

Reading 2

Terminology and Typology

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Abstract

The plethora of terms found in the literature about second language learning serves only to confuse workers in this field. This chapter aims to offer a clear and extensive review of terminology, and to propose a typology. Having read it, the reader will be armed with a variety of educated and considered views from which he can develop his own, thus establishing a working framework on which to plan educational and remedial programmes for 'bilingual' individuals.

'Bilingualism' remains the most widely used term but others, such as 'diglossia' (Ferguson, 1959) have also formed bases for work in this area. The inadequacies of the term 'bilingualism' are discussed and an alternative is proposed - 'Dual Language'. The rationale for this new term is outlined, with special consideration given to its possible diagnostic and management implications.

Terminology does not simply reflect a definition. Factors such as proficiency in the second language (L2), and the context in which languages are acquired, have themselves been used as a basis for a typology.

Introduction

The field of 'bilingualism' is replete with terms referring to the phenomenon of individuals and communities with two languages, the way two languages are used and how they are learned. Most of these terms have a theoretical basis biased on the side of the advocate's own professional discipline. Not all terms have a pragmatic basis.

Anyone involved with 'bilingual' individuals at a pedagogical level must be *au fait* with these terms, since they may influence assessment procedures and diagnostic and management models. For example: knowing which of the two languages is dominant; how frequently and in which situations each is used; whether there is interference or borrowing between the two languages; the individual's communicative proficiency in each language,

and when the second language was acquired, should be considerations in planning intervention strategies.

In addition, professionals (such as teachers and speech therapists) are often called upon to give advice on the possible ill-effects of exposing children or adults to a second language – whether or not they are having problems with their first language (L1). The implications of such considerations are often political as well as educational, as the whole philosophy of mother tongue teaching is still controversial (see Chapter 9).

Terminology

Basic considerations

The term 'bilingualism', still the most commonly used, looks at a complex phenomenon from a narrow perspective, since it is predominantly used from a psychological or psycholinguistic, as opposed to a sociological or sociolinguistic, viewpoint.

Definitions of 'bilingualism' have depended on a variety of criteria. Bloomfield (1935) defined 'bilingualism' as native-like control of two languages. If this criterion were to be strictly adhered to, it is possible that the number of so-called 'bilinguals' in the world would be reduced significantly. The definition does not suggest that proficiency in each language has to be roughly equal, 'balanced bilingualism' (or 'equilingualism' – see Baetens Beardsmore, 1982), a term used by Lambert *et al.* (1958). However, it does not include anything less than native proficiency in both languages. There are those who believe that very few individuals achieve native proficiency in two languages, or even 'balanced bilingualism' (Diebold, 1961; Selinker, 1972). At the opposite extreme, Macnamara (1969) used the term 'bilingual' to describe persons who can speak, write, understand or read a second language, even to a minimal degree.

When can a person be described as a 'bilingual'? Does this status depend on the level at which each of the languages is understood, or the proficiency with which each language is spoken? How can this proficiency be assessed? If an individual is acquiring a second language at the time of assessment, when can the status of 'bilingualism' be applied? Must proficiency extend beyond oral language, to proficiency in writing and reading? Does the extent to which the speaker borrows from one language when conducting a conversation in the other contribute to the definition of 'bilingualism'? Is the frequency of switching from one language to the other within the same conversation relevant to the definition? Does the frequency of use of any one of the languages determine in any way how 'bilingual' one is? In fact there are so many variables which could decide whether someone is 'bilingual' or not that it makes a simple definition of the term virtually impossible.

Muller *et al.* (1981) state that 'bilingual' is a label which is wide ranging in its applications and do not attempt to 'enumerate and evaluate the various

definitions'. They define bilingualism as 'the *alternate use* of two languages in the same individual', a definition probably borrowed from Weinreich (1970). The word '*alternate*' would seem to suggest that *either* each language is used separately and/or in different situations (as, for example, suggested by the term 'diglossia', see below) *or* that at any moment during a conversation a 'bilingual' speaker may switch from one language to the other.

Selinker's work (*op. cit.*), however, indicates that the communication system that develops is neither amorphous nor unstable, neither is it the result of arbitrary language interference. Yet Muller *et al.* make *no* suggestion that an efficient communication system could result from the fusion of parts of each language. Muller *et al.* (*op. cit.*), acknowledge that the word '*use*' in their definition is vague, but defend it on the grounds that it avoids 'the problems arising from specification of quality as in Haugen's (1956) definition of bilingualism'.

Haugen (*ibid.*) defined 'bilingualism' as '... the ability to produce complete and meaningful utterances ... in the other language. The terms 'use' and 'produce', however, seem to focus on the 'bilingual's expressive' rather than *receptive* skills; the latter being the ability to 'understand' a language whether it can be spoken fluently or not at all. The use of this term might thus result in an error of omission in the theoretical and practical framework of the 'bilingual' phenomenon. The ability to comprehend a language whilst not being able to speak it is in fact very common and often occurs when individuals can understand a language similar to their own – when L1 is Spanish and L2 Italian, for example. To what extent one could say that such individuals are 'bilingual' is debatable, but one has to acknowledge the fact that they could not be classified as 'monoglots' and grouped with those who do not understand a second language at all.

Vildomec (1963) remarks on the fact that the term 'bilingual' has been associated with the *place* in which two languages are spoken even though 'the great majority of people may be monoglot'. Some communities or individuals who speak more than two languages are still referred to as 'bilingual'. Other terms, however, have also been employed. Goldstein (1948) and Leischner (1948) used the term 'polyglotism' in their writings about aphasic patients who had spoken more than two languages before their aphasia. Vildomec (*op. cit.*) makes a distinction between 'bilingualism' and 'multilingualism', the latter referring to '... familiarity with more than two languages ...'. He also allows for the stage during and before which an individual has mastered the languages concerned.

Apart from those using the term 'diglossia' (Ferguson, *op. cit.*; Fishman, 1967), it seems that not many authors give detailed and specific attention to the acquisition of two dialects. Baetens Beardsmore (*op. cit.*) referred to this as 'biduallectalism'. It could be argued that all speakers in the world are likely to be 'biduallectal' in one way or another. Wherever a community exists, with its own culture and mores, there is bound to be a lexicon, however small, and other linguistic characteristics which are peculiar to that community. There are, therefore, indisputable similarities between the communication systems of such communities and universally

acknowledged 'bilingual' communities. It is possible that 'bidialectalism' and 'bilingualism' are similar phenomena on the same continuum and differentiated only by degree, nature and amount of L1 superimposed on L2 material. Another term relating to the existence of two codes (though not often found in the literature) is **bicodality** (Kolars, 1973). This term underlines the fact that two linguistic codes (from two languages or dialects) are in use: the term is not, however, specifically related to the use and function of each code.

'Dual Language'

Those terms which attempt to achieve precision about the nature of the phenomenon, ignore the wider implications of 'bilingualism' and focus on only one aspect of it. I would argue against such specificity and propose a more general term: 'Dual Language' (DL) (see Abudarham, 1976). By using this term, a clear reference to the existence of two languages is maintained, without specifying any of the psychological or sociological implications.

This term can also be linked with the word 'system': a Dual Language System. Some have argued that before one can apply the term 'system' to a Dual Language code, the existence of linguistic and functional rules must be demonstrated. Such rules do exist within the use of two languages. One example is given by Dulay *et al.* (1978) who state that code alternating (shifting from one language to the other within a single sentence or conversation) is not a random and uncontrolled process. There is a definable system and these alternations occur 'only at specific, definable syntactic junctures', which can thus be anticipated. Switching normally occurs at relative clause boundaries, at the beginning of verb phrases and before adverbial clauses (Dulay *et al.*, *op. cit.*): its occurrence elsewhere may indicate an L1 learning problem.

The term DL is flexible enough to accommodate the diverse ways in which DL individuals make use of L1 and L2. The term 'system' could indicate that the two languages were functionally independent of each other. It could also indicate that the lexicon (and possibly grammar) of the two languages were interchanged through processes such as lexical borrowing, constant 'switching' 'shifting' or 'alternating' from one language to the other (see Dulay *et al.*, *op. cit.*), interference between languages, and so on. These processes would result in the creation of a *new* unitary code with its own idiosyncratic linguistic features and rules, rather as if a new language is born out of the original two. Thus 'duality' excludes neither separation nor fusion of the two languages to produce a viable communication system. The term 'dual' simply indicates that at some stage, two languages or codes are involved, whether inclusive or exclusive of each other.

The term 'bicodality' strongly emphasizes the existence of two codes but seems to deny the resultant two-code system its status as a linguistic code in its own right. By these criteria many recognized languages, currently considered linguistic codes but which have developed from different earlier

codes, could be considered as mere 'bicodal' systems. Yet surely it would not be right, for example, to consider Creole as simply a 'bicodal' linguistic system (see Chapter 4).

Often, so called 'bilingual' children are referred for speech therapy; some of them have not yet started formal English schooling, others have only recently arrived in Britain and have had negligible exposure to the English language. These individuals, not yet DL but *potentially* so, should therefore be described as having a 'DL background'.

The term 'DL system' has implications for assessment of language proficiency and/or potential. Most published assessment strategies involve testing an individual's proficiency in only *one* language. Whereas this is a useful exercise, it does not take into account the fact that an individual could, in certain circumstances, borrow from the other language (Abudarham 1976, 1979, 1980a, 1980b).

Jakobovits (1971) acknowledges that '... the question "when is a person bilingual?" is actually not a very interesting one and there seems to be no particular advantage in setting arbitrary limits for a definition.' He recognizes, however, the importance of 'specifying the *extent* of an individual's knowledge about a second language (p.85)'. He goes on to suggest areas of knowledge which should be assessed. These are not exclusively related to proficiency and degree of 'bilingualism' but also to use, function, and interference. The wider assessment which Jakobovits advocates would avoid some of the pitfalls resulting from a 'folk' definition of 'bilingualism', whereby

a foreigner who is capable of uttering a few mechanical sentences with good pronunciation and accurate syntax, impresses them [native speakers] as being 'bilingual'; whereas someone who speaks their language with a strong foreign accent and lacks fluency, does not, despite the fact that the latter's knowledge is considerably greater than the former's (Jakobovits, *ibid.*, p.85).

Typology

Tosi (1982) reviews various approaches to the establishment of a typology, some related to education, others to sociology. It would seem to me, however, that other factors can also form the basis of a typology. The *developmental* aspects of second language acquisition have both educational and sociological effects on the individual. The following parameters could, therefore, form a typological framework:

- (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.

(i) *Timing of acquisition of the second language*

Baetens Beardsmore (*op. cit.*) suggests that time-determined types of 'bilingualism' can be distinguished by the terms '*consecutive*', for the early cases, and '*successive bilingualism*' for the later cases. However, perhaps the best-known work in this area is that of Haugen (*op. cit.*), who defined 'bilingualism' according to the stage in an individual's development when contact with the second language occurred: we shall look carefully at the stages that he identified.

The earliest stage identified by Haugen was '*infantile bilingualism*' (sometimes called '*early bilingualism*'). This referred to the simultaneous learning of two languages, when the young infant is hearing both languages at home, either from the same individuals, or one language from one and the other from the second (e.g. from father and from mother). Swain (1972) has referred to this as '*first-language bilingualism*'; Adler (1977) uses the term '*ascribed bilingualism*'.

The term '*infantile bilingualism*' has now been substituted by the term '*simultaneous bilingualism*'. McLaughlin (1978) and Kessler (1984) state that '*simultaneous bilingualism*' describes the 'acquisition of two languages before the age of three...'. Kessler (*ibid.*) adds that this is 'a somewhat arbitrary point, which takes into account the fact that by this age, most children have learnt much of the first language (L1) system'.

Diebold (*op. cit.*) makes an addition to Haugen's definition. He suggests that Haugen ignores the time when 'bilingual' speakers have just begun to speak a second language and have only minimal proficiency; he therefore proposes the term '*incipient bilingualism*'. This describes the initial stages of learning a second language, when the speaker does not have sufficient command of the language to produce 'complete meaningful utterances'.

Weinreich (*op. cit.*) refers to the learning of two languages during childhood as '*coordinate bilingualism*' – though he also uses this term to describe the acquisition of two native languages at a later stage, or subsequent mastery of a language other than L1 (c.f. '*subordinate bilingualism*', which relates only to *proficiency* and not *timing* of acquisition). Weinreich also uses the term '*primary language*' ('P-language') to refer to the native or earlier learned language, and '*secondary language*' ('S-language') to refer to the language learned later. He proposed these terms because he observed that the P-language (mother tongue) is not always the 'native' one, and some 'bilinguals' will often develop a dominance in their *second* language (that is, not the one learned first). This suggests that Weinreich does not equate the term 'mother tongue' with 'native language', the latter corresponding to the dominant of the two.

Weinreich's terms should not be confused with Houston's (1972) '*primary bilingual*' and '*secondary bilingual*'. The former (also referred to as '*natural bilingual*') refers to 'bilinguals' (children or adults) who have learned their second language without receiving any systematic tuition. 'Secondary bilinguals' have received *formal* instruction in the second language.

Haugen (*op. cit.*) described a post-infancy L2 acquisition stage which he

referred to as '*childhood bilingualism*'. This refers to the 'establishment of a second language during the early school years, after the first has been learned in the family'. Because the child's first language is well on the way to being established it is thought that there will be less interference from exposure to a second language; yet the child will still be able to accept and integrate a second code. For this reason, this age is considered the most favourable by some for introducing a second language. Miller and Abudharham (1984) have advised that infants in a DL environment, who are experiencing a problem with language-learning, should be exposed to only one language until the 'childhood age' has been attained. So far, this advice has been successful.

McLaughlin (*op. cit.*) refers to second language acquisition after the age of three as '*sequential bilingualism*', and points out that this usually has very significant implications. In infantile or simultaneous 'bilingualism', a child usually learns grammatical and syntactic rules in a similar instinctive way as a monoglot. The sequential bilingual learns the rules of L1 in a similar way but the rules of L2 are usually learned formally.

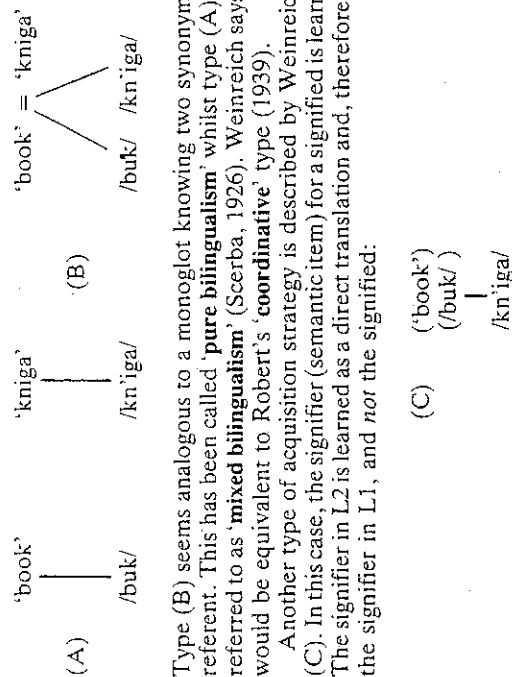
There are a number of factors which might facilitate the learning of a second language at this age, such as more advanced cognitive skills, and possibly an awareness of the distinction between the two languages. The methods used for acquiring L2 may, according to some (see Chapter 2), be quite different from those used in acquiring L1. There could also be some difference in the relative rates at which the rules of each are learned.

The fourth and fifth stages described by Haugen (*op. cit.*) – '*adolescent*' and '*adult bilingualism*' – are self-explanatory. Baetens Beardsmore (*op. cit.*) states that '*late bilingualism*' occurs when 'the first language is acquired before the age of more or less 11 and further languages are learned at some age beyond this period'. Adler (*op. cit.*) calls this '*achieved bilingualism*'.

(ii) *Dual Language development and acquisition contexts*

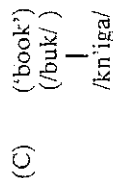
Weinreich's classic work on *Languages in Contact* is the most frequently quoted in studies of 'bilingualism'. Examining how 'bilinguals' acquired their languages, Weinreich argues whether the 'bilingual's' phonemic and semantic systems in contact "merge" into a single system. Are phonemes which are similar in the two languages considered as part of one single, 'merged' phonemic system used by the bilingual? The alternative would be that they 'coexist', still belonging to two different phonological systems which, though employed by the same individual, maintain the distinguishing characteristics of each language.

'Coexistent' and '*merging*' systems could also be related to semantics. The 'bilingual' could, therefore, treat 'the English word "book" and its Russian equivalent "kniga" as two separate signs (A) (over), or he could regard them as a "compound" sign (B) ...'. Weinreich demonstrated this diagrammatically as follows:



Type (B) seems analogous to a monoglot knowing two synonyms for one referent. This has been called '**pure bilingualism**' whilst type (A) has been referred to as '**mixed bilingualism**' (Scerba, 1926). Weinreich says that (A) would be equivalent to Robert's '**coordinative**' type (1939).

Another type of acquisition strategy is described by Weinreich as type (C). In this case, the signifier (semantic item) for a signified is learned in L1. The signifier in L2 is learned as a direct translation and, therefore, refers to the signifier in L1, and *not* the signified:



This type, says Weinreich, would seem to correspond to Robert's '**subordinative**' bilingualism. Weinreich discussed these types of 'bilingualism' in the context of a theory of interference between the two languages.

Languages acquisition contexts were discussed by Ervin and Osgood (1954). They suggested that 'bilinguals' could acquire language systems described as '**compound**' or '**coordinate**'. These would seem to be equivalent, respectively, to Weinreich's 'merged' and 'coexistent' systems. A compound system would develop in a 'fused' context, perhaps as a result of the individual learning both languages in a family (or milieu) where both languages are used interchangeably. Vocabulary training in school would achieve the same results. A coordinate system would develop in a 'separated language acquisition context' and would result from experience in situations where there is rarely an interchange between languages. The 'compound bilingual' would have a *single* meaning for the two alternative signifiers and the 'coordinate bilingual' would develop *separate* meanings for each signifier.

Lambert *et al.* (*op. cit.*) use Ervin and Osgood's terminology, and give further indications as to how they classified each type of 'bilingual' according to the language acquisition context.

They considered a language acquisition context 'separated' when

one language was learned exclusively in the home and the other exclusively outside the home, when one parent consistently used one language, or when a language was acquired in a particular national or cultural setting distinct from that in which the second was acquired (p.240).

An acquisition context was considered 'fused' when

both parents used the two languages indiscriminately, when both languages were used interchangeably inside and outside the home, or when the individual acquired his second language in a school system stressing vocabulary drill and translation and where the first or native language was used as the medium of instruction (p.240).

They do not seem to make any distinction between simultaneous and sequential bilinguals.

Much has been written about the significance of the issue of compound-coordinate-subordinate 'bilingualism'. Weinreich (*op. cit.*) concluded that a 'comprehensive psychological theory of bilingualism ought to account for both the effectively *separated* use of the two languages and for the *interference* (if any) of one language in the other'. The conclusion reached by Lambert *et al.* (*op. cit.*) was that 'language acquisition contexts do influence the functional separation of the bilingual's two languages in certain respects', the 'coordinate bilingual' being better able to keep each language system functionally independent. However, both types of 'bilinguals' had equal facility to switch from one language to the other. Some authors, however, (Diller, 1972; Shaffer, 1976; Albert and Obler, 1978) have questioned the validity and/or usefulness of the concepts of 'compound-coordinate-subordinate bilingualism'.

Selinker (*op. cit.*) refers to a stage at which a second language learner '**fossilizes**' linguistic phenomena. He claims that only five per cent of second language learners can achieve native proficiency in all aspects of the target language (TL). Those who do not, tend to develop an '**interlanguage**' (IL) where linguistic phenomena are 'fossilized'. This results from the influence of the native language (NL) and the target language, but develops into a *separate* linguistic system. The system is based, he believes, on 'the observable output which results from a learner's attempted production of a TL norm'. Furthermore,

Fossilizable linguistic phenomena are linguistic items, rules and subsystems which speakers of a particular NL will tend to keep in their IL relative to a particular TL, no matter what the age of the learner or the amount of explanation he receives in the TL. (p. 36 in Richards, 1974)

The 'viability' of a communication system is sometimes determined by the 'bilingual's' ability to communicate with a monoglot in their common language (see Chapter 6). Measured against this criterion, the 'interlanguage' cannot be classed as 'viable', since it is usually an inferior, less precise version of the target language, comprising borrowed linguistic items from both languages. Nevertheless, speakers using the same interlanguage or communication system frequently communicate effectively with *each other*, and this factor should not be ignored.

(iii) *Language proficiency*

The status of 'bilingualism' has often been defined in relation to how proficient an individual is in the second language. However, there does not seem to be a universally approved method of assessing second language proficiency. A variety of parameters are used, including language aptitude tests (usually, the individual's proficiency in *each* language is assessed independently) and analyses of amounts of interference, or the effective control of switching. Haugen (*op. cit.*) says that the difficulty in devising exact statements in this field arises from the fact that no generally recognized scale exists for measuring accomplishment in language: this issue is exacerbated because the term 'proficiency' is used qualitatively as well as quantitatively.

The literature often refers to the relative proficiency *between* the two languages without necessarily implying or mentioning the level or degree of proficiency in *each* language. The issue is crucial to any discussion concerning 'bilingual' children, since their proficiency in L2 could influence assessment and differential diagnosis (see Chapter 6).

The concept of proficiency is often implied in the many definitions of 'bilingualism'. Vogt (1954) would describe a subject as 'bilingual' even with only a rudimentary knowledge of L2. Braun (1937) would not, unless the individual had complete mastery of L2. Haugen (*op. cit.*) stated that 'bilingualism' starts when the speaker makes the first meaningful utterance in a second language. According to Christophersen (1973), the term 'native-like' is not a precise one and linguists 'no longer presume to specify how much a person needs to know of each language to be regarded as bilingual'. Cummins (1979) believes that L2 can only be mastered *after* a threshold of competence in L1 is reached. Quite what this threshold is, and how it can be measured, is not clear. He describes two levels of proficiency, termed 'basic interpersonal communicative skills' (BICS) and 'cognitive and academic aspects of language proficiency' (CALP) (see Chapter 2).

Different terms have been used to describe the nature of the development of 'bilingual' proficiency. Baetens Beardsmore (*op. cit.*) uses the term '*ascendant bilingualism*' to describe the increase in an individual's ability to function in the second language. Conversely, the term '*recessive bilingualism*' describes the status of an individual who, after some time, begins to experience difficulty in 'understanding or expressing himself with ease in one of his two languages'. Baetens Beardsmore (*op. cit.*) contrasts the meaning of these two terms with those of '*additive bilingualism*' and '*subtractive bilingualism*' as defined by Lambert (1974). The former refers to a stage when the linguistic and cultural entities of being 'bilingual' combine to *positively* affect the individual's cognitive and social abilities, and the latter occurs when the acquisition of the second language has *adversely* affected similar abilities acquired during the development of the first language.

The level of proficiency in one or both languages and the extent of their functional use can vary tremendously. Hansegard (1968) used the term '*semilingualism*' (first introduced by Ringbom in 1962) to describe a

functional use of two languages despite proficiency in neither. Toukomaa and Skumabb-Kangas (1977), who also use this term, described the existence of semilingual communities in Sweden. Selagowitz and Gatbonton (1977) use the term '*non-fluent bilingual*' to describe 'the second-language user who possesses sufficient skill with a language for successful basic communication, but who is nevertheless perceived by others and by himself as not possessing native-like control of the language'.

The term '*balanced bilingual*' has been used to describe a person who is as proficient in one language as the other and who could match the corresponding monoglots' linguistic ability. '*Symmetrical bilingualism*' (Pohl, 1965) also implies equal competence in both languages, though the *level* of competence is not defined by this term. '*Asymmetrical bilinguals*' can make themselves understood in L2 but may sometimes find the monoglot in that language difficult to understand, often as the result of the monoglot speaking with a regional variation of the standard language model learned by the 'bilingual'. The latter would, however, understand monoglot standard speakers.

An '*equilingual*' may have a balanced mastery of the two languages, comparable to monoglots in the respective languages, but would still be distinguishable from monoglot speakers. '*Ambilinguals*', however, (see Halliday, McKintosh and Strevens, 1970) demonstrate a lack of the interference or borrowing which would differentiate them from native monoglots. They are also able to function in *either* of their languages in *any* domain, whereas 'equilinguals' cannot: very few people fall into this category.

Abudatham (1970), when studying the effects of a DL upbringing on the vocabulary of Gibraltar children, found that the child performing best was a seven-year-old, and she could name 85 per cent of the referents in both languages. Kessler (1971) found that her bilingual (English/Italian) subjects were 77 per cent bilingual with regards to syntactic skills. American writer, Julian Green (1941) stated that 'I am more and more inclined to believe that it is almost an impossibility to be absolutely bilingual' or as Thierry (1976) calls them '*true bilinguals*'. It is thus, unlikely that there are many 'ambilinguals' in the strict sense of the term. Only when the assessment tools are available and the criteria well-defined will it be possible to identify 'balanced bilinguals' or 'equilinguals'.

Traditionally, there has been an emphasis on the bilingual's *productive* language, and proficiency in this, rather than on *receptive* skills. Hockett (1968) proposed the term '*semibilingualism*' (c.f. Hansegard's 'semilingualism' — see p. 10) to describe a person who can *understand* but not *speak* a second language. Very often, this second language is similar to the first: L1 may be Spanish, for example, and L2 Italian.

De Vito (1970) stressed the importance of assessing not only 'productive' speech but also 'comprehension' levels in the second language. This issue assumes great importance when one realizes that many of the 'bilingual' children referred for remedial work because of a suspected (first) language-learning problem, have a working understanding of L2 though they do not seem to be able to utter any meaningful words in this language. When

individuals do not express themselves in one language the reason is sometimes 'will not' rather than 'cannot', sometimes because of a negative attitude to the language in question. This is not always L2, and is very often L1 – especially among second-generation immigrant children, who often tend to reject their parents' culture and language in an attempt to identify with the host community and peers in school.

'**Receptive bilingualism**' is a term similar to Hockett's 'semibilingualism' and it is also used to describe the 'bilingual' who can understand but not speak a second language. Some have also referred to this as '**passive bilingualism**' (see Baetens Beardsmore, *op. cit.*, who reports that it is not a favoured term, as decoding language is an *active* neurological process).

This is contrasted with '**productive bilingualism**', which refers to a speaker who can understand *and* use both languages, without implying that he is 'bilingual' (able to read and write) in both languages nor that, if he was, he would be able to do so with the same level of proficiency in both languages. 'Productive bilinguals' may be able to write in two languages but not speak with equal fluency in both. The term does not specify the *level* of proficiency, but the *relative* proficiency between the languages.

The point has been made that certain DL speakers may not keep each of their languages functionally (or even linguistically) independent, and that their communication system may effectively comprise two lexicons. In addition to lexical borrowing from either language system, there may also be grammatical, morphological, syntactic (and phonemic) borrowing and/or interference (Weinreich, *op. cit.*). If in assessing 'communicative' proficiency, such borrowing and/or interference is considered a *negative* factor, DL speakers will be penalized and their proficiency considered inferior. When this happens, it is 'language' proficiency or proficiency in *each* language that is being assessed, rather than 'communicative proficiency'.

(iv) *Use and frequency of use of each language*

The use that 'bilingual' speakers make of each language will depend very much on socioeconomic factors: their nationality status; whether they are immigrants or not, and how long they have lived in the new (host) linguistic environment; the language used by their parents; their attitudes; cultural and political forces; and the official linguistic status of the country where they live. Other factors may also determine how frequently 'bilinguals' use each language: the success with which they are able to cope with a second language; whether one language is dominant (Lambert, 1955; Cooper and Greenfield, 1975); their linguistic independence and success in either of the languages (Macnamara, 1967a; 1967b); and their motivation for use of L1 or L2 (Fishman *et al.*, 1975).

Ferguson (*op. cit.*) observed that some DL speakers used each language in different situations and coined the term '**diglossia**' to describe this phenomenon. He also observed that two varieties of language are often used in many communities. The varieties may be in the form of two dialects

of the same language, or even two distinct languages – as similar as Spanish and Italian, or as dissimilar as English and Cantonese. The two languages 'can exist side by side throughout the community, with each having a definite role to play' (Ferguson, *ibid.*).

Ferguson referred to the superposed language as the '**H**' (**High**) language and to the regional (native) language as the '**L**' (**Low**) language. Significantly, each language has a specific function and is used in a specific situation or 'domain' (Fishman, 1968a, 1968b). The H language is likely to be used in academic, religious and political situations; the L language is used more in personal and social situations. The H language is often considered more prestigious by its speakers than the L language, some 'diglossics' occasionally refusing to use the L language at all although they may be very fluent in it. The H/L distinction does not only appear in oral communication, but may also be presented in the community's literature.

It is more common for children to learn the L language; even though they may *hear* the H language at home and outside, they may not *learn* it until they start formal education. An individual is, therefore, likely to feel more comfortable with the L than with the H language. The grammar of L is learned informally and implicitly, whereas the grammar of H is learned formally and by studying its rules.

Ferguson's concept of 'diglossia' originally referred to two varieties of the same language. In the sixties, however, other authors extended the term to describe the functional characteristics of two or more *unrelated* languages. Fishman (*op. cit.*) also widened the concept, by attempting to relate psychological perspectives, such as 'compound' and 'coordinate bilingualism' (Ervin and Osgood, *op. cit.*) to the sociological basis implied by the term 'diglossia'. Furthermore, Fishman (1967) states that 'bilingualism' and 'diglossia' can coexist; they can also coexist mutually exclusively.

Pohl (*op. cit.*) uses the term '**horizontal bilingualism**' to describe the situation where two languages share the same official, cultural and social status, in contrast to Ferguson's H and L languages. A closer equivalent to 'diglossia' is described by Pohl's term '**vertical bilingualism**', where a speaker would use a standard language, but has also acquired a 'distinct but related dialect' (Pohl, *op. cit.*; see Baetens Beardsmore, *op. cit.*). The use of a dialect together with a 'genetically unrelated standard language' has been referred to as '**diagonal bilingualism**' (Pohl, *op. cit.*; see Baetens Beardsmore, *op. cit.*).

Individuals do not always decide for themselves how and when to use the languages available to them. There are many communities in the world, some having been colonized by other nations, which adopt an outside or, as Kloss (1968) called it, '**exoglossic**' language as their official one. This may happen in a variety of circumstances. It may be that several indigenous languages and/or dialects are spoken in the community, none of which can command enough support to become accepted as the 'official' language. An outside language may be chosen as the official one because it has a higher status in the world, or because of very strong economic links with nations using that language in commerce.

As mentioned in the context of diglossia, the use or frequency of use of a second language by an individual may be restricted to very specific situations. In discussing the concept of 'semi-bilingualism', Baetens Beardsmore (*op. cit.*) proposes the term '**functional bilingualism**'. He argues that speakers can be considered **minimally** 'functional bilinguals' if they can cope with a 'restricted set of activities in a second language'; their knowledge of grammatical rules and the extent of their lexicon in L2 is restricted to those particular activities. He gives the example of international airline pilots who may need to be able to communicate in an L2 solely for their professional needs. This term would suggest that any tourist achieving a limited level of 'holiday' L2 proficiency, would be considered a **minimally functional bilingual**. The **maximally functional bilingual** is equivalent to the traditionally-defined bilingual, and can apply his knowledge of both languages to most situations. Neither of these terms take into account relative proficiency in each language.

This chapter has provided a brief review of the typology and terminology found in the literature on 'bilingualism', and offers an argument in favour of an all-embracing term – 'Dual Language'. In conclusion, the reader is reminded that, for the bilingual as for the monolingual, the major purpose of language is *communication*, irrespective of separate or relative proficiencies in the languages concerned. The communication system with a dual linguistic code should surely, therefore, be considered viable.