereby language maintenance/shift? To answer this question, a different type of research is necessary. To this we will turn in the next section.

## 4.2 The process of language shift

To study language maintenance or shift a researcher can collect data on the factors discussed in the previous section and on the distribution and use of languages in a multilingual community by asking people questions like: Which language do you speak regularly in your home? Which language do you speak regularly at work? Then

the researcher can try to relate information about social factors to the data on language use. This type of research is usually large-scale, and the actual language behaviour and language attitudes of the members of the community are not studied. In another approach the focus of the investigation is on the language behaviour and attitudes of individuals, because it is assumed that only in this way can researchers gain real insight into the process of language shift. (Because multi-lingual situations are never stable, there will always be some kind of *shift*, therefore, we will restrict ourselves in this and the next section to this process; see also chapter 2.) Such studies have to be conducted on a smaller scale, because the researcher must become acquainted with the social life of individuals in the community. Participant observation, i.e. living in the community to be studied and participating in its daily activities like an anthropologist in an African village, is the best method of reaching this goal.

Susan Gal's study of language shift in Oberwart (Austria) is a magnificent example of research along these lines (Gal, 1979). Oberwart (Felsőőr in Hungarian) is a village in Burgenland, a province in the east of Austria, bordering Hungary. Oberwart was a peasant village, and the peasants generally spoke Hungarian. German was only used with outsiders and strangers. However, in the last 50 to 70 years, especially after the Second World War, German has been replacing Hungarian in many instances of everyday interaction. In the 1920s children spoke only Hungarian with each other, while at the time of Gal's stay in Oberwart (she lived there for a year), the use of German between age-mates was quite common for children under 15. Young parents address their children not in Hungarian - like their parents did - but in German, and they switch to Hungarian only occasionally.

The language shift in Oberwart can be related to economic changes. The former more or less 'pure' peasant economy of Oberwart does not exist any more. Since about 1950 industrialization has become important. Agricultural work came to be associated with the past and with a lack of social mobility and economic opportunities. If an Oberwarter did not want to stay on the farm, a good proficiency in German was indispensable. German began to intrude in domains, e.g. the local inn, which were formerly nearly completely reserved for Hungarian. Gal notes that language shift is related, of course, to social-economic change. The real question, however, is '[by] what intervening processes does industrialization, or any other social change, effect changes in the uses to which speakers put their languages in everyday interaction?' (Gal, 1979:3). In answering this question Gal takes two sociolinguistic phenomena into account. The first one concerns the relation between language and identity (see also chapter 2). In post-war Oberwart Hungarian has lost prestige, it has become the language associated with traditional, elderly people, while German has come to be seen as the language of economic progress and modern life. Generally, speakers want to express their social status in their linguistic behaviour, and try to assert their identity by choosing a certain language. Most of the younger people in Oberwart, who had no knowledge of speakers of Hungarian outside the village, therefore adopted German. Hungarian was associated strongly with a stigmatized social group.

The second sociolinguistic phenomenon Gal considers is the importance of social networks, i.e. 'the networks of informal social interaction in which speakers are enmeshed and through which, by pressure and inducements, participants impose linguistic norms on each other' (Gal, 1979:14). It is not only the frequency of social contact which is important, but also the nature of the relationship between the speakers, the social character of the contacts and the purpose of the interaction. In

Oberwart one cannot simply say: that person belongs to the social group of peasants, therefore he or she speaks Hungarian, and that person belongs to the group of non-peasants, therefore he or she speaks German. Again, there is no direct relation between social factors and language use, because the networks in which people participate have a stronger and more direct influence. For example, an industrial worker with a largely peasant network will use more Hungarian than one with a non-peasant network. Figure 4.2. indicates the proportion of German -  $(G + GH)/(G + GH + H)$  - used by speakers in three age groups. In each generation the informants are grouped according to the proportion of peasants in their networks. The proportion of German used is computed on the basis of information provided by the speakers on domains in which they spoke German (G), German and Hungarian (GH) and Hungarian (H).

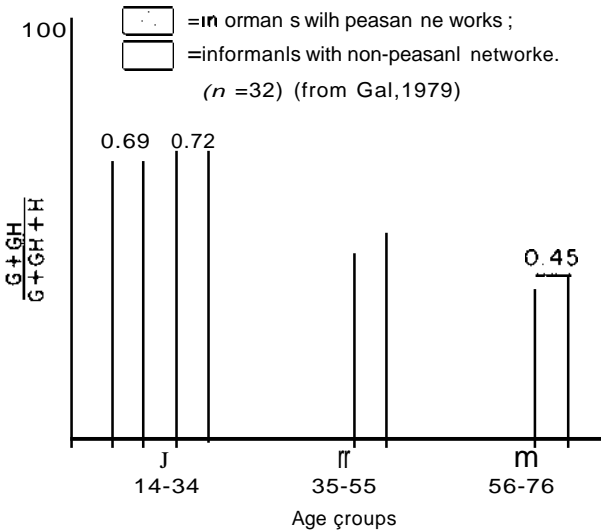


Figure 4.2 Proportion of German used by informants in Oberwart With peasant and non-peasant networks in three age groups

Figure 4.2. shows that speakers in the younger generation in general use more German, irrespective of network, but the people of the middle and the older generation vary their language according to the network they are participating in.

The processes described by Gal are not exclusive to multilingual societies. They can also be observed in monolingual communities, where different linguistic varieties are in use. The form of linguistic change in Oberwart, where Hungarian is gradually being replaced by German, has a direct parallel in a monolingual community where one linguistic variant takes the place of another. The social meaning of the variants considered, the status speakers want to claim in choosing certain variants, and the social networks these speakers are part of, are important factors in explaining linguistic change in this situation as well.

Linguistic change takes place by the gradual spread of the 'new form' in a certain

domain. Language A (or variant A) is never replaced suddenly by language B (or variant B), but language use becomes variable, i.e. A and B are both used in the same social context. After this stage of variable use, the use of B will become categorical. In Oberwart, Gal has observed this variable use of German and Hungarian in social contexts where formerly the use of Hungarian was categorical, and she predicts categorical use of German in the future. Linguistic change, within a language, or in the form of language shift, as in Oberwart, has its source in the synchronic heterogeneity in the speech community. Linguistic diversity is at the same time the reselection of and the impetus for this change.

In many minority communities the ethnic language has had a strong position in informal domains, particularly in family interaction. However, here, the majority language often intrudes, with variable language use as its result. Lieberman and McCabe (1982) studied the relation between domains of language use and mother-tongue shift in Nairobi in the Gujarati-speaking population. They found that many parents used both Gujarati and English in addressing their children, and that much of the shift from Gujarati towards English can be explained by this fact. In interaction in the homes of immigrant workers' families in Western Europe the same pattern can be observed, but there especially the children introduce the majority language.

Language shift is in fact the redistribution of varieties of language over certain domains. If the shift is towards the majority language, this language seems to conquer domain after domain via the intermediate stage of bilingual language use. When the minority language is spoken in fewer domains, its value decreases. This in turn will lessen the motivation of younger people to learn and use it.

In addition to 'domain', an important notion in the analysis of language shift is *generation*. Figure 4.2. already showed clear generational differences in Oberwart related to different social perspectives of the younger group: they often want to claim social status different from that of their parents' generation. Therefore, younger people choose another language as their regular medium of communication. Rindler Schjerve (1981), in an article on bilingualism and language shift in Sardinia, gives an example of a household with family members belonging to four generations. 'An 80-year-old grandmother was illiterate and monolingually Sardinian, the 50-year-old mother, due to insufficient education, had a rather limited proficiency in Italian, the 30-year-old daughter having been to school for eight years spoke Italian well, though not perfectly, and used it when talking to her children, while she used Sardinian with her husband. Her reason for using Italian with her children is to avoid their being discriminated against in school; this, of course, resulted in the 12-year-old schoolboy's having only a limited command of Sardinian and speaking a rather monostylistic and Sardinianized Italian' (Rindler Schjerve, 1981:212).

Language shift may come about slowly and go on for several generations, but especially in changing social situations it may be a rather fast process. This is often the case for immigrant groups. Tosi (1984) studied bilingualism and language shift among Italian immigrants in Bedford (Great Britain). The first-generation immigrants generally use a local Italian dialect as the principal medium of communication within the family. Until school age, their children mostly speak this dialect, only occasionally switching to English, and when there are several children in the household they often speak English among themselves. But English really gains influence when the children go to school and become more proficient in it. English will then inevitably be brought into the household - initially for use mainly with other

siblings, but later also in interactions with the parents. A younger person will gradually learn to understand that the two languages are associated with two different value systems, and that these systems often collide with each other. This results in personal and emotional conflicts. Tosi points to the linguistic and cultural conflict between generations, The 'regular' conflict between two generations is accentuated because of differences in values, outlook and aspirations. These differences are symbolized in the language behaviour of the generations, i.e. the preference for Italian (dialect) vs English.

The general pattern for language shift in immigrant groups is as follows. The first generation (born in the country of origin) is bilingual, but the minority language is clearly dominant, the second generation is bilingual and either of the two languages might be strongest, the third generation is bilingual with the majority language dominating, and the fourth generation only has command of the majority language. This is only a general pattern, and the picture for specific immigrant groups is different, largely depending on the factors discussed in section 4.1.

To conclude this section, we want to emphasize one important issue: the literature on language shift sometimes suggests that a whole minority group is in the process of shifting from one language to the other, and differences between individuals are not noticed. However, minority groups are not undifferentiated, monolithic wholes, but comprise different sub-groups with different cultural attitudes and political opinions. These differences may come to surface as differences in language behaviour. Language shift is not inevitable, and (groups of) individuals may promote the use of the minority language in the home environment, aiming at bilingualism. Tosi (1984) witnessed this attitude among a few young people of Italian descent in Bedford.

### 4.3 Language loss

As a language loses territory in a given community, speakers will become less proficient in it. In linguistic minority groups children will often speak the language of the group less well than their parents. In a study of bilingualism among children of Italian background in South Australia, Smolicz (1983) concludes that their command of Italian and Italian dialect is generally inferior to their command of English. The same holds for the language proficiency of Yugoslavian children in Germany, analysed by Stölting (1980). The children, from Serbo-Croatian speaking families, were born in Yugoslavia, and had been living in Germany for at least two years. Stölting found that the children had only a limited command of Serbo-Croatian, especially the ones who had come to Germany at an early age. Many children spoke German better than Serbo-Croatian, particularly as far as vocabulary was concerned.

Many members from minority groups seem to have word-finding problems. Appel (1983: 164) quotes a Moroccan boy of 14 years who had lived in the Netherlands for four years. The boy admitted that with other Moroccan boys he generally used a mix of Dutch and Moroccan-Arabic: 'You have forgotten a few words and then you just say it in Dutch'. Kiers (1982) interviewed Moroccan young men who complained about the fact that the words in their mother tongue seemed 'to fly away'.

The loss of lexical skills in the minority language goes hand in hand with another phenomenon, i.e. the process of relexification: words from the dominant language are replacing words in the minority language. In their analysis of language shift in

Nahuatl-speaking communities in Central Mexico, Hili and Hili (1977) identify massive relexification from Spanish. This influences the attitudes of the people towards Nahuatl negatively. They feel that it is no longer pure and this probably contributes to its decline in use. Jones (1981) also points to the fact that the English relexification of Welsh 'has the effect of undermining attitudes towards the language and encouraging a feeling of Welsh linguistic inadequacy' (p. 49). Furthermore, Jones sees the code-switching and code-mixing he has observed in Wales as a negative phenomenon; it might be an intermediate stage between the usage of Welsh only and English only (see also section 4.2.). However, code-switching can also have other connotations, as we will illustrate in chapters 10 and 11.

Another frequently observed aspect of language loss is the reduction of the morphological system by less proficient speakers. The morphology of the minority language is often simplified, and fluent speakers only apply general rules without knowing the exceptions. Nancy Dorian investigated extensively what she calls a 'dying Scottish Gaelic dialect', East Sutherland Gaelic (ESG) spoken by fewer than 150 people at the time of the study (in the 1970s) (all of them also English-speaking) on the east coast of the county of Sutherland, in the extreme north of mainland Scotland. In addition to other aspects of bilingualism, Dorian analysed the application of morphological rules in three groups of speakers: older fluent speakers of ESG, younger fluent speakers and semi-speakers. The Gaelic of the semi-speakers is imperfect in many ways, in terms of the older group. She asked informants from the three groups to translate sentences from English into ESG, in order to determine whether changes were appearing in the complex morphology of noun plurals and noun gerunds of ESG.

Dorian (1978) distinguishes 11 morphological devices in the formation of the noun plural, simple suffixation being the most simple one; examples of other, more complex devices are changes in vowel length plus suffixation and vowel alternation plus suffixation. She also distinguishes 11 morphological devices in the formation of the gerund, again simple suffixation being the simplest one in addition to more complex devices comparable to the pluralization devices. Table 4.3. presents part of Dorian's results with respect to realization of noun plurals and gerunds.

**Table 4.3** Realization of noun plurals and gerunds by three groups of speakers of East Sutherland Gaelic (adapted from Dorian, 1978)

	Speaker group		
	old fluent speakers	young fluent speakers	semi-speakers
% of plurals formed by simple suffixation	50	44	63.5
% of zero plurals		0.5	9
% of gerunds formed by simple suffixation	49	46	63.5

The table shows that the less proficient speakers use the device of simple suffixation (for forming plurals as well as gerunds) considerably more than the two other groups who employ more complex devices. Strikingly, the data on plurals and gerunds



almost match one another. Furthermore, zero plurals (i.e. no change in the root noun, where it should be changed) are in fact only present in the language of the semi-speakers. In the title of her article, Dorian uses the expression 'the fate of morphological complexity': there is a clear tendency in less proficient speakers of ESG to drop complex morphological devices, and to restrict themselves to simple rules.

Next to lexical reduction and replacement, and morphological simplification, monostylism is a third aspect of language loss. In general, languages are heterogeneous: different variants of one language can express the same meaning, and the actual choice of a certain variant depends on characteristics of the speech situation. One could also say that a language consists of different styles (although it is impossible clearly to divide a language into them) and that styles are related to situations, i.e. a certain style is considered appropriate in a certain situation. However, in cases of language shift, the language shifted away from will be used in fewer situations. This will entail a reduction of the number of stylistic variants. As Dressler and Wodak-Leodolter (1977) have noted with regard to Breton, the styles will merge with one another, and monostylism is the result. "The young non-nationalistic speakers of Breton especially cope with formal situations in French; Breton remains restricted to informal events. If such monostylistic Bretons are forced by a nationalist to speak Breton in other situations, they do not have command of a suitable style' (p. 37). Monostylism will further contribute to the decay of a language because it restricts its use value.

Lefebvre (1979) addresses the issue of monostylism by analysing the relation between function and form of a language. Many scholars have shown that in the process of creolization, expansion in function of a language is correlated with expansion of the linguistic structure (see also chapter 15, *Pidgins and Creoles*). Lefebvre demonstrates in her article on the spoken Quechua in the community of Cuzco (Peru) that a loss of function by a language may entail a loss of a specific linguistic distinction. Although the speech community of Cuzco is quite heterogeneous, in general, Quechua is considered as the intimate code, and Spanish the formal code, also for fluent Quechua speakers. In the last decades Spanish has gained in importance over Quechua, because Spanish is associated with formal education and social progress. Lefebvre analysed the use of the first-person plural inclusive in sentence like:

- (I)    maymanta    wayqI-y    ka-n-čis  
       where-from    brother-my    be-1st pers. pl.incl.  
       Literally: 'where are we (incl.) from my brother?' - 'Where are you from, brother?'

The first-person plural inclusive is used to indicate respect towards the addressee, it marks distance between the interlocutors, but also tenderness or affection. The alternate form, the second person singular, has no connotations. According to Lefebvre, it is the neutral or unmarked form. In (Ia) the speaker does not express his or her relation to the addressee.

- (Ia)    maymanra    wayqi-y    ka-nki  
       where-from    brother-ry    be-2nd pers. sg.

In the data Lefebvre recorded, the first-person plural inclusive used for addressing a second-person singular only occurred in the speech of the older speakers, and not in

the speech of anybody under 30 years old, except for two radio announcers (who used Quechua in their announcements]. A correlation could be observed between use of the first-person plural inclusive and poor Spanish skills. Lefebvre argues that Quechua monolinguals or quasi-monolinguals use the first-person plural inclusive in contexts where bilingual speakers would switch to Spanish. This means that the expanding use of Spanish in formal domains entails the loss of a morphological marker in Quechua; the loss of a function for Quechua correlates with the loss of a form. The fact that the radio announcers still use the 'old form' can even be considered as further evidence supporting this conclusion. On the air, a formal code is used.

Language shift and language loss go hand in hand. The two processes reinforce each other with the ultimate result of language death, when no other community speaks the language in question. But also if the language does not die, because it is still in use somewhere else, for a certain community it may become a dead language. The community loses a strong symbol of identity which will influence the social-psychological conditions and the social life considerably.

Language shift and loss are not inevitable processes, however. Minority groups can experience that shift towards the majority language does not always imply better chances for educational achievement and upward social mobility. A group may 'give away' its language without getting social-economic advantages in return. It is no longer discriminated against because of language, but because of colour, culture, etc. On the basis of such experiences minority group members may develop strategies to foster use of the minority language and to improve proficiency in the minority language, which is then revitalized. That such strategies may succeed is shown by the fact that French has regained a rather strong position in Canada.

## Further reading

Fishman's *Language loyalty in the United States* (1966) is an early and classic study on language maintenance and shift of linguistic minorities in the USA. It has found a more recent counterpart or follow-up in Veltman's book *Language shift in the United States*. (1983) Collections of articles on the subject of language maintenance with case studies from different parts of the world can be found in J. Fishman (ed.) *Advances in the study of societal multilingualism* (1978) and the *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, no. 25 (1980). In Clyne's *Multilingual Australia* (1982) much information on an extensive study of language maintenance and use of Australian immigrants is presented. Cooper has edited a book with articles on the subject of language spread, i.e. the increasing use of certain languages: *Language spread; Studies in diffusion and social change* (1982). Finally, we want to mention again Susan Gat's excellent study *Language shift; Social determinants of linguistic change in bilingual Austria* (1979) which contains a discussion of various theoretical sociolinguistic issues related to the subject of language shift.

## 5 Language planning

India is linguistically one of the most heterogeneous nations of the world: the number of languages spoken is at least 800. It would be much higher if many dialects are considered not as varieties of the same language, but as separate languages. The languages spoken in India belong to four language families: Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, Austro-Asiatic, and Tibeto-Burman. Languages from the first two families have by far the most mother-tongue speakers (about 70 per cent and about 25 per cent of the population, respectively).

After gaining independence in 1947, the federal government established the following language policy. English should be replaced by Hindi as the official language of the federation, one of the most widely used languages especially in North India. Furthermore, regional languages should be used as the official languages of the states of India; in fact, the states were more or less reorganized along linguistic lines. In order to stimulate the spread of Hindi, books were translated into it, dictionaries and encyclopaedias in Hindi were compiled, keyboards for typewriters and teleprinters were standardized, etc. Also many states paid considerable attention to the further development of their respective major languages: for instance, special committees devised new technical, legal and administrative vocabularies. The dual-language policy of India failed partly because of the politically, religiously and practically motivated opposition against Hindi. As a result, in 1967 English was again adopted as the second official language. The educational consequence is that many children have to learn two languages (English and Hindi) next to their mother tongue in school. Other children, speaking a non-official minority language, are taught three languages: English, Hindi and the official language of the state they live in.

This example provides a first illustration of what governments should do in multilingual countries, particularly in Third World or recently independent countries. They often have to choose a national language, they have to further develop or cultivate it to make it more useful for various communicative needs, they have to foster its spread, they have to make decisions with regard to the position of the minority languages, etc. This chapter discusses various aspects of such language planning processes.

Government institutions often get or take on the task of language planning, but individuals can be active in it as well, for instance by creating and consistently using a new word. In section 5.1 we will deal with national vs individual language planning,

and language planning as part of language policy reflecting general government policy. There we will also discuss two conflicting theories of language planning; this discussion is focused on the following question: are there linguistic, objective norms for clarity, economy and redundancy which must be used in language planning? Section 5.2 contains a description of the activities and stages in language planning. In the final section of this chapter we will go further into the question of which factors influence the language planning process although some socio-political factors already appear in 5.2, because of the impossibility of considering language planning as a process taking place in a socio-political vacuum.

## 5.1 Types and theories of language planning

Language *planning* is in fact a part of, or the factual realization of, language *policy*: a government adopts a certain policy with regard to the language(s) spoken in the nation, and will try to carry it out in a form of language planning. Any case of language planning is based on a certain language policy, and this will often reflect a more general government policy. For instance, in Spain, when it was ruled by the dictator Franco, the use of Catalan in schools, and the printing of Catalan books or newspapers was forbidden, because the Catalan language was considered to be an important symbol of the Catalan Movement. This movement was seen as a threat to the unity of Spain with its hegemony of Castilians. Therefore the government tried to suppress the use of Catalan; it planned to extinguish the language as part of a policy directed at the strengthening of the unified state. In this chapter we will employ the term *language planning* in a relatively wide, general sense, i.e. including the underlying language policy.

Two examples have already been given in which governments were active in language planning. However, this activity is not reserved for governments or government institutions only. Individuals or groups of individuals can also be involved in it. They can try to unite people on the language question in multilingual settings, particularly in cases where a minority language is in danger of becoming obsolete. They can publish books in the language they want to revive or maintain, organize cultural events in the language concerned, edit a newspaper, organize language courses, etc. A unique example of such an individual language planner was Eliezer Ben-Yehuda (1852-1922), who lived in Palestine and, with a handful of followers, tried to restore Hebrew as a spoken language. For a period of nearly 1700 years, Hebrew had not been used orally in daily life, but only as a liturgical language, i.e. for saying prayers, and reading and studying sacred texts. Ben-Yehuda tried to set an example for others by establishing the first Hebrew-speaking household in Palestine. Perhaps one can imagine the potential communication problems in the family, considering that at that time Hebrew vocabulary lacked such everyday words as the equivalents of *kitchen* or *stamp* (Morag, 1959). Of the many language planning activities Ben-Yehuda was engaged in, we further mention the publishing of a modern Hebrew newspaper and the compiling of a dictionary of modern and ancient Hebrew (Feliman, 1974). The Norwegian teacher Ivar Aasen is another famous 'individual language planner'. He was the initiator of and the stimulus behind the group that finally devised one of the two Norwegian languages, Landsmal, on the basis of an extensive study of Norwegian dialects (see p. 52 for information on Norwegian language planning).

Official or government language planning takes place via Language Agencies, Academies or Departments. The task of such a Department might be to devise an orthography for an unwritten language, to revise a spelling system, to coin new words, etc. Although governments may be powerful, it is still difficult for them to force people to speak a certain way. Often the (unconscious) choices of individuals, exhibited in their daily speech, will conflict with the official, deliberate language planning as put down in proposals by a Language Academy. Frequently, language - in any case spoken language - goes its own way (i.e. the way speakers want it to go). For example, the Spanish Academies in Latin-America and Spain have made frequent proposals to replace English loanwords by new Spanish words, but the speakers generally persist in using the loanwords (Guitarte and Quintero, 1974). The French government even went so far in 1975 as to pass a law stating that people can be fined for using a loanword where a French equivalent exists (e.g. *ticket* instead of *billet*). In most cases language planning has more success with regard to written language than spoken language. In this way a literary standard may be created which differs considerably from the vernacular.

Depending on the situation in a country or in a speech community language planning may take different forms. In developing nations, often the first task is to determine which language (or languages) should fulfil the role of national language. Many countries which have recently become independent went through this process of selecting a national tongue. For example, Indonesia adopted Bahasa Indonesia as its national language, and Mozambique chose Portuguese. This type of language planning we will call *language selection*.

In all countries minority languages are in use next to the national one(s). Language planning is concerned with the position of these minority languages: are they to be tolerated, stimulated or oppressed, are they to be used in education and in administration? Even if a government does not have a publicly stated policy with regard to minority languages, it might have a covert one, because, for instance, not supporting minority languages might result in language decay or even loss, which could be the ultimate, hidden goal of the government. Language planning dealing with the position of minority languages we will call *minority language treatment*.

Language planning can also be directed at the [further] development of languages, both national ones and minority ones. This further development can affect any aspect of the spoken and written language, like the revision of the spelling system, the choice of a particular variety of the newly selected national language as [the standard variety, etc.]. Where the language only exists in a spoken form an orthography can be devised. This type of planning we will call *language development*, not to be confused with ontogenetic language development, i.e. the acquisition of its native language by a child. Language development as a type of language planning occurs in all kinds of countries and speech communities, in developing as well as developed countries, although in differing degrees: in industrialized, developed countries with a long tradition of one or more national languages, language development generally is a relatively marginal enterprise, but in developing nations many language development activities must be carried out. In the next section we will deal more extensively with these activities.

An important question is: how can the direction of language planning best be determined? If one claims that any case of planning (from the planning of household

activities to economic planning) arrives at improving the situation, the problem lies in the definition of 'improvement' (apart of course from the problem of how to attain this improved situation). Translated to language planning the question can be formulated as: is there an 'optimal language', a particular code to be selected and developed further so as to serve the communicative needs of the speech community optimally? In the literature on language planning two answers to this question can be found, answers based on different theoretical views of the social nature of language and the scope of linguistics.

The first is often called the *theory of insmcmensalism* (cf. Haugen, 1971). It is not very popular among (socio-)linguists, but it probably has many lay adherents. Tauli (1968) is one of its most forceful advocates. He sees language as a tool or an instrument, which implies that it can be evaluated, changed, regulated and improved, and even that new languages can be created. According to Tauli, it is possible to evaluate languages with regard to their efficiency, since linguists are quite able to make value judgements, to point to logical constructions or unclear structures. Tauli also notes, however, that we do not need primarily the evaluation of languages as wholes 'but evaluation of concrete linguistic features from the point of economy, clarity, elasticity, etc. It is essential to stress that such an evaluation is possible and is objectively verifiable, in many cases quantitatively measurable. Thus we can say that a certain linguistic feature or language is better than another from a certain point of view' (Tauli, 1968:11). From one of the first examples Tauli discusses, it is clear that his approach runs into serious problems. The 'certain point of view' he mentions is often a quite limited one which conflicts with other perspectives. Tauli states that languages differ with regard to economy and redundancy in grammatical structure. He gives the example of the German expression *du kommst* ('you come'), in which the meaning 'second person singular' is expressed twice: by *du* and the suffix *-st*. In the corresponding English utterance *you come* this meaning is only expressed once, so in this respect English is more economical. However, how must this conclusion be weighed if the same expression is evaluated from another perspective, e.g. the meaning of *you* in English which in many languages is expressed by two or more pronouns? German has *du* (second person, singular, informal) and *Sie* (second person, singular, formal; and second person, plural, formal and informal). A fuller comparison of the English and the German pronoun system will yield more differences, but this limited comparison shows that in German it is possible to express a distinction (formal vs informal, singular pronouns) which can not be marked in English by pronoun choice. Therefore, from the point of view of linguistic economy in establishing and confirming social relations in verbal interaction, German is more economical than English. In addition, we should note that redundancy in languages is functional. If one meaning cue is not understood or noticed by the listener, he will hear a second one which makes it easier to arrive at the proper interpretation.

In the example above we have illustrated the technical problems in comparing two languages or structures from two languages with the aim of defining 'the best structure'. The second theory of language planning claims that such an undertaking is theoretically impossible. This theory, which is often called the *sociolinguistic theory of language planning*, is based on two principles:

- (a) all known languages are symbolic systems of equal native value;
- (b) language planning should not only deal with the technical aspects of language, but also with its social aspects.

Principle (a) is in agreement with a generally accepted assumption in modern linguistics, supported by research on many languages. The normative, prescriptive linguistics from before the nineteenth century has evolved into a science with descriptive and theoretical aims in which value statements with regard to the superiority of languages or linguistic structures have no place. Haugen, who adheres to this position, further states that 'when judged by strictly logical standards, natural languages are both redundant and ambiguous. Familiarity with more than one language makes one painfully aware of the inadequacies of each. This is indeed the reason for the development of logic and mathematics: these allow one to escape from the logical imperfections of natural languages. But who should wish to replace language with mathematics in our social life? The rich diversity of human languages and dialects is part of the human condition. To iron them out so that all languages would either be uniformly logical or identical in reference is not only a labour of Sisyphus, but a monstrous goal unworthy of a humanist' (Haugen, 1971:288). In this view, 'primitive languages' do not exist either. Of course, some languages lack a vocabulary necessary for talking about certain aspects of modern life in industrialized societies, but that does not make them primitive. In fact, they often have very complex grammars. Furthermore, vocabularies turn out to be easily expandable.

In the second principle of the sociolinguistic theory of language planning, already touched upon in the quotation from Haugen, the social nature of language is stressed. Languages are produced by people in their daily, social interactions. They have different social values, and peoples' identities are strongly linked to the language they speak (cf. chapter 2). Therefore, languages can not simply be considered as tools like a hammer or a saw. Language planning must be regarded as a form of social planning, in which an account of the social status of a language, its use in varying social contexts, its relation to the identity of various groups of speakers, etc. must play a primary role. This view does not deny the feasibility of planned language development, but it claims that the possibilities are limited and subject to social conditions.

Generally, linguists of the present generation have not paid much attention to language planning. There are two reasons for this apparent lack of interest. (1) Most linguists hold the view that language is an 'autonomous system' that can not be deliberately changed by variables outside the system (cf. Rubin and Jernudd, 1971a). (2) In most cases language planning is concerned with the written language, and speech is considered secondary. As Haugen (1966b: 53) says, for linguists this 'means things upside down. It considers as primary what linguists regard as secondary and assigns value to something which the linguist considers only a shadow of reality.'

## 5.2 Stages and activities in language planning

*Initial [act-jinding]* is the first stage in language planning processes. An overview of the language situation must be obtained before any further steps can be taken. In such a background study information must be gathered on, for example, the number of mother-tongue and second-language speakers of each language, its social distribution,

its sociolinguistic status, the existence of written forms, the elaborateness of the vocabulary, etc.

Which facts are studied will depend on the actual sociolinguistic situation in the speech community. For instance, in developing countries more facts will be unknown, especially when the language situation is very complex, as in many African nations. In such cases even the number of speakers of the national language must be ascertained by a survey, as well as the number of languages actually spoken. An example is the linguistic survey of Ethiopia, which was a four-year project done by a number of scholars. Seventy languages were involved from four different language families. The number of speakers ranged from 7,800,400 for Amharic, an Ethio-Semitic language, to 250 for Kwegu, a Nilo-Saharan language (cf. Bender *et al.*, 1976). However, it must also be noted that recently in many Western countries multilingualism has increased because of immigration from former colonies and the settlement of immigrant workers. This was one of the reasons for establishing the Linguistic Minorities Project in Great Britain (see Linguistic Minorities Project, 1985). One of its goals was to conduct a survey of the number of languages spoken, and the number of speakers of each language. It was found, for instance, that in the London Borough of Haringey, school children spoke 87 languages, Greek and Turkish having the most mother-tongue speakers.

In the second stage, the actual planning takes place. *Procedures*, constituting a programme of action, will be devised in which the specific objectives of the language planning process are determined. Because they can be considered as the heart of the process, we will deal more extensively with these procedures than with other stages in language planning, illustrating them with actual planning activities carried out in different countries.

The first two were already mentioned in the first section of this chapter, *language selection* and *minority language treatment*. Language selection implies the choice of a (new) national language. As stated before, many developing countries faced this problem after gaining independence. Often the national language in use was too strongly associated with the former colonial power. Therefore, for instance, Tanzania opted for Swahili instead of English. However, in many cases social, political or linguistic factors made the choice of a native language undesirable (see also the next section) with the outcome that the former colonial language maintained its position, as for instance English in Kenya.

Minority language treatment refers to the decisions on the (planned) use of minority languages in education, administration and public life. For example, in some South American countries minority languages are used to some extent in primary education: Guarani in Paraguay and Quechua in Ecuador. In Friesland, in the northern part of the Netherlands, Frisian is permitted alongside Dutch in administration. Such forms of minority language treatment are often devised for the sake of minority language maintenance.

The third procedure is that of *codification*, which is an explicit statement of the code via dictionaries, grammars, spellers, punctuation and pronunciation guides, etc. Codification is a prerequisite for the *standardization* of a language. If a speech community does not have a standard language, or wants to adopt a new standard language, this sometimes does not exist in a standardized form. The central problem in codification is, of course, that of heterogeneity. For example, codification of the grammar of a language is not simply writing down the grammatical rules of the



language, but generally means that one of two or more rules from different dialects will have to be chosen as the 'standard' one. Codification implies then that a standard variety is established, and generally this will be based on one of the various or dialects of the language in question. In Tanzania, for instance, many dialects of Swahili were spoken. The dialect to be codified had already been selected before independence. In 1930, the Inter-Territorial Language (Swahili) Committee, later called the East African Swahili Committee, was established to select the form of Swahili to be used in education in Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika (now Tanzania). They chose Kiunguja, the dialect spoken in Zanzibar Town, to form the base for the standard language. Therefore, Kiunguja grammar and vocabulary were codified (cf. Whiteley, 1969).

Norway faced interesting long-term planning problems. In 1814 it gained independence from Denmark. Due to the centuries-long hegemony of Denmark, Danish had a strong influence on language use. The varieties spoken in Norway ranged from more or less pure Danish to local Norwegian dialects without any Danish influence. In the middle of the nineteenth century two codification efforts were made in the direction of a Norwegian standard language. The first effort, led by the language reformer Knud Knudsen, was directed at a gradual revision of written Danish in the direction of the so-called Colloquial Standard, which can be characterized as a variety of Danish with strong Norwegian influence. The outcome of this effort was called *Riksmål* ('state language') and later *Bokmål* ('book language'). A competing standard was devised by a group led and inspired by Ivar Aasen. However, they did not take one variety as a base for codification, but tried to reconstruct Norwegian from all the Norwegian dialects in order to find the 'real' or the 'pure' Norwegian language. The language they proposed was called *Landsmål* ('national language'), and the name was later changed into *Nynorsk* ('new Norwegian'). Since then Norwegian has had two codified national languages which the government is trying to bring closer together or to converge linguistically via new codification efforts (cf. Haugen, 1966a).

Codification is not only necessary when a (new) national language is adopted, but can also be part of minority language treatment. Particularly, when minority languages acquire an educational or administrative status, the need arises for a codified form. For instance, since 1957 vernacular teaching has been possible in the Philippine public school system. However, instructional materials were hardly available or not at all, and most vernaculars did not exist in a codified form. Since then, many linguists have been engaged in studying and scientifically describing dozens of Philippine languages. Such a description necessarily comes down to codification. In this sense also dialectologists aiming to describe a dialect are working on its codification.

Where languages do not exist in a written form, codification will imply *graphization*: the reduction of spoken language to writing, or the devising of graphic symbols to represent the spoken form. The first decision in the process of graphization, of course, concerns the choice of alphabet or script. Subsequently the important question will be: what is the relation between phonemes and graphemes, or how should words be spelled? We will illustrate the technical problems involved in orthography development with an example from the debate about the spelling of Quechua, an Amerindian language, in countries such as Ecuador. Like many other

languages, Quechua has velar stops and labial glides. A linguistic spelling convention would lead to such words as:

*kasa* ('frost') and *kiru* ('tooth')  
*wasi* ('house') and *mira* ('fat')

In fact, both national and foreign linguists have suggested an official spelling along these lines. The problem is, however, that both the *k* and *w* are felt as English, by the majority of (literate) Ecuadorians, and carry the connotation of American imperialism, extended in this case to 'innocent' Indian peasants. The alternative of Spanish conventions is not so attractive, either:

*casa* and *quiru*  
*huasi/guasi* and *hu/ra*

This spelling raises two difficulties. On [he technical side, Spanish conventions give a result for velar stops that maps one phoneme into two graphemes, depending on the following vowel, and for labial glides the option of either *gu* or *hu*, which may lead to confusion and inconsistency. On the ideological side, using the Spanish conventions stresses the dependence of Quechua on Spanish, and of the Indians on the Mestizos.

Where languages already exist in a codified form, re-codification may be anticipated. For example, in the USSR after the Revolution many languages in the Central Asian area were given a Latin alphabet instead of their Arabic script or other, rather less-known or idiosyncratic scripts. After about 1935, the policy of the central government changed in the direction of introducing the Cyrillic script, in which Russian is written. By 1940 Cyrillic had spread to most Republics (Lewis, 1972).

Norway, again, offers a typical example of re-codification. In 1934, the Norwegian parliament appointed a commission for spelling reform which aimed at a rapprochement of the two national languages (which are phonologically and syntactically very much alike). The government hoped (or expected) that new forms, promoted officially through sanctioned spelling lists, would be adopted by users of the two languages, finally bridging the gap between *Bokmål* and *Nynorsk*.

The last planning procedure is the *modernization* of language (also often called *cultivation* or *elaboration*). Codification and modernization together make up the activity of language development (see section 5.1). According to Ferguson (1968:32), '[the] modernization of a language may be thought of as the process of its becoming the equal of other developed languages as a medium of communication; it is in a sense the process of joining the world community of increasingly intertranslatable languages as appropriate vehicles of modern forms of discourse'. Two processes are involved: (a) the expansion of the lexicon, and (b) the development of new styles and forms of discourse. Till now, the second aspect has received far less attention than the first one. Nevertheless, when a language has always functioned only in informal contexts, people will lack the skills of using it appropriately if it is selected as a national language or as a medium of instruction in the schools. In such cases language planning could include the development of style manuals, writing books, etc.

Lexical expansion is one of the issues in language planning most discussed. Newly promoted national languages and officially recognized minority languages often lack the vocabulary to talk about many aspects of the modern, scientific and industrialized

world. Hebrew offers a striking example. During the revival of Hebrew (section 5.1), words had to be 'invented' for many aspects of daily life: for parts of the car, for military concepts, for many roofs, etc. Generally, three main processes in the creation of a (new) technical vocabulary can be distinguished: compounding of existing words, forming of new words by native-language derivational processes, and the adoption of words from a foreign language. We will illustrate these processes with a few examples from Pilipino, the national language of the Philippines which is based on Tagalog. After 1964, the *Lupon sa Agham* (Science Committee) in the Philippines prepared an integrated vocabulary of basic scientific and technical words and expressions adequate for modern living but consistent with the morphology of Tagalog. Examples of proposed new words are given in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1

Compounding	<i>buumbilang</i> : 'integer'	<i>buo</i> plus <i>bi/ang</i> 'whole' 'number'
	<i>bahagimbilang</i> 'fraction'	<i>bahagi</i> plus <i>bi/ang</i> 'part' 'number'
Derivation	<i>pamahiga</i> 'denominator'	<i>pang-</i> plus <i>bahagi</i> instrument prefix 'part'
	<i>sabansain</i> ← 'nationalize'	<i>sa-</i> plus <i>bansa</i> plus <i>-in</i> action prefix 'nation' action suffix
Compounding and derivation combined	<i>balikhaan</i> : 'regeneration'	<i>balik</i> plus <i>likha</i> plus <i>-an</i> 'return' 'create' process suffix
	<i>da/ubwikaan</i> ← 'linguistics'	<i>da/ub</i> plus <i>wika</i> plus <i>-an</i> 'expert' 'language' process suffix

Borrowing of foreign words in a phonologically adapted form is also proposed by the *Lupon*, e.g. *eruplano* ('airplane'), *Merkuryo* ('Mercury') and *ampir* ('ampere'). Other processes applied in addition to these three are the expansion of meaning of an existing word (in Pilipino *mikrnik*, in Tagalog meaning 'very small' for 'microscope'), and the use of words from dialects: 'earth' as a synonym for 'soil' is *lupa* in Tagalog, so the Science Committee took the equivalent for *lupa* from the Visayan dialect, which is *duw*, to denote 'Earth' as a planet (cf. for more examples Del Rosario, 1968).

Comparable to lexical expansion is the procedure of deliberately proposed lexical change. This language planning procedure is carried out when it is felt that too many foreign words have intruded in the language. Particularly, the influence of American technology and entertainment is reflected in the languages of many countries. Mainly for that reason, the Congress of the Spanish Academies of the Latin-American countries and Spain in Bogotá (1960) approved a resolution in which it was recommended that each Academy should create a commission on technical vocabulary. The commission of the Colombian Academy has proposed many Spanish terms to replace English loans which has been approved by the other Academies (Guitarte and Quintero, 1974).

It must be emphasized that all the procedures in a language planning programme are also (unconsciously) applied by individual speakers of a language. For example, modernization of languages has always occurred and will always occur, because

people adapt their language to their communicative needs. As Ferguson points out, the process of modernization is not really new or 'modern': 'it is essentially the same process that English went through in the fifteenth century or Hungarian in the nineteenth when the language was extended to cover topics and to appear in a range of forms of discourse for which it was not previously used, including non-literary prose and oral communication such as lectures and professional consultations' (Ferguson, 1968:32).

The similarity between planned and unplanned language change can also be illustrated with the example of the 'spontaneous' formation of new words. O'Grady (1960) gives examples of the various ways in which new Western concepts are expressed in Nyanumada, an Australian Aboriginal language. In derivational processes, they use the suffix *-pinti* for example, 'complement of, denoting an element of the material culture which is associated with a particular object or action, as in *ṅaṅkapinti* (trazor', from *ṅaṅka*, 'beard' plus *-pinti*), or *wal)a/pinti* ('electric fan', from *waljal*, 'wind' plus *-pimi*). Or existing words were given a new meaning: *kitakita*, 'head-rest' got also the meaning 'pillow', and *mapan*, 'clever man', came to stand for 'European doctor'.

*Implementation* is the third stage of the language planning process. Language Committees or Academies can have far-reaching plans for a language, but these mean nothing if they do not affect ordinary language use. Common implementation techniques are the publication of word lists and grammars, the finding of language maintenance efforts (in the case of minority languages), the publication of text books for schools, the vocational training of teachers in a (new) language, the publication of governmental decisions in a certain language, the passing of laws concerning language use, etc.

The fourth and last stage of the language planning process is that of *evaluation*: are the goals attained? Many evaluation studies show that language planning can be successful. For example, Swahili has become a real, multi-purpose national language in Tanzania; it is even used in secondary education where it has to compete with English, which occupies a strong position. The two Norwegian standard languages seem to be merging gradually (in their written forms) as a result of the planning efforts of the government. The introduction of new orthographies in the USSR has been successful.

On the other hand, language planning can also fail, because the individual speakers do not change their language habits, or they change them in a direction different from the one planned. This becomes particularly clear for expansion or innovation of the lexicon. Language Committees nearly always try to reduce the number of borrowed words, but the purist forms they propose are often not adopted by the speech community. Speakers are obstinate, and language goes its own way. Furthermore, in many cases language planning only affects the written form of the language, but the spoken varieties remain unchanged, even when change of the oral language was aimed at. In fact, language planning is a circular process, because evaluation implies discovering and interpreting facts about languages and language use, which is the first stage in a new process of language planning.

### 5.3 Factors influencing language planning

As we noted earlier, language planning does not take place in a social vacuum. Instead, it is affected by many factors. In this section, we will deal with social-demographic, linguistic, social-psychological, political and religious factors. They will be discussed separately, since on the abstract level they can be studied in isolation. It will be clear that in social reality they have strong mutual interrelations.

*Social-demographic factors* include the number of languages spoken, the numbers of their speakers, and their geographical distribution. An example is East Africa, particularly the contrast Tanzania-Kenya. Tanzania has many languages (about a hundred) with comparable numbers of speakers. The fact that these ethnolinguistic units were numerically small clearly favoured the selection of Swahili as a national language (cf. Whiteley, 1971). In contrast to Tanzania, Kenya has a relatively small number of languages. They were able to compete with Swahili, and therefore English could strengthen its position.

Social and demographic factors can also indirectly influence language planning. For instance, Indonesia and Malaysia consist of thousands of islands. There has always been the need for a lingua franca, a common language. The fact that Malay became this lingua franca was determined in good measure by the fact that native speakers of Malay lived on both sides of the Straits of Malacca, the most important sea route in this area. Being a commonly used lingua franca, Malay was selected as a national language in Malaysia and as the base for the national language Bahasa Indonesia in Indonesia, although it was culturally and quantitatively (with regard to numbers of mother-tongue speakers) not the most important language of the Malay-Polynesian group (cf. Alisjahbana, 1974).

*Linguistic factors* mainly have to do with the status and the character of a language, and the dissimilarities between languages. With the concept 'status of a language' we refer to the degree of (modernized) development as well as literary tradition. Many native languages in developing African nations could never be considered as candidates for a national language because of their low degree of modernized development, especially where fully developed colonial languages were in use. In South India most people would have welcomed the continuation of English as the official language. According to Apte (1976), it was claimed that Hindi was not as well developed as some other Indian languages, particularly Tamil and Bengali, which have long literary histories.

Similarities and dissimilarities between languages can be very important in language planning. For example, the strong position of Swahili in Tanzania was fostered by the fact that Swahili is a Bantu language, and that more than 90 per cent of the population speak Bantu languages; Swahili is closely related to several of these languages and therefore not difficult to learn. The 'character of a language' is a notion used by Alisjahbana (1974). He states that because of its character Malay, in comparison with Javanese, is relatively easy to learn. Malay does not have social dialects as Javanese has, where different words are used to express the same idea depending on the age, rank and social position of the addressee. In the view of Alisjahbana, this is one of the reasons why Javanese, numerically and perhaps also culturally the most important language, did not become the national language of Indonesia. It would not have been impossible, of course, to develop a Javanese with simplified registers as found in the Javanese speech community in Surinam.

However, this was not done. Also, we stressed before that in fact a language must develop stylistic variants in order to function as a national standard.

*Social-psychological factors*, in their broadest sense, concern the attitudes of people towards a language. These attitudes are related to the social distribution of languages in the speech community, and the social meanings attached to the various languages (see also chapter 2). Many languages in developing African countries are closely identified with a single ethnic group. Other ethnic groups might develop negative attitudes towards them, especially if one such language were to become the national one. The national hegemony of one (ethnic) language seems to imply domination by the original speakers of that language, i.e. by one specific ethnolinguistic group.

*Political factors* are of considerable importance in language planning. Here the direct relation between general policy and language policy becomes visible. In section 5.2 we gave the example of the introduction of the Cyrillic script for Central Asian languages in the USSR as part of a policy of russification. In 1984 and 1985 Bulgaria made efforts to 'bulgarize' the ethnic Turks, living in Bulgaria. They were forced to choose between either adopting a new Bulgarian name instead of their Turkish one, or returning to Turkey. The changing of names is a typical example of language policy.

The strong relation between general political aims and language planning can also be demonstrated with the case of Irish. Somewhere between 1750 and 1850 the majority of the Irish people seem to have shifted from Irish to English. Irish gradually became the language of an impoverished and disinherited peasantry. In 1893, the Gaelic League was founded, which tried to foster the revival of Irish. It became closely connected to the independence movement. Strangely enough, the success of that movement, culminating in the establishment of the Irish Free State in 1922, weakened the League, and with it, the language movement (cf. Macnamara, 1971). However, the many efforts of the Irish government, trying to spread the use of Irish, reflect the general policy of establishing an Irish identity; language is considered to be an important part of that identity.

The general policy of the former colonial powers was also expressed in language planning. For example, Belgium and Great Britain promoted the use and standardization of local languages in their African territories. This form of planning, which had a 'paternalistic flavour' (Spencer, 1974:168), derived from a colonial policy which emphasized 'separate development' for the different races in contact in Africa. By contrast, the Portuguese authorities pursued a policy of restricted assimilation, and discouraged the use of local languages; nothing was allowed to appear in print in an African language without concurrent translation in Portuguese (Spencer, 1974).

The strong influence of political factors on language planning can also be illustrated with cases of bilingual education or minority language education. This subject is taken up in chapter 6.

*Religious factors* are the last we will discuss here. They concern the relation between language and religion, and, more specifically, the use of local languages in the spread of religion. With regard to the former, an example can be given from Sudan. This country inherited English as an official language, although it was only used by a very small, but important élite (cf. Whiteley, 1974). English has been replaced by Arabic, however, which was already a first language for more than half of the population. The government has successfully promoted the use of Arabic in connection with the Islamization of the country.

The work of Christian missionaries has strongly favoured the use and standardization of local or vernacular languages instead of national or colonial ones. Because of their evangelical interests, these missionaries studied local languages, wrote grammars, orthographies, school books and religious books, and translated the Bible in many of these languages. It was their contention that evangelization would be most successful if it was undertaken by means of the mother tongues of the people. The Summer Institute of Linguistics still offers facilities for this type of work, for example in Papua New Guinea (cf. Welmers, 1974).

## Further reading

The book *Language planning processes*, edited by Joan Rubin and others (1977) contains mainly case studies of language planning and some more theoretically oriented contributions. The same goes for two other collections of articles: W.M. O'Barr and J.F. O'Barr (eds.), *Language and politics* (1976), which gives much information on Tanzania and Papua New Guinea, and J. Cobarrubias and I.A. Fishman (eds.), *Progress in language planning* (1983). Carol Eastman's *Language planning* (1983) is the only introductory textbook available on this subject.

## 6 Bilingual education

It would seem only natural that children in bilingual communities should have the opportunity to be educated in two languages: the language of the home and the language of other groups in the community. But the reality is different. In most bilingual communities the two (or more) languages do not have equal status. Side by side with majority languages, which have prestige and positive social-economic connotations, there are the minority languages, often associated with low social-economic status and lack of educational achievement. They are more or less stigmatized, and not considered as suitable vehicles for communication in school or subjects to be taught. Therefore, all over the world examples can be found of children who are confronted with a language in school that they do not speak as well as native speakers of their age, or not at all: Sarnarni-Hindi speaking children in Surinam where Dutch is the language of the classroom, Mozambican children who speak Shona at home while only Portuguese is used in school, Finnish children in completely Swedish-medium classes, Sardinian children in Italian-speaking classrooms, etc., etc.

In all these cases there is what is often called a *home-school language mismatch* or *switch*, and this mismatch can have several negative consequences, for example, poor educational achievement. There is in fact a vicious circle, because the minority language is seen as a main cause for this failure, and its negative connotations are reinforced once again. Many writers have argued that this situation can only be changed if the minority language is introduced into the school, and facilities for minority-language teaching provided. In section 6.1 the arguments will be analysed that have been thrown back and forth, both for and against schooling in the minority language.

If minority languages are introduced into the school, this can be done in different ways, depending, among other things, on the sociolinguistic and the political situation in the community concerned. In section 6.2 we describe different types of bilingual education. There we will also discuss an educational model for majority children (or children speaking a prestige language) that stimulates them to learn the minority language: the so-called immersion model.

Section 6.3 presents results of research on bilingual education: does it or does it not promote the educational success of minority children, and what are the consequences for proficiency in the minority and the majority language?

This chapter should be read in conjunction with chapters 4 and 5. In chapter 4 we dealt with the issue of language maintenance and shift. Institutional support factors



were discussed as important variables influencing the maintenance and shift of minority languages. Institutional support is partly, or in some cases largely, determined by the government, via its language policy (chapter 5). The school is a central institution in modern societies, and government decisions on the status of minority languages in schools can have considerable effects.

## 6.1 Minority languages in the school

Traditionally, minority languages on the whole have had only a marginal place in the education system, but there are various exceptions. For example, in the nineteenth century and in the first decades of the twentieth century, many immigrant groups in the United States organized mother-tongue education. In the Soviet Union educational innovations were introduced immediately after the Revolution to promote the use of various national languages besides Russian in the schools. After gaining independence the federal government of India undermined the strong position of English in the Indian education system. According to the new official policy, children should receive primary education in their mother tongue, which in most cases was not English or Hindi, the newly chosen national language.

Since about 1950 the education of children from minority groups has been discussed more widely than before, and an interest in minority languages has increased. 1951 is an important year in this context, because in that year the UNESCO meeting of specialists on the use of vernacular languages in education was held. The meeting's main concern was language education in the Third World, but it also had an impact on discussions about the educational status of minority languages in other countries. A famous, often cited statement in the report of the meeting is 'It is axiomatic that the best medium for teaching a child is his mother tongue' (UNESCO, 1953:11).

In the United States the educational rehabilitation of minority languages started in the early 1960s. In 1963 the Dade County public schools in Florida established the Coral Way School with a Spanish-English programme to meet the needs of an increasing number of Cuban children. It is striking that provisions were made for use of Spanish in schools by immigrant children and *not* by children from Spanish-speaking families who had already lived in the USA for generations. In 1967 the Bilingual Education Act (Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act) was passed, which allocated funds for bilingual programmes, in principle for all children speaking a minority language.

In Western Europe similar developments took place. The position of minority languages in the education system improved in the 70s, which found expression also in directives and resolutions of the EEC (1977) and the Council of Europe (1976). In many African countries, for example Sudan and Nigeria, an attempt was made to develop some form of minority language education. In 1957 the Philippine government decided that the local vernacular could be used as the medium of instruction in the first two years of schooling.

In the 30 years since the UNESCO meeting in 1951 there has been a growing trend, worldwide, to enhance the role of minority languages in the school curriculum. In the discussions on this issue the following, partially overlapping arguments were (and still are) given in favour of the minority language. The first five arguments, (a)-(e), concern the educational situation and the future of minority children.

(a) The first language of the child must be used as the initial medium of instruction to ensure that *academic progress* is not hindered, while the majority language can be learned as a subject. Educators agree that a child's first language is normally the best instrument for learning, especially in the early stages, and that reading and writing in the first language should precede literacy in the second. Larsen *et al.* (1981) present a clear description of the negative effects of the completely Spanish curriculum of Amuesha-speaking children living in the Peruvian jungle. 'The Amuesha children entered knowing little or no Spanish and sometimes spent years in school before finishing first grade because they first had to try to understand what the teacher was saying. As a result of the communication problem the situation seemed so hopeless that the Amuesha children in one such school were sent out to work in the teacher's garden most of the day, while the Spanish-speaking children had classes' (p. 39).

(b) The minority child's general cognitive development will be retarded if he or she does not receive education in the mother tongue, and if the mother tongue is not further developed in the school. Cummins has developed the threshold hypothesis (Cummins, 1978) to account for the results of studies on bilingual education. According to this hypothesis, minority children must attain a certain level of competence (the threshold level) in their first language (and in their second language as well) to avoid cognitive disadvantages. When the children's first language has low prestige, as is generally the case with minority languages, language development is not stimulated outside the school, so this is a task for the education system. Cummins's ideas will be further discussed in chapter 9.

(c) Minority language teaching is a requirement for a healthy development of the child's personality and the development of a positive self-image. If schools do not provide any minority language teaching, then the school becomes for minority children 'a place where neither their language nor culture exists, possibly where they are not even accepted, a place where their social identity is questioned and undermined' (Toukomaa and Skumabb-Kangaa, 1977:20). It is also stated that the self-image of minority children will be harmed if, in the school, literacy in the minority language is not developed. When minority children only learn to read and write in the majority language, then the minority language 'must almost inevitably be considered a second-rate means of communication. It is not far from that conclusion to the conclusion that those who speak the home language are second-rate people' (Christian, 1976:28)

(d) As an extension of argument (c) it can be claimed that the use of the minority language as a medium of instruction will relieve the cultural shock which minority children can experience at the transition from the home to the school. It is the minority language that is the link between child and his/her community. This argument can also be related to argument (c) concerning the development of the child's self-image.

(e) Minority language education is necessary to develop the child's first language and this in its turn, is a necessary prerequisite for the successful acquisition of the majority language. Cummins (1978) has formulated the developmental interdependence hypothesis to explain this relation. We will return to this hypothesis in section 9.1 where the linguistic effects of bilingualism are discussed.

The following three arguments (f)-(h) have to do more with general issues concerning

minority groups and societies as a whole than with individual minority children and their academic careers. The division between the two types of argument is only made for reasons of clarity, given the close interrelation between social and individual development.

(f) Minority language teaching will help to prevent the forced linguistic and cultural assimilation of minority groups. Cultural pluralism can be seen as an enrichment of society as a whole. Minority languages are often a fundamental part of a minority group's cultural identity (cf chapter 2), and many minority groups derive their strength from this identity, especially when they are discriminated against in the larger society. Furthermore, a country can profit from the fact that many languages are spoken in it, and that therefore it has many bilingual citizens within its borders. An example of this is Switzerland, but the same would be true for Spanish in the USA.

(g) Recognition of the language (and culture) of minority groups will improve the social and cultural relations between these groups and the rest of society. The reinforcement of the cultural identity of minority groups (through minority language teaching) will help reduce the likelihood of polarization and socio-political friction.

(h) Especially in Third World countries minority language teaching seems to be the best way to reach isolated groups who do not participate in mainstream society. Members of such groups can gain literacy both in their native language and the majority language, and learn something about the country as a whole. On the government side, this has the advantage that it will be easier to influence these groups and to direct their social development. Of course, this same argument was used by missionaries who educated indigenous tribes via their native tongue, in order to promote their development *and* to convert them to Christianity.

In the 1980s the tide seems to have turned, which might partly have been brought about by the world-wide economic recession. Minority language teaching is considered a luxury. The sharpening ethnic conflicts in many (Western) countries can also be held responsible. The following, partially overlapping, arguments against minority language teaching have been articulated.

(a) The cultural identity of a country will be promoted when everybody is educated in the same (majority) language. According to Edwards (1981) one can question whether cultural pluralism should be aimed at, and ethnic diversity - especially as this is manifested through language maintenance - should be encouraged. Edwards argues for 'pluralistic integration' which implies only a marginal role for the minority language in the school.

(b) The political unity of a country will be fostered if everybody is educated in the same national language. In the USA the slogan 'one nation, one flag, one language' was used in this context. The minority language is thought to have an important cultural and political meaning for minority groups. The use of minority languages will strengthen the political identity of these groups, and this could endanger political unity, especially in the case of regional or ethnic independence movements (e.g. the Basques in Spain).

(c) The social unity of a country will be promoted if everyone is educated in the same language. When different groups are educated in different languages the social gulf between groups will become greater, leading to segregation.

(d) To ensure a positive socio-economic future, minority children should receive majority language education. This is the best way to guarantee good proficiency in the majority language, which is needed to promote academic achievement and academic success. According to various authors (e.g. Skutnabb-Kangas, 1983), the fear that minority language teaching will lead to social fragmentation and separatist movements lies behind this argument.

(e) The linguistic situation is too complex, and there are not enough resources, financial and other, for organizing minority language teaching for a variety of minority groups. This purely pragmatic and economic argument can often be heard in countries where many languages are used that only exist in a spoken form. In such cases no books are available, and the languages must be codified (cf. chapter 5). Some countries, especially in the Third World, have opted for schooling in the national language, preferring to spend their funds on agricultural and medical development, the training of more teachers, etc.

(f) Many parents from minority groups are opposed to minority language teaching because of their negative attitudes towards the minority language. In chapter 2 we have already shown that negative social attitudes towards minority languages are often adopted by the minority groups themselves. Thus, the parents mainly reinforce the general prejudice against them: the minority language, being the language of a stigmatized group, can not be the right medium of instruction in school or a valuable school subject.

(g) Minority children often speak a variety of the minority language different from the standard variety that is being used in school, for example, Moroccan children speaking Moroccan Arabic at home while in school classical Arabic is used.

Skutnabb-Kangas (1978) points to a possible eighth argument. This argument is never clearly expressed by the people or institutions (e.g. governments) who plead for majority language education for minority children. The content of this 'hidden' argument, which runs counter to argument (d), is:

(h) Majority language education keeps minority children in their disadvantaged or oppressed position; this is favourable for certain societies and economic systems that are in need of cheap labour forces. According to Skutnabb-Kangas (1978) exclusive majority language education is not effective for minority children. Competence in both the minority and the majority language will not fully develop: the result of this is called semilingualism (for this concept, see also chapter 9). 'Because of their semilingualism minority children will under-achieve in school, and therefore they are more or less predestined to get low-status and low-income jobs, for instance unskilled labour' (p 119).

Here we will not go into the question of the desirability or necessity of minority language education any deeper, returning to this issue at the end of the chapter.

## 6.2 Types of bilingual education

In 6.1 we used expressions such as 'the introduction of minority languages into the school' and 'minority language education' without explaining what this may actually involve. A system in which a minority language has a certain role alongside the majority language is generally called bilingual education. This type of education generally only exists at the elementary school level. Using the following criteria, a number of different types of bilingual education can be distinguished.

- 1 Are both languages used during the whole curriculum or only in certain stages?
- 2 Do both languages function as media of communication in the classroom?
- 3 Is there a one-to-one relation between subject (like arithmetic or geography) and language, or are both languages used alternately as media of instruction for all subjects except when the languages themselves are subjects?
- 4 Are both languages taught as subjects, and is the aim of the bilingual programme literacy in both languages?
- 5 Do only minority children participate in the bilingual programme, or majority language speaking children as well?

With regard to question (3) it must be noted that in most bilingual programmes the 'one language for one subject' approach is used. The Redwood City Project (California) is an exception to this general trend (Cohen, 1975). It is difficult to give a short overview of this Spanish/English experiment, since each year changes have been introduced. However, in the third year of the project, the alternate-day approach to bilingual schooling was initiated: a subject was taught in Spanish on Monday, in English on Tuesday, in Spanish on Wednesday, and so forth. That year other innovations were brought in as well, the so-called Preview-Review technique. This teaching technique implies that the teacher previews the lesson in one language, presents it in the other, and then reviews it in the first. In this way, no student loses out in concept acquisition as a result of limited second-language proficiency, when his or her second language is the language on a given day.

The Redwood City Project is also an example of a programme in which both minority and majority students participated in the same classes. Mexican American and Anglo children attended the bilingual programme. In most cases, however, such programmes are only organized for minority children. Bilingual programmes do not appear to have been devised to stimulate societal bilingualism in general. We will return to a special form of bilingual schooling for majority children later in this section.

With regard to criteria (1), (2) and (4) above, it is possible to distinguish two general models of bilingual education, schematically reproduced in Figure 6.1. In both models, the amounts of time reserved for the two languages may differ. For example in Model I a programme may not have facilities for prolonged minority language teaching as a subject after Grade 3. In another programme the majority language may be introduced as a medium of classroom interaction as early as the first grade. A version of Model I often applied is the programme which offers minority language only as a subject matter. In such cases the regular curriculum is followed in the majority language, and for a few hours minority children study their own language. In our opinion, such a programme can not be labelled bilingual.

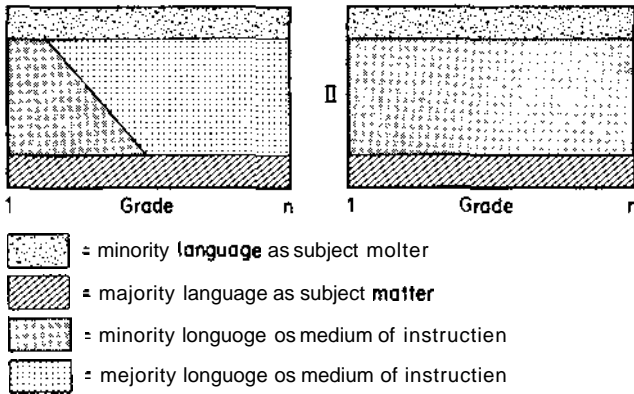


Figure 6.1 Models of bilingual education

Model I is mostly called the *transitional* or the *assimilationist* model. The minority language is mainly used in the early grades, since its most important function is to bridge the gap between the home and the school. In fact, the minority language is only used in school to make it easier for the child to adjust to existing educational demands. Using Macnamara's (1974) phrasing, the minority language is seen as a disease from which the child must be cured. Such programmes do not affect the school as an institution representing a society which considers itself monolingual. Bilingualism is not really encouraged, especially as in most cases facilities for prolonged minority language teaching as a subject are lacking. Cziko and Troike (1984:10) claim that most transitional programmes accomplish assimilation through 'humane linguistic' of minority languages. They can be contrasted with monolingual majority programmes which lead to 'brutal assimilation' of minority children.

Model II is the *pluralistic* or *maintenance* model, promoting linguistic pluralism. The minority language in itself is not considered a problem, but rather societal attitudes towards the minority language, related to the oppressed socio-economic position of the minority group. In this view, the minority language has a value of its own and is as important as the majority language. Therefore it is not only used as an initial medium of instruction for the minority group but also in later classes. The minority language occupies a more important position in the curriculum than the majority language, because the weaker language, which has only low prestige outside school, must be supported most strongly. Therefore, the model is sometimes also called a 'language shelter model'. It is expected to contribute considerably to maintenance of the minority language by promoting more favourable attitudes towards it, and higher oral and written proficiency.

Although most proponents of bilingual education adhere to the maintenance view, the transitional model is most frequently applied, at least in the Western world, probably as a result of the strong assimilative pressure of mainstream society. In some developing countries the situation is different. For example, the general practice in India is that children receive initial education through their native language, while Hindi and English are studied in secondary education. However, when their native tongue is not a regional language of wider use, then this regional language also has to be introduced in secondary education.

The situation is even more complex when the native language does not exist in a written form, because in such cases elementary education will take place in [the regional language which the child may know only slightly]. Spanish-English bilingualism and bilingual education in the United States or Finnish-Swedish bilingualism in Sweden offer a much simpler field for research than does the situation in India.

As we noted above, a special bilingual education model for speakers of the dominant or the most prestigious language exists as well: the *immersion model*. Initially, immersion programmes were organized for English-speaking students in Montreal (Lambert and Tucker, 1972). Later on, they were also set up in the United States, for instance, the Spanish programme for English-speaking children in Culver City (California). Cohen (1976) gives a list of 17 characteristics of immersion education. The most important of which are:

- AH instruction is initially (i.e. in Kindergarten and Grade I) in the second language (French in the Canadian immersion programmes).  
**In** second, third or fourth classes first language skills (reading, writing and so on) are introduced in the children's first language.  
 By the fifth year, content subjects such as geography or history may be taught in the children's first language.  
 The teachers are bilingual, although they only speak the second language in the classroom (with exceptions for points two and three above).  
 In kindergarten, the children are permitted to use their mother tongue until they are proficient enough in the second language. The teacher shows that he/she understands the children's first language by reacting appropriately.  
**In** first year and beyond, the teacher requests that only the second language be spoken in class, except during classes in which the children's first language is the subject.
- In the early years there are no structured classes for second language learning such as pattern drills or grammar instruction. Guided second language acquisition of the majority language (grammar, pronunciation) can be introduced in the later grades.
- Students participate in the immersion programme voluntarily and only with the consent of their parents.

These characteristics can be considered the basic ones, but immersion education may also be organized in another way. Particularly, the starting point of the full-time classes in the second language may be later, and the extent to which the children are allowed to use their first language may vary. Generally, early and late immersion programmes are distinguished. Early immersion has the basic characteristics described above, while in late immersion programmes the second language is introduced in a later stage of elementary education. In addition to early vs late, also total vs partial immersion can be distinguished. The features listed above apply to total immersion. In partial immersion programmes, the second language is not used during the whole day or the whole week. The first and the second language function alternately as the medium of communication in the classroom.

Immersion education has been organized virtually only for children speaking a prestigious language, such as English-speaking students in Quebec. An English

immersion programme for French-speaking children does not exist, and is even forbidden by Quebec state laws, since it may strengthen the position of English at the expense of French. The idea behind immersion education is that it should only be organized when the child's mother tongue is already supported substantially outside the school.

Immersion education should be clearly distinguished from *submersion education*, i.e. the type of education in which minority children are schooled completely through the majority language, and where no 'immersion facilities' like a bilingual teacher are provided. In submersion education the children's first language is neglected totally, and the only provisions made consist of extra second language courses in the majority language.

### 6.3 Results of bilingual programmes

First we will give some examples of bilingual programmes both from the industrialized West and from the Third World. After that we will present a more general conclusion about the effectiveness of bilingual education, and comment on the methodological problems in evaluation studies. At the end of the chapter we will formulate our own views on the desirability of bilingual education, taking into account the evidence available thus far.

On first inspection, different programmes of bilingual education have produced rather different results, as the following case-by-case account will demonstrate. Cohen (1975) reports on the Redwood City Project. Redwood City is located approximately 30 miles south of San Francisco. The Project began in September 1969 with a pilot first-grade group. In the year 1970-71 a Follow Up I group of first graders and a Follow Up II kindergarten were added. Mexican-American and Anglo children participated in the programme, which provided for teaching in Spanish and English, both as subjects and as media of instruction (see also section 6.2). The content of the curriculum, i.e. the 'treatment' in methodological terms, varied from year to year and from group level to group level. The longitudinal study on the effects of the programme was conducted during the fall of 1970 and the spring of 1972. The bilingually schooled Mexican children generally were as proficient in English as comparable Mexican children from another school in Redwood City taught only in English (the Comparison Group); the Mexican children from the bilingual school lagged behind in English vocabulary development, however. The bilingually schooled children were slightly better in Spanish than the students from the Comparison Group, and the bilingual programme seemed to promote greater use of Spanish. With respect to non-language subjects the students from the two groups performed about the same. The Mexican American students who had been in the Bilingual Project for three years were more positive towards Mexican culture than their Mexican age-mates from the monolingual school. Finally, the school attendance of the children from the Redwood City Project was much better than that of the students in the Comparison Group.

While English had been the language of instruction in Philippine schools for many years, the government decided in 1957 that Pilipino, the prevailing local vernacular, derived from Tagalog, the general vernacular in the Philippines, or another local



language - should be used as the only medium of instruction in Grades 1 and 2, with English being used as the primary medium of instruction in Grade 3. In the Rizal Experiments varying the introduction of English was studied by comparing three groups: one group received instruction, in English, from Grade 1 to 6 with Pilipino as a subject, another group was initially taught in Pilipino and switched to English in Grade 3, and a third group was taught in Pilipino in the first four grades and in English after that.

The results of the Rizal Experiments, as reported by Davis (1967) and Revil *et al.* (1968) were not very favourable for the vernacular language approach. By Grade 6, the students educated in English from the beginning performed better on all tests, even Pilipino reading tests, than those who were taught initially in Pilipino. The second group (switch to English in the third year) outperformed the third group, who only switched in the fifth year. In the second year of High School the group taught monolingually in English still had the best test results.

Appel (1984, 1987) reports on an educational experiment in Leyden (the Netherlands), where Turkish and Moroccan immigrant workers' children followed a transitional bilingual programme with a considerable amount of minority language teaching: 75 per cent in the first year and 40 per cent in the second year. After that they went to regular schools with an average of 10 per cent minority language teaching, the minority language being taught only as a subject. The children came directly from Turkey or Morocco, so they did not speak any Dutch on entering the school. A number of aspects of their linguistic, social, emotional, and educational development was compared with that of a group of Turkish and Moroccan children who went to regular schools with hardly any, or only a minimal amount of, minority language teaching (a mean of 13.3 per cent over three years; the minority language only as a subject).

At the end of the first school year the oral Dutch proficiency of the two groups was highly comparable. At the end of the second year the group from the bilingual programme performed somewhat better than the dominantly monolingually schooled children with respect to oral Dutch skills; the written proficiency of the two groups was approximately the same. At the end of the third year, the group from the bilingual programme surpassed the other group in oral as well as written Dutch proficiency. Children from the Comparison Group exhibited more problems of aggressive behaviour, apathy, isolation, strong fear of failure or exaggerated nationalism than children from the experimental bilingual school. Also more children from the Comparison Group seemed to develop a growing feeling of resistance towards the dominant (Dutch) school culture. With respect to arithmetic as well, the children from the experimental group outperformed the children from the dominant Dutch schools.

In 1952 the Peruvian government together with the Summer Institute of Linguistics created a bilingual education programme for non-Spanish speaking children in the Peruvian jungle. In 1953 11 bilingual teachers were working in 11 communities, in six language groups, teaching approximately 270 children (Larson and Davis, 1981). In 1977 the programme had grown to 320 teachers in 210 communities in 24 language groups, teaching approximately 12,000 children. The teachers in the programme are bilingual Indians who speak the native language of the students

fluently. The children are first taught in their native language, and later on Spanish is introduced. It is the aim of the programme to develop literacy in Spanish as well as in the native language.

Hard empirical evidence is lacking, and the only evaluative papers available are written by the organizers of the bilingual programme from the Summer Institute of Linguistics. They state that it has many benefits, for instance:

the children learn more effectively in all areas (reading and writing, arithmetic);  
the culture shock, dramatically experienced by children attending an all-Spanish school, is reduced;

ethnic pride is promoted, particularly because of the fact that the community sees its language in written form being used for educational purposes (Larson and Davis, 1981).

As in most former British colonies, English has been maintained in sub-Saharan Africa as the official language. It is used as the principal medium of education and for government functions. Nigeria is linguistically a very diverse country, but there are large regions in which one of the three 'big' African languages - Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba - are widely spoken. In these regions it has become standard practice to use the vernacular language as the medium of instruction in elementary education and to make a transition to English after the third grade. Cziko and Troike (1984) summarize the results of an experimental project undertaken at Ile-Ife in the former western state of Nigeria where Yoruba was the *sole* medium of instruction throughout primary school.

The evaluation carried out at the end of Grades 3 and 4 found that the pupils from the experimental Yoruba programme generally performed as well as or better than an English-instructed comparison group in all of the subject areas tested. The students from the experimental group also seemed to have fewer problems in school. Further, the proportions of students entering secondary school after completing primary school were the same in the experimental and comparison group.

Swain and Lapkin (1982) give an overview of research results with regard to various types of French immersion programmes for English speaking children in Canada (for a characterization of these programmes see the preceding section). In general, the outcomes are positive. Here, we present only the most striking conclusions.

Despite a temporary lag in the first grades, at the end of all types of immersion programmes students perform as well as or better than students from regular English programmes in the area of English language skills related to literacy.

Students from early total immersion programmes attain near-native proficiency in receptive French language skills. Their productive skills remain non-native, although they can express themselves adequately in their second language.

Students from early immersion groups perform better in French than students from late immersion programmes.

Immersion education has not had negative effects on the students' general intellectual development. Early French immersion even favours it.

Students from early total immersion groups achieved as well in mathematics, science, and social studies as students from regular schools where English was the language of instruction. Early partial and late immersion students lagged somewhat behind.

We have now looked at results of some bilingual education programmes in California, the Philippines, the Netherlands, the Peruvian Amazon, Nigeria and Canada. It is difficult to give a definite answer to the question of the desirability or necessity of bilingual education because of conflicting findings and very different circumstances. Before giving at least a *tentative* answer to this question, we must say something about the problems in evaluating such programmes.

In the first place, the educational, social, linguistic, economic and political situations in different countries are not comparable at all. There are more differences than similarities between second-generation immigrant Italian children in Great Britain and Nahuatl-speaking children in Mexico, or between Shona-speaking children in Mozambique and Finnish children in Sweden. William Mackey, one of the most important writers on the subject of bilingual education, said therefore 'We can only evaluate specific types of bilingual schooling one at a time for a particular group in an attempt to answer such specific questions as: to what extent do the modifications in the language behaviour of this school population in these classes enable this group of learners to achieve this particular linguistic or educational objective?' (Mackey, 1977:227).

Secondly, it is extremely difficult to carry out methodologically flawless evaluation studies in this area. Problems arise in finding a control group of monolingually educated students who are in all respects similar to the students from the experimental bilingual programme, especially where students (or their parents) have volunteered for the programme. They may have an exceptionally positive attitude towards the programme which may positively influence their achievement. The so-called Hawthorne-effect also constitutes a methodological problem. According to this effect, the results of an evaluation study in which two groups are compared - one experimental and one standard group - cannot be attributed to the independent variable, e.g. the amount of minority language teaching, but is due to the fact that it is an experiment. This makes it special, and makes the students and their teachers think they are special, which stimulates them to perform better. Furthermore, the educational material used in bilingual and monolingual schools is often not comparable. In many bilingual programmes new educational material in the minority language must be developed and tested, while in regular monolingual programmes teachers work with existing books and exercises. With respect to this issue, the monolingual programmes are in an advantageous position.

Third, when the first two points come together, the effects of bilingual programmes can only be understood in relation to the educational, social, linguistic, economic and political context of the programme. To put this in methodological terms: these factors are the causal variables, while the educational programme is only a mediating variable. The factors mentioned above exert their influence via the educational programme. However, in most evaluation studies of bilingual experiments the educational programme is considered to be the causal variable. We can again refer to Mackey's statement: a certain programme in a certain context has a certain outcome.

With these restrictions in mind we can try to give the tentative answer promised. Although there are some exceptions, such as the experiment in the Philippines, the general trend in the research literature is that bilingual education for children from linguistic minority groups has positive outcomes in all areas: first and second language skills, other subjects, and social and emotional aspects. It is especially

striking that minority language teaching - the use of the first language as the medium of instruction - does not seem to hamper or hinder second language acquisition. Some authors, for instance Skumabb-Kangas (1983), hold that prolonged minority language teaching in bilingual maintenance programmes is necessary to attain positive results.

In sharp contrast to this conclusion stand the results of evaluation studies on immersion education. These studies show that initial and prolonged education in the second language has positive outcomes. However, this type of education is organized for children who speak a high-status language and who come from families with relatively high social-economic status. They are not forced to learn the second language as is the case with children from low-status minority groups. Summarizing, children from disadvantaged or oppressed linguistic minority groups generally profit from bilingual programmes in which their first language plays an important role, while children from dominant social groups or higher social classes benefit from bilingual programmes in which the second language is used most frequently. In this chapter we will not present the theoretical explanations for this conclusion, since they have to do with the effects of bilingualism on individual speakers, and we will leave these explanations for chapter 9.

To end this chapter we want to emphasize that research results indicate that bilingual education for children from low-status linguistic minorities can be profitable, but no predictions can be derived from these results, because of the many varying social situations. A point of considerable interest is the social and political attitude of the majority towards minority groups. If this attitude is too negative and too many segregative trends exist in society, it may not be advisable to organize separate bilingual education for children from linguistic minorities. Probably it is always a good idea to integrate bilingual programmes into regular schools in order to further the relations between minority and majority students. Bilingual programmes should not be organized to bring about a kind of 'splendid isolation' for minority groups, which will often turn out to be dangerous isolation as well, but should guarantee that students from minority groups gain better educational and social opportunities, while at the same time maintenance of the minority language is fostered.

## Further reading

J. Cummins and T. Skumabb-Kangas (eds.), *Education of linguistic minority children*, 2 vols. (1987) contains articles providing arguments for and against bilingual education as well as descriptions of bilingual programmes. Various theoretical and more practical educational topics are discussed in the following two books: J.E. Alatis (ed.), *Georgetown University round table on languages and linguistics (Current Issues in Bilingual Education)*, 1980, and B. Hartford, A. Valdman and C.R. Fester (eds.), *Issues in international bilingual education*, 1982. Bilingual programmes from all over the world are described in B. Spolsky and R.L. Cooper (eds.), *Case studies in bilingual education*, 1978. Vernacular language teaching in a Third World country, i.e. in India, is dealt with in Pattanayak's book *Multilingualism and mother-tongue education*, 1981. M. Swain and S. Lapkin, *Evaluating bilingual education* (1982) present an overview of results of immersion programmes in Canada.



# 11 The bilingual speaker

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## 7 Psychological dimensions of bilingualism

In this book we are mainly concerned with individual or collective language behaviour in bilingual communities. However, language behaviour is possible because of some sort of underlying competence. People possess implicit knowledge of the language(s) they speak and/or understand, or put differently: they have more or less internalized the language. An interesting question, the focus of this chapter, is how are the two languages of bilingual individuals internalized? Do bilinguals differ from monolinguals in this respect? In the first section we will discuss the problem of neural representation of the two languages. Are they localized in the same area or in different areas of the brain? Section 7.2 deals with the mental representation of two languages. In keeping with research in this field of study, we present information about the mental lexicon, connected with each language. Here again, the question is, whether the two languages are mentally or psychologically discrete, with two discrete lexicons, or whether the bilingual individual operates on the basis of one unified mental lexicon. Generally, bilinguals keep their languages separate in language processing, i.e. in speaking and understanding. Does a special mental faculty develop which enables them to do this adequately, to process the languages without mixing them up? In section 7.3 we will pursue this problem.

There is still little information on the issues dealt with in this chapter. Grosjean (1982: 267) says 'the bilingual brain is still very much *terra incognita*'. Researchers do not have direct access to the brain or the bilingual mind. The question, for example, whether there is one lexicon or two, cannot be answered directly. Possible answers must be inferred from observable phenomena. Furthermore, research results often are not unambiguous, and there is much disagreement between different authors. It is difficult therefore to give a coherent picture of the state of the art in this field of research,

### 7.1 The bilingual brain

It is generally assumed that the left hemisphere of the brain is mainly responsible for language processing. This dominance of the left hemisphere is particularly strong in right-handed males. The question now is whether this also holds for bilinguals, and whether the two languages are localized in the same area of the brain, and share the same neural mechanisms. Answers to this question are mainly based on two sources of































































































































































































































































































































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