

Foreword

Dear Student,

Welcome to the University of Wales Trinity Saint David, and I hope that you will enjoy the MA Bilingualism and Multilingualism programme. Whether for reasons of continuous professional development by which you may, hopefully, improve your career prospects, or simply for reasons of general interest or enjoyment, I trust that you will find the course beneficial and rewarding.

Since bilingualism and multilingualism as an academic field of study is so broad, encompassing as it does so many aspects, including psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, language acquisition, language planning and policy-making, we have tried to ensure that the modules covered will provide not only a breadth of experience but also an opportunity for students to discover an interest in a particular area of study in which they may decide to specialise in future.

We always encourage students to complete the full MA course by studying for 180 credits and we ensure that they are always provided with the necessary support for doing so. However, since the course has a modular structure whereby one can also study for a Postgraduate Certificate (60 credits), a Postgraduate Diploma (120 credits), and even a single module, students should never feel that they are under any pressure to accomplish what may sometimes appear to be insurmountable. The university provides services for all students which are designed to facilitate a smooth and trouble-free passage through academic study, of which they are encouraged to take advantage.

In addition to the Guidance Booklet for Module ECDA-7012, *Bilingualism and Multilingualism in the Individual*, reference material is also provided in the form of two publications as well as reading material legally photocopied for your convenience and identified as Readings 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5.

The two publications are:

Baker, C. *Foundations of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters, 2017 (6th edition).

Beatsen Beardsmore, H. *Bilingualism: Basic Principles*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1986 (2nd edition).

Readings 1-5 are:

1. Chin, N. B. & Wigglesworth, G. *Bilingualism: an advanced resource book*. London: Routledge, 2007.
2. Abudarham, S. *Bilingualism and the Bilingual – An interdisciplinary approach to Pedagogical and Remedial Issues*. London: NFER-Nelson, 1987.
3. Dodson, C.J. *The Effects of Second Language Education on First / Second Language Development*. In B.M. Jones & P. Ghuman (eds) *Bilingualism, Education and Identity*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1995.
4. Skutnabb-Kangas, T. *Bilingualism or Not: The Education of Minorities*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1981.
5. Sachdev, I. & Giles, H. Bilingual Accommodation. In T.K. Bhatia & W.C. Ritchie (eds) *The Handbook of Bilingualism*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2006.

You should always refer to these, either in order to find the information mentioned in the Guidance Booklet, or to enhance, deepen and improve your understanding of information already provided.

A Student Handbook provides you with details of all the modules being offered as part of the full MA course. Such details include the number of credits for each module, its content and academic outcomes, the methods of assessment as well as the weighting of each assessment component. At the end of each module there is also a book list. Distance-Learning students are advised to use this as additional bibliography since the Guidance Booklet also has a list of references which relate to publications mentioned in the booklet itself.

Should you wish to refer to any reading material which may prove difficult to obtain, you are welcome to inform me as the Programme Director. Although you should find that the study materials with which you are provided are adequate to meet the requirements of the assignment(s) set for a module, you are advised that the Guidance Booklet is what its name suggests, *guidance*, and all students should read around the area of study as much as possible

Study materials sent for each module will also include the assignment(s) set for assessment purposes as well as the *criteria* by which each assignment is assessed. Assessment criteria will include those which are generic in nature (and which will be common to all modules), as well as those which are more subject-specific and based on the *academic content of a particular module*. Each criterion will be assessed individually, recorded on an assessment sheet and, finally, combined into a single mark overall.

Each assignment is marked a second time internally by another academic and an agreement is usually reached on the mark to be awarded prior to being sent to an external examiner for a final assessment. The mark awarded internally remains provisional until confirmed by the external examiner in an examination board.

One hopes that the above will prove helpful in preparation for any assignment. Providing you with the assessment criteria in advance is meant to assist you in focusing on the pertinent issues.

Documents are also enclosed which provide further details and guidance with regard to various aspects such as administration, academic requirements and regulations, student services and support. Being distance-learning students, there are obvious and inevitable differences which you will experience in the delivery of the course compared with being on campus. However, it is emphasised that this need not be seen as an insular or lonely experience. Regular contact can be made by e-mail, telephone or Skype in order to alleviate or solve any possible problems. Essentially, the advice being given is that you need to contact your tutor whenever you need assistance and, for that reason, I as the Programme Director make myself readily available to answer any queries as they arise.

Once again, I wish you well with your studies and hope that you will find the academic experience to be enjoyable and rewarding as well as enlightening.

Dr Hywel Glyn Lewis

MA Bilingualism and Multilingualism Programme Director

Telephone: 0044-(0)1267-676680 / 0044-(0)1269842413

Mobile: 0044-(0)7944426320

E-mail: h.lewis@uwtsd.ac.uk
h.lewis@pcydd.ac.uk

ECDA-7012 Assessment**Coursework:** 100%**Assignment** (7,500 words)**For example:**

Analyse critically to what extent one can consider a balanced bilingual individual to be “a rare if not non-existent species.”

Students will be provided with details of the specific assignment at the start of the module. Although this will vary from one semester to another, the specified length of 7,500 words will apply until any further notice.

Module ECDA-7012: Bilingualism and Multilingualism in the Individual

Introduction

Language is a phenomenon which surrounds us all and from which it is virtually impossible to escape since communication is a life-long, practical necessity on which most of us continually depend in order to interact with fellow human-beings. To most people, therefore, language is essentially associated with *communication*, be it in spoken or written form, since communication is what most people use language for and without further thought usually being given to any possible extraneous implications. Communication, however, can operate on many different levels, even in social contexts where only one common language is in use. In contexts where more than one language is adopted or where more than one is available, that is, in bilingual or multilingual contexts, communication in terms of human interaction takes on many other facets and implications which may be social, societal, psychological, educational or political in nature.

As Sachdev & Giles (2006:354) maintain:

Bilingual communication is influenced not only by features of the immediate situation and participants' initial orientations to it, but also by the socio-historical context in which the interaction is embedded...Bilingual communication is not *only* a matter of exchanging referential information, but salient social category memberships are often negotiated during an interaction through the processes of accommodation.

Mackey (1967:11) states:

Bilingualism, far from being exceptional, is a problem which affects the majority of the world's population.

The use of the word 'problem' can be considered controversial as we shall see during this course. However, pure mathematics dictates that since it is estimated that there are between 5,000 and 7,000 languages in the world and less than 200 countries, most are at least bilingual or multilingual, a situation which often has inevitable *political* and *cultural* consequences. Many countries have innumerable languages being spoken amongst their populations, as we shall discover in Module ECDA-7011: Societal Bilingualism. As Edwards (1994:1) states, being bilingual is "a normal and unremarkable necessity for the majority of the world today".

Hoffman (1991:6) points to the fact that the field of study is multidisciplinary, since a "wide range of social sciences contribute towards our understanding of bilingualism: sociology, ethnology, anthropology, education, psychology and most branches of linguistics, including pragmatics."

Baetens Beardsmore (1986:41) who sees bilingualism as “a relative concept with no clear cut-off points also states:

One explanation for the difficulties in circumscribing the field of bilingualism is the multidisciplinary nature of the aspects involved...The various disciplines involved in analysing the phenomenon, be they linguistics, psychology, sociology or pedagogy, approach it from their own particular vantage point...the term bilingualism covers a diverse series of programmes...(1986:3)

This MA course is designed to investigate various issues surrounding the multiple facets of bilingualism and multilingualism and how they interact with each other, since compartmentalising such issues would be misleading and would underplay the possible effect of each facet on others.

However, to facilitate understanding, it is also necessary to focus on certain essential issues relating to each individual aspect before attempting to investigate any inter-connectedness. For example, whereas the study of bilingualism in the individual tends to concentrate mainly on linguistic and psycholinguistic aspects, societal bilingualism encompasses socio-linguistic, socio-cultural, political and educational issues etc.

In the first module, “Bilingualism and Multilingualism in the Individual” (ECDA-7012), therefore, we shall study bilingualism /multilingualism in *individuals* before proceeding to place the individual within a wider social context in the next module, “Societal Bilingualism” (ECDA-7011). However, the line separating the two is often very permeable, the connection being crystallized perhaps in Fishman’s (1965) question: Who speaks what language to whom and when? (Baetens Beardsmore,1986:5).

Terminology

A brief word regarding the use of terminology needs to be provided. A wide range of terminology is used in this field of study which, as will be seen, sometimes appears to be used synonymously although there may be certain differences however minor they may seem. Baker (2017: 20) for example, offers definitions to the following terms:

- **Language skills:** those skills which are ‘external’ in terms of observable performance, specifically with regard to the ability to read, write, speak and show understanding.
- **Language competence:** used in a more general and less specific sense in terms of ‘internal’ skills not always demonstrated or observed through external performance but, nevertheless, existing and related to some fundamental system, what Baker (2017:20) refers to as “an inner, mental representation of language, something latent rather than overt.”
- **Language performance:** the actual external, observable evidence of internal linguistic competence.

- **Language ability / Language proficiency:** often used ambiguously and as synonyms for the above but imply the combination of various processes, including the informal *acquisition* of language plus cognitive/intellectual ability. As Baker (2017:20) states: "For some, language ability is a general, latent disposition, a determinant of eventual language success. For others, it tends to be used as an outcome, similar but less specific than language skills, providing an indication of current language level."
- **Language achievement:** usually used to mean the *level* of ability or proficiency gained in a language, especially with regard to the outcome of formal instruction.

The literature has a plethora of terms relating to bilingualism with various authors having coined synonymous terminology relating to the same criterion, such as the stage at which bilingualism is acquired (e.g. infantile bilingualism or early bilingualism) or levels of proficiency (e.g. receptive bilingualism or passive bilingualism).

However, one can also come across some occasional inconsistency. For example, in Reading 1, Chin & Wigglesworth (2007:7) couple the term 'passive' synonymously with 'recessive' to describe "bilinguals who are gradually losing competence in one language, usually because of disuse." It is clearly advisable that, in the interests of ensuring greater specificity in adopting terminology for a highly complicated field of study, 'recessive' should perhaps be reserved to describe those individuals "who are gradually losing competence in one language, usually because of disuse", whereas 'receptive' should possibly be reserved to describe those (despite similar disuse) who are *not*.

Baetens Beardsmore (1986:16-17) also refers to Grosjean's (1982) adoption of the term 'dormant bilinguals' to describe individuals who are effectively in 'receptive' mode but whose productive skills could, under more conducive conditions, possibly be re-activated. As well as providing a lengthy discussion about 'semilingualism', reference is also made to Dorian's (1982) use of the terms 'low proficiency semi-speakers' and 'near-passive bilinguals' (pp.14-15) as well as Pohl's (1965) use of 'asymmetrical bilingualism' which Baetens Beardsmore recommends is retained to describe a "situation which at first sight may seem exceptional but in fact is not so rare" (pp.20-21).

Whereas one could not blame a student for seeing this as nothing more than an unnecessary attempt at 'splitting hairs', adopting terminology which covers all linguistic cases reflects the basic problem of trying to encompass a wide range of variables in the interaction between a continuum of linguistic *proficiency* (degree) on the one hand and *use* of language (function) on the other (see below). Such a range of permutations inevitably necessitates the adoption of more specific terminology. A further example of this is the way that Baetens Beardsmore (1986:21) *recommends* that Diebold's (1961) term 'incipient bilingualism' should be used. However, such an attempt at specificity has perhaps not always resulted in consistency of use.

Reading 2, places terminology relating to developmental aspects of second language acquisition or bilingualism within a typological framework which is further categorised under the following sub-headings:

- (i) timing of acquisition of the second language
- (ii) language development and acquisition contexts
- (iii) language proficiency (including relative proficiency in each language)
- (iv) use and frequency of use of each language

It should be noted that Readings 1 and 2 and Baetens Beardsmore (1986), for example, will introduce the student to a wide range of terminology relating to bilingualism which will enable him/ her to become accustomed to and describe a wide range of levels of proficiency and linguistic contexts. Some may have greater relevance to aspects which are studied in subsequent modules, including those dealing with societal bilingualism, cognitive aspects of bilingualism or language acquisition. Nevertheless, the Readings will provide a sound introduction to terminology relating to this wide field of study and to which students should gradually become acquainted. However, this comes with the caveat that the desire amongst academics to aim at more specific description of a wide range of variables (along with what seems to be a certain amount of academic and professional autonomy in coining terms) can sometimes result in inconsistency both in use and meaning (see Bilingual Development below).

For the sake of convenience, we shall use the term 'bilingual' for the time being to encompass aspects of both bilingualism and multilingualism, unless there is a reason for not doing so. We shall assume, therefore, that the term 'bilingual' will also apply to more than two languages unless specified otherwise. To quote Baetens Beardsmore (1986:3) again:

There is no evidence to suggest that the fundamental principles affecting language usage are any different whether two, three or more languages are being used by one and the same speaker, and the major question is whether they differ significantly from cases where only one language is being used.

Defining bilingualism

The definition of bilingualism which might reflect the most prevalent concept amongst the general public is probably that of Mackey (1957: 51) who defined bilingualism in the most nebulous terms:

We shall...consider bilingualism as the alternate use of two or more languages by the same individual.

or that of Weinreich (1953:5), who defined bilingualism as "the practice of alternately using two languages."

Despite the general over-simplified belief that bilingualism is simply about using two languages, the aim of this unit is to investigate the complexities and intricacies of the term as reflected also by the range of definitions which have been adopted by various academics over the years.

According to Baetens Beardsmore (1986:1):

Bilingualism as a concept has open-ended semantics.
Definitions are numerous and are continually being proffered
without any real sense of progress being felt as the list extends.

The term 'bilingual' has been defined in many ways across what may be considered a wide-ranging continuum of linguistic proficiency in two languages, but which can, nevertheless, be categorised as a dichotomy of what Baetens-Beardsmore (1986) has referred to as *minimal* and *maximal* definitions.

Maximal definitions

An often-quoted definition is that of Bloomfield (1933) who defined bilingualism as "the native-like control of two languages" but who also qualified this by adding:

Of course, one cannot define a degree of perfection at which
a good foreign speaker becomes a bilingual: the distinction
is relative.(1933: 55-56).

This "maximal" approach to defining bilingualism has been replicated by others, such as Oestreicher (1974:9) who, for example, states that bilingualism is '...complete mastery of two different languages without interference.'
Christopherson (1948: 4), likewise, defined it as a: "... person who knows two languages with approximately the same degree of perfection as unilingual speakers of those languages."

Minimal definitions

The "minimal" approach to defining bilingualism is perhaps best reflected in that of Haugen (1953:7) who states that "bilingualism is understood... to begin at the point when the speaker of one language can produce complete meaningful utterances in the other language". Again suggesting *minimal* levels of required competence, Diebold (1964) refers to 'incipient bilingualism' while MacNamara (1969:82) defines the bilingual individual as "a person who, for example, is an educated speaker of English and who can read a little French. This means that bilingualism is being treated as a continuum, or rather a series of continua, which vary among individuals along a variety of dimensions."

One can discern obvious issues related to such definitions on both extreme points of the continuum, evoking questions such as, what do 'complete mastery' and 'native-like control' actually mean? So-called 'native speakers' themselves do not provide a *norm* of expected language competence and, as we saw previously, Bloomfield himself observed that it is difficult to establish the degree of perfection it takes for a good foreign language speaker to become bilingual, stating that "the distinction is relative" (1933:56).

However, whether we are dealing with one, two or more languages, it is important in the first instance to consider exactly which *criteria* we adopt to assess linguistic competence. Such considerations lead us immediately to differentiate between two fundamental dimensions, namely:

- Ability or skills
- Use or context

Mackey (1962) refers to these dimensions respectively as:

- Degree
- Function

It is quite possible, of course, for a person to be more 'competent' in the use of a language which he/she never uses than another individual who uses it all the time, but with limited ability. This dichotomy (referred to by Baetens Beardsmore (1986:44) as the transformational-generative dichotomy) can, of course, apply equally to a range of competences or skills in other areas, such as the able composer who hardly composes any music as well as others who do not make use of their skills or talents, be they innate or developed. In terms of *assessing* proficiency, of course, this raises fundamental questions in relation to the issue of validity. Nevertheless, in *practical* terms of assessing language 'competence', we could theoretically place each of these dimensions on a continuum:

- Maximum levels of use with minimum levels of ability
- Minimum levels of use with "maximum" levels of ability

This would enable us further to place both dimensions on a separate axis in order to make comparisons and show how individuals vary across both axes. The practicalities involved, however, are so immense as to make the validity and dependability of such an exercise highly questionable, as we shall see by examining the variables involved when discussing the two dimensions in turn.

Degree/ Ability:

The ability to use a language encompasses a range of different skills. Generally, these are usually divided into two categories:

Oracy: the ability to speak and understand

Literacy: the ability to read and write.

However, each of these can be further divided into:

- Productive Skills: Speaking and Writing
- Receptive Skills: Listening and Reading

thus producing different categories:

Language skills		
	Oracy	Literacy
Receptive Skills	Listening/ Understanding	Reading
Productive skills	Speaking	Writing

Baetens Beardsmore (1986:19-20, Table 1) shows how different levels of proficiency across the four basic skills combine to create a wide range of possible permutations in linguistic ability *overall*.

An interesting consideration is whether or not thinking is a further skill, (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981), what Cummins (1984a) has referred to as “cognitive competence in language.” One can also argue, of course, whether or not a person actually *thinks* in a language or whether thinking is a non-language process. Does a new-born baby not think? Does subsequent language acquisition, therefore, affect the actual cognitive *process*?

Comparing the four basic skills across two languages can produce an array of competences and divergent levels, what Baker (2017:7) refers to as “skills within skills”, stating:

The four basic language abilities do not exist in black and white terms. Between black and white are not only many shades of grey; there also exist a wide range of colours.

A pupil may be able to understand spoken English and Welsh, speak English fluently but Welsh only haltingly, read in Welsh with a reading age of six and in English with a reading age of eight, write poorly in English and not at all in Welsh. Is that pupil bilingual? (Baker,1988:2)

Assessing linguistic competence with reference to only the four basic skills, therefore, oversimplifies the issue considerably. We can further apply *sub-dimensions* which are an integral part of the process. However, there is disagreement and debate regarding the type and number of sub-skills which relate to language proficiency. Whereas Oller & Perkins (1980) have argued that there is a global factor of language proficiency (Baker, 2011:12), Hernandez-Chavez et al. (1978) maintain that there are 64 components. Mackey (1968: 557), however, refers to the following:

- Vocabulary
- Grammar
- Meaning / Semantics
- Pronunciation / phonology
- Style

Placing the four basic skills and their sub-dimensions on a matrix allows us to compare levels of bilingual competence across two languages (i.e. the *respective* levels within languages A and B as shown by Mackey (1968)), thereby enabling us to show that there is no correlation necessarily between the sub-dimensions in one language and the other.

Sub-dimensions of language skills (Mackey, 1968)

Sub-dimensions	Skills			
	Listening	Reading	Speaking	Writing
Phonology				
A				
B				
Grammar				
A				
B				
Vocabulary				
A				
B				
Semantics				
A				
B				
Style				
A				
B				

In accordance with the definition provided by Macnamara (1969:82), therefore, such an analysis of skills reinforces the point that bilingualism should be seen as “a continuum, or rather a series of continua which vary among individuals along a variety of dimensions.”

Language abilities such as speaking and writing can, therefore, be further subdivided increasingly into microscopic parts. Romaine (1995:15), however, draws our attention to the fact that, even though in purely *linguistic* terms, tests enable bilingual proficiency to be assessed with a greater degree of precision, ‘this has been accomplished at the expense of the more qualitative differences in language proficiency which are harder to measure.’

In dealing with the *measurement* of bilingualism at a later stage, therefore, we shall see that more sophisticated models of assessing bilingualism have been adopted which incorporate additional aspects of bilingual proficiency, such as Communicative Competence. Such a development acknowledges the fact that effective communication encompasses not only purely *linguistic* factors but also sociolinguistic and socio-cultural components involved in language use and function.

Function / Use

Hoffmann (1991) states that insufficient regard is paid to *usage* in most descriptions of bilingualism which focus on the relative proficiency in each language. Oksa (1983:19) suggests the need to encompass *usage* as well as ability (that is, *function* as well as *degree*) as valid criteria, thus defining

bilingualism as “the ability of a person to use here and now two or more languages as a means of communication in most situations and to switch from one language to the other if necessary.” Mackey (1970:554) states that:

...bilingualism is not a phenomenon of language; it is a characteristic of its use. It is not a feature of the code but of the message.
It does not belong to the domain of *langue* but of *parole*.

This, therefore, raises issues of individuals’ language *usage* and the social contexts or *domains* for which different languages are adopted for communication purposes, what Baetens Beardsmore (1986: 8) refers to as “functional specialization”. Edwards (2006:8) states that “at least for the purpose of defining bilingualism in any generally applicable fashion - most modern treatments acknowledge that any meaningful discussion must be attempted within a specific context, and for specific purposes.”

In Reading 1 (pp.165-166), Cummins (2000) refers to an “interactionist perspective” on language ability:

Current theoretical approaches to the construct of language have shifted from viewing proficiency as a trait that individuals possess in varying degrees to seeing it as inseparable from the contexts in which it will be manifested. Thus, Bachman and Palmer (1996) use the term ‘ability-task’ to refer to the unit of ability and task (context) characteristics. Chapelle (1998: 44) similarly notes that a construct such as ‘vocabulary size’ “cannot be defined in an absolute sense but instead is a meaningful construct only with reference to a particular context.”

The term ‘domain’ was first used by Fishman (1972) to indicate how speakers differentiate their use of language functionally, referring to family, friendship, religion, education and employment as the main domains.

Baker (2017) shows that, in order to understand how languages are used, one must consider the social context in which they function since bilinguals will choose a language on the basis of the domain (context) and to whom they are speaking (targets). He also distinguishes between *functional bilingualism* and *language background*. Unlike the latter, which can include non-participative (by-stander) linguistic experiences as well as participative experiences, functional bilingualism involves the personal use of productive and receptive language skills and five components:

Who is the speaker?

Who is the listener?

What is the situation or context?

What is the topic of the conversation?

What is the purpose?

Fishman (1965) refers to the multiplicity of factors involved in the bilingual speaker’s use of language as “who will speak what language, when and to whom.” Often-quoted research by Fishman, Cooper & Ma (1971) illustrates this aspect

very clearly. The study showed how the use of Spanish and English were adopted for different domains amongst bilinguals in the Puerto Rican neighbourhood of Jersey City, New Jersey, including the home, school, church and working place. Whereas the language adopted at home and in church was predominantly Spanish with both languages being used at school, in work and other bureaucratic domains communication was English.

According to Grosjean (1982: 235), due to functional differentiation, “balanced bilinguals, those who are equally fluent in both languages, are probably the exception and not the norm. A bilingual develops the four basic skills in each language ... to the levels required by the environment, and it is rare that an identical level is needed for each skill.”

The effect of various variables on the individual's adoption of different languages for different contexts or domains can be seen, for example, with regard to the use of specialized terminology. The tendency, for instance, to adopt different languages (as opposed to *both* languages) for teaching different subjects in school (i.e. domains of learning) would generally lead to greater confidence and proficiency in one language more than the other. It is for this reason that Baetens Beardsmore (1986:7) draws our attention to the maximalist definition propounded by Halliday, McKintosh & Streven (1970) who use the term *ambilingualism* “to describe the person who is capable of functioning equally well in either of his languages in all domains of activity and without any traces of one language in his use of the other.” Baetens Beardsmore (1986:7) refers to such a ‘balanced bilingual’ as “*a rare if not non-existent species*” and questions how one can be a balanced bilingual across all functions without having led a double life “in which all of his activities in one language have been or could be replicated in the other.”

Baetens Beardsmore (1986) emphasises that *ambilingualism* should not be confused with *equilingualism*, despite possible points of similarity. Equilingualism, also referred to as *balanced bilingualism*, is used to describe levels of proficiency where both languages are considered to be roughly equal, and generally in broad terms match the levels of monoglot speakers of those languages. Nevertheless, compared with those monoglots, equilinguals would show signs of *interference* of one language on the other (see below). However, as Baetens Beardsmore (1986:9) suggests, “it might be...that monoglot terms of reference are irrelevant in the examination of the bilingual ability of an individual who functions equally well in two languages in a given society.” This should also be considered in the light of Grosjean's (1982) view that a bilingual is more than simply the combination of two monolinguals. Furthermore, whereas from a purely *linguistic* standpoint, the ambilingual (if at all he or she exists) is of no real investigative interest, the equilingual and the *non-fluent bilingual* (the latter being arguably representative of the majority of cases) “represents a more useful case for investigation in both sociological and linguistic terms.” (Baetens Beardsmore, 1986).

Fishman et al. (1971); state:

Bilinguals who are equally fluent in both languages (as measured by their facility and correctness overall) are rarely equally fluent in both languages about *all possible topics* ; this phenomenon is invariably a reflection of the fact that the societal allocation of

functions is normally imbalanced and in complimentary distribution rather than redundant.

The use of language within groups or society is an area of study which will be the focus of module ECDA-7011, including the topic of diglossia and the existence of 'high' and 'low' languages within a social context. Nevertheless, it should be appreciated that it is impossible to analyse the main factors which relate to individual bilingualism without considering the social or societal context in which individuals exist. Whereas such societal aspects will be elaborated upon in the next module, it should suffice for the time being to point out that individuals are often conditioned (or forced) to conform to external pressures to adopt one language rather than the other for certain purposes. Such a choice may reflect, for example, an individual's comparative weakness or strength in one language or the adoption of linguistic practices within society generally.

Skutnabb-Kangas (1981:30-31) indicates how it is likely that functional differentiation between languages in society would also ultimately result in attrition at the *individual* level: "since one would be able to use only one of the languages in certain domains, the ability to use the other language in those domains would decline, or perhaps never be 'fully acquired'."

Edwards (1994:102-3) argues that the use of both languages for a particular domain is ultimately unsustainable and compares the situation with what he refers to as 'Gresham's Law' where the existence of two useable currencies in the market will eventually give way to only one if it proves to be more profitable or beneficial to the user.

Fishman (1972) however, argues that any tendency amongst individuals to allocate language use to various domains, such as religious contexts for example, ensures or can assist the continuing vitality of those languages. He argues that it is unusual for bilinguals to be equally fluent in all domains of use and that they usually allocate different languages to different functions. Like Edwards (1994: 102-3), he maintains that any society using both languages with equal confidence in all domains would cease ultimately to be bilingual and that such 'balanced' bilingualism could lead eventually to the death of a language.

Either way, it is often the case that lack of use across all domains leads inevitably to a gradual weakening of language skills in other areas of activity as well as an increasing reduction in usage across *existing* domains, thus resulting in further attrition.

The above discussion reflects the complexity of the interaction of variables in the interface between individual and societal bilingualism and the influence and effect of each on the other. Baker (2017: 65) refers to 'additive' and 'subtractive' bilingual contexts. These are terms which Lambert (1974) originally adopted in relation to the *individual*, 'additive' being used in terms of the positive cognitive outcomes from being bilingual or the perception of being bilingual, whereas 'subtractive' bilingualism referred to negative effects. However, as will be examined in module ECDA-7011, both terms were later adopted by Landry, Allard & Th  berge (1991) in relation to a *societal* context and any positive or negative perceptions or attitudes towards bilingualism.

One can see the relevance of these concepts to *domains of language use* since existing domains are more susceptible to further attrition in any subtractive contexts of majority-minority languages, possibly resulting eventually in language death. In such contexts, individuals are often reluctant to pursue competence in *both* languages (especially the minority language) if they are not certain that there will be a need. Additive contexts, however, are more likely to be conducive to wider domains of language use, further accompanied by greater motivation amongst individuals to use both languages, thus maintaining bilingual proficiency.

Bilingual Development:

As in relation to describing levels of bilingual proficiency, terminology relating to bilingual *development* is sometimes used synonymously with more than one term being adopted for a certain aspect. However, two basic terms are widely acknowledged:

- Primary bilingualism
- Secondary bilingualism

Primary bilingualism means that dual competence is acquired at a relatively early age, whereas *secondary bilingualism* indicates that the second language has been acquired later, usually through some form of systematic instruction.

However, the two categories are not necessarily mutually exclusive. There could also be a *cultural* dimension to primary bilingualism.

Both terms are sometimes referred to alternatively as *circumstantial bilingualism* and *elective bilingualism* respectively, as by Skutnabb-Kangas (1981), and Adler (1977) refers to primary bilingualism as *ascribed bilingualism* and to secondary bilingualism as *achieved bilingualism*.

Baetens Beardsmore's (1986:28-29) further listing of terms may seem to reinforce the point made earlier about the possible confusion which can result from the profusion of terminology coined by various academics, emanating possibly from a desire to describe various situations more specifically, but whose professional autonomy can lead to inconsistency or duplication. Nevertheless, it will be seen that some distinguish bilingual development on the basis of *age of language acquisition*:

- Early bilingualism, meaning that both languages have been developed in the pre-adolescent stage and referred to by others as "infant bilingualism" (Haugen,1956)
- Late bilingualism where the individual becomes proficient in an additional language after the age of approximately 11.

The element of socialisation is a fundamental difference between the two and the fact that early language acquisition is a crucial necessity for an individual to understand his environment and to be understood.

The terms *simultaneous* and *successive* are also adopted in relation to bilingual development. McLaughlin (1984), describes the first as a context in which a child is exposed to more than one language from the outset before the age of 3, (this usually being associated with the idea of 'one person/parent-one language' (OPOL) where each parent speaks a different language to the child) and

successive bilingualism as applying to situations where the second language is added subsequently.

With relatively few exceptions, it is generally acknowledged that early bilingual acquisition has advantages over late bilingualism. Baetens Beardsmore (1986:32-35) tries to provide a balanced view of the debate surrounding both and the acquisition of another language.

It is also maintained that the following factors can affect the linguistic proficiency of individuals.

- age
- intelligence
- memory
- attitude
- motivation
- gender

Despite a common tendency perhaps to treat attitude and motivation as synonyms, it should be appreciated that the two can sometimes be very different. For example, having a dislike for a language (attitude) despite the need to acquire a level of proficiency in order to gain employment (motivation), or a liking unaccompanied by a desire to learn. This discussion, however, borders on the study of *language acquisition* which is a separate aspect of bilingualism.

Levels of Linguistic Competence

Various terms have been adopted in order to describe individuals who are accredited with having high levels of alleged 'equal' competence in two or more languages e.g. *balanced bilinguals / ambilinguals / equilinguals*, but, as previously suggested, there is confusion regarding which term should be used (Baetens Beardsmore, 1986).

We have already seen that the four basic language skills can be termed:

- Receptive (or Passive) Bilingualism (Listening and Reading)
- Productive (or Active) Bilingualism (Speaking and Writing).

The receptive and productive skills correlate and are two sides of the same coin in everyday usage. Unless one *deliberately* chooses not to exercise one's productive skills, however, the ability to use only receptive skills is normally seen as an indication of a lower level of linguistic proficiency. It is for this reason that the ability to exercise receptive skills only is referred to as *semibilingualism*. This, however, should not be confused with the term *semilingualism* or *double-semilingualism*.

Semilingualism

Semilingualism should not be confused with semibilingualism which Hockett (1958) coined to describe proficiency in *receptive* skills only.

Semilingualism is a term which was originally used to describe those who did not have competence in either language and which Hansegård (1975) defined as six linguistic weaknesses:

- size and breadth of vocabulary
- correctness
- automatism (unconscious language processing)

- neologization (language creation)
- emotive and cognitive control of language
- meanings and imagery

Rather than referring to the ability to use only receptive skills in a particular language therefore, semilingualism describes a state of *low proficiency in both languages* and an inability to use either 'competently'.

In 1927, Bloomfield described the bilingual language proficiency of a Red Indian tribesman as follows:

"White Thunder, a man around 40, speaks less English than Menomini, and that is a strong indictment, for his Menomini is atrocious. His vocabulary is small, his inflections are often barbarous, he constructs sentences of a few threadbare models. He may be said to speak no language tolerably." (Bloomfield, 1927: 437)

Semilingualism has since been seen as an issue with regard to minority-group speakers and compares with Hansegård's (1975) notion of *halvspråkighet* in relation to Finnish immigrant children living in Sweden whose limited Finnish-Swedish bilingualism is unfavourably compared with monoglot speakers of those languages in their respective countries. Baker (2017:10) however, refers to criticism of the use of the term and mentions five issues relating to a range of underlying factors, including those of a political and ideological nature. As Edwards (2006:10) states, the term semilingualism can, therefore, reflect deeper *sociolinguistic* aspects such as:

- majority and minority language groups
- domination and subordination
- oppression and victimisation

Baetens Beardsmore (1986:10-14) also discusses this linguistic phenomenon and its *political* connotations, pointing out that the debate in support of the notion is contradicted by the success of French-English bilingual immersion programmes in Canada, to which we can add the success of similar Welsh-English programmes in Wales. As a *linguistic* phenomenon, there have been later tendencies to dismiss the notion out of hand, as by Skutnabb-Kangas (1984: 248-49):

I do not consider semilingualism to be a linguistic or scientific concept at all. In my view it is a political concept.

and Martin-Jones (1989) who referred to it as "a half-baked theory of communicative competence."

Nevertheless, Baetens Beardsmore (1986:13) proposes that the term may have some "restricted usefulness" in describing individuals who, despite their inability to acquire a second language (L2) proficiency in a change of linguistic context, simultaneously lose command of their first language (L1) due to a lack of use in

social contact; a situation which is compared with T'Sou's (1981) description of the Chinese SWONAL.

This discussion of semilingualism has lead us to consider language as a powerful and influential phenomenon in *political* terms, an issue which we shall study in greater depth in the next module (ECDA-7011: Societal Bilingualism).

People, groups, communities and even nations are often judged socially and educationally by their use of language. For example, one can consider the power of phonology or accent in the use of language and how one can be labelled accordingly in social terms, even though it may not necessarily reflect the level of one's linguistic proficiency or intellectual ability. In terms of aspects such as political domination and subordination, therefore, language is an extremely powerful political tool.

BICS and CALP

In discussing levels of linguistic competence, Cummins (1984b) distinguished between what he referred to as:

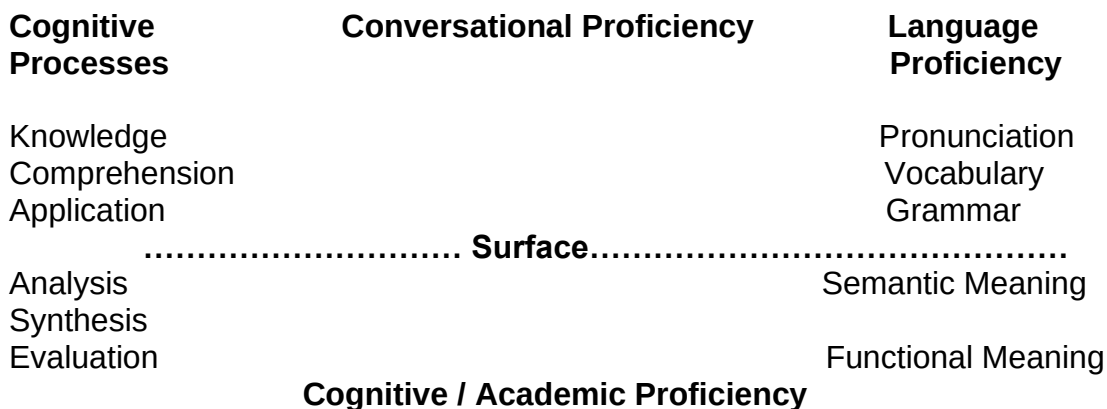
- Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills (BICS) and
- Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP)

These are terms which he later changed to Conversational Language Proficiency and Academic Language Proficiency respectively. This differentiation in levels of language competence may be said to relate also to what Skutnabb-Kangas & Toukomaa (1976) referred to earlier as:

- Surface fluency and
- Academically related aspects of language competence

Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills are those which are used at a more cognitively superficial level, as in ordinary everyday conversation, whereas Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency is required for situations such as academic study. Baker (2008: 175) illustrates the differences as in Figure 1:

Figure 1:



Cummins' (1984b) distinction between BICS and CALP therefore helps us to distinguish between conversational fluency and academic language competence. Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills are linguistic skills related to common

“everyday” contexts which can be assessed on the basis of vocabulary and correct syntax etc. Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency Skills are those which are related to linguistic aspects in intelligence tests and involve the ability to analyse and synthesise information for example.

This distinction between levels of language proficiency has a particular relevance in the education of children. Based on their levels of apparent BICS fluency, children often appear to be sufficiently proficient to be educated through the medium of their second language. However, the blame for any *initial* inability, weakness or failure shown by such individuals is often apportioned to bilingual education itself, seemingly reflecting a historical perception and allegation that it has a tendency to cause mental confusion. Such a situation is also reflected in the results of educational research. For example:

1. Minority-language students underachieving academically after being transferred to mainstream lessons despite appearing to be capable on the basis of perceived ‘fluency’ in their second language.
2. Some pupils in Canadian French-immersion education appearing to be behind their first-language contemporaries for a short while until their ability to deal with cognitively demanding issues allows them to catch up.

However, research in Canada, the USA and Europe shows that, where minority-language pupils are allowed to partly use their first language for their early education, no retardation is found in academic progress nor in the development of the majority language (L2). After developing cognitive skills in their first language, these are transferred to their second language also, thus reflecting the Developmental Interdependence Hypothesis (Cummins, 2000) (see Baker, 2017: 160) to which we shall refer again in module ECDA-7004: Cognitive Aspects of Bilingualism.

Baker (1993:138) gives an example of the difference between BICS and CALP which may explain the failure of some children from minority-language backgrounds within a majority-language education system when their linguistic skills at the level of CALP are not sufficiently developed to cope with the demands of the curriculum.

“You have 20 dollars. You have 6 dollars more than me. How many dollars do I have?”

At the CALP level, the child would correctly subtract. However, at the insufficiently developed BICS level, he/she might misinterpret the word ‘more’ by eliminating the word ‘than’ and then add-up, thus giving 26 as an incorrect answer. In relation to French immersion education, Hammerly (1989:29) states:

listeners to a second language interpret what they hear on the basis of the language or languages they know, eliminating what seems redundant, such as certain endings, little unstressed words like articles and prepositions and so forth, even though they are important in the second language.

As Baker (2011:172) states:

Cummins' (1984) distinction between BICS and CALP explains why such children tend to fail when mainstreamed. Their cognitive academic language proficiency is not developed enough to cope with the demands of the curriculum. What Cummins regards as essential in the bilingual education of children is that the 'common underlying proficiency' be well developed. That is, a child's language-cognitive abilities need to be sufficiently well developed to cope with the curriculum processes of the classroom.

Baker (2017:164) draws attention to the fact that this concept of bilingual development has been criticised. Romaine (1995) argues that it is too simplistic and difficult to test empirically. However, with regard to the contention of Hamers & Blanc (2000:99) that it does not address the issue of *simultaneous* bilingualism, it may well be that it was not intended to do so and that the concept is primarily useful in describing the consecutive development of the L2 in what Chin & Wigglesworth (2007) (Reading 1) refer to as 'elective' bilingualism.

Cummins (2000) (included in Reading 1) shows that linked also to our understanding of language proficiency (as well as to aspects of teaching methodology) is the issue of whether or not a child's language competence is *context-embedded* or *context-reduced*.

Context-embedded proficiency is where communication and understanding are facilitated by contextual support, including the use of body language e.g. use of the hands, eyes, signs, inflection of the voice. In a classroom teaching situation this could also involve the use of audio-visual aids or artefacts.

Context-reduced proficiency, illustrating higher-order language skills, is where communication and understanding are not dependent on external or physical support or signals and where there is, for example, a need to analyse, synthesise, hypothesise and evaluate.

These dimensions, therefore, can be directly correlated to BICS and CALP (referred to in Figure B2.3.1 in Reading 1 and Figure 2 below as Cognitively Undemanding Communication and Cognitively Demanding Communication respectively) by placing each dimension on a continuum and on a different axis, thus creating four quadrants of language use:

- 1st Quadrant: Context-Embedded Cognitively Undemanding Communication
- 2nd Quadrant: Context-Reduced Cognitively Undemanding Communication
- 3rd Quadrant: Context-Embedded Cognitively Demanding Communication
- 4th Quadrant: Context-Reduced Cognitively Demanding Communication

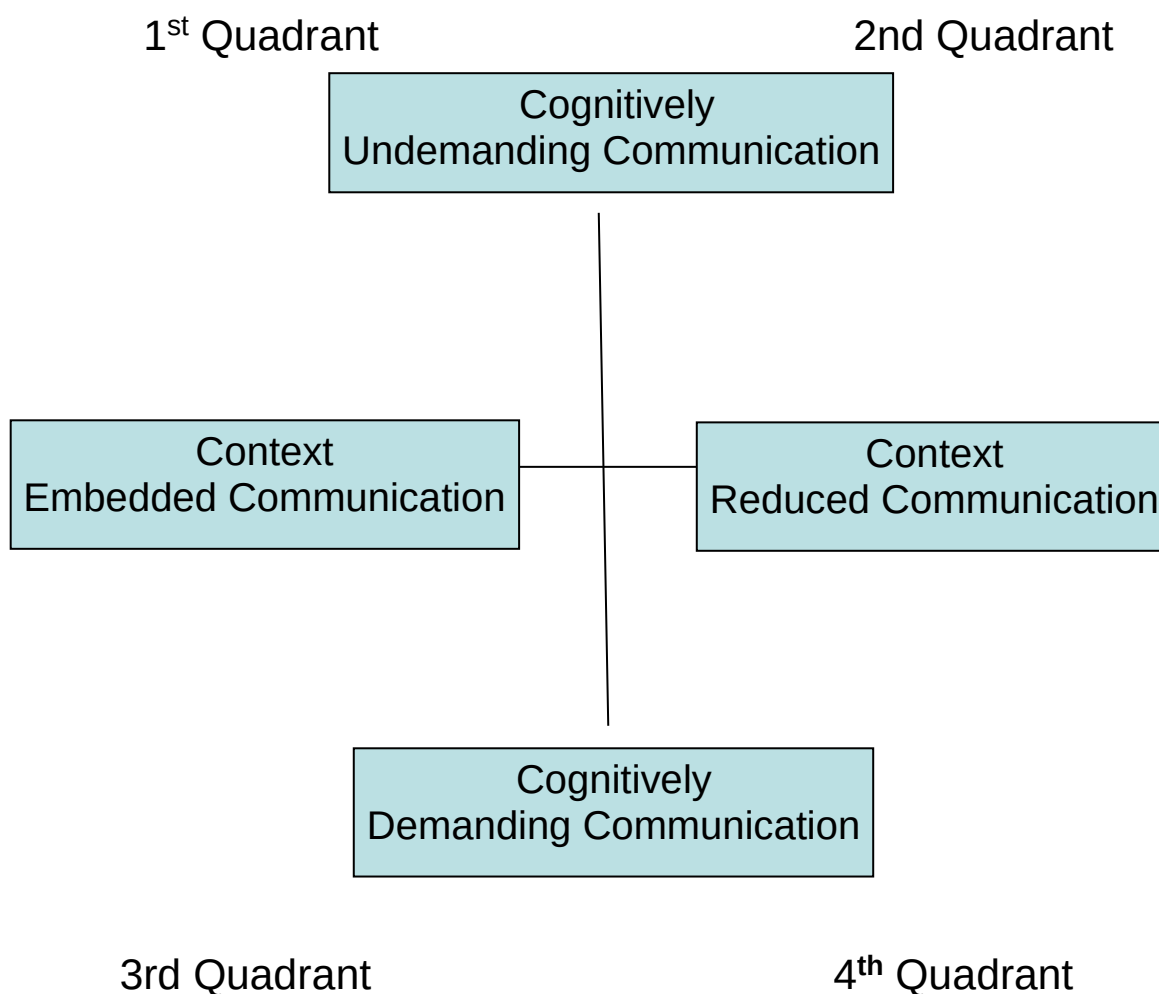


Figure 2 (Adapted from Cummins, 1981)

As Cummins (2000) states (Reading 1: 165):

While cognitive demands and contextual support are distinguished in the framework, it is not being suggested that these dimensions are independent of each other. In fact, as Frederickson and Cline (1990) point out, increasing contextual support will tend to lessen the cognitive demands- in other words, make tasks easier.

An attempt to place the four quadrants on one continuum would demonstrate the complexity of language development and proficiency *within* the two extreme points. Most would agree that the lowest level of proficiency would be demonstrated in the 1st Quadrant where the language would be cognitively undemanding (BICS) and where the communication process would be assisted by external support signals i.e. context-embedded.

Similarly, the 4th Quadrant would indicate high levels of proficiency with cognitively demanding language as well as the absence of any external support signals i.e. context-reduced. However, in terms of language development, *within* those two extreme points of the continuum, in which order would we place the 2nd and 3rd

quadrants? The continuum would demonstrate, for example, that cognitively demanding language can be assisted by being context-embedded in the same way that cognitively undemanding language can also afford to be context-reduced on occasions. In a very simple way, therefore, this demonstrates that language development does not necessarily happen in a *linear* fashion, and that there can be many variables at work in the process.

The above, obviously, relates to the development of an *individual* language. The simultaneous or consecutive development of a second language obviously demands further discussion. However, Cummins (1981) believes that second language (L2) competence in Quadrant 1 (surface fluency) can develop independently of the mother tongue (L1) surface fluency, whereas Quadrant 4 competence develops interdependently and can be promoted through the medium of one language or the other, or both interactively.

Reading 1 also makes reference to the ethnographic research carried out by Vincent (1996) in relation to second generation Salvadorean children in Washington who points to the deceptiveness of fluency at the level of only conversational proficiency (BICS). It also refers to an extract from Gibbons (1991:3) who, using the vernacular terminology 'playground language' and 'class room language', gives a clear concrete explanation of the difference in the use of the two levels of language within the school context.

As Gibbons (1995) (cited in Cummins, 2000) and Baker (2011: 175) show, the framework also has a particular relevance not only to the assessment of learning but also to the *methodology* adopted in teaching and the pedagogical process of '*scaffolding*' (Gibbons, 2002).

Cummins (1976) has also developed a theory of language development which is referred to as the *Threshold Theory* (see Baker, 2017: 159). This is a theoretical framework which couples proficiency levels with cognitive development and the possible advantages and disadvantages of different levels of bilingual competence in relation to academic success. Although this will be discussed in a later module (ECDA-7004) due to its relevance to cognitive aspects of bilingualism, it would also be useful to mention it briefly with regard to the present discussion.

The Threshold Theory incorporates the assessment of proficiency in both *absolute* and *relative* terms, that is, as an assessment of competence in each language in relation to monolingual speakers, and competence in both languages in relation to each other. Bilingual proficiency is referred to on three levels:

- limited bilingualism, where there is a lack of age-appropriate skills in *both* languages
- partial bilingualism, where there is age-appropriate linguistic development in *one* of the two
- proficient bilingualism, where there is age-appropriate proficiency in *both* languages

The main thrust of Cummins' (1976) theory is that limited bilingualism has negative cognitive effects in the classroom context, whereas proficient bilingualism leads to positive cognitive effects. Partial bilingualism, however,

Cummins maintains has neutral consequences, that is, neither negative nor positive effects. Bialystok (2001), however, states that some research (Bialystok, 1988), (Cromdal, 1999) has also reported positive cognitive effects for partial bilinguals and that Hakuta & Diaz (1985) show that the greatest cognitive benefit can come at an early stage of bilingualism when the gap between the two languages is greatest.

The above discussion illustrates the very fine line which exists in this field of study between the *measurement of levels* of bilingual proficiency on the one hand and *the cognitive effects of those levels* of proficiency on the other. As previously stated, whereas the study of the effects of bilingualism on cognition will be reserved for a later module, with regard to the parameter of the present module and in terms of measuring *levels* of proficiency, Cummins' (1979) theory (which he emphasizes is intended for application in the educational context only) is summarised in Reading 1 by Chin & Wigglesworth (2007:164):

Cummins argues that when children begin to attend a school system where the language of education is other than their first language, they will often develop conversational language proficiency relatively quickly. However, academic language proficiency takes much longer to acquire.

Characteristics of bilingual language use

As previously mentioned, Baetens Beardsmore (1986:9) argues that, whereas from a purely *linguistic* standpoint the ambilingual as defined by Halliday, McKintosh & Streven (1970) (if at all he or she exists) is of no real investigative interest, the equilingual and the *non-fluent bilingual* (the latter being arguably representative of the majority of cases) "represents a more useful case for investigation in both sociological and linguistic terms." This is due to the fact that we can investigate linguistic phenomena which distinguish the speech of the vast majority of bilinguals from that of respective monoglot speakers of those languages.

Interlanguage

Interlanguage is one aspect of bilingualism which can make the speech of the bilingual speaker different from that of the monolingual. This is a field of study which tends to be associated with second language acquisition and, according to Jones(1997), has its theoretical roots in a paper published by Corder (1967), "The significance of learners' errors," where it is argued that there is a correlation between the process of first and second language acquisition.

Corder (1967) argues that 'mistakes' characteristic of second language acquisition reflect the same process as those which are integral to the process of first language acquisition, that is, the speaker's efforts to communicate and to 'experiment' with language, and that such 'mistakes' should be treated in the same way.

...the key concepts in both cases is that the learner is using a definite system of language at every point in his development, although it is not the adult system in the one case, nor that of the second language in the other. (Corder,1967:166, quoted in Jones, 1997).

Nemser (1971:116) likewise refers to second language acquisition as a series of “approximative systems” which change in the process of moving towards that of the target language:

An approximative system is the deviant linguistic system actually employed by the learner attempting to utilize the target language.

The essential point here is that such a system being adopted by the second language speaker/ learner is *independent of that of both the first and the second language*.

The term “interlanguage” was adopted by Selinker (1972) which, as Jones (1997) points out, corresponds to Nemser’s (1971) “approximative system” and what Corder (1971) refers to as “idiosyncratic dialect”.

Jones (1997), therefore, states that the theory of interlanguage maintains four things:

1. that the expressions of second language learners are different from those of native speakers
2. that they are not a direct translation of the speaker’s first language
3. that they differ in a systematic way from the target language
4. that they are not produced accidentally.

Selinker (1972) refers to 5 components of interlanguage in the learner’s speech:

1. transmission of language
2. transmission of instruction
3. strategies of second language learning
4. strategies of second language communication
5. overgeneralization of the target language material

1. Transmission of language

This refers to traces of the speaker’s first language found in his / her second language (or languages). These can appear in various guises including phonology and grammar (see Interference).

2. Transmission of instruction

This reflects elements of instruction in the process of learning the second language as in the tendency to adopt certain dialectal expressions, for example, which are not, strictly speaking, in keeping with the kind of language being targeted. Courses to teach Welsh to adults sometimes adopt dialectal forms which are not widely used and which are not, therefore ‘appropriate’ in all Welsh-speaking locations.

3. Strategies of second language learning

Simplification may be considered as an illustration of this, such as when learners adopt simplified versions of grammatical aspects, for example, in order to overcome or to avoid difficulties or irregularities in the targeted language. Some examples may also reflect what was referred to above as Transmission of Instruction where a tutor has advised learners to adopt less commonly used alternative expressions as when suggesting, for example, “People will still understand you if you say...” e.g. learners of Welsh are sometimes advised to use the simpler form of the preterite past tense by using a periphrastic form rather than the slightly more ‘problematic’ short form of the verb.

4. Strategies of second language communication

Simplification may also be considered as a strategy to facilitate *communication* in the second language by improving fluency of delivery without having to pay too much attention to correctness and the rules of grammar. Although not strictly ‘incorrect’, some would argue that the previous example mentioned above would also be an example of this kind of strategy.

5. Overgeneralization

This may be described as the application of general grammatical rules to irregular grammatical features. Adding an “s” to “tooth” and “sheep” to create the plural forms (as with other regular plural nouns in English) would be seen as an example of this. Although (as Jones (1997) points out) Richards (1976) sees this also as a form of simplification at times, Selinker (1972) considers it to be a separate process.

Despite being applied initially to second language acquisition in *adults*, Selinker, Swain and Dumas (1975) applied the concept of interlanguage to language acquisition amongst English-speaking children in French immersion education in Canada. They highlighted four characteristics in their language:

1. some errors continued over a long time
2. those using interlanguage understood each other
3. mistakes reappeared despite the belief that they had disappeared
4. a definite system underpinned the interlanguage at times, namely, transfer, overgeneralization and simplification.

Jones (1997) refers to some of the ‘errors’ which Selinker, Swain & Dumas (1975) illustrate in the context of immersion education. For example, language transmission: “Il est trois ans” (He is three years old), the correct idiomatic form in French being “Il a trois ans” (literally “He *has* three years”).

Overgeneralization is illustrated by “une maison nouvelle” (a new house) where the general rule that adjectives follow the noun in French is also applied to an exception.

Jones (1997) also refers to examples of language transfer, overgeneralization and simplification found in her own research in a Welsh language immersion context, mentioning such things as incorrect syntax derived from English being adopted for the genitive case in Welsh.

The Welsh language currently shows clear evidence of the traits of interlanguage noted above. For example, strategies of language learning and communication appear in the tendency to adopt periphrastic rather than short forms of verbs in the future tense as well as in the conditional and the preterite past tense. Despite reflecting a limited amount of dialectical usage, this enables learners to avoid the need to apply different verbal endings.

Baetens-Beardsmore (1986:129) considers Selinker's (1972) theory of interlanguage to be beneficial in terms of encompassing the fluent bilingual speaker and the learner within the same framework, and explaining the range and degrees of individual bilingual development.

The attractive element in Selinker's argument is that it draws a link between the highly accomplished early bilingual and the non-fluent bilingual in terms of common reference...The interlanguage theory also explains the great range and variety of abilities encountered in different degrees of bilingualism, since the component factors which determine them will vary from case to case.
(Baetens-Beardsmore,1986:129)

Such a standpoint implies interlanguage as being a continually changing and developmental process in language acquisition along a continuum of gradual improvement. However, another linguistic concept which offers a different perspective on interlanguage is that of *fossilized interlanguage* or (FI).

Fossilized Interlanguage

In Reader 3, Dodson (1995:109) describes fossilized interlanguage (FI) as a point in L2 progress when "errors, even basic grammatical errors, made by L2 learners during communicative L2 acquisition become 'frozen' or fossilized and are almost impossible to eradicate once established." In accordance with our earlier discussion of interlanguage, he continues:

FI can be characterized as a simplified form of the target language where pupils' use of vocabulary is limited, redundant language features are ignored and many grammatical devices such as gender, number, tense, mutations, articles etc are avoided, eliminated or used wrongly, whilst at the same time a great deal of transfer from pupils' mother-tongue causes interference.
(Dodson,1995:109).

The continuous misuse of language or use of language 'variation' amongst a large number of speakers, therefore, can lead to fossilisation and, ultimately, to a new kind of language which becomes difficult to eradicate and can include lexical, grammatical and syntactical interference. This is not a matter of fluency, but rather being fluent speakers of incorrect language.

Despite a tendency to associate interlanguage with immersion education i.e. early years education, and as a passing phase in language development, nevertheless, there seem to be circumstances under which further 'development'

seems to slow down, resulting in the fossilization of incorrect linguistic traits. Such circumstances include a lack of social contact between L2 speakers and the native population which speaks the target language. For example, it is a well-known fact that the current revival in the number of Welsh language speakers is largely due to the significant and increasing numbers of children from non-Welsh-speaking homes who attend Welsh-medium schools in non-Welsh-speaking parts of Wales.

However, as Dodson (1995:109 -110) states:

FI is by now a well-known phenomenon, although in countries where L2 (second-language) immersion education is found, the authorities have in the past tended to underplay its effects, while teachers themselves are often only too glad that their pupils are saying anything at all.

As this quote suggests, another factor which seems to account for FI is teaching methodology and the tendency to encourage 'fluency' at the expense of correctness:

...when pupils begin to speak in their second language in the classroom, the teacher is so often glad that the target language is being used, that any faulty language produced will not be corrected. This, of course, is a signal for the pupils concerned that they have made themselves understood and, as no correction was made, that the utterance spoken was linguistically correct. (Dodson,1995:121)

The development of FI in L2 immersion education is ultimately due to the fact that the mother tongue of the pupils is avoided in the teaching of the second language....based on the pedagogue principle that the learning of a second language should imitate as closely as possible the learning of one's first. (Dodson, 1995:117)

However, in terms of the process of *language acquisition*, we are reminded of Hammerly's (1989 :29) observation, which was *partly* quoted previously:

Listeners to a second language interpret what they hear on the basis of the language or languages they know, eliminating what seems redundant, such as certain endings, little unstressed words like articles prepositions and so forth, even though they are important in the second language. *Of course, the listener as listener cannot be corrected by anyone, so, without saying a word, faulty second language structures are internalised.* (emphasis added)

Discussion of bilingual education methodology is reserved for a later module, namely ECDA-7005. However, it is relevant to the present discussion to note that in Reader 3 Dodson (1995:117) distinguishes between *medium-orientated activities* and *message-orientated activities* in the process of language acquisition, alleging that message-orientated strategies in the classroom sometimes take

precedence over medium-orientated strategies; simply stated, that communication of what you *mean* is more important than *how you say it*.

It is for this reason that researchers of French immersion programmes draw attention to the stagnation of linguistic development amongst learners after having reached a stage of being able to make themselves understood in the L2. As Baetens Beardsmore (1986: 128-129) states:

Their communicative needs in the classroom are orientated towards the conveyance of cognitive meaning...there is no strong social incentive to develop further towards native-speaker forms.

As previously suggested, due to fossilization, interlanguage can be prevalent at stages later than immersion education. Studies were made by Pellerin & Hammerly (1984) of 18 year old pupils in Vancouver who had received French-immersion education from the age of 5. In unstructured interviews based on very familiar topics, they found an average of 53.8% incorrect sentences (ranging individually from 40.3% to 72.4%) counting grammar and vocabulary only.

Hammerly (1989:18) makes the following observation:

...although the students managed to communicate nearly all of their ideas, they did so in Frenglish, not French. Frenglish is not a language nor a dialect but an embarrassment. A 6 year-old may sound cute coping with communication needs in very faulty French, but would you say the same of a 30 or 40 year old?

Referring back to the productive skills which were mentioned earlier, there are, of course, further complications when we examine interlanguage in terms of literacy as opposed to oracy. Dodson (1995:111) makes the following observation:

Poor receptive and productive skills at the aural/oral level will be compounded at the written level, since inaccuracies which might pass unnoticed in speech become glaring, and worse still, virtually ineradicable when they appear in writing. Less easy to detect, and hence to correct, is any inaccuracy in the pupils' reading comprehension; yet this will affect their ability to study across the whole curriculum.

Two “schools” of thought

It seems evident from previous discussion that there exists a certain amount of debate and disagreement surrounding the phenomenon of interlanguage.

B. Morris Jones (1988) and Thomas (1991), for example, argue that these are not 'mistakes' as such since they are based on systematic 'rules' in their usage.

There is also disagreement with regard to the amount of first language interference on second language acquisition. As mentioned previously, Corder (1967) argues that 'mistakes' characteristic of second language acquisition reflect the same process as first language acquisition and should be treated in the same way. This

view is seemingly supported by Dulay & Burt (1973) who argue that most inaccuracies connected with L2 interlanguage are developmental rather than derived from L1 i.e. are similar to inaccuracies in children's speech in the normal acquisition of L1. This view is further supported by Dulay, Burt & Krashen (1982):

Studies show, for example, that only 5% of the grammatical errors children make and at most 20% of the ones adults make can be traced to crossover from the first language. Learners' first languages are no longer believed to interfere with their attempts to acquire second language grammar, and language teachers no longer need to create special grammar lessons for students from each language background.

However, as we saw earlier, Hammerly (1989:29) presents a contrary view in maintaining that "listeners to a second language interpret what they hear *on the basis of the language or languages they know.*"

We can see from previous discussion, for example, that Nemser's (1971) view of second language acquisition as a series of "approximative systems" which change in the process of moving towards that of the target language is at variance with the idea of fossilization (i.e. *stagnation* rather than change along a linguistic continuum).

As previously stated, further issues surrounding interlanguage and fossilized interlanguage impinge also on areas of language acquisition as well as teaching methodology which are the concern of later modules in this programme. Such issues will, therefore, be addressed in due course.

Language interaction

Is it valid to compare a bilingual's level of competence in a specific language with that of a native monolingual speaker? As suggested above, the interaction of innumerable linguistic, social and political variables which are part and parcel of social communication and domains has an inevitable effect on the linguistic practices of individuals, such as the way one language affects the other, namely *interference* and *alternation*.

In reference to what is called *contrastive analysis*, that is, the comparison of languages to analyze the differences between them, Baetens Beardsmore (1986:86) states that, in a bilingual's speech, there is no consistent correlation necessarily between the *degree* of difference between two linguistic *systems* and any interference or deviation from monoglot norms. However, Hoffman (1991:94) refers to attributes which can characterize the bilinguals' speech:

...when listening to bilinguals talking to each other, we can notice certain features which are absent from monolingual speech, such as a 'foreign accent', the incorporation (wholesale or in adapted form) of words or expressions from the other language, and sudden switches from one code to another, the latter perhaps occurring more than once within the same utterance.

Fundamental differences between the language of monoglot speakers and most bilingual speakers include:

- Interference
- Code-switching
- Code-mixing
- Borrowing

Perhaps the student should be advised from the outset that there is some degree of academic discussion, not to mention disagreement, regarding what constitutes some of the terminology which is used in this area of linguistic study and this is clearly reflected in Baetens Beardsmore's (1986) discussion.

Baker (2008) states that it is not that simple to differentiate between code-switching, code-mixing and language borrowing as they form a continuum and, according to Eastman (1992:1), "efforts to distinguish code-switching, code-mixing and borrowing are doomed."

However, despite any academic disagreement, it is necessary to continue investigating linguistic phenomena by which the speech of bilinguals can be distinguished from that of monoglots. With a view to introducing the student to additional terminology relevant to this topic, we should mention that the *source* of any borrowing which appears in a bilingual's language is referred to as the *source* or *donor language* and the language in which the borrowing is incorporated is known as the *recipient language*.

Interference

Baetens Beardsmore (1986:70) states:

It can often be seen when examining interference that the greater the points of similarity between two discrete language systems the greater the likelihood of interference.

Mackey (1968:569) provides us with a simple definition:

Interference is the use of features belonging to one language while speaking or writing another.

According to Romaine (1995:51), "what has been called 'interference' is ultimately a product of the bilingual individual's use of more than one language in everyday interaction."

Weinreich (1953:1) defines interference as:

...those instances of deviation from the norms of either language which occur in the speech of bilinguals as a result of their familiarity with more than one language i.e. as a result of language contact.

This is, arguably, akin to Mackey's (1968) definition, although Jones (1997) contentiously interprets the use of the word 'deviation' as a negative connotation.

The term 'interference' has been, historically, and is still often perceived as a negative linguistic phenomenon, suggesting that there is a problem with a bilingual's speech (Baker, 2006). For example, in Oestreicher's (1974:9) description of bilingualism as "complete mastery of two different languages *without interference*" (italics added), the term implies a deficit.

Grosjean (1982: 299) refers to interference as "the *involuntary* influence of one language on the other", which again suggests a more negative definition than that of Weinreich (1953), "involuntary" implying that it is not intended to happen. In comparing code-switching and interference (see below), Baetens Beardsmore (1986:75) implies the *involuntary* nature of the latter by emphasising the element of *deliberation* attached to the former and provides examples of code-switching "operating as a fairly conscious device."

...it would seem that interference is determined by internal linguistic factors, whereas code-switching is determined by extra-linguistic factors. Bilingual speakers with more than one language at their disposal may *choose* to use the whole repertoire of linguistic elements available, where the monoglot might interpret the inclusion of elements extraneous to one of the languages as manifestations of interference.

Since interference is acknowledged to be a norm when bilingual people interact with each other, should we accept more neutral definitions?

Sharwood-Smith and Kellerman (1986:1) suggest that the more neutral term 'cross-linguistic influence' should be used when one language influences another, whereas Edwards (2006) states: "Some writers have...opted for the more neutral term *transference* which implies, among other things, a greater element of volition."

Baetens Beardsmore (1986:44-46) in distinguishing between the linguistic behaviour of the bilingual and the monoglot, however, emphasizes the importance of *communicative competence* and the need to consider "not only the knowledge possessed by the user of the formal code of a particular language or languages but also the social implications of choice within and across the languages involved." Therefore, whereas interference was originally seen in the narrowest of terms, as reflected in Mackey's (1968) definition for example, Baetens Beardsmore (1986:45) argues that:

...the notion of communicative competence...has widened the scope of enquiry beyond the purely formal linguistic elements to include other features of linguistic behaviour which can possibly distinguish a bilingual from a monoglot. Thus it is doubtful whether every departure from the monoglot norm by the introduction of elements extraneous to given language should be seen as interference.

Widening the notion of interference to include social use of language and aspects other than those which are purely *linguistic* also enables a valid investigation of what Baetens Beardsmore (1986:46) calls *negative interference*, that is, the

omission of elements in the bilingual's speech but which *would* be included in that of the native monoglot speaker. The avoidance of the *passé simple* in French is offered as an example, to which we could add the avoidance of short forms of verbs in the preterite tense in Welsh in favour of periphrastic alternatives.

Aspects of Interference

Despite arguments *against* treating every deviation from monoglot norms as interference in the bilingual's speech by giving due consideration to more strategic aspects of communicative competence, nevertheless, it is also important to discuss those *linguistic* features which have historically been identified with interference. Interference from one language to another comes in different forms:

- Phonological: a 'non-native' accent
- Lexical: e.g. nouns, adjectives
- Grammatical: e.g. syntactical characteristics
- Prosodic: differences in stress and intonation between languages

Phonological Interference

Weinreich (1953:24) states that interference is most prevalent in terms of phonology:

...it requires a relatively high degree of cultural sophistication in both languages for a speaker to afford the structural luxury of maintaining separate subphonemic habits in each.

When someone speaks a language with a foreign accent there is interference at the level of pronunciation. Although phonological interference occurs at various levels, Romaine (1995) states that it is often thought to be the most pervasive.

However, as Baetens Beardsmore (1986:71) points out, phonology is perhaps "the most difficult area of all for the avoidance of interference...though often the child or early bilingual has no problems here."

Elaborating on this last point, Baetens Beardsmore refers to "standard theory on language acquisition as developed by Lenneberg (1967) which posits a critical age of approximately 11 + for the development of language ability, be it in monoglots or bilinguals." This is referred to by other academics (Asher & Garcia, 1982) as the *sensitive* period for the acquisition of an interference-free phonological system in young bilinguals. Evidence from experiments seems to show that children who achieve early bilingualism (that is, before approximately 11 years of age) develop native-like phonological systems in both languages, whereas late bilinguals fail to develop separate systems after the age of puberty despite continuing usage of the second language. The resulting interference is caused by the reduced level of 'plasticity' in the area of the brain which processes phonological aspects of language acquisition, thus causing L2 sounds to be fused with L1. Baetens Beardsmore (1986:71-73), based on the work of Weinreich (1953), refers to four types of phonological interference:

- under-differentiation
- over- differentiation
- re-interpretation
- phone substitution

and provides an account of each which the student is invited to investigate further. However, since this module is not a course on pure linguistics, the above will suffice in illustrating one aspect which can distinguish the speech of some bilinguals from that of monoglot speakers.

Phonological interference, arguably, raises wider political and socio-cultural issues in addition to those related directly to pure linguistic aspects. Simply put, with which monoglot norm does one measure phonological interference? What are the criteria by which we make a comparison? Bearing in mind that English is increasingly a global language, does an American or an Australian accent constitute phonological interference, or for that matter, most accents heard in Britain? As Chin & Wigglesworth (2007:13) point out in Reading 1:

With many languages, the issue of what constitutes native-speakerness has become more complex with increasing globalisation. Many researchers...discuss the difficulties of identifying who native-speakers are with the creation of local identities and increasing diversity.

Lexical Interference

In relation to lexical transfer, Haugen (1956) states that *nouns* are the most likely forms of interference in another language whereas grammatical, functional words are the least.

Both bilinguals and monolinguals are *aware* of the common practice of this form of linguistic alteration, especially if they live in a bilingual country or where languages exist in close proximity. This *awareness* may be especially true of monolinguals since, being able to speak only one language, they cannot engage in lexical interference in any regular fashion but are very conscious of it in the speech of those who can and tend to treat it as a linguistic deficiency.

Edwards (2006) gives the example of a French speaker in Brussels using the Dutch 'vogelpik' rather than 'fléchettes' in a game of darts.

Nouns and adjectives are more likely to interfere in another language *in their original form* than verbs and adverbs e.g. television, computer, peaches, slow. For example, when English verbs are sometimes adopted by Welsh-speakers, the verb is morphologically adapted by adding an '-o' in the infinitive form e.g. 'wreito' (to write), the correct form being 'ysgrifennu'.

Lexical interference is often the most perceived as indicating linguistic weakness in bilingual proficiency and as the detrimental effects of bilingualism. However, as Baetens Beardsmore (1986:94) mentions, such interference does not necessarily reflect any *dominance* of one language over the other since "it may be accounted for by cultural and technological developments which cannot be handled with ease in the importing language."

Grammatical / Syntactical Interference

Grammatical interference can sometimes be seen in the *syntactical* influence of one language on another. Baetens Beardsmore (1986:69) states that "the most obvious case of structural interference is that manifested by word order

divergences from monoglot norms.” For example, in Welsh, an emphasis is usually placed at the beginning of a sentence. Therefore, whereas in spoken English one would normally say “He lives in London”, Welsh-speakers might sometimes say “In London he lives”, based on the Welsh “Yn Llundain mae e’n byw”. Interestingly however, such syntactical interference can, on occasions, also transfer to the spoken *English* of some who do not speak Welsh.

Adopting the wrong preposition from another language to accompany verbs is another example of grammatical interference e.g. ‘siarad i rywun’ instead of ‘siarad â rhywun’ (speaking to someone) due to the influence of the English preposition ‘to’ (in the direction of e.g. to London) = ‘i’ in Welsh.

Edwards (2006:18) provides the example of “Tu prends ton plus haut chiffre” (“You take your highest figure”) which reflects the correct practice in Dutch of placing the adjective before the noun, but which would be incorrect in this case in French. Baetens Beardsmore (1986:70) refers to the tendency amongst English – French bilinguals “to neglect the gender agreement of adjectives or past participles in French because of their absence in English.”

An increasingly common practice in Welsh is to express the genitive case in the same way as the English. Whereas this can often be expressed in two ways in English (e.g. ‘the boy’s mother’ or ‘the mother of the boy’) there is only one way in Welsh (‘mam y bachgen’). However, when the second method is the only one available in English, it also tends to affect the mode of expression in Welsh e.g. ‘the first month of the year’ becomes ‘y mis cyntaf o’r flwyddyn’ where the definite article is incorrectly used twice (as in English) instead of once (‘mis cyntaf y flwyddyn’).

Prosodic Interference

Baetens Beardsmore (1986:73) refers to this aspect of interference as “the least well-documented in the literature”, describing “the subtle differences in stress and intonation patterns between two languages” as being “amongst the earliest patterns established in language acquisition and consequently probably most deeply anchored...”

The fact that interference may not necessarily reflect any linguistic ‘weakness’ is arguably confirmed by the way Baetens-Beardsmore (1986) distinguishes between interference and code-switching i.e. that interference may be due to internal linguistic factors whereas code-switching is due to non-linguistic factors (see below). Hoffmann (1991:96) explains the difference by stating that interference is present in the speech of bilinguals when also speaking to monolinguals, whereas code-switching is evident when bilinguals speak to other bilinguals.

With regard to the connection between interference and language *dominance* (see below), Baetens Beardsmore (1986) raises the issue of how *language distance* i.e. the extent to which two languages differ from each other, can affect the amount and type of interference.

Integration

A further complication arises when we consider what is termed *integration* i.e. when the constant use of a borrowed word is finally integrated in a language and assumes general usage.

Baetens Beardsmore (1986:50) draws attention to this issue:

A further problem with the notion of interference is pinning down the stage when an element extraneous to a particular code by monoglot norms but constantly present in bilingual speech has stopped being a question of interference.

Baetens Beardsmore defines the term *integration* as “the *regular use* of material from one language in another in the form of an established loan, particularly when no alternative ‘non-foreign’ is known or used” and provides the French word ‘blasé’ regularly used in English as an example. Another example used in English, arguably, is the Welsh word ‘eisteddfod’ which is a musical, literary and cultural festival. However, this is an example of where categorisation becomes difficult since it is only used to refer to the festival being held in Wales and, although used regularly in Wales amongst English speakers (since no other term exists), perhaps not as regularly outside Wales.

Words can also be categorized as being examples of integration rather than interference when they have been changed phonologically or morphologically. Jones(1997) refers to Morris-Jones (1988) who quotes ‘pwdu’ in Welsh (derived from the English ‘to pout’) and Baetens Beardsmore (1986:50) refers to the use of the French word ‘liqueur’ [likœr] which is pronounced [lik’juə] in English. Therefore, when such a change does not happen, it remains an interference. However, Baetens Beardsmore (1986) shows how this qualification remains problematic (pp. 50-51), and later (pp.52-56) illustrates the importance of contextualising any investigation of purely *linguistic* phenomena (within the so-called “interference-integration dichotomy”) in a wider sociolinguistic framework, especially in the case of what is referred to as “residual bilingual” communities.

Mackey (1976) tries to illustrate the distinction between interference and the process of integration by placing each on opposite ends of a continuum and on a scale of 0-100% according to the level of *usage* in the recipient language, but, arguably, succeeds rather more in showing how difficult it is to separate the two:

0%	100%
Interference	Integration

As previously mentioned, grammatical interference often appears in the use of wrong syntax or the wrong preposition. However, whereas this is often seen as a sign of weakness in bilingual competence, it is often the case that fluency in both languages can cause grammatical interference to become *integrated* without any awareness on the part of the speaker.

Code-switching and Code-mixing

One often distinguishes between code-switching and code-mixing by saying that code-switching describes the change from one language to another at sentence level, whereas code-mixing usually denotes a switch at word level *within* a sentence. Gumperz (1982:59) defines code-switching as “the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or sub-systems.”

Baker (2011:107) provides a simple example to distinguish between the two. “Leo un magazine” (I read a magazine) is code-mixing: “Come to the table. Bwyd yn barod (Food is ready)” is code-switching. However, such differentiation is not as clear in Baker (2017: 98) due to the decision to “simply use the term codeswitching to refer to any switches between languages that occur within or across sentences during the same conversation or discourse.”

As previously mentioned, it is often difficult to distinguish between them, Eastman (1992:1) being of the opinion that “Efforts to distinguish between code-switching, code-mixing and borrowing are doomed.”

Code-switching is often perceived as showing a lack of proficiency in both languages. Edwards (2006:19) refers to such disparaging terms as Tex-Mex, Franglais and Japlish to which we could add Wenglish, although Romaine (1995:120) believes that it is a “natural and frequent part of bilingual behaviour”. Meisel (2004) sees the practice of code-switching amongst bilinguals as reflecting a higher level of linguistic proficiency. Likewise, rather than being an indication of linguistic deficiency, code-switching has also been noted as one of the *cognitive* benefits of being bilingual i.e. that code-switching is a sign of mental flexibility. Neufeld (1974), however, is critical of this standpoint and points out that monoglot speakers also change linguistic *registers* to accommodate different situations and contexts.

Baetens Beardsmore (1986:49) believes that “code-switching is not arbitrary but rule governed and depends on factors such as topic, code being used, situation and participants”, an aspect of code-switching known as ‘situational shifting’ which has occupied the attention of some scholars. Baker (2011) also maintains that there are a number of factors and variables which determine the amount of code-switching in a conversation, such as the status of the listener (or the speaker’s perception of the listener), the topic, and in what context the conversation takes place. Furthermore, Baker (2017: 98-103) analyses code-switching and, in addition, *translanguaging*, outlining how both have a wide range of overlapping purposes in everyday conversation, including:

- to emphasise a point
- to substitute a word or phrase a person may not know in a language
- for ease and efficiency of expression
- to reinforce a request
- for repetition to clarify
- to be accepted by a group or to express group identity
- to quote someone
- to interject in a conversation
- to exclude someone from a conversation

- to cross social and ethnic boundaries
- to ease tension in a conversation

Weinreich (quoted in Romaine, 1989) maintains that code-switching happens under the influence of the location, the subject of the conversation and the context or domains, whereas Gumperz (1982) believes that the speaker is more responsible for code-switching than the domains themselves. According to Edwards (1994:82):

...if context determines linguistic choice then, equally,
language (or dialect or accent or style) choice can influence
the psychological situation.

As Hoffman (1991), points out, code-switching can reflect a powerful inter-personal dynamic other than that which is purely linguistic (see also Communication Accommodation Theory below):

Code-switching, then, constitutes a habitual and often necessary part of social interaction among bilinguals. Whereas monolinguals have only one linguistic code at their disposal, bilinguals can rely on a four-way choice (the two languages and various forms of mixed and switched codes, since they are able to code-switch in both their languages). (Hoffman, 1991:116)

Baetens Beardsmore (1986:47) makes it clear that he does consider code-switching to be a reflection of interference:

A further problem connected with the delimitation of the concept of interference, even, at the formal level, is that of deciding when the use of elements of one language within the context of another ceases to be interference but represents a switch in language, or *code-switching*.

As suggested, distinguishing between interference and code-switching can be problematic. Haugen's (1956:40) explanation is that code-switching (as opposed to interference) happens when a large chunk of one language is adopted in the course of using the other. However, Baetens-Beardsmore (1986:47-48) succeeds in showing how difficult it can be to apply such a distinction.

According to Myers Scotton (1983, 1991), code-switching can reflect a tendency to make a deliberate or purposeful change of language (e.g. for social, economic or political reasons), in which case it is called "marked choice of language." Where that is not the case, it is referred to as "unmarked choice of language."

This, it seems, is a useful contribution to the debate in terms of emphasising a fundamental factor, namely, a *deliberate decision* on the part of the bilingual to switch languages.

Borrowing

Borrowing is usually a term applied to the use of a foreign word in another language e.g. 'le weekend' in French.

Grosjean (1982) differentiates between *code-switching* and *borrowing* by stating that borrowing is when a word has been morphologically adapted and code-switching is when it has not. Therefore, as Jones (1997) points out, according to Grosjean (1982) 'code-switched' would be code-switching in the middle of a French sentence whereas 'code-switché' would be borrowing. Appel & Muysken (1987:172), however, highlight problems of definition whilst trying to differentiate between *code-mixing* and borrowing:

The classical view is that code-mixing and borrowing can easily be kept apart : with code-mixing the non-native items are not adapted morphologically and phonologically, with borrowing they are.

We, therefore, have the same difference in definition between:

1. *Code-switching* and borrowing (Grosjean,1982) and
2. *Code-mixing* and borrowing (Appel & Muysken,1987).

This, possibly, reminds us again of the earlier observation made by Eastman (1992:1): "Efforts to distinguish between code-switching, code-mixing and borrowing are doomed".

Does code-switching, code-mixing and borrowing happen in both directions and to what extent do these linguistic phenomena reflect the status of languages or other sociolinguistic factors within a bilingual or diglossic context? These are questions which are again linked to issues discussed in the next module (ECDA-7011: Societal Bilingualism) and show the inter-connectedness of variables which impinge on linguistic behaviour at the individual and societal level. However, perhaps we can make some generalisations.

Conditions which contribute to the adaptation (or otherwise) of words in the process of being borrowed from other languages.

The following conditions may be said to contribute to the further adaptation of a borrowed word:

- Frequency of use
- How quickly it will enter the adoptive language and displace the original word, either partially or totally
- How quickly it can be adapted phonologically or grammatically to the adoptive language (Hoffman,1991)
- Whether or not it is transferred from a high status language to a language of lower status; this being the normal process usually rather than the opposite. However, there are exceptions, such as words which relate to specific cultures and which do not exist in other majority cultures.
- Words which are often offensive (Baetens-Beardsmore, 1986).

Measuring bilingualism

One of the key aspects of investigating bilingualism in the individual is the issue of how exactly levels of bilingualism can be measured. It should be fairly obvious from previous discussion and the various aspects examined that *measuring* levels of bilingualism in the individual is an extremely complicated issue. As Baker (1993) states:

Defining who is or is not bilingual is essentially elusive and ultimately impossible. Some categorisation and explication is often necessary and helpful to make sense of the world. Therefore, categorisations and approximations may be required. ...Yet the simplification of categorisation often hides the subtle complexity of reality. Sorting often simplifies unsympathetically. Individual differences are reduced to similarities. Yet over-complexity can be frustrating and confusing. Complications can confound those needing order and pattern. The measurement of bilinguals attempts to locate similarities, order and pattern. (Baker, 1993:15,19).

Baetens Beardsmore (1986:85) points out that “any attempt at measuring the phenomenon is hampered by the elasticity of what is covered” and that such measurement should be made within the terms of reference for *a particular type of bilingual case* if one is to measure with any degree of accuracy “aspects of specific linguistic behaviour which typify a particular bilingual situation.”

In Reader 4, Skutnabb-Kangas (1981:194) considers “attempts to describe bilingualism and bilingual individuals to be more useful than attempts at measuring...” The added complication in measuring proficiency in bilinguals as opposed to monolingual speakers is perhaps highlighted by the way Bialystok (2001) refers to the different permutations of measuring the former, namely:

- the *absolute* level of the proficiency of bilinguals in each language relative to the competence of *native-speakers* (regarding which, however, we are mindful of the caveat mentioned earlier about the use of this term)
- the *relative* level of proficiency across the two languages or, as Bialystok (2001) puts it, “an estimate of the command of each of the bilingual’s languages with respect to the other.”

Readings discussing the *measurement* of bilingualism which accompany this module introduce the student to various aspects of the topic. However, despite addressing some of the same fundamental issues and methodological problems related to this area of study, students will realise that authors choose to structure the discussion differently. For example, Chin & Wigglesworth (Reading 1), based on their decision to concentrate on *developing* bilinguals, divide these into two groups, namely:

- Elective bilinguals (also referred to in the literature as secondary bilinguals): the measurement of bilingual proficiency being usually directed at ability and use in the *second language* only, and
- Circumstantial bilinguals (also referred to as primary bilinguals): the measurement of proficiency encompassing ability and use of *both* languages.

Skutnabb-Kangas (1981) (Reading 4) also refers to this differentiation (albeit in a less specific way) but chooses to structure the discussion by categorising measurement according to *methods*. Baetens Beardsmore (1986) on the other hand categorises various tests in relation to language domination and attitude etc. which *subsume* specific methods. Nevertheless, the student will realise that chosen readings compliment each other in many ways.

Reasons for measuring levels of bilingualism can be various, be it at the level of the individual, the community or nationally, as in a census for example. However, since this module is concerned with *individual bilingualism* rather than *societal bilingualism*, we shall confine our discussion to the former. Such reasons, for example, can be:

- to assess individual needs in order to allocate students to educational or linguistic groups
- to choose pupils as individuals or groups for research samples
- to assess the linguistic skills of individuals for specific jobs where bilingualism / multilingualism is required
- to assess the linguistic progress of individuals within an educational course when such assessment is usually of two kinds:
 - (a) formative
 - (b) summative

Formative testing

Formative tests are usually adopted to assess the progress of individuals on the basis of set linguistic criteria which usually encompass, for example, the four basic skills of speaking, listening, writing and reading. For this reason they are said to be criterion-referenced, which means that one would be assessed in certain skills *as an individual and without being compared with others*. An example usually used to illustrate criterion-referenced testing is the driving test which allows a driver to be on a public highway as long as he/she has the necessary driving skills as an individual. Just as in English language and other subjects in the school National Curriculum, pupils in Wales are graded at different levels of attainment in the Welsh language according to their performance against specific criteria.

Criterion-referencing is a crucial component in the process of *formative assessment* which provides teachers with specific feedback regarding a pupil's performance by pinpointing certain weaknesses, thus enabling remedial action.

Summative testing

Summative testing is usually applied at a certain terminal stage in an educational process. Although assessment can again be criterion-referenced in terms of being based on an individual's attainment of specific skills (as in the above example), it

is also *norm-referenced* by being compared with *the attainment of others*, thus enabling the individual's score to be incorporated within a general level of attainment and placed, for example, within a certain quartile. Such a procedure also allows the general linguistic and academic achievements of individual schools to be compared with other educational establishments. Quoting the evidence of researchers such as Thomas & Collier (1997) in Reading 1, Chin & Wigglesworth (2007:) state that the adoption of norm-referenced tests "is widely recognised as being problematic" in assessing simultaneous bilinguals brought up to speak two languages since such tests, usually based on monolingual norms, can put bilinguals at a disadvantage. Reading 1 refers to methods discussed by Saenz & Huer (2003) which are designed to minimise the bias in the assessment of bilingual children, such as *renorming* and *dynamic assessment*. However, as will be shown in a later module (Cognitive Aspects of Bilingualism, ECDA-7004), the concern that such norm-referenced testing can cause simultaneous or circumstantial bilinguals to appear comparatively linguistically limited and cognitively deficient has been convincingly countered for many years by substantial and widely acknowledged research evidence.

As will be seen already from previous discussion of sub-skills etc., the identification of language criteria for testing purposes is problematic both in terms of definition and measurement. This is an aspect of assessment which will become even more evident as we later examine models designed to also accommodate *sociolinguistic* components in the measurement of language proficiency.

In Reading 4, Skutnabb-Kangas (1981) divides methods of bilingual measurement into two categories:

1. **measurement which is reported:** i.e. information which is provided by the speaker himself or herself, such as in a questionnaire or interview, and which also includes background data or language background scales, self-assessment and measurements of attitudes.
2. **measurement through observation** of the linguistic performance of the speaker by means of interview or participant observation during which *confirmation of data reported by the speaker* is sought. According to Skutnabb-Kangas (1981), language tests used as part of the observation of linguistic behaviour can be divided into two categories:
 - (a) those designed to test the proficiency of *monolinguals*, (thus the need to test the bilingual speaker *separately in both languages*) and
 - (b) those designed to test a speaker's *bilingual* proficiency, thus providing the ability to make a comparable assessment of the languages involved.

1. Measurement by means of reported data

Interviews and questionnaires enable the collection of background data regarding when, where, with whom, as well as why a speaker makes use of different languages. As Skutnabb-Kangas (1981) mentions in Reader 4, the Hoffman Bilingual Schedule, for example, despite being published as early as 1934, is still used and contains questions regarding the productive, receptive as well as passive use made of language. Scores for each question have been weighted equally and

averaged for a bilingual score. However, such a procedure immediately highlights the danger of adopting a rather over-simplified approach to an extremely complicated set of variables, a practice of which Haugen (1964), for example, was rather critical (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981).

Reading 4 makes it amply evident that the range variables involved in the productive, receptive and passive linguistic experience of an individual, as well as the virtual impossibility of attaching a valid weighting to each variable, makes accurate measurement very difficult and problematic.

Baker (2008) highlights the deficiencies of language background scales in terms of the limited domains and interlocutors which tend to be included. However, a hypothetical situation described by Baker and Hinde (1984: 46) illustrates clearly that increasing the range of contexts and people covered by such exercises would not necessarily ensure the data's reliability:

A person who says she speaks Welsh to her father (mostly away at sea), her grandparents (seen once a year), her friends (but tends to be an isolate), reads Welsh books and newspapers (only occasionally), attends Welsh chapel (marriages and funerals only) but spends most of her time with an English speaking mother and in an English speaking school, might gain a fairly high 'Welsh' score.

Attention was drawn earlier to the fundamental issue of the difference between language skill (knowledge/ ability) and use; what Mackey (1962) refers to as *degree* and *function*. The measurement of language *proficiency* using questionnaires such as the Hoffman Bilingual Schedule, however, raises issues of dubious methodology. As Chin & Wigglesworth (2007:38) state:

While language background scales ...have been used extensively in bilingual research, they do not purport to measure the proficiency of speakers, rather their patterns of language use across a variety of domains.

Like Baker (2011, 2017), Skutnabb-Kangas (1981:197-8) lists a number of issues which make reported data very questionable, such as the past practice in Ireland of paying parents to speak Gaelic to their children. She nevertheless states that:

"If the above caveats are borne in mind as to the possible sources of error, background data can be used as one kind of measurement of bilingualism. The collection of background data is the easiest way of acquiring information about the use of language," conceding, however, that despite the practical difficulties, a "more reliable way would be a lengthy period of participant observation."

Bearing in mind that, as far as is humanly possible, accuracy must be considered to be paramount, it is difficult to see how this method can be recommended as a method of *measuring* levels of bilingual proficiency. In Wales, for example, due to a recent departure from past practice, the assessment of children's competence in the Welsh language for the purpose of the ten-year census is now the responsibility

of parents rather than head teachers with, arguably, questionable consequences. This introduces us to the next method of measurement, namely, self-assessment.

Self-assessment

With self-assessment, the speaker is expected to assess his or her own linguistic ability in terms of competence (degree) and /or usage (function). Such exercises can vary considerably in content and detail as is illustrated in Reading 4. Again Skutnabb-Kangas (1981:198) states that self-assessment “seems to be a fairly reliable way of measuring bilingualism”, referring to the Swedish Immigrant Survey as evidence, but yet points to various pitfalls which can affect data reliability. These include, for example:

- the status of the L2 (or even the L1) within the community
- the amount of contact with either language
- an individual's own linguistic standards and self-expectations
- the feed-back (verbal or otherwise) and attitude of native-speakers, as perceived by the speaker.

Reaffirming some of the issues mentioned by Skutnabb-Kangas (1981), Baker (2017:30-31) also refers to various problems connected with the self-assessment of language proficiency, including among others:

- the *ambiguity* of questions which use words which can cover a wide range of linguistic proficiency as well as those which might not distinguish between ability and use of language
- the need to specify *domains of proficiency*
- the respondent's desire to identify with the language for reasons of status in an *additive* context or to do otherwise in a *subtractive* context
- the use of monolingual proficiency as a point of comparison.

We should also be mindful of issues of which the everyday speaker may not be aware. With regard to language proficiency, as previously discussed, Cummins (1984) distinguishes between Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills (BICS) and Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP) (what Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa (1976) referred to respectively as *surface fluency* and *academically related aspects of language competence*) which, generally speaking, distinguishes between everyday speech and conceptual language of a more academic nature. With regard to the process of self-assessment, linguistic fluency in terms of dealing with everyday topics and within familiar domains may prove to be misleading when faced with domains and terminology with which a speaker is less familiar.

Despite the limitations attached to the measurement of linguistic proficiency by self-assessment methods, nevertheless, as part of its European Language Portfolio, the Council of Europe has developed the European Language Passport. As mentioned in Reader 1 by Chin & Wigglesworth (2007), this is an instrument which allows self-assessment to be made in various areas within the four basic skills, namely:

- Understanding (Reading and Listening)
- Speaking (interaction and production)
- Writing

Assessment is made on a six-point scale covering advanced, intermediate and beginner levels of proficiency.

Again, as seen previously, it is arguably evident that there are too many variables involved in self-assessment to make it a measurement which is reliable and in which one can have complete confidence.

It is this issue which underpins Skutnabb-Kangas'(1981) discussion under the subtitle "Measurement or description", pointing out that background data can be better used to *describe* the choice and use of language rather than to *measure* its level of proficiency, with the implication that the latter is unreliable. Such an implication is made more explicit by stating that, when used for measuring, "the variables have to be restricted so that one single measurement can be produced", adding that "the choice of variables is crucial, and will at the same time also be a measurement of the researcher's ideological and political priorities." (Skutnabb-Kangas,1981: 201).

Attitudes

In relation to the study of attitudes to languages, Baetens Beardsmore (1986:99) in Chapter 3 provides various examples of research which reflects established methodology (including the Likert scale and Lambert's *Matched Guise Technique*) to which the student is advised to give some attention. Although examination of this aspect of research, *ethnolinguistics*, is closely related to sociolinguistics which will be studied in the next module (ECDA-7011), yet there is also a strong link between attitude and motivation and success in second language acquisition, into which much research has been carried out. Chapter 3 also later links attitude and motivation with *bilingual competence* and discusses such matters as the concept of *instrumental motivation* and *integrative motivation* for example.

It should be noted that the chapter also proceeds to discuss research relating to cognitive issues and the relationship between bilingualism and intelligence which again will be studied in a later module (ECDA-7004). It also addresses issues of attitudes towards languages and language users. However, the content has a predominantly sociolinguistic dimension.

2. Observed linguistic behaviour

The measurement of linguistic behaviour (both productive and receptive skills) by means of reported data can be confirmed by adopting observational methods, the most objective of which are those which assess language proficiency by means of tests. Again, however, with regard to reliability, a most important caveat offered in Reading 4 is for us to be mindful that:

Many linguists still doubt that we know enough about language, language learning and linguistic proficiency to be able to construct adequate, varied, objective, linguistic tests. (Skutnabb-Kangas,1981:206).

Reading 4 points to the fact that tests designed to measure linguistic proficiency can be classified as:

1. those which aim to examine the proficiency of the monolingual speaker and where the monolingual *native-speaker* is the point of reference to make comparisons and

2. those which are designed to examine bilingual proficiency.

The adoption of tests in the first category are designed to assess the bilingual's proficiency against that of the monolingual in the latter's own language (based on the assumption that a bilingual is capable of achieving an equal level of proficiency in that particular language), whereas tests in the second category assess the differences between the monolingual speaker and the bilingual speaker i.e. the linguistic attributes of the bilingual.

The student will infer that this categorisation corresponds generally to the differentiation made by Chin & Wigglesworth (2007) between elective bilinguals and circumstantial bilinguals. As Chin & Wigglesworth (2007) also mention, the question of whether the proficiency of balanced bilinguals should be assessed against the norms of monolingual native-speakers is a matter of debate. Grosjean (1989) argues that a bilingual speaker is not the combination of two monolingual speakers, a point of view also shared by DeGroot & Kroll (1992).

Tests using the monolingual as the point of reference or the norm

In Reading 1, Chin & Wigglesworth (2007) refer to the following kinds of tests as mentioned by Henning (1987):

- Proficiency tests
- Achievement tests
- Diagnostic tests
- Placement tests

Skutnabb-Kangas (1981), however, divides these into 3 categories, namely:

- (a) pedagogically orientated tests
- (b) linguistically orientated tests
- (c) psychologically orientated tests

(a) Pedagogically orientated tests

These are tests usually related to language teaching in order to determine the level of proficiency in the L2 either before or after undertaking language tuition. They concentrate on assessing proficiency in the L2 and do not usually take account of the L1 since they are used for such purposes as assessing the individual for tuition through the medium of the L2, for example. As Reading 4 mentions, these have been criticized for not being related to any linguistic theory.

For example, despite its more recent contribution to pedagogy, adequate attention has perhaps not been paid in the past to studies in interlanguage which, as previously explained, see this phenomenon as a series of developmental stages during which the learner constructs his/her own grammatical rules in the process of moving towards the norm of the L1 native-speaker.

(b) Linguistically orientated tests

The criticism levelled at linguistically orientated tests for not being able to accommodate the intricacies of real, everyday social contact is widely acknowledged, as we shall see later when discussing sophisticated models designed to give due attention to the range of variables involved in the process of measuring language proficiency. However, as Reading 4 points out, despite the validity of such criticism, we should be careful not to 'throw the baby out with the

bathwater' by ignoring the usefulness of such tests in particular contexts, since they can be informative in pinpointing specific deficiencies in the process of linguistic development.

(c) Psychologically orientated tests

See Reading 4 (Skutnabb-Kangas,1981:209)

Bilingual linguistic proficiency tests

Tests have also been developed which treat bilingual proficiency as a unified linguistic system, unlike the past tendency of testing languages separately using the monolingual native-speaker as the point of reference or norm. As Skutnabb-Kangas (1981) states, that was a practice which represented a "two-code" theory of language proficiency or what Cummins (1981) refers to as the Separate Underlying Proficiency (SUP) Model (see Baker, 2017:157-158).

Reading 4 also draws attention to the fact that this reflected negative attitudes towards bilingualism, "the description and enumeration of the characteristics of bilinguals as though they were the symptoms of a disease, a deviation from the healthy norm represented by monolingualism" (Skutnabb-Kangas,1981:2010). As Baker (2017:157) also shows, such prejudicial attitudes reflected the generally-believed 'Balloon' or Balance Theory which perceived languages as existing and operating separately in the brain, the development or the 'inflation' of L2 being at the expense or 'deflation' of L1. However, as we shall see in module ECDA-7004 (Cognitive Aspects of Bilingualism), current thinking reflects the Common Underlying Proficiency (CUP) Model and the 'Ice-Berg' analogy (Baker, 2017:158-159) which sees the bilingual cognitive process as emanating from a single, *unified* operating system.

Balance or Dominance

Baetens Bearsdmore (1986:90) states that the attempt to measure language dominance in bilinguals "represents a hazardous venture for which some intriguing solutions have been proposed."

The term 'dominant bilingual' is often used to refer to a bilingual person who has greater proficiency in one language, the term 'subordinate language', therefore, used to refer to the weaker of the two.

Bilingual proficiency tests seem to reflect a fundamental belief that balanced bilingualism is a state of linguistic proficiency at which one should aim as well as the premise that the more equally balanced the two languages are, the more bilingual the speaker is likely to be. However, despite the common tendency to equate the term *balanced bilingual* with an effective command of *both* languages, the use of *balance* as a measurement is flawed since the criterion of 'balance' does not necessarily go hand in hand with fluency or proficiency, as we saw earlier in our discussion of semilingualism.

Skutnabb-Kangas (1981) also refers to Fishman's (1968) criticism of the use of balance as a measurement of bilingualism since, in diglossic societies where different languages are often used for different functions, linguistic proficiency can vary across a range of domains. From a *sociolinguistic* point of view, Fishman's (1968) well-acknowledged contention that functional differentiation is a means of sustaining a diglossic society may well be valid. However, with regard to *measuring bilingualism in an individual*, the inability of a so-called 'bilingual' speaker to use

one of his/her languages fairly competently in certain domains is something which can hardly be ignored.

This issue also relates to the measurement of dominance (as opposed to balance). In criticising the measurement of dominance, Reading 4 clearly defines 'dominance' emphatically in terms of language *use* as well as ability, stating that the results of dominance testing can be skewed by limiting the domains chosen for the test:

Before the dominance measurement can be used as a measurement of bilingualism, *the bilingual's linguistic ability should be tested in a number of different domains* to guarantee that the content of the test material is representative at least to a certain extent. As long as the dominance measurement uses material *that takes no account of the domains in which a bilingual might be dominant* in which language..., the measurement of dominance that results will be largely a matter of chance. (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981: 2011-12) (emphasis added).

However, Baetens Beardsmore (1986:90), whilst acknowledging the validity of Dodson's (1981) use of the term 'preferred language' in relation to functional specialisation or domains of *use*, yet seems to define dominance fundamentally in terms of *ability*:

With the late bilingual...it is highly unlikely that the second language becomes dominant in the sense of *the language of primary grammatical functioning*, though this may well become dominant in the sense of most frequently used or preferred. (Baetens Beardsmore, 1986:90) (emphasis added).

Although clear signs of dominance are not easily discernable as a rule in cases of early bilingualism, thus possibly reflecting a balanced level of proficiency, yet, as pointed out, balanced proficiency achieved by means of a *consecutive* rather than a simultaneous process might well lead to dominance in certain *domains*. The student might well detect a certain level of ambivalence at this point with regard to how dominance should be defined, and the recurring dichotomy of degree (ability) and function (use).

Whereas specific aspects of *interference* (see above) in the subordinate language would seem to be an obvious, albeit possibly superficial, measurement of dominance, Baetens Beardsmore (1986) provides details of a wide range of other methods which have been adopted for this purpose, including those relating to tests of speed.

Tests of speed

Tests of speed cover both productive and receptive linguistic skills. Such tests seem to be based on the premise that the quickness in which an individual responds to stimuli, or functions in a particular language, reflects a certain level of

proficiency. In comparative terms, the quicker the response in one language (or the greater the production within limited time) is also taken to signify the dominance of one over the other. However, again, one should not confuse dominance with competence. It is obvious how an individual can be competent in two (or more) languages but dominant in one or, conversely, dominant in one but at a relatively low level of competence. Such tests have included:

- the *speed of response* to instructions in both languages or in a word association test
- the *number of words* produced within a given amount of time in response to a stimulus
- the number of words memorised within a limited period of time
- the number of words created in both languages from a nonsensical word, the letters of which are representative of both languages. Baker (2017:29) gives DADSONODEND as an example
- the time taken to read in both languages.

It is common for a bilingual's reaction to be slightly longer either in one or both languages than that of the monolingual person, especially in cases where the stimulus could be in either language or when there is uncertainty regarding the language in which the stimulus is likely to be. However, in relation to the validity of applying speed as a criterion to the *use* of language, Reading 4 again raises some important issues since such a criterion has little value in certain cultures (Fishman, 1968:24-25) and no practical importance in most linguistic contexts (Mägiste, 1979:99).

Baker (2017:29) also mentions other valid issues related to dominance and balance tests, especially in terms of being representative of the level of proficiency since "such tests would appear to tap only a small part of a much larger and complex whole (language ability or language use)."

Tests designed to focus on the assessment of specific aspects of language, whether it be ability, use, balance or dominance etc, inevitably fail to encompass wider components which may impinge on the aspects being tested.

The emphasis placed on *testing* during what Spolsky (1976) described as the psychometric-structuralist stage in the development of language testing, tended to ignore the real-life, everyday situations in which language is used. As Baker (1993:26) states:

In attempting to assess a bilingual's competence in two languages, there is a danger of using a simple paper and pencil test, believing the test will provide a faithful estimation of everyday language life. ...In order to collect data which is realistic and representative, we need to know how situations (domains) relate to one another. We also need to know the sample of language performance that relates adequately to all round language competence and what examples of test performance relate strongly to language competence. This demands an overall model or theory of language competence. (Baker,1993:26)

Baker (1993) refers to the US Foreign Service oral interview as an example of more recent attempts in the testing process to incorporate communicative language skills related to real-life situations, stating however:

“There are doubts about whether such interview procedures can validly imitate and investigate real communicative competence. At the same time, they are a compromise between artificial pencil and paper tests and the impracticality of the detailed observation of individuals.” (Baker, 1993:27)

Models of Communicative Language Competence

In further efforts to accommodate the ‘real’ everyday aspects of social discourse in the testing of language proficiency, other more sophisticated models of Communicative Language Competence have been developed which aim to integrate various linguistic, sociolinguistic and socio-cultural components in an overall assessment and measurement. Chin & Wigglesworth (2007:3) state that “the impact of social, psychological and cultural variables on the bilingual individual is ultimately central to the experience of being bilingual.”

Baker (2017:13) points out that the earlier language theories of the 1960s tended to concentrate only on *linguistic* skills and components in relation to the individual’s competence and failed to involve aspects of *negotiating the contribution and role of others*, as found in real conversation. Yet, Malherbe (1969:50, quoted in Baetens Beardsmore (1986)) provides early indications of questioning the validity of such an approach:

It is doubtful whether bilingualism *per se* can be measured apart from the situation in which it is to function in the social context in which a particular individual operates linguistically. The only practical approach ... is to assess bilingualism in terms of certain social and occupational demands of a practical nature in a particular society...Purpose and function are the main determinants.

As Baker (2017: 13) points out, various holistic models of language competence have been developed, the most widely accepted being *communicative competence* which reflected Hymes’ (1972) view of language proficiency and was “in direct contrast to Chomsky’s cognitive theory of language with its narrow focuses on the ability of native speakers to produce grammatically correct sentences.”

Baker (2011:14) therefore, presents an illustration of such an approach, namely, Bachman’s (1990) Model of Language Competence which clearly indicates that there are a range of variables which need to be incorporated in a valid and reliable assessment of linguistic competence.

Language competence

1. Organizational competence
 - (i) Grammatical (e.g. syntax, vocabulary)
 - (ii) Textual (written and oral cohesion)
2. Pragmatic competence
 - (i) Illocutionary Competence (e.g. speech strategies, language functions)

- (ii) Sociolinguistic Competence (e.g. sensitivity to register, dialect, cultural figures of speech).

As Bachman (1990:84) states:

Communicative Language Ability can be described as consisting of both knowledge, or competence, and the capacity for implementing, or executing that competence in appropriate, contextualized, communicative language use."

A similar model illustrated in Baker (2017:13) reflects an earlier approach by Canale & Swain (1980) which developed Hymes' (1972) construct and identified four dimensions of communicative competence:

- grammatical
- discourse
- sociocultural
- strategic

As Jones (1997) points out, the advantages of using the Communicative Competence Model in studies of bilingualism have been highlighted by Baetens-Beardsmore (1986). Its theoretical basis is important since it concerns not only the grammatical knowledge of languages used by the speaker but also the social aspects and implications of their use. It can, therefore, provide a more comprehensive explanation of the bilingual's linguistic behaviour. In terms of what makes the language of a bilingual different from that of the monolingual, it can investigate wider issues than those of a purely *linguistic* nature attributed to interference. As Baetens-Beardsmore (1986: 46) shows, and as was also mentioned earlier in relation to code-switching, the use of more than one language within a conversation is not necessarily an indication of linguistic weakness:

...a bilingual in communication with another bilingual who shares the same linguistic background may feel free to use both of his language repertoires on the assumption that communication may well be enhanced by using elements from two languages- if so, there is no question of impaired communication brought about by what has traditionally been considered as interference.

Such a theoretical framework can also accommodate other linguistic phenomena, such as the use of interlanguage in the communicative process (Baetens-Beardsmore, 1986) as well as fossilization when individuals reach an 'acceptable' level of communicative competence and develop no further (Jones, 1987). However, another aspect of linguistic behaviour which can be incorporated within such a framework is Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT).

Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT)

Sachdev & Giles (2006:355) in Reading 5 define Communication Accommodation Theory as an attempt "to model the motives and evaluations of switching in terms of a balance of social psychological processes focusing on social integration and

differentiation” thus reflecting the fact that “individuals use communication, in part, to indicate their attitudes toward each other and, as such, communication is a barometer of the level of social distance between them. This constant movement toward and away from others, by changing one’s communicative behaviour, is called *accommodation*.”

Reading 5 refers to various aspects of accommodation including that of:

- *convergence*, whereby individuals adapt their speech by adopting features mentioned as being: linguistic (e.g. accents); paralinguistic (e.g. pauses); non-verbal (e.g. smiling): the objective being to become “more similar to their interlocutor’s behaviour”;
- *divergence* defined as “an accentuation of language (and cultural) differences”;
- *maintenance* which simply characterises the desire to maintain the usage of one’s native language without the attributes of divergence.

However, as the Reading illustrates, both convergence and divergence as features of linguistic behaviour can be further analysed, for example, as being ‘upward’ or ‘downward’. The Reading goes on to examine motives which underpin the adoption of such linguistic strategies (including among others the desire to gain the approval of the recipient interlocutor) and provides further illustrative examples of both positive and negative aspects of such motives. It also highlights the power dynamics related to the concept of the ‘intergroup’ and the issue of social identity. Finally, Sachdev and Giles (2006) provide what they refer to as a Social-Psychologically Oriented Model of Bilingual Accommodation which enables one to further examine three classes of variables which can have a crucial role in the process of bilingual communication, namely, those relating to:

- the societal intergroup context
- the sociolinguistic setting
- the social psychological processes.

As the Reading points out by quoting Coupland & Jaworski (1997: 241-242), what started out in the 1970s as a concept related to the evaluation of the monolingual accent has since developed into an “interdisciplinary model of relational and identity processes in communicative interaction.” The student will, however, immediately acknowledge and understand the relevance of CAT to the Communicative Language Competence models previously discussed as a further, small yet important cog in a much larger wheel and a very valid component in terms of placing the measurement of pure *linguistic* skills within a wider *sociolinguistic* context. In other words, it provides a means of accommodating any psychological and micropolitical variables which may exist in the interface between degree and function.

The study of Communicative Accommodation Theory in Reading 5 also takes us in the direction of the wider field of group and societal language dynamics and the realisation that the dimension of *function* makes the line between individual and societal bilingualism very thin and permeable, as we shall find out in the next module, ECDA-7011, Societal Bilingualism.

Conclusion

Skutnabb-Kangas(1981) refers to three different stages in the development of language testing as described by Spolsky (1976), namely:

- the pre-scientific
- the psychometric-structuralist
- the psycholinguistic-sociolinguistic

The first was characterized by an over-reliance on intuitive procedures to determine what the crucial components were in measuring linguistic skills, but without being grounded in any theory regarding proficiency or use.

The aim of the second stage was to ensure greater technical and statistical precision in testing, but this did not account for the sociolinguistic aspects of the contexts and the purposes for which either or both languages are used.

The third stage has tried to address this sociolinguistic aspect by attempting to assess language competence in 'real' situations, only to find that, in attempts to redress previous shortcomings, the balance may have tipped too much in that direction. Skutnabb-Kangas (1981:220) describes this as an "eagerness to test what people actually *do* with their languages (instead of or in addition to testing what they *could* do...", stating that "the danger with this more sociolinguistically-orientated kind of testing is that we forget that language is also for purposes other than everyday communication..."

The gamut of linguistic, sociolinguistic, socio-cultural and methodological complexity involved in ensuring the reliability of language testing has, consequently, caused some to question the process on grounds of validity.

Perhaps the following quote from Skehan (1988) summarises the fundamental issue:

Genuine communication is inter-action based, with more than one participant; unpredictable and creative, i.e. genuine communication may take the participants in unforeseen directions; is situated in a context which is both linguistic / discoursal and also sociocultural; has a purpose, in that participants will be trying to achieve something by use of language, e.g. to persuade, to deceive, etc.; uses authentic stimulus materials and avoids contrived, specially produced materials; is based on real psychological conditions, such as time pressure; and is outcome evaluated, in that successful performance is judged in terms of whether communicative purposes have been achieved. (Skehan, 1988: 215).

This module has attempted to introduce the student to some key issues in relation to bilingualism *in the individual* but has also indicated clearly on occasions how these connect with wider aspects to be studied in later modules. Totally compartmentalising and isolating such issues, therefore, would not only have proved to be impossible but also disadvantageous, since an awareness of the *interaction of variables* surrounding each issue is a crucial factor in enhancing and deepening our understanding of each in turn.

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