ABSTRACT
        The bilingual is an individual who straddles and/or
links, to a greater or lesser degree, two or more languages and
cultures. The degree of language and cultural dominance can vary from
individual to individual, and bilingual programs must take this
variety into consideration. This paper considers some of the varying
degrees of bilingual language/cultural dominance and discusses the
need for programs which serve all members of the community.
Bilingualism within a particular community must be defined before
programs can be designed. (VM)
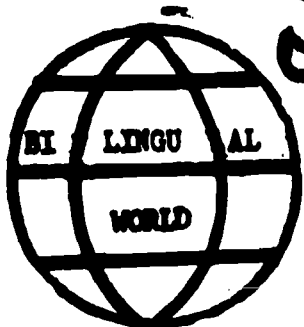
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Bilingualism and Bilingual Education Programs

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List of abreviations and definitions used in or pertinent to this monograph.

TEFL (EFL) Teaching English as a Foreign Language... identifies those programs of language instruction in those parts of the world where some other language is spoken, e.g. just as the study of Chinese in United States schools is classed as "foreign language" study, so the study of English in France comes under the heading of "foreign language" study. An English language program in Turkey, therefore, would be an example of a TEFL program.

TESL (ESL) Teaching English as a Second Language*... identifies those programs of English language instruction found in English speaking areas but intended to benefit non-English speaking persons who find themselves in those areas, e.g. an English language program of instruction in London for Italian speakers living there would be an example of a TESL program; all English language courses for Spanish speakers offered in the New York City public schools are TESL programs. We can now make the following TEFL/TESL distinction: the same English language course for non-English speakers offered in Mayagüez, Puerto Rico and in Brooklyn, New York, would be given two different classifications, the one in Mayagüez would be an example of TEFL, and the one in Brooklyn would be TESL.

TESOD (ESOD) Teaching English to Speakers of Other Dialects... identifies those programs of General Standard English instruction, generally found in English speaking communities and intended to benefit English speakers who use a non-standard pattern of English, e.g. a course in General Standard American English for Cockney English speakers would be an example of TESOD.

TESOL (ESOL) Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages... is simply a classification of convenience to include all three already identified under one heading, i.e. TEFL, TESL, and TESOD are all specialized activities under the heading of TESOL.

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These classifications can be conveniently projected to include other language study areas, e.g. S for Spanish, C for Chinese, G for German, P for Portuguese, N for Navajo, etc. For Spanish language study programs for example, we can establish the following classifications:

TSFL (SFL) Teaching Spanish as a Foreign Language... for those Spanish language programs found in China, Japan, England, Turkey, the United States, etc.

TSSOD (SSOD) Teaching Spanish to Speakers of Other Dialects... as in the case of standard Castilian courses for Andalusian Spanish speakers.

TSSOL (SSOL) Teaching Spanish to Speakers of Other Languages... a convenience classification which would include TSFL, TSSL, and TSSOD.

*NOTE: English as a Second Language is also used to identify the use of English (by common agreement) as a lingua franca in multilingual areas, as is the case in some of the new countries of Africa where the citizenry is composed of numerous different speech communities, and where no satisfactory agreement can be reached on making any one of the native languages the "official" language of the new nation. A temporary and makeshift solution is to make some outside language, be it English or French, or Portuguese, or some other, the language of government and official transactions. This type of solution avoids intense, internal jealousies but commits everyone to having to learn a foreign language.

Any program of instruction justifies its existence by its product. The better the quality, the greater the versatility and economy of that product, then, obviously the more difficult it becomes to ignore or deny the justification for such a program of instruction.

When we find that, "... 87 percent of Puerto Ricans over 25 years of age in New York City have not completed high school"[1], we have a situation in which the existing programs of instruction in the public schools are failing to produce a quality product.

Historically, beginning with the landing of the Mayflower in 1620, public education in the United States developed as a strictly one language, one culture process in spite of the fact that the English-speaking pilgrims, and later in 1630 the large numbers of English speaking Puritans who migrated to America, were in contact with a number of American Indian languages, with French, and later with Spanish; all of these languages had been functioning in America prior to the arrival of the pilgrims.

The immigrant pilgrims were a group of persecuted people who were fleeing from a social oppression which refused to allow them to be what they were, i.e. human beings with certain beliefs and a way of life which they felt they had a right to practice. Feeling that in America they would be free to be what they were, they set sail for the distant land of promise and landed on the coast of what is now Massachussetts a definitely introverted, endocentric social group. This handful of 100 immigrants set foot in America very conscious of their Puritan selves, they had come to America to be Puritans and so it would be. Immediately after their arrival and their initial contact with the American Indians they undoubtedly became very conscious of their white skinned selves and, shortly thereafter, their contacts with the French and eventually with the Spanish-speaking groups gave them their basis for a clear cut identification in the new land; they were the only group that could claim to be WHITE, ENGLISH-SPEAKING, and PURITAN. Being white, English-

speaking and Puritan was a simple enough definition of WE and the absence of any one of these, or the substitution of something else for any one of these was easily defined as THEY.

In these terms, the identification of a North American colonist may have been quite simple in the Seventeenth Century, but what sort of mentality would insist on the same criteria for the end of the Twentieth Century?

During the 70's we see Catholics, Jews, Blacks, Orientals, persons of Spanish, German, Polish, Russian, Greek, Italian, French heritage in North American politics, professions, industry, etc. We find ourselves undeniably in the era of bilingual and bicultural America.

Every day we encounter dedicated, responsible, contributing Americans who are not white, who may speak English with the sounds of another language, and whose religious convictions may be anything other than Protestant. Every day we also encounter dedicated, responsible, contributing Americans who are white, who speak English perfectly, and whose religious convictions may be called Protestant, but who speak another language fluently, who know, appreciate, and are sympathetic toward the way of life and the values of another culture... all of these persons are elements in the bilingual-bi-cultural picture of our Twentieth Century America and World.

Monolingual, monocultural persons are rapidly becoming the truly disad-vantaged.

Bilingualism is a phenomenon which can be identified and described in a number of ways; it can be viewed linguistically, or sociologically, or psychologically.

As a linguistic phenomenon, Bilingualism can be defined as two or more linguistic systems functioning alternately, to a greater or lesser degree, in an individual; as a sociological phenomenon it is two or more linguistic systems functioning alternately, to a greater or lesser degree, in a com-munity or society (in which case the phenomenon is called Diglossia); and, as a psychological phenomenon, it can be defined as the set of attitudes and personality traits in a bilingual individual which lead him to prefer one language or another for purposes of communication.

Linguistically, sociologically and psychologically then, the bilingual is an individual who straddles and/or links, to a greater or lesser degree, two or more languages and cultures; the bilingual is the connecting element in and through which two otherwise separate and divided cultural processes are filtered and become synthesized.

Any bilingual enjoys a greater potential for depth of understanding for the ways and values of two cultures, A and B, than a strictly monocultural mono-lingual of comparable age and experience. This, however, is not without complication. The factors of 'degree' and 'dominance' immediately come to bear along with the amount of formal knowlege possessed by the bicultural-bilingual individual as reflected in Figure 3 of this monograph.

Though the bilingual straddles two or more cultures and languages, and he serves as a link between them, it is essential to realize that he is neither totally identified in terms of the one nor totally in terms of the other though he may be perfectly capable of functioning successfully in either one.

The balanced bicultural-bilingual professional, for example, can function most effectively and successfully in Culture A but not witnout occasional instances of interference from Culture B and vice versa. Differences of bicultural bilingual dominance, naturally, increase the possibilities of interference. This factor of degree of bicultural bilingual balance or dominance establishes three points of reference with dominance at the extremes and approximate balance at mid-point, as represented in Figure 1.
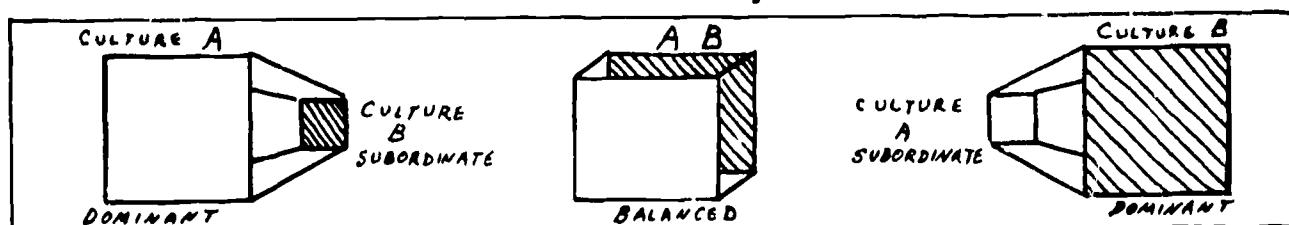

Figure 1.   Bicultural Bilingual Dominance.

The education of bilinguals requires special programs of instruction to satisfy the unique needs of bilinguals, to preclude the danger of atrophy or loss of a linguistic and cultural resource, and to insure the development and refinement of skills and abilities which will lead to the formation of bilingual specialists.

The bilingual specialist, i.e. the bilingual carpenter, librarian, lawyer, clergyman, school official, plumber, restaurant owner, doctor, soldier, policeman, pilot, politician, bus driver, supermaket employee, etc. etc. etc., is an extremely valuable natural resource of tremendous economic value to the nation for he is worth as many persons as languages he knows, e.g. a lawyer, or doctor, who knows, and can function professionally in, four different languages is as good as four different such individuals on the payroll. Furthermore, he is capable of attracting, at least, four times as many clients or patients to his place of business.

Our country, historically and presently, has numerous neighborhoods, towns, cities and regions which contain communities of peoples whose language is one other than English. The children of these communities, upon reaching school age, come into our public schools with no knowledge of English or with limitations in their control of English.

The program of instruction which recognizes the value of not only preserving but also developing and augmenting this linguistic and cultural resource while it develops and augments the student's control of the English language and the North American way of life is then working toward producing a quality product which will benefit the nation.

Working with the bilingual student presents a far more complex instructional picture than does working with the strictly monolingual student, but this is not to be construed as meaning that the solution is to make all students monolingual.

The English monolingual segment ranges on a vertical plane from illiterates to literates and the challenge to the public schools and their programs of

instruction involves teaching X, an illiterate English monolingual, to read and write English. Literate, English monolingual, Y, generally presents no English problem other than perhaps dialect. Figure 2 represents the afore described situation in diagrammatic form.


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                    ┌──────────────────┐
                    │ Literate         │
                    │      ▲           │
                    │      │           │
                    │ English          │
                    │ Monolinguals     │
                    │      │           │
                    │      ▼           │
                    │ Illiterate       │
                    └──────────────────┘


              English Monolinguals


         X                          Y

    Illiterate                  Literate


Y   Presents no English problem (other than dialect)
X   Must be taught to read and write English.
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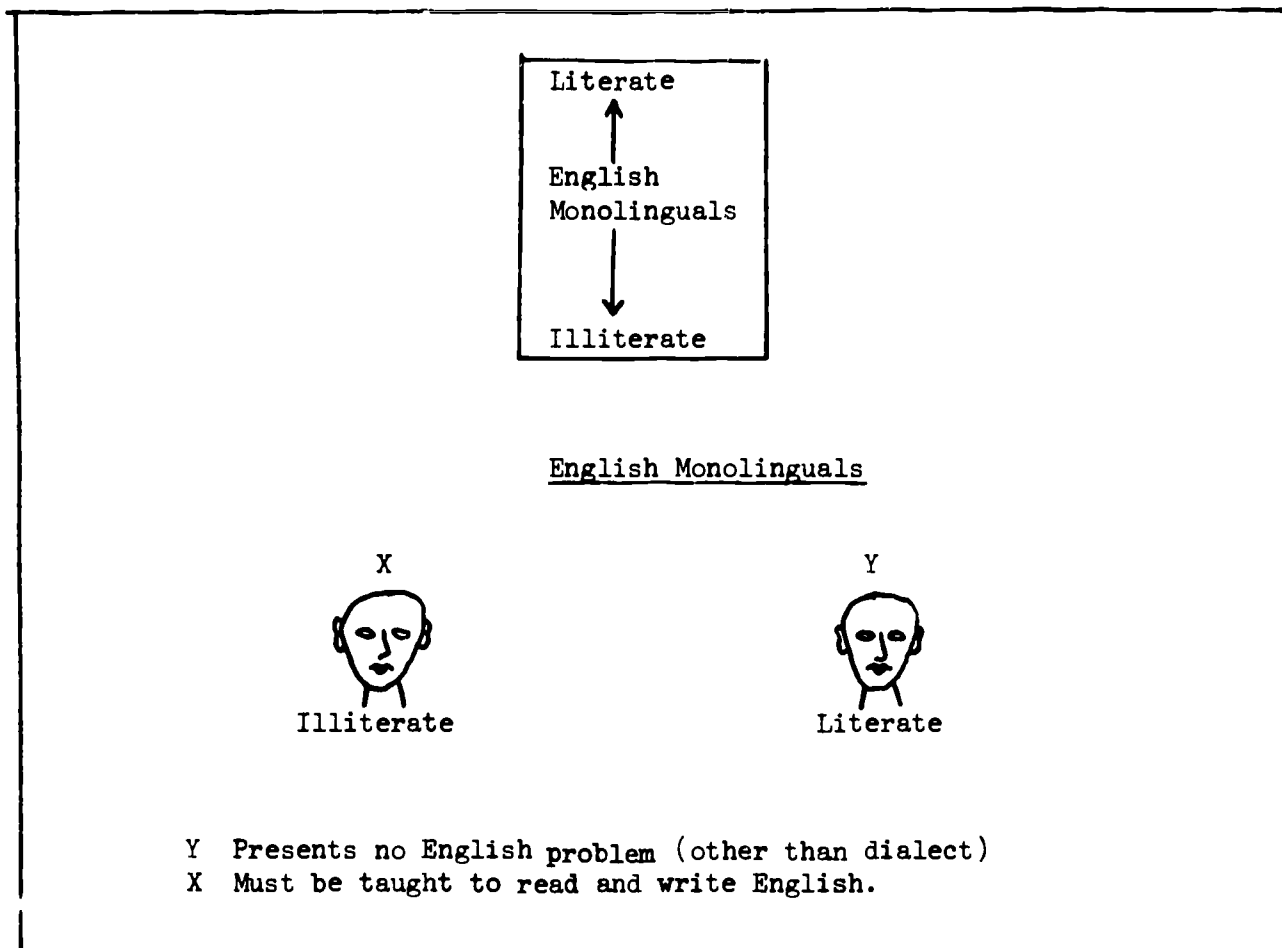
FIGURE 2.   The Dominant Language Group.

The linguistic, sociological and psychological framework within which the bilingual individual functions is considerably more complicated by comparison. In addition to the comparable vertical dimension ranging from illiterate to literate, there is also a horizontal dimension ranging from almost completely say English monolingual, at one extreme to almost completely say Spanish monolingual at the other; somewhere at mid-point lies the ideal range of the balanced bilingual who controls both languages to equal degree of proficiency. From mid-point on the horizontal scale, toward the one extreme, the bilingual at each progressive point is found to be more and more English dominant while toward the other extreme he is progressively more and more Spanish dominant.

At the almost completely English monolingual extreme we find two types, English dominant illiterate A and English dominant literate B. At the almost completely Spanish monolingual extreme we also find two types, Spanish dominant literate C and Spanish dominant illiterate D.

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From mid point to the left, the English dominant bilingual can form part of any one of four possible categories, i.e. English and Spanish literate E, English literate and Spanish illiterate F, English illiterate and Spanish literate G, and English and Spanish illiterate H. From mid point to the right, the Spanish dominant bilingual can also form part of any of four possible categories, i.e. Spanish and English literate I, Spanish literate and English illiterate J, Spanish illiterate and English literate K, and Spanish and English illiterate L.

Taking into consideration only the language training needs for this afore described bilingual group, we find that B,E, and F present no English problem other than dialect; A,C,D,G,H,J and L must be taught to read and write English; C and D must be taught to speak English; I,J,K, and L must receive advanced oral English training; and I must receive advance training in reading and writing English.

On the other hand, C,I, and J present no Spanish problem other than dialect; A,B,D,F,H,K, and L must be taught to read and write Spanish. A and B must be taught to speak Spanish; E,F,G, and H must receive advanced oral Spanish training; and E must receive advanced training in reading and writing Spanish.
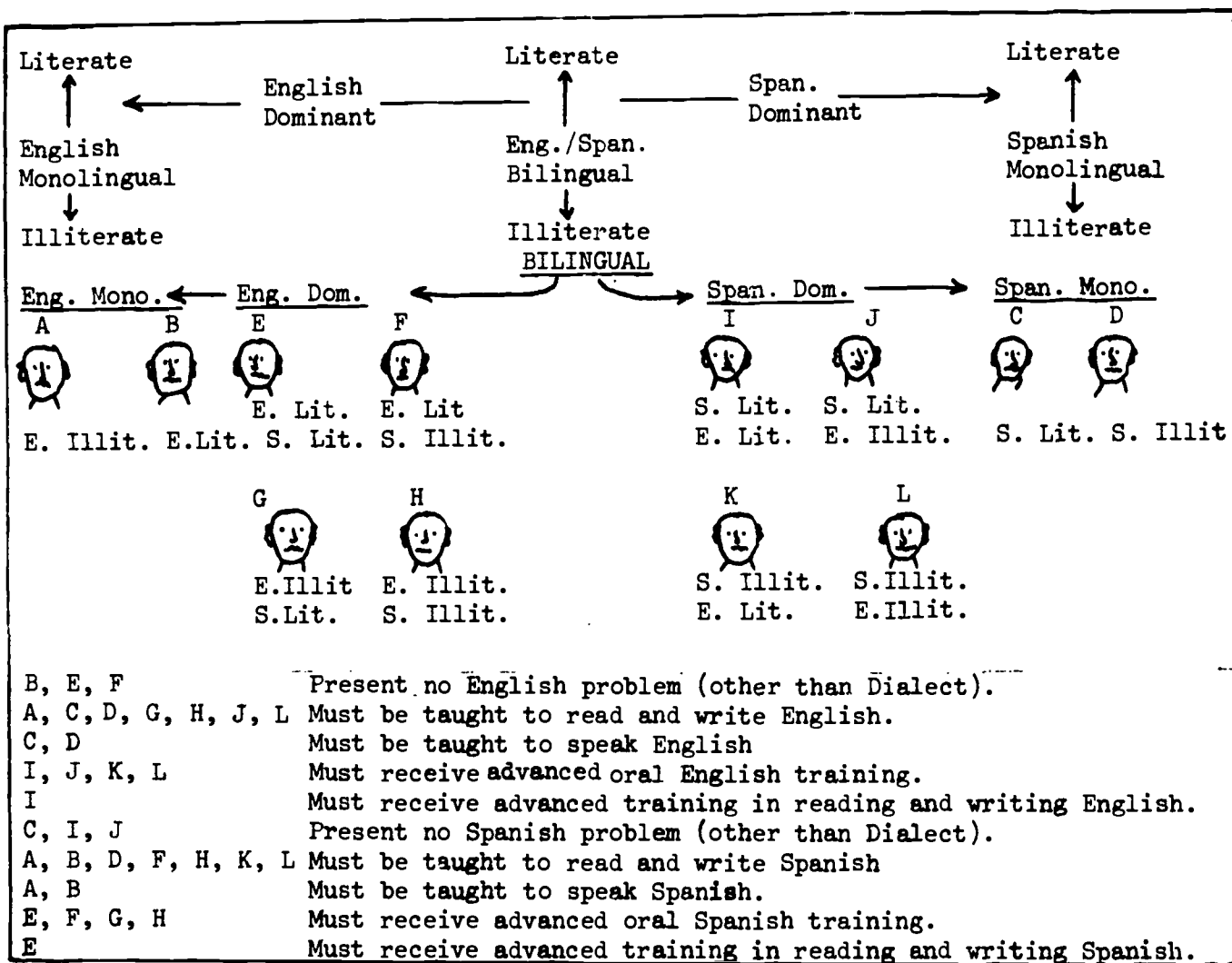

B, E, F	Present no English problem (other than Dialect).
A, C, D, G, H, J, L	Must be taught to read and write English.
C, D	Must be taught to speak English
I, J, K, L	Must receive advanced oral English training.
I	Must receive advanced training in reading and writing English.
C, I, J	Present no Spanish problem (other than Dialect).
A, B, D, F, H, K, L	Must be taught to read and write Spanish
A, B	Must be taught to speak Spanish.
E, F, G, H	Must receive advanced oral Spanish training.
E	Must receive advanced training in reading and writing Spanish.

FIGURE 3. The Minority Language Group. 3

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The program of instruction that effectively meets the needs of English monocultural monolingual individuals is too limited, too restricted, insufficient, and inadequate to meet the more compounded needs of bilingual individuals or individuals who speak a language other than English (almost 11,000,000 persons in the United States of whom over 3,000,000 are Spanish speakers[2]).

Historically we see an analogous situation when the Greeks, in the time of Aristotle, were making their first attempts at preparing grammars, and we see Greeks, describing the structure of Greek, in Greek for Greeks... a very effective procedure for Greeks but too limited, too restricted, insufficient, and inadequate to meet the needs of Persians, Phoenicians and Egyptians. We agree then that English monocultural monolingual students can be taught effectively by English speaking teachers in English, but non-English speakers cannot.

Bilingual education has a primary objective of producing a bilingual product, better prepared to better serve the community and the nation in an era of all-encompasing international interests. It does this via the system of schools, colleges and universities through bilingual education programs.

A well-designed, well-integrated and well-organized bilingual education program serves all members of the community, the adults and the children, the literate and the illiterate, the monolingual and almost monolingual as well as those who are bilingual.

It is not imposed on any segment of the community, it is a service provided for all those who wish to benefit from the greater advantages it offers, it does not penalize the non-English speaker, and it provides a broader horizon for the interested English speaker.

Bilingual education serves all members of the community because its benefits are available to all who participate in it as a result of their own interest and through their own decision. It serves the adults of the community by providing language and culture programs of instruction (TSSOL/TESOD for the English-speaking members of the community, and TESOL/TSSOD for the Spanish-speaking members). It serves the children of the community by making it possible for each child to acquire fluency in all of the linguistic skills of another language by 8th grade so that he can communicate with native fluency in two languages and acquire formal knowledge and develop skills via two languages; all this while receiving instruction in subject matter initially through his mother tongue but, ever increasingly, through the second language also.

It serves those who are literate in both English and the second language by continuing the development, improvement, and refinement of their control of the graphic skills. It serves those who are literate in one language but illiterate in the other by giving them the opportunity of becoming literate in both, and it serves those who are illiterate in both languages by teaching them to read and write in the two languages.

Bilingual education programs benefit monocultural monolingual persons by providing the guidance and the means for their becoming bilinguals at an early age. They serve the almost monolingual bilingual by offering the

necessary instruction and training to prevent the loss of the subordinate language and, further, by making every possible effort to close the gap that exists between the dominant language and the subordinate language. They benefit the already bilingual person by continued development and refinement of all the linguistic skills for both languages and by providing formal education via both languages.

The regretably crystallized and simplistic monocultural approach to education has penalized the non-English speaking child by giving him but one option, i.e. sink or swim. This simplistic approach presupposes that all creatures are fish; but not all creatures are fish, some are sparrows. Just as a fish dropped into space with the instructions to fly or be dashed against the rocks will perish, so a sparrow thrown into the sea with no option but to sink or swim will likely sink... the pitifully small number of swimming sparrows proves the rule. A paraphrasing of the second paragraph of this article could afford our comparison here a statistical note of sorts by suggesting that, "... 87 percent of all the sparrows dropped in the sea have drowned." Can we possibly accept as an explanation that this happens because sparrows are not as intelligent as fish? Could we say that this happens because sparrows have no ambition and no interest in learning to swim? Perhaps it's only the lazy sparrows that are drowning. Would it help to separate from the school of fish those sparrows still struggling for survival on the surface?, since they cannot compete with the fish they may well belong in a "slow learner" group. Finally, do we abandon the last few remaining sparrows because they're going to drown anyway?

The design of a bilingual education program that is going to meet the complex linguistic, sociological and psychological needs of bilinguals, taking into account the additional dimensions of degree and dominance, starts with a separation of language from subject matter. An orientation to and familiar-ization with the phenomenon we call bilingualism and the problems and chal-lenges facing bilingual persons linguistically, sociologically and psycho-logically, establishes not only a point of departure but a point of directional reference in the design of adequate and effective bilingual education programs. This simply means that if we know what bilingualism is within a community, then we are better prepared to identify the steps that need to be taken.

If we know that a student is a Spanish monolingual in an English monolingual educational situation, we know that he cannot be expected to acquire formal knowledge through English, we cannot waste precious time waiting until he learns English, we must supply him with formal knowledge now through Spanish.

If we know that a student has attained some degree of balanced bilingualism, we must insure not only that he retain this balance at the given level or moment, but that the necessary provisions be made available for the continued development and expansion of this most valuable asset.

If we know that the students are prepared to receive and are capable of receiving formal instruction in two languages, then we are obliged to make available to them an option for selecting courses taught in either language thus insuring their being able to benefit from whatever their choice.

If we know that a student from the minority group has reached a point of near total loss of his mother tongue and has chosen to enroll in a bilingual

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education program, then he must be given language instruction so he can regain his lost fluency, the same as for a student from the dominant language group who finds himself, by choice, in a bilingual program, he must be given the necessary training in the language and culture of the minority group if he is to be bilingual by 6th, 7th, or 8th grade.

If we know that diglossia exists in the community then we are committed to also answering the language needs of the adult members of that community, i.e. adult language courses in the language of the minority group for merchants, social workers, technicians and other specialists in the various trades, professionals and public servants who need to communicate with the members of the minority group; also in the language of the dominant group for members of the minority group who need it for purposes of employment, for earning a living and for carrying on the daily activities of life in the community.

If we know that illiteracy exists to some degree or another, e.g. that the individual is literate in the dominant language but illiterate in the minority language, or literate in the minority language but illiterate in the dominant one, or perhaps, illiterate in both, then we must provide programs of instruction which will provide the necessary instruction and training to make those enrollees who are illiterate literate and those for whom there is a literacy gap between one language and the other balanced literates.

A program of instruction designed to do the things described in the above paragraphs of this article would be called a bilingual education program. Figure 4 below offers an organization chart suggesting organizational and administrative relationships.
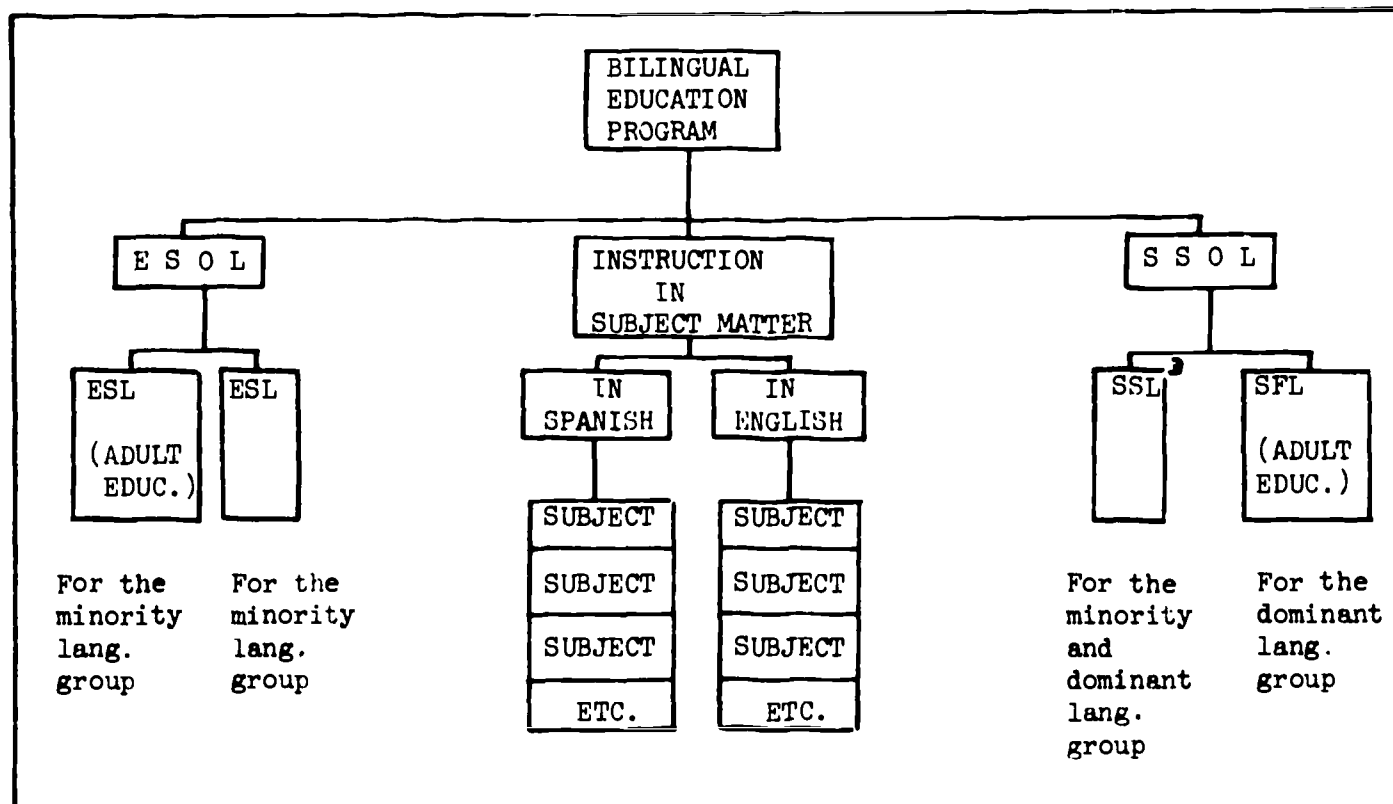

FIGURE 4. Organization Chart.

ESOL and SSOL programs of instruction are not new in American education, both have formed part of many curriculums in many public school systems in many parts of the United States for many years so that the presence of an ESOL program of instruction in a curriculum does not constitute a bilingual education program; the presence of an SSOL program does not constitute a bilingual education program either, nor does the combination of ESOL and SSOL.

The only innovation reflected in Figure 4 above is the presentation of instruction in subject matter in two or more languages. This is what is meant by and constitutes a bilingual education program even without, though certainly not recommended, the accompanying and supporting ESOL and SSOL components.

Bilingual education programs may be costly to a community, especially in the initial stages of development, but the loss of more and more potential bilingual specialists over the years is far more costly and indeed the major loss in the long run.

NOTA: La versión en español del artículo Bilingualism and Bilingual Education Programs se encuentra en preparación. Todo aquel lector que desee una copia de la versión en español favor de escribir a:

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State University of New York at Albany
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Albany, N. Y. 12222

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NOTES

1. Badillo, Herman. "The Politics and Realities of Bilingual Education."
   Foreign Language Annals V.5, No. 3 Mar. 1972 p. 300.

2. Fishman, Joshua, et al.
         Language Loyalty in the United States.

         London, Mouton and Co., 1966. Chapt. 2, p. 42.

3. ESL is for the minority language group only because the dominant language
   group knows English.

   SFL is for the dominant language group only because the dominant language group
   (ults) know no Spanish.

   SSL is for both the dominant and minority language groups because, as shown
   in Figure 3, there are those English dominant (almost English monolingual)
   individuals from the minority language group who would need to learn Spanish
   almost from the beginning.

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