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RESEARCH RELEVANT TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF BILINGUAL CURRICULA.

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THERE ARE MANY USEFUL FIELDS IN ADDITION TO LINGUISTICS FOR ANYONE PLANNING FOR BILINGUAL EDUCATION. THESE INCLUDE PSYCHOLINGUISTICS, SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY, SOCIOLINGUISTICS, AND DEVELOPMENTAL PSYCHOLINGUISTICS. PSYCHOLINGUISTICS HAS ESTABLISHED TWO TYPES OF BILINGUALS--COMPOUND AND COORDINATE. THE COMPOUND BILINGUAL MIXES BOTH LANGUAGES WITHOUT ALWAYS BEING AWARE THAT HE DOES. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE COORDINATE BILINGUAL SEEMS TO OPERATE ON TWO SEPARATE CHANNELS, KEEPING HIS LANGUAGES SEPARATE. THIS SUGGESTS THAT POSITIVE ATTITUDES SHOULD BE DEVELOPED AT EARLIER AGES. PSYCHOLINGUISTS SUPPORT THE IDEA THAT A BILINGUAL BE PROVIDED WITH A RICH REPERTOIRE OF LINGUISTIC ALTERNATIVES FROM WHICH HE CAN CONSCIOUSLY SELECT THE MOST APPROPRIATE LINGUISTIC BEHAVIOR. THE NEW FIELD OF DEVELOPMENTAL PSYCHOLINGUISTICS HAS MADE SOME RECENT FINDINGS WHICH SEEM RELEVANT TO METHODOLOGY. THIS FIELD IS INTERESTED IN PLOTTING ALL STAGES OF CONCEPT AND LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT IN CHILDREN, AND SOME OF ITS OBSERVATIONS SEEM TO CONTRADICT HYPOTHESES LANGUAGE TEACHERS HAVE HELD REGARDING THE ACQUISITION PROCESS. FINALLY, RESEARCH IN THE SYSTEMS APPROACH SHOWS GREAT PROMISE IN OFFERING THE MOST EFFICIENT STRATEGIES FOR INCORPORATING IDEAS FROM ALL FIELDS OF LEARNING. THIS REPORT WAS PRESENTED AT THE ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHERS, EL PASO, TEXAS, NOVEMBER 10-11, 1967. (ES)

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Research Relevant to the Development of Bilingual Curricula

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There are many fields besides linguistics which could be of use to anyone planning for bilingual education. In this article specific contributions from four such fields will be discussed: psycholinguistics, social psychology, sociolinguistics and developmental psycholinguistics.

Each helps us look at bilingual education from a different perspective. Psycholinguistics speak in terms of two types of bilinguals, one allegedly better than the other. Social psychologists have pointed to correlations between specific attitudes and success in becoming bilingual. Sociolinguistics can help us specify more realistic language objectives by having us focus on the co-occurrence between the type of language used and the social interactions which seem to dictate this usage. Finally, recent findings by developmental psycholinguistics may force us to re-examine some of our earlier notions in regard to language acquisition and teaching methodology.

Psycholinguistics [1] has established two types of bilinguals: compound and coordinate. The compound bilingual has a single language system with a single set of referents. He mixes both languages without always being aware that he does so. If he becomes brain-damaged, he has more difficulty recovering his language facility than does a coordinate bilingual.

On the other hand, the coordinate bilingual seems to operate on two separate channels. He keeps his languages separate. He is always aware of what language he is using. If he suffers brain damage (aphasia) he recovers his speaking facility more easily. He has learned his languages in separate cultural milieus, has at least partially distinct referents for the two languages and can readily associate with speakers from either culture. In short, he is bilingual and bicultural, the ideal product of bilingual education.

As has been said, it seems that a coordinate bilingual has learned his language in separate cultural settings. What does this mean for bilingual education? Can we educate coordinate bilinguals in schools? What can we do to separate the two language learning contexts? Probably the minimum requirement would be to use separate native speakers for instruction in each language. Is this enough? Obviously, we cannot replicate two different cultures in a school setting. So far, we don't even know how different the teaching contexts have to be to assure true coordinate bilingualism. Research is definitely needed here. If coordinates cannot be trained in a school setting, is it still worthwhile educating compound bilinguals?

Even if we could replicate two separate cultural settings within a school context we would still have problems. Suppose one culture is simply repugnant to the average child raised in America. Then its constant presence could possibly engender negative attitudes toward

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the language that reflects it and thus militate against the objective of bilingual schooling.

Social psychologists[2] have carried out attitudinal studies which are relevant to second language learning. They have found, for example, that students who are integrative (i.e., like the second culture) succeed better than those who are instrumental (i.e., study language as a tool).

This suggests that if we could interest our students in both milieus, they might better become bilingual. True, no causal relationship has been established between integrative attitude and success in language learning. However, acting on the assumption that such a relationship does obtain (until disproved), we might seek interesting cultural facets of the second community to which the student would be anxious to relate. If he really becomes interested in that second culture we should expect increased language competence on his part.

This is not farfetched. We probably all know of cases where students seem to succeed in particular subjects because of empathy with their teacher. At the college level they may even choose their major subject for such reasons. In teaching a foreign language, a teacher has a complete civilization from which to draw for motivational material. For example, at the rebellious teen-age level, a student might very easily emphathise with Mauriac's "Thérese" or Camus' "Etranger".

It is probably not inappropriate at this point to question the usual cultural fare of most foreign language programs. This fare is too often the literature or history of the country. Surely, there must be more direct means of encouraging the child to enjoy some of the more low-brow culture which fascinates his foreign counterpart? This, in turn, could easily be the point of departure for further, more "serious" exchanges on values and styles. A specific example might help from the second culture I know best, French. Songs by Francoise Hardy, a popular rock and roll singer who accompanies herself on the guitar, would interest a teen-ager very much. These could easily become the focal point of discussion conducted in French on the differences between American and French approaches to the popular love song, i.e., musical, lyrical (linguistic) and content differences between the two. This could also give rise to cultural differences on dating, love, etc. Another possibility might be the weekly showing of a popular foreign T.V. program addressed to the appropriate age groups, via video-tape, etc. There seem to be many interesting possibilities open to us.

On the other hand, there are approaches to be avoided. For example, telling a child he should be proud to be bilingual is not necessarily helpful. It may help if a highly respected Anglo does the telling. Also, forcing him to study a propagandized history of his country of origin is just as fruitless. His probable reaction will be that you're adding another burden of uninteresting facts and dates to his memory. Besides, if I may get personal, there is something of a letdown in getting through the history of French Canada only to be reminded that we lost the final battle, no matter how many bodies were strewn on the battlefield. Finally, it is probably not very helpful to ask the students to study only the early classical literature of the culture involved, unless it has been found to be stimulating to their age group. Generally, the selections

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taught at the earlier levels of high school seem rather stuffy and uncontroversial — therefore, not too appealing to that age group. In brief, let us explore more creative ways for making integrative learners of our bilingual students.

Social psychologists have also made interesting findings concerning stereotypes between two language groups. They are worth mentioning here because they may play a role in the relative success or failure of a bilingual student. Let us be more specific. Lambert[2] found that French Canadian bilingual girls tended to develop negative attitudes regarding themselves by about age 12. This suggests that perhaps something might be tried in the school or societal context to prevent this from occurring during the early years of schooling. What this might be is not clear. Perhaps the empathic native English-speaking teacher might be of great assistance here. Positive references to bilinguals in English texts might also help. Finally, a staff of self-reliant coordinate bilingual teachers might complement such a drive.

Lambert also found that one language group did not have blanket stereotypes vis-a-vis the other. The English Canadian had negative stereotypes of the French Canadian man. However, the French Canadian woman fared rather well. "The English Canadian men saw the French Canadian lady . . . as more intelligent, ambitious, self-confident, dependable, courageous and sincere than their English counterparts. The English Canadian ladies were not quite so gracious, although they, too, rated the French Canadian ladies as more intelligent, ambitious, self-confident (but shorter) than the English Canadian woman."

The French Canadian woman must become aware of this in later life and realizes that her second language is an asset to her. We might expect that she would, therefore, be more willing to maintain bilingualism.

On the other hand, the French Canadian male, sensing his lower ranking, might be better motivated to learn English as a foreign language and let his native language deteriorate. Hopefully, if he can be educated to master standard English as a means of warding off negative social reaction from monolinguals, he might conceivably regain his self-confidence and be induced to maintain his native language since it would at this point no longer endanger his social mobility.

If he could be motivated to maintain his French, psychological research would suggest that he be taught by speakers of continental French, since in the eyes of the Anglo-Canadian, this speaker enjoys a better image than the French Canadian. Unfortunately, no one seems to have tried to relate the Montreal findings to other bilingual communities, so we don't know how they might apply elsewhere.

Sociolinguistics[3] has a more direct contribution to make to bilingual education. It has been examining the linguistic division of labor performed by two languages in a situation of stable intragroup bilingualism. It has found that one language tends to become linked to high culture and formality and the other with intimacy and informality. The kind of language associated with high culture and formality is really dictated by social rules. It is generally rather static and fixed, compared to the more individualistic, more creative language of intimacy and infor-

mality where social constraints are not at work. Language teaching so far has preferred to address itself to the formal level. No doubt that is why dialogue memorization, etc., is so popular.

However, if the bilingual child expects to integrate into the monolingual society, he must have access to an informal linguistic repertoire which will not be repugnant to his monolingual counterpart. (It could be repugnant either because he is too formal or too coarse.) Only such a repertoire would allow him to break through the linguistic barrier against his social mobility.

Language functions can be further subdivided according to topic, setting and interrelationship. There is a certain language required to discuss the topic, say, of world peace. This topic could be discussed with one's teacher or with fellow students. If one is discussing with his teacher, he is constrained to more formal usage. In talking with fellow students, his choice of styles is dependent upon the setting. In a roundtable discussion (class setting) the expected style is formal, but in a bull session with the same students at the corner drugstore, say, he can be more colloquial. Later, if he were drafted, he would have to resort to what we could call substandard usage in order to maintain social interaction.

What I am suggesting is that a bilingual be provided with a rich repertoire of linguistic alternatives from which he can consciously select the most appropriate linguistic behavior based upon his realization of the social interactions involved.

This seems like a large order, I realize, but no doubt the repertoire could be limited by the probability with which each language would be used for different functions, domains, etc. Some would be essential. For example, a speaker of Spanish should feel comfortable in the use of formal English during the transactional event of being interviewed for a job.

Such a functional approach to language teaching has been applied successfully in teaching disadvantaged children.[4] Here, the purpose is to give these children the language repertoire necessary to understand and elicit information in a school setting. They are first taught to name things (nouns). then to describe them (adjectives), and their actions (verbs), etc. Later, they learn to ask yes/no questions about these things, then questions which elicit responses which carry more than just yes/no information, etc. As they go on, they are taught to use and understand "if . . . then" constructions, so that they can understand and discuss cause and effect relationships, etc. This approach, based somewhat on the pattern drill method of language teaching, is a useful model of a functional approach to language teaching.

It would not be appropriate to terminate this article on research relevant to bilingual education without reference to the contribution of the new field of developmental psycholinguistics[5] to our understanding of language acquisition. It has made findings which seem relevant to methodology.

This field is interested in plotting all stages of concept and language development in children. Some of its observations seem to contradict hypotheses language teachers hold regarding the acquisitional process.

We are not suggesting that the process of learning a second language duplicates the steps of first language learning. Yet it might be fruitful to run experiments, in the school setting, which might help us determine exactly how similar these two processes are.

For example, a psycholinguist has said that the language teacher might best present foreign syntax using the same steps that a child goes through to acquire it. Thus, he would first teach one-word utterances which could carry many meanings, then, via so-called "pivot" or function words, bring the learner to use two-word utterances, etc. It would have to be established that such a presentation would indeed be effective and interesting from the learner's point of view. But then, how many language methods have ever been meaningfully researched for effectiveness and interest?

Psycholinguistics also reminds us that a child learns his first language without being "taught", as we understand that term. We don't know what goes on here, but somehow the child intuitively learns how to interpret utterances on his own before he can speak. It is true he may repeat what he hears his parents say. Yet he does this much more rarely than we have been assuming in the past. This should not be used as an excuse for not trying to teach, but it is a healthy thing to remember.

Studies on the echoic behavior of children have also shown that children can say more than they understand and that there are many limitations on the types of structures they can imitate. Scholars are even questioning that echoic behavior is what leads to first language learning.

A recent study[6] on the effects of adult expansion of children's utterances seems to support this view. It has generally been thought that when a child says "dog bite", his parents can best help his language acquisition by expanding the original utterance, something like, "Yes, the dog is biting." This procedure is effective. However, the surprising fact is that children seem to learn language even more quickly from expatiation, i. e., when the child says "dog bite," the adult says "Yes, he's angry." This is an important finding. It seems to indicate that children learn more from normal conversation situations than from the artificial, unreal and sometimes very uninteresting approach of the pattern drill. It suggests that we allow ourselves to experiment with more realistic language situations in teaching. Of course, its use will demand more creativity on the part of the textbook author and the teacher.

Finally, research in the systems approach[7] shows great promise in offering us the most efficient strategies for incorporating all the above findings along with those of linguists into the ideal bilingual program.

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