ABSTRACT
        The following articles on bilingualism and bilingual
education are included: "The Lessons from Two Decades of Bilingual
Theory and Practice of Bilingual Education" (Inclan): "Social and
Psychological Aspects of Language Use by Bilingual Children" (Hill
and Rodriguez-Brown); "Psychological Aspects of Bilingualism and
Biculturalism in Mexican American Children" (Lindenfeld and
Carrasco-Schoch); "Ability and Performance Measures of Anglo and
Mexican-American Students at a Southwestern University" (Brock and
Calkins); "A Hierarchical Approach to Measures of Language
Proficiency" (Young); "The Acquisition of English by French-Canadian
Students in Welland, Ontario" (Mougeon and others); "Semantic
Compounding in the Speech of Mexican-American Bilinguals: A
Re-examination of the Compound-Coordinate Distinction" (Jacobson);
"Attitudes Toward Spanish: A Field Study" (Hannum); "Attitudes Toward
Bilingual Education: Ethnicity vs. Class" (Hoffer); "Political
Dynamics of Bilingualism and Biculturalism: Lessons from the Royal
Commission Reports" (McRae); "Three Case Studies in Italian American
Ethnicity and Language Use" (DiPietro); "Personal Reflections on
Growing Up Bilingual" (Haugen); "New Research Goals: Needs in
Paralanguage and Kinesics" (von Raffler-Engel); "Hold That Tiger!
Urgent Needs in Bilingual Education" (Macaulay); "Interdisciplinary
Linguistics and Bilingualism" (St. Clair); and "Correlating
Socio-educational and Linguistic Variables among Chicano College
Bilinguals" (Ornstein-Galicia and Goodman). (JB)

BILINGUALISM
AND
BILINGUAL EDUCATION

New Readings and insig

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TRINITY UNIVERSITY 1979

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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INTRODUCTION

Three year: ago, the editors agreed that it was igh time for
some new writing and insights to appear in the area : bilingualism
and bilingual education. The "classical" essays on the subject had
become pretty well known to virtually everyone in the field, meanwhile
the Lau v. Nichols Supreme Court decision (mandating bilingual educa-
tion wherever concentrations of minority youngsters spoke some mother
tongue other thin English) and related developments have brought the
subject of th s collection to the forefront of national attention.
At the same time. while millions are being spent in federal and state-
supported bilingual education programs, there are still serious gaps
in our knowledge of the complexities of bilingualism, the nature of
the multilingual individual, and how the educational process can best
be carried i re than one language.

Accord: y, raison d'etre of this book of readings is to make
new data and insights available to teachers, administrators, scholars,
social worke and all those who deal with multilinguals, be it in
the classroom or within the framework of such "intervention programs"
as Project Bravo or Head Start. One leading feature, and in our view,
strength, of these essays dealing with a rather broad spectrum of
topics, is that they are based either on extensive experience or on
empirical research. Very few have appeared in hardcover books or
wide-circulation periodicals, while most of them have been "gathered"
at professional conferences, from "working paper" collections, or
solicited by the editors. Contributors range from internationally-
known figures, through scholars at mid-career, to young and promising
younger scholars.

Bilingualism does not lend itself to arrangement into neat little
compartments, and anyone who attempts this travels at his own risk.
In this case, we decided to follow a four-way division, in which the
pragmatic and the theoretical would be represented.

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It seemed to us that the book would be most usable and mean-
ingful if the prospective reader would be guided through its con-
tents--much as a chairperson introduces a speaker. Accordingly,
in the first section "Bilingual Education: Practice and Theory"
we begin with an essay by Rosa G. Inclan, Consultant for Bilingual
Education in Miami, who shares with us "Lessons from Two Decades
of Bilingual Theory and Practice in Bilingual Education." Carol
Walcer and Flora V. Rodriguez-Brown deal with "Social and Psy-
chological Aspects of Language Use by Bilingual Children." They
observe children in the classroom as they learn and use the two
language systems. Jacqueline Lindenfeld, an anthropologist, and
Lucila Carrasco-Schoch write on "Mexican-American Children's
Perceptions of Bilingualism and Biculturalism," finding in their
modest sample that "balanced bilinguals" are more anglo-oriented,
while "asymmetrical bilingual" (Spanish dominant) experience
more conflict in bilingual programs, fearing that English study
will deprive them of their home language and culture. They plead
for more frequent inclusion of a "psychological component" in
programs which would create a more favorable atmosphere to the
study of both languages.

Finally, Bonnie S. Brooks and Dick Calkins, in "Mexican-
American Students in a Southwest University: How Do They Fare
Academically?", analyze the results of a sociolinguistic survey
of Chicano vs. Anglo undergraduates at the University of Texas,
El Paso (with the highest bilingual enrollment of any senior
university in the fifty states). Contrary to common notions,
Chicano students performed about equally well in most areas, and
even surpassed their Anglo peers in certain sectors.

The second section, dealing with "Investigative Aspects of
Bilingualism," addresses itself to topics of interest to both
students and teachers. In "A Hierarchical Approach to Measures of
Language Proficiency," Rodney Young explores this thorny problem
with a university professor and a high school teacher, while
presenting his own "hierarchical" model in some detail. This is
followed by two articles on language acquisition, an area
receiving increasing attention. In "Acquisition of English by

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=ench-Canadian Students in Welland, Ontario," Raymond Mougeon and
associates at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, pro-
vide an in-depth investigation of learning errors. They conclude
that there are two types: one resulting from interference from
the French mother tongue, the other "developmental", and mostly
self-correcting, as they are in the case of monolingual ontogeny.

In the two following essays, somewhat elusive semantic
problems are probed. Rodolfo Jacobson, in "Semantic Compounding
in the Speech of Mexican-Americans: A Re-examination of the
Compound-Coordinate Distinction" discusses the results of an
experiment to determine whether such bilinguals indeed possess two
"systems" of meanings for the same "referent" (object or idea
referred to). His evidence points rather to a fusion of the English
and Spanish systems.

Next, we encounter Thomasina Hannum's "Attitudes toward
Varieties of Spanish: A Field Report," investigating the attitudes
of New Mexico students toward other varieties of Spanish than their
own, both regional and national. Perhaps reflecting the impact
of civil and ethnic rights movements, the researcher found that
those speaking Southwest regional dialects registered as much pride
in them as did Spanish-speakers from other countries, although the
latter tended to evaluate the regional forms lower.

In the concluding article Bates Hoffer looks at "Attitudes
toward Bilingual Education: Ethnicity vs. Class" and concludes that
the motivation for bilingual education is often at odds with the
values of the parents, even when the latter supports bilingualism.
The conflict involves the deepest of value systems and cannot be
resolved in any easy way or short time.

The third part moves away from the "micro-contexts" of the
nation-state, and society as a whole. Kenneth McRae, a Canadian
political scientist and former director of research for the Royal
Commission, writes on "Political Dynamics of Bilingualism/Bicul-
turalism: Lessons from the Royal Commission Reports." Speaking
from a country threatened by possible secession of Quebec on
linguistic-cultural grounds, his words are especially cogent, as

he takes pains to drive home the fact that multilingualism and
multiculturalism are potentially both divisive and unifying.

Robert Di Pietro, in "Three Case Studies in Italian-American
Ethnicity and Language Use" portrays the dilemma of the immigrant
child vis-a-vis his ancestral heritage and the new culture. Three
different solutions are shown: rejection of the old heritage, a
middle and ambivalent course, and a harmonious balance between
the two.

Finally, Einar Haugen, an international leader both in lin-
guistics and bilingual studies, offers some "Personal Reflections
on Growing Up Bilingual." A Norwegian-English bilingual himself,
he makes out a convincing case for regarding bilingualism, not as
an affliction but as an ecologial problem. With the help of
bilingual/bicultural education, it can become the means, he
affirms, of helping us preserve the beauty and values of a plural-
istic society where rich yet harmonious differences exist, and
make for a world that is more open, freer of prejudices.

At last, in the fourth section, we dare to consider some of
"Challenging Tasks for the Present and Future." First of all,
Walburga von Raffler-Engel, a pioneer in the field, speaks of
"Research Needs in Bilingual Paralanguage and Kinesics," an area
much too neglected by technical linguists yet seized upon by
popularizers like Julius Fast in his Body Language. It turns out
that body movements and vocal modulations and even "silences"
follow different patterns in each language and culture. Ronald
K. S. Macaulay distils for us the most cogent conclusions of an
international study of bilingual research taking his team to
Mexico, Canada and the U. S. in an essay titled "Hold That Tiger!
Urgent Needs in Bilingual Education." Robert St. Clair, in his
"Interdiscplinary Linguistics and Bilingualism" attempts to show
the futility of examining bilingualism from the vantage point of
a single discipline--be it the most sophisticated model of lin-
guistics. He invites language specialists and social scientists
to join hands in attacking the inextricably interrelated problems
of this phenomenon.

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In conclusion, Jacob Ornstein (or, legally speaking, Ornstein-Galicia) and Paul Goodman give some of their results from "Correlating Socio-educational and Linguistic Variables among Chicano College Bilinguals." From a large data base, they show correlations between language and attitude, school and attitude, slang and language prestige, and so on. The Cross-Cultural Southwest Ethnic Study Center is the location for the most comprehensive sociolinguistic research in the Southwest.

Finally, this collection will have served its purpose if the data and insights herein have helped in putting together some significant parts of the mosaic represented by bilingualism, and its analogue biculturalism.

Jacob Ornstein-Galicia

Robert St. Clair

PART ONE:

BILINGUAL EDUCATION-PRACTICE AND THEORY

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LESSONS FROM TWO DECADES OF

BILINGUAL THEORY AND PRACTICE

OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION

Rosa G. Inclan

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LESSONS FROM TWO DECADES OF BILINGUAL THEORY AND

PRACTICE OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION

Rosa G. Inclán

Introduction

Lessons from Two Decades of Bilingual Theory and Practice
of Bilingual Education can be challenging, varied and of a
multiplicity of effects for teachers as well as learners. For
at least one teacher learner, "the lessons" had an effect of
somewhat of a shock mingled with amusement, especially when
the full realization "hit" that the two decades could just
as well have been three, or even four.

"The lessons" really began back in 1938 while attempting
to help young (and old) men and women in their teens (and
their twenty's) learn to communicate in English as their
second language. And they learned. They felt that they were
learning. They saw how they were learning as they "did" one
unit after another in the laboratory and passed each unit test
and later on each "grade" test in each level of the twelve that
comprised Mathiot's New Method English. All of them had to
struggle repeatedly through the oral English class hour, rein-
force it with reading, writing and programmed, individualized
laboratory sessions - three hours in all, five days a week.
The younger high school graduates could, after several months
of this intensive training, substitute Business Training, or
Office Practice; Psychology, Translation, or any of a variety
of electives that could eventually lead to an Associate degree,
for the lab period. They also had to take at least one period
of Spanish daily.

The products? Bilingual and quasi bicultural youngsters
once they had learned, and vicariously lived, the "American
way" through American textbooks and through readings meant for
American young men and women like themselves, through American

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movies that they went to see at the neighborhood theater
at least once a week, and through the American music that
they chose to turn on in their radios. Bilingual bicultural
youngsters who were eagerly sought out by American as well
as Cuban companies for immediate, promising employment.

The attending conditions, variables, dimensions?
Students with high motivation, self determination and·
freedom of choice; teachers, with native proficiency (not
"near native") in the English language, and dedication;
instruments for diagnosis and evaluation, for leveling and
placement; and overall, partial immersion.

This, we might call lesson one, in a non-native environ-
ment, that is, where the target language being learned is
not the language of the country in which it is being
learned; such as the case of Cuban youngsters learning
English in Cuba.

Lesson two involves a younger target population,
both elementary and high school age, in the same non-
English-speaking environment, with American textbooks and
readings, movies, music; with the same type of proficient
and dedicated teachers, but with total immersion for
five hours daily, of which only one (or one and a half
hour if secondary) was devoted to Spanish. All subject
areas were, in other words, taught in English. The
products? Again, bilingual bicultural youngsters. Some
of these, if taught to read in English with a basal
reader before or at the same time as in Spanish, experienced
some symptoms of nervous anxiety, such as slight stuttering,
nail biting; frequently, even eye-squinting or eyebrow
twitching, during their early schooling. The great majority,
however, "survived" the treatment without evident undesirable
effects, for in most of these situations, that is, where
Cuban children attended "American schools, the best of
both educational systems was integrated into a highly
desirable set of procedures and processes that could elicit
nothing short of the highest high-quality products. Thus,

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the acquisition of the basic skills of reading, writing and
arithmetic remained the much shorter Cuban process. And,
while there were some schools where children divided "a la
cubana" in the morning and then were confuse into exchanging
dividends and divisors "a la americana" in the afternoon in
what to their Cuban parents seemed sheer nonsense, these
were, fortunately, few and far between. So were those
schools in which cursive handwriting - normally introduced
in Cuban schools during the first grade - was postponed, to
give way to the more painstaking process of manuscript writ-
ing in "true American" fashion.

Lesson three involves an inversion of factors: children
learned all subject matter in their native language, with
English being taught for two periods every day. Formal
reading instruction in English, using basal readers produced
in the U.S. for native English speakers, was provided after
a firm grasp on the Spanish system of sound-symbol correspon-
dence had been acquired. This usually happened during the
latter part of the first grade, since Cuban children under-
went two pre-school levels - kindergarten and pre-primary -
before entering first grade. For some, depending on age
level, I.Q., maturation and socialization, this internaliza-
tion of the decoding system would require two school terms.
For others, kindergarten and pre-primary would take only two
"semesters" or one school term. American readers of one
level below their Spanish grade level were therefore used
sequentially throughout the elementary grades. By the end
of the sixth grade, however, when these students had passed
their national secondary school entrance examination, (1)
which required at least 70% in each of thirteen subjects,
including English One, they were able to score well within
the median and mean scores in the Tressler Reading tests
for seventh grade and in the Public School Achievement Test
language batteries for American children. Those wishing to
pursue a bilingual education would then take their first
year of bachillerato in all areas in Spanish, and eighth
grade English language arts and literature in accordance with
American standards. At the end of five years of secondary
education they were both bachillerato and high school graduates,

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eligible to enter either an American college or a Cuban
university, if they had taken and passed the American
tests sent from and scored by affiliated institutions
in the U.S. Some of these schools, like Ruston Academy,
had very high percentages of acceptance of their
candidates. Many of the earlier "magna/summa cum laude"
college graduate Cuban refugees in the U.S. were the
products of this type of educational system.

Lesson four in bilingualism biculturalism takes us
into an English-speaking environment, Miami, in the
early sixties; in 1961, to be exact. Twenty-three years
had elapsed since initial involvement in the issue, either
as direct participant in a learning, or a teaching, or a
consultant capacity, or as an interested observer in a
teacher training capacity both at a Cuban and at an American
university in Cuba.

It was in 1961 that the Cuban influx into the
Miami schools began its amazing increase.(2) It reached
unpredicted climaxes of almost 10,000 children per year
toward the end of the decade. The large concentrations
of non-English or limited-English- proficiency children in
a few schools of Miami's central southwest area - later
to be known as the sagüecera or Little Havana - rendered
"sink or swim" and "total immersion" methods both
impracticable and impractical. On the one hand, the
sociopsychological characteristics of mostly parentless
children, uprooted from sheltered, warm homes and
loving environments to be hurled into an unfamiliar,
"cold", foreign land where they were expected to pitch for
themselves on an independent level, at total odds with
their "overprotected" upbringing. On the other, their
"temporary" condition, in which there existed two
equally "short-lived" alternatives: either returning
home in a few months, as soon as Fidel was overthrown,
or establishing a new home temporarily in the United
States with their "soon-to-be-reunited" families...
The fact that for many of these children and young
adolescents neither total nor even partial "reunion"
of their family ever really materialized or that when it
did, the generation and cross-culturation gap had made

all of them, painfully, strangers among themselves was at the
time irrelevant... Lesson four had to be developed through
procedures sui generis designed to cope with an equally unique
situation. Neither the Puerto Rican nor the Southwestern
United States situation was validly generalizable in relation
to the Cubans in Miami. Too many variables - motives, socio-
economic status, upbringing, value system, expectations,
attitudes, educational background - were much too different
to make generalization possible, even in the hypothetical
(and in many opinions, questionable) case of the existence
of successful educational programs for children of limited
English-speaking ability. (3)

Provision was, therefore, made for daily "orientation"
classes of three hours' duration in English as a second
language. These included both language practice with an
aural-oral approach reinforced by reading and writing practice
and curriculum content within limited structures and voca-
bulary. They were followed by regular classes in math,
physical education, art and music, so that the Cuban children
would not be segregated from their American peers for any
longer than three class periods, or four, if Spanish for
Spanish for Speakers (Spanish-S) was also provided. In this
latter case, however, instruction was limited to thirty
minutes, so that in effect, children with limited English
proficiency ability were grouped for instruction for three and a
half hours as a maximum. Difficulties in scheduling as well as
in communication were bridged by the Cuban aides who usually
worked in teams of two with one American teacher. Each
team would serve two classrooms, taking turns in supervising
follow-up and reading activities. The characteristic di-
mension of lesson four could be summed up in the term
flexibility. Flexibility characterized these organizational
patterns, and flexibility characterized scheduling, placement
and promotion, including the actual instruments used, which
were of "domestic" manufacture. As soon as the students
were ready for it, they were reassigned to regular classes
in subject matter areas, together with American students.
They still reported to special English as a second language
classes, however, for as long as they needed to - perhaps
two or three years. If completely nonindependent at the
onset, they would report for ESL instruction during two class

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periods every day. In some cases ESL classes took the
place of the regular language arts period for the
intermediate level Cuban students; in others, ESL
classes were provided in addition to the regular
reading period or to the "language arts/reading bloc."

The products of this fourth lesson could be
described as bilingual and bicultural. They moved
easily from the home culture to that of the school,
where they found in the Cuban bilingual aide an
excellent drawbridge that made their entry into the
"mainstream," or enculturation, smooth. Instead of
hitting the students over the head with "English
and only English is to be spoken here," the admini-
stration advocated a policy of respect for the student's
home language and culture, with strong recommendations
as early as 1961 for its inclusion in the student's
schedule of studies. The policy was quite defensible
also on the grounds of the reinforcement of skills
(formerly referred to as "transference") theory.
Even the most recalcitrant, "English-only" oriented
school principals and teachers could see that their
own task could become considerably easier if approached
through a familiar or "known" medium of instruction.
It wasn't too difficult for them (if they took the
time to hear and to think, that is) to understand
that comprehension skills in reading, for instance,
could be acquired considerably faster if the Cuban
aide was allowed to work on them during the reading
lessons in the Spanish class. Much unnecessary
frustration was thus avoided for both the American
reading teacher and the Cuban reading pupil if the
bilingual aide dealt with establishing relationships
of cause and effect, for example, in reading Spanish
stories before the American teacher attempted it
during the "reading circle".

Yearly evaluations carried out by the Department
of Program Evaluation, Dade County Public Schools,
continue to confirm the reinforcement of skills
theory. A 1974 report (4) indicates that those
high school ESL students who had received instruc-
tion in Spanish-S simultaneously scored significantly

higher in the Stanford Achievement Tests of   Comprehension
(Paragraph Meaning) and Vocabulary than the   .d not
selected the Spanish-S program among their   e subjects.

As the decade of the sixties wore on, t   an students,
whose ranks were being increased by other S   language
origin students from various parts of the Americus and the Carib-
bean, were also scattered more widely throughout the other five
administrative school areas that comprised the Dade County School
System then. In schools where there were not enough students of
limited English proficiency at any one level to warrant
their being grouped in one class, various modalities of "immer-
sion", "osmosis" or "sink or swim" procedures became common
practice. Lesson five, therefore, taught us that these
scattered students quite often turned out to be bilingual, mono-
cultural speakers of excellent English who were functional
illiterates in their language of origin and neither knew nor
concerned themselves with their original culture. A follow-up
study of these individuals might prove very interesting. Will
they, like Child's (1943) group of second generation Italians
in New England eventually reject all original cultural and
linguistic ties, becoming as "American" as possible? Or will
they in later life revert to a reidentification with their
culture of origin and insist on undertaking the study of their
original language? In a community as strongly influenced by
its Latin culture as Miami, this could very well be the case.
Lambert, Giles and Picard (1973) found a developmental trend
toward respect for the original culture and language among the
French-Americans in Maine. Whereas at ten a "typical French-
American youngster from Maine's Valley region who follows a
conventional all-English curriculum in public school rejects
his French ethnicity and orients himself to the English-
speaking American as a model, college students in the valley
region appear to have equally sympathetic attitudes toward
European and local forms of French as towards English. That is,
English no longer has a pre-eminent position in the hierarchy."
(Lambert, 1974)

A recent local study carried out by Human Communica-
tions of Miami (1975) appears to point toward a rejection
of the English language, and American culture, as a matter
of fact, on the part of older Latin residents, "as if the

acceptance of them would mean becoming 'less Cuban'. Among
the younger generation, apparently, there is a greater
ability to adapt themselves to the American culture, and
they do not perceive this assimilation as a loss of
personality. These youngsters tend to be bilingual, and
adopt those American customs which do not conflict with
their Latin self image." (Human Communications, 1975)

Lesson six, however, tends to be a remedial one, a
reaction to the resulting products of lesson five. In
1971, the Superintendent of Schools issued five directives
on bilingual education (Dade County Public Schools, 1971).
The second one of these instructed all schools having
students of Spanish language origin to offer these
students the opportunity to study Spanish language arts
and culture in a program designed for Spanish speakers.
Thus, it turned out that alert parents of even the sparsely
populated schools could, and often did, request Spanish
instruction for these "scattered" youngsters who appeared
not to need the ESL program. Once again the pendulum swung
towards bilingualism, giving rise to findings such as those
reported by Human Communications, to the effect that
"the youngsters of the Latin community are in fact, bi-
lingual. 74% of these express themselves in Spanish as well
as in English." 40% used both languages with equal
frequency and only 20% used more English. The remaining
40% used Spanish as their basic language. Of those below
25 years of age, 19% used English more frequently while only
11% did so if older. Only 27% did their math calculations
in English, while 42% of this new Latin generation preferred
to do so in Spanish; 31% made mental calculations in either
language. Of the entire group, 373 sons/daughters of the
sample population, 304, or 82%, were originally from Cuba
and 6% were born in the United States.

Yet, even though these six lessons contributed to
produce varying degrees of bilingualism and biculturalism
within a given target population, the Spanish language
origin, it was not really until we participated in lesson
seven, with its inclusion of the two interacting target
populations, that bilingual bicultural education became

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the integral process that all education is truly meant to
be. For, if bilingual bicultural education is to be valued
per se and not as a transitional or compensatory program
designed to facilitate a minority group's integration or
assimilation into the mainstream in the best of melting
pot traditions, then why should it be reserved only for the
minorities? Does it make sense to create an entire genera-
tion of educationally deprived youngsters who are both
culturally and linguistically handicapped in their own country?
The case for the North American English language origin
children's learning to communicate in a second language, and
to interact comfortably in a second culture while in their
own country is rather obvious. Yet it was not really until
the idea "took" in the Coral Way Elementary School in Miami
that American public school children really began to be
involved in bilingual bicultural education on a large scale.
This involvement was realized through bilingual schooling,
i.e., through a bilingual school organization, a delivery
system in which the two culturally and linguistically
different groups of students learn in both of their "home"
languages while they interact with relative ease within both
systems of culture values. The rewarding effects of such a
program are only limited by the insecurity expressed by North
American parents. Unfortunately, this situation seems pre-
valent in most U.S. communities. Yearly evaluations through-
out the country as well as outside are consistent in showing,
minimally, that there is no significant difference in per-
formance which is considered indicative of the acquisition
of basic skills in English as measured by standardized tests
applied equally to children in bilingual school organizations
and in traditionally monolingual schools. (Richardson, 1967,
1968) Yet, the experimental or bilingual group gain the
ability to communicate and interact in a culture and language
other than their own, with the concommitant enrichment and
broadening of experiences that indubitably enhance an individ-
ual's potential to achieve socially, psychologically and
economically.

     In looking over these seven lessons learned through-
out four decades of bilingual bicultural education,
we can, in summary, restate several assertions. Some of
these are now supported by studies; others need to be:

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1. There are multiple ways to arrive at bilingual-
    culturalism. The question is to determine which
    is the most rewarding, the most viable for a
    particular community, and the most economical
    in terms of time, energy and individual as well
    as community benefits to be gained.

2. Certain variables appear to be common to
    successful programs, regardless of procedures:

    a. favorable attitude toward the target
        language and culture (Lambert, 1974)

    b. feeling of security or self satisfaction
        on the part of the second language learner,
        which results from self identification
        as a member of a language/culture group
        that is valued for and within itself
        (Long and Padilla, 1970)

    c. second language periods of sufficient
        duration to warrant being called intensive;
        minimally, two hours for beginners.

3. Language skills are mutually reinforcing between
    languages (Dade County Public Schools, Evalu-
    ation of Bilingual Programs, 1975)

4. The essence of language as communication must
    be kept uppermost in the minds of all involved
    in the planning and implementation of bilingual
    bicultural programs. Hence, language activities,
    whether in first or in second language, must
    serve the needs of the learner to use language
    for communication, whether in relation to the
    affective domain (home and family needs) to the
    cognitive domain (school and other intellectual
    needs) or the motor domain (interaction and
    transportation needs)

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5. Much of the research frequently cited as supportive of
    negative effects of bilingualism is not related to
    bilingualism as such, but in reality to <u>second language
    performance</u> or to attitudes and reactions of pseudo
    bilingual subjects in a <u>second language/culture situation</u>.
    In this respect, Hall's conclusion (1952) "that the
    degradation of one's mother tongue (and culture) as
    inferior in social and educational situations can be
    traumatic in extreme," is of the utmost importance.
    It is hence necessary to be very discriminating between
    the kind of bilingualism/biculturalism which is the
    product of bilingual/bicultural education and that which
    results from an individual is having learned to communicate
    in a second language/culture at the <u>expense</u> of or <u>with</u>
    <u>total</u> <u>disregard</u> for his language and culture of origin.

    There is urgent need for well controlled, experimental
    studies involving subjects of the former type, for these are
    truly the ones in which the real effects of bilingual/bi-
    cultural education can be ascertained.

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Footnotes

(1) In Cuba, and in many other Hispanic American
    countries, all students are required to take an
    entrance examination administered by department
    education officials before they can be admitted
    to secondary school programs.

(2) Dade County Public Schools, Office of Admini-
    strative Research, Miami: 1974-75.

(3) Thomas P. Carter's The Mexican American in School:
    A History of Educational Neglect, College
    Entrance Examination Board, New York: 1970,
    provides supportive evidence to the case in point.

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    ation Department, Evaluation of Dade County
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SOCIAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECTS

OF LANGUAGE USE BY BILINGUAL CHILDREN

Carol Walcer
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SOCIAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL
ASPECTS OF LANGUAGE USE BY BILINGUAL CHILDREN:
AN ECOLOGICAL ANALYSIS [1]

Carol Walcer
Flora V. Rodriguez-Brown

Introduction

Since 1968, with the passage of the Bilin~ual Education
(Title VII), two things have become increasin   evident to
educators across the country: 1.   that Bilin_ual Education
offers some hope to the estimated five million non-English
children in our country, whose educational needs are not being
fully met by traditional schooling, and 2. that research and
evaluation of existing programs and methods is necessary so that
future efforts can be improved and expanded.

There are a fair number of evaluations of bilingual programs
documenting the effect of Bilingual Education on the academic,
linguistic, cognitive and social development of students, typic-
ally using "product" measures such as achievement tests or meas-
ures of self concept.' In comparison, there has been relatively
little study to date of the social interactive processes within
bilingual classrooms. Though increasing numbers of such studies
are being reported, their focus has been upon the linguistic and
cognitive aspects of social interaction--we still know very lit-
tle about what a bilingual environment contributes to the child's
socio-emotional growth and development.

The literature abounds with descriptions of the non-English
speaking child in an English speaking environment, and the pos-
sible deleterious psychological effects. Jersild (1968) writes:

"A child from a foreign language background is likely,
in some situations, to be teased and cut off from the
group." Even when he is not singled out by his peers,

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the child himself may be self conscious about his
background and language, and may be timid (or some-
times overassertive) when called upon to express
himself, especially if he is in the process of tran-
sition from one tongue to another, or still uses
accents and speech forms from the foreign language..."
                                          (Child Psychology, p. 115)

In classic studies, Anastasi and Cordova (1968) found that
Puerto Rican children who had suddenly been required to cope with
an all English school situation "insulated" themselves by becoming
rather passive and apathetic in their attitudes. Lambert (1967),
in a study of Bilingual French-Canadians found a "general inferiority
reaction" beginning at age 10 and growing developmentally to a point
where, in the late teen years, French Canadians displayed a marked
preference for English-Canadian traits.

More recent studies of the self concept of bilingual students
within the US tend to support these findings. Gillman (1969) com-
pared the self concepts of 428 fourth and sixth grade Mexican-Am-
erican, Negro and White students from comparable "disadvantaged"
backgrounds. Using the Self Concept Ideal Self Description Scale
and the Child's Manifest Anxiety Scale, Gillman found the Mexican-
American subjects to score lower than the white sample, but higher
than the Negro sample.

Zirkel (1971) used the Coopersmith Self Esteem Inventory on
fifth and sixth grade Puerto Rican, Black and White students con-
trolled for sex, SES and IQ. The findings indicated that the
Puerto Rican students tended to have significantly lower self con-
cepts than the Blacks and Whites studied. Zirkel emphasized the
role which a majority or minority position in the school played
upon the results; Puerto Ricans tended to have lower self concepts
when they were in the minority at the school, and especially when
whites were in the majority.

These studies and others like them have been used to support
the existence of a relationship between bilingualism and self

image. However, it is difficult to separate the effects of
dual language usage (bilingualism) from that of minority group
membership and socio-economic class in these studies because of
the definitions of bilingualism operationalized and the psycho-
metric measures used. In addition, it should be noted that
there is contradictory evidence; several sources have found no
significant differences between the self concepts of bilingual
or disadvantaged minority children and others (i.e. DeBlassie
and Healy, 1970), while Soares (1969) presented evidence which
suggested that "culturally disadvantaged" children had higher
self concepts than Anglos tested.

Notwithstanding these somewhat contradictory findings, one
of the often cited goals of Bilingual Education in this country
is to counteract the purported trend towards negative self
image in bilingual students--to provide a school situation
which will foster positive feelings about the child's language
and culture, and thereby his "self", by allowing the child to
study and learn in his native tongue. Such a feeling of self
worth is believed to contribute to a child's capacity for learn-
ing and future academic achievement. While this is the goal,
however, we have no documented descriptions of how a bilingual
classroom or program engenders this kind of atmosphere (if it
does). We know very little about the dynamics of bilingual
instruction and social interaction within the classroom; we
know even less about how this effects a child's image of him-
self in the educational setting.

The Present Study

This observational case study is an attempt to obtain des-
criptive data of this kind. It is an attempt to begin to under-
stand the bilingual classroom as a unique interactive setting
having an impact upon social process and upon a child's develop-
ing concept of self. In conceptualizing the bilingual classroom
in this fashion, we are borrowing from the tradition of Roger
Barker (1968) and other ecological psychologists. We are inter-
ested in whether there is something about the bilingual class-

room as an interactive environment or "behavior setting"
which exerts different behavioral forces upon inhabitants of
that setting. What does the setting "bilingual classroom" mean
subjectively to a child interacting with other members of that
setting, compared with an all English setting?

Our analysis will compare the language behavior of one tar-
get child as she moves from a bilingual to an all English class-
room in the same school district during her school day. This
design is similar to the "trailing" technique employed by
Barker and Wright (1951) in their early observational study
entitled One Boy's Day. In this study the authors described the
behaviors of a child they had followed for an entire day, making
inferences from their record about the apparent meaning that
the child attached to his behavior and to the persons, things
and events that he encountered throughout the day. In this
pilot study, however, specific language behaviors will be
examined as indicators of how the participants view themselves
in their environment. In focusing upon language interaction
only, we hope to examine behaviors which are more specific and
relevant to the context of bilingual instruction and inter-
action, as well as to the dynamics of "self" expression within
that context.

Specifically, we are interested in the following behavioral
components of language interaction:

1. Is our subject more verbal in the bilingual
    classroom or the English classroom?

2. Are there more peer interactions in one or other
    settings? Does the target child seek out other
    Spanish dominant children in the English classroom?

3. Does she participate more often in teacher dir-
    ected activities in one setting or the other?

In addition, we are concerned here with an analysis of the mo-
tivational, personal and social aspects of speech functioning
within the classroom--the communicative intent of language use.

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We are interested in exploring the nature of the child's inter-
actions from one setting to the next; is she more social, more
cooperative, more involved in studies, etc, in the bilingual or
all English class?

As we explore these questions about how the child behaves
in the two settings we hope to narrow the focus of our analysis
to the child herself. Ultimately, we would like to speculate
about what these data tell us regarding the child's view of her-
self as she functions in these two settings. From this we can
then conjecture about the possible relationship between educa-
tional behavior setting (i.e. bilingual class vs. regular class)
and the dynamics of personality development and growth--is it
true that bilingual education is conducive to such growth for
the bilingual/bicultural child?

Method

SUBJECTS--The subject for this case study was a six year old
girl Puerto Recan extraction named Priscilla. She is now en-
rolled in grade 4. At the time of the study she was attending
a half day Bilingual program, in Illinois, where she attended an
English classroom in her neighborhood school in the morning and
a bilingual class in the afternoon. (She was bused from one
school to the other.)

The children who participate in the bilingual program were
selected by their "home" school because their knowledge of Eng-
lish is insufficient to cope with the demands of the English
classroom. Thus the program may be designated as a "transition-
al type"--that is it is expected that once the children's Eng-
lish language proficiency is adequate to meet these demands,
they are switched out of the bilingual class. While in the
bilingual program, they are classified as Spanish dominant.

Over the course of the study Priscilla had two different
teachers for the bilingual class. The teacher for the first
two observations was a native Anglo who had a "good" command of
Spanish. She was assisted by a student teacher of Mexican back-

ground. The teacher reported that her instructional program was highly structured and remained fairly constant from day to day. Subjects covered during the two hour period were Spanish reading readiness, arithmetic, ESL and Spanish culture or health.

In April, just prior to the third observation, the teacher left for an extended sick leave and was replaced by a native Spanish speaker (South America) whose English was "good": She followed an instructional schedule similar to that of the first teacher. (By this time the student teacher had also left).

Priscilla's English teacher reported that her classroom activities were also fairly structured. Language Arts and reading groups were the primary subjects taught in the morning. English was used exclusively for instruction, although she reported that she had some familiarity with Spanish words and phrases. In addition, she reported acceptance of mixed language use among the Spanish speaking children in the classroom.

Priscilla was videotaped at three points during the school year (November, March, and May). Each taping included a full school day (½ day English, ½ day Bilingual).

In each taping session the target child wore a wireless microphone. Two video cameras were used--a stationary and a portable camera. The stationary camera and microphone were focused on the classroom as a whole, attempting to capture the mood and activity of the whole class and making sure to point out the target child's role vis a vis the whole. The portable camera focused directly on the target child and her immediate social surroundings. This camera also recorded the target child's conversation through the wireless microphone. Audio and video data were supplemented by field notes of the classroom activity, taken by the stationary camera operator.

Cameras, equipment and observational personnel were introduced to the classes involved prior to actual taping. All the children were given an opportunity to play with the cameras and see themselves on T.V. They were told that "we want to see what children their age do in school".

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After the first taping session the teachers were inter-
viewed to obtain information concerning the teacher's back-
ground, her attitude towards bilingual education and her des-
cription of language use patterns in the classroom.

Procedure

All of Priscilla's utterances were transcribed from the
video tape and coded descriptively according to the following
categories:

    I.   Brief description of the lesson context.

   II.   Predominant language of utterance
        (Utterance is defined as one turn to talk)

  III. (P) Participation--indicates if utterance is a
           spontaneous verbal response to a teacher
           directed activity

        (R) Response to a direct question
           (Uncoded)

   IV. Description of listener:
       (*as verified by the classroom teacher)

    *(EP) English dominant peer
    *(SP) Spanish dominant peer
     (ET) English teacher
     (BT) Bilingual teacher (Student teacher was
           coded at BT
     (SS) Self
     (GP) Group of peers (Spanish or English)

    V. Code switching behavior

     (T) Transitional code switch--language changes from one
        interaction to the next one (interaction defined
        as one or more turn taking sequences with others).

    (WI) Within interaction--language has been switched

.within the interaction--one turn to next

(WU) Within utterance--lexical switch within
utterance or statement

Following the descriptive coding and transcription, Pris-
cilla's utterances were coded again from the video tapes for
content and communicative intent, using a modified version of the
abbreviated FIS-P instrument (Functions of Interpersonal Spon-
taneous Preschool Speech) developed by Schacter, et.al.(1974).
The present version of the coding scheme summarized below in
Table I is more general than the original version except in the
"Learning Implementing" category, which was expanded to contain
a more precise breakdown into sub-scores specifying the object
of inquiry. Every utterance was coded for communicative intent
except those which were (1) a response to a direct question (2)
a part of a participation sequence or (3) incomprehensible. Des-
cription coding and content coding were done by the same coder.

TABLE I
Modified FIS-P

Personal

1. Expressive statement: function is surely to express
   emotion (i.e.: "Ow"; "Yum, yum"; "I hate this").

2. Desire implementing: function is to implement a per-
   sonal desire for an object, for help, for permission, for
   general reassurance or attraction (i.e.: "Can I have
   some?"; "Stop it"; "I'll slug you").

3. Possession implementing: function is to implement
   possession rights involving objects, territory, turns
   or roles (fantasy or real) (i.e.: "This is my
   crayon"; "It's mine"; "I had it first")

4. Ego Enhancing: function is to enhance S's ego, with
   context and tone showing evident pride.

a. Asserts pride (i.e.: "I know the alphabet in Spanish and English"; "I'm seven")

b. Assumes teacher role (i.e.: "I'll show you how to do it"; "No- that way, this way")

c. Denigrates others (i.e.: "That's stupid"; "You're cheating")

d. Teases or tests limits. Playfully attacks peers, or the explicit or implicit rules of authority or reality (i.e.: tells joke; "Want to be cool?"; "Go in the sky and eat the ice").

Social

1. Self referring--including: function is to join S to others by self referring the other's statements, activities or characteristics.

a. "Me too"--drawing some parallel for self (i.e.: "Mine is on top"; "She has socks like me"; "I like spinach too")

b. "Me better"--competitively stating (i.e.: "My picture is nicer than yours")!

2. Joining: function is to join others to S with S actively initiating the union (i.e.: calling name, "Let's play here")

3. Collaborative: function is to initiate or maintain a role-differentiated social interaction, with two or more S's participating in a project, discussion or game

4. Collaborative discourse--including: all statements except those covered by the other collaborative sub-categories (i.e.: "Put an n here and an o here. Now we're finished").

Cognitive

1. Learning implementing: function is purely to implement learning about the world, or how to proceed in a task. May be new knowledge or restatement of old

knowledge.

    a. Objective (i.e.: "What's this say?"; "W" (names letter)).

    b. Social (i.e.: "What are you doing?"; "When is Mack's birthday?").

    c. Functional (i.e.: "Do we color this?").

2. Reporting: function is to share an observation, thought or experience with others.

    a. Self (i.e.: "I have the book here").

    b. Social (i.e.: "Omar don't got no crayons").

    c. Things (i.e.: "The crayon fell on the floor").

Results

A quantitative analysis of the language behavior compiled reveals that Priscilla speaks more often in the regular classroom than in the bilingual classroom.

TABLE II

	Regular Class			Bilingual Class		
Date	Total Utterances	English	Spanish	Total Utterances	English	Spanish
11/25	236.0	192.5*	38.5*	116.0	70.5*	45.5*
3/3	364.0	144.0	209.0	97.0	60.0	34.0
5/18	152.0	124.5*	24.5*	87.0	70.0	17.0
TOTALS	752.0	461.0	272.0	300.0	200.5	96.5

*.5 indicates utterance was equally divided between English and Spanish.

Table II also reveals that English is the predominant language of discourse in both settings. These figures, however, are partially confounded by the type of classroom routine engaged in on the days of our observation. In the English class a great deal of time was allotted to independent seat work activities which afforded much opportunity for verbal interaction. This interaction was further supported by the teacher's implicit acceptance of conversation; as indicated by the placement of seats in small groups and her tolerance of talking during class time. The bilingual classroom, on the other hand, was more highly structured around teacher directed activities. More time was spent in whole class lessons and small group, teacher directed exercises. In addition, seating arangements were more traditional and isolated, with an explicit expectation of quiet in the classroom.

This difference in classroom routine is also reflected in the number of peer interactions versus teacher interactions recorded in the two classrooms.

TABLE III
Interactions: Listener Participants*

| Date | Regular Class | | | | Bilingual Class | | | |
	English Teacher	English Peer	Spanish Peer	Self	Bilingual Teacher	English Peer	Spanish Peer	Self
11/25	23	145	41	24	52	0	49	6
3/3	54	37	216	50	43	0	35	19
5/18	18	80	30	17	17	0	62	5
TOTAL	95	262	287	91	112	0	146	30

* discrepancy between totals of Table II & III due to instances where it was not possible to determine the exact participant in interaction.

Table III indicates that there were slightly more teacher
interactions in the bilingual class than in the regular class.
This is particularly true of the first bilingual teacher (11/25
and 3/3). The large number of teacher interactions in the regu-
lar class on 3/3 reflects a group writing spelling lesson in addi-
tion to the regular group and independent activity routine.

Table III also indicates that there is a general tendency
'for Priscilla to interact more with her peers in the regular class-
room than the bilingual classroom. Within the regular classroom,
a good number of her interactions are with English speaking peers.
The larger total number of interactions with Spanish speaking peers
can be seen to be an artifact of particularly long sequences with
one Spanish speaking peer (Omar) on the second day of observation.
The teacher of the regular classroom had seated Omar next to
Priscilla purposely to encourage a helping relationship between
them--Omar knew almost no English and required a great deal of
assistance in completing class assignments.

To summarize these results we can say: (1) Priscilla speaks
more often in the English class than the bilingual class (2) she
has more peer interactions in the English class (3) a good num-
ber of these peer interactions are with English speaking peers
(4) she speaks more English than Spanish in the regular as well
as the bilingual class' (5) she engages in slightly more teacher
interactions in the bilingual class, and examination of these
interactions reveals that these are predominantly in English.

Several additional descriptive findings may also be men-
tioned. Our tabulation of participatory utterances, illustrated
in Table IV below indicates that Priscilla's spontaneous par-
ticipation in teacher directed activities is about equal in both
settings (though slightly higher in the bilingual classroom).

TABLE IV

Spontaneous Participation in Teacher Directed Activities

Date	Regular	Bilingual
11/25	10	11
3/3	16	18
5/18	2	2
TOTALS	28	31

Again, this data must be weighted by the fact that in the
bilingual class there were more opportunities for participation,
because there were more teacher directed activities.

Code switching behaviors also differed across the two sit-
tings. Table V (below) illustrates that there were more tran-
sitional type code switches in the English class than the
bilingual class. These most often represented instances where
Priscilla alternated speaking to English peers in English and
Spanish peers in Spanish. In addition, there were more within
utterance code switches in the regular class setting. These
most often reflected insertion of one word English lexical items
(i.e. color words, or "fire drill" other than phrases or par-
tial statements).

(Refer to Table V on following page.)

Let us move now to the analysis of what the data reveal
about Priscilla's reasons for speaking, or the personal motiva-
tional aspects of her speech interactions. Table VI summarizes
the results of the content analysis of Priscilla's speech across
settings.

TABLE V
Code Switches

Date	Regular Class			Bilingual Class		
	Transitional	Within Interaction	Within Utterance	Transitional	Within Interaction	Within Utterance
11/25	24	3	1	16	14	6
3/3	64	4	15	16	1	6
5/18	23	2	5	19	0	0
TOTALS	111	9	21	51	15	12

Several things emerge from these data. Looking first at the personal category, we can see that in the regular classroom Priscilla (1) communicates more emotion through expressive statements; (2) is more expressive of her own desires and more assertive with other people; i.e. she tells Omar, who has been teasing her "No me moleste" (Don't bother me!); (3) seems more concerned about her possession rights--there are numerous episodes involving crayons and the issue of copying.

Most interestingly, however, she evidences many more instances of "ego-enhancing" speech in the regular classroom. This is particularly the case with the two males with whom she has the majority of her interactions--David and Omar. With these two boys Priscilla engages in a "friendly" competition and makes frequent comments reflecting personal pride; these children

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TABLE VI

Summary of results of content analysis of
Priscilla's speech across settings

	PERSONAL								SOCIAL							COGNITIVE					
	Expressive Statement	Desire Implementing	Possession Implementing	Ego Enhancing	Asserts Pride	Assumes Teacher role	Denigrates Others	Teases or Tests Limits	Expressive Statement	Asserts Pride	Desire Implementing	Possession Implementing	Asserts Pride	Assumes Teacher role	Denigrates Others	Teases or Tests Limits	Expressive Statement	Asserts Pride	Assumes Teacher role	Demogrates Others	Desire Implementing
	16	30	19	52	55	28	20		13	10	34	29	1	0	6		70	40	16	61	64	21
	5	15	3	25	13	4	1		5	0	36	20	1	0	1		21	5	9	36	12	7

are also the recipients of most of Priscilla's denigrating and
teasing remarks.

The following is an excerpt of an interaction with David
in English (11/25).

"What are you doing, copy cat?"
"Who?"
"No."
"I done two papers. I done that one and that one."

Priscilla often engages in teacher-role-playing in the reg-
ular classroom, but these utterances are directed almost exclu-
sively to particular Spanish speaking peers who require a lot
of help with their academic work. In fact, the English teacher
purposely fosters this type of "helping" relationship. She
utilizes Priscilla by placing her in seats close to those who
need the most help. This was related personally by the teacher.

It is interesting to note, in contrast, that in the bi-
lingual classroom there are much fewer personal utterances but
particularly fewer denigrating and teasing remarks. Most of the
ego enhancing statements are statements of pride directed to the
teacher, rather than to peers.

In the social category we again find a general tendency for
more socially competitive statements occurring in the regular
class ("me too" and "me better"). Joining and collaborative
statements are approximately equal in both settings, though
slightly more collaboration occurs in the regular classroom.

Lastly, in the cognitive category we find that (1) Priscilla
asks more objective questions in her regular class, and (2) she
asks many more questions about others. In addition she makes
more reportive statements about herself and others in her social
environment in the regular class. In line with the findings of
the two previous categories, Priscilla appears to use this infor-
mation in a competitive way, i.e. "I'm reading this. Where are
you at?"

Discussion

From these data we can speculate about what the English
classroom represents subjectively to Priscilla. It appears to
be a context where she shows her peers and teacher that she is
"on top" of the situation, and can come out ahead in any com-
petition (academic or social). It is a place where she is more
involved with her peers, both English and Spanish, and has a
particular "helping" role to play vis a vis her more Spanish
dominant peers.

These findings may be contrasted with Priscilla's interac-
tions in the bilingual class. The bilingual class is a place
where she is interacting among equals (in terms of language) and
there appears to be less competition. Priscilla's peer interac-
tions in the bilingual class are predominantly joining and col-
laborative. There are few denigrating or teasing comments to
other peers. Her interactions with the teacher are more personal,
reflecting pride and self reference. She seems to seek out atten-
tion from the teacher. She, in fact, has a greater number of
teacher interactions in the bilingual class.

From the point of view of Priscilla's self image, we can
again only speculate about how she feels about herself in these
differing climates. It is possible that Priscilla truly enjoys
the competition afforded her in the regular classroom and that
her self-esteem thrives in this environment. From teacher re-
ports, this would appear to be the case; Priscilla is an excellent
and consciencious student and has many friends in her class accor-
ding to the English teacher.

On the other hand, it is possible to argue that this com-
petitive behavior is merely a defense on Priscilla's part. She
may feel insecure in the English environment and feel that she
must continuously prove herself to be equal to the task. She
appears to be much quieter, less aggressive in the bilingual
class; it is possible that this is a more comfortable, more re-
laxed environment. It is interesting to note that Priscilla's
only negative self report to a teacher occurred in the bilingual

classroom ("I can't do that"). Perhaps the bilingual class
offers her a place where she can lower her defenses and admit
some of her weaknesses.

It is unfortunate that this exploratory data can not pro-
vide absolute answers to these speculations. They do, however,
offer tantalizing insights into the process and provide fertile
ground for further probes and questions.

Conclusions

It is important to re-emphasize the exploratory nature of
this study. The findings are not intended to be generalized be-
yond this particular case; a much more stringent experimental
design would be necessary before such generalizations could be
attempted. Moreover, our interpretations concerning Priscilla's
behavior are only speculative. While we believe the evidence
demonstrates that the "behavior setting" does differentially in-
fluence Priscilla's behavior, it can also be argued that our re-
sults are a function of dynamics other than language of interac-
tion which we did not control for, i.e. the different personal-
ities of individuals or teachers in each room. The reader should
consider such alternative explanations in evaluating these re-
sults.

At the very least, we hope this study has demonstrated the
richness of information available from observational study of
classrooms and the importance of the classroom interactive envir-
onment in assessing school effects. A single self concept score
for Priscilla might be misleading or misrepresentative of her
behaviors in either setting. Observational data provide the com-
plimentary information needed to clarify and best interpret re-
sults obtained.

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PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF BILINGUALISM AND

BICULTURALISM IN MEXICAN AMERICAN CHILDREN

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and

Lucila Carrasco-Schoch

Our focus of attention in this paper[1] is the need for
a psychological component in every bilingual education pro-
gram in American schools. Such a program should aim not
only at bilingual competence and knowledge of two cultures,
but also at producing harmonious human beings who can truly
feel at ease in both languages and cultures. Too often a
serious conflict arises in a child's mind as to which of the
two languages or cultures is more valid and should therefore
be considered as the major model, the other one being then
automatically given secondary and/or inferior status. Too
often in so-called bilingual education programs non-Anglo
children are insidiously made to think that their native
language and culture may be fine for the home environment,
but not for the outside world in which they are to achieve
success. The direct consequence of such a frame of mind is
that these children will soon partially or entirely lose
their native languages and cultural ways, or at least not be
comfortable with them out of the home environment, and
become acculturated so fast that they will lose their sense
of personal identity. Another possible consequence is that
non-Anglo children will stubbornly refuse to learn the new
language and culture for fear of having to give up their
ethnic background. Only a child with a very strong and
positive self-image will be able to achieve what should be
the goal of every bilingual-bicultural education program:
learning English and the ways of Anglo society while retain-
ing one's native language and ethnic identity. We strongly

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believe that such a goal cannot be attained unless teachers
are more attuned to the particular needs and desires of
children who experience conflict in their exposure to two
different languages and cultures.

In this paper we will first briefly review some of
the literature on existing bilingual education programs in
order to show that they all seem to lack the psychological
dimension we deem necessary. We will then describe a
pilot survey we conducted as a prelude to a large scale
study of the relationship between psychological well-being
and learning progress in young children who are exposed to
two languages and cultures.

Many of the existing bilingual education programs in
the United States, whether intentionally or not, are likely
to produce asymmetrical bilinguals rather than balanced
bilinguals, that is individuals who are not equally com-
petent and comfortable in both languages. There seems to
be no reason why children could not be trained to use either
language in any situation. At this point it is good to
remind ourselves that "for millions of people throughout
the world bilingualism is not a problem at all. In many
countries it is a matter of course that one speaks and
even writes in more than one language. The problem arises
only when a population through emigration or conquest be-
comes a part of a community where another language is
spoken and this language is imposed on them through the
school system or other authorities." (Anderson and Boyer
1970: pp. 8-9). Let us take California as an example.
While many efforts are made to spread the use of Spanish,
particularly through the educational system and government
agencies, there is no concurrent attempt to equalize the
social status of Spanish and English. The notion of bicul-
turalism which is as important as that of bilingualism since
it can contribute to create much more harmony in a commun-
ity, is hardly ever present in school programs. As stated
by Anderson and Boyer, who are critical of these lacks, "It
is not enough for educators to understand the principles on

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which a solid bilingual program must be built, they must
also create understanding throughout the community concern-
ing the important connection between one's mother tongue,
one's self-image and one's heritage (both individual and
group-cultural). One can hardly despise or deprecate any
people's language without deprecating the people them-
selves." (ibid. : p. 48). We therefore need to "maintain
and strengthen the sense of identity of children entering
the school from non-English speaking homes" (ibid. : p. 49).
In order to achieve such a goal, a bilingual education
program must "enable all children to gain a sympathetic ·
understanding of their own history and culture and of the
history and culture of the other ethnic group", as well as
"give all children the opportunity to become fully arti-
culate and literate and broadly educated in two languages
and two cultures." (ibid. : p. 69).

    Let us briefly review other studies in which the
authors show an awareness of the conflict which may arise
in Mexican American children when first exposed to the
English language and Anglo ways. In Manuel (1965) we
find a whole chapter on Personality and Social Adjust-
ment in which the author discusses the conflicting inter-
ests commonly found in Spanish speaking children of the
Southwest. Unfortunately he only briefly discusses the
training of teachers in his next chapter and fails to
mention the need for a psychological component in bilingual
education programs.

    In an article by Kjolseth we find a very high degree
of awareness of what is missing in most bilingual education
programs: specific methods designed to promote the
democratic co-existence of Anglos and other ethnic groups.
Kjolseth shows that most bilingual education programs are
of the assimilation type: "In direct contradiction to the
usual program's statement of goals, the structure of "typ-
ical" programs can be expected to foster not the mainten-
ance but rather the accelerated demise of the ethnic mother

tongue." (Kjolseth 1973: p. 16). According to the results
of his survey, eighty per cent of all bilingual education
programs fall into this category. By contrast the plural-
istic model "encourages a democratic and more transparent
forum for the resolution of conflicts and differing interests
within and between the ethnic and non-ethnic communities."
(ibid.: p. 10). Practically speaking "language skills and
cultural perspectives are added without progressively
destroying the child's home language and cultures; further-
more these developments take place in both groups." (ibid.:
p. 11). Kjolseth unfortunately has little to say about the
kind of teachers needed for such programs and the special
training they should receive. He refers to the teachers as
"effective bilingual and bicultural role models for their
students" (ibid.: p. 8). However he does not discuss the
ways in which they can learn to foster the same kind of
attitude in their students. We personally do not believe
that example is sufficient. Every bilingual education
teacher should be trained to become actively aware of the
(conscious or unconscious) conflictual state in which
children are likely to find themselves when first exposed
to a language and culture different from their own.

Another article (Light 1972) contains a remark on
"the shocking lack of understanding of cultural and lin-
guistic differences which is responsible for the failure
of many programs to achieve their intended effect" (p. 9).
The author considers that teachers are inadequately pre-
pared for their very special task of serving the needs of
students with different cultural and linguistic backgrounds.
He recommends that teacher training institutions and in-
service programs provide courses in linguistics, cultural
anthropology and methods of second language and second
dialect teaching. But given the lack of details in his
article, it is impossible to say how much of a psycholog-
ical component Light would want to see included in such
programs and what form it would take. While he stresses the
importance of attitudes in teachers, he does not go as far,

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as advocating special psychological training for them so
that they can help children enrolled in bilingual programs
deal with their inner conflicts.

We can conclude that bilingual education programs are
lacking in specific psychological elements both at the
theoretical and practical levels. This state of affairs
is all the more surprising since a few experts in the field
have been dealing with some psychological aspects of bi-
lingualism for several years. Two such researchers are
Lambert and Gardner whose studies clearly show that moti-
vation and attitudes are very important dimensions in
the learning of a second language and the acculturation
process. In one of their studies we find the following
statement: "Thus there are various forms the language
process could take, at least theoretically and if socio-
psychological factors can have such varied and dramatic
impact on the more serious, advanced student of languages,
one wonders whether the debutant might not be similarly
affected, because his attitudes, his views of foreign
people and cultures, and his orientation toward the learn-
ing process might well determine or limit his progress in
developing second language competence." (Gardner and
Lambert 1972: p. 2).

Our examination of bilingualism and biculturalism in
Mexican American children is based on such lines of thinking.
We wish to demonstrate through correlational analyses that
there is a definite relationship between the children's
perceptions of themselves as members of a pluralistic
society on the one hand and their competence as bilingual
individuals on the other. If such a relationship can be
firmly established, we will need to revise existing bilin-
gual education programs so that they take into account the
psychological dimensions of bilingualism and biculturalism
both at the teacher training level and the classroom level.

As a first step in our study, we developed methods
for testing the validity of our ideas on a very limited

number of subjects. We will now describe this pilot study, focusing on instruments and procedures rather than results given the small size of the sample. The reason why we do not wish to delay reporting our findings despite their pre-liminary character is that we want to stress the urgency of including psychological elements in every bilingual education program. It is our hope that the investigation we have begun can lead to similar investigations in other geographical areas, leading to a rethinking of bilingual education programs along the lines we are suggesting.

The specific hypothesis we tested in our pilot study is as follows: an inverse relationship obtains between a child's learning progress in a bilingual education program and the degree of conflict he or she is experiencing when exposed to a new language and culture. In other words, the more conflicted the child, the less progress he or she will make in becoming a true bilingual with equal competence in both languages. We examined this assumed relationship in eight Mexican American second graders enrolled in a bilingual education program. Individual interviews were con-ducted at their school, which is located in a Southern California bordertown and has about eighty per cent Mexican enrollment. The interview consisted of a linguistic test designed to measure bilingual competence and a questionnaire we devised to elicit the children's attitudes about the two languages and cultures considered.

Our linguistic instrument is a modified version of the Bilingual Syntax Measure devised by Burt and Dulay. The test consists in asking a child to answer four or five questions about each of seven pictures shown in turn. The pictures represent simple everyday life situations. The uniform set of questions ranges from very easy ("What are these?" as interviewer is pointing at birds in a picture) to very difficult for a 7-year old ("What would have happened to his shoes if he hadn't taken them off?" as interviewer points at a man), thus producing a spread in the children's linguistic scores. Every child is admin-inistered the test in both Spanish and English (in our

study we systematically reversed the order of languages
for every second subject in order to avoid any possible
bias) and his recorded answers are analyzed in terms of
grammatical correctness. The scoring is based on answers
to eighteen questions in each language; each correct
response is given one point.

After establishing the children's scores for all
eighteen questions in English and Spanish, we compared
their performances in the two languages in purely numeri-
cal terms, thus departing from Burt and Dulay's Bilingual
Syntax Measure which classifies the children into levels
of competence. The numerical method produced a clustering
of our subjects into three categories:

- subjects A, B, C and D have either no difference
  at all or a difference of 1 point between their
  Spanish and English scores; we will call them
  balanced bilinguals and refer to them as Group I;

- subjects E, F and G have a difference of 4 or 5
  points between their Spanish and English scores;
  we will call them asymmetrical bilinguals and
  refer to them as Group II;

- subject H has a difference of 9 points between her
  Spanish and English scores. She could obviously
  be classified in Group II as an asymmetrical
  bilingual. However the difference is so much
  higher in her case that she is best considered
  as a separate category which we will label highly
  asymmetrical bilingual. In our future large scale
  study we plan to examine such cases very carefully
  as they may give us some precious insights into
  the causes of individual failure in bilingual
  education programs.

The data on the children's perceptions of themselves
in a multicultural society were obtained through a 21-
item questionnaire which was administered either in Spanish

or in English[2] depending on the subject's preference
(we had four cases of each in our sample of eight). In
our analysis we are using the answers to only 13 of the
questions which turned out to be more significant than
the remaining 7. Responses to these questions can be
grouped into four indices:

- Language use in home and neighborhood. It is
  based on answers to four questions concerning the
  language spoken with parents and siblings, as
  well as neighborhood friends.

- Identification with English speaking Americans
  versus Spanish speaking Mexicans. It is based on
  answers to four questions as follows: Which
  do you like better (sounds nicer), Spanish or
  English? What kind of child would you like to
  be, Mexican, Chicano or American? Do you play
  with American children? Would you like to live
  like a Mexican or an American?

- Perception of value of English and Spanish. It
  is based on answers to the following questions:
  What do you think is better, Spanish or English?
  Which language is better to know, Spanish or
  English? Do you think it is good to know both
  languages?

- Perception of American attitudes towards Mexicans.
  It is based on answers to the following questions:
  Do you think that American children like Mexican
  children? Do you think that grownups like
  American children better than Mexican children?

Our preliminary results can be summarized in terms
of a 3-value system for each index. In the first three
indices these values can be labeled Anglo orientation,
Mixed orientation and Mexican orientation. Anglo orienta-
tion is represented by the following types of answers in
each of these indices respectively: Language use = English;
Self-identification = orientation towards English speaking

Americans rather than Spanish speaking Mexicans; Per-
ceived value of each language = subject's view of English
as better or more useful than Spanish. Obviously the
opposite answers would represent a Mexican orientation,
while answers such as saying that both languages are
useful would represent a Mixed orientation.

Given the very limited size of our sample we only give
a summary picture of our findings. Let it be noted
immediately however that they tend to support our hypothesis
of an inverse relationship between bilingual competence and
degree of conflict experienced by the child. Leaving
aside subject H (highly asymmetrical bilingual) for the
time being, we find clear differences between our Group I
and Group II subjects: on all three counts (Language use,
Self-identification, Perceived value of each language) the
balanced bilinguals show a higher Anglo orientation than
the asymmetrical bilinguals.

Taking now the fourth socio-psychological variable
into account, namely the child's perception of American
attitudes towards Mexicans, we find similar differences
between our two groups. Twice as many of the responses
by asymmetrical bilinguals, as compared with the balanced
bilinguals, indicate a perception of Anglos as having
negative attitudes towards Mexicans. The co-existence
of such a perception of Anglo views and a preponderantly
Mexican orientation in our Group II subjects can be
considered as indicative of a conflictual situation. There
is therefore, as stated in our hypothesis, a relationship
between such a psychological state and bilingual competence:
a child who is in conflict is not likely to learn the new
language and/or to maintain the home language as well as
a non-conflicted child. We can conclude that, on the
basis of our admittedly limited study, the achievement
of bilingual competence is indeed linked to the child's
self-image and perception of himself or herself as a member
of the surrounding pluralistic society.

How are we to interpret these preliminary findings,
which we expect to repeat themselves in a larger sample of
subjects, in terms of long range planning of bilingual-
bicultural education programs? Let us for a moment specu-
late about our two groups of children, the balanced
bilinguals and the asymmetrical bilinguals. At this stage
the subjects in Group I seem to experience no conflict
in terms of their social orientation: they appear to
have already chosen the Anglo way and do not seemingly have
a strong desire to cling to their ethnic background. While
these children still know Spanish very well at the present
time, we might want to predict that in a few years from
now they will have assimilated to such an extent that they
may have partially or totally lost their knowledge of
the Spanish language and their cultural heritage, which
could later on in life lead to very serious conflict.
Teachers with sound psychological training could make such
children face this potential future conflict at a time
when it is easiest for them to develop their knowledge of
both languages and understanding of both cultures. As for
the subjects in Group II, they could easily be helped in
their efforts to become bilingual and bicultural by a
teacher with the necessary psychological training who
could lead them to realize that learning the English
language and Anglo ways does not have to imply loss of
the Spanish language and Mexican cultural heritage.

At this point we wish to turn to an article by
Ramirez which seems extremely relevant to the issue
considered here. One of his statements is as follows:
"Should research results show that to maintain identifi-
cation with the ethnic group is detrimental to the child's
educational achievement and his psychological adjustment,
the emergent philosophy of cultural democracy will be
called into question. Conversely, if identification with
the ethnic group is found to be a necessary ingredient of
academic success and a positive self-image, then the
policy of cultural relevancy must come to dominate efforts

in developing experimental educational and mental health
programs for Chicanos." (Ramirez III 1971: p. 400). In
his conclusion he states that "Almost every review of the
literature ends in a call for additional research and this
one is no exception. There is a great need for extensive
studies of how milieu and socio-economic class interact
with acculturation to affect personality and education."
(ibid.: p. 406). Finally he concludes that "There is,
therefore, a critical need for more enlightened research
relevant to acculturation of Chicanos. There is an even
greater need to insure that the results of this research
will be incorporated into education and community mental
health programs. This is especially important since many
of these programs are continuing to follow the old and
inappropriate model of assimilation into the mainstream
American middle-class. There is, thus, a very crucial
issue at stake here--the outcome of the struggle for
cultural democracy in American mental health and educa-
tion." (ibid. : p. 407).

In our future work we plan to work along the lines
suggested by Ramirez, conducting longitudinal studies
of Mexican American children enrolled in various bilingual-
bicultural education programs. We also plan to rethink
the whole issue of bilingualism and biculturalism very
carefully, insisting as we have done in this paper on
the extreme importance of teachers' attitudes and psy-
chological know-how in such programs. It may very well be
that all the careful thinking which goes into curriculum
planning is simply a waste of time and effort if no atten-
tion is paid to the psychological dimensions of bilingualism
and biculturalism. We might even go further and want to
re-evaluate the framework in which to examine bilingual-
bicultural education programs. It is becoming very clear
to us that such research cannot be conducted from a
purely sociolinguistic or educational viewpoint. Rather
we need to pay attention to many of the political and
economic aspects of life for bilingual-bicultural

individuals in the United States, as well as the impact
of bilingual-bic .tural education on the total life pattern
of those who have been exposed to it.

NOTES

[1]A preliminary version of this paper was presented by
both authors in a symposium on bilingualism organized by
the Council on Anthropology and Education at the 1975
meetings of the American Anthropological Association in
San Francisco. A revised version was presented by the
first author in a session on Mexican Americans she con-
tributed to organize at the 1977 Sociolinguistics Round-
table of the Research Committee on Sociolinguistics in
Perpignan, France. The final version owes much to comments
and criticisms made at both meetings. We are also very
grateful to Carlos Garcia and John M. Long for their
help at various stages of this work.

[2]Code switching was facilitated by the fact that
the second author of this paper, who conducted all the
interviews, is a natural English-Spanish switcher herself.

Figure 2a
PREPARATORY SCHOOL BACKGROUND

Elementary School

# S's	Mostly M/A	Mostly Anglo	Mixed	Out of City	Mexico

p<.01 x^2 28.44   p <.01 x^2 13.71   N.S.   p <.05 x^2 7.68   N.S.

Figure 2b

<u>High School</u>

# S's	Mostly M/A	Mostly Anglo	Mixed	Out of City	Mexico
	$p < .01$	$p < .01$	N.S.	$p < .05$	N.S.
	x^2 40.08	x^2 35.45		x^2 5.60	
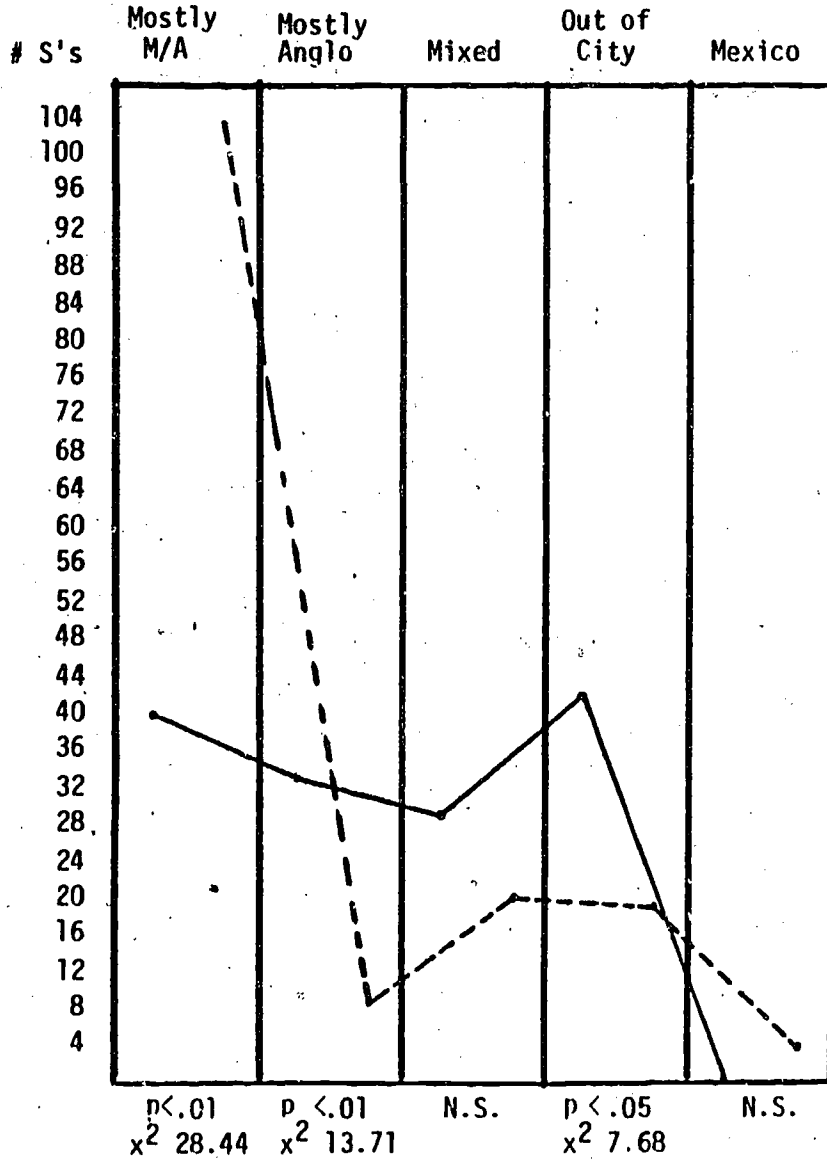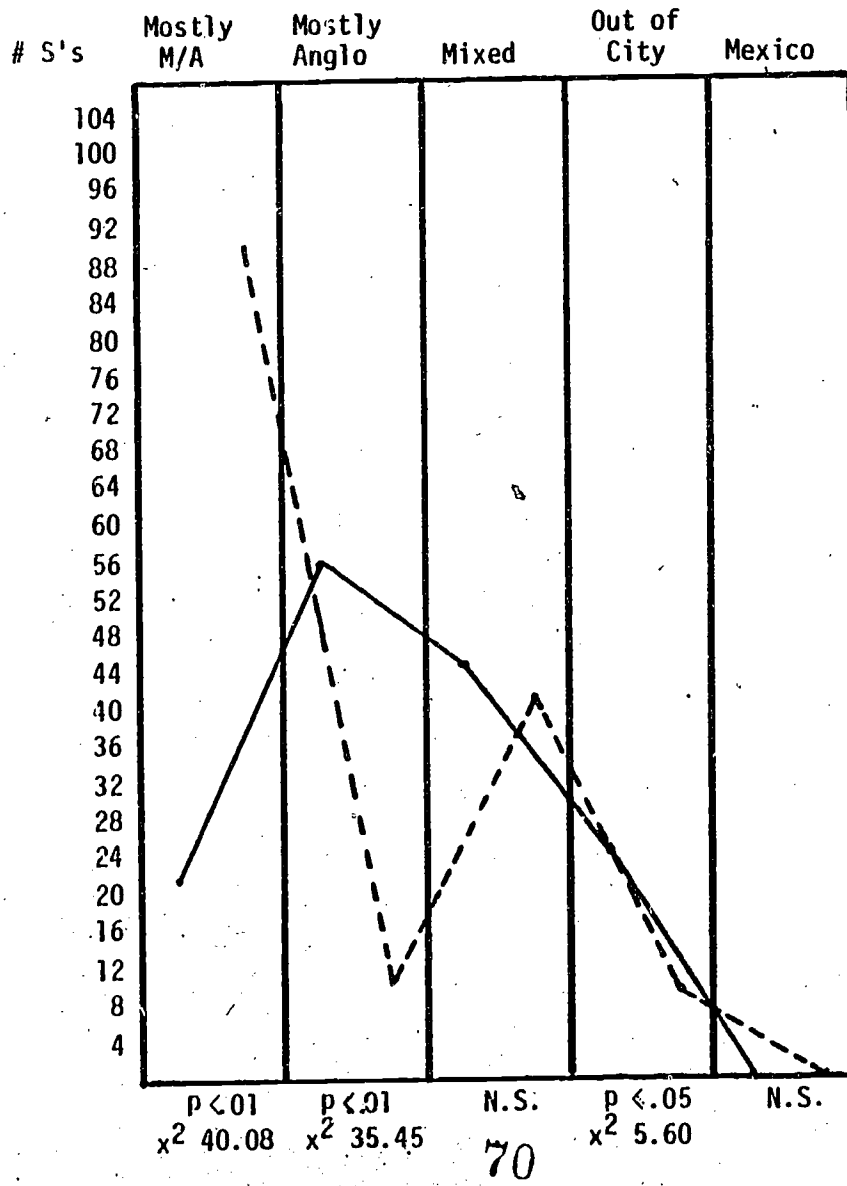
Figure 3

MEAN <u>SAT</u> SCORES BY ETHNICITY

Scores

Verbal   Math

505
500
490
485
480
475
470
465
460
455
450
445
440
435
430
425
420
415
410
405
400

p ≺ .01   p ≺.01

N = 230   N = 230
df = 1, 229   df = 1, 229
F = 8.1837   F = 6.9435

——— = Anglos
————— = Mexican-Americans
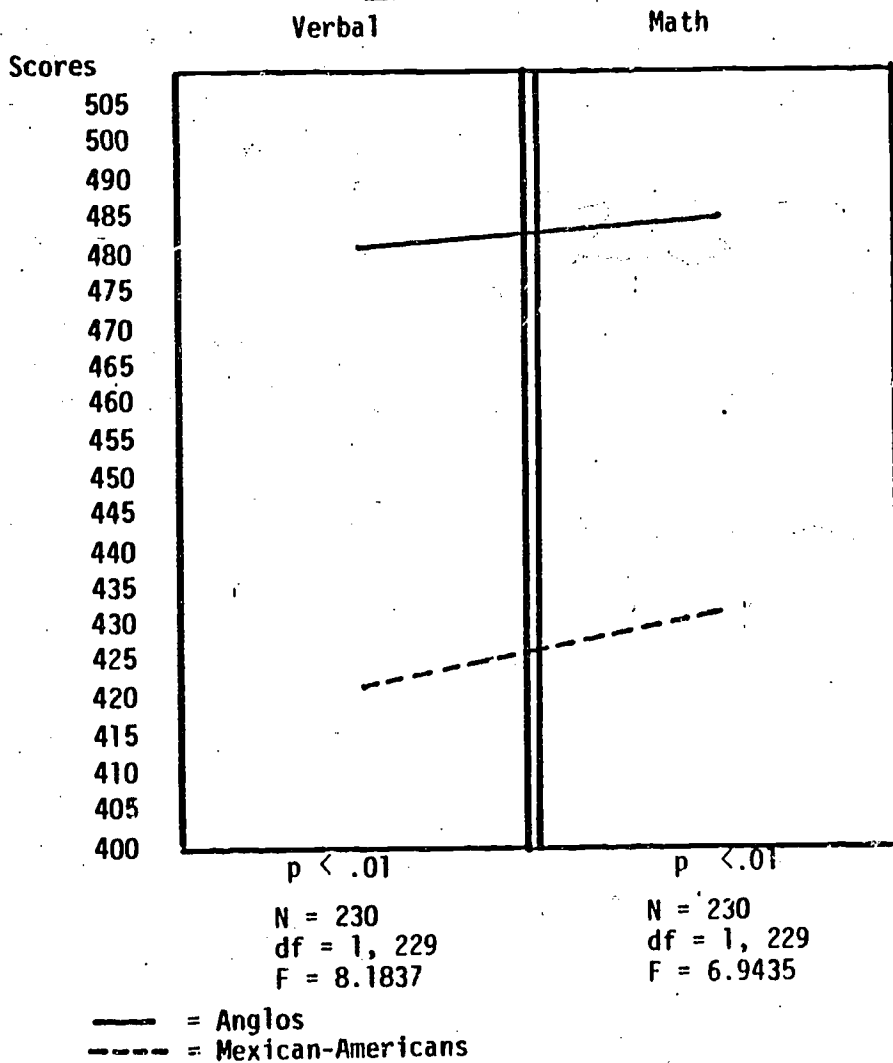
significant difference in the number of each group who graduated or who were not enrolled at the time of compilation of data because of voluntary withdrawal, scholastic probation, or suspension (Figure 4).

For grade-point averages there was no significant difference between the two groups overall, or through a half-point interval from 0.5 to 4.0 (Figure 5). The two curves follow essentially the same pattern throughout the range of last computed grade-point average.

A final measure of relative success, using length of time for completion of work for the degree as the criterion, found no significant differences between the two groups. Figure 6 illustrates these findings. The great majority of both Anglo and Mexican-American subjects completed their degrees within 8-10 semesters of full-time study (within the normal range of completion of the bachelor's degree), with the remainder of the subjects following a similar pattern of completion in the categories 12 to 16+ semesters.

Conclusions. The university which is the locale of this study is to some degree a cosmopolitan institution, but in the main its student body consists of two large ethnic groups, Mexican-American and Anglo. Mexican-American students in this study entered the university with lower Verbal and Quantitative scores on the SAT, with largely segregated public school experience, with lower family income and lower level of fathers' education than their Anglo counterparts. These factors have traditionally been regarded as indicators of "educational deprivation," with the implication that these are deterrents to academic achievement. In this study Mexican-American students were equally as successful as Anglo students, when success was measured by completion of the bachelor's degree, by grade point average, and by length of time for completion of work for a degree. In summary, there were no differences in performance measures between Anglos and Mexican-Americans participating in this study.

Discussion. A number of factors might be suggested as reasons for the Mexican-American success phenomenon reported here. The local community and the university, with their high Mexican-American popu-

Figure 4

LAST KNOWN STATUS

Non-Graduates

| # S's | Graduates | Good Standing | Susp..sion | Scholastic Probation |

100
96
92
88
84
80
76
72
68
64
60
56
52
48
44
40
36
32
28
24
2C
16
12
8
4

N.S.   N.S.   N.S.   N.S.

——— = Anglos
----- = Mexican-Americans

73
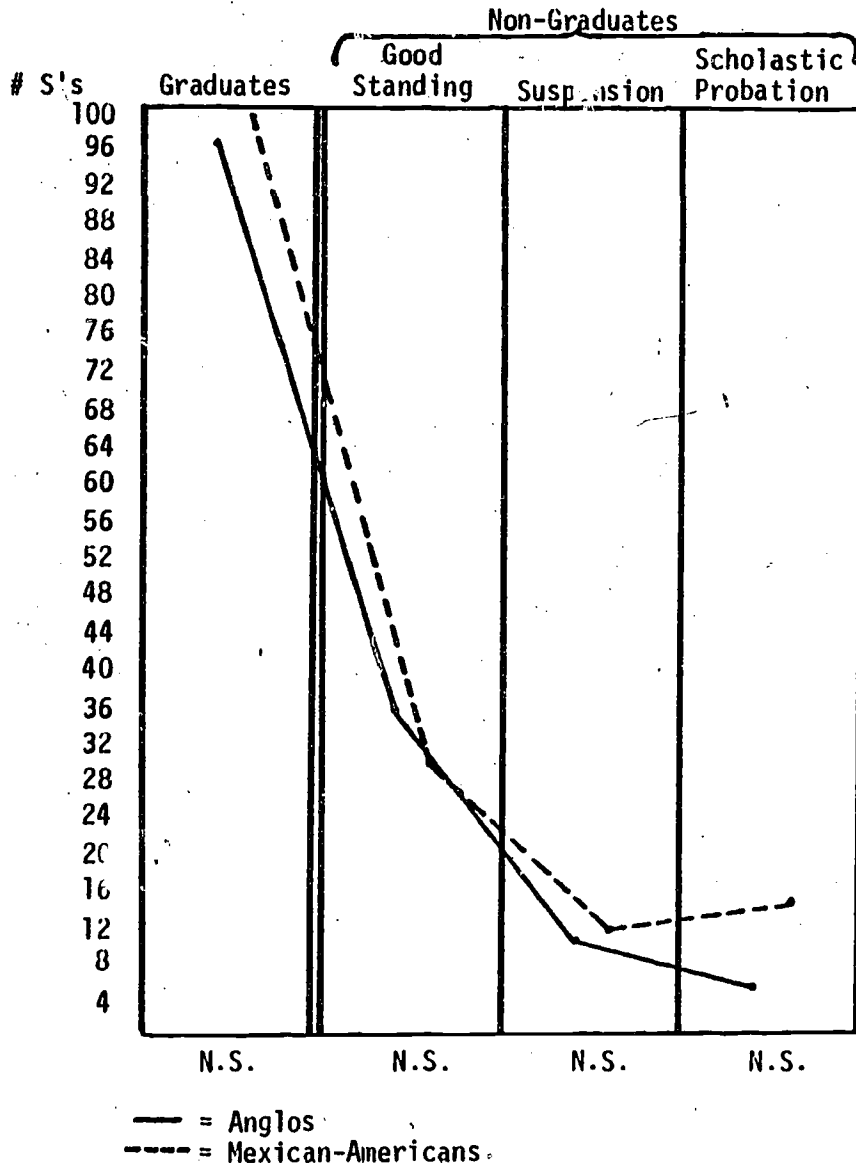
Figure 5

LAST CUMULATIVE GRADE POINT AVERAGE

S's   0 - .5   .51-1.0   1.1-1.5   1.6-2.0   2.1-2.5   2.6-3.0   3.1-3.5   3.6-4.0

N.S.   N.S.   N.S.   N.S.   N.S.   N.S.   N.S.   N.S.

——— = Anglos
----- = Mexican-Americans
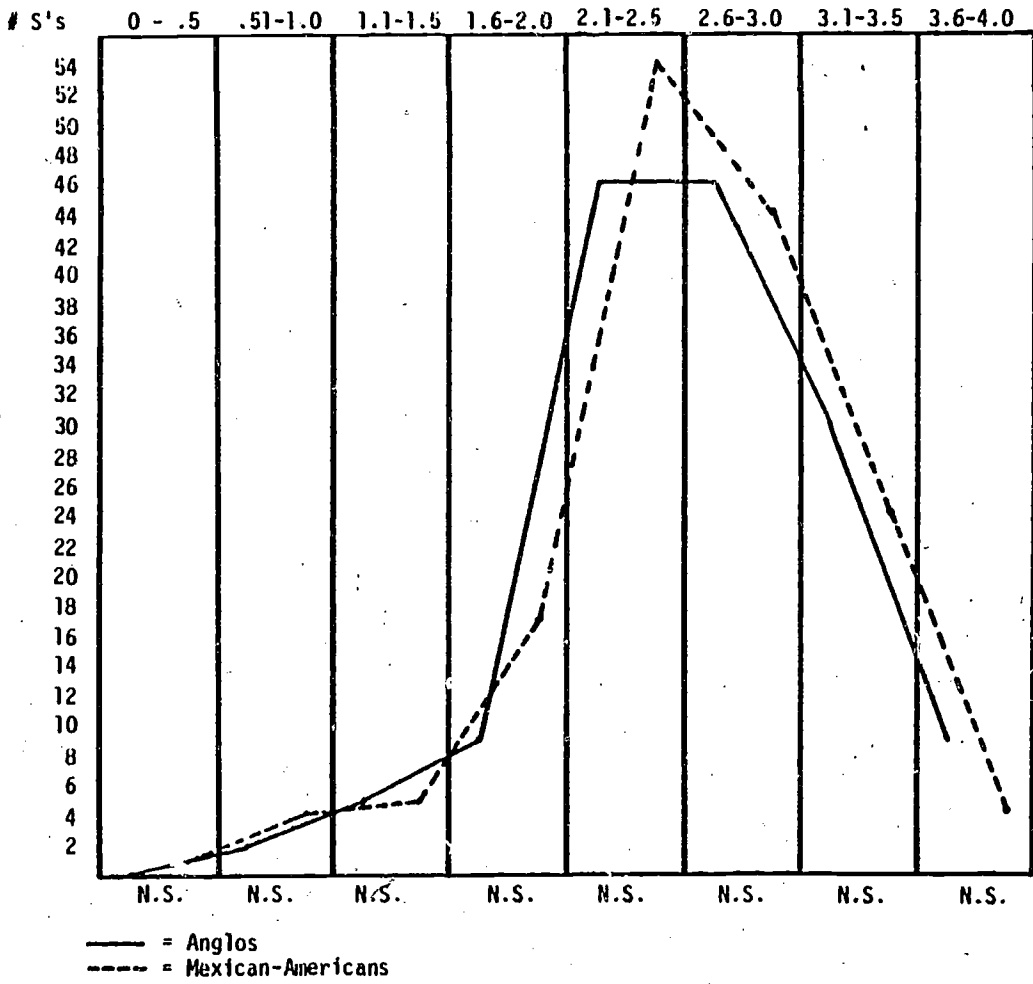
Figure 6

LENGTH OF TIME FOR COMPLETION

____ = Anglos
----- = Mexican-Americans

69
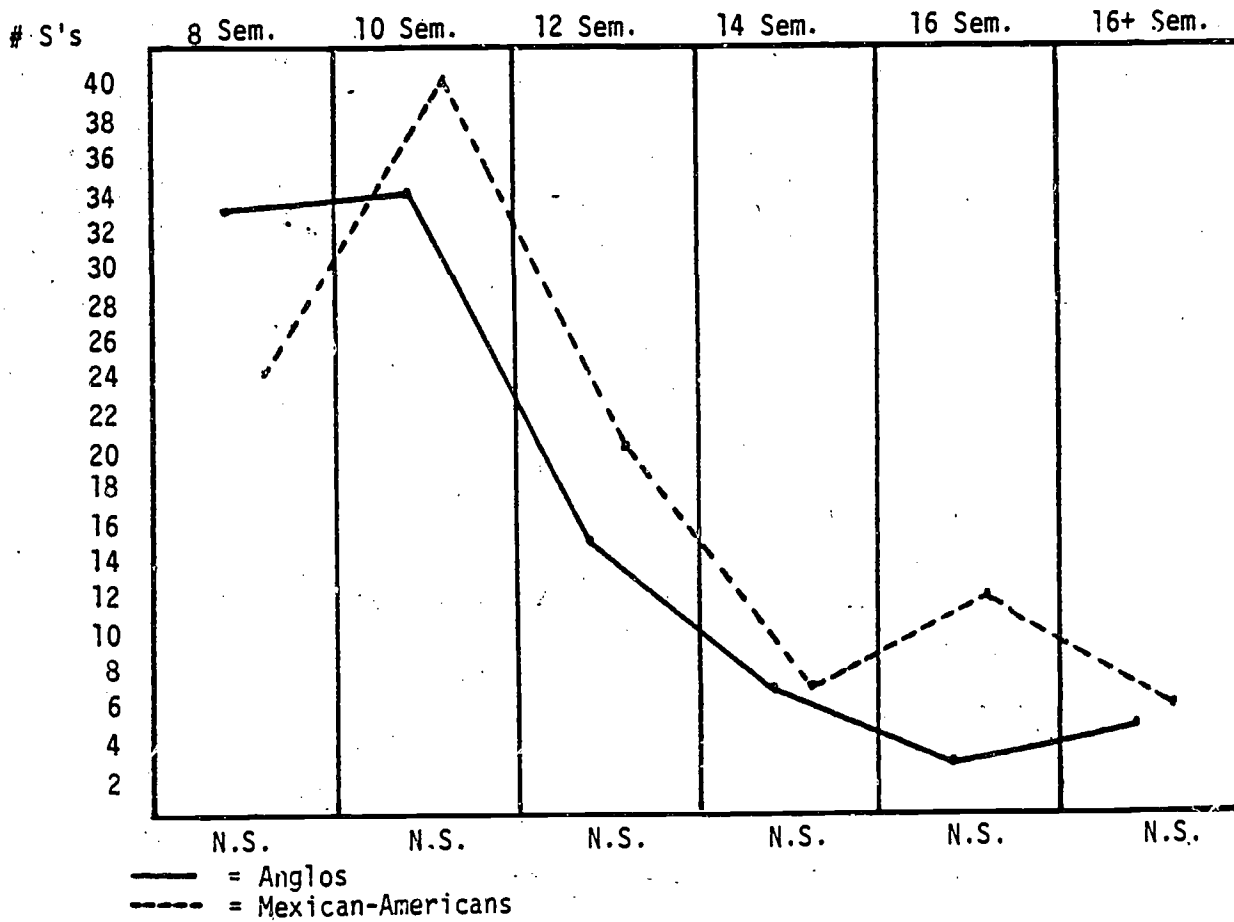
0.\ 75

lation ratios, may be providing the type of atmosphere and support
which reduces feelings of frustration and alienation described in
the literature. The Mexican-American student in such an environment
is perhaps better able to maintain a stance of "involvement with,"
as opposed to "estrangement from" the cultural background which is
characteristic of his/her history.

Economic conditions and family support may have been a large
factor in this study, since 98% of the subjects (both Anglo and
Mexican-American) reported that they were living at home.. Low
tuition costs, coupled with the presumed lower cost of remaining
with one's family may serve to counteract the often-reported economic
motivations for dropping out of school for minority groups.

Events which occurred in the interim between 1969 and 1974, in-
volving strong Mexican-American militance and unification efforts
(M.E.N.Ch.A. uprisings, emphasis on La Raza Unida) may have provided
added support, encouragement, and feelings of confidence which fos-
tered academic success. A related outcome of these and other national
movements was greater attention on the part of the university to the
recruitment of Mexican-American faculty and professional staff, thus
providing cultural role models, the lack of which is often reported
in the literature.

Although these may not have had the opportunity to impact large
numbers of subjects participating in this study, the university has
introduced a number of support systems, including a Reading and
Study Skills/Tutorial Services Center, a Career Information Center
which emphasizes graduate and professional training beyond the bach-
elor's degree, a Freshman Orientation Program, and a Chicano Studies
Program. These services and curricula were added beginning in the
early 1970's. Subjects who were at the beginning stages of their
university study when this research commenced may have received bene-
fits from such services.

Recommendations. This study has brought to light a number of
issues which require further study and analysis. First, a deficit
on the part of Mexican-American SAT scores was apparent upon entrance
to the university, yet deprivation did not appear to be permanent.
The implication is that additional research should be undertaken to

determine the predictive qualities of this admissions criterion,
particularly with respect to the Mexican-American student popu-
lation.

An in-depth analysis of the campus environment should be
undertaken to determine to what extent the university is providing
an atmosphere of support and encouragement, as compared with the
influence of family, community and border locale. If the campus
is a significant factor in reducing feelings of isolation and
alienation, it would follow that specific characteristics of the
environment should be identified. Other colleges and universities,
particulary those whose Mexican-American student populations are
reportedly not as successful as would be hoped, could benefit from
this information.

Finally, it is recommended that this study be replicated at
other university campuses with significant Mexican-American stu-
dent populations to determine to what extent the data presented
here are locally unique, and to what extent they are characteristic
of Mexican-Americans vs. Anglo student performance in the post-60's
era. It might be hypothesized that, similar to the Black American
culture, academic success ratios are on the increase for the Mex-
ican-American population. Further research is needed to investi-
gate the extent of, and reasons for, this phenomenon, if it does
in fact exist.

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PART TWO:

INVESTIGATING ASPECTS OF BILINGUALISM

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A HIERARCHICAL APPROACH TO MEASURES
OF LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY1

Rodney W. Young[2]

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A HIERARCHICAL APPROACH

TO MEASURES OF LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY

Rodney W. Young

In any area of testing--other than, perhaps, achieve-
ment testing--there is generally a close tie between the
theory of the area tested and the test itself. As theory
changes, tests change to accommodate the theory, occasion-
ally resulting in different perspectives for testing in
general. The theory of an area being measured dictates
what the test will be, although it can certainly be the case
that what the test reveals results in a reconsideration and
modification of the theory. Language testing has been in
some way unique in that the field has been increasingly
invaded by specialists in language rather than specialists
in testing (Spolsky, forthcoming). It is as if there is so
much change in notions of what it means to know a language
that the linguists have sought some of the answers by
moving the field of testing, an area close to psycho-
logical reality. The specialization in language testing
has influenced both the field of testing and the field of
linguistics. New approaches to interpretations, such as
the hierarchical one to be offered here, have the potential
to influence both testing and language theories and certainly
to demonstrate the close bond between theory and test.

The impetus for language testing came largely from the
need to assess second language proficiency for students as
well as applicants for various employment positions. The
question has always been how to judge when somebody "knows"
a language sufficiently well. Several years ago Spolsky
(1968) posed the question of what it means to know a lan-
guage within a framework of linguistic theory emphasizing
the creative aspect of language (Chomsky, 1966). What
Spolsky essentially did in this paper was point out that

there had to be an adequate theory of language before there
could be any consideration of proficiency assessment, and
if a theory is accepted that claims language to be creative,
then tests of language proficiency have to reflect this.
The very idea that language is creative obviates the notion
of sampling from the universe of language performance.
Obviously language tests based on a principle of sampling
from the universe are unlikely if there is no limit to the
universe. If, however, the creative aspect of language
results from a finite system with capability for infinite
output, then the sampling universe is indeed limited and is a
possibility for normal testing procedures. There are two
difficulties with this idea which prevent serious consider-
ation of it, however. First, there is no adequate descrip-
tion of the linguistic system. Second, there is no true
agreement about what the system should be, especially with
the current emphasis on language in its total communicative
sense (see Jakobovits, 1969, and especially Spolsky,
forthcoming). Without the adequate description of the
linguistic system, no sampling approach is acceptable; and
with the disagreement concerning the nature of language,
any test is viable only to how functional it is for any
given theory. Because of these difficulties, the primary
emphasis has been toward tests that can capture the creative
aspect of language in a functional sense, ignoring the
specifics of the linguistic system being measured. This
approach then allows interpretation within whatever theoreti-
cal position desired.

Tests that have the capacity to reflect creative
skills in a functional sense are largely what Carroll (1961)
termed integrative tests. Integrative tests are overall
measures, yielding an index of general ability without any
indication of the specific parts being assessed. This over-
all approach loses diagnostic value, but at least seems to
be a closer reflection of the functional nature of language
and fulfills, somewhat, the test's purpose of a general
proficiency measure.

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Furthermore, integrative tests have enough flexibil-
ity through adjusting the subject matter and the scoring
procedure to accommodate some variation in linguistic
theory.

This thrust toward integrative testing in language
areas has also had some impact in other areas of testing.
Achievement tests have generally been considered tests
without theories, although what has been learned from
language testing suggests the possibility of the same
principle being used for achievement measures. Young
(1975a) has argued that the pedagogical concepts of Bruner
(1966, 1971) essentially constitute theories with a creative
aspect for various subject areas of achievement, which
can be assessed through novel situation testing. Bruner
posited the idea that what was desired for students in any
subject area was a set of underlying principles that guided
performances in that subject. Bruner took this position
from the linguistic theory that separated competence from
performance (Chomsky, 1965). Although the scope of lin-
guistic competence has been enlarged, the idea of compe-
tence as a set of underlying principles or rules is still
widely used. Bruner's position adapted linguistic theory
to pedagogical theory, including the creative aspect.
Novel situation testing is testing for creative use in a
particular area, something akin to integrative testing
in that there is no emphasis on knowing exactly what the
sub-skills are. This seems to suggest that the principles
being used in language testing can have value for testing
in other areas, such as providing a method for assessing
and theorizing about achievement areas.

Integrative tests are measures of a total performance
without any attempt to identify sub-skills. Integrative
tests yield single indexes for a total performance, a per-
formance generally within a novel situation. In second
language testing, integrative tests have been based on
comprehension of normal language with a variety of inter-
ferences, such as reduction in redundancy by means of
added noise (reviewed in Spolsky, forthcoming) or by

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deletior. of words in the cloze technique (reviewed in Oller, forthcoming). Theoretically a reduction in redundancy by means of noise requires greater linguistic proficiency to handle the total communication. The cloze test was similarly designed so that greater linguistic proficiency was neces- sary to replace regularly omitted words in a passage not previously read or heard. Still another form of inte- grative testing in second language proficiency was the use of a dictation test which involved the listener's ability· to write down exactly what he heard (Oller, 1971). The cloze test is of primary interest because it is a paper- and-pencil test with a useable scoring procedure.

From the professional testing point of view, one primary concern is always whether any given test is valid. Many of the studies done in validating integrative tests of second language proficiency have been based on correla- tions with non-integrative tests such as the Test of English as a Foreign Langauge (TOEFL) (see Oller, forthcoming). These results have been generally positive and statistically significant and, at least, indicate that the various inte- grative measures as well as the non-integrative measures are reflective of something which might he called language ability or proficiency.

It would, however, make more sense to validate inte- grative tests according to construct validity (see Gronlund, 1971) because of the tremendous concern with linguistic theory. One approach to matching what language tests measure with what the psychological reality of knowing a language is (construct validity) comes from Oller (1975). Oller used a variety of measures of language ability in a factor analytic approach to infer a general language pro- ficiency factor. Oller's position was that underlying various language measures is general language proficiency which explains the inter-relatedness of the measures. The factor analysis revealed that much of the variance of each of these measures could be explained by postulating a gen- eral language proficiency construct. The unaccounted-for

variance of each measure could then be attributed to the
idiosyncratic aspect of the specific measure.

Another approach to interpreting different language
measures and establishing construct validity is to view the
measures hierarchically (Young, 1975b). In this approach
one measure is assumed to reflect a broader area than other
measures. As a hierarchy the broad measure will include
a larger proportion of the other measure than the converse,
a notion compatible with a language theory that needs
higher and lower levels of skills. This one-way relation-
ship can complement Oller's (1975) factor analytic approach
of inferring a general language proficiency factor by pro-
viding a means to assess which individual measure is
nearest to the theoretical construct of language proficiency.
Primarily, however, this approach establishes a perspective
to view related language measures in a set order and
explain differing proportions of variance within these
measures.

In a recent paper Young (1975b) provided evidence that
three measures of language ability did constitute a
hierarchy for native speakers based on the predictive
strength of the variables. One measure was an English
composition grade; a second was a special composition test;
and the third was a standardized English achievement-
aptitude test. The English grade was the broadest measure
as would be expected; the composition test was the second
most broad; and the standardized test was the narrowest
of the three. The regression-based prediction strength
was stronger going down than up, thereby establishing the
hierarchy. Theoretically, this implies that certain
measures related to language ability are nearer to being
measures of the construct itself than others. It
further implies that the levels of the hierarchy can be
established for theoretical as well as practical value.
It allows all measures to be retained to fulfill the claims
of the theory about language but it puts the measures
into an order according to the amount they are dependent

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on language proficiency. Practically the hierarchical
approach also allow: the teacher or researcher to make
assumptions about the presence of lower level skills once
higher level skills have been ascertained. If, for
example, the teacher comes to the conclusion that the
student has the ability to write an effective paper sponta-
neously, then it can be safely assumed that the student
also has an adequate grasp of the language. The converse,
of course, is not true. The student could definitely
have a grasp of the language but not be able to write an
effective paper because of lack of other skills.

In Young's (1975b) study the hierarchy was confirmed by
examining the absolute error from bivariate regression analysis
(Nie, et al., 1975) between each set of measures, alternating
which measure was the predicted one. Multiple regression was
also used with two variables predicting a third. Every pos-
sible combination of predictors and predicted was analyzed to
verify the hierarchy established by the bivariate analyses. The
established hierarchy held although the overlap between variables
was not uniform. In an ideal sense all the variance of a narrow-
scope measure would be accounted for by a larger-scope measure
(although the converse would not be true); however, the analyses
revealed that only a percentage of the narrow-scope measure was
accounted for by the broad-scope measure, leaving unaccounted-
for variance with each measure. For all three measures the common
overlap would be analogous to Oller's (1975) general language fac-
tor. All of the subjects for this study were monolingual speakers
of English at the college level. The study did not deal with any
specific phenomenon about bilingual speakers. It was done merely
to demonstrate that language measures could be viewed hierarchi-
cally, both theoretically and empirically.

Because there was some evidence that language measures
could be viewed hierarchically, another study was done.
This study, which is the subject of the empirical portion
of this paper, replicated the original study but used a
cloze test in place of the English grade. A cloze test

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was chosen because of its use as a measure of language pro-
ficiency for second language speakers (see Oller, forth-
coming) as well as its original use as a measure of
readability for native speakers (Taylor, 1953). This stu.y
was intended to confirm again the notion of a hierarchy
among related variables and to illustrate the relationship
between language testing and language theory.

The measures used were the cloze test scored by the
exact word method, a composition test (CST), and a standard-
ized English achievement-aptitude test (ACT). The ACT is
an admissions requirement for the University of New Mexico
although there is no minimal score for entrance. The CST
(Communication Skills Test) is an entrance test for the
College of Arts and Sciences within the Univeristy of New
Mexico. The cloze test was written and designed to be
compatible with the Communication Skills Test and was an
addendum to one of the nine testing sessions of the year.
The results of 119 subjects were used for the analysis;
all of these subjects were speakers of English, and all
testing was done in English.

Because of the earlier study it was hypothesized that
the CST would be the broadest-scope measure and because of
the research documenting the value of the cloze test as a
measure of language proficiency, it was hypothesized that
the cloze test would be the narrowest measure. The ACT
would be the middle measure. The relationship between each
set of variables was analyzed by simple bivariate regression
(Nie, et al., 1975), alternating which variable was the
predicted and which was the predictor. The standard error
of estimate, which is an index of the absolute accuracy of
a regression prediction, was then normalized into a percent-
age of the range for comparison. Table 1 summarizes the
first level of analysis.

TABLE 1

RELATIVE ABSOLUTE ERROR

OF BIVARIATE REGRESSION

Prediction *	Error as % of Range
CST by ACT ACT by CST	24.94 19.13
CST by Clz Clz by CST	24.98 20.69
ACT by Clz Clz by ACT	14.72 16.22

N = 119

* All predictions statistically significant,
p < .001.

From this level of analysis, it is possible to detect
that there is a general hierarchy although the relation-
ship between the cloze test and the ACT is opposite of the
hypothesis. The CST is the broadest measure and is in
approximately the same relationship with both ACT and the
cloze. In predicting from the CST, the error was 19.13% of
the range for ACT and 20.69% for the cloze, indicating a
very similar relationship between CST and both ACT and
cloze. The error is 14.72% in predicting ACT by the cloze
and 16.22% in predicting cloze by ACT. This suggests that
for these native speakers, less of the performance on the
cloze test was due to language proficiency than for the ACT
if the common element of the two tests is language profi-
ciency. If this analysis has some merit, this suggests

that the cloze test for this group of people is something other than a language proficiency measure or that language proficiency has to be defined to reflect this phenomenon. Again, this is the case if both of these measures share something in common, which might be called language proficiency. A more detailed discussion of the relationship between testing and language theory will be pursued further later in this paper.

A second level of analysis confirmed the finding that ACT was of narrower scope than the cloze test. Multiple regression was done predicting one variable by the combination of the other two variables. Every possible combination was done to verify the hierarchy. Table 2 summarizes these analyses, again relying on the absolute error from the standard error of estimate.

TABLE 2

RELATIVE ABSOLUTE ERROR OF MULTIPLE REGRESSION

Prediction*	Error as % of Range
CST by Clz & ACT	24.04%
ACT by Clz & CST	14.46%
Clz by ACT & CST	15.64%

N = 119

* p < .001

Once again the hierarchy showed up with ACT the narrowest measure with 14.46% error as opposed to 15.64% for the cloze measure. In that absolute error is a reflection of differing individual test variance, a third analysis was done that would indicate how much total shared variance would

be accounted for by different predictions. Table 3
summarizes these results.

TABLE 3

RELATIVE VARIANCE OF MULTI. J REGRESSION

Prediction*	Accounted-for Variance
CST by Clz & ACT	35.33%
ACT by Clz & CST	60.26%
Clz by ACT & CST	61.70%

N = 119

* p < .001

From this approach the cloze test becomes the narrowest
scope measure in that more variance is accounted for in
predicting cloze by ACT and CST than by predicting ACT by
cloze and CST. This contradiction of whether ACT or cloze
is the narrowest variable is a function of the intended use
of the prediction. Both the standard error of the estimate
and the shared variance are the result of a single statisti-
cal analysis. The standard error of estimate reveals the
absolute error for the practical problem of calculating
predictions while the shared variance is more for concep-
tual or theoritical understanding. This discrepancy pri-
marily suggests that there is little difference in the
scope of the two measures in their relationship to CST.
Figure 1 provides a graphic approximation of the three
language measures in relationship to each other. (See
the following page.)

FIGURE 1

THE INTER-RELATIONSHIP OF THREE LANGUAGE MEASURES
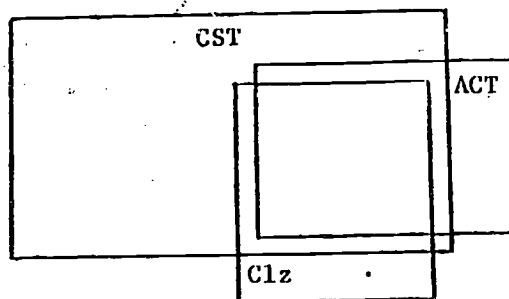
If the language proficiency factor is the area of common
overlap for all three measures, then both ACT and the cloze
account for a nearly equal proportion of it. The evidence
does suggest that these three language measures do bear
something of a hierarchical arrangement with each other with
some small difference between the ACT and the cloze but
without any clear indication as to which of these two is
the narrower.

The significant question, of course, is whether either
ACT or the cloze approximate language proficiency at all.
Certainly ACT is not designed to be a measure of language
proficiency; perhaps it could be,   ending on what the
theory of language claims about   ge ability. The
cloze test is generally not claimed to be a test of language
proficiency for native speakers although it is claimed to
be such for second language speakers. Such a dual purpose
needs to be carefully accounted for in a theory of language
as well as in a theory of testing. What is more likely is
that the cloze test is primarily a measure of some one
thing, such as reading skill (as is ACT), and that reading
skill for second language speakers is approximately
equivalent to language ability for the college bound
student. If this is not the case then the theory of lan-

guage needs to be made more compatible with the hierarchical
findings that suggest a strong overlap between the cloze
test and a college entrance standardized test of English.
Also, in that the hierarchy results from a narrowing pro-
portion of test variance, claims of construct validity will
have to be based on a language theory that similarly re-
flects this. And if the theory is to be compatible for '
both second language speakers and native speakers, then a
particular sort of continuum of ability will have to be
projected for all people concerning ability in a language
whether native speakers or second language speakers.

In conclusion the notion that language measures can
be viewed hierarchically has further empirical support,
suggesting an approach to viewing measures at different
levels. This approach allows more flexibility in validating
a language theory from several measures than by simply
correlating them. This approach also provides a technique
for validating language measures, especially for construct
validity, within a language theory that needs a definite
arrangement of its components to be more meaningful. And
finally this approach demonstrates the closeness of the
interdependency of theory and testing.

Tables 4 and 5 are provided as addenda to give the
reader the additional perspective of descriptive statistics.

TABLE 4

DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS OF LANGUAGE MEASURES

Measure	M	SD	Min.	Max.
CST*	2.151	.889	1.000	4.000
ACT	15.697	5.230	5.000	28.000
Clz	17.605	5.511	6.000	28.000

N = 119
*   CST scores are 1 = high; 4 = low.

TABLE 5

CORRELATION MATRIX OF THREE LANGUAGE MEASURES

	CST	ACT	Clz
CST	1.000	- .546*	- .569*
ACT		1.000	.764*
Clz			1.000

* p < .001

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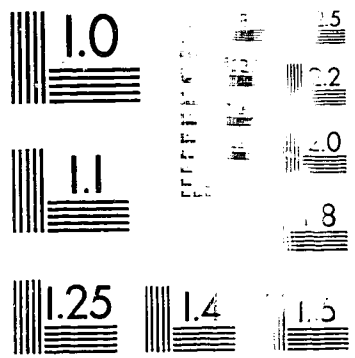
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NOTES

‾This paper was written for presentation at the
Symposium on Bilingual/Bicultural Education hosted by the
Cross-Cultural Southwest Ethnic Study Center at the Univer-
sity of Texas at El Paso, June 12-14, 1975.

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THE ACQUISITION OF ENGLISH

IN WELLAND, ONTARIO

BY FRENCH CANADIAN STUDENTS

Raymond Mougeon, Pierre Hebrard &
Suwanda Sugunasiri

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THE ACQUISITION OF ~3LIS B ?PENC   AN
STUDENTS I ` LLA  ,  `TAT

Raymond Mougec   P. rr ?ébr
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1.   Introduction

The main purpose of the p ent study   . . ..mm.:e the ac-
quisition of English by school ..:d franco nor a liiren of Wel-
land. In order to lend perspect ve to the st. ve fill first
describe the linguistic situation in We.land .. .n speci-
fically on the younger francopimmes of th. c

1.0 The linguistic situation in #ellanu

Situated in Southern Ontar: (Niagur Co ..r. Welland has
a population of 44,395 of which   `% spss.i . .e .. c.. their mother
tongue (Census of Canada, 1971). The bu`k o: .:mucophones in
Welland are concentrated in one ..rea of ..ci: .nd although
they are the majority in this area (th. ..ccern ..ce of the
city) a sizable anglophone minority live t.re ..so. French is
the language which is most often used by ..e par..:s whose
mother tongue is French to communicate with thei children at
home. However English is also used by these par..:s especially
to communicate with their older hildre: (see Mou.geon & Hébrard,
1975 (a) for more details). th..ide t.. home, th. children are
exposed to English quite extensirely from their childhood on;[1]
the different sources of expossr: to English ot.er than family
are: (a) socializing with the..nglop.ne peer. . (b). social
interaction with the anglophor: .jority, outsi.e their own
neighborhood such as in store.: :) listening to radio and
TV which are almost all English. .eaking; (d) compulsory
English classes from Grade 3::. h French language schools;
and (e) studying certain sub . .; entirely in English at the
secondary level. As a result i..ncorhone" children use
English (in varying degrees) ..cc.mmuncate among themselves
from a very young age. Thus English b.:comes their dominant

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language of communication as they appr ac. puberty.   this
respect, i is not rare to hear adol nts report   can
express aselves better in English an in Frencl

1.1 The rpose of the study

Bea: _ag in mind the situa- n ribed above im-
ultaneou acquisition of Fren   ngiish), we ha- t ht
it to be f interest to study . quisition of En is
by the young Welland bilingua wi a view to asse ir
am ng other things the influe   Frsnch on their acq i
sition of English. We have d   o focus first on s noien
rather than written English i   w as we believe that a
study of spoken English is a re isite for an analys s
of writter English. To stud ne uisition of spoken Eng-
lish, we have done an error- iy of the spoken Eng sh
of the bilingual children.   pe ve errors as a goc
index of the progressive acq sit   f a language (se
review of the literature in e fo wing section).

The error analysis has en co ducted at the syn   c
and lexic levels only.

The esent study will follawed soon by a sim r
study on e acquisition of French by the same popula: .
When it is completed we will in good position to assess
the respective mastery of En ish and French by our subjects.

The present study has s eral goals: (a) to rev ew
some of the most recent errc analytic studies on the simul-
taneous acquisition of two languages and on the acquisition
of a second language; (b) examine some of the practical
and theoretical problems pos d by the gathering and tne
classificction of errors; (c) to offer a taxonomy of errors;
(d) to present and discuss the results of our analysis; (e)
to draw several theoretical conclusions on the basis of the
results of our analysis.

1.2 Review of the literature

There are only a few error analyses which, like ours,
are concerned with simultaneous acquisition of two languages.

Among the most recent is the article by Swain & Wesche (1973).
In this paper, the two authors study the evolution of the lang-
uago production of a bilingual child (French and English) from
age 3.1 to 3.10. They examine, in particular, the interference
factor affecting the two languages spoken by the subject. A
detailed analysis of the linguistic switching found in the
child's speech shows that it is characterized first, by a stage
in which the two languages are regrouped to form a unique code
and later by a stage in which the languages are almost entirely
differentiated.

There are, however, a number of relatively important error
analyses on the first stages of acquisition of a second language
by very young children. The most recent one: propose a genera-
tive hypothesis, stating that the acquisition of a language is
an evolutionary process related to: (a) the cognitive develop-
ment of the speaker, and (b) the existence of linguistic uni-
versals and, following from that, learning universals; and not
to a process of habit formation by repetition and imitation (the
behaviorist hypothesis). As for the influence of the mother
tongue on the acquisition of a second language, there is dis-
agreement among the different authors. All these questions are
studied in a number of theoretical papers: Nemser (1971), Corder
(1971), Gorbet (1974).

Among the works that show the influence of the mother tongue
on the processes of language acquisition, is the study by Dumas,
Selinker & Swain (1973). Furthering the interlanguage hypothesis
(Selinker, 1972), the authors examine a sample of French spoken
by a group of anglophones (mean age: 7 years) at the end of
their second year in a French immersion program. They show that
the errors made in the second language are attributable both to
the influence of the mother tongue and to systematic learning
processes which are not directly linked to the characteristics
of either the mother tongue or the second language. The speech
of the children in the second language is called an "intermediary
language" or "interlanguage".

In a recent article (1974), the same authors apply the
"intermediary language" hypothesis to the French spoken by anglo-
phone youth in an immersion program in Toronto. Particularly
focusing on the linguistic interference phenomenon, they propose

an interesting classification of types of errors due to such
interference.

In a monograph, Hakuta (1974) studies the order of ac-
quisition of fourteen English functors by five-year-old
Japanese children learning English in a 'natural" context.
The order of acquisition found in this study is different
from that found in the acquisition of the same morphemes by
children whose mother tongue is English. These differences
are explained in part by the interference of Japanese.

In the same vein, Scott and Tucker (1974) analyze the
competence in English of twenty-two students of Arabic fol-
lowing an intensive intermediary English language course.
The authors have collected a sample of written and spoken
English at the beginning and the end of the course. The
errors are divided into three types: errors of performance,
errors of interference, and errors due to false analogies
based on certain structural features of the target lang-
uage. The authors establish an order of acquisition of cer-
tain structures and go on to describe certain aspects of
the transitional grammar of the subjects studied.

Lewis's (1974) study is little different from those
we have reviewed so far. The author analyze the effects
that Jamaican Creole (first language) and English (second
language) have on the learning of Spanish (third language)
by students in Jamaican secondary schools. Lewis in par-
ticular studies the question of linguistic interference
and demonstrates that in spite of structural affinities
that exist between Creole (language of inferior status)
and Spanish, the students make more "negative transfers"
from English (the language of higher status) to Spanish
than "positive transfers" from Creole to Spanish.

Some other studies tend to show that the mother tongue
of the speaker plays only a minor role in the acquisition
of a second language and points to the existence of universals
of learning that account for the acquisition of a second
language. We can cite the study by Dulay & Burt (1973)
here. They study the acquisition of eleven English functors
by children whose mother tongue is either Chinese or Spanish,

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and show that the functors are acquired in the same order by
both groups. The authors thus deduce the existence of universals
of learning and outline a program of research for the study of
such universals. They reject the hypothesis that a speaker's
mother tongue has a decisive influence on his acquisition of
a second language, a hypothesis that appears to them as being
contrary to the generative theory.

In a longitudinal monograph, Milon (1974) studies the speech
of a seven-year-old Japanese child who has been learning English
for a period of six months. The study shows that there are
some clear similarities between the subjects' stage in acquiring
negation and those which have been observed in relation to the
acquisition of English as a first language by Klima & Bellugi
(1966).

Dulay and Burt (1974) try to determine if the syntactic
errors made by children speaking English as a second language
are due to the influence of their mother tongue or to some strat-
egies of cognitive development similar to those that have been
shown to exist in first-language acquisition. The results show
that only 4.7% of the errors can be explained with any certainty
in terms of the influence of the mother tongue, whereas cognitive
development strategies account for 87.1% of them.

Finally, in contrast to the preceding studies, three authors
propose less "extreme" hypotheses regarding the acquisition of
a second language. Cancino, Rosansky and Schumann (1974) study
the acquisition of English by three Spanish-speaking beginners in
a natural context. More particularly, they examine the acquisi-
tion of the copula and negation in order to test some hypotheses
regarding the learning of a second language. The results of
their study lead them to admit that the mother tongue of their
learners has some influence on their acquisition of English.

Our review of the literature indicates that both second
language learners and "bilingual" learners commit errors which
are of two types, i.e. interference errors and developmental
errors. However the different authors mentioned above have dif-
fering views on the respective influence of mother tongue and
cognitive development on second language acquisition. In the
present study we will try to give some answers to these questions
as well as other related questions.

1.3 The Sample

'We have selected a stratified sample of 30 students in Grade 2, 5, 9, and 12, from two French language schools in Welland, one elementary and one secondary, the latter being the only French secondary school in that city.

In a way our study is "longitudinal", in that we have chosen subjects at different grades and at sufficient intervals of age, enough to show the difference in the acquisition of English as a function of age. Sixteen of our subjects are female and fourteen male. Subjects were chosen on the basis of three socioeconomic categories. The following table shows the breakdown of employment of the fathers of the subjects in the three categories.

TABLE I

BREAKDOWN OF EMPLOYMENT IN
THE THREE SOCIOECONOMIC
CATEGORIES

Class I	Class II	Class III
1 doctor	1 account clerk	7 factory workers
1 superintendent	1 public transit	(skilled & unskilled)
in a School	inspector	1 taxi driver
Board	1 shipper	1 waiter
2 principals	2 technicians	2 machinists
3 teachers	1 insurance agent	(construction)
1 bank manager	1 self-employed	
	electrician	

The fact that the number of fathers in classes I and II is less than the number of subjects from these categories is due to the fact that the sample includes brothers and sisters.

TABLE 2

BREAKDOWN OF 29^2 SUBJECTS ACCORDING
TO THE SOCIOECONOMIC CATEGORY OF THEIR
FATHERS, GRADE LEVEL AND SEX

GRADE	SEX	SOCIOECONOMIC CATEGORY			TOTAL		
		I	II	III	by sex M	F	by grade
2	M	1	1	1	3		8
	F	2	1	2		5	
5	M	1	2	1	4		7
	F	1	1	1		3	
9	M		0	1	3		7
	F			2		4	
12	M			1	3		7
	F			2		4	
Total		9		11	13	16	29

1.4 Collection of data

The data on which our study is based have been collected through a series of interviews done in 1974. They were part of a much wider sociolinguistic survey (see Mougeon & Hébrard, 1975 (a), for more details). Each student was interviewed twice, once in English and once in French, by bilingual interviewers. The two interviews were separated by about two weeks. In order

to minimize the possible negative effects of having to answer
the same questions twice, it was decided to alternate the lang-
uage of the first interview from one subject to the other,
and in each age group. The interviews of Grade 9 and 12 con-
sisted of four series of questions: (1) personal history,
(2) personal interests and social life (3) language skills
and usage, and (4) language attitudes (see Appendix). For
the students of Grades 2 and 5, the fourth series was dropped,
and the second series was replaced by a modified version
(see Appendix). Differing from series 1 and 3, series 2
was made up of open questions in order to obtain spontaneous
speech. Such discourse seemed to us to be more appropriate
for linguistic analysis inasmuch as it is relatively unin-
terrupted and less formal, and therefore more representative
of the every day speech of the students. Series 4 was made
up of open questions but it was not analysed linguistically
because of the content of the questions.

The mean duration of the interviews was about 45 minutes,
of which approximately 30 minutes were taken up by the second
series. The latter served as a basis for the error analysis.

1.5 The collection and classification of errors

The interviews were transcribed in regular orthography.
The transcriptions were then corrected and retyped. We have
identified the errors on the basis of these corrected trans-
scriptions. Only the grammatical and lexical errors have
been collected. We have taken the term "grammatical" in the
wider sense, to include not only structural errors (e.g.,
word order, transformations, etc.) but also those of functors
(e.g., affixes, articles, prepositions, pronouns, demonstra-
tives). Under the lexical category are included errors in
the usage and meaning of substantives, adjectives and verbs.

We have taken as errors all deviations from spoken stand-
ard Canadian English. The latter we have defined as the
variety of English used by educated monolingual Canadian
anglophones in a semiformal communication situation. The
collection of errors was done in cooperation with several

linguistic informants who possessed the characteristics we have just mentioned. These informants were to decide on the basis of their language intuitions whether particular features of the speech of our subjects were acceptable or not in the semiformal situation of the interview. When our informants disagreed we counted as errors the structures that were rejected by the majority. The choice of a standard norm has in part been motivated by the fact that this is the variety which is supposedly taught in schools but above all by the fact that we lacked precise data about the variety of English used by young monolingual Canadian anglophones in a semiformal situation.[3] The following types have been counted as errors:

(a) the non-occurrence of a required form in a given context:

e.g., non-occurrence of the plural affix:

All the boy came. WS[4]

(b) the occurrence of an erroneous form:

e.g., occurrence of -ed ending with an irregular verb in the past:

Yesterday he goed to the movies. W2

e.g., occurrence of the definite article where it is not required:

My brother does not like the butter but he likes milk. W2

(c) the occurrence of an incomplete form:

e.g., incomplete persent perfect:

He has take them to school. W9

With regard to the type (b) errors, we have adopted the
following general principle of classification: all errors
have been systematically classified in the category of the
correct form that was required and not in that of the incor-
rect form: e.g., "Yesterday I go to school" (W5) as an error
in the simple past category; "He talks English very good"
(W5) as an error in the adverb category.

We shall now lay out in detail the problems posed by
the classification of the errors of our corpus. But first
we shall give, in the form of a tree-diagram, the principal
categories under which errors have been classified.
                    (please see next page)

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                                              Data

items conforming to SCE
(Standard Canadian English)                                    errors (items not conforming
                                                                      to SCE)


non-analysable              interference                              intrasystemic


items bor-          English words          application of French    grammatical      lexical
rowed from             and expressions        surface structure
French                 used with a            rules to English
                       French meaning
```
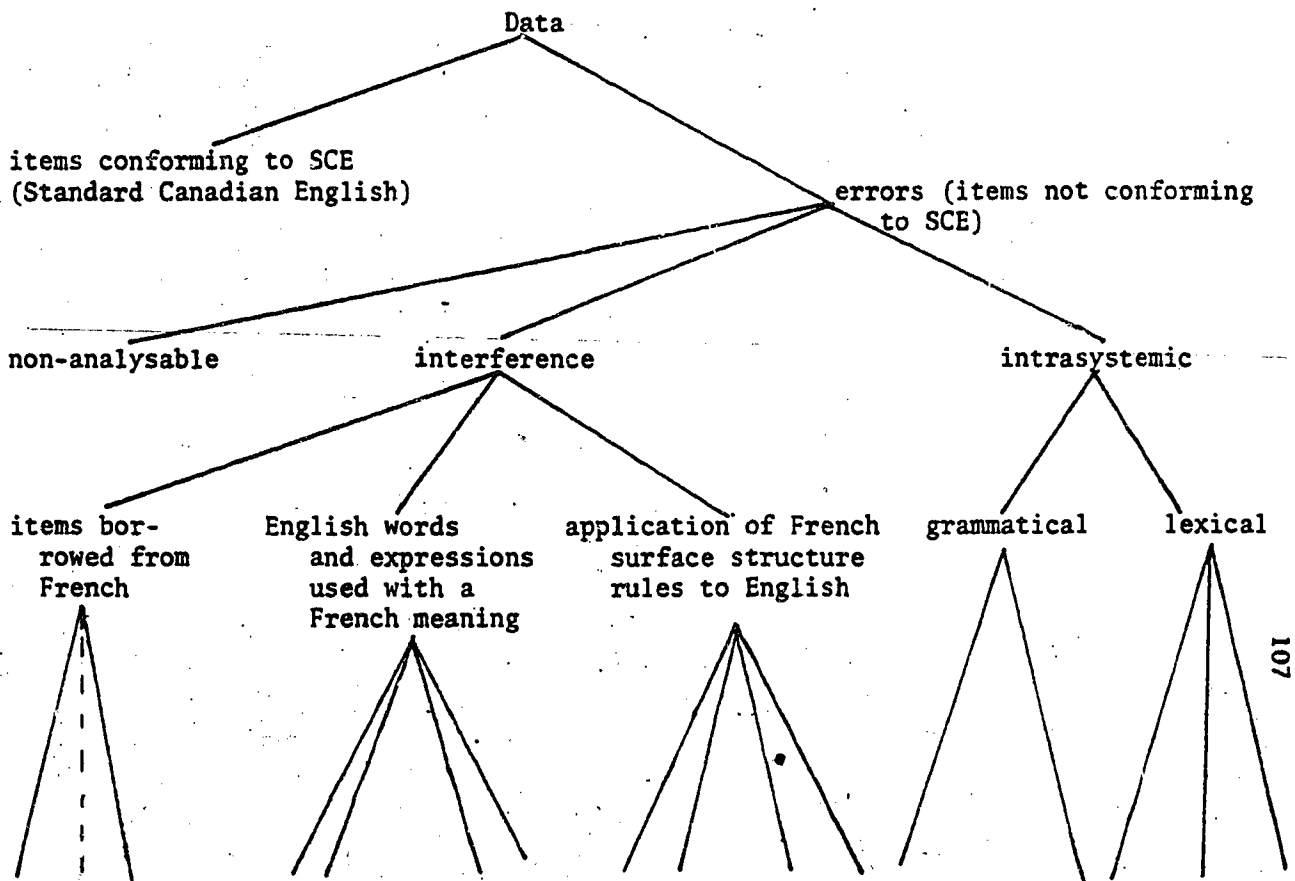
TREE-DIAGRAM I.:   THE GENERAL CATEGORIES OF CLASSIFICATION

As can be seen, the errors are classified into three
basic categories: interference errors, intrasystemic errors
and non-analysable errors. By interference is meant the
influence of French on the spoken English of the subjects.
We have included in this category only those errors that
show a clear and direct influence of French. These errors
are divided into three subcategories, to be further divided
into several types. The three subcategories are: (a)
borrowing of French items, (b) "English" words and expres-
sions used in a French sense, and (c) the application of
French surface structure rules to English. In category (a),
we thus find errors caused by the transfer of French lex-
ical and /or grammatical items to English.

> e.g., Is that those little nains? W2
>
> My father used to arracher des patates. W12
>
> And si I go on it, it will break. W3

In category (b) we find errors due to the possible semantic
"contamination" of English linguistic items by their French
equivalents.

> e.g., We used to go skating but now it's finished. (C'est
>   fini) W5
>
> When you open all the lights. (ouvrir les lumières).
>   W2
>
> Every day we go at Quebec (à Québec). W9

In category (c) are found errors that are probably due to the
influence of French word order on English word order.

> e.g., It's a kind of dance funny (danse amusante). W2
>
> A human can't control completely his train (con-
>   troler complètement son cerveau).

By intrasystemic errors are meant those related to the pro-
gressive acquisition of English operating independently of French.
This progressive acquisition depends notably on (a) the cognitive
development of the speakers (especially in the case of young
speakers), (b) on the complexity of the linguistic structures
to be acquired (see review of literature), and (c) on the nature
of the acquisition context. Bearing in mind the fact that our
young learners have acquired English in much the same way as
it is acquired by unilingual learners (natural context of acqui-
sition), it is not unreasonable to assume that many of the errors
made by unilingual learners while acquiring English will also
be found in the speech of our younger subjects. This assumption
has indeed been proven correct since quite a number of the intra-
systemic errors made by our subjects were similar to these
referred to as developmental errors in the review of the litera-
ture.

We have also included in this category of intrasystemic
errors a certain number of linguistic elements which characterize
non standard varieties of English (e.g. double negation). Such
linguistic elements have been counted as errors because we had
chosen spoken standard English Canadian as a base norm (see p.
12). We are nonetheless aware of the fact that such "errors"
should be viewed differently from developmental or interference
errors.

In the course of our error analysis we have also noted that
a number of the "errors" just mentioned were hard to differentiate
from the developmental errors which are due to the regulariza-
tion or simplification of linguistic structures (a common
learning strategy).

e.g., He don't want to.   W5

There was a lot people.   W12

I don't got money.   W2

In the case of young subjects who use such structures fairly
frequently, it has been difficult for us to say with certainty

whether the use of such structures corresponded to the stage
of simplification referred to on the preceding page or to
"genuine" non-standard usage. For this reason all errors
of this type have been classified under intrasystemic errors.

Intrasystemic errors (see tree-diagram 3 p.) are divided
into subcategories, which have been further divided into
several types. The two subcategories are (a) grammatical
errors and (b) lexical errors. Under subcategory (a) have
been included errors relating to word order or to the use
of particular grammatical units.

> e.g., He says a lot of stuff beautiful (adjective place-
> ment). W2
>
> So his wife asked if she can go along (Tense
> usage). W12

In subcategory (b), we have included errors in the meaning
of verbs, adjectives and substantives.

> e.g., Instead of slamming on the brakes, he turns the
> gas. W5
>
> Interviewer: What was the house made of?
>
> Child: It was made of tree. W9

In the non-analysable category, we have included:

1. garbled or muttered utterances;

2. incomplete utterances, the missing elements of
which are impossible to determine with certainty.
This in turn makes it difficult to identify
exactly what type of error it is:

> e.g., Then big noise, in house, you know. W9

This is not to be confused with false starts, e.g. "I have,

I have told him about ... about them" (W9), which have not been counted among errors.

3. utterances that can't be interpreted and therefore can't
       be classed into any of the error types:

It must be noted that these types of utterances have a common characteristic, i.e., being difficult to interpret.

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interference   intrasystemic

items borrowed from French   English words & expressions used with a French meaning   application of French surface structure rules to English

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switchings grammatical items lexical items   French idoms translated word for word grammatical items lexical items linkwords

substantives others   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

substantives   Tion* Tion* Place Place
adjectives   of   of   of   of
verbs sub- ob- adverb ad-
    ject ject   jectives

1. adverbial errors
2. pluralization
3. conjunctions of coordination errors
4. infinitive errors
5. spatial preposition errors
6. non-spatial preposition errors
7. partitive errors
8. other article errors

TREE-DIAGRAM 2: INTERFERENCE ERRORS

*topicalization

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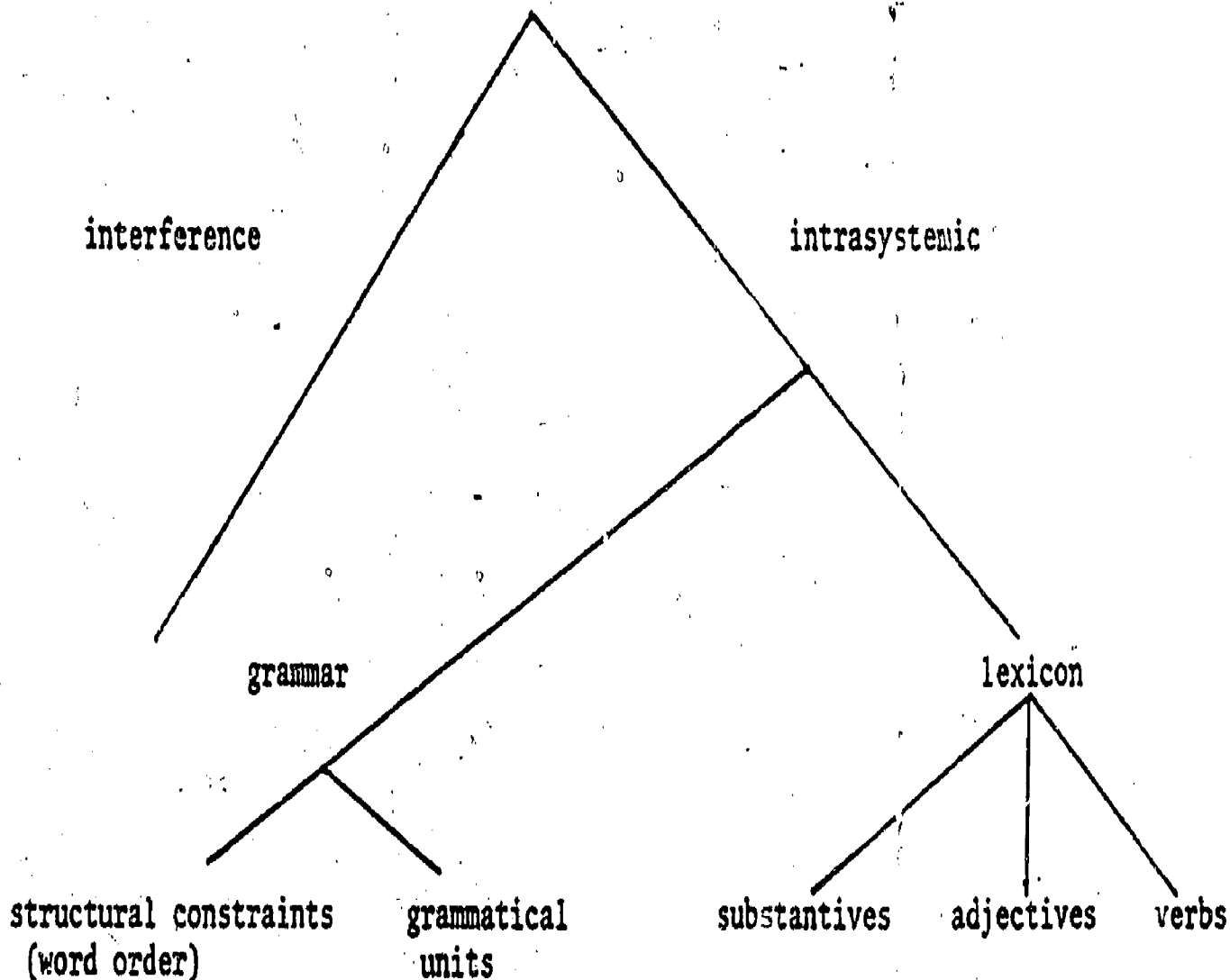
N.B.: The subcategories that make up the types "structural constraints" and "grammatical units" are too numerous to be listed here. See Appendix.

TREE-DIAGRAM 3: INTRASYSTEMIC ERRORS

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2. Presentation and discussion of results[5]

Study of the variation of percentages of errors as
a function of the age of the subjects

We shall first examine the total number of errors made
by all the subjects of our sample.

TABLE III

VARIATION OF THE TOTAL NUMBER OF ERRORS
AS A FUNCTION OF THE AGE OF THE SUBJECTS

GRADE	TOTAL NUMBER OF ERRORS	TOTAL NUMBER OF WORDS UTTERED	% OF ERRORS IN RE-LATION TO TOTAL NO. OF WORDS
2	897	13,988	6.1
5	444	11,590	3.8
9	329	11,082	2.9
12	276	12,854	2.1
TOTAL	1,946	49,514	

It can be said first of all that the total number of
errors decreases with age, a fact which is indicative of the
progressive acquisition of English. However, it is necessary
to interpret this variation as a function of the relative
length of the interviews. For this, we have counted the
total number of words[6] uttered by the subjects in such age
group, and have thereby calculated a percentage of errors.
The percentage found thus do not have any goal other than to
give a general indication of the mastery of English by our
subjects, inasmuch as one word can be the source of more
than one error and all words do not present the same amount
of difficulty.

Bearing in mind these reservations, it is interesting to see that at the age of seven (Grade 2), students already have good control of spoken English, since the mean error percentage is only 6.1. By the age 17 (Grade 12), the percentage decreases to 2.1, and this can be taken to indicate a very good mastery of spoken English.

We wish to remind our readers here that we have chosen spoken standard Canadian English as a base norm for error collection. We are conscious of the fact that such a norm is somewhat demanding. When we compare the performance of our bilingual subjects with that of unilingual subjects of the same age (see study mentioned in note[3]), it is likely that we will find somewhat lower percentages of error. This being said we express the wish that our similar analysis of the French of our subjects will show that they have mastered French as well as they have English. It is difficult to compare our results with those that have been arrived at by Scott and Tucker (1974). We have analysed all lexical and grammatical errors whereas these authors have limited themselves to very frequent syntax errors. Furthermore their subjects were adults whose mother tongue was Arabic and were learning English through an intensive course. It is the same with the other studies (see the literature preceding) on the acquisition of English, since they are most often limited to the study of a few morphemes determined a priori.

The confidence interval test indicates that there is a significant difference (p< .01) between Grade 2 percentage and Grade 5 percentage in Table I. This may be a result of the introduction of lessons in English beginning with Grade 3. However there appears to be a drop in the rate of acquisition after Grade 5, since there is only a difference of 0.8% between percentages of Grade 9 and Grade 12 and since this difference is not significant (p= .01).

The evolution of the acquisition of English can best be shown with a graph.

FIGURE 4

VARIATION OF ERROR SCORES AS
A FUNCTION OF AGE
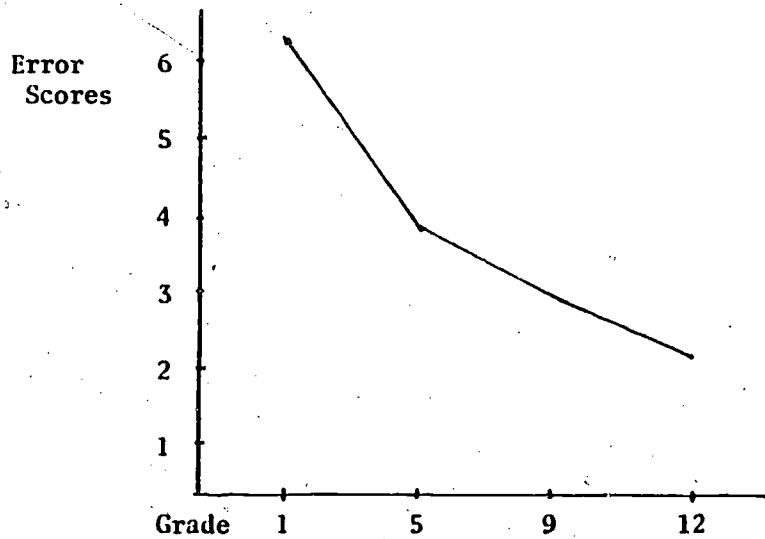
From Grade 5 on the curve appears to tend toward a plateau, illustrating the fact that the acquisition of English slows down after Grade 5.

In the following paragraphs we will examine the breakdown of errors listed under the major categories (analysable, non-analysable, interference, intrasystemic, lexical and syntactic errors) and their variation as a function of the age of the subjects.

TABLE 4

COMPARISON OF ANALYSABLE AND
NON-ANALYSABLE ERROR SCORES
AS A FUNCTION OF AGE

| GRADE | ANALYSABLE | | NON-ANALYSABLE | | TOTAL |
	Number of errors	% in relation to No. of words uttered	No. of errors	%	
2	773	5.5	124	0.9	897
5	350	3.0	94	0.8	444
9	277	2.5	52	0.5	329
12	212	1.6	64	0.5	276
TOTAL	1,612		334		1,946
respective % of analysable & non-analysable errors	83%		17%		100%

One can note that the number of non-analysable errors is
relatively small since it represents only 17% of the total.
errors. This leaves us a total of more than 1,600 errors for
analysis and allows us to base our analysis, in a general way,
on a significant sample, and, as a result, on a sound statisti-
cal basis.

TABLE 5

COMPARISON OF INTERFERENCE & INTRA-
SYSTEMIC ERROR SCORES AS A FUNCTION
OF AGE

GRADE	INTERFERENCE		INTRASYSTEMIC		TOTAL
	Number of errors	% in relation to No. of words uttered	No. of errors	%	
2	332	2.37	124	3.15	773
5	110	0.95	240	2.07	350
9	108	0.97	169	1.52	277
12	93	0.72	119	0.92	212
TOTAL	643	1.30	969	1.96	1.612
respective % of analysable & non-analysable errors	40%		60%		100%

First of all it is interesting to note that a signi-
ficant proportion of all analysable errors of our corpus
(40%) is attributable to interference with French. This
seems in a certain way, to contradict the findings of
Dulay and Burt (1974b), according to which interference plays
only a negligible role in errors made by young students of
a second language. It must, however, be noted that the sub-
jects studied by these authors were only beginning to learn
a second language and had already acquired most of the
structures of their own language.

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In another way our results seem to agree with observations made by Naiman (1974) and those made by Selinker et al. (1974) concerning young anglophone pupils in French immersion classes, which show that the linguistic transfer from one's first language is an important source of error.

The variation of interference and intrasystematic error scores as a function of age can be shown graphically thus:

FIGURE 5

VARIATION OF INTERFERENCE AND INTRASYSTEMIC ERROR SCORES AS A FUNCTION OF AGE
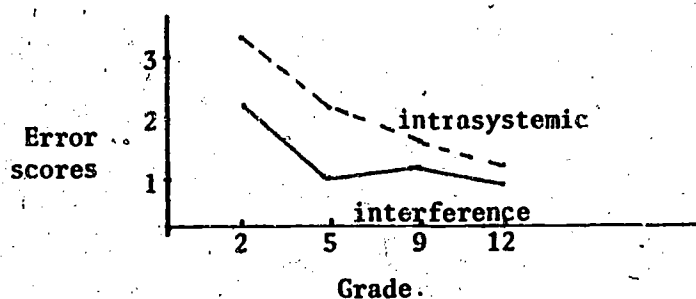
This graph shows the steady decrease in intrasystemic errors with age. The trend of the curve suggests that this type of error is on its way out. This is confirmed by the confidence travel test which indicates that the four percentages of intrasystemic error differ significantly (p< .01). As for interference errors, they decrease quite sharply between the second and fifth grades. However, after the fifth grade they seem to stabilize. The confidence interval test shows, in fact, that the scores for Grades 5, 9, and 12, do not differ significantly (p< .01). A tendency toward fossilization[7] of this type of error can be seen. This phenomenon will later be studied in more detail.

TABLE 6

COMPARISON OF LEXICAL AND SYNTACTIC ERROR
SCORES AS A FUNCTION OF AGE

GRADE	LEXICAL			SYNTACTIC			TOTAL
	Number of errors	Estimation[8] of the total # of lex- ical items	%	Number of errors	Estimation[8] of the total # of syn- tactic items	%	
2	92	5700	1.6	681	8300	8.2	773
5	58	4800	1.2	292	6800	4.3	350
9	37	4500	0.8	240	6600	3.7	277
12	31	5300	0.6	181	7500	2.4	212
TOTAL	218	20300	1.1	1,384	29200	4.8	1,612
respective % of lex. & syn- tactic errors	14%			86%			100%

    As we have indicated earlier, lexical errors relate to
the meaning of substantives, adjectives and verbs. This rela-
tively restricted definition of the term "lexical" explains
in part the preponderance of syntactic errors (i.e. 86%
on the average). It is to be noted that the proportion of syn-
tactic and lexical does not change significantly with the age
of the subjects.

    There is, however, a sharp drop in the number of syn-
tactic errors between Grades 2 and 5, whereas the number of
lexical errors decrease at an even rate. The comparative
evolution of lexical and syntactic errors can be represented
on a graph.

FIGURE 6

VARIATION OF SCORES OF SYNTACTIC AND LEXICAL ERRORS AS A FUNCTION OF AGE
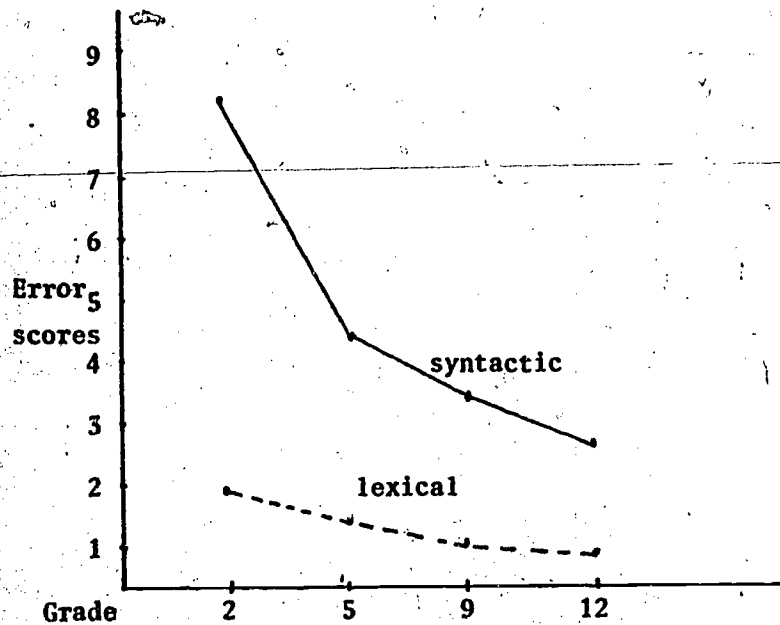
The sharp decline in the number of syntactic errors between Grades 2 and 5 is perhaps a result of the introduction of English in Grade 3, but it is also without doubt due to the acceleration of the processes of linguistic maturation. The fact that the acquisition of lexical items follows a steady pattern is perhaps due to the fact that unlike acquisition, it is not directly related to the development of logical operations.

Finally we will examine the respective proportion of interference and intrasystemic errors among lexical errors on the one hand and syntactic errors on the other.

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TABLE 7

COMPARISON OF THE INTERFERENCE AND INTRASYSTEMIC
ERROR SCORES AMONG LEXICAL ERRORS

| GRADE | INTERFERENCE | | INTRASYSTEMIC | | TOTAL |
	Number of errors	% in rela- tion to total lex- ical items	Number of errors	% in rela- tion to total lex- ical items	
2	42	0.74	50	0.88	92
5	11	0.23	47	0.98	58
9	10	0.22	27	0.60	37
12	10	0.19	21	0.39	31
TOTAL	73		145		218
respective % of interfer- ence & intra- systemic errors	33%		67%		100%

It will be observed, first of all, that 33% of lexical
errors are related to interference while 67% are related to
intrasystemic errors. We will see in the following table
that 41% of syntactic errors are related to interference.
This would seem to indicate that lexicon is somewhat less·
vulnerable to interference.

As regards lexical errors related to interference, one
can see that they decrease significantly between Grade 2
and Grade 5 (p< .01). We have just seen that the same is
applied to interference errors. However, after Grade 5,
the decrease in the percentages of errors is no longer
significant, as indicated by the confidence interval test
(p= .01).

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As for intrasystemic lexical errors, they decrease at a relatively steady rate with age, inasmuch as the percentage of errors of Grade 12 pupils differs significantly from these of Grade 2 and 5 pupils ($p < .01$). The evolution of the scores of lexical errors of interference and intrasystemic can be shown graphically thus:

FIGURE 7

VARIATION OF THE SCORES OF INTERFERENCE AND
INTRASYSTEMIC LEXICAL ERRORS AS A
FUNCTION OF AGE
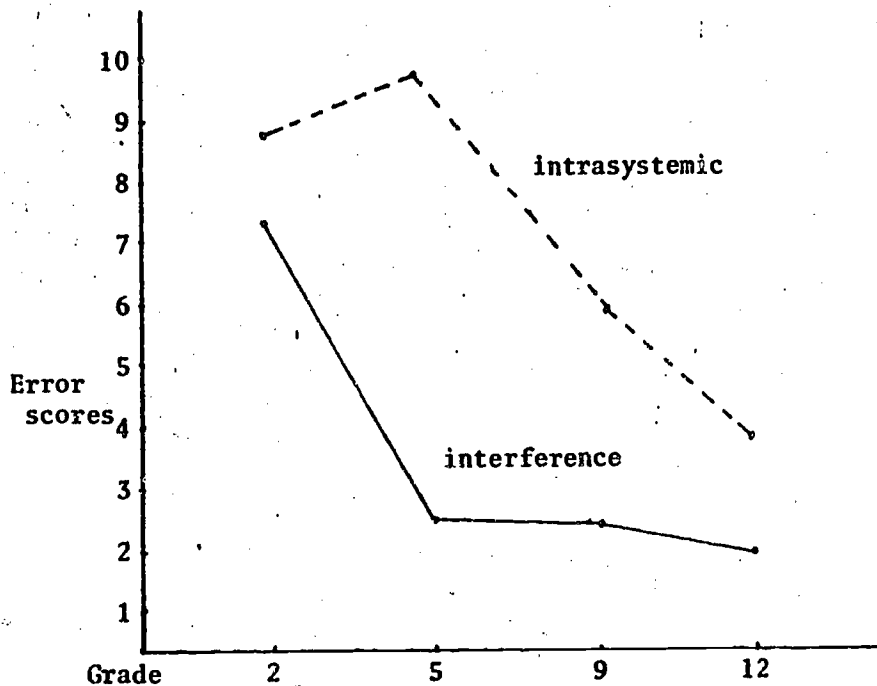
With regard to the respective average percentages of inter- ference errors (41%) and intrasystemic ones (59%), we refer the

reader to the comments on Table 5. The evolution
of interference and intrasystemic syntactic errors is similar
to that already found for all analysable errors (see Table
3). In fact, the confidence interval test (p< .01) indi-
cated that interference syntactic errors decrease signifi-
cantly between Grades 2 and 5 and stabilize thereafter. It
also indicates that intrasystemic syntactic errors decrease
at a steady rate. The four percentages of error differ
significantly. The evolution of these two types of errors
can be illustrated graphically.

FIGURE 8

VARIATION OF INTERFERENCE AND INTRASYSTEMIC
SYNTACTIC ERRORS AS A FUNCTION OF AGE
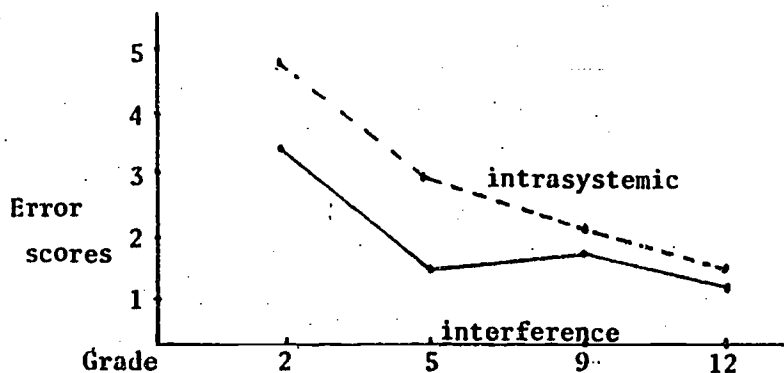
We would like to draw attention to the principal re-
sults of our study. We have, first of all, shown that there
is, in general, a decline in the number of errors with age;
that is to say that there is a progressive acquisition of
English with age. The rate of this acquisition is not con-
stant since we have found that the number of errors decline
faster between Grades 2 and 5 than between Grades 5 and 12.
One can speak of a relative slowing-down of the acquisition
of English after Grade 5. This is in part due to the fos-

silization of certain errors. However, it must be noted that
at the Grade 12 level, students have, on the whole, attained
a high level of mastery of English.

The comparative study of the evolution of interference and
intrasystemic errors has shown, first of all, that interference
accounts for 40% of all analysable errors, while the other
errors (60%) are intrasystemic. In general, these two types
of errors diminish with age. However, an examination of the
graph of their evolution reveals that while intrasystemic errors
decrease significantly and at a steady rate, interference errors
decline rapidly between Grades 2 and 5, and then level off.
This suggests the existence of a plateau of acquisition. It
appears then that the slower acquisition after Grade 5, referred
to earlier, must be, to a great extent, due to the fossilization
of a certain number of interference errors.

The comparison of the evolution of lexical and syntactic
errors has shown that there is, in general, a significant de-
crease with age, in the latter variety, which is particularly
evident between Grades 2 and 5. As for lexical errors, they
decreased much more slowly at a steady rate.

We have also shown that the phenomenon of fossilization of
interference errors affects lexical errors more than syntactic
errors, especially after Grade 5. As for intrasystemic lexical
and intrasystemic syntactic errors, they decrease at a relatively
steadier rate.

3. Theoretical conclusions

3.1 The approximative codes of a bilingual

After completing the study of the acquisition of English
by our bilingual subjects we carried out a brief preliminary
analysis of their French. It has been found to contain as many
if not more errors than their English. As in the case of Eng-
lish the errors committed by our subjects in French were of
two kinds: intrasystemic and interference ones.

This and the results of our study lead us to propose the
following as a working hypothesis: that young bilinguals who

are in the protess of learning two languages are seemingly
less competent in each of the languages in question than
unilingual speakers of those languages of the same age.
Put in other terms, we postulate that a bilingual speaker
who is learning two languages has two approximate codes
which resemble more or less the varieties of language spoken
by unilinguals of the same age. We have seen that our bi-
lingual subjects made both interference errors and intrasys-
temic errors. The approximate codes of a bilingual subject
in the process of learning a language can be depicted
diagrammatically.

(a) Approximative codes of a bilingual learner

LANGUAGE A   LANGUAGE B
  (unilingual   (unilingual
   speaker)   speaker)

      APPROXIMATIVE CODE   APPROXIMATIVE CODE B
      (bilingual learner)   (bilingual learner)
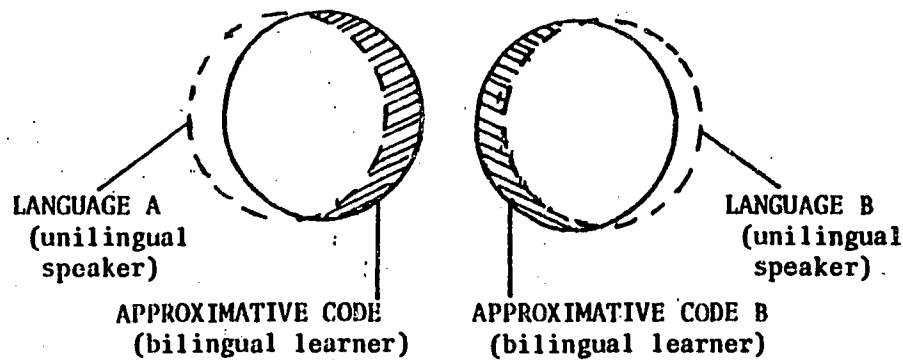
The shaded areas represent the deviations (errors) relative
to the norms for language A and language B as spoken by
unilingual subjects of the same age.
    The following diagram shows more precisely the approx-
imative codes of bilingual subjects in the process of language
acquisition and brings out the two main types of errors
that we have focused on in our study .

(b) Approximative codes for a bilingual learner

INTRASYSTEMIC ERRORS

INTERFERENCE ERRORS
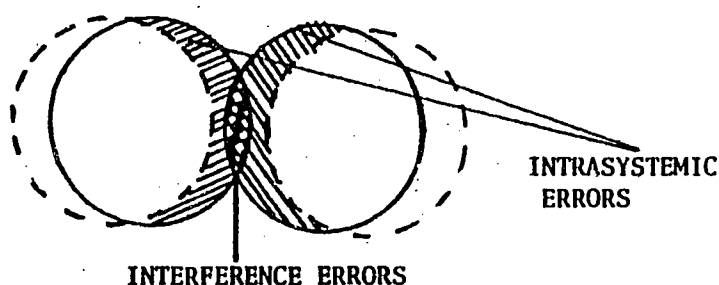
The above diagram shows: the two approximative codes (heavy circles), the two languages as they are spoken by unilinguals (dotted circles), the errors which result from interference between the two approximative codes (intersection of the heavy circles) and the intrasystemic errors (shaded areas).

Returning to our working hypothesis, we can confidently assert that the interference errors made by the bilinguals would not have been made by unilingual speakers. This fact alone gives proof to our hypothesis concerning the existence of approximative codes in our bilinguals.

As for the intrasystemic errors, two questions can be asked:

(1) At a given age, do bilinguals make more intrasystemic errors than do unilinguals of the same age?

(2) At a given age, do bilinguals make the same type of errors as do unilinguals of the same age?

We hope to be able to answer these two questions after we have analysed the data concerning the English spoken by unilingual English Canadians of the same age.

3.2 Fossilization of errors

The fossilization of certain errors that we observed can be

likened to the persistence of certain errors made by English-
speaking students in a ·French total immersion class that
was observed by Dumas, Selinker and Swain (1973), Naiman
(1974), and Selinker, Dumas and Swain (1974). It can also
be likened to the observations made by Mougeon ·(1973), who
found that a certain number of residual traits (phonologi-
cal, syntactic and lexical) continue to exist in the variety
of English spoken by individuals of French extraction in
the Gaspé who were assimilated into the English-speaking '
group and a majority of whom nò longer speak French.

All these observations suggest that in the case of lang-
uage acquisition in a total immersion environment as well
as in natural context we are dealing with the same phenomenon.
The following diagrams illustrate this.

(c) Immersion bilingualism

FOSSILIZED
ERRORS

L 1

INTERFERENCE

L 2

INTRASYSTEMIC
ERRORS

APPROXIMATIVE CODE L 2
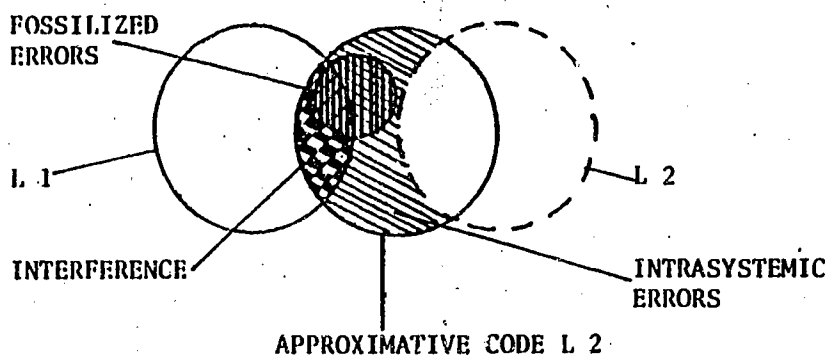
Amongst other things, diagram (c) indicates that persisting
errors can be either interference errors or intrasystemic
errors, in accordance with the· observations made by Dumas,
Selinker and Swain (1973), Naim (1974), and Selinker, Dumas
and Swain (1974). The diagram also shows the difference
that exists between the approximative code and the target
language (L 2).

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(d) Advanced bilingualism

FOSSILIZATION

INTERFERENCE

INTRASYSTEMIC
ERRORS

L A

L B

APPROXIMATIVE
CODE A

FOSSILIZATION

APPROXIMATIVE
CODE B
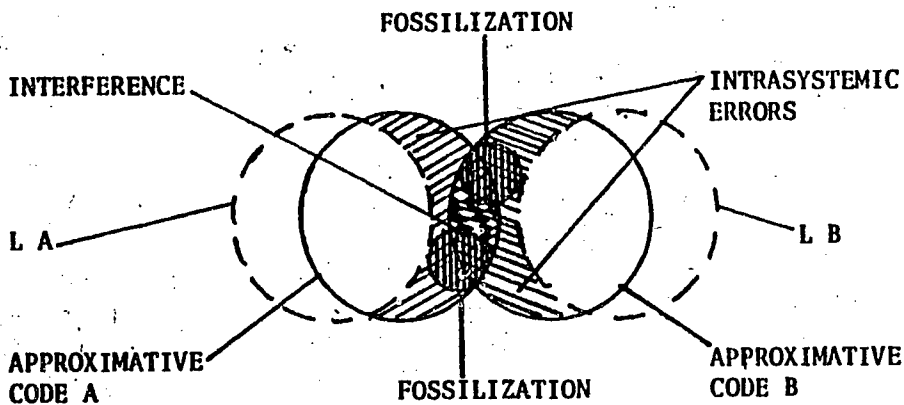
Diagram (d) is similar to diagram (b), page 127, but also shows
the phenomenon of fossilization of errors which, in accordance
with our results, especially affects interference errors. More-
over, it shows that fossilization involves both approximative
codes (A) and (B), in line with our general hypothesis (see
page   ,   ). Since we are dealing with a case of advanced
bilingualism, the difference between the approximative codes
and the varieties of both languages (L A and L B) as spoken by
unilinguals is obviously less important than in the case of the
immersion class.

(e) Advanced assimilation

RESIDUAL
ELEMENTS OF L A

L B
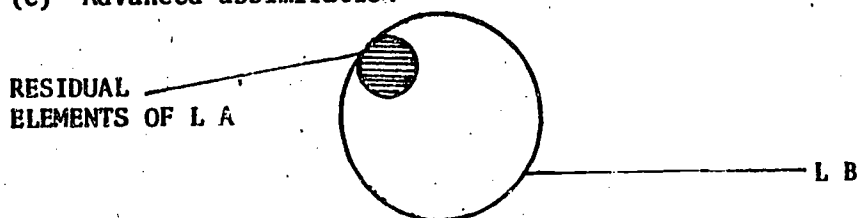
Finally, diagram (e) shows that the residual "errors" ob-
served by Mougeon (1973) seem to be due above all to the influ-
ence of the lost language (L A) on the acquired language (L A).

As we have just seen, within the context of an immersion
program, fossilization seems to affect intrasystemic errors
as well as interference errors. In a natural context how-
ever, fossilization primarily affects interference errors.
This is perhaps due to the fact that we are dealing with
two types of learning of a different nature and that biling-
ualism of immersion class students is much less advanced than
that found amongst the Welland young. In either case,
advanced bilingualism can evolve towards a situation of
advanced assimilation. Here again, one can ascertain that
fossilization occurs with interference errors. Whatever the
case, what stands out is the fact that fossilization is a
general phenomenon which characterizes linguistic learning
both in circumstances of an immersion program as well as in
a natural situation. We hope that other research will pro-
vide additional data to further advance the study of this
question.

NOTES

[1]In a situation like the one we are dealing with, it is difficult to say with certainty whether the children have English or French as their first language. It appears that they acquire the two languages almost simultaneously.

[2]We have excluded one subject because of poor sound quality of his interview.

[3]Such data have been gathered now, using the same interview questionnaire that was used for our bilingual subjects. These data will be analysed and will provide us with a different and perhaps more objective basis of comparison which can be used for an assessment of our bilingual subjects' abilities in English.

[4]W : Welland
2 - 5 - 9 - 12 :   2nd, 5th, 9th & 12th grades.

[5]In a larger report for the Ontario French language school teachers (Mougeon & Hébrard, 1975 (b)) the errors of our subjects are examined in greater detail. Notably, all the errors listed in the appendix of this study are analysed separately, with special attention given to their numerical variation as a function of the age of the student. In the larger report, the variation of the number of errors is also studied as a function of the socioeconomic background, the sex, and the reported usage of English and French by the subjects.

[6]We have done our count on the basis of the typewritten transcriptions. Each group of letters were counted as one word, with the exception of interjections indicating hesitation (uh...), surprise (oh...) etc.

[7]This term has been proposed by Selinker (1972).

[8]These estimations have been calculated on the basis of a subsample of interviews, the number of interviews used being

determined by the frequency of the linguistic item in
question. For the items whose frequency varies with the
age of the subjects, we have calculated separate esti-
mations for each age group.

[9]Our conception of approximate codes approaches Selin-
ker's notion of interlanguage (Selinker 1972). We have
extended this idea to include the simultaneous learning
of two languages.

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APPENDIX A

Interview Questions

1. **Personal History**

1.1 Birthplace of interviewee

1.2 How long has he been living in Welland

1.3 Date of birth

1.4 Birthplace of interviewee's parents

1.5 In what school(s) (name and place) did the interviewee study?

1.6 In what language(s) was the interviewee educated in at this (these) school(s)? (answer by school)

2. **Personal Interests and Family and Social Relations Leisure Activities**

2.1 What do you do after school in the afternoons and in the evenings?

2.2 What do you do on weekends?

2.3 How did you spend your last summer vacation? What was the best thing that happened to you last summer? Tell me a bit about it.

2.4 What are you going to do this summer for vacation?

2.5 Do you read books? (If so, what kind?)

2.6 Do you go to the movies? What kind of films do you like best?

2.7 What kind of T.V. programs do you like best?

2.8 What are your favourite sports, games, etc?

2.9 When and where do you practise-play?

2.10 Do you remember the time in your life that you were
     most fightened? Tell me about it.

2.11 If you had more free time everyday (2 or 3 extra hours)
     what would you do with it?

2.12 If you could travel abroad, where would you go, why
     would you go there, and what would you do there?

     The Future

2.13 Do you know what kind of job you want to have later
     in life?

2.14 If yes, which job? Why?

2.15 Do you think you will stay in Welland, or will you
     leave the city later on? Why?

     School

2.16 Is there any subject you like best at school? Which
     one? Why?

2.17 How do the teachers and students get along together at
     school?

2.18 Can you recall a good trick played on the teacher by
     the kids in your class, either this year or in pre-
     vious years?

Relationship with Parents

19 Many young people don't seem to get along well with their parents. Why do you think this is the case?

20 Do you think it's because parents don't give their kids enough freedom?

21 Or is it because kids don't talk enough with their parents?

Relationship with Peers

22 What subjects do you talk about with kids your own age?

Language Proficiency and Usage

1 Do you understand English poorly? average? well? very well?

2 Do you read English poorly? average? well? very well?

3 Do you speak English poorly? average? well? very well?

4 Do you write English poorly? average? well? very well?

5 Do you understand French better than English?

6 Do you read French better than English?

7 Do you speak French better than English?

8 Do you write French better than English?

9 Do you listen to French radio at home? If yes, all the time? often? every now and then? rarely?

10 If so, what radio programs do you like best? Why?

3.11 Do the other members of the family listen to French
     radio?

3.12 Do you watch channel 25 at home? (French channel)
     If yes, all the time? often? every now and then?
     rarely?

3.13 What are your favorite programs? Do you watch hockey
     in French?

3.14 Does your mother speak French?

3.15 Does your father speak French?

3.16 In what language does your father speak to you most
     often, French or English?

3.17 In what language do you speak most often to your father,
     French or English?

3.18 In what language does you mother speak to you most
     often, French or English?

3.19 In what language do you speak most often to your mother,
     French or English?

3.20 Do you have brothers and sisters? How many?

3.21 In what language do you speak to them, French or English?

3.22 In what language do you speak to your friends when you're
     at home? If you use both languages, which one do you
     use most?

3.23 In what language do you speak to your friends when you're
     not at home, French or English? If you use both lang-
     uages, which one do you use most?

4. **Language Attitudes**

4.1 Why do you think the majority of francophones in Welland are bilingual?

4.2 Why do you think the majority of anglophones in Welland are not bilingual?

4.3 Is it possible to find work in Welland if you speak only French?

4.4 Why, in your opinion, are the signs in the stores in Welland written in English?

4.5 When you want to approach a stranger in Welland, do you speak to him in French?

4.6 It seems that in Welland, young francophones often speak English when they're together. Why, in your opinion? What do you think about that?

4.7 Do you think English is taught effectively at school? Explain your answer.

4.8 Do you think French is taught effectively at school? Explain your answer.

6.2 **Entrevue avec les élèves de 2e et 52 année**

1. Have the child read the reading passage at the beginning of the interview.

2. Use the reading passage as a basis for conversation (e.g., would you like to go for a ride on a big truck? Why? would you like to go for a ride on a plane? Why? etc.)

3. Interview topics for 2nd and 5th grade children (modified version of series 2).

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- What television programs do you like best?

- What subjects do you like best at school?

- What do you do at home after school?

- What do you do on the weekend?

- What did you do during the last winter vacation?

- What did you do during the last summer vacation?

- What are you planning to do (or what would you like to do) during this coming summer?

- What games do you like to play best at home?

- What games do you like to play best away from home?

- Are there any boys and girls in your class that you don't like? Why?

- Are there any boys and girls that you really like? Why?

Grade 2　　　　　　　Interview Questions

1.　Tell me what you did during your Christmas holidays?　Whom did you visit?　What gifts did you receive?

2.　Which season do you prefer, (like best)?　Why do you like it?

3.　Would you like to win a lot of money?　(lots of)　What would you do with it?　Would you give some away?

4.　Tell me about your family.　What does you father do, and you mother?　(also brother/sister/friend)

5.　Tell me the story of Snow-White; Little Red Riding Hood; The Three Little Pigs, The Three Bears

6.　Have you ever been to the zoo?　What did you see?　Which animal do you like best?　Why?

7.　Do you watch TV?　Which programs do you enjoy watching?

8.　Which are your favorite games?　Do you like to play alone or in a group?

9.　What would you like to be when you grow up?

10.　If you were a teacher what things would you do differently from (than) what your teacher does?　What would you change in the class?

Grade 5　　'　　　　Interview Questions

1.　Tell me about a trip you've been on.

2.　What would you do if you were (found yourself) alone on the moon?

3.　How would you spend a million dollars? /　What would you

do if you had a million dollars?

4. Have you ever been really frightened? What caused it?

5. Tell me about a hunting trip. A visit you have gone on
    with your class (classmates).

6. Have you ever gone fishing? (Have you ever been on a
    fishing trip?)

7. Tell me about a film which impressed you. Who is your
    favourite filmstar? (actor)

8. Have you ever had a bad dream? Tell me about it.

9. Have you ever seen a fire, an accident. Tell me about
    it.

10. Which are your favourite sports? Why do you like them
    (it)? Where do you play? With whom do you play?

11. Which is your favourite TV program? Why do you like it?

12. Tell me something about your family. Where does your
    father work? your mother? your brothers and sisters;
    some funny things they do.

13. What would you like to be when you grow up? Why?

APPENDIX B

Subcategories of intrasystemic errors

1. Structural constraints

  - errors related to the place of the adverb
  - errors related to the place of prepositions

2. Grammatical units

  - errors related to articles
                    quantifiers
                    possessive adjectives
                    demonstrative adjectives
                    number of substantives
                    personal pronouns
                    demonstrative pronouns
                    possessive case
                    simple present
                    simple past
                    present perfect
                    progressive tenses
                    conditional
                    past participle
                    infinitive
                    third person singular marker
                    conjugation of "got"
                    negative concord
                    prepositions

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conjunctions
relative pronouns
adverbs

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SEMANTIC COMPOUNDING IN THE SPEECH OF

MEXICAN-AMERICAN BILINGUALS:

A REEXAMINATION OF

THE COMPOUND-COORDINATE DISTINCTION

Rodolfo Jacobson

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SEMANTIC COMPOUNDING

IN THE SPEECH OF MEXICAN-AMERICAN BILINGUALS:

A REEXAMINATION OF THE COMPOUND-COORDINATE DISTINCTION

Rodolfo Jacobson, Ph.D.

0. In the attempt of accounting for different degrees
of lexicosemantic convergence, Uriel Weinreich, and Lev
Scerba before him, proposed the notions "coordinate
bilingualism" and "compound bilingualism" in order to
identify two different sets of behavior with respect to
the language use of speakers proficient in two languages.
Discussions on this topic have been appearing in the
professional literature for over 2 decades although they
subsided somewhat during the last five years. A recent,
still unpublished version on the same topic, however, has
recently come to my attention and this fact seems to indi-
cate that the issue is still very much in the minds of
present-day scholars. Douglas Shaffer (1974) finds the
notions somewhat questionable--as had MacNamara before him--
not because of epistomological reasons but because of the
fact that the data that led to the distinction in the
first place did not justify its validity. The renewed
interest in the topic has prompted the author to reexamine
this issue but with specific attention to the extent to
which it is relevant to Spanish-English speaking bilinguals
in the Southwest.

In view of the above, the author thought that it would
have been a worthwhile project to investigate "semantic
compounding" among different groups of bilinguals: bi-
linguals who have acquired English (1) in settings removed
from their native settings; (2) in settings somewhat
different from their vernacular environment--such as
children who acquire English in school but speak Spanish

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at home--; (3) in settings where both language co-exist in
a somewhat random fashion. However, the broadness of the
objective soon became evident and the author was compelled
to limit the topic to dealing only--at least for this pre-
sentation--with speakers living in a single geographic area,
i.e. San Antonio, Texas. Some of the speakers investigated
in this project might have acquired their two languages in
a stable, and others in a fluid bilingual situation but'
no attempt was made here to keep the two means of acquisi-
tion separate from one another.

The objective of the present paper is then twofold:
to delve into the more theoretical issue of the kinds of
bilingual functioning and to report on the results of an
experiment exploratory in nature, in which a number of
questionnaires and assignments were given to a random
selection of UTSA students, most of them either Anglo-
Americans or Mexican-Americans, but also a few other
ethnic groups. It is hoped that the results will
shed some light, not only on the theoretical issue that
is here discussed but also on the bilingual students per
se that make up our undergraduate as well as graduate
school populations. Finally, some thoughts will be devoted
to the implications that the situation found at UTSA may
hold for the assessment of an acculturation index for the
Southwest Chicano. These issues will be discussed in
three sections, i.e. (1) The Compound-Coordinate dimension,
(2) Acquisitional and Societal patterns (3) Description and
Analysis of the data collected among San Antonio bilinguals.
I shall conclude the paper by attempting a tentative evalua-
tion of South Texas bilinguality and biculturality.

(1) The Compound-Coordinate Dimension

The first scholar to suggest that, instead of treating
two equivalent words as two separate signs, one might re-
gard them as a single sign was Lev Ščerba, who in 1945 had
completed an extensive study on Sorbian-German bilingualism.
Scerba reported in his study "Sur la notion de mélange des
langues" that "the bilingual Sorbians, have only one

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language with two modes of expression" (Shaffer, 1974:2);
in other words, they possess in Saussurian terms, one set
of signifieds for two different signifiers (Weinreich,
1968:9). Weinreich who credited Scerba with this dis-
tinction, finds it to be a useful one but without actually
either affirming nor denying the validity of the notion;
rather, he calls for further investigation to determine
how realistic and how applicable this distinction actually
is. As Shaffer (1974:1) has shown in his paper, it was
the shortcoming, not of Weinreich, but of later investi-
gators to take the former's view for an established fact
rather than an invitation for further research.

'The notions of compound and coordinate systesms was
investigated again in 1954 when Susan Ervin-Tripp and
Charles Osgood studied second language learning and
bilingualism. A comparison between the Scerba-Weinreich
view and that of Ervin-Tripp--Osgood shows an interesting
difference in emphasis. Scerba--Weinreich seek to explain
the compound system by taking the coordinate dimension for
granted, wheras Ervin-Tripp--Osgood adopt the opposite
strategy. In effect, the latter (1973:16) argue that

> Perhaps because of dependence on the model
> provided by second language learning in school
> situations, many writers seem to have
> assumed that meanings are constant in second
> language learning and in bilingualism.

In other words, for Scerba--Weinreich the coordinate view
is the self-explanatory one and it is the compound view
that emerges from the Sorbian study. Conversely, for
Ervin-Tripp--Osgood the compound view is the basic view
and it is the coordinate dimension that requires the
investigator's special attention. The change of emphasis
is interesting in that it points to two different kinds
of awareness. The earlier investigators are trying to
cope with cultural convergence in spite of linguistic
divergence, whereas the later ones are suggesting that

cultural convergence does not necessarily occur, even though
the society may have assumed otherwise.

In Ervin-Tripp--Osgood, moreover, the compound dimension
undergoes a more subtle study in that the authors are
characterizing the development as (1) typical of learning
a foreign language in the school situation and (2) character-
istic of bilingualism acquired by a child who grows up in
a home where two languages are spoken more or less inter-
changeably by the same people and in the same situation
(Ervin-Tripp, 1973:16). Furthermore, the authors recognize
also within the coordinate dimension, two developments,
(1) that of the person who has learned for example to
speak one language with his parents and the other language
in school and at work and (2) that of the second language
learner, who relying as little as possible on translation
and immersing himself in the living culture of another
language community comes to speak a second tongue well
(Ervin-Tripp, 1973:17). It is this latter dimension that
the authors describe as "true" bilinguality but the meaning
of true, in quotes, is never explained, and this author has
difficulty in sharing their view that this kind of bilingual
versatility is any more "true" than the other kind, neither
per se nor in the opinion of others.

Wallace Lambert (1972:304) dissatisfied with some of
the results that he obtained in experiments dealing with
the compound-coordinate dimensionality, which showed "no
differences between compounds and coordinates", begins then
to search for "a procedure that would present the bilingual
with a conflict wherein both of his languages could be
simultaneously brought into play (Lambert, 1972:305). The
Stroop Test developed in 1935 by J. R. Stroop and M. S.
Preston (Stroop, 1935:643-61) provides such a strategy and
this allows Wallace Lambert and his associates to simplify
the definitions of compound and coordinate bilingual
arguing that

> compound bilinguals were (defined as) those
> brought up in a thoroughly bilingual home

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environment from infancy on, while coordinates
were those who had learned their second language
at some time after infancy, usually after ten
years of age and usually in a setting other
than the family.

Macnamara (Alatis, 1970:28-29) addresses himself to this
very question and criticizes "the man whose lead I (Mac-
namara) have long followed in the study of bilingualism:
for adding, with the proposed simplification of the com-
pound and coordinate systems, somewhat to the confusion
which surrounds the distinction between the two. On the
other hand, Macnamara looks equally sceptical upon the
Ervin-Tripp--Osgood's arguments which, he argues, are based
upon the Sapir--Whorf hypothesis of linguistic/cultural
relativity for the distinction between the two types of
bilinguals. Macnamara's own view in this respect stresses
semantic interference and not cultural relativity and
capitalizes on what he calls 'denotational content.'
His examples from Irish and French show that words may
have either a wider (Irish lamh /hand & arm/ vs. English
hand) or a narrower (English cut vs. French couper /cut
& carve/) denotational extension. To the extent that
such denotational differences exist between languages,
Macnamara agrees with the notion of coordinateness. This
view reduces however coordinateness to a limited number of
examples of lexico-semantic divergence that make the useful-
ness of the distinction somewhat questionable.

Roughly simultaneous with John Macnamara's paper on
"Bilingualism and Thought," is Leon A. Jakobovits' study
entitled "Dimensionality of Compound-Coordinate Bilingual-
ism" in which the latter brings to bear the issue upon 3
factors, i.e., language acquisition context and usage,
attitudinal and motivational variables and cross-cultural
distinctiveness. His treatment of the cross-cultural
perspective lacks deeper insight but the concern for
attitudinal and motivational variables is to the point
because he emphasizes the fact that the compound-

coordinate distinction cannot be considered effectively
within the restricted framework of a semanto-lexical
approach. The social psychological perspective that was
only weakly stressed in Lambert's article--not because of
his lack of expertise but as a result of the stated
objective of the study in question--is emphasized in
Jakobovits' work where he applies some of Lambert's own
findings concerning ethnocentrism and instrumental/inte-
grative motivation. Jakobovits succeeds hereby to make the
distinction between the two kinds of bilinguals more
psycholinguistically relevant. "High ethnocentrism",
says Jakobovits, "coupled with an instrumental orientation
are psychological factors which promote compound bilingual-
ism," whereas "coordinateness will be promoted by moderate
levels of ethnocentrism and bi-directional tendencies in
orientation." On the other hand, the opposite of the highly
ethnocentric, instrumentally oriented student would also
promote compoundness as he leaves his vernacular culture
behind to integrate into the foreign culture (Jakobovits,
1968:40). We are here concerned with a dynamic rather than
static statement of the compound-coordinate dimensionality,
one that applies to individuals in the process of becoming
rather than at the stage of being bilinguals, an emphasis
appropriate for the psychologically-oriented but not for
the merely linguistically-geared investigator. This
differential orientation seems to parallel the development
in other areas of language study where the scholarly in-
terest does also abandon the merely linguistic type in
favor of a more interdisciplinary type of investigation.

As pointed out earlier, the latest attempt to deal with
the topic is a brief unpublished draft by Douglas Shaffer
entitled "Is Bilingualism Compound or Coordinate?" Shaffer
does not produce any far-reaching evidence to respond to
his own query but encourages us to give compoundness and
coordinateness a second look in order to determine whether
or not the distinction is a useful one and whether actual
facts support it, since all earlier research had been

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unable to offer valid supporting evidence. As a matter of
fact, Shaffer reminds us that Haugen had already pointed
out in 1973 that

> Weinreich had merely posited a compound-
> coordinate distinction and called for
> empirical investigation...yet psycho-
> linguistis accepted Weinreich's hypothesis
> without examining his data closely and
> even proceeded to develop a rather sharp
> dichotomy between both types. (Haugen
> 1973:10)

Therefore, if we accept Haugen's and Shaffer's
positions, it becomes difficult for us to assign a given
speaker to either one or the other type of bilinguality.
To summarize, the literature is far from being in agree-
ment about the usefulness of the distinction and, at best,
we have advanced very little from Weinreich's position
and must, like a blind man return whence we came to start
anew.

Before we leave this section, it may be in order to
give a last look at the arguments that some expressed in
favor of and others against the compound-coordinate dimen-
sionality. The discussions in Weinreich (1968) and Ervin-
Tripp--Osgood (1973) lend reasonable support to the notion
under consideration here. Of these scholars, it is pri-
marily the latter who advances a more detailed view with
regard to the emphasis that the research on this topic
should take and to the situations to which the distinction
should apply. The scholars who research the topic later
all seem to harbor serious reservations but they never
deny completely the usefulness of the concept. To
redirect the research over safer grounds, the aforementioned
investigators recommend a less Whorfian approach and a more
semantic denotational perspective /¯Macnamara_7 we well
as a more psycholinguistically-geared orientation
/¯Jakobovits_7. Recent studies in the Southwest have

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also attempted to reexamine this issue but in light of
regional bilingualism. As a matter of fact several scholars--
and I will not go here into the issue at any depth--
do share the position that the distinction per se is a
worthwhile one and that it is indeed realistic to build
upon it an edifice of areal investigations. Peñalosa and
Ornstein have both expressed themselves along these lines
and I am sharing their views, but only if some new ideas
can be incorporated to render the compound-coordinate
dimensionality not only psycholinguistically but also
sociolinguistically relevant. "The compound-coordinate
distinction," says Peñalosa (Hernandez-Chavez, 1975:165)

> is a useful one. Compound bilinguals
> are those who learned both languages in
> a bilingual home or neighborhood or one
> language through the medium of another,
> hence have fused two meaning systems;
> coordinate bilinguals, having learned
> their two languages in different con-
> texts, have somewhat different meanings
> for corresponding words in the two
> languages.

Applying this distinction to the Chicano, Peñalosa
(Hernandez-Chavez, 1974:165-66) speculates that

> the compound bilingual Chicano child
> might miss some of the subtleties of
> the English used in his school while
> the coordinate bilingual might avoid
> this type of difficulty.

Ornstein (Ewton and Ornstein, 1970:138-39) also supports
the distinction and without any reservation although he
does not provide any in-depth analysis of the issue.

The fact that no detailed discussion of nor any
objection to the notions has recently been offered seems to

indicate that the compound-coordinate distinction is indeed
a valid one and lends itself to reassess some aspects of
South West bilingualism.   On the other hand, before
fully establishing its usefulness for the Southwestern
U. S., the author believes that there are at least two
aspects of the compound-coordinate dimensionality that
have either not been fully clarified or been omitted
altogether: (1) What is actually the extent to which a
bilingual belongs to one or the other type? This point
is also argued by Weinreich when he warns us not to use
these notions as an either-or distinction and suggests
that even certain lexical items, when used by the bilingual,
reflect compoundness and others, coordinateness. Jakobovits
too, is aware of the danger of strict bipolarity and
correlates the degree of compoundness or coordinateness
with the degree of second language acquisition but makes
the latter contingent upon attitudinal factors, such as
integrative and instrumental motivation as well as
ethnocentrism.   I share Jakobovits' concern in this respect
but have my doubts as to whether the psycholinguistic
perspective alone can solve the problem. This brings me
to the second aspect (2) that needs to be considered,
i.e. What relationship, if any, is there between compound-
ness and coordinatesness on one hand and the constitution
of the society in which the bilingual operates? I am
calling here your attention to some sort of spectrum of
bilinguality that extends from total compoundness at one
extreme to total coordinateness at the other, somewhat
along the lines of the dialect continuum proposed in the
sociolectological research of DeCamp (1971) Stewart (1967)
and Jacobson (1975). In addition, I wish to correlate at
the same time the position that the bilingual occupies in
a given social situation on such a spectrum with his
degree of acculturation into the dominant society. This
would bring Peñalosa's words into a more realistic per-
spective when he argues that

> there appears to be a general tendency for
> coordinate bilingualism to shift to compound

> bilingualism, although formal education
> can help to keep the two semantic systems
> distinct if only one language is used at
> a time (Hernandez-Chavez, 1975:166).

The dynamics of bilingual competence can thus be explored,
not from the vantage point of the individual alone as
Jakobovits has done, but from that of the speech community
in which the bilingual finds himself embedded.

(2) Acquisitional and Societal patterns

Three assumptions have been made or at least implied
above, i.e. (1) bilinguals may be classified as compound
or coordinate bilinguals but even within the same type of
bilinguality speakers differ from one another by degree;
(2) specific lexical items as they are used by bilingual
speakers may also reflect compoundness or coordinateness;
and (3) compoundness and coordinateness seem both to
correlate with the interactional norms that have been
adopted by the bilingual members of a speech community.
The first assumption implies that two coordinate bilinguals
may in effect differ greatly from one another but when
both are compared to the compound bilingual they do dis-
play a number of common features. Second, the compoundness
of a word when it is used by a bilingual may have some
effect on the degree of compoundness, or coordinateness
for that matter, of a given speaker but is not a result
of the type of bilinguality of the speaker as such. Thirdly,
speakers whose behavioral patterns exhibit a high degree
of ethnic segregation tend to be coordinate and those
whose patterns show acculturation tend to be compound
speakers. Let me illustrate these assumptions somewhat
further and justify hereby the project that I expect to
describe in the final portion of this paper.

The mental images underlying certain lexical items
differ to the extent to which speakers have established
different associative networks. Here, I am not talking

about the semantic differences that Macnamara mentions when
he discusses the contrastive pair English hand and Irish
lamh (see above) nor about his criticism of Ervin-Tripp
and Osgood's view to the effect that their distinction
was Whorfian.[1] Rather, I am referring here to the fact
that when a lexical item is learned, the learner is
dependent upon his immediate environment in order to grasp
the meaning of a given word. The first four items in one
of the questionnaires used in this project are breakfast,
christmas, fruit, food (see below). It seems reasonable to
assume that to a speaker of English, say, in Detroit,
Michigan, a quite different image comes to his mind
when he uses--receptively or productively--these words
from the image that imposes itself on a speaker of Spanish,
say, in Panama-City.[2] A typical American breakfast is
likely to include items such as toast, pancakes, eggs,
jam but not plantains ("patacones")[3], steak ("biftec"),
turnovers ("empanadas"), fried yucca ("Carimañola').[4]
Hence, the word breakfast is likely to evoke in the former
a set of images quite different from those of the latter.
Similar contrasting sets may apply to two stereotyped
speakers with regard to Christmas, fruit and food, e.g.

	American stereotype	Panamanian stereotype
Christmas	tree, lights, winter, landscape	crib, nativity
Fruit	apples, peaches, pears, grapes	mangoes, pineapples, bananas
Food	hamburgers, steak, fries	tamales, bollos[5], chicken & rice

It is now conceivable that the English-speaking American
when he acquires Spanish and thus becomes an English-
Spanish bilingual associates one set of terms with the
English lexeme and the other set with the Spanish lexeme.
By the same token, the Spanish-speaking Panamanian as
he acquires English and becomes bilingual is likely to
associate the Panamanian images of nacimiento, mangoes
and tamales with Navidades, frutas and alimento and the

American images of <u>tree</u>, <u>apples</u> and <u>hamburgers</u> with <u>Christmas</u>, <u>fruit</u> and <u>food</u>. We have here two instances of coordinate bilingualism <u>par excellence</u>. On the other hand, a situation may arise (e.g., a Panamanian reared in the Canal Zone) whereby the images undergo semantic compounding as a result of a random alternation between such images such that the following overlap might occur:

Lexemes	Bicultural convergence
Breakfast/Desayuno	toast, steak, turnovers
Christmas/Navidades	tree, crib
Fruit/Fruta	apples, mangoes
Food/Alimento	hamburger, tamales

Such an instance of bicultural convergence would be characteristic for the compound bilingual who operates with a single set of "signifieds" but may either turn on the switch that triggers English signifiers or the one that puts into motion the Spanish lexemes.

The consistent occurrence of cases like these may be unusual, not only because of the human factor at play but also because of a potential interrelationship between the lexical item on one hand and the social situation in which that item occurs. It is therefore also conceivable that the American bilingual when invited to a Christmas party at a Panamanian home associates the Panamanian set of images with the English lexeme and the Panamanian bilingual associates the American set of images when le uses the word "Navidades" in connection with an invitation to an American home. These fluctuations that are brought about by the social situation in which, or with respect to which, a given lexical item may be used must also be considered when the index of the compound-coordinate dimensionality of an individual is to be assessed.

Finally, the likelihood for a person to qualify as one
who positions himself/herself on the compound end or on
the coordinate end of the continuum depends to no small
degree upon the nature of the bilingual behavior of the
group in which he/she operates. The group behaviors of
bilinguals in their most extreme form may be two. The
behavior of group A may be found to be diglossic, that is,
the use of the two language is so distributed that each
speaker of the community under study can determine the
appropriateness of one or the other in a given situation.
Joshua Fishman and his associates have discussed this kind
of mutual consensus of the speakers and referred to the
correlation between language and social institution as
domain. The presence of domains of this sort correlates
closely with coordinateness, since the speaker is able to
control the separation of the two languages by restricting
the use of one to certain domains and that of the other to
others. When this occurs, it is likely for the bilingual
to operate in agreement with certain underlying mental
images when he/she functions within the domains that require
his vernacular language and, in agreement with others
within the domains that trigger the use of the second
language. The behavior of group B, conversely, may be
one of random bilingualism. There is no consensus as to when
one language is appropriate and when the other. Both
languages occur in the same situation, and language mixture
is frequent. Fishman has shown that such a situation is
prone to lead to the loss of the non-dominant language.
Compound bilinguals are most likely to fit into the
behavioral pattern that I have just described, since the
system that operates with a simple set of semantemes but
two different sets of lexemes lends itself most effectively
to the randomness of language choice and the mixing of
codes. If we now consider the two groups, A and B, from
the vantage point of culture integration, we find group
B highly acculturated to the dominant society with little
concern for the fact that whichever language its members
use, they exhibit a unique system in which the sounds, the
grammar and the meaning have coalesced to constitute a

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single but broader total inventory of linguistic features.
Group A is less acculturated, or perhaps not acculturated
at all, despite their ability to function well in the
second environment. Lambert has referred facetiously to
bilinguals of the kind as "linguistic spoies" and Jakobovits
has called them, "linguistic schizophrenics" because of
their ability to function equally well in the two. To
conclude, it seems reasonable to assume that, when we
compare the two types of bilinguals, that have been
identified in the professional literature, to the societies
of which these bilinguals are members, there is a direct
correlation between

(1) compound bilinguals--non-diglossic
societies-acculturation, and
(2) coordinate bilinguals--diglossic societies-
cultural divergence.

To determine the extent to which Mexican-Americans may
be considered coordinate or compound bilinguals, this
investigator has administered a series of exploratory
instruments or tests to a number of university students
enrolled in the divisions of Bicultural-Bilingual Studies,
Foreign Languages and Education at the University of Texas
at San Antonio. The design of the project has been limited
to two aspects, (1) The identification of the mental images
that underlie a set of words which lend themselves to
differential treatments depending on which culture group
uses them; (2) The occurrence of semantic compounding as
evidenced in the use of deceptive or false cognates.
Although Anglo and other Americans have responded to the
questionnaires, they have merely served as control groups
and the emphasis has been on the Mexican-American in the
expectation that some progress could be made to explore
which his place on the compound-coordinate continuum is
and also what his degree of acculturation is. The two
aspects here examined obviously fall short of providing the
total picture of the Mexican-American minority and more
research should be undertaken to also include individuals

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outside the college population. This project, therefore
represents only a beginning, and exploratory at that, in
the field of semantic testing.

(3) Description and Analysis of the Data

Before actually undertaking the description of the
experiment, the author wishes to stress, once more, that
the administration of the instruments and therefore also
the results which these have produced are only exploratory
in nature. A more rigorous procedure of selecting the
informants as well as of designing the instruments shall
be contemplated in the future. Obviously, some funding
must be ensured to allow for a broader and a more systematic
coverage. Despite its limitations, the experiment has
shown that (1) the answers sought are worth investigating
and (2) the results obtained show a trend of development
whose knowledge could be crucial to assess the degree of
compoundness and acculturation of the Chicano and may
serve the purpose of recommending strategies to determine
and/or suggest the type of culture and language planning
that would hold a promise for the Southwest.

Subjects

I approached several of my colleagues at the University
of Texas at San Antonio to familarize them with the kind
of information that I needed and asked them to administer
a set of four questionnaires and/or tests to a small number
or their own students. Professors of the divisions of
Bicultural-Bilingual Studies, Education and Foreign Lan-
guages assisted me in this task and, at the same time, I
also administered these instruments to my own students.
The students completed, depending upon the instrument
that was administered, between 50 and 70 of each of the
questionnaires. These informants, who had been chosen at
random, were upper division undergraduates or graduate
students seeking a Master of Arts degree. To identify
their ethnic and socio-economic background, their age and
their sex, I requested them to supply me with the necessary
demographic information. As for the ethnic background

of the subjects, very few fell into a category other than
Anglo-American or Mexican-American and I was able to assign
them to one single group labeled "others". Sex was well
balanced as an identical number of males and females
responded to the questionnaires. The socio-economic ratio
was inclined toward the more affluent and over 62% of the
informants indicated that they earned $10,000 per year or
more. This was no surprise because more graduate than
undergraduate students answered the questionnaires due
to the fact that UTSA has, at the present time, a stronger
graduate than undergraduate population. Finally, 45% of
the subject were 25 years old, 19% were 20 years old,
13% were 30 years old and 23% were 35 or over, all
together yielding an average of approximately 26 years.

Instruments

I designed four instruments: (1) to identify the
mental images that underlie certain lexemes--those that
come most readily to the mind of the speaker--and (2) to
investigate the extent to which the semantemes of decep-
tive cognates show instances of semantic compounding in favor
of English rather than Spanish denotations. In the first
one of the instruments, I listed 20 words with three
choices for each and instructed the subjects to encircle
or underline the choice that they would think of first.
Although the instrument was not entirely free of ambigu-
ities--I am presently in the process of developing a new
version of the questionnaire--it did clearly suggest that
the Anglo-American favored certain responses and the
Mexican-American others. A choice of all the items
characteristic for one or the other group was not
expected, since 100% of the predictability would have
suggested that ethnic stereotypes are real; rather, it
was expected that subjects would vary to the extent that
they did or did not approach the stereotype. The responses
would then allow the investigator to distribute the
informants alond a continuum of ethnic typicality.

The second instrument administered was a question-
naire containing 79 statements, of which 35 were in English

and 44 in Spanish. Each such statemtne included a choice
of two expressions of which one lent itself to being
selected because of its similarity to, but not identity
with a word in the other language, e.g.,

> #4 The (ANCIENT/OLD) Romans were outstanding
> lawmakers.

> #40 Esta/Este (GROSERIA/ABARROTE)se vende en
> los supermercados.

Subjects were tested here whether, in spite of the similar-
ity between ancient and anciano or groseria and grocery,
they would make the appropirate choice.

The third and fourth instruments were translation
exercises; the former, a Spanish text consisting of seven
sentences to be translated into English; the latter, an
English text of equal length to be translated to Spanish.
Both translation exercises contained deceptive cognates
in order to test the subjects whether, because of the
similarity of words like soportar and support or ignorar
and ignore, they would actually suggest translation as,
e.g.,

> She does not support her parents (Ella no soporta
> a sus parientes)

> El ignoró la pregunta que el maestro del colegio
> le habia hecho (He ignored the question that the
> college teacher had asked him)

My assumption here was that the use of the wrong word would
show semantic compounding rather than other-language inter-
ference to the extent that the verb soportar in Spanish
had actually acquired for the speaker the meaning of
support and the verb ignorar would show the same kind of
semantic convergence with ignore.

Three of the instruments were based on English-
Spanish deceptive cognates that the graduate student
Hiram Duffer had researched and listed in a paper written

for Dr. Charpenel. I am grateful to the latter for letting
me see his student's work. Although three of the question-
naires were based on these word lists, there was actually
no duplication because Instrument 2 tested receptive and
instruments 3 and 4 productive competence. Instruments
3 and 4, furthermore, differed in that the former tested
semantic compounding when informants shifted from Spanish
to English and the latter tested the reverse.

Results

The results of administering the questionnaire
designed to measure the individual's proximity to his own
ethnic stereotype revealed the following (cf. Figure 1):

(1) Although none of the respondents reached his own
stereotype, Anglo-Americans approximated it far
more than did Mexican-Americans;
(2) The highest concentration of Anglo-Americans was
found at the 80% mark of the stereotype,
whereas the highest concentration of Mexican-
Americans was found at the 45% mark;
(3) Among Anglo-Americans there was only one single
peak of concentration that was surprisingly
steep and reasonably high; in contrast, Mexican-
Americans displayed two lower peaks, one at the
30% and the other at the 45%-50% mark;
(4) Anglo-Americans that found themselves between
the 40% and the 65% mark overlapped with Mexican-
Americans at that range but only few Anglo
informants were found to be the same as the
bulk of Mexican-Americans.

The results of the questionnaire that sought to
measure the bilingual's receptive competence regarding his
ability to keep two sets of semantemes separate from one
another are illustrated on tables 1 and 2. Table 1
contains the sets of items that reflect the most prominent
"wrong" responses found among the first 35 sentences of the
questionnaire. The percentages of wrong responses are
entered in the corresponding column in decreasing order

but only item 1 represents an unusually high percentage
of error. The paucity of mistaken items when the pairs
are given in English suggests that the knowledge of
Spanish hardly impairs the choice of the appropriate
item. However, when the pairs are given in Spanish, the
number of errors increases remarkably and 13 out of the
31 wrong items show that half or more of the subjects
made these errors. The responses showing errors have also
been listed here in decreasing order. The decrease is
gradual and ranges from an 85.29% of informants choosing
renta over alquiler to a 5.88% of informants preferring
procuró over consiguió.

The two translation exercises show a range from 57.14%
to 0% in the English-Spanish translation and one that goes
from 78.05% to 4.88% in the Spanish-English translation.
These exercises have shown how difficult it is for Mexican-
American bilinguals to translate, especially from English
to Spanish. The quality of the translation has not been
considered, however, but only the fact whether the cognate
is or is not used in the other language with the meaning
of the source language. In both exercises, all respondents
are deviating from the standard usage in at least some
items and it is worth noting that a much higher percentage
of semantic compounding occurs when the subject goes from
Spanish to English. Finally, where the same items occur
in the two tables, the items show different positions on
the tables depending upon whether the goal language is
English or Spanish.

Discussion.

The variation that I observed in the choice of under-
lying images seems to indicate that the average Mexican-
American enrolled at UTSA has adopted many of the cultural
values that may be expected from the typical Anglo-American.
Toast rather than tortilla comes to his mind when he hears
or uses the word "breakfast." Not posadas but carols or
tree suggest "Christmas" to him. Only rarely does he
think in terms of the extended family and the curandero and

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he does not associate a chaperona with a "date." He thinks
in terms of "nap", not in connection with the traditional
siesta but with a picnic or with old age. He is friendly
to "police officers" and considers them public servants
and "elections" have become for him a civic duty and does
not suggest to him deception or disorderly conduct.

The earlier discussion of Figure 1 had already shown
that what we might have expected to be the underlying
images for Mexican-Americans did not fully obtain; in
other words, Mexican-Americans find themselves caught in
the middle between the Anglo and the Chicano stereotypes.
The means that resulted from the two sets of questionnaires
corroborated this fact: Mexican-Americans only achieved
39.7% of the Chicano stereotype, wheras Anglo-Americans
achieved 75.7% of their stereotype. If we express the
Chicano's percentage in terms of the Anglo stereotype, we
arrive at a figure (60.3%) that is only 15.4% removed from
the Anglo mean. More studies of this sort should be
attempted to verify this tentative finding but, if it were
confirmed, this would imply that educated Mexican-Americans
are not as much apart from the dominant culture as we might
have suspected. Furthermore, it has been interesting to
note that one of the respondents, who identified himself a
a Mexican national, reached a 75% of his ethnic stereotype
which almost duplicates the 75.7% of the Anglo-American
mean. Non-acculturated Mexicans--supposing that this
figure is realistic and will be confirmed in a larger
sample--could then be believed to be as true to their Latin-
American values as Anglos are to Anglo-American ones. The
Chicano mean of 39.7%, accordingly, would place Mexican-
Americans at approximately 35% from the Mexican mean,
whereas it is only 15% away from the Anglo mean. Within
this line of reasoning, the Chicano is far closer, actually
2/3 closer, to Anglo values than he is to Mexican values.
On the other hand, we must remember that the results des-
cribed here have been gathered from upper division and
graduate students where a high degree of acculturation is
not unusual. Freshmen and sophomores, and to a larger

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degree pre-college students and individuals with little
or no eduation, might score quite differently in this
respect. Future research would have to reveal information
of this nature.

The size of Table One raises an interesting point.
There were few instances where bilinguals engaged in
semantic compounding under the impact of Spanish seman-
temes; unfamiliarity with words like hearing, goblets and
accomodate may have accounted for the selection of wrong
answers there by some informants. However the high per-
centage of respondents (82.35%) who claimed audience over
hearing is difficult to explain. Furthermore, subtleties,
such as, the stronger pejorative meaning of disgust as
compared to disgusto may just have been too difficult to
capture in a questionnaire of this sort.

Table 2 is significant in that it shows the extent of
semantic compounding when Spanish is used. Considering
that some bilinguals failed to separate the meanings of
31 out of 44 choice items this means that their English
semantemes invaded approximately 75% of the Spanish lexemes
of the questionnaire. As a matter of fact, regardless of
whether English or Spanish was used, one single set of
signifieds (The English signifieds) was adopted by almost
half of the speakers tested. Unless we agree upon the
fact that this is an instance of semantic compounding, it
it impossible to explain why the tested population would
use overwhelmingly renta, figura, propia, miserable,
lectura, lanzó, poema, ingeniero, ocurrencia when they should
have used alquiler, cifra, apropiada, infeliz, conferencia,
atravesó con lanza, poesia, maquinista, suceso. The dis-
tinction betwen poesia and poema, again, may be too subtle,
since it involves some knowledge regarding poetic forms as
poesia is a short piece of poetry, whereas poema, contrary
to poem, a much longer one. Finally, it is usually argued
that the vernacular language imposes itself in the home
and neighborhood domain and yet the semantemes of items 1,
2, 3, 4, 9, 10, 11 have fallen together with the English

ones in favor of the latter. In general, it is noted
that no specific pattern emerges when one examines the 31
items on this Table in light of the domains suggested by
sociolinguistic researchers.

The translation exercises (cf. Tables 3 and 4) permit
us to make another interesting generalization. Whether the
bilingual uses English or Spanish, it is always the English
semanteme that substitutes for the Spanish one. Thus,
translating from English to Spanish, the respondents
rendered patron as patron, genial as genial, argument as
argumento with no concern for the deceptiveness of these
cognates. Translating from Spanish to English they used
bachelor for bachiller, college for colegio, gracious for
gracioso entirely disregarding the fact that bachiller is
in Mexico a student who has graduated from the secondary
school ("preparatoria"), colegio is not a college and
gracioso has a different meaning from gracious. The
Spanish words used in the translation test are fairly
common lexemes, hence, the errors can not be construed
as unfamiliarity with the Spanish word but must be under-
stood as the convergence of meaning between Spanish and
English in favor of the latter.

Conclusion

The administration and interpretation of these
exploratory instruments seem to lead to the conclusion that
the Mexican-American bilingual, although he speaks the
two languages and shares in the two cultures, is maintain-
ing a position on the Spanish/English language/culture
continuum that approximates far more that of the typical
Anglo than of the typical Mexican. Rather than knowing
neither language well or living between two cultures--as
this has sometimes been suggested--the Mexican-American
of our study has shown to possess a type of linguistic
behavior that somewhat reminds us of the one described in
Scerba's classical study (see above). As a matter of
fact, the Mexican-American seems to share together with

other educated Chicanos, a cultural identity that is not
too different from that of members of the dominant class.
This cultural-linguistic convergence has revealed itself
in our study in the sharing of the same mental images for
a selected number of lexical items and in the semantic
compounding of words which, because of their overt similar-
ity, facilitate this kind of coalescence. Returning now
to the compound-coordinate distinction discussed earlier,
we are inclined to argue that the majority of Chicanos at
UTSA tend to be compound rather than coordinate bilinguals
(and biculturals) in view of the fact that they often
share, just like the Sorbians, one set of signifieds with
two differents sets of signifiers. More specifically,
the average Chicano of our study, whether he says "I am
supporting my parents" or "estoy soportando a mis
parientes," intends to convey the same meaning. Some
investigators have referred to such a development as inter-
ference from English but I am suggesting here that it is
an instance of semantic compounding or convergence. From
a merely historical viewpoint it is interference, but not
from a descriptive one that interests us here. The _
bilingual in a bicultural setting like the one in South
Texas differs greatly from a monolingual who is learning
a second language with the intent to become a bilingual.
The latter is under the pressure of his first language,
while the former has reached a situation where he no
longer attempts to approximate any further the phonological
or grammatical behavior of those who learned English
natively. Quite to the contrary, he has adopted an atti-
tude where he favors the convergence of the two systems.

    It has been the objective of the present study to
discuss some issues concerning the coordinate-compound
dimension and to investigate the linguistic behavior of
some San Antonio college students in order to explore
the extent of their compoundness or coordinateness. The
results of this exploratory experiment has suggested that
(1) the UTSA Chicano falls, by and large, into the category
of compound bilinguals, (2) that his compoundness is a

result of a fairly high degree of acculturation into the
dominant society and (3) that the diglossic behavior of the
older generation is in the process of changing into a more
random-bilingual one in the young generation. Whether this
assessment is confirmed in a broader sample remains to be
seen. There is much need for further research, to validate
the data compiled in this study and to expand the investi-
gation to also include the less educated Chicano in urban
as well as rural settings. If confirmed, we may wish to
utilize this information in the planning of future educa-
tional programs for the South Texas Chicano.

TABLE 1

Item	Lexémic Pair	Spanish Interference Source	Responses Right(%)	Wrong(%)
1	Hearing-Audience	Audiencia	17.65	82.35
2	Annoyance-disgust	Disgusto	64.71	35.29
3	Student-Alumnus	Alumno	73.53	26.47
4	Goblets-Cups	Copas	73.53	26.47
5	Pay attention-Attend	Atender	76.47	23.53
6	Arrange properly-Accomodate	Acomodar	76.47	17.65
7	Different-Distinct	Distinto	85.29	14.71

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TABLE 2

Item	Lexemic Pair	English Interference Source	Responses Right(%)	Wrong(%)
1	Alquiler-Renta	Rent	11.76	85.29
2	Cifra-Figura	Figure	26.47	73.53
3	Apropiada-Propia	Proper	29.41	70.89
4	Infeliz-Miserable	Miserable	26.47	70.59
5	Conferencia-Lectura	Lecture	23.53	70.59
6	Atravesó con lanza-Lanzó	Lanced	35.29	64.71
7	Poesia-Poema	Poem	32.35	64.71
8	Maquinista-Ingeniero	Engineer	38.24	61.76
9	Suceso-Ocurrencia	Occurrence	32.35	61.76
10	Bondadoso-Gracios	Gracious	47.06	52.94
11	Distraido-Preocupado	Preoccupied	47.06	52.94
12	Fingió-Pretendió	Pretended	47.06	50.00
13	Abarrote-Grosería	Grocery	50.00	50.00
14	Sensato-Sensible	Sensible	44.12	47.06
15	Rudo-Grosero	Rude	55.00	44.12

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TABLE 2 b(continued)

Item	Lexemic Pair	English Interference Source	Responses	
			Right(%)	Wrong(%)
24	Publicaciones-Periodicos	Periodicals	76.47	23.53
25	Sostener-Soportar	Support	76.47	20.59
26	Tener exito-Suceder	Succeed	82.35	14.71
27	Doy cuenta-realizo	Realize	82.35	14.71
28	Majestuoso-Grande	Grand	82.35	14.71
29	Cantina-Salon	Saloon	85.29	11.76
30	Florero-Vaso	Vase	85.29	8.82
31	Consiguió-Procuró	Procured	71.22	5.88

Note: Where the sum of right and wrong responses does not yield 100%, respondents have left unanswered a particular item. The ordering of items reflects the gradual decrease of wrong responses.

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TABLE 2a(continued)

Item	Lexemic Pair	English Interference Source	Responses Right(%)	Wrong(%)
16	Mala reputación-Notoria	Notorious	59.88	44.12
17	Presentar-Introducir	Introduce	61.76	38.24
18	Borracho-Intoxicado	Intoxicated	64.71	35.29
19	Hacer caso omiso-Ignorar	Ignore	61.76	32.35
20	Clientes-Patrones	Patrons	67.65	32.35
21	Recién Nacidos-Infantes	Infants	70.59	29.41
22	Personajes-Caracteres	Characters	67.65	26.47
23	Special-Particular	Particular	70.59	26.47

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TABLE 3 (continued)

Item	Deceptive Cognates	Semantic Convergence (%)
10	Villain : Villano	28.57
11	Notorious : Notorio	23.81
12	Actual : Actual	23.81
13	Realize : Realizo	19.05
14	Saloon : Salon	19.05
15	Druggist : Droguero	14.29
16	Parents : Parientes	4.76
17	Audience : Audiencia	4.76
18	Question : Cuestion	0

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TABLE 3

Item	Deceptive Cognates	Semantic Convergence (%)
1	Patron : Patron	57.14
2	Genial : Genial	47.62
3	Argument : Argumento	47.62
+4	Ignored : Ignoró	42.86
5	Ancient : Anciano	38.10
6	Lecture : Lectura	38.10
7	College : Colegio	38.10
8	Assists : Asiste	33.34
9	Introduced : Introdujo	33.34

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TABLE 4

Item	Deceptive Cognates	Semantic Convergence (%)
1	Bachiller : Bachelor	78.05
2	Colegio : College	73.17
3	Gracioso : Gracious	65.85
4	Parientes : Parents	57.09
5	Actualmente : Actually	53.66
6	Librería : Library	48.78
7	Soporta : Supports	46.34
8	Escolar : Scholar	39.03
9	Asiste : Assists	31.71
10	Lujuria : Luxury	29.27
11	Disgustó : Disgusted	24.39
12	Audiencia : Audience	21.95
13	Presentaron : Presented	4.88

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FIGURE I

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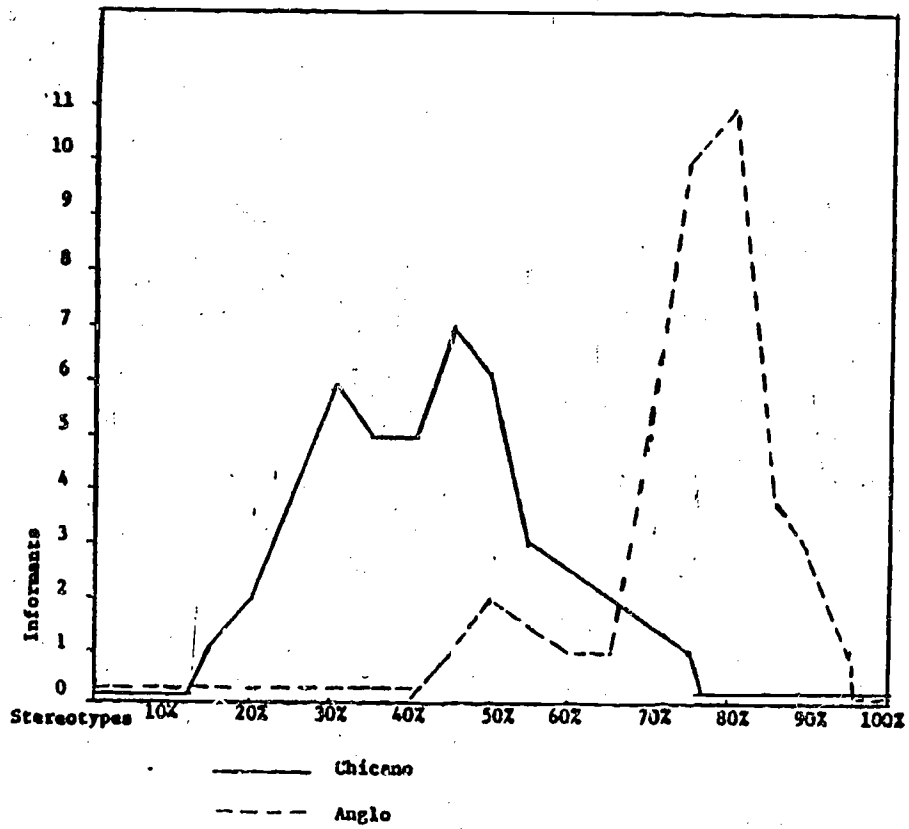
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ATTITUDES TOWARD SPANISH:

A FIELD REPORT

Thomasina Hannum

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Introduction

The past decade has seen an increasing interest and con-
cern, among sociolinguists, in attitudes toward languages and
language varieties. Several studies dealing with language
attitudes have been reported recently. Most of these studies
may be divided into two groups. One group is restricted to
teachers, discussing their attitudes toward the language of
children with whom they come into contact and, by extension,
toward the children themselves. For example, a recent article
by MacIntosh and Ornstein (1974) deals with teacher attitudes
toward the varieties of Spanish and English used by children
in the West Texas area. Another, by Williams (1973), con-
siders dialect attitudes and stereotyping of children by
teachers. The other group of studies concerns attitudes of a
more general segment of the population. Among these is a
study by Ramírez (1973) which explores attitudes toward and
use of tirilongo, a very special variety of Southwest Spanish.
Similarly, a paper by Underwood (1974) examines the reaction
of Arkansas natives to different varieties of English.

Apart from these studies, a report by Ornstein (1974) on
the work being done at the Cross-Cultural Southwest Ethnic
Study Center describes, among other things, a background
questionnaire, administered to students at the University of
Texas, El Paso, which includes items dealing with attitudes
toward Spanish and English. This sort of work appears impor-
tant at the University of New Mexico because of a revival of
interest by Chicano students in their Hispanic heritage, and
very specifically in the Spanish language. How important
is Spanish to these students? How do they feel about the
variety of Spanish that they speak in relation to other vari-

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eties? This paper will address itself to those questions
by reporting on the attitudes of a group of university
students; first, toward different varieties of Spanish,
and second, toward the use of Spanish. The information
reported here is part of a larger study which, eventually,
will also yield information about the language use
patterns of this group.

The material was gathered from questionnaires
completed by 64 undergraduate students at the University
of New Mexico. All the students were enrolled in the
first semester of Spanish for Spanish-speakers classes.
Although these are elementary level classes, 52% of
these students had had previous experience with the
formal study of the language at the junior high and/or
senior high school levels. This experience varied from
a few weeks to a total of 6 years. There were 31 males
and 31 females (2 chose not to report age or sex), and
they ranged in age from 17 to 45 years. The majority
were 23 years old or younger. Ninety percent of these
students were born in New Mexico or southern Colorado.
The others have been in New Mexico an average of 16
years. Of those born in New Mexico, 52% were born in
the urban areas of Albuquerque and Santa Fe, 37% were
born elsewhere in the northern area of the state,
9% in the central area and 2% in the southern area.
Seventy-seven percent of the students report present
residence as the urban areas of the state, 15% now
live elsewhere in the northern area, 6% in the central
area, and 2% in the southern area. The group, then,
is primarily a young, urban one.

The questionnaire that was administered to these
students was in two parts: Language Use Background and
Taped Stimulus. Language Use Background was comprised
of 40 questions which requested demographic information
and asked the students to indicate their use of Spanish
and English in various situations. This section also
asked about the importance of Spanish to the students.
The other part, Taped Stimulus, consisted of listening

to a tape recording of various speakers and marking, on a
semantic differential scale, a reaction to the person and
to the Spanish language as spoken by each person. This
part of the instrument was modelled on similar forms used
by Underwood and Wölck (1973).

First, let us consider the Taped Stimulus. The tape
listened to by the respondents was recorded by speakers
from Argentina (ARG), Costa Rica (CR), Mexico (MEX),
Puerto Rico (PR), Spain (SP), and New Mexico (NMa, NMb).
All the speakers are or have been University of New Mexico
students. They are between 21 and 36 years of age. The
New Mexicans were recorded to check for any difference in
the respondents' reactions. One of the New Mexicans, NMb,
has greater oral fluency than the other. She was born
and raised in the Taos area of northern New Mexico, has
spoken Spanish all of her life, and has lived and travelled
extensively in Latin America. NMa was raised in Albuquerque,
New Mexico and did not use Spanish extensively until she
began her university work in Spanish. The other speakers
all exemplify the characteristic, educated Spanish of their
respective areas. In an attempt to minimize the effects of
sex of the speaker and varied topics on the evaluations
made by the students, all the speakers are females and the
topic discussed by all is the same. The topic selected
was "rice" because it is pan-Hispanic and not controversial.
Controlling the contents of the tapes was difficult. Each
speaker was to speak freely about the topic. They were
asked not to use a written text or notes so as to obtain
as natural speech as possible. The resultant tapes were
not of even quality and content, but they were used because
it was felt that a more controlled tape, as often employed
in such studies, would be too artificial.

The subjects were asked to listen to each speaker and
then to mark their reaction to the speaker herself on a
six-point differential scale for each of five adjectival
pairs. The pairs used were friendly/unfriendly, educated/
uneducated, humble/arrogant, higher class/lower class, and
ambitious/lazy. The same passages were played again, in a

different order, and the students were then asked to
record their reaction to the language they heard.
This was done again on a six-point scale for the
pairs relaxed/tense, smooth/harsh, careful/careless,
good/bad, and clear/confusing. The six-point scale,
with the extremes labelled "very", the middle
points labelled "somewhat" and the interior inter-
vals labelled "not very", and modelled on the Woick
scale, was used so that the respondent would have
to make a choice one way or the other. Odd number
scales allow room for indecision on the part of
the respondent because they often include a "neutral"
category.

In order to arrive at a rating for each attri-
bute for each speaker, each degree or interval of the
semantic differential scale was assigned a value
of from 1 to 6, with 6 indicating the most positive
degree. The number of responses in each column was
multiplied by the value assigned to that column.
The sums were totalled and divided by the total
number of responses. The results of these tabula-
tions appear in Table 1. A careful reading of the
tabulation shows that a majority of the ratings
given were on the positive side of the scale, that
is, 3.0 or above. Only two speakers received 3.0
or below on an attribute. These were the speaker
from Spain, who was rated 3.0 on the humble/arrogant
scale and the speaker from Argentina, who received
a rating of 2.9 on the higher class/lower class
scale and a 2.7 on the smooth/harsh scale. This
speaker also received the lowest rating on the
educated/uneducated pair and the next to lowest on
the relaxed/tense scale. Three of the pairs did
not yield much variance at all, and therefore, did
not distinguish between speakers. They were
ambitious/lazy, with a variance of .8, careful/
careless, with a difference of .9 between the high-
est and the lowest ratings, and good/bad, with a
difference of 1.0. The category yielding the greatest

variance (2.6) was smooth/harsh.

Tables 2 and 3 show the rankings of each speaker by attribute, and their overall ranking. These tables reveal certain properties of the test instrument itself that merit a few comments prior to a consideration of evaluations of the individuals. A reading of Table 3 indicates that the ratings given for the speaker are fairly close; there is a difference of only 3.0 between the highest rating and the lowest. However, the variance in the ratings for the language of the speaker is 6.3, a much wider spread. Although the respondents show similar reactions to most of the speakers, they discriminate more in rating their Spanish. Generally, a high rating on language correlated positively with a high rating on the educated/uneducated pair. There is a tendency to rate speech that is smooth and fluent as most educated and most careful. In the total ratings received by the speakers, there is a decided break between second and third places. The third, fourth and fifth place totals are close. Between places 5 and 6 there is another break, and also between 6 and 7.

Turning now to the ratings of the individuals, we see that speaker NMb and speaker CR received overall rankings of 1 and 2. They were rated very closely on most of the attributes. Although speaker CR was rated slightly higher on the first part, the person, speaker NMb was rated higher on the second part, the language NMb was rated first on three of the five language attributes, and second on the other two. Speaker NMa was ranked third on the first part. She was judged most friendly and most ambitious, but second most uneducated and second least higher class. On the second part, the language, she was ranked fourth, but the difference between first and fourth is greater in this part. The overall high ranking of the Spaniard is very interesting. She was ranked fifth on the first part, but received a very strong third on the language section. She was ranked second or third on four of the five attributes judging Spanish.

The very positive ratings received by the two New Mex-
icans indicate that the students responding to the question-
naire consider the Spanish of New Mexico to be on the same
plane with other varieties of Spanish. This correlates
positively with the results of Underwood's study on
Arkansas English in which respondents were asked to rate
speakers of English from various parts of the United States,
and in which the Arkansas speakers were also rated high
in relation to other speakers.

The second part of the questionnaire, Language Use
background, included, among other things, several items
which also dealt with attitudes. Item 25 asked the students
to mark how important they considered a command of Spanish
for getting a job, making friends, school success, and
personal fulfillment. They were asked to provide the same
information for English in item 26. The results from these
questions appear in Table 4, recorded in percentage form.
Twenty-five percent of the students indicate that a
command of Spanish is "very" important for getting a job
and 50% more consider it "somewhat" important. When
asked about the importance of English for getting a job,
87% marked it as "very" important and another 11% marked
it as "somewhat" important. For making friends, 51%
marked Spanish as being at least "somewhat" important,
while 90% of the same respondents marked English as "very"
or "somewhat" important. Success in school is closely
tied to a command of English. Seventy-nine percent
marked it as "very" important and the remainder as "some-
what" important. The same category, when considered in
relation to a command of Spanish, did not yield as high
a rating. Only 13% considered Spanish to be "very" impor-
tant to school success. The fourth category, personal
fulfillment, resulted in a 100% rating for a command of
Spanish as at least "somewhat" important, 73% marking
"very" and the other 27% marking "somewhat". A command
of English was rated by 86% as being "somewhat" important
or more. These results are not very surprising,
especiably among college students, but they are intriguing.

The very high rating given to a command of Spanish for personal
fulfillment is significant in light of the very high ratings
given to a command of English in every category. Apparently,
a control of Spanish is most important to this group in a very
personal way.

This agree with their answers to items 29-32. These items
asked about the importance of Spanish for their families.
Table 5 presents the results obtained in these questions. A
knowledge of Spanish is generally considered very important for
their children, even if they are not living in the Southwest.
It is not as overwhelmingly important that their spouses speak
Spanish, but if one considers the responses in both the "very"
and the "somewhat" columns, 80% of these students consider it
at least "somewhat" important that their spouses speak Spanish.

How important is Spanish to these students? How do they
feel about the variety of Spanish that they speak in relation
to other varieties? These were the questions posed earlier.
On the basis of the information gathered to date in this survey,
it would seem that Spanish is indeed very important to these
students. A control of Spanish plays an essential role in
their feelings of satisfaction with themselves and their fami-
lies. It is not as important in their contacts outside of the
home environment. As for their feelings about the Spanish
that they speak, again the results of the first part of the
questionnaire, Taped Stimulus, indicate that these feelings
are very positive. They rated the samples of the Spanish of
New Mexico as high or higher than the Spanish of Costa Rica,
Spain, and Mexico, and higher than that of Puerto Rico and
Argentina. This positive attitude in encouraging as it shows
a sense of pride in their language which might be transferred
to their children.

Attitude studies are, by their very nebulous nature,
difficult to conduct and to evaluate. The researcher has to
get the cooperation of the group to be studied. He has to
deal with the problems of defining attitudes and developing

a means of measuring them, and then testing and revising the
instrument to be used. Since this was the first use of the
instrument, there are several changes in the first part of
the questionnaire, the Taped Stimulus, which now seem to be
in order before it is used again. Most of the adjective
pairs on the semantic differential scales yielded interest-
ing and valuable information. The three that had a varia-
tion of 1.0 or less, ambitious/lazy, careful/careless, and
good/bad, have to be changed or eliminated since they did
not distinguish much between speakers. The pair relaxed/
tense was included in the section for language but now
seems more appropriate to the person section. The tape
itself has to undergo some changes, too. Greater control
has to be exercised on the content without sacrificing
natural speech.

Further analysis and evaluation of the information
obtaine should provide information about possible cor-
relations between the attitudes mentioned here and actual
language use patterns of these students. Are they trans-
ferring these positive attitudes into action? Is Spanish
actually being used much in family-home environments? The
answers to these questions will give further insights into
the language situation of this group and others like it.

Table 1

Tabulations for Each Attribute

		The Person					The Language				
		friendly-unfriendly	educated-uneducated	humble-arrogant	higher class lower class	ambitious-lazy	relaxed tense	smooth harsh	careful careless	good-bad	clear-confusing
1.	MEX	5.2	4.6	4.5	3.7	4.0	4.1	4.2	4.4	4.6	4.7
2.	PR	4.4	4.5	3.5	3.9	4.2	4.2	4.3	4.4	4.3	4.2
3.	CR	4.2	5.0	4.4	4.1	4.2	4.4	5.2	5.2	5.2	4.4
4.	ARG	4.7	5.5	4.6	2.9	4.0	3.9	2.7	4.2	4.3	4.3
5.	SP	4.1	5.0	3.0	4.5	4.8	4.1	4.7	5.0	4.9	4.9
6.	NMa	4.4	4.9	4.4	3.4	4.8	3.7	4.3	4.7	4.6	4.8
7.	NMb	4.2	5.0	3.9	3.8	4.6	5.2	4.5	5.0	5.3	5.5

Scale of 1-6: 1=least amount of positive quality
6=greatest amount of positive quality

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Table 2

Ranking of Speakers by Attribute

	Ranking							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
The Person								
friendly	NMa	CR/MEX		NMb	ARG	PR	SP	unfriendly
educated	CR/SP/NMc			MEX	PR	NMa	ARG	uneducated
humble	ARG	MEX	CR/NMa		NMb	PR	SP	arrogant
higher class	SP	CR	PR	NMb	MEX	NMa	ARG	lower class
ambitious	SP/NMa		NMb	PR/CR		MEX/ARG		lazy
The Language								
relaxed	NMb	CR	PR	MEX/SP		ARG	NMa	tense
smooth	CR	NMb	SP	NMa	MEX/PR		ARG	harsh
careful	CR	NMb/SP		NMa	MEX/PR		ARG	careless
good	NMb	CR	SP	MEX/NMa		PR/ARG		bad
clear	NMb	SP	CR/NMa		MEX	ARG	PR	confusing

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Table 3

verall Ranking of Speakers

Ranking	The Person	The Language	Total
1 NMb	22.2	25.8	48.0
2 CR	22.7	24.8	47.5
3 SP	21.4	23.6	45.0
4 NMa	21.9	22.1	44.0
5 MEX	21.8	22.0	43.8
6 PR	20.5	21.3	41.8
7 ARG	19.7	19.5	39.2

Table 4

Relative Importance of Spanish and English

(items 25 and 26 of questionnaire)

Importance for	25) Command of Spanish (%)				26) Command of English (%)			
	Very much so	Somewhat	Not very	Not at all	Very much so	Somewhat	Not very	Not at all
a. getting a job	25	50	23	2	87	11	2	0
b. making friends	9	42	38	11	42	48	8	2
c. school success	13	35	44	8	79	21	0	0
d. personal fulfillment	73	27	0	0	44	42	12	2

Table 5

Importance of Spanish for Families

(items 29-32 of questionnaire)

	Very much so	Somewhat	Not very	Not at all
29. How important is it that your children know Spanish if you continue to live in N.M.?	85%	15%	0	0
30 How important is it that your children's school support and encourage the use of Spanish?	84%	14%	2%	
31 How important is it that your children know Spanish if you ? outside of the S.W.?	68%	27%	3%	%
32 important is it that your se speak Spanish?	37%	43%	3%	%

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ATTITUDES TOWARD BILINGUAL EDUCATION;

ETHNICITY VS. CLASS

Bates Hoffer

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, ATTITUDES TOWARD BILINGUAL EDUCATION:
ETHNICITY VS. CLASS*

Bates Hoffer

In a series of articles in the 70's, one picture of the
acquisition of English syntax by Mexican Americans (MA) has
been sketched.[1] Some of the results will be given for reference
and some new discussion will follow. The thesis treated is that
the relation between bilingualism and bilingual education must
be seen as much in terms of *class* (in the special definition
given below) as in terms of *ethnicity*.

The results of several hundred diagnostic tests of syntac-
tic proficiency tests done in San Antonio and South Texas, can be
described in terms of ethnicity. Such a description might read
something like this. In the various tests MA averaged 1½-2 years
behind the control group during the ages 8-13, which was the age
range of the children tested. In terms of reading skills, that
lag was magnified to a 3-4 year difference in proficiency. The
different levels of MA and Anglo (non-MA, non-black, non-Indian)
children should cause a great difference in the curriculum in a
system which gears each student's work to his or her level. Edu-
cational decisions based on this description are made different
from those based on the following. A different way of analyzing
the results shows a much different picture. If we analyze the
English-only MA, especially if coupled to the next two variables,
we find little to no difference in proficiency. If we analyze the
bilingual-background MA from lower to lower middle class versus
middle to upper middle class (using "class" in broad and relative
economic terms), the former average about 1 year behind. If we
analyze the students in terms of rural/small bilingual town versus
urban setting, we find the former averages about 1 year behind the
latter. In short, almost all the *lag* is analyzable in terms of
class/location. The apparent difference based on ethnicity

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essentially disappears--at least for our test subjects--into a class phenomenon. However, that conclusion depends on a rather loose definition of *class*. The rest of this article is taken up with further discussion of *class* and how the better definition raises further issues in bilingual education.

Let us begin this section with the note that the following discussion of *class* is a theoretical one; probably no one will find himself totally within one slot. The definition of *class* herein is not based directly on economic or social status factors, although they ultimately must be part of the final picture, but on value systems. Certainly there are cultural factors, social "class" factors, ethnic factors and so on which must be studied and taken into consideration. Yet it is also true that some attitudes and behavior patterns are not predictable from those factors but can be predicted in terms of value-system.

The general presentation here is based on Gans' work[2] on the class structure in urban settings. His retention of traditional class labels, such as "working class", "middle class", sometimes misleads the inattentive, so different labels are used here. The *action* class (his "low class") is characterized by a female-based family unit and a marginal male. The stable part of the family includes the females and the children. The action-seeking male may provide economic support but provides little or no affection or emotional support. He does not help in rearing children and provides only a negative model for the male children. The mother attempts to provide family stability; the father seeks gratification. For the discussion later, the major factors of the *Action* class are the mother dominance, the view of work as a means (for the male) only for obtaining money for action or gratification, the negative view of education since it is either too expensive from one side and too time-consuming on the other, and the general outlook on life as fatalistic in the sense that the class members have no long term control over any aspect of their life. In this class, the mother's values of stability and support are rather close to the value of the next class.

The *Family* class (Gans' working class) is characterized

by values based on the extended family. Decision on school,
work and so on are based primarily on family solidarity and
stability. The *Family* class sees all outside forces as either
supportive or destructive of the family system. It sees it-
self as a unit apart from "society" and usually views outside
structures with hostility. In loose terms, a mild *paranoia* can
be said to characterize the *family* class during some periods of
crisis; but this does not mean the class is unbalanced, rather
that its values have been under constant attack for decades.
Employment is usually that which allows full participation in
family life. Those who become professionals or successful in
other fields but who stay within the family behavioral patterns
are still *Family* regardless of income or social standing.
Success in work or economic mobility are accepted if not in con-
flict with the family. Rejection of a promotion which would mean
relocation would not be uncommon. Education for the *Family* class
--and this point is crucial below--is seen as a means to max-
imize family satisfaction through the subsequently higher income
or the benefits of the subsequent employment. There is a con-
plete rejection of what has become the central idea of our edu-
cational philosophy, the idea that

> the student is an individual who should use his
> schooling to detach himself from ascribed relation-
> ships like the family circle in order to maximize
> his personal development and achievement in work,
> play, and other spheres of life.[3]

It is not too strong to state that the goal of education is
considered *immoral* by the *family* class. Educational programs
which consciously or unconsciously have that philosophy are by
definition attempting to destroy the family bonds. In *Family*
values, the entire extended family or larger group with which
it is identified must rise together or not at all. It is usu-
ally the case that the *Family* class has the strongest religious
values, the least amount of tension-related illness, and the
highest job satisfaction level. For the discussion below, the
important points are that the extended family is the dominant

factor, that work is seen as that which can help family income and maintenance (but which constantly seeks to infect the young with selfish, egotistical ideas), and the outlook on society is that of detachment from a larger society.

The *Unit* class (his middle class) is also family based but based on the nuclear family. When children marry or reach a certain age, they are expected and encouraged to become a separate nuclear unit. The *Unit* sees itself as a part of the fabric of society and, to use a different metaphor, as a unit which sould rise to its highest level in that society. There are actually two views of the family unit: in one sense the nuclear unit rises or falls together but in another sense the children are seen as a special sub-unit which is entitled to special treatment so that each may later have maximun social and economic mobility. The *Unit* class is seen as the most child-ridden as a consequence. The employment pattern of the unit class is not seen as a means to stabilize but as a *series* of positions moving ever higher on the social and economic ladder. As a corollary education is viewed as a means to maximize opportunities for upward mobility. It is just this emphasis on "upward, ever upward" which suggests a loosely-defined term for the class, and that is the *neurotic* class. Since the goal is upward mobility and there is no definition of a status goal at the "top" of the mobility, the *Unit* class never reaches which gives complete job or social satisfaction. In many ways the least satisfied class. One factor which is a major difference from *Family* to *Unit* is that the former is people/person oriented and the latter is object/possessions oriented. Instead of family/peer group goals, the *Unit* class stresses object orientation, such as prestige, career, money, and so on. The important factors for the discussion below are that the nuclear family unit is the dominant force, that work is seen as a series of positions of ever upward mobility, that education is primarily a means of upward mobility, and that the societal outlook is that the *Unit* is part of the larger society and has some control over the future of the *Unit* and society as a whole.

The *Self* class (Gans' professional upper middle class) sees society as a set of individuals who seek (or should seek) to

maximize each's status, prestige, income, life satisfaction, or
any combination. The philosophy of education given earlier fits
here quite well. The *Self* sees himself as only a temporary
participant in a family structure. The school, the employment,
the social group are all means to individual development. In this
class, as in related ones not treated, serial monogamy is one
expression of "upward" mobility. Church affiliation often changes
for personal advantage. The *Self* strives for more complete con-
trol of his future and spends more time in schooling and training
to achieve that success and control. For the discussion below,
the important factors are that the individual is the dominant
force, that work is seen as a means to individual achievement, and
that the view of society is that of controlling one's high place
and future in the societal fabric.

Let us now use those brief overviews for some comments on
bilingual education and attitude toward retention of two languages
and cultures. The most obvious incompatibility in class value
systems is between the *Family* and the *Unit/Self*. On one side
education is seen as a force for stabilizing the family and on
the other side education is a means for children to maximize
their eventual social distance from their source. This gulf is
seen in moral terms. To the *Family* the attempts by a school to
encourage a child to leave the community later to "better" himself
is seen as an immoral interference with the family rights and
responsibilities. On the other side, the *Unit/Self* see the *Family*
attempt to keep the child "down" and deny him upward mobility as
an immoral infringement on the child's rights. Much of the con-
troversy over bilingual education in the Texas area, as over other
educational engineering programs, is based firmly on *class* grounds.
Where maintenance of Spanish is seen as supportive of the extended
family and its peers, bilingual education is a moral right. Where
English is seen as the primary means of mobility, bilingual edu-
cation is seen as a morally wrong means of preventing Spanish
speakers from attaining the necessarily high proficiency in English
necessary for maximun mobility. Each side sees morality on its
side. No platitudes from the educational planners will solve the
deep controversy involved. One problem that arises in school

district after school district is that the justification for the
bilingual program is often in terms of the children's future
mobility, an argument that insures maximun opposition. The in-
teresting fact is that by law the parents through their elected
school board have in one sense control over the curriculum, but
over and over again programs are put in without sufficient inform-
ation and support and then defended against the very parents who
are legally in charge. The problem goes back to the goal of
education quoted earlier. Most educators, especially administrators,
seem to be *Unit* or *Self* and therefore view the parents as opponents
whose children need to be "properly" educated so that they break
the bonds to family and locality. The problem of bilingual edu-
cation, then, strikes to the center of the moral gulf between the
value systems.

One point that is so hard for many to accept is that you
cannot predict class by income or occupation or other "outside"
factors. *Class* as defined here is an internal value system, often
not consciously held and at different times overlapping with other
values. The key point is that a so-called working class family
defined in occupational terms may have in it individuals from two,
three, or all four of the above classes defined by value system.
It is commonly observed, for example, that the oldest child in a
large family tends to retain the value system of the parents while
the youngest children are less predictable. Brothers only a year
apart can have different class membership. The conclusion for
bilingual curriculum planning is quite clear. You cannot use
Spanish surname, or average income, or so on to predict values and
decide on programs. The parents should have a choice of programs
for their children, a choice guided by results of various pro-
ficiency tests and so on. Certainly it is past the time when all
Spanish surname children of a certain age are thrown into the same
bilingual program.

Another point to be made concerns textbooks. Given the quite
different proficiency levels outlined earlier, it is clear that
there should be different tracks in both English and Spanish
(i.e. an "individualized" program as so many of the schools now

have) so that each child can make progress at his stage of development.. What is sometimes not noted, however, is that the values in the text may run in opposition to the supporters of the program. For example, where the *Family* sees bilingual education as a means of manintaining cultural and family values, a text which promotes *Self* values too much may run into difficulties. One Spanish track text a few years ago systematically had the mother leaving with a briefcase and the father doing dishes in an apron. Such role reversals may be acceptable to *Self* class but are rejected by *Family*. The *Family* class structure provides a variety of roles for the boys and girls to grow into. The stability provided by the structure and by the group's adherence to it provides part of the high life-satisfaction quotient noted above.[4] The text included a value which is invompatible with the *Family* value. Again, the attempt to defend the text by using *Self* arguments is counter-productive.

The picture of a lag in acquiring English syntax by rural and *Family* MA is to a large extent explained by the definition of *Family* class. As a mark of solidarity, of group membership, the *Family* MA retains the variety of English of the group.[5] In this view their arguments for maintenance of Spanish are applicable to the maintenance of the group's variety of English. An "attack" on the language or language variety is read as an "attack" on the group by the hostile outsiders. Another large part of the explanation of the lag is that most of the rural and *Family* MA (insofar as we could determine the latter) used and heard Spanish far more than English save in the classroom. The two points are for some reinforcing; that is, "school" English is primarily the language of the outsider and cannot be used other than in school. In such situations, it would seem the goal of the English classes through the school years should be that of at least passive competence in the more complicated vocabulary and grammar so that those who want to go on in school have the necessary tools. Emphasizing *performance* by insisting in "perfect" English being *spoken* is of course self-defeating in that the goal is contrary to the student's values. Since these values are usually below the level of consciousness, so to speak, educational arguments on the

subject are often useless. The goal of English in the school years is the ability to read and comprehend literate, formal English. Too many texts and programs seem to have the goal of turning out as many duplicates of Walter Cronkite as possible. Note that the redefined goal [6] as suggested above allows the student to retain any value system yet also have the opportunity for personal development. In this set-up, the motivation for a class change comes from the child and/or the parents and not from the educational bureaucracy.

The final point to be made here relates indirectly to bilingual education, at least to bilingual education in the Southwest, studies done over the years hy Trinity University and others show that in some areas of, for example, San Antonio some 97% of the homes contain not a single book, magazine, or paper in any language. There is a relatively large illiteracy rate, which means that the present school generation is making a quantum leap just by becoming literate. Children usually "learn" to value reading and school by a sort of osmosis; for example, a child surrounded by books and readers will pick up a book and try to "read" years before school age. That attitude and motivation is well established before kindergarten. In the bookless and readerless situation, it is possible that reading and books and perhaps school become marks of the outside group. The conclusion is rather clear: bilingual education as other types of educational programs will take generations to be effective. It will be the children of the current first-generation literates who will learn by osmosis the value of reading. Bilingual and related programs should be improved and so on, but must be given at least 20-25 years to show their best results. This statement is not a call for extra funds for two decades, since the programs are not expensive once they are established. Rather, it is a call for realizing that bilingual and other programs deal with deeply held value systems and therefore must work carefully and cautiously so that they have their effect while not treading on the value systems of the students and their parents.

In conclusion, in a situation which indicates American public education is a disaster area (e.g. more and more functional

illiterates are graduating from high school; some entire middle
schools average 1½ grade in reading skills; in some school dis-
tricts 70-80% of the *teachers* cannot pass the competency exam in
their own field; etc., etc. *ad nauseum*), no one program can solve
all the problems. However, well-designed and well-run bilingual
programs *have* helped and will continue to do so when given
support. The point of this presentation is that the philosophy
and value-system of the program must be carefully defined with
the help of the parents whose children are in the program.

NOTES

*This paper is a revised version of one which appears in
E. Blansitt and R. Teschner's collection in honor of Jacob Ornstein.
The Festschrift will appear in 1980 from Newbury House.

[1]The most recent article is Bates Hoffer, "The Acquisition of
English Syntax by Mexican Americans: Grades 1-6", pp. 63-71 in
Clenn Gilbert, ed. PROBLEMS IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLINGUISTICS. Walter
de Gruyter, 1978.

[2]A concise presentation of Herbert Gans' work is on pp. 47-55
of R. Abrahams and R. Troike, eds. LANGUAGE AND CULTURAL DIVERSITY
IN AMERICAN EDUCATION. Prentice-Hall, 1972. The title of the
extract is "The Working Class, Lower Class and Middle Class".

[3]Gans, p. 48.

[4]Gans, pp. 54-55. An interesting excerpt which makes the point
is:
> ...no society I have lived in before or since seemed to me
> to present so many of its members...so many possibilities
> and actualities of fulfillment...

[5]The suggestion that one problem in Mexican American education
is the educational philosophy itself is not a new one, of course.
Thomas P. Carter closed his book (MEXICAN AMERICANS IN SCHOOL: a
history of educational neglect. College Entrance Examination Board,
1970) with the following (p. 221):

> Optimistically, it can be predicted that Mexican Americans
> will make it on their own in spite of the school and social
> conditions. Pessimistically, it can be predicted that the
> school and society will react negatively to the increasing
> pressures for change. If this happens, the very practices
> that can be assumed to deter Mexican Americans' success in
> school will probably be strengthened, and if so the schools
> will contribute to, rather than ameliorate, the grievous

social problems that confront the national society. The
school can help, but it must change. Thoughtful people must
encourage it to do so.

[6]See, for example, B. Hoffer and J. Ornstein, eds. SOCIO-
LINGUISTICS IN THE SOUTHWEST. Trinity University, 1975.

PART THREE:

BILINGUALISM AND THE BILINGUAL

IN SOCIETY'S MAINSTREAM

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POLITICAL DYNAMICS OF BILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM:

LESSONS FROM THE ROYAL COMMISSION REPORTS

Kenneth D. McRae

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POLITICAL DYNAMICS OF BILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM:
LESSONS FROM THE ROYAL COMMISSION REPORTS

Kenneth D. McRae

Introduction

My purpose in this paper is to describe recent Canadian
developments in the realm of linguistic and cultural pluralism
to an audience that may be rather unfamiliar with Canada. I shall
therefore begin with certain preliminary observations that may be
necessary to make that experience meaningful in a non-Canadian
setting. First of all, I would emphasize that Canada is officially
and legally a bilingual country. In order to understand the
relationship between French-speaking and English-speaking
Canadians, therefore, one must go beyond the usual minority-group
model of the plural society. In the context of the American
Southwest, it is perhaps helpful to imagine for a moment the
linguistic and cultural situation that might exist if the United
States and Mexico were federated as a single country. This com-
parison must be modified, however, in that French-speaking and
English-speaking inhabitants of Canada have coexisted within the
same political system, under one regime or another, for more than
200 years.

Second, the Canadian political system since 1967 has been a
federal one, and on balance it is probably more decentralized than
that of the United States. The provinces are both larger and less
numerous than the American states, and most of them are important
foci of regional loyalties. Within this system Quebec has parti-
cular importance as a predominantly French-speaking province
within the larger Canadian society. In general terms approximately
four fifths of Quebec's population is French-speaking by mother
tongue; and also four fifths of all French Canadians live in
Quebec (for details, see Appendix A). Although territorial
minorities may be found in significant concentrations in certain
American states, the very high concentration of French-speaking

Canadians in Quebec has no linguistic parallel in the United States.
This level of concentration has made Quebec society different in many
respects from that in the other provinces.

In the third place, recent changes in language legislation and
policy in Canada have given rise to prolonged and often sharp public
discussions as to the nature of the Canadian political community.
It is clear that no consensus exists as to future patterns or even
present models of linguistic and cultural policy. Some accept a
basically bicultural model, building upon the legal equality of
French and English as provided by the Official Language Act of 1969.
Others stress the concept of multiculturalism, building upon a state-
ment by Prime Minister Trudeau in 1971 that pointedly refused to
enlarge official bilingualism into an official recognition of bi-
culturalism. Still others think of Canada as a basically English-
speaking country with specific but limited privileges for linguistic
and cultural minorities, a view that reflects many aspects of
Canadian development in the first three generations after Confeder-
ation in 1867. Finally, a significant number of Francophones in
Quebec as well as some Anglophones, pessimistic about long-range
prospects of just or peaceful coexistence, have opted for a politi-
cal divorce through the separation of Quebec from the rest of Canada.

The point is that in recent decades the interethnic arrange-
ments of earlier times have been increasingly called into question
and reexamined, especially--but not exclusively--by French-speaking
Canadians who have felt that their language, culture, and group
status have hitherto been accorded insufficient recognition. My
task in this paper is to describe, in a very general way, how this
challenge to the traditional linguistic-cultural framework of
Canada has been met. In particular, I wish to outline the role of
the federal Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism,
to trace the development of governmental linguistic and cultural
policies in the wake of the Commission's Reports, and finally to
assess the situation in 1975. Since the work of the Commission
embraced several broad areas of Canadian life, my attempts at a
general overview must necessarily by highly condensed.

The Royal Commission and its Background

The primary stimulus to a reassessment of intergroup rela-
tions in Canada lay in the modernization of traditional Quebec
society, a process which became visible to the outside world in
the 1960's as the "Quiet Revolution" but which as roots at least
as far back as the 1940's. Aspirations for modernization were
manifested in four principal ways:

1) in discontent with existing social structures, and
   particularly with Anglophone predominance in the
   financial and industrial sectors;

2) in discontent with traditional educational structures,
   which were seen as too elitist and too much oriented
   towards the classical professions of law, medicine,
   and the Church;

3) in the secularization of society and a waning of Roman
   Catholic ulturamontanism;

4) in increasing dissatisfaction with the subordinate
   positions achieved by French Canadians in federal
   politics.

A further stimulus to change came from French-speaking
minorities living outside Quebec, who faced increasing diffi-
culties in language maintenance under conditions of increasing
urbanization, industrialization, and a lack of institutions
supportive of their linguistic and cultural identity. For
several decades before 1960, federal and provincial governments
alike--and even the government of Quebec--turned a blind eye to
the linguistic and cultural pluralism in their midst, until,
through a cumulation of neglect, what had begun as a social
problem grew into a profound political crisis.

When the Liberals returned to power after the general elec-
tion of 1963, one of the early acts of the Pearson government was
to establish a federal Royal Commission on Bilingualism and
Biculturalism to study the problem in depth. This body, also

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known as the Laurendeau-Dunton Commission, was a meticulously balanced group consisting of five predominantly French-speaking and five predominantly English-speaking members. As representatives of the population of neither French nor British extraction, one of the Francophones was of Polish origin and one Anglophone was of Ukrainian origin. In wider context, the Laurendeau-Dunton Commission was one of several large-scale inquiries into specific areas of public policy that have been a feature of the Canadian political scene since the late 1930's.

The terms of reference of the Royal Commission on Biligualism and Biculturalism were important, for they defined the general principles and objectives of the inquiry and established a framework for the Commission's work, a framework which itself constituted an important landmark in ethnic relations in Canada. In general terms the Commission was aked "to recommend what steps should be taken to develop the Canadian Confederation on the basis of an equal partnership between the two founding races, taking into account the contribution made by the other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada..." More specifically, it was to investigate and report on three specific areas that may be summarized as follows:

1) The language practices of the federal administration;

2) the role of public and private organizations, including the mass media, in promoting bilingualism and inter-cultural understanding;

3) the provincial educational systems and the opportunities they offered to learn the French and English languages and to become bilingual.

In the last of these areas it was emphasized that education was a field of provincial jurisdiction and that reform proposals would have to be discussed with provincial governments (R.C.B.B., Book I, 173-174).

Three points concerning these terms of reference are worth noting. First, to the best of my knowledge, they mark the first

explicit federal recognition of the equality of Canada's two major
cultural groups, and by implication of their respective languages,
an equality underlined by the balanced composition of the Commis-
sion itself. Second, the unhappy reference to the term "two
founding races", which appears more innocuously in the French
text as les deux peuples qui l'ont fondée, occasioned much negative
comment among English-speaking Canadians, both for its apparently
biological overtones and its apparent relegation of non-charter
groups to some kind of inferior status. One consequence was a
significant upsurge in the activities of ethnic groups of other than
British or French extraction as the inquiry proceeded. The Com-
mission's response to this rather unfortunate terminology was to
stress the key phrase of "equal partnership" and to eliminate
any reference to the term "races" in its reports. A third point
of interest is the relatively frequent appearance of the rather
vague words "bilingualism" and "bilingual", which occur five
times in the terms of reference. As the Commission's work pro-
ceeded and problems came to be more clearly identified, the focus
shifted more and more away from individual bilingualism to insti-
tutional bilingualism, especially the capacity of the public sector
to give services in both English and French.

In time the Commission saw its task as one of interpreting
its terms of reference in greater detail, of applying them in more
specific ways to the complexities of Canadian society, and of
making both general and specific recommendations for change to
the federal government, to provincial and local governments, to
private corporations and associations, and to the public at large.
It became active simultaneously on several fronts. As with other
commissions of inquiry, there were formal public hearings to
receive written briefs from more than 400 associations and in-
dividuals. A large-scale but short-term research program produced
some 165 monographs and mimeographed studies on various aspects
of the Commission's mandate (Adamson and others, 1974). Com-
missioners met with provincial governments to discuss educational
policy. At an early stage, the Commission held a series of informal
public meetings across the country to increase public understanding
and to explore public attitudes on an informal basis. The out-
come of these meetings was a Preliminary Report in 1965 which saw

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the increasing tendency of Francophone Québécois to reject the poli-
ticalstatus quo as posing for Canada "the greatest crisis in its
history" (R.C.B.B., 1965, 13). Finally, there was the Commission's
Report itself, which appeared in six books between 1967 and 1970,
accompanied by two series of published research monographs.

The Commission's Recommendations

The first book of the final Report, published in 1967, dealt with
the official languages and their legal recognition and protection.
Among the 14 recommendations of this volume the most important called
for the formal recognition of French and English as the official
languages not only of the federal parliament and federal courts (as
already provided by the Constitution of 1867) but also of the
federal government and administration. Similar full recognition of
the two languages was recommended for New Brunswick and Ontario,
the two provinces with the largest French-language minorities.
To provide meaningful governmental services to linguistic minorities
in smaller concentrations, the Commission recommended that a system
of bilingual districts, modelled on those existing in Finland,
be established by joint federal-provincial negotiation wherever the
official-language minorities attained 10 per cent of the population
of more. For the federal capital area, which straddles the provin-
cial boundary between Ontario and Quebec, it recommended full
equality of the two languages at all levels of public administration,
in local government, in provincial as well as federal courts, and
in public education. Finally, it suggested that these changes be
attained and secured by a constitutional amendment on educational
and language rights, by a federal statute on the official languages,
and by the appointment of a Commissioner of Official Languages, a
sort of linguistic ombudsman, to oversee the application of language
policy and to hear complaints from individuals (R.C.B.B., 1967,
Book I, 147-149).

The second book of the Report, dealing with education, contained
some 46 rather detailed recommendations on the organization of
minority-language education and second-language learning. Because
of its subject matter, most of these recommendations were addressed

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to provincial governments. Briefly, the Commission recommended
that mother-tongue education should be available for official-
language minorities in the newly proposed bilingual districts and
in major metropolitan centers. To assure equality of educational
standards, minority-language systems were to linked closely to
majority systems in an administrative sense, with parallel
facilities for teacher training and curricular development.
Because constitutional jurisdiction over education is a highly
sensitive issue, the Commission recommended federal financial
assistance but only enough to cover the estimated additional
costs inherent in providing education in a second language.
Further recommendations concerning second-language learning
suggested that the study of the other official language should
be obligatory for all students in Canada, that instruction should
begin in the early elementary grades (Grade 1 in English-language
schools, Grade 3 in French-language schools), and that the second
language should be taught not as a foreign language but with
emphasis on its use in the Canadian milieu (R.C.B.B., 1968, Book
II, 299-304). A third area of concern in this volume, which
did not appear in the formal recommendations, drew attention to
divergent images of Canadian history presented by French-Canadian
and English-Canadian text books, and to the need for any plural
society to promote reciprocal understanding of the different
perspectives of its constituent cultural groups.

Critics of the Commission were quick to point out that both
these volumes were concerned mainly with the rights of the
official-language minorities, and since the rights of English
speakers in Quebec had been long established this meant that the
early volumes were of interest primarily to French Canadians living
in the other nine provinces. Up to this point the Commission had
said little of relevance to the major area of contention, the
deep-seated dissatisfactions of Francophones in Quebec. This
focus was to change late in 1969 with the appearance of Book III,
a two-volume study of the working world that dealt comprehensively
with the role of ethnicity in the Canadian occupational structure
as well as language issues in the federal public service and in the
private economic sector.

The broad goal of the 41 recommendations concerning the public
sector was to enlarge the range of governmental activities that could
be performed in French and to place unilingual Francophones who
aspired to public service careers on a similar footing to unilingual
Anglophones. The primary means to that end was to establish in all
federal departments and agencies organizational units in which French
would be the normal language of work; such units might either
replace or complement existing units, according to administrative
need, but there would be no automatic creation of parallel structures.
Additional recommendations called for: balanced participation of
Anglophones and Francophones in senior-level administrative positions
and on planning and advisory bodies; the translation of all internal
documents, manuals, and military regulations; the classification
of all administrative positions according to their language require-
ments; the improvement of second-language training; the wider use
of French in drafting original texts; and the development of
recruitment and promotion policies more sensitive to differences
in cultural and educational backgrounds. Several special provisions
were aimed at the armed forces, where the linguistic milieu is
more pervasive. Among other avenues of linguistic equality the
Commission recommended the creation of additional French-language
land and air units and called for the choice of language in all
disciplinary proceedings to be left to the individual concerned
(R.C.B.B., 1969, Book IIIA, 341-347).

For the private sector the highlight was Recommendation 42,
which called for French to become the principal language of work in
Quebec for large-scale enterprises within the province, while
recognizing the claims of English in smaller or specialized firms
and in those with significant activities outside the province. A
provincial task force was suggested to study and plan the necessary
changes in language usage. Further recommendations called for the
designation of more bilingual and French-language positions at
managerial and technical levels, and more opportunities for Franco-
phone students to enter business careers and advance in their own
language. Finally, the Commission suggested that French might
become to some degree a language of work in the province of New
Brunswick and in bilingual districts of Ontario.

Beyond its work on French-English relations, the Commission
did considerable research on the languages, cultural activities,
and aspirations of other ethnic groups in Canada. Its findings,
elaborated in Book IV of the Report, led to 16 recommendations in
three principal areas. First, all types of ethnic or religious
discrimination in employment or housing should be attacked by
provincial legislation wherever such statutes did not already
exist. Second, opportunities for the study of languages other than
French or English should be provided in elementary and secondary
schools where sufficient demand exists. Third, certain barriers to
the use of other languages in the public and private broadcasting
systems should be eliminated, and federal cultural agencies should
present to the public a more positive and visible image of citi-
zen of neither British nor French origin.

Two further books, published in 1970, dealt with the linguis-
tic and cultural development of Ottawa-Hull, the federal capital
area (Book V), and with problems of biculturalism in voluntary
associations (Book VI). The first recommended a more positive
federal role in promoting a regime of strict equality for the two
official languages within the capital area, extending even to the
activities of municipal authorities and lower courts, which fall
within the provincial jurisdictions of Ontario and Quebec. The
second discussed the comparative advantages and disadvantages of
integrated, segmented, and parallel voluntary organizations but
avoided formal recommendations as a possible intrusion on the
fundamental freedom of association.

What is more interesting than the detailed subject matter of
these later books, however, is the topics that were not dealt
with by the Commission. The original plan for the Report, as out-
lined in the Preface, had envisioned four additional books, on
federal institutions (Parliament, the Cabinet, the Supreme Court),
on arts and letters, on the mass media, and finally a general
conclusion which would touch on "important constitutional questions
concerning the relations and the future of the two societies"
(R.C.B.B., Book I, xviii). But by 1970 some sevel years had
elapsed since the creation of the Commission. Commissioners were
feeling the strain of prolonged intensive effort, many senior staff

members had dispersed, financial stringency became a problem, and
early drafts of some remaining parts of the Report were felt to be
inadequate. More important, when the Commission met in early 1970
to consider a final statement, it became clear that no consensus
could be found on the political and constitutional issues. In
the end it was decided to disband without issuing further volumes.
While parts of the mandate and the report as originally conceived
were thus left unfinished, the Commissioners had achieved a remark-
able degree of consensus in their work to that point.

The Evolution of Public Policy

If the Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and
Biculturalism offered a fairly comprehensive blueprint for change,
the most critical phases still lay ahead. What would be the
responses of Canadian society and the federal and provincial govern-
ments to the Commission's proposals? The Commission had been
appointed by the Liberal Government of Prime Minister Pearson. Its
work had been regularly attacked in Parliament by opposition members,
and it had evoked rather mixed reactions in both the English-language
and the French-language press. By the late 1960's it was by no means
clear whether the swelling conflict in interethnic relations could
be significantly accommodated by public policy measures. Even in
1975 the ultimate answer to that question perhaps remains unclear
but one can list significant changes in at least five specific
areas of linguistic and cultural policy which clearly reflect the
recommendations of the Commission. These areas may be categorized
as follows: (1) the formal designation of the rights and functions
of the official languages; (2) changes in the language practices
of the federal public service; (3) the recognition of French as
priority langauge in the public and private sectors in Quebec;
(4) reforms in educational and other practices in the English-
speaking provinces; and (5) the development of a cultural policy
more reflective of the cultural diversity of Canada.

The first of these changes was effected by the Official Lan-
guages Act of 1969, a federal statute that gave full formal and
legal equality to French and English as official languages of the
federal government and spelled out in some detail the application of

this equality. It was passed with the support of all parties in Parliament, though some opposition members broke party ranks to vote against the legislation. In accordance with the Commission's recommendations, this statute provides for publication of all federal instruments and decisions of federal courts and tribunals in both official languages. It requires service to the public in both languages in the federal capital area and in designated bilingual districts. It establishes procedures for the creation of bilingual districts and for revision of their boundaries after each decennial census. It also establishes a Commissioner of Official Languages to oversee compliance with the Act and to investigate complaints. The Royal Commission's recommendation of a constitutional amendment of guarantee language and educational rights, however, has not been acted upon.

One major problem encountered in applying the Official Languages Act has been the designation of bilingual districts. In the prototype developed in Finland the legal consequences of the language legislation follow automatically once the census result has indicated the linguistic proportion for each individual commune. In Canada, where local government structures vary from province to province, the Official Languages Act provides for an advisory board to recommend suitable district boundaries on the basis of census results for areas having official-language minority concentrations of 10 per cent or more, but only after consultation with provincial authorities. This latitude in the selection of district boundaries leaves considerable discretion to the board, and the federal government in turn may accept or reject its recommendations. The result of this double discretionary authority has been to politicize sharply the whole question of bilingual districts. The report of the first Bilingual Districts Advisory Board, based on the 1961 census, was rejected in 1971 by the federal authorities, and the report of the second Board, based on the 1971 census and submitted late in 1975, had not been acted upon at the end of that year.

The process of linguistic change in the public service has proceeded not be statute but by successive administrative decisions,

accompanied by consultation with the public service staff associations. From the start it has encountered firmly entrenched interests of incumbent office holders who have little or no capacity to function in the second official language. The question of change is also sensitive politically, and one interpretation attributes the almost fatal loss of Liberal seats in the 1972 election, particularly in the capital area, at least partly to an English-Canadian "backlash" against the Official Languages Act and federal language policy generally. Despite these difficulties, considerable changes in the linguistic patterns of the federal public service have been achieved, though not always rapidly enough to satisfy the pent-up grievances of French-speaking Canadians in the face of an organization that has operated almost exclusively in English at headquarters level for more than a century.

Two basic principles have emerged as federal language policy has evolved. First, the language of external communication should be in either English or French at the option of the citizen. In practical terms this means that English will be used in English-speaking areas, French in French-speaking areas, while both languages must be available in the federal capital area, in the still-to-be-proclaimed bilingual districts and any other areas of significant demand for bilingual services. Secondly, with respect to the internal or working language, employees should be able to work mainly in the official language of their choice, at least in bilingual areas of the country. In 1972 the target date for realizing these changes was set as 1978.

As means of implementing these principles the federal government accepted two basic steps recommended by the Royal Commission. First, it accepted the principle that some administrative units in each department would work primarily in French, so as to provide a working environment for Francophone officials and stimulate wider use of French at all levels of the bureaucracy. The first units were created, on an experimental basis, in 1971. Second, the government accepted the principle of classifying every position in the federal public service, in terms of its indicated language requirements, as either bilingual or unilingual. By 1974 some 288,000 positions

across the country had been so classified, and of these 19 per
cent or 55,000 posts were identified as bilingual, 60 per cent
required English only, 13 per cent required French only, and 8
per cent allowed the use of either language. In the federal
capital area some 44 per cent of positoins were identified as
bilingual, and in general requirements for bilingualism are higher
in the senior ranks (Commissioner of Official Languages, 1975,
392-393). The target is to have bilingual posts filled by quali-
fied bilingual personnel by 1978, though certain concessions have
had to be made to unilingual incumbents of positions identified
as requiring bilingualism. In order to preserve equal access to
the public service, even unilingual candidates may compete for
bilingual positions if they are willing to take second-language
training at public expense. One result of these policies has been
a dramatic expansion of second-language training in the public
service, with priorities for those already occupying or about to
enter bilingual posts.

Two further developments concerning the public service deserve
mention. First, there have been intensified efforts to attract
more Francophone candidates, though the level of Francophone
recruitment since 1971 has remained somewhat below the proportion
of Francophones in the total population. Second, changes in the
public service itself have been accompanied by measures to improve
the general ambiance of the Ottawa-Hull area as a suitably
bilingual capital for a bilingual country. In particular, a
significant proportion of new governmental office space is now being
located in Hull, in the Quebec portion of the National Capital
Region.

The third major area of policy change concerns language usage
in Quebec. Even before the federal Royal Commission published its
recommendations on the language of work in Quebec, the provincial
government had established its own commission of inquiry (the
Gendron Commission) which was given a broad mandate to recommend
measures to guarantee the linguistic rights of the majority as well
as the protection of minority language rights, and to promote the
full expansion of French in Quebec, particularly in the educational,

cultural, social and economic sectors. After four years of study,
this Commission published a three-volume report (Commissoon d'enquete,
1972), and this report was in turn followed by comprehensive language
legislation passed in the provincial legislature in July 1974.

The provincial legsitlation is complex, but its main tendencies
may be described under three headings. First, it makes French the
sole official language of the province, and requires its use in a
wide range of public sector activities. The use of English as well
is prescribed in certain circumstances, and the federal constitutional
guarantees for both languages in the provincial legislature and
courts remain as before. Second, it offers a variety of induce-
ments and sanctions to encourage the greater use of French in the
business and industrial world, as well as in service industries
and consumer relations. Third, in the field of education, while
asserting the right of pupils of English mother tongue to be educated
in English, it requires children speaking neither English nor
French to attend the schools of the French-speaking majority. This
last requirement represents a major departure from current practice
and has given rise to bitter disputes, despite the fact that it
simply codifies for Quebec what has always been the written or
unwritten rule of all the English-speaking provinces. The core of
this controversy centres on metropolitan Montreal, which in 1971
had some 328,000 residents, or 12 per cent of the total population,
of other than French or English mother tongue.

A fourth area of policy changes lies in the evolving language
practices of the nine predominantly English-speaking provinces.
These reforms have been mainly in the field of education, although
New Brunswick, which has proportionally the largest official-
language minority in the country (34 per cent French mother tongue
in 1971), has declared itself an officially bilingual province.
Several other provinces have provided better opportunities for
French-speaking children to be educated either wholly or partially
in their mother tongue. Since 1969, Ontario has provided French-
language education as a right whenever there is a demand from 10
Francohpne parents or more, thereby closing a long chapter of
educational history in which governmental policy on minority-
language schooling ranged from destructive neglect to attempts at

administrative suppression.

Further developments may be noted in the study of French as
a second language by Anglophone children. Between 1970 and 1974
the early study of French in elementary schools increased in all
English-speaking provinces except Alberta and Saskatchewan. How-
ever, in secondary schools the study of French declined signifi-
cantly, ostensibly as a result of the franmentation of curricula
and the dropping of language requirements for university entrance.
In the English-speaking provinces only 41 per cent of pupils
studied French at secondary level in 1974-75, compared to the
virtually 100 per cent of Francophone students in Quebec studying
English (Commissioner of Official Languages, 1975, 28-31). One
more hopeful augury for the future is that some school boards
in Ontario and Quebec are offering full-time French immersion
classes for Anglophone students in elementary grades, and the
results have been sufficiently promising that in Ottawa this
option now attracts about 30 per cent of all children entering the
English-speaking educational stream. It is sometimes suggested
by those who oppose reforms that the new requirements for bilin-
gualism will make the public sector into a vast preserve for Franco-
phones. The evidence to date suggests that impressive numbers of
sufficiently motivated Anglophones are successfully adjusting
to the new language rules and that this process of adaptation
will be more marked in the next generation. Nor is this surprising,
for it seems to be observable in other countries under comparable
conditions of linguistic change.

A fifth area of policy development, and perhaps ultimately
the most difficult problem to define, has been the federal attempt
to respond suitably to the ethnic and cultural diversity of
Canada's population. The Royal Commission, as required by its
mandate, had been careful to situate its research and recommend-
ations concerning the other ethnic groups within a basic framework
of linguistic-cultural duality. Yet even these recommendations
reflect some tension between basic goals of equality and inte-
gration of individuals on the one hand and mother-tongue maintenance
and cultural distinctiveness on the other. In October 1971 Prime
Minister Trudeau, perhaps in response to increased pressures from

ethnic organizations, announced the federal government's rejection
of the concept of biculturalism and proposed instead a policy of
multiculturalism within a bilingual framework. While adhering to
official bilingualism, federal policy would recognize no official
culture and would treat all cultural groups equally. At the same
time the Prime Minister announced a series of programmes aimed
both at easing the burdens of immigrant adjustment and at positive
support for ethnic groups and organizations wishing to expand their
activities.

The path of development since 1971 has been rather confused.
A cabinet minister was appointed with responsibility for multi-
cultural programmes, and in 1973 a Canadian Consultative Council on
Multiculturalism was appointed to provide systematic representation
and input from major ethnic associations. The early work of this
Council has tended to reinforce earlier tendencies of some ethnic
organizations to develop group aspirations and claims in the field
of minority-language education and broadcasting comparable to the
programmes undertaken in support of official-language minorities.
Since 1974, following a change of ministers, the government has
appeared to be retreating from the implications of these claims,
and in 1975 stress is once more being placed on immigrant integra-
tion and the elimination of discrimination as the central themes of
federal programmes in this area. Some provincial governments,however,
have also been developing programmes to assist ethnic groups in
maintaining their cultural heritage.

It is soon to discern the eventual outcome of these shifting
currents of policy. The basic concept of multiculturalism has been
viewed with considerable suspicion by French Canadians and
criticized by some academic sociologists (Porter, 1972; Rocher,
1973). At the practical level, it seems likely to divert English
Canadians from facing up to the far from negligible burdens and
adjustments demanded by official-language bilingualism in federal
institutions, and to offer an easy escape for Anglophones who are
substantially content with the language situation as it existed
prior to the 1960's. One may suggest that these policy vacillations
on the topic of multiculturalism stem partially from the lack of
urgency of the issue. For the near future at least the question of

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official bilingualism belongs to the realm of hard sociological realities, while the issue of multiculturalism lies more in the domain of cultural options. Policies on multiculturalism may influence electoral results in some federal and provincial constituencies, but they do not bear so directly on the very survival of Canada as do policies concerning the official languages.

Some tentative conclusions

It is time now to try to assess the combined effect of the several areas of change that I have sketched all too briefly above. I begin from the premise that the sociolinguistic situation in Canada and especially in Quebec as it was prior to 1960 has become intolerable to significant members of Francohpone Canadians, and that the option of political independence for Quebec was becoming increasingly attractive as prospects for significant change receded. What, basically, has happened since the appointment of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in 1963? Have language practices changed significantly? Or is time running out faster than remedies can take effect? To answer these questions involves difficult judgments in order to estimate and compare the rate of introduction of remedial measures and reforms on the one hand and the rate of mobilization of Francophone discontent on the other. Needless to say, such comparisons are far from simple.

One may approach these judgments from two distince vantage points, and they appear to lead to disturbingly different results. The first and more optimistic is the view of Canada from the federal capital itself. From this perspective, there has been real and significant change in the working of the federal public service. Telephones are answered in French, meetings are conducted in both languages, documentation is very extensively in bilingual format, an although the transformation is in many ways incomplete the general linguistic atmosphere has changed in subtle ways. Further changes are visible in the general environment of the capital itself. The Ottawa civic administration, which refused to

cooperate with the Royal Commission in 1966, has since been headed
by a Franco-Ontarian mayor and has improved its capacity to give
service in both languages. The Quebec sector of the capital, for
long the poor relation of the National Capital Region, is being
developed rapidly. While areas of resistance and a lack of
awareness may still be found in some Anglophone circles, the overall
impression is one of reasonable successful adjustment to the lan-
guage problem. Even Francophones are disposed to admit the improve-
ments in federal institutions, and of course what matters ultimately
is how changes are seen by the minority group itself.

The second vantage point is that of contemporary Quebec
society, and especially its urban centres. Here we find an
influential segment of the Francophone population whose political
interests lie more and more in building a new Québécois society and
who are no longer interested in what happens at federal level.
Provincial realities, always strong in Quebec, have probably become
stronger, and what happens in Ottawa is simple remote and irrelevant.
The danger at this stage is not so much separation by overt
violence as a slow evolutionary growing aprat until the process
becomes irreversible. The majority of the Quebec electorate
still supports pro-federal parties, but in the last two provincial
elections the independentist Parti Québécois captured 23 and then 30
per cent of the popular vote respectively. There are fundamental
ambiguities in political behavior in Quebec, and Pinard (1975)
assembles empirical evidence for a duality of loyalties among
Quebec Francophones. Nevertheless the evidence suggests that the
primary affective links for most people are with the province, and
it seems quite possible, in the present climate of opinion, that
provincial orientations may be made at federal level.

In the context of 1975, it is difficult to say which of these
two contrasting perspectives is more relevant for the future of
the Canadian political system. What does seem to stand out over the
past year or two is a waning of the intensity of the debate, but
whether this should be viewed as an indication of increased satisfac-
tion as a result of reform or of apathy and disinterest in further
dialogue is by no means clear. A third possibility is that after a

decade and a half of intensive debate a high level of public
interest in French-English relations can no longer be sustained in
the face of competition from other issues, including the claims
of native-peoples, women's rights, and - most of all - an increased
concern for economic-problems. Whatever the precise reason for
the change, public discussion in the mid-1970's seems to have
receded from the consideration of broad principles of French-
English relations to a preoccupation with specific issues, such as,
for example, the use of French in air traffic control, or admission
procedures to Quebec minority-language schools, or the quality of
health care available in French in Ontario. Comparative study
of other plurilingual societies suggests that issues of this type
occur regularly even in the most stable language situations, and
hence that the language conflict in Canada may be arriving at a
satisfactory level of institutionalization.

By international standards the level of integration of
Canadian society may appear to be low. In the face of several
competing sub-national and supra-national loyalties, the Canadian
federal state calls forth relatively low levels of allegiance from
its citizens of all cultural backgrounds (McRae, 1973). But this
has been a feature of the Canadian political system from the
beginning and should not be viewed as a serious obstacle to its
continuance. For the future, one can confidently predict
recurring disagreements in Canada on a wide range of specific
linguistic issues. One cannot predict, with any certainty, the
long-range success of the new language arrangements. It may be
that further major reforms will prove necessary before some degree
of institutional stability can be reached. But if the developing
adjustment mechanisms established over the past decade continue to
function, there are grounds for believing that the most acute
phase of the crisis of Canadian Confederation in the 1960's may
have begun to recede.

APPENDIX A

TABLE 1

POPULATION OF CANADA AND PROVINCES BY MOTHER TONGUE, 1971 (PERCENTAGES)

Province	Total population (000's)	%	English	French	All others
Newfoundland	522	100	98.5	0.7	0.8
Prince Edward Is.	112	100	92.4	6.6	1.1
Nova Scotia	789	100	93.0	5.0	2.0
New Brunswick	635	100	64.7	34.0	1.3
Quebec	6028	100	13.1	80.7	6.2
Ontario	7703	100	77.5	6.3	16.2
Manitoba	988	100	67.1	6.1	26.8
Saskatchewan	926	100	74.1	3.4	22.5
Alberta	1628	100	77.6	2.9	19.5
British Columbia	2185	100	82.7	1.7	15.5
Canada (including territories)	21,568	100	60.2	26.9	13.0

Source: Canada Year Book, 1974: 165-167

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TABLE 2

DISTRIBUTION OF CANADIAN POPULATION BY ETHNIC ORIGIN, MOTHER TONGUE, AND
LANGUAGE MOST OFTEN SPOKEN AT HOME, 1971 (PERCENTAGES)

Language/Ethnic group	Ethinic origin	Mother tongue	Home language
English/British	44.6	60.2	67.0
French	28.7	26.9	25.7
Italian	3.4	2.5	2.0
German	6.1	2.6	1.0
Ukrainian	2.7	1.4	0.7
Indian and Eskimo	1.4	0.8	0.6
Greek	0.6	0.5	0.4
Chinese	0.6	0.4	0.4
Portuguese	0.4	0.4	0.3
Polish	1.5	0.6	0.3
Magyar/Hungarian	0.6	0.4	0.2
Netherlands	2.0	0.7	0.2
All others	7.4	2.6	1.2
	100	100	100

Source: Canada Year Book, 1974: 165-167

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THREE CASE STUDIES IN ITALIAN AMERICAN

ETHNICITY AND LANGUAGE USE

Robert J. Di Pietro

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THREE CASE STUDIES IN ITALIAN AMERICAN
ETHNICITY AND LANGUAGE USE

Robert J. Di Pietro

Bilingualism has become highly politicized in this coun-
try. In the eagerness to make the United States Congress
sensitive to the pluralism that characterizes American soci-
ety, advocates from non-English speaking groups have allowed
the speaking of their languages to be associated with eco-
nomic and cultural deprivation. Eventually, congressmen
became convinced that the answer to the activism of such
groups was to be found in bilingual education. Seen as an
antipoverty measure, sizable funds could be allocated for
bilingual/bicultural school programs, especially for those
which would eventually promote the use of English. In order
to achieve this victory of sorts for bilingualism, a coali-
tion was needed of intellectuals and economically deprived
non-English-speaking groups.

Now that we stand at several years' distance from the
first national legislation on bilingualism, the discrepan-
cies are easier to find. Totally omitted from serious con-
sideration in such legislation are the 'old world ethnics'
--those who represent the languages of the great immigrations
of the turn of the century: Polish, Ukranian, Yiddish, Slo-
vak, Greek, and Italian, for example. Such people are eco-
nomically, culturally, and politically 'in the middle'.
Most are above the poverty level in income, but few are
really rich. They are woefully under-represented in Amer-
ican corporations. They are family-oriented and they tend
to remain, generation after generation, in the same neigh-
borhoods of cities and towns. There were, of course, no
bilingual programs for their parents and grandparents when
they first arrived and there was no real desire on the part
of nativistic Americans to understand them. What has hap-
pened to them is very much a part of the making of this
country. As linguists, psychologists, and sociologists, we

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would be amiss in not studying them carefully. What we
can learn from them will certainly help us in forecasting
the future for groups such as the Chicanos, many of whom
preserve their language and cultural patterns. The study
is not an easy one for many reasons. Not only are the
European ethnics losing the use of their original languages
but they are not visible politically. Moreover, many of
the scholarly investigators who would be involved are, them-
selves, from these groups. Thus, the study becomes a 'self-
study' to an extent that is potentially painful. It is
much easier to study someone else.

Perhaps the most significant aspect to investigate in
dealing with European ethnics is the effect that language
loss and code switching have had on personality structure.
The approach taken here is that of the psychological case
study. There are three subjects, two men and a woman, who
have been interviewed and interacted with over a period of
several years. Discussion of these cases will hopefully
open the door to longer, more detailed studies of Italian
Americans and their language competencies.

Case no. 1: Subject is a physician, middle aged and
male. Both parents were born in Italy. This subject
attended public schools in an eastern seaboard city heavily
populated with Italian Americans. His school years coin-
cided with that pre-Second World War period when the Ital-
ian government actively promoted the teaching of Italian
in America. Among the many incentives offered to both
teachers and students of Italian were scholarships to pur-
sue advanced language studies in Italy. The subject earned
the right to receive such a scholarship but was unable to
use it because of the outbreak of the war and the suppres-
sion of the program. He went on to study medicine and be-
came a highly successful physician. In later life, he has
actively engaged in social and civic activities centering
on Italian Americans as an ethnic group. He is regarded
as a 'prominent' Italian American.

When I met him, he was already highly successful in
his professional and social life. The occasion of our
first meeting was a banquet honoring a dignitary of the

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Italian government and he had been called upon to make the
introductions. He chose English as the language for the
major part of his speech but then attempted to end his re-
marks with a few words in Italian. When he got to the part
to be said in Italian, his style changed notably. He paused
and showed signs of being under great emotional stress. His
style of delivery of the Italian part is best characterized
as schoolboyish or 'recitational'--as if he were reading
aloud from an exercise book and expected to be corrected
at any time. In subsequent private conversations with me
he frequently expressed a desire to resume his Italian stud-
ies and to speak the language fluently. He has already taken
on more formal study in the language, has traveled to Italy
on many occasions and has older relatives who speak Italian
natively. Since he has professional colleagues who are na-
tive Italians he could, if he wished, use the language daily
with them. He does not, however. He does code-switch occa-
sionally, but only in informal situations. His switching
always involves English and American-Italian koine. He never
uses standard Italian in code-switching, to my knowledge.

Case no. 2: Subject is a social worker, middle aged,
and male. Both parents born in Italy. This subject did not
have the benefit of Italian instruction in public school. He
is the son of a coal miner and he spent his youth in an eco-
nomically depressed section of an eastern state. After high
school, he went to work as a miner, himself. At one point,
undetermined by me, he decided to attend college. Through
his college education, he became interested in politics and
sociology. After college and graduate school, he decided
to become a social worker in his home area, but not among
Italian Americans. For more than a decade, he worked with
poor blacks and developed a political reputation as a pro-
moter of liberal causes. His interest in social work even-
tually led him to concentrate on urban groups and to organ-
ize a center for urban social studies in a major American
city. As in the case of the first subject, he is highly
successful in his career. In fact, a recent issue of a
leading national weekly magazine listed him among the top
political figures in this country.

After meeting me and learning that I am a linguist who specializes in Italian studies, he professed a great desire to 'finally learn the language'. He told me that his father and mother spoke the language at home but neither he nor any of his brothers and sisters could speak it. They understand Italian but have no productive competence in it. As a follow-up to our conversation, he called me a few days later and asked me to recommend some Italian textbooks to him. I have met him frequently on subsequent occasions and have asked him about his progress in learning Italian. He tells me that he is very busy and just hasn't had the time to sit down and work at it. I suggested that what he needed was to use the language. He agreed but said there was little opportunity to do so. He has recently joined an informal study group comprised of professionals in several fields who are interested in exploring Italian American ethnicity and its impact on American society. He often speaks lovingly of his own childhood and the Italian homelife he had. I have never observed him code-switching. His pronunciation of Italian names and expressions is Anglicized and indistinguishable from that of any other English-speaking monolingual American.

Case no. 3: Subject is a high school English teacher, 26 years of age and female. Unlike the other two cases, this subject's parents were born in the United States. Her grandparents, on both sides, were born in Italy. She has never studied Italian formally and has no understanding of it, either receptively or productively, beyond a few expressions relating to food, kinship terms and holidays. She has studied other languages in school but claims a lack of aptitude for language study in general. In the first interview, I asked her about her Italian background. She emphatically denied having any ties with it either culturally or emotionally. When I asked if her Italian surname had ever led her to reflect on her background, she became openly hostile and challenged me to find anything in her that could be ascribed to Italian ethnicity. Next, I asked her if anybody had ever made any disparaging remarks to her which could be called ethnic. She then said that people have 'accused' her of talking with her hands. In addition, her family name has been the subject of ridicule

or misunderstanding on many occasions--to the extent that in
calling ahead to make reservations at a restaurant, she often
uses an Anglo-Saxon pseudonym instead of her real name.

Some months after the first interview she wrote to tell me
that she had taken a trip to Italy, her first, and was sur-
prised to find herself so much at home there. No one had any
difficulty with her name and no one ridiculed her style of con-
versation. On returning to the U. S., she abandoned the private
lessons she was taking in Spanish and began to study Italian.
Her new interest in her background has led her to remake her
social life considerably. She is now engaged to be married to
a native Italian.

Discussion of the Cases. There are many factors which a
study of these three cases can contribute to the understanding
of language retention among ethnic groups in the United States.
The prevailing contemporary tendency in bilingual studies has
been to focus on cognitive aspects of language code. By tra-
dition, the psychological interest has been to determine in
what ways the subject is competent in the two or more languages
involved. More recently, code-switching has been approached
from the point of view of what topics, interlocutors and set-
tings can motivate the switching from one language to another
by bilinguals. Unfortunately, the effects of language loss on
personality structure and life style have been neglected. In
each of the three cases cited, as distinct as they are, there
is a unifying thread. Each subject has had to face the question
of how to identify personally with an ethnic group and language.
Even in the third case described above, that of the young woman
with American-born parents, two stages of development can be
discerned: (1) an early one in which rejection of Italian
ethnicity is attempted and (2) a later one, in which ethnic
awareness becomes part of a personal maturation process. The
third subject's apparent lack of aptitude for language study was
overcome once she decided to face, head-on, her own ethnicity.
There is a clear manifestation here of the phenomenon where a
person can ultimately re-address the matter of national extrac-
tion once the ethnic 'marks' are either removed or reconciled.
The second generation types--subjects 1 and 2--have not been
able to do so. Case no. 1 continues to try but has built a

mental block to achieving success. It is as if he does not
want to succeed but needs to justify to himself that he has
tried. To succeed in becoming fluent in Italian may mean to
him a reverting to a period of his life which had various
social traumas: living in an Italian ethnic neighborhood dur-
ing the time the country was at war with Italy and having
thoughts of a time when his own future was insecure. To com-
pensate, he courts success in ethnic societies, clubs and
other social ways. The instruction he had in Italian appeared
to be divorced from any communicational value and most likely
was given in a stressful atmosphere. (Incidentally, one can
only conjecture as to how many cases involving economically
successful Chicanos enrolled in Spanish courses are similar to
this one).

Subject no. 2 has politicized his ethnicity but has been
unable to include the language that goes with it. Eventually
he may find a professional need to speak the language. If
he does, he may learn it well. As of now, his political acti-
vities encompass Italian Americans who speak English. He is
perhaps more reconciled to not gaining fluency in Italian. He
will probably continue to express regret that he 'has not had
the time' to learn the language and this part of his personal
identity will remain underdeveloped.

Americans of Italian extraction who have become success-
ful in the ways that other Americans become successful achieve
their goals by repressing major aspects of their ethnicity.
For Italians in the United States, repression means denying the
unifying force of the extended family, increasing one's mobility
beyond the home neighborhood, and developing eating and drink-
ing patterns which are more like the Anglo-American norm. The
effects of an insensitive school system have been, among other
things, the denial of gestures as legitimate accompaniment to
speech and the Americanization of names. Subjects 1 and 2
both had Americanized forms of their Italian names and Subject
no. 3 was highly defensive about her name.

The sanctions against the use of Italian in religious ser-
vices by prelates of the American Catholic Church also played
a significant part in the ethnic's difficulties with identity
of person. All three subjects had something to say about this

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matter. The first two attempted to maintain Italian language use in Church affairs by becoming more active Catholics while the third fell away from the Church completely.

All three subjects also spoke against American mass media and its characterization of Italians as criminals. Each felt that the stereotype of criminal played a part in his not wanting to be identified with Italian Americans at some stage in life.

To conclude, I reiterate my plea for more studies of a personal kind which explore the individual ethnic's personality development and the role played by language in that development. We have not yet touched upon the very significant changes that can happen in the course of a person's life because of the interface between ethnic and national language. One final illustration can be given of what can happen to an ethnic because of language from yet another case. A young woman who told me that both she and her brother grew up speaking Italian until one day, in a school yard, when her brother was 13, a man heard him speaking the language and made fun of him. Her brother never spoke the language again after that. Just what psychic damage was done to him can only be imagined.

PERSONAL REFLECTIONS ON

GROWING UP BILINGUAL

Einar Haugen

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PERSONAL REFLECTIONS ON

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Einar Haugen

When Professor Ornstein approached me about partici-
pating in this symposium on bilingualism, I objected on
the grounds that what I had to say is available in print,
and that nothing new could come out of my participation.
He then suggested that I might salt the meeting by some
personal reflections on my own experience, and I agreed to
make an effort in this direction.

When one has worked in a field for a number of years,
the time comes when younger people, who have used some of
one's materials, go out and gather more data and arrive at
new and better conclusions. That is as it should be, but
it does give one a sense of being left stranded in the
ocean of the past. My basic research is embodied in my
two-volume study The Norwegian Language in America: A
Study in Bilingual Behavior (1953, new edition 1969).
However linguistic theories may change, the data included
there are a permanent and now non-replicable source of
information about the transition of one American immigrant
group from one language to another, via a century or more
of bilingual living.

My goal was to see the experience of my own Norwegians
against a background of all other American immigrant
groups, something I tried to do in Bilingualism in the
Americas: A Bibliography and Research Guide (1956,
1964 etc). In the meanwhile I had been able to benefit
from the brilliant theoretical work of Uriel Weinreich
(1953), so that this study was more technically oriented
than my first. In 1974 I followed it up with a contribution
to Sebeok's Current Trends in Linguistics, surveying the
literature between 1956 and 1970 under the title

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"Bilingualism, Language Contact, and Immigrant Languages
in the United States." I was asked to collect some of my
older essays on the topic in a volume edited by Anwar Dil;
I called the book The Ecology of Language (1972) and
included one new essay, with the punning title "The
Stigmata of Bilingualism". In the last few years I have
participated in several symposia and have delivered sepa-
rate lectures on the subject, some of which have appeared
in print (I shall append a list of titles).

Today I shall say something about my own experience
of growing up as a bilingual, followed by some views on
bilingual education and ethnicity, with, finally, some
suggestions on needed directions of research.

My interest in bilingualism originated as an ex-
tremely personal concern. I was born in the state of Iowa
of Norwegian immigrant parents. My earliest recollections
are of the problems I encountered in keeping apart the
Norwegian I spoke at home with my parents and their friends
from the English I spoke on the street with my playmates
and at school with my classmates and teachers. It was an
urban and wholly American setting, with no immediately
surrounding neighborhood to support the language of my
parents, contrary to the situation of many rural communi-
ties of the Middle West and the Northwest.

However, thanks to my parents' adamant insistence on
my speaking their native tongue at home, the threshold of
the home became the cue to my code switch. As an only
child I lacked the support of siblings against the will of
the parents, which those of my playmates who were of foreign
origin mostly had. I know that in coming in from a lively
period of playing, I blundered many a time in violation of
Norwegian idiom. My parents showed considerable tolerance
in this respect, although my mother as the school teacher
she was trained to be, tried to keep up standards of
purity. For the most part my errors, or as I would now
call them, "interferences", were not noted and corrected,
since the Norwegian spoken by my parents in this setting had

itself converged considerably in the direction of English, especially by the adoption of English words and phrases.

For example, we never used any other word for a "broom" than the English word, pronounced as "brumm" in terms of Norwegian spelling. I can recall the amusement and momentary consternation it caused when a visitor from Norway used the term "kost". We never thought twice of saying that we were going to "krosse striten" when we meant to "cross the street." As travelers we might "putte sutkeisen på saidvåka" instead of "sette kofferten på fortauget", as our urban contemporaries in Norway would have done when they put their suitcase on the sidewalk. My parents may have made some efforts to avoid such terms in speaking to well educated or recent arrivals from Norway, but the words were so universal in the usage of the people with whom they mostly associated, that they no longer excited any remark, except in an occasional witticism. They were historically speaking "interferences", or even well-established "loans", and in our usage they were part of a new code, a partially merged language which I have called American Norwegian, an "interlanguage", if you will.

At the age of eight I had the experience of being taken back by my parents to the rural community in Norway from which they had sprung. In terms of the American city neighborhood where I had grown up, this was a fairly unusual experience. But my parents were at first genuinely hopeful that they could "go back home," only to be disillusioned after two and a half years, which coincided with the first years of World War I. In this interlude I had my first brush with dialect diglossia, or dilexia, as I have called it. Even though I could communicate with my new agemates, the children of the neighboring farms, my American Norwegian was not adequate. I quickly perceived that they used words that I did not know and forms that differed from those I had learned among the Norwegians of Sioux City. So I had to unlearn the "interlanguage" of my American environment, not only "relexify" it by replacing its English loans with Norwegian terms, but also

adopt a stricter grammatical form of the dialect itself,
one less influenced by the standard language.

The pressure for linguistic conformity was not over-
powering, but it expressed itself in the usual way, through
laughter and the unthinking cruelty of children to one
another. They sometimes asked me to talk English, so they
could hear what it sounded like, long before the subject
had been introduced into the schools. But I refused from
sheer fear of ridicule. In two years I hardly used English
at all, except in monologues while playing by myself, and
on our return I had acquired a noticeable Norwegian accent
in my English. So once more I went through the process
of overcoming deviations in the language and bringing my
English back to midwestern standards.

Once these problems were overcome, I had in fact
internalized two codes for production, and several varie-
ties for reception. One code was a relatively pure Norwe-
gian dialect, the other a relatively pure American dialect.
I say "relatively" only because the term "pure" implies
a perfection which I would be far from claiming: I should
perhaps have used a more technical term, e.g. natively
acceptable. They were constantly reinforced by opportuni-
ties for use with native speakers. Among my parents'
friends, and in the family particularly my father, I could
count on the opportunity to show off my new Norwegian
dialect. And of course, my English was quickly reestab-
lished to the level of my agemates in the grammar school.

From my eleventh year forward life proceeded along
two entirely different tracks: on the one hand home and
family, with their friends and fellows in the Norwegian
Lutheran Church to which we belonged and in which we were
very active; on the other hand the American public school
and the friends I made there, along with such activities
as scouting, which I shared with them. For my Norwegian
this meant that my parents were pursuing their goal of
making me able to use standard Norwegian, i.e. the literary
language, technically the Dano-Norwegian which has become
the modern "Book Language" (bokmål) of Norway. In school

I was of course given no support or encouragement for my
"foreign" language; on the contrary, my mastery of it was
neglected and if anything discouraged, at least until I
got into high school. But I can truthfully say that it
did not hold me back in my acquisition of standard written
and spoken English; I recall occasional "interferences"
in my written essays, as when I wrote "on Iceland" instead
of "in Iceland", or in speech with hard words, as when I
pronounced horizon as < hor'izon >. But this was no worse
than the illiteracies of most of my agemates, whose
scholastic inadequacies could not be accounted for by any
"foreign" background. On the contrary, I took to English
language and literature, and even grammar, with the
greatest avidity because of the realization of the
possibilities of language that my Norwegian experience had
given me.

By the time of the generally accepted crucial thres-
hold of puberty I had in effect acquired five codes: a
high and a low register of American English, the literate
and the vulgate; a local Norwegian dialect in two varie-
ties, the native and the Americanized contact dialect; and
an approximation to standard Norwegian in speech and
writing. It is hard to say at this point to what extent
each of these codes was productive or receptive: suffice
it to say that I was clearly conscious of their existence
and the problem of keeping them apart.

My reason for recounting this personal background is
to illustrate the correlation between one's learning and
one's social experience of group living. American English
grew out of my experiences with my playmates and my
teachers in an urban American setting, dialect Norwegian
with my immigrant parents and my Norwegian playmates, and
standard Norwegian with my parents as representatives of
the community of cultivated Norwegians in America. In
each of these settings I found satisfaction in performing
functions which gave me acceptance and praise. Somewhere
in this experience lies the key to the worries many people
have about making their children bilingual. No harm can

result if the contexts are satisfying and supportive,
in which case the problems of integrating two cultures
and two languages are not overwhelming to the child.
Satisfactions can result which, at least in my case, have
never been equaled by the various languages I have later
learned in school.

But of course there were problems. How could one
be both a Norwegian and an American and identify with both
countries? How could one be both a dialect and a standard
speaker, identifying with a rural as well as an urban
environment? Linguistically, it involved a constant
battle with interference, a struggle to achieve the norms
of each social group. One remembers mostly the defeats,
the occasional lapses that tickled the funny bones of one's
listeners: when I tried to explain the difference between
"soft" and "hard" water and made up a Norwegian word for
"hard water" that turned out to be identical with the word
for "hair tonic" (hårvann). Or the time in Norway, when
as a Cultural Officer for the American Embassy, I argued
with a Norwegian committee that a certain person should
"sit on" the committee, when the correct Norwegian requires
the preposition "in": "on" made it sound as if he would
weigh it down with his physical presence. These are
problems, but the rewards outweighed them: they came
when Norwegians unthinkingly accepted me as a countryman.

Having put in so much effort in learning these various
codes, I was naturally drawn to the profession of language
teaching, to linguistics, and eventually to the specific
study of bilingualism. Many had written before me about
this problem, especially in Europe, but the delineation
of it as a field of study was novel when I did my research.
The problems and rewards I have sketched from my personal
biography proved to have been shared by many millions of
people around the world. The problems were not peculiar
either to me or to my group, but were those of many if not
most societies. There was nearly always a conflict of
interest between members of different language communities.
Bilingualism was ultimately a political and social problem,

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made manifest in the minds and hearts of the individuals
who constituted these communities.

In thinking about this problem, one should try to
keep the individual and the social aspects distinct. For
the individual one can draw a two-dimensional diagram: on
one parameter the various degrees of skill, from zero to
native command, and on the other the language distance,
from virtual identity to maximum difference. Both
dimensions offer vast problems of definition and research,
but they give us some kind of a model to keep in mind:

	DISTANCE				
	Identity	Dialect	Cognate	Remote	Exotic

```
                 DISTANCE

        Identity  Dialect  Cognate  Remote  Exotic

SKILL                            |
Native 100                       |

Productive                       |
       50————————————————————————|————————————————
Receptive                        |

Zero                             |
     ——————————————————————————————————————————————
        0                       50              100
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On these two scales, the difficulties rise as we
move from zero to 100. By "cognate" distance I am thinking
of the relation between, say, English and German, or English
and French, both of which are made easier to learn by the
presence of large numbers of cognates (in spite of the
minor problems caused by "faux amis"). By "remote" distance
I am thinking of English and Russian, which being techni-
cally cognate, have not only many cognates, but also some
considerable similarity of structure. By "exotic" I am
thinking of English in relation, say, to Chinese or Japan-
ese. I found, for example, that six weeks of intensive
study of Romanian enabled me to read Romanian newspapers;
six weeks of Chinese did not have the same effect, alas.

As for skills, there are as many ways of defining these
as there are students of the subject: but I think we can
agree that one can be fluent and productive in a language
without native competence. In distinguishing productive
and receptive, one must of course take into account the
difference between writing and speech: my experience with
French has been such that I can receive writing without
difficulty, but speech is virtually incomprehensible. With
Italian my experience is quite different: its spoken form
is easier to follow than its writing.

The social pressures that are exerted on the bilingual
are of quite a different order. Here it becomes a question
of the power relations between groups. Switzerland illus-
trates a type of bilingualism which might be called "hori-
zontal", because there is no domination of one group over
another: the federalism and the loose-jointed relation of
the cantons makes each one a monolingual unit, and multi-
lingualism becomes a problem only at the official, legis-
lative level. (There is an exception in one canton, and
this one may split as a result). Although Switzerland
is the multilingual country par excellence, most people
are probably monolingual (at best diglossic).

The other, and more explosive situation, is the one that
we may call "vertical" bilingualism, because one language
group dominates the other by occupying a social position "above"
it, i.e. in terms of access to power and the benefits that flow
from such access. Recent studies of minority problems have
brought into focus the differing attitudes of the dominant and
dominated populations to such situations. Again we can speak of
two axes, horizontal and vertical:

```
                        Dominant
                           |
Equal ─────────────────────┼───────────────────── Equal
                           |
                        Dominated
```
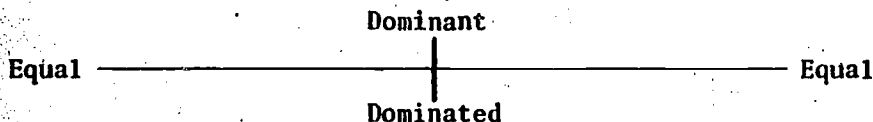
As social planners we would like to encourage develop-
ments that would bring the dominant and the dominated closer

together on a plane of equality. We would like to swing the
perpendicular axis down so that it approximated more closely
the horizontal one. In a way, this is what the Canadians
are trying to do, as Professor McRae has so ably pointed out.

These rapidly sketched diagrams are suggestive of some
of the problems that merit research. I will group these
under the headings of "the community," "the methods," "the
materials," and "the results." You note that I am giving
priority to the community.

The problem of the community is that of creating an
atmosphere favorable to bilingual education both in the
dominant and the dominated population. In our Southwest
this means the Anglo and the Hispanic communities, respec-
tively. In Canada this means the English and the French
communities. It is exciting to read and hear about the im-
mersion programs for English-speaking children in French
language and culture, especially as reported by Wallace
Lambert, e.g. in a recent issue of the Canadian Modern
Language Review (1974). The results prove without a doubt
that when social attitudes are favorable, as I have been
contending in this lecture, children have no serious problems
in mastering two languages. One sentence in Lambert's
account struck me with special force: "Priority for early
schooling should be given to the language or languages
least likely to be developed otherwise." This is equivalent
to saying: the language of the dominated group. In
Canada this means French: English-speaking children who are
sent to French-speaking immersion programs suffer no serious
loss in English and gain the bonus of becoming fluent in
French. But note the catch in terms of our distinction
between horizontal and vertical bilingualism: these
programs immerse speakers of the dominant language in the
language of the dominated. When children of Hispanic
families in our southwest come to an English-speaking school,
they, too, are being immersed. But their home language
suffers because it is non-dominant in the community at
large. The situations are not parallel: the school merely
reinforces the community norms, instead of rectifying the

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injustice to the dominated gorup. What we need is immersion
programs in Spanish for American children!

If we look to methods for convincing those who oppose
such programs, we have to show them that they are beneficial
and in no way harmful to the children. We have to prove to
them that it is not un-American, unpatriotic, but that it
makes America a better and happier place to live. We have
to insist that this problem is one of social ecology, keeping
alive the variety and fascination of our country, heading
off the trend towards steamrollering everything and everyone
into a single, flat uniformity. We need discussion and
research on the PR problem that is here involved.

It seems to me that once we are agreed on the methods
for reversing the older American trend, the materials are
the next problem. We need more abundant materials at every
level of education. Immersion calls for something more
than just sampling a language for a few hours a week.
Immersion requires living and thinking, even loving and
feeling in the new language. Rote learning is not what is
called for, but the kind of constant practice that enables
one to learn to swim. As long as one still thinks one is
liable to sink, one has not learned to swim. For the pro-
spective bilingual, swimming in the new language means
providing him with the opportunity and the ability to
communicate successfully with his own as well as the other
group. It is good to see that recent years have seen a
new trend in this direction. I remember only too well the
restraints placed on the use and teaching of non-English
languages during and after World War I: this was the era
of the melting-pot hysteria.

Now that laws for bilingual education have been
passed by Congress and by the legislatures of many states,
including my own state of Massachusetts, this is a remark-
able, one may even say an astonishing reversal. Many
ethnic groups that have been passing into oblivion have
awakened to their heritage and are making determined
efforts to keep alive something of what their ancestors

brought with them to this country. The opportunity is
there, and it has even been taken into account by such
groups of older immigrants as the Germans and the Scandi-
navians. In the State of Wisconsin an ethnic museum is
being built, in which it is planned to have farm buildings
to represent each of the nationalities that have made up
the population of that state. We need more of this kind
of thing, and we need to include the component of language.

Finally, what can we hope for as results from bilin-
gual teaching? Of course we must make sure that the
weaker group gets an education that is equal in value to
that of the stronger. I note in Lambert's article on the
immersion programs of Canada that all the problems I
mentioned earlier from my own struggles with Norwegian
appear in the results of tests given to the participants.
They have created what Lambert calls a kind of "immersion
class French," an interlanguage in which they can produce
literal calques on English, such as *Qu'est-ce que c'est*
pour?" for "What's that for?"

But why should we take such lapses too seriously?
If it's wrong, the chances are that they still will be
understood among French speakers who generally know a good
deal of English and themselves create similar gaffes. If
not, it will be ironed out when the two populations have
learned to speak to one another, just as most of my un-
Norwegian idioms were counteracted by social experience.
The interlanguages of daily life, of the market place, may
be exactly what we want them to learn, not necessarily
the language of Racine or Shakespeare. The results on
test scores are not invariably the ultimate proof of the
success of a bilingual program. That will be found in a
livelier, more vigorous group life, in reduced discrimin-
ation, in a richer experience, and, we hope, a more open
society than the one we have.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

An informal and largely extempore talke like the above
requires few references beyond those listed in the text.
Weinreich (1953) is his Languages in Contact; detailed
information on places and publishers of this and other books
mentioned can be found in my contribution to volume 10 of
Current Trends in Linguistics, pp. 505-591. The article
by Wallace E. Lambert is "A Canadian Experiment in the
Development of Bilingual Competence", pp. 108-116,
vol. 31 of the CMLR. Some of my own articles published
since The Ecology of Language (1972) are: "The Curse of
Babel" (Daedalus 1973), "Bilingualism as a Social and
Personal Problem" (Active Methods and Modern Aids in the
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London); "Norm and Deviation in Bilingual Communities"
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PART FOUR:

CHALLENGING TASKS FOR THE PRESENT AND FUTURE

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NEW RESEARCH GOALS:

NEEDS IN PARALANGUAGE AND KINESICS

Walburga von Raffler-Engel

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NEW RESEARCH GOALS: NEEDS IN
PARALANGUAGE AND KINESICS
Walburga von Raffler-Engel

Having been asked to talk about paralinguistics and kinesics
in the bilingual context, I thought first of all to delimitate
the area I would be able to cover within the allotted time of
45 minutes.

I should like to begin by defining the two concepts of para-
linguistics and of kinesics. I shall try, then, to establish
the relationship of these two aspects of communicative behavior.
Subsequently, I shall attempt to correlate paralinguistics and
kinesics with verbal language, analysing the relationship of each
of these two aspects as it relates to verbalization. Eventually,
I shall establish a larger entity consisting of the combination
of paralinguistics and kinesics and warranting the broader term
of non-verbal behavior.

It remains to be studied to what extent and in what manner
such an entity operates within the conversational interaction.
The unit of analysis within the conversational interaction will
be the unit of communication (von Raffler-Engel 1974a). When
I first coined this term in 1972, I intended for it to include
the pertinent components of paralinguistics (inclusive of the
ethnography of speaking) and that part of verbalization which
has subsequently been defined as the speech act by Dell Hymes
(1962, 1974). The unit of communication was also meant to in-
clude body movement. This kinesic component corresponds to
Elman's non-verbal act (Ekman and Friesen 1972). In kinesics
my approach follows essentially the theory and terminology out-
lined by Ekman and based on the work pioneered by Efron (1972)
over thirty years ago.

It is the purpose of this paper to view each of the above
mentioned aspects of communicative behavior, their inter-rela-
tionship and the whole act of communication in the light of the
research needs of our pluralistic society. The concept of the
melting pot has proved to be a sham. We are no longer attempting
to reduce all ethnic groups to match one single model but--at

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least in theory--we accept all ethnic groups with equal dig-
nity and respect. The first step in this direction, in my
opinion, is fostering a clearer knowledge of each other to
avoid misunderstandings.

We know something about the phonological and grammatical
make-up of the languages and dialects spoken by the various
groups which make up this country. We know very little about
the ethnography of speaking, the rules which govern the
structuring of discourse and the diverse presuppositions
which underlie what we say. And we know next to nothing
about kinesics, the gestures and other body movements which
accompany conversational interaction. We also have an ex-
tremely limited knowledge of paralanguage, the sounds which
are uttered during speech but are not part of the regular
lexicon.

I shall try to view each of these basic components of
communicative interaction, their interrelationships, and
ultimately their combination in the unit of communication,
in the bilingual context. First of all, they should be
studied within the culture of the monolingual societies
where the languages or dialects are spoken primarily,
wherever such societies exist. For Black English, to cite
one example, we do not find a society which is truly mono-
dialectal. I, for one, have never met an adult individual
whose primary language was Black English and who did not
have a good receptive knowledge and at least a passable
productive competence in Standard American English. Even
where monolingual societies do exist, the additional study
of non-verbal behavior within societal bilingualism is in
order.

It is necessary also to distinguish between group bi-
lingualism and individual bilingualism. The problem should
also be approached within bilingual societies (and individ-
uals) that are mono-cultural and those that are pluri-
cultural. To do justice to research on paralinguistics
and kinesics in the United States would require large teams
of researchers and many years of intensive work.

Even if this were financially possible--which I doubt it
is, at present--there are not enough people available who have
any training at all in this type of research. There are not.
even enough people around who would be sufficiently competent
to provide adequate training for new researchers. We have an
oversupply of-young scholars who can draw imaginary trees for
the analysis of written language and it is not certain that
these young scholars could be retrained in the complexities of
analysing real spoken language as such background was totally
lacking from their previous schooling. I personally would favor
training anthropologists and sociologists in the proposed type
of linguistic research because a considerable part of the back-
ground of these young scholars is highly applicable to work in the
sociology of language and in sociolinguistics. Their attitude
towards these subjects has also not been warped by the absurd
dichotomy between competence and performance and a haughty dis-
dain for empirical verification.

The term paralinguistics has become part of the common ling-
uistic terminology only recently. It was not listed in the first
glossary ever compiled primarily from a synchronic viewpoint,
Mario Pei's classic of 1954 (Pei and Saynor, 1954). It also was
not listed in 1966 when Hamp compiled his Glossary of American
Technical Linguistic Usage 1925-1950. The latest glossary which
does not carry an entry for paralinguistics is the one prepared
by MacLeish in 1971.

.The first separate heading for paralinguistics appeared in
Pei's revised edition in 1966, and such separate headings can
be found in Meetham and Hudson (1969) and Hartmann and Stork
(1972).

'Nash's Multilingual Lexicon of 1968 carries paralanguage
giving its French equivalent as paralangue. The French glos-
saries (Martinet 1969, Ducrot-Todorov 1972, Larousse 1973),
however, do not carry any such entry.

The French glossaries preserve the older term metalinguis-
tique, metalinguistics, which besides its well known meaning from
logic of "language about language", covered also the meaning of
what is now more generally considered under the separate term of
paralinguistics.

The Encyclopedia of Linguistics, Information and Control (Meetham and Hudson 1969, 685) limits paralinguistics to the phonological features excluding from it sociolinguistic features that obtain on other levels of linguistic analysis:

> PARALINGUISTICS: A complete *phonetic representation* of an *utterance* would show some features which are relatable to *segmental phonemes*, and other which are not. Of the latter, some are peculiar to the speaker--his *voice quality*--while others are conventional, in the sense that they occur in the speech of all members of the same *language community*, and are used by all according to approximately the same rules. Of these 'conventional' features, some will be used according to rules which can be seen as relatively well integrated parts of the *language system*--notably features realizing the *phonological* categories of *accent, rhythm, tone, intonation*--while others cannot; these are the *Paralinguistic features* of the utterance, and the study of them is called *paralinguistics*. They include features such as tremulous voice, clicks of annoyance, etc.

Nowhere is there a clear definition of what constitutes paralinguistics. The author of the first book which deals primarily with a survey of this subject, Mary Ritchie Key (1975, II) concludes that the term is quite "nebulous" and "hardly any two authors use the term paralanguage with the same parameters."

The oldest dictionary of linguistic terminology was compiled by Marouzeau (1961) in France in 1951. Neither the original nor any subsequent reprint contain the word meta-

linguistics, not to mention paralinguistics.

The above will give a general idea of the extent of the use of the term paralinguistics. A list of all available diction- aries of linguistic terminology in English, French, German, Span- ish, Italian, and Russian up to 1969 is made available in the introductory pages of G.R. Cardona's glossary of general ling- uistics written in Italian (Cordona 1969).

The concept of paralinguistics is older than its term. Subsumed under the term metalinguistics as one of its aspects, it was first defined by George L. Trager (1951, 49, 7): "The full statement of the point-by-point and pattern-by-pattern re- lation between the language and any of the other cultural sys- tems will contain all the 'meaning' of the linguistic form, and will constitute the metalinguistics of that culture".

In his presidential address to the Linguistic Society of America in 1950, Einar Haugen (1951) suggested that Trager adopt the term socio-linguistics. At that time the term did not prevail. Only later did it spread in its well known present-day meaning. It was then spelled with a hyphen while it is now more commonly written in one word.

At some time the term exolinguistics was proposed to sepa- rate the above meaning from the general context of metalinguis- tics but this term did not enter general usage on any lasting scale. Eventually, the term paralinguistics emerged and became standard. It was coined a generation ago by A.A. Hill (Key, 1975, III) who was at that time secretary of the Linguistic Society of America. The term paralanguage was first used in publication in 1954 by William Welmers (1954) and introduced to linguistics four years later by George Trager (1958) in a famous article of that name (Key, 10).

Trager's focus on a patterned relationship between language and culture derives from the philosophy of language pioneered by Humboldt (1970) in the early eighteen-hundreds and outlined by Bühler (1934) at the beginning of this century.

An approach which considers speech programming (the process of translating thought into spoken language) imbedded in the speaker's culture and speech perception (the process of under- standing spoken language) equally conditioned by the hearer's

culture is at the very antithesis of the transformational-
generative paradigm. During the sixties, while this par-
ticular school of linguistics dominated American academe,
many linguists neglected the study of paralinguistics and
their students barely heard mention of paralanguage and
sociolinguistics. Now that this unfortunate parenthesis in
linguistic research has come to an end, linguists feel free
again to turn to the social factors of communication.

The whole area of language-and-culture, formerly termed
ethnolinguistics is now generally called sociolinguistics.
After almost two decades of limbo, the study of language in
its social and cultural context is now practiced with re-
newed vigor. Followers of the transformational-generative
school are constantly joining the ranks of their former
antagonists by becoming sociolinguistics themselves, while
in effect rejecting their previous theoretical foundations.
Many contemporary linguists avoid admission of this fact by
ignoring the work of those linguists who never joined the
transformation school and claiming new discoveries by simply
relabelling the concepts of anthropological linguistics
which earlier they had declared obsolete and superseded by
new theories.

In anthropological linguistics, language is not, auto-
nomous of culture and the study of human communication is
not complete without the inclusion of extra-grammatical
features. Some of these features are vocal and some are
movements of the body. Sometimes there is an almost arbi-
trary choice between a grammatical sentence or an extra-
grammatical device. Frequently linguistic behavior, para-
linguistic behavior, body language, and kinesics are redun-
dant. A person may reach a pause in speaking while at the
same time suspending any gestural movements. A halt in body
motion was termed kinesic freeze by Key (1975, 117).

Turn-taking is investigated by Starkey Duncan (1973)
who also studies the back channel signals by which the hearer
notifies the speaker of his reaction to what is said and
eventually of his desire to take his turn in speaking. The
term back channel is a creation of Victor Yngve's (1970).

A back channel signal of assertion, to give an example, may
be a humming sound, or it may be a nod of the head, or both at
the same time. I may add that the same concept could as well be
expressed vocally by "hm" or verbally by saying "indeed" or even
a long sentence. Many types of human communication may be
equally well conveyed by verbal language, by extra-speech sounds,
or by body motions, or any combination thereof.

Extra-speech sounds are vocal articulations which do not
constitute regular speech sounds in the language or languages of
a particular conversational interaction. These sounds customar-
ily are defined as vocal-non-verbal. Not all vocal-non-verbal
sounds are outside the regular speech repertoire even though
they are sometimes made up of phonemes which are not otherwise
part of that language. The hesitation sound in English is gen-
erally uh and the sound which expresses a feeling of cold is bw.

The rubric of vocal-non-verbal includes also changes in
pitch which do not represent obligatory contours of sentence in-
tonation but are related to emotional states. It also includes
stress for emphasis.

Silence is not necessarily non-language. A long silence
before starting a conversation conveys a significant message.
Speech related silence falls within the category of pause. There
are pauses before an utterance, after an utterance, and between
utterances. Pauses may be silent, or there may be filled pauses.
Hesitation sounds are a type of filled pause. A classic example
is the Japanese giggle which denotes embarrassment. The ratio
of pauses to spoken utterances is called phonation ratio.

The rate of speech production measured in absolute time,
usually by number of syllables each second, is called speech
tempo (von Raffler-Engel 1953).

Chronemics is a term coined by Fernando Poyatos (1972) for
the time of silence which elapses between questions and answers
as well as for the amount of actual speaking time allotted to
each individual conversant.

Although the volume of loudness within a conversation is
dictated by cultural and social norms (von Raffler-Engel 1953),
there is also a certain degree of loudness--or softness for that
matter--which may be idiosyncratic, or due to one of the conver-
sants being hard-of-hearing, or to a desire for secrecy.

Although these two attributes of speech volume are of very
diverse origin, they are generally both classified within
the category of vocal non-verbal.

Also voice qualifiers, the physical quality of an indi-
vidual voice which distinguishes it from anybody else's
voice, are classified as paralinguistic.

Tone-of-voice is not necessarily an individual matter.
Whispering, or speaking in falsetto, in many cultures, is
conditioned by rules of conversational interaction. Markel
(Markel, Bein and Phillis 1973b) has shown a narrative
relationship between voice and content. A content of vary-
ing degrees of anger, for example, is consistently expressed
in a certain tone-of-voice. It would be interesting to see
if certain voice qualities are universal for corresponding
emotional states. I know of no cross-culture experiment
to test this.

There are extensive cultural differences which deter-
mine when laughter is appropriate and ethnic and social
groups differ greatly in the physical manifestation of
laughter itself, with reference, for example, to the degree
of mouth opening.

As I have consistently stated in my work on body move-
ments, not all non-verbal expression can be classified as
message-related. Some body motions, such as scratching
one's head, may be due to other causes. In that instance,
for example, the cause may be a physical itch due to an
insect bite. One could, of course, be so intensely
absorbed in listening to a speaker that one no longer is
aware of any bodily feelings. These extreme cases are rare
and can not easily be included in a general treatise, such
as the one presented in this paper.

Coughing as a paralinguistic phenomenon is similar to
laughter. Ostwald (1973) created the term non-verbal
acoustic signs for message related non-verbal vocal mani-
festations (Key 1975, 10). He warns that one should not
"consider all aspects of vocal non-verbal expressions as
being in the category of signs. For example, a cough may
be an acoustic sign calling attention to a person, say who
is sitting quietly in the audience during a lecture. But

a pattern of repeated coughing on the part of that same person
or some other persons, could have additional meaning as well.
For example, the individual producing the 'sign' might also be
trying to 'express' a feeling e.g. of excitement, boredom,
anger, etc. Or the coughing might have little to do with social
communication and reflect instead an allergic or infectious
response of the soundmaker." (Ostwald, 1975)

Much work is still needed to gain greater understanding of
paralanguage; as language has homophones and polysemies so does
paralanguage.

Discourse rules may also come under the heading of para-
linguistics. In Japan, academic lecturers politely start with
a disclaimer about their competence, while in the United States
a joke is in order (Kunihiro 1975). In English, disclaimers
are used in other contexts. One of many types of disclaimers,
for example, is the credentialing disclaimer: "I am not preju-
diced, but..." (Hewitt and Stokes 1975).

Rules such as the above, in my opinion, are more properly
classified within the domain of the ethnography of speaking.
This area includes all matters pertaining to the general organ-
ization of verbal expression and communicative exchange.
Essentially, it encompasses a variety of sociolinguistic rules.
This research owes it name and its official status as an inde-
pendent field of inquiry to an article of 1962 by Dell Hymes.
Hymes further crystallized his findings into a theoretical frame-
work in a book of 1974. The sociology of language with regard to
bilingualism and multiculturalism owes it greatest debt to
Joshua Fishman (1966). The pioneer in linguistic research within
inter-ethnic relations is Jacob Ornstein. A most recent book
edited by Peng (1975a) deals with this subject in Japanese
Society.

In 1953 Einar Haugen published the first extensive study
of an immigrant language in the United States, The Norwegian
Language in America. The subtitle of this book, A Study in
Bilingual Behavior, was truly remarkable. Besides the ling-
uistic analysis, the author presents a wealth of sociolinguistic
information and, without using that term, gives many details
in the ethnography of speaking. The idea that speech style

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(later termed register) is situationally determined was
systematically explored for the first time by Martin Joos
(1961).

Under the rubric of the ethnography of speaking I would
also classify the choice of register, the type of style
appropriate to a certain situation, a certain context, or
inter-personal relationship, depending on age, sex, social
status, and other factors which the culture considers rele-
vant to conversational behavior.

Stylistic devices vary greatly from one group to another.
In storytelling white children describe their characters by
the use of adjectives while Black children provide the same
information by having their characters talk in a manner
through which they describe themselves (von Raffler-Engel
and Sigelman 1971).

In addition to stylistic differences in the choice of
descriptive devices such as the above, each culture has its
own peculiar narrative and conversation styles. The Black
community is especially rich in the typology of conversation
styles (Kernan 1971).

The rules for dominance vary among different groups
and along the time spectrum. Traditionally, in a dialogue
between father and son, the father is the dominant partner.
This rule is still observed within most societies but in
our present age it appears that adherence is stricter within
groups of recent immigrants than among middle class Americans
whose immigrant origin dates of some centuries ago.

One might also consider attitudinal surveys. Certain
dialects are considered inferior, as "bad," even by their
own speakers. An important category are taboo words. What
is taboo in one culture is perfectly acceptable in another.

To conclude, conversational behavior could be subdivided
into four levels, the linguistic level proper, or verbal
level, the paralinguistic level, and the level of the ethno-
graphy of speaking. The fourth level is the level of kin-
esics, the body movements which accompany the speech act.
No linguistic analysis is complete if it leaves out any one
of these levels (von Raffler-Engel 1972).

Some authors include in paralinguistics the body motions
which occur during the speech act. For these scholars, bodily
movements such as social mannerisms, gestures, posture, facial
mimicry, and eye movement are subsumed under the heading of
kinesics, a term coined by Ray Birdwhistell in 1952. Current
trends, however, seem to favor a separation of all the attri-
butes that make up paralanguage, and which have been listed above
from any bodily motion not directly connected with the physical
forms of speech articulation in the mouth. I too am of the
opinion that kinesics, rather than a subdivision of paralinguis-
tics should be considered a parallel branch within the realm of
communicative behavior.

The study of body language is very popular nowadays. The
term body language was first used by Weston La Barre in 1947.
Any movement of the body such as crossing one's leg when seated,
or scratching one's head, tells something about the individual
to the psychiatrist. In this writer's opinion (von Raffler-Engel
1975a) body language is not as the same as kinesics. Only
speech-related body movement would be classified as kinesic.
Stiffening one's posture to insure the formality of a speech
situation conveys a message to the hearer while putting the
right foot slightly more forward than the left foot when the
feet touch the floor while one is sitting in the chair conveys
no information on purpose. For this writer, only the former
would qualify as kinesic. The latter non-discoursive body mo-
tion would be considered part of general body language.

It is, of course, impossible to draw a clear line of de-
marcation between body movements that are truly kinesic and those
that are not. Sometimes it is also not quite easy to disting-
uish between speech accompanying gestures and descriptive
gestures such as the twirling of a finger or the hand when talk-
ing of a spiral staircase. The meaning of a statement like
"over there" is clarified only through the deictic gesture of
pointing in a certain direction. Human communication, like all
forms of human behavior, is not amenable to clear-cut divisions.
The process of communication is not a well-defined system.
Chomsky's assumption that verbal language is a well-defined
system was one of the basic fallacies underlying his theory of
linguistics (Hockett 1968).

What is a non-speech-related body movement in one cul-
ture may be kinesic in another culture. Some kinesic gestures
are universal while others are semiotic. The latter are
culture-bound and/or language-specific and it is therefore
not possible to interpret them correctly unless one has pre-
viously acquired knowledge of their meaning in a manner
similar to learning a language. The dialects of Southern
Italy are especially ri..h in semiotic gestures.

Depending on the purpose of one's research, gestures can
be classified together by the body part, or parts, involved
(e.g. hand movements) or by the meaning they represent
(e.g. manifestation c contempt).

Proxemics is a .a coined by Edward Hall (1966) who
pioneered the study of the physical distance which is measur-
able between the conversational partners. What is considered
the normal distance between Latin people is considered an
invasion of privacy among Anglo-Saxons (Hall 1959).

In some cultures men touch each other in conversation
while such behavior is considered highly improper, if not
downright repellent, in others. Key (1975, 102) reports
the term haptics for tactile communication.

Mary Ritchie Key (1975) has prepared a whole book on
the cross-culture differences in paralinguistic and kinesic
behavior, some truly startling. It is my opinion that a
comprehensive survey of the forms of communicative behavior
within the United States would be at least as important as
the preparation of a dialect atlas.

White teachers expect grade school children to establish
eye contact when they talk to them and consider a child
who fails to do so disrespectful. This is very confusing
to the Black child for whom avoiding eye contact is a sign
of respect toward a teacher.

Kinesic differences among the sexes need to be explored
from both a biological and a cultural perspective.

The study of the gradual acquisition of kinesics by the
child is only very recent (von Raffler-Engel 1974b) and has
been termed Developmental Kinesics by this writer (von
Raffler-Engel 1975c).

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The development of kinesics exhibits the delicate inter-
play of the child's maturational curve and his gradual acquis-
ition of the social rules which govern body movement within
his culture. Japanese children gesticulate very freely when
they are little (von Raffler-Engel 1975d, Peng 1975b), but will
eventually suppress many of these gestures as they grow up.
Italian children need to learn less self control in their body
movements but will have to acquire a great many specific forms
of semiotic gestures.

In reference to child development, a formulation of the
basic problems in the acquisition of kinesics (excluding
purely instinctive gestures from that field of study) involves
the following, quite in paralleling the acquisition of verbal
language:

(1) The use of gestural means for communication is
universal and innate. It remains to see if it is species-
specific to man. It is possible that in man the kinetic
use of specific parts of the human body (such as the head,
the trunk, the hands, etc.)corresponds to the three main
divisions of Osgood's semantic differential.

(2) The amount and expanse of kinetic movement may
be hereditary by race. In most instances the same is rein-
forced by culture.

(3) The specific direction of each kinetic movement
is culture-bound and transmitted through learning. The
learning process takes place by imitation and through teach-
ing. The proportion of these two means varies by culture
and by SEC group.

The above three points can be illustrated by an example.

(1) All peoples count with the help of their fingers.
Right handed persons count on their right hand and left
handed individuals make use of their left hand. This
distinction holds true in most cases I have observed, but
it is complicated by the fact that some persons use both
hands, touching the outstretched fingers with the index
of the other hand.

    (2) The speed of the movement of the fingers and
the posible involvement of the lower part of the hand
in some kind of motion seems to differ among racial
groups. My observations on wrist movement in counting
are not conclusive.
    (3) Some cultures start counting by stretching
out the index while others begin with the thumb. It
is most confusing to Europeans when Americans indicate
number two by means of the index and the middle fin-
ger. Because they expect to see the thumb and the
index finger for the number two, they sometimes inter-
pret this sign as the number three.

    Given that kinesics and language can be viewed as essen-
tially similar in what is innate and what is acquired in
each of these divisions of human communicative behavior, the
next question arising is of how they interact during the
developmental stages (von Raffler-Engel 1975a).
    Research by this writer (von Raffler-Engel 1975c) shows
that kinesic development is completed at about the same
time that linguistic maturation is attained. The parallelism
of the kinesic and the spoken mode of communication is also
apparent on the intra-personal level. In addition to cul-
tural diversity, there are individual differences in communi-
cative behavior, like in any other form of human behavior.
In filming the conversational behavior of bilingual teenagers
(von Raffler-Engel 1974b) I observed the following: Two
siblings, both equally fluent in French, their parental
language, and English, the language of their broader environ-
ment, show striking personality differences in their kinesic
behavior. Both siblings speak either language without
any trace of foreign accent.
    One sibling, a thirteen year old girl, gives the impres-
sion of being family-oriented. Her body movements are
remarkably similar to those of her mother. When speaking
French she exhibits little or no lexical interference from
English.

The other sibling, a twelve year old boy, is outgoing and
appears to be very much peer-oriented. Occasionally his French
shows of English lexicon, and his kinesic behavior, although
basically French in his gestural system, shows evidence of a
strong American influence in his posture.
From the parallelism in the developmental maturation of
verbalization and kinesics, and from the intra-personal parallel-
ism of the two communicative modalities the conclusion may be
drawn that communicative behavior is not only multi-channel but
that the channels are finely coordinated. The coordination
holds not only in regard to the speech act (which is ephe-
meral), or to a brief ego-state; but a permanent co-variance
obtains between verbalization and kinesics in relation to the
individual and his distinct personality traits. It becomes
highly problematic to justify a syntactically based innate
mechanism that is restricted to the spoken medium. The findings
of my research would rather point to a cognitive model of the
Piagetian type.
The whole process of language acquisition unfolds in a
delicate interplay of maturational factors, biological elements,
and cultural influences. The children learn the verbal and
kinesic aspects of communication while interacting with their
parents, siblings, and peers.
Kinesic movements accompany (in the vague sense of this
term, implying that they may parallel, substitute, precede, or
follow) the verbal manifestations. Previous research in a
day care center showed that the children who were the most
talkative were also the most gesticulating (Long and von
Raffler-Engel 1968).
Markel (1973a) calls kinesics co-verbal behavior and
Mehrabian (Mehrabian 1971, Mehrabian and Ksionsky 1971) states
that the two channels are affiliative and has documented a posi-
tive correlation between the two modalities within a speech
event.
There is also a constant interplay between the auditive
and the visual modality. To quote Bolinger (1975, 18):

"If language is an activity, we cannot say
that it stops short at the boundary of verbal
speech activity, for human actions are not so easily
compartmentalized. We cannot even say that it
stops at the boundaries of speech, for we are in-
formed by our eyes as well as by our ears. And
it is not always easy to tell one kind of mes-
sage from the other. A person speaking on the
telephone who contorts his mouth into a sneer may
be heard as sneering, because the sound wave is dis-
torted in characteristic ways; yet the hearer reacts
as if he had seen the sneer rather than heard it.
Audible gesture and visible gesture have many
points in common"

The multi-cultural and multi-lingual individual is
generally also multi-kinesic. The classic example is
Fiorello Laguardia who was mayor of New York City in the
forties. His gestural system has been described by David
Efron (1972, 196). Efron's text and pictorial documenta-
tion constitute the first scientific study of the sort.
(Refer to next page.)
Mayor Laguardia was raised in a tri-lingual--tri-cul-
tural environment. His father was of Italian descent and
his mother was a Jewess of Eastern European background.
Laguardia himself grew up in Arizona and eventually was
trained in political oratory. Having acquired English,
Yiddish, and Italian in childhood, he spoke these three
languages with native accent and exhibited equally native
gestures in them. Like every individual, he had his own
peculiar voice qualifiers, and his own peculiar person-
ality traits in body motions.
Laguardia was tri-lingual, tri-cultural, and tri-
kinesic. He was equally "at home" in three worlds. His
case is not unique and I have met others like him. It is
shown that equilingualisms, native competence in each of
a bilingual's languages, is common when the languages are
acquired in childhood but cannot generally be obtained
after puberty. The same holds true for the acquisition
of kinesics (von Raffler-Engel 1974b, 1975).

Fig 77: Mayor Laguardia (The Little Flower), sketched at
Board of Estimate meetings and at a political rally. His
general background is well enough known including his early
work as interpreter for one to realize the influences of
his polylingual background, his cosmopolitan environment,
and his political training in oratory. His mother was a
Jewess, his father an Italian musician, and his early back-
ground and schooling was in Arizona. He gesticulated fre-
quently, using his animated face, head motion, and hands.
(1)Entirely Italian in form, with a distinctly pornographic
content, although I am sure it is not used as such by him;
(2)a."I resent that...", Italian type of gesture, chiefly
because of tempo, and b."This was the biggest snow we've
had in...", typical American gesture--note contrast and
combination; (3)"I can't do anything...", a rejective type
of gesture, typical of both Italian and Jew, made fleeting-
ly; (4)"These are the facts...", there is some Italian char-
acter in this gesture; (5)"... but...", oratorical in char-
acter, made while delivering a public speech.

David Efron, Gesture, race and culture. The Hague: Mouton, 1972.
    (By permission of the publisher.)

It is somewhat puzzling that the kinesic behavior of bi-
linguals, so far, has hardly been studied at all. It is es-
pecially intriguing in the realm of societal bilingualism
where it seems that members of the minority group tend to
behave differently from members of the majority group (von
Raffler-Engel 1973).

Before the term kinesics was adopted for the study of
the various types of expressive bodily movements the term
gestures was used and extended to all bodily motions includ-
ing facial mimicry and eye movement. Indeed, Gesture and
Environment was the original title of the first work dealing
with body movement in the social context. It appeared in
1941 and its author was an Argentine sociologist, David
Efron (1972). This landmark book was reprinted in 1971 with
a preface by today's foremost researcher in kinesics, Paul
Ekman, who states that the methods used by Efron were "unique
for his time and exemplary for ours" and that he is "not
just a brilliant pioneer...(but also)...a current, major
and, in some ways, still unique contributor to the new
rapidly growing field of research into facial expression
and bodily movement in social interaction."

Efron's work (1972) has been appreciated to its full
extent only quite recently. When it first came out in the
forties, the work was recognized but never obtained wide
acceptance. At that time linguists were so concerned with
the details of linguistic description they sometimes missed
issues of broader interest. In the early fifties, Bird-
whistell (1952) produced a notational system in line with
the theoretical issues of that time. Birdwhistell's work
received wide acclaim and has remained fairly well known.
The scope of Efron and Birdwhistell is quite different.
My own work is more in line with Efron's approach but this
is frankly a choice of my personal interests. In the late
fifties, linguists shied away all together from empirical
observation. Language development was deemed to be totally
innate; culture was irrelevant. It was only after this
trend was superceded in the seventies, that Efron's book
became accessible to a wider audience.

The relationship between language and <u>kinesics</u> is most com-
plex. On the one hand, <u>kinesic behavior</u> appears to be more
strongly related to culture than to language. Research by French
has shown that gestural communication is most effective within
a speech community, and particularly between peers. Such com-
munication is less effective outside one's speech community
and between individuals within a twenty-year difference in
age (French and von Raffler-Engel, in press).

The basic problems in language or dialect switching may
tentatively be listed as follows:

(1) Does code switching in the language necessarily accom-
pany kinesics code switching, and vice versa?

(2) Is kinesic code switching synchronous, or are there
delays? If so, which modality precedes the other?

(3) Are (1) and (2) universal, or are there linguistic
and cultural differences? If so, are those differences
inherent in the system of the kinesics or of the lang-
uage? Are these differences due to cultural, social,
attitudinal, or interpersonal factors?

(4) How do kinetic interferences correlate with linguistic
interferences?

(5) Can kinetic and linguistic interferences be traced to
the same causes?

(6) How does the development of language and kinesics
correlate? Leaving second language acquisition com-
pletely out of the picture, are there differences be-
tween the dominant and the secondary language and/or
culture in bilinguals?

(7) Is it possible to have dominance in one linguistic
code and at the same time in the kinetic code that
usually belongs to the secondary language?

(8) Is it possible to have linguistic interference with-
out kinetic interference, or vice versa?

(9) Are there kinetic pidgins that accompany full lan-
guages, or vice versa? Under such conditions, will
the pidgins creolize or revert to the full system
that is generally associated with the accompanying
language or kinesics, as the case may be?

(10) Is the subject and person division of linguistic
bilingualism equally valid for kinetic bilin-
gualism? In any case, does the same division apply
to both language and gesture within the individual?

(11) Are there societal kinetic systems comparable to
the well documented societal bilingual languages?

(12) In a bilingual community, can one group keep his
language and his kinesics, while the other group
keeps his language but has fully adopted the other
kinetic system? (von Raffler-Engel 1973)

On the other hand, the tie between articulatory move-
ments and body-rhythm has been established by many researchers
(notably Condon and Sanders 1974). Rhythmic arm move-
ments or foot tapping is obviously connected with the verbal
expression of the speaker and/or the hearer. A typical ex-
ample of the coincidence of kinesic and paralinguistic
behavior was discovered in a recent study of television news
reporting (Sisk and von Raffler-Engel 1975). Walter Cronkite
frequently blinks while uttering the syllable which carries
his ser'ence stress.

It is obvious that the position of neck and torso has
an automatic effect on the larynx and on the channeling of
air from the lungs. A person seated in a crouched manner
with his head bowed can scarcely be expected to speak loud
and clear. Key (1975, 129) brings out that proxemics influ-
ences articulation. Speaking from a distance one has
to use "careful, precise articulation."

The relationship between spoken language (verbal and para-
linguistic) and body language can be summarized as follows:
There is a certain amount of mechanical connection between
the two modes. This is obvious in articulation. It is also
physically next to impossible to say in a gentle, soothing
voice "I like it very much" with the emphatic stress and
pitch on "very" while angrily pounding one's fist on the
table at the time the word "like" is uttered. This does not
imply that there cannot be disagreement between the modalities.
It does not even require great effort to falsely utter a
loving statement accompanied by gestures which normally

denote a daring disposition. The mechanical coordination is not
based on the impossibility to combine what naturally--and mor-
ally--does not co-occur. Nevertheless, the lies of the body do
not come as easily as the lies of the mouth. Frequently the
expression of the eyes gives away the true intention of the
deceiver. What appears to be beyond man's biological possibili-
ties is the dysynchrony of body rhythm. The human organism can
cope with only one rhythm beat at a time. Body rhythm involves
breathing and heart beat.

Languages differ in syllable structure, intonation contour,
and stress patterning. Monolingual children grow up in a one-
to-one relationship between language and body movement. Bi-
lir nal children probably have two sets of such one-to-one
relationships. A monolingual adult learning a second language
has to cope with a rhythmic structure which is foreign to his
biological make-up.

We know that speech tempo varies among languages. Speakers
of Romance languages produce more syllables per second than
speakers of the Germanic tongue. Yet of the body rhythm we
know next to nothing. It is possible that this is what cuases
more cross-cultural misunderstandings than other factors of
which we are more aware, and to which we may be less sensitive.
The violation of our customary private space or of our public
space, the straining of our ears by listening to a language
that is spoken more softly or louder than ours may be far less
irritating than when we feel forced into an unaccustomed body
rhythm by the demands of interactional synchrony.

Foreign language teachers have always complained that
linguistics does not give them enough useful information. Maybe
they just do not know how many more problems they would have
if they really studied linguistics . . . They may have to enlist
the gym coach and members of the drama department to help teach
their beginning classes. (von Raffler-Engel 1975b).

When confronted with a foreign language, the learner does
at least expect differences. Inter-dialectal communication
creates misunderstandings. Being forced into an alien body
rhythm by somebody one expects either not to differ greatly from
oneself, or whom one expects to make an effort to conform to one's

pattern may cause far greater feelings of hostility. A
speaker-hearer "tunes in" correctly and is "on the same
wave length" within his socio-cultural peer group. Social
and cultural dialectal differences--as opposed to regional
differences--may cause such extreme feelings of aversion
because one does not expect them, or one does not wish to
tolerate them. It is hard to conceive that the slight
divergence from standard English of the sounds and the
syntactics structure of an ethnic dialect can cause a
native speaker of standard English to feel so extremely /
uncomfortable. It is much more likely that it is not the
verbal features that cause the irritation but the fact that
in order to sustain a verbal interaction the conversational
partners have to adjust to a common body rhythm.

Two persons can sustain a conversation while jogging;
a person that has been jogging and only recently come to a
standstill can communicate with a person who has been
standing still all the time only after his accelerated heart-
beat has gone back to normal (Erikson 1973). Communication
cannot obtain between two persons whose body rhythm is at
a totally different pace.

Each culture, and each subculture, has its own unique
structure of communicative organization. The linguistic
system, the paralinguistics system, the ethnography of
speaking, and the system of kinesics interact, and it is the
combination of these components which makes for the distinc-
tiveness of each language, dialect, and sociolect.

I have been asked to suggest new research goals to
this group of specialists in bilingual education and in
foreign language teaching. My suggestion for the researcher
is to work with more visual material, to record the data by
video tape or film so that he can discover the kinesic sys-
tem besides the vocal systems. I would also suggest that
informants be not only passively recorded, but that they
be actively interviewed and asked about the etiquette of
social interaction in order to gain insight into their
ethnography of speaking.

For the language teacher I would suggest that he ex-
plain body rhythm to his students. I would also suggest

that after teaching the form of language some class roc`~ time
be devoted to studying the use of languag`. I realize that
good teachers have been doing this all along, I just would like
it more explicitly included in the final tests. As long as ·
tests are primarily--if not exclusively--concerned with the form
of language, students tend to regard information on language
use as less important, only incidental.

For the teaching of standard English to speakers of other
varieties of English, I believe that awareness of body rhythm
and kinesics could be most helpful. The emphasis here is never
to forget that everybody's dialect and everybody's body rhythm
is as good as anybody else's, as different as it might be. (von
Raffler-Engel and Hutcheson 1975d).

For those unfamiliar with the methodology of producing
films or videotapes for the purpose of analysing the relation-
ship of the spoken language to kinesics, I refer to a written.
description of the methods which I have used in research and
analysis. This methodological approach was first presented at
the International Congress of Methods in Dialectology at the
University of Prince Edward's Island in Canada in 1972 and
then in an amplified version at the International Congress of
Semiotic Sciences in Milano, Italy in 1974 (von Raffler-Engel
1974c). More easy to follow is the step-by-step audio-visual
description which constitutes the first part of a film on
Children's Acquisition of Kinesics which I produced for the
Golden Anniversary of the Linguistic Society of America in 1974
(von Raffler-Engel 1974b). The film is distributed by Campus
Film Distributors in New York. The written description provides
a brief bibliography on methodological details worked out by
·revious researchers. Funding for this type of research is
,enerally requested from governmental and state agencies. This
type of work requires considerable time and effort, not to speak
of expensive equipment. It should not be undertaken before the
researcher has gained some expertise in the field of sociolin-
guistics and has made himself thoroughly familiar with the methods
of audio-visual production.

For the psycholinguist, research in kinesics is most impor-
tant. We know so little about this subject because in the
recent past most time and effort has been devoted to document

an erroneous theory according to which language was studied
as if it were an autonomous uni-modal process when in
reality spoken language can only be understood within the
multi-channel process of communication.

By observing the kinesic behavior of a speaker we can
gain further insight into what might constitute a psycho-
linguistic prime. Communication is multi-channel (Bird-
whistell 1970) and looking at the kinesic channel may allow
us to make inferences on language without the prejudice
of any theory of language we might follow. While evaluating
a series of videotapes of seven children between the ages
of three and thirteen and two sets of parents I became in-
creasingly aware of the fact that adults and children do
not manifest any particular kinesic change at the end of
a sentence (von Raffler-Engel 1974b). They do, however,
exhibit a marked change in posture when the conversation
reaches a new topic. Subtopics generally elicit only a
slight head movement. The examples for both topics and
subtopics are very numerous and easily identified.

Over ten years ago, Albert Sheflen (1964, 320) made
a similar observation in this connection. Dependent on
the position of the head and the movement of the eyes,
he noted "changes of position of head and eyes 'every
few sentences' and believes that these shifts mark the
end of a structural unit within a discourse. He calls
these observable shifts, the Point, the Position, and
the Presentation, which seem to be roughly equivalent to
what we might call the paragraph, the section, and
the chapter," (Summary by Key 1975, 37).

What ultimately structures human behavior in communi-
cative interaction is the meaning of the message which
is being exchanged.

To get a message clearly across it may be best to con-
vey it "to each nation in its language and to each people
in its script" as suggested by the Book of Esther. This
passage contains the first mention of multiculturalism
and plurilingualism (Fishman 1975).

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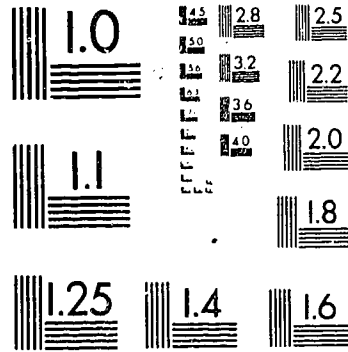
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HOLD THAT TIGER!

URGENT NEEDS IN BILINGUAL EDUCATION

Rona K. S. Macaulay

28.

HOLD THAT TIGER:
URGENT NEEDS IN BILINGUAL EDUCATION

Ronald K. S. Macaulay

There is an old Chinese proverb which say 'If
you want to make tiger stew, first catch your tiger'.
Most discussions of research priorities in bilingual
education tend to offer advice of a similar sort. We
are likely to be told that before starting a bilingual
program we need accurate knowledge about the two
languages, including detailed descriptions of the different
varieties of each language spoken in different parts of
the country. We need careful community studies of bilin-
gual areas, including investigation of the attitudes
towards both languages that prevail in the community.
We need to develop special teacher training programs for
bilingual teachers and before we can properly staff them
we need special programs to train the teacher trainers.
We need to investigate the relationship of language and
bilingualism to different learning styles. We need to
investigate the psychodynamics of biculturalism. We
need to explore different approaches to bilingual instruc-
tion in the classroom. We need to develop adequate methods
of assessment for bilingual programs. And so on. And so
on. The list is not endless but it is long. I agree that
we need all these things because I spent part of the summer
of 1974 as a member of a team looking into such matters.
However, it will take a long time to accumulate all the
information we need. Meanwhile, those who are waiting
for the tiger stew may be getting rather hungry.

Even with the efficient use of all available resources
it may take a long time to catch the tiger, and I am far
from convinced that the most efficient use is being made

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of all the available resources.   In 1975 I had this fantasy
that one day I would get a telephone call from some very
influential gentleman in Washington, D. C. who would say
something like this:

    VIG: 'Look, Ron, we've got this little problem.
            There are all these people clamoring for
            bilingual education, and we really don't
            have the slightest idea what to do.'

    RM: 'I know.'

    VIG: 'Well, you know we've got this bicentennial
            coming up next year, and we'd like to have
            something good to show people.'

    RM: 'You can't expect me to care about that.'

    VIG: 'No, we realize that, but we thought that
            perhaps you could give us a few pointers,
            just to get us off on the right lines.'

    RM: 'I'm sorry. You should have asked George
            Sanchez back in 1934. He knew what needed
            to be done, and if you'd listened to him
            then, you might, you just might have been
            ready for 1976, but it's too late now.'

He did not call, and if he had I probably would not have
had the guts or the heart to say it, but I get alternately
furious and depressed when I think of the time that has
been wasted and how even today, forty years after Sanchez
had pointed out the needs sc clearly, there is still no
coherent approach to the problems of bilingual education.
In 1974 I was very conscious of the vast amount of work
that must be done if bil gual education is to be placed
on a firm footing, and I felt very strongly the urgency
of the task. Nearly two years later I hope that more has
been achieved than I am re of because when so much
needs to be done the pas ig of time without significant
progress does not merely leave things where they were; it

means that faster progress must be made to catch up with
where we should be. Moreover since what we are talking
about is not something academic like the motion of the
stars or the definition of beauty but is, instead, the wel -
being of actual children at present in the schools, any
unnecessary delay may result in a waste of human talent whic
is both uneconomic and immoral. Thus, while I agree that
the research activities I mentioned earlier are valuable i.
themselves and of great potential benefit to bilingual
education in the long run, we cannot afford to wait until
all the evidence is in. If it takes too long to catch
the tiger, perhaps we ought to try some other dish first.

This does not mean abandoning research; that would be
fatal, in my opinion. However, what I would like to see is
closer cooperation between those engaged on research and
those involved in the day-to-day business of schools,
both teachers and administrators. By this I do not simply
mean that every bilingual program should have its friendly
professor who drops in from time to time to offer advice
and to collect the results of the latest tests for his own
research--though cooperation even at this level would
probably be beneficial to both sides. What I have in mind
is a greater sharing of responsibility so that both the
researchers and the school personnel have an ongoing inter-
est in the success of the program. The advantages of this
kind of cooperation are probably self-evident but in
order to emphasize the point I will spell out some of them
in detail.

It is a depressing but widely accepted view that fed-
eral and state aid to schools has had less impact on the
programs than might have been expected from the sums of
money distributed. Explanations for this state of affairs
are not hard to find. For example, it has been pointed out
(Pincus, 1974) that public schools are monopolistic public
utilities somewhat like the telephone, electricity, and
gas services, with the major difference that it is much
harder for the consumer to know what he is getting for his

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money. Consequen.. it is not surprising that schools .av
been characteri.... 'self-perpetuating bureaucracies' Pi.
cus: 197.. .15) ...; usually prefer the appearance of
change to change itself. In a rather disturbing comparis
between the .... schools and private competitive firms.
Pincus points out ... the public schools are

1) more ..... adopt cost-raising innovations
   becau. a .... : s no simple way to test the value
   of th. ir ....tion in relation to its cost;

2) less ik. ... acopt cost-reducing innovations
   unles t. ' .as saved become available for other
   us.. .it .e district;

3) are ss .... y to adopt innovations which
   s.g.. . .; change the numbers or kinds of
   personne. employed;

4) are more .... y to adopt innovations which do
   not significantly change the institutional
   structure;

5) are less li. .y to adopt innovations which
   ch. .ge the accustomed authority roles and
   established ways of doing business;

6) are equally as unwilling as private competitive
   fi..s to face large-scale encroachments on
   protected markets.

We .ay find the marketing analogy somewhat distasteful, a
:. myself, but Pincus's observations deserve careful scrutiny.
.. anning a bilingual program it is not enough to look
only at the linguistic and pedagogical aspects of the program.
It is also necessary to look at the dynamics of the school
system into which the program is to be introduced, since the
success or failure of the program may depend as much on that
situation as on the quality of instruction offered. Pincus

article is too complex to be summarized here but one of his
suggestions to combat the inevitable conservatism of the public
schools is for closer cooperation between those engaged in
research and the school district administrators. In particular,
he emphasizes the need for researchers to work closely with
the school staff during the period when a new program is being
implemented.

However, it is not only the schools that would benefit from
this cooperation. In reviewing some of the literature on research
into bilingualism and bilingual education for a report to the
National Insitute of Education (Ramirez, et al., 1977), I was
saddened by the gap between much of the research and possible
practical applications in bilingual programs. 'To say this is not
to denigrate the value of such research since any contribution
to the stock of human knowledge is worth while and potentially
useful, but for those involved in planning or administering
bilingual programs who are seeking guidance there was
regrettably little report. This need not be the case. In
a recent article linguistics and second-language pedagogy,
Glyn Lewis observe

> In the Soviet Union the investigation of second
> language problems is pursued in normal complex
> classrooms...a considerable amount of the most
> seminal investigation of second language problems
> is pursued in the experimental classes attached to
> teacher training colleges and institutes...
> <div align="center">(1974:2138)</div>

As far as I know, this situation is rare in the United States.
Bilingual programs in the schools are usually funded from one
source, research projects in the universities from another.
I am aware that there are some exceptions but it is only rarely
that research and its practical applications are pursued in a
single program. The loss is incalculable. All too often
researchers investigate problems in artificial settings and

extrapolate their findings to the real world; meanwhile educators struggle with their all-too-real problems and wonder to what extent their pragmatic decisions are theoretically justified. Some kinds of research are no doubt best pursued in the ivory tower but for bilingual education the solution seems obvious. Bilingual education programs should not be funded without some affiliation to an institution of higher learning which would act both as a resource center and as an instrument of on-going evaluation. At the same, research into bilingual education should not be funded unless it makes use of existing programs as the source of subjects and data. Such a policy would force both sides to pay attention to what the other is doing, with a high probability of benefits to both.

However, even if there were more cooperation between researchers and the school staff, the needs would not stop there. Just as important, if not more important is the need for a more coordinated overall approach to bilingual eduaction. Even today, it seems to me there is still a grave risk of extensive duplication of effort because of a lack of awareness not only of what is being done in other parts of the country but also even of what is happening just down the road. What is needed is an effective central office of bilingual education with regional offices throughout the country. It need not be a funding agency itself but it could act as a source of vital information to the funding agencies, identifying areas in which new funding is needed and keeping a watchful eye on those funds that have been distributed. To a certain extent this may be happening through the Title VII program, but what I am suggesting is not simply setting up dissemination centers and making materials and information more readily available, though these are useful functions too. What I have in mind is an office staffed by highly-trained professionals capable of taking the initiative in starting new programs, modifying or even terminating existing ones, and generally coordinating the work being done in bilingual education in a particular region.

An essential ingredient in the success of such an office, it seems to me, is continuity of personnel, since what is wanted is

someone who will still be around after ten years to take a pride in
his successes and feel the pain of his mistakes. Funding on a
year—to—year basis militates against such continuity of staffing,
at least while there is still some job security elsewhere in the
academic world. At present, I have a suspicion that many
legislators are hoping that with the allocation of enough
money the problem of bilingual education will go away. Thus, it
is best to allocate the funds on a year-to-year basis, since the
money may not be needed a few years from now. This seems to me
a totally mistaken perception of the situation. Bilingual educa-
tion is not almost at the point of being phased out; on the con-
trary, it is only beginning to be established and it is going to
be around a lot longer than any of the present legislators on
Capitol Hill. Thus, it is high time there was a coherent, long-
range plan for bilingual education in the United States, covering
the next five, ten, or even twenty years. Year-to-year funding
provides little encouragement for long-range planning and every
incentive to use the funds to meet immediate short-range goals.
This is not a rational way to proceed.

Moreover, as Fishman (1976) and Gaarder (1977) have recently
emphasized, the characteristics of the bilingual program in the
school are probably less important than the relationship between
the school and the community. For this reason, each community
must decide what its immediate and long-range goals are. For
example, Kjolseth (1972) contrasts two models of bilingual educa-
tion programs. One, which he labels 'assimilationist,' seeks to
remove the obstacles which deny the member of a minority language
group equality of opportunity in the educational system. The
ultimate goal of such a program, as the name implies, is the total
assimilation of the members of the minority language group into
the dominant culture. The other model, which Kjolseth labels
'pluralistic,' seeks to maintain the minority language and culture
while at the same time providing unhindered access to the dominant
language and culture. The ultimate goal of such a program is to
produce individuals who are truly bilingual and bicultural. It
would not be proper for me (nor, I think, for any outsider) to
suggest which is the appropriate goal for any community. That

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can only be decided by the members of the community themselves,
since any attempt to foist upon the community a program that is
inconsistent with its wishes and aspirations is probably doomed to
failure in the long run. However, it is unrealistic to expect the
members of the community to make their decision on rational grounds
unless they are in possession of all the relevant information in a
form which can be understood by the average person. Consequently,
one of the most urgent tasks is the preparation in an accessible
and comprehensible form of an account of what is known as to the
costs and benefits of bilingualism, both for the individual and
for the community as a whole.

In conclusion, I wish to emphasize that I am not against
'pure research' that is, research which does not appear to have
immediate practical applications. We do not know at this time
enough about language to be sure that some piece of information
will not turn out ultimately to be useful. However, it is a
question of priorities. The immediate needs of bilingual education
programs are not being met or even investigated by much of the
research in linguistics today and that is a most unhappy state of
affairs. To return to the metaphor with which I began. I look
forward to enjoying the tiger stew as much as anyone but in the
meantime let's keep the stockpot going with whatever we can find to
put in it. It may not be a gourmet dish, but if it provides some
nourishment that is badly needed, it will be invaluable; but to
get the most nourishment we need everyone who can to contribute
to the pot.

NOTE

[1]This is a slightly revised version of a talk given at the
University of Texas at El Paso in 1975.

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INTERDISCIPLINARY ASPECTS

OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION

Robert St. Clair

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INTERDISCIPLINARY ASPECTS OF
BILINGUAL EDUCATION

Robert St. Clair

INTRODUCTION

When linguists were first confronted with some of
the problems of bilingualism, they almost instinctively
perceived these language-related issues in structural or
formal terms. Following the tradition of Weinreich (1953),
any contact between languages were explained within the
framework of a theory of language interference (Lieberson,
1966). Lacking a broad perspective of the issues of
bilingualism, linguists were participating unknowingly as
advocates of the melting pot hypothesis (Crevecoeur,
1782), and were oblivious to the rationale behind the
movement for compensatory education (Deutsch, 1967;
Johnson, 1970; Passow, 1963; and Riessman, 1962).

Only recently have linguists become aware of the
moral and social implications of their efforts within the
large context of social engineering (Cazden, et al., 1972;
Giglioli, 1972; Keddie, 1973; and Spolsky, 1972). Unfor-
tunately, many linguistits still remain oblivious to their
participating in the process of assigning institutional
labels to children (Apple, 1975; Cicourel, et al., 1974),
and what is even more insidious is that they are still
unaware of their role in the creation and maintenance of
the prophecy of self-fulfillment (Rosenthal and Jacobsen,
1968) associated with this pejorative act.

What all of these issues demonstrate is the need for
linguists to explore language-related issues in a broader
framework which necessarily transcends the narrow confines
of their academic training. This requires, in great
measure, explorations into the contemporary paradigms of

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social history, educational foundations, social psychology, and educational theory. Some of these broad areas of scholarship are reviewed in general terms by way of introduction to non-linguistic solutions to language-related problems.

THE MELTING POT HYPOTHESIS

Richard Hofstadter (1955) has convincingly demonstrated that the United States was born in the country; and that from its inception, its political values and ideas were of necessity shaped by the agrarian myth of the yeoman farmer with his quest for independence, his respect for equality, and his desire for self-sufficiency. It was at this time that writers like Thomas Jefferson and Hector St. Jean de Crevecoeur (1782), in particular, glorified the virtues of agrarian society. This romantic view of man in nature had its origin in the literary tradition of a classical education with its pastoral poetry, and became a dominant motif in American history chiefly through the English writers. What is of particular importance about this period of history for bilingual education, however, can be found in the writing of Crevecoeur and his advocacy of the melting pot hypothesis.

> "What then is the American, this new man?
> He is either a European, or the descendant
> of a European, hence that strong mixture
> of blood, which you find in no other country.
> I could point out to you a family whose
> grandfather was an Englishman, whose wife
> was Dutch, whose son married a French
> woman, and whose present four sons have now
> four wives of different nations. He is an
> American, who leaving behind all his pre-
> judices and manners, receives new ones from
> the mode of life he has embraced, the new
> government he obeys, and the rank he holds.
> He becomes an American by being received
> in the broad lap of our great Alma Mater.
> Here individuals of all nations are one

> melted into a new race of men, whose labours
> and posterity will one day cause great change
> in the world."
>
> (Crevecoeur, 1912:43)

It is now obvious that the panegyrists of the melting pot
hypothesis favored a biological and cultural amalgamation
of the northern Europeans, but excluded others.

> "Furthermore, this version of the melting
> pot omitted from consideration two indigenous
> peoples, the native American and the Mexicans
> of the Southwest, as well as that group
> forcibly brought to America, the black America."
>
> (Ramirez and Castañeda,
> 1974:6-7)

It is this exclusive group of White Anglo-Saxon Protest-
ants whose ideological system has dominated the main-
stream of American life, and provided the basis for a
policy of total assimilation in cultural values (Banks,
1975:3-9).

The concept of Social Darwinism   (Hofstadter, 1944)
was associated with this exclusive version of the melting
pot. Despite its liberal overtones, it contained a hidden
message of cultural superiority: the child who has not
melted is not good enough and is not part of that which
the mainstream considers nobler and finer (Ramirez and
Castañeda, 1974:7). When the Spencerian doctrine of
Social Darwinism came under attack during the age of reform
only to be replaced by the Populist movement (Hofstadter,
1955), a similar reaction to the melting pot hypothesis
occurred. This took the form of a new ideology, viz., the
concept of cultural pluralism (Kallen, 1915). Within this
new framework, the term "equal" was singled out from the
Declaration of Independence and interpreted as an affirm-
ation of the right to be different. Hence, cultural
pluralism reflects an ecology of language and culture.

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This policy has not been effectively adopted, and it appears that the United States may be on the verge of the rise of pluralism as a consequence of the decline of White ethnicity and the Portestant ideal (Greenbaum, 1974).

Unfortunately, most American linguists are still naive about these aspects of social history and continue to advocate the ideology and the nomenclature of the melting pot hypothesis. As Fishman and Lueders-Salmon (1972) have astutely shown in their work on the sociology of language, for example, Americans continue to misconstrue the developmental aspects of linguistic diversity, and they even suggest that linguists in this country may have created their own educational problems by their attempts to mainstream bilingual anc bicultural students prematurely. In Europe, they argue, linguistic diversity is tolerated while children gradually assimilate toward the mainstream culture and adopt the standard dialect of the country. They are given the opportunity to develop a receptive competence of their school dialect before exacting performance in the classroom is stringently enforced. Due to a strong emphasis on total assimilation and a rigid intolerance toward diversity, bilingual and bicultural children are severely chastized in this country for not having an immediate productive command of the language of the school, and linguists have been instrumental in enforcing this policy by their failure to envision language-related problems outside of the domain of their academic training. Some linguists are content to provide descriptive formulas of linguistic differences; and other insist on monotonous drills based on a theory of language interference. Both groups, however, fail to see the problem from a broader interdisciplinary context in which social and political history play major roles.

THE MYTH OF SOCIAL MOBILITY

For at least a century, reputable scholar in the history of education have been promulgating the view that

the public school system in this country is the basic
instrument by which the working class can advance within
the social structure of American life (Cubberley, 1909;
Cremin, 1961; 1965). Waves of financially desolate immi-
grants, we are told, have come to this country in search
of the American dream and have found it in the genius of
our educational system (Cremin, 1965). This argument is
used against native Americans, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans,
Cubans, and Blacks who fail within our economic system.
Their motivation for self improvement is questioned.
These claims have been seriously challenged by Collin
Greer (1972), Michael Katz (1971), John Mann (1975), and
other historiographers of education. There is no evidence,
they argue, in favor of the traditional interpretation
of the American school policy. In fact, it turns out that
there is an abundance of evidence against it. The dropout
rate among the immigrants in this country ranges from
forty to sixty per cent over the last century (Greer,
1972; 1973; and Karier, et al., 1973), and those who com-
plete their basic education have not been advanced, but
remain as part of the working class (Illich, 1970).
Collin Greer (1973) considers the distinction between
the alleged successful immigrants and other ethnic groups
a subterfuge. It hides the fact that the real problem
is political in nature, because the school system serves
and protects the interest of the ruling class. Illich
(1970) agrees with this view and has advocated the separ-
ation of social control of the school by his program of
deschooling society. If these scholars are correct in
their assessments of our educational system, it dramatizes
the need for interdisciplinary research and demonstrates
the fact that the solution to problems in bilingual educa-
tion are partly political in nature.

A similar interpretation of the British school system
can be found in the writing of Dennis Lawton (1975). He
describes their system as one in which two separate school
systems were in existence with its own special curricula.
The elitist were schooled in the classical foundations of

Latin and Greek, and they knowingly used this knowledge as
a badge of their exclusive rank. All other children were
schooled in those basic skills that would enable them to
understand simple written instructions and to successfully
perform elementary calculations. These were the skills
necessary for a competent labor force, and it was in the
purview of the educational system to provide the market.
In 1944, however, the British school system allegedly
moved toward egalitarian education, but the polemics of the
political and social role of the school still continues.
Lawton, I might mention, arrives at a different conclusion
from our historians of education. He contends that the
schools should concern themselves with imparting a common
culture rather than the dictates of a special class. He
predicates this view on the assumption expressed by Karl
Mannheim (Wolff, 1971) that different social classes in
the community are limited by their environment and experiences
in the perception of reality. As a consequence, he argues,
they are also limited in their access to knowledge. The
schizophrenia of the citizenry can be resolved, he concludes,
by the development of a common curriculum. Lawton's approach
of incorporating the sociology of knowledge (Berger and
Luckman, 1966; and Holzner, 1968) is appealing, and may
even provide an alternative to the deschooling of society
(Illich, 1970). In this country, Aaron Cicourel (1974)
and his associates (Cicourel, et al., 1974; and Turner,
1974) have complemented the work of Lawton (1975) in their
investigations of the methods of selection within the school
system.

COGNITIVE SYTLES

        Another view which should have implications for
bilingual education, and which is concomitant with the
work of Lawton (1975) can be found in the work of Ramirez
and Casteñada (1974). They provide some interesting
evidence in substantiation of the claim that children
who are raised in different cultural settings develop a
pattern for coping with life, and that this special
strategy which they acquire conflicts with the cognitive

style of the school. This difference in cognitive styles,
they argue, is the source of many problems in the bilingual
classroom. The two styles that they refer to are "field
independence" and "field sensitivity." The former is
characteristically associated with children who tend to
perceive items as discrete from the organized field which
contains them. The field independent children, it is
argued, are oriented towards the left cerebral hemisphere
of the brain (TenHouten, 1971), and tend to do well in
speech, reading, and writing. Those who are field sensitive,
on the other hand, are oriented towards the right cerebral
hemisphere and their forte is manifested in such gestalt
tasks as music, and visio-spatial cognition. Chicanos,
according to Ramirez and Castaneda (1974), are field
sensitive, whereas Anglos are field independent. This
fact, they argue, is at the base of many educational prob
problems in the bilingual classroom. Since the school
only recognizes and rewards students who are field
independent, and since both cognitive styles are needed to
successfully function within the spectrum of society, one
can only conclude that children are all victims of com-
pulsory mis-education. To counteract this disparity in
the perceptual strategies which children use, these
educational psychologists have developed and tested a
training program to assist children in becoming bicognitive.
Their success in this venture on many ethnic groups is now
a matter of record.

CONCLUSION

This discussion of bilingual education argues for an
interdisciplinary approach to language-related problems.
It should be evident from some of the references cited
that bilingual education is not the domain of any parti-
cular discipline at the present time, but requires the
concerted effort of cognitive psychology, educational
linguistics, educational foundations, and social history.
Although the linguists have been singled out for discussion,
a similar argument could be made for other language
scientists working in the area of bilingual education.

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CORRELATING SOCIO-EDUCATIONAL AND LINGUISTIC VARIABLES AMONG CHICANO COLLEGE BILINGUALS

Jacob Ornstein-Galicia
Paul W. Goodman

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CORRELATING SOCIO-EDUCATIONAL AND LINGUISTIC
VARIABLES AMONG CHICANO COLLEGE BILINGUALS:

A RESEARCH STUDY

Jacob Ornstein-Galicia
Paul W. Goodman

A. BACKGROUND SKETCH

A bibliography reveals extremely few research projects
concerned with the behavior and attitudes of Mexican-American
college students, since it is the earlier formative years which
receive first priority. As is noted elsewhere in this study,
the bulk of the research is concerned with public school
youngsters, mostly of earlier ages. Despite this, the need re-
mains great, given the importance of higher education in the
vocational and social progress of minority groups.

Under auspices of The Cross-Cultural Southwest Ethnic Study
Center created under a Spencer Foundation grant, we have carried
out an investigation of the bilinguals at this university, seek-
ing to make comparisons of them with their Anglo peers. It
should be observed that our survey has been taking place in El
Paso, the largest metropolitan city on the U.S.--Mexican border,
with a U.S. population in 1971 of some 370,000 persons. Between
60 and 70 percent of this population is Spanish surnamed and the
enrollment of Chicanos here usually averages at least a third of
total enrollment.

The procedure followed aimed at securing a stratified ran-
dom sample of all full-time, unmarried students from our under-
graduate school population. A sample of 301 subjects was ob-
tained, consisting of 148 Anglo and 153 Mexican-American stu-
dent respondents, constituting almost 5 percent of the popula-
tion described. The categories used for stratification were

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Mexican-Americans vs. Anglo, sex, academic class (first year,
etc.), and School of enrollment (Liberal Arts, Education, etc.)
comprising some sixteen in all. Students were selected ran-
domly within each of the categories and contacted by telephone
by bilingual peers employed by our project. To all of these
our Sociolinguistic Background Questionnaire (Brooks, Brooks,
Goodman, and Ornstein, 1972) was administered, as well as a
College and University Environment Scales (CUES) test (Pace,
1969), aimed at probing their attitu''   toward this particular
institution. Results from the latte; instrument are discussed
elsewhere (Murray, 1972a, 1972b, 1972c) and will be excluded
from consideration in this particular paper. In addition, a
10 percent sub-sample was taken of the over-all sample, lim-
ited to Chicanos, who were then subjected to extensive lin-
guistic elicitation. The purpose of this was to ascertain
their fluency in Spanish and English respectively, and, with
the help of answers from the Questionnaire to probe their atti-
tude regarding regional language varieties, particularly their
own.

Many investigators feel that the bilingual/bicultural con-
text of our study lends itself to comparisons with the situa-
tion in emergent nations or the Third World. A point in sup-
port of this is that a number of the more militant ethnic
movements, Black, American Indian, as well as Chicano, in
their thinking and declarations disassociate themselves from
the "Superpowers", preferring to align themselves with Third
World forces, and indeed do participate actively in their sym-
posia and conferences. In a volume written at this very Univer-
sity and titled Chicanos and Native Americans: Territorial
Minorities (De La Garza, Kruszewski and Arciniega, 1973:97)
some of these issues are touched upon:

> The pattern of political behavior of Chicanos and
> Native Americans with the U.S. political system
> has characteristics peculiar to these two minori-
> ties that set them apart from other American ethnic
> groups. They are the only minority societies that
> came into the U.S. nation-state as a result of
> expansion and territorial conquest...Chicanos and

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Native Americans, unlike any American immigrant
minority or even the Blacks (who were carried or
induced away from their land, property and socio-
political institutions), have characteristics of
a territorial minority. That concept is generally
alien to the American political experience, but
very familiar in the European, Asian, and African
political scene of shifting borders, expanding pol-
itics, and consequent change in sovereignty over
conquered territories and people.

At any rate, in the case of Mexican-Americans, many of
them, particularly activists, often express themselves against
"dominance" by the Anglo language, culture and power structure.
Only since World War II, and especially the past fifteen years
have they, however, begun to challenge such "dominance" actively.
Nowhere has the struggle been fiercer than in the educational
sector. Recent history here records that a few years ago Chi-
canos reversed dominance patterns through the election of an all-
Chicano civic administration as well as school board (Crystal
City, Texas). In the El Paso area, the Ysleta Independent
School District has reflected constant turmoil since the suspen-
sion in the fall of 1973 of a group of Chicano activists (some
since reinstated). Among their demands were increased recogni-
tion of Mexican-American language and culture, as well as cul-
ture-fair tests which would not discriminate against them. As
Charles A. Ferguson and Anwar Dil observe in "Language Universals
of National Development" (1973):

> In some nations of Europe and the Americas new forces
> of ethnicity and new demands of linguistically
> identified groups are posing severe problems, not
> only in countries such as Belgium, Canada and Yugo-
> slavia where the tensions have long been recognized,
> but also in nations such as Great Britain, Spain and
> the United States where questions were generally as-
> sumed to be very minor.

As we have noted Spanish-speakers constitute the largest
foreign-language or bilingual minority in the U.S. It would

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thus seem that our intention to undertake a systematic study of
how socio-educational factors may correlate with bilingual/bicul-
tural status of Mexican-Americans appears overdue. Moreover,
analogies with emergent nations may be more rewarding than appar-
ent at first blush. Suffice it to say that certain extremist
factions of Chicano (as well as Black and Native American) move-
ments even envision breaking off from United States of America--
much as the Parti Independent Quebecois is committed to an inde-
pendent Québec in Canada. Unfortunately sociolinguistic research
on Spanish-English bilinguals/biculturals has focused almost ex-
clusively on young children, because of the concentration of
government funds in this area.

At any rate, the great disparity between dominant or "main-
stream" and subordinate, or minority "non-mainstream" groups is
precisely in the realm of socio-economic status (henceforth,
SES). It is only one step from that to state that nowhere better
than in the differentiated markers of language is the distance
between groups manifested, hence the advantage of studying such
problems from a bi-dimensional socio-linguistic viewpoint.

At any rate, it is a truism that minority groups, in line
with the Orwellian "less equal" concept, tend to fall into the
lower SES, while dominant ones, be they numerically superior or
not, correspond to the upper ones. A concomitant or correlate
of such status is a low-prestige or badly stigmatized language
variety, such as Black English of the ghettoes, or the Southwest
dialect of Spanish, often referred to pejoratively as "Tex-Mex",
"Border Lingo" and even less flattering terms.

Having briefly described the context in which we are work-
ing, it is time to proceed to specifics. Our points will gener-
ally be supported by charts detailing our findings.

B. SOCIAL AND OTHER CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE

SES was studied both as a correlate of language use and as
a possible indicator of the extent to which young Mexican-Amer-

icans are indeed utilizing the university as a means of
achieving upward social mobility. Our procedure was to de-
rive the SES of each student from his father's occupation and
education.

An eight-point occupational scale was devised, based on
Duncan's Socio-Economic Index Scores for occupation. This
scale score was added to an eight-point revised, reverse Hol-
lingshead and Redlich educational attainment scale. The two
scale scores were added together and from this a student's
socio-economic class was determined. Goodman explains his
methodology in full elsewhere (1970). Using this method we
arrive at Table I.

One may see from the data presented in Table I that the
university is serving as an instrument for social mobility that
is part of this country's dream. Sixty-two percent of our stu-
dents come from families of the lower-middle class, upper-lower
class or lower-lower class. However, whereas only 51 percent
of the Anglos came from these three classes, 89 percent of Chi-
canos were part of these three lower-class groups. SES differ-
ence between these two groups was significant at the .001 level
of confidence (Table 1). Actually, although providing chances
for upward social mobility for both Anglos and Chicanos, more
of the lower class Chicanos are using the university for this
purpose.

Proceeding further, it is not surprising to discover that
there is a statistically significant difference between Mexi-
can-American students in regard to father's yearly salary,
university expenses borne by the students and the numbers of
siblings in students' families.

Such differentiations may be a function of SES differ-
ences between our Mexican-American and Anglo sample. We know
from Table 1 that a larger number of Mexican-American students
come from lower class and lower-middle class homes than did
their Anglo peers. Bilinguals in our Southwest somewhat re-
flect inferior socio-economic status to the social and admin-
istrative elite of the dominant "ethnic" group, similar to

TABLE I

Social Class Distribution of a Sample of The
University of Texas at El Paso Students
by Ethnicity, 1969-1970

Social Class	Anglos		Mexican-Americans		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Lower-Lower	1	1	31	24	32	12
Upper-Lower	24	18	48	37	72	28
Lower-Middle	41	32	36	28	77	30
Upper-Middle	48	37	12	9	60	23
Lower-Upper	15	12	3	2	18	7
Total Reporting	129	100	130	100	259	100
(Social Class Not Reported)	19		23		42	
Total in Sample	148		153		301	

$p < .001$ (Kolmogorov-Smirnov one-tailed test).

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Third World Cases. An example would be Galla or Sidomo youth vis
à vis their Amhara peers in Ethiopia, or Sinhalese vis à vis
Tamil in Ceylon. The differences in father's yearly salary, ex-
penses borne by students and siblings per family clearly reflect
these SES differences. In short, since more Mexican-American
students have lower class backgrounds, a larger number also have
fathers who have lower yearly salaries, so that more of them are
paying their own way through the University. In addition a lar-
ger proportion come from families with great numbers of children.

As regards support of their university education, it was
found that a larger proportion of Chicanos worked to defray
their own expenses. Far more Anglos than Mexican-American stu-
dents indicated they assumed none of their own university ex-
penses (38 percent to 18 percent; see Table III). We also dis-
covered that more Mexican-American students than Anglo students
received work-study assistance and GI Bill (military veteran)
benefits.

Almost any study of family size reveals that lower social
classes tend to have many more children than middle or upper so-
cial class (Pitts, 1964: 100-101). In our study Mexican-Ameri-
can students had more siblings than their Anglo counterparts
(Table IV). The religious factor as well as SES may help explain
this difference since most Mexican-American students are of the
Roman Catholic faith which has not yet accepted birth control.
However, other studies indicate that middle-class Catholic fami-
lies tend to have the same family size as do Protestant families
(Martinson, 1970:136). It may be safe, therefore, to assume
that the sibling differences in at least our study are due to
SES differences rather than religious factors.

As noted before a very high proportion of students attend-
ing our university are employed. Further, it was discovered that
on the whole the Anglo students receive better hourly wages than
do their Mexican-American peers. Whether this is due to skill
differences, discrimination, or other factors is yet to be deter-
mined. Nevertheless, since it is hard to imagine that univer-
sity undergraduate students possess substantial differences in
skills or ability, the most likely explanation seems to be based
on ethnic prejudice or SES disadvantage. By SES disadvantage we

TABLE II

Father's Yearly Salary

Salary Range	Anglos		Mexican-Americans		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Less than $ 3,000	1	1	3	3	4	2
$ 3,000 to $ 4,999	0	0	12	11	12	6
$ 5,000 to $ 6,999	15	15	32	28	47	22
$ 7,000 to $ 8,999	9	9	30	27	39	18
$ 9,000 to $10,999	22	23	18	16	40	19
$11,000 to $14,999	22	23	10	9	32	15
$15,000 to $19,999	14	14	4	3	18	9
$20,000 to $24,999	9	9	1	1	10	5
$25,000 to $29,999	1	1	0	0	1	1
$30,000+	5	5	2	2	7	3
Totals	98	100	112	100	210	100

p < .001 (Kolmogorov-Smirnov one-tailed test).

TABLE III

Financing of School Expenses

	Anglos		Mexican Americans		Total	
	% of All Anglos		% of All M/A's		% of All S's	
Financial Aid Category	No. (N=148)		No. (N=153)		No. (N=301)	
No Costs Assumed by Students*	56	38%	28	18%	84	28%
GI Bill Benefits**	4	3%	19	12%	23	8%
Work-Study Assistance***	6	4%	19	12%	25	88%

*p < .0001.

**p < .0001.

***p < .0001.

TABLE IV

Number of Siblings of University Students
by Ethnicity

Number of Siblings	Anglos		Mexican-Americans		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
0	13	9	5	3	18	6
1	33	22	16	11	49	16
2	43	29	26	17	69	23
3	29	20	33	22	62	21
4	12	8	19	12	31	10
5	9	6	24	16	33	11
6	0	0	88	5	8	3
7	4	3	9	6	13	4
8+	5	3	12	8	17	6
Totals	148	100	152	100	300	100

p < .001 (Kolmogorov-Smirnov one-tailed test).

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mean that Anglo students simply have superior social contacts,
which are more likely to lead to better paying jobs. Chicano
students' social contacts may well lead them into lower paying
positions.

C. LANGUAGE DIMENSIONS

Our discussion thus far has centered upon some differences
between Anglo and Chicano students, mostly attributable to SES
distinctions. Now it is time to focus upon linguistic factors.

Information and insights relating to Southwest language
varieties and use were obtained both from the over-all sample
and a randomly selected sub-sample of thirty subjects. Let us
first consider the findings relevant to our sub-sample of thirty.
Their performance in both written and oral English and Spanish
was obtained and then independently judged by a panel of three
bilingual judges. The results appear in Table VI.

These particular results were, in large part, predictable.
Spanish performance was in general appreciably lower than was
the case in English. Nevertheless, scores in both languages were
clustered at well above the intermediate level and indeed between
3.0 and 3.9 on a 5-point scale. In the Southwest, and in most
multilingual areas, there is, of course, a complementary distri-
bution of Spanish vs. English of the respective language pair in
various domains of living, with English generally reserved for
the formal ones. Obviously this does not make for "balanced
bilingualism" but sociolinguistic facts remain what they are.
The poorer overall performance in Spanish in our sub-sample may
be due to the fact that the majority of the students had had the
lion's share of their schooling in English as the language of
instruction (bilingual schooling is only now beginning to make
many inroads). In the formal domains of living, moreover, their
experience had been in English, not Spanish. Another noteworthy
fact beyond this is that the three-member panel of independent
judges may have leaned in the direction of severity in their
Spanish ratings.

TABLE V

Hourly Wages Paid to Students

Hourly Wages	Anglos		Mexican-Americans		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
$0.99 or below	0	0	1	1	1	1
$1.00 to $1.59	10	16	25	34	35	26
$1.60	13	21	19	26	32	24
$1.61 to $1.74	1	2	2	3	3	2
$1.75 to $1.99	13	21	9	13	22	16
$2.00 to $2.49	10	16	8	11	18	13
$2.50 to $3.99	12	19	7	10	19	14
$4.00 to $4.49	0	0	1	1	1	1
$4.50 to $4.99	0	0	0	0	0	0
$5.00+	3	5	1	1	4	3
Totals	62	100	75	100	135	100

$p < .01$ (Kolmogrov-Smirnov one-tailed test).

TABLE VI

Distribution of Oral and Written Scores

| Scale | Spanish | | English | | Combined Scores | |
	Oral	Written	Oral	Written	Spanish	English
1.0-1.9		1				
2.0-2.9	10	13		1	13	1
3.0-3.9	15	15	17	20	16	21
4.0-4.9	-	-	-	-	-	-
5.0	5	1	13	9	1	8
	30	30	30	30	30	30

Of utmost importance in our field is the question of how
language performance ratings correlated with various kinds of
scholastic performance; shown by Table VII. A glance at the table
indicates that the only correlations significant at the .05 level
of confidence were English performance and Spanish performance
and English performance and (GPA) grade point average. SAT verbal
did not correlate with any of our other variables and this is
possibly because the English language performance may well be a
result of college English education which is linked to GPA and
Spanish language performance. At any rate, however inexplicable,
these are some findings in our sub-sample.

TABLE VII

Correlation of Spanish and English
Performance and Other Variables

	N	Spanish Performance	English Performance
Spanish Performance	30		0.4351
English Performance	30	0.4351	
Grade Point Average	29	0.1201*	0.4992
SAT Verbal	26	-0.3724*	0.359
SAT Math	26	-0.1182*	0.0005*

*Not significant at .05 level of confidence.

Unquestionably one of the most important dimensions of language in a complex nation-state is language loyalty and language usage. This has been particularly true in the United States where the use of English and the abandonment of the ancestral language were almost the required passport to American respectability and economic success.

Loyalty and usage were tested in the larger sample of 153 Spanish surnamed students. A section of our questionnaire dealt with this question. Students were asked to indicate how much English and/or Spanish they used in various domains and situations. We hypothesized that for Mexican-American students the higher the social class, the more use of English there would be in any of these

settings. We used Pearson Product moment correlations and set the
.05 level of significance as our standard of acceptance. Only
two of our correlations, home and environment, were significant.
The use of English was not significantly different between
different Chicano social classes in the settings of work and
recreation.

As may be seen in Table VIII, the correlations we did obtain
were not high and certainly one can interpret from this data that
Spanish in El Paso is not coincident with social class level
reached by different Spanish surnamed students.

Various factors may help account for this. One of these is
the closeness of the border and the constant stream of legal and
illegal immigrants arriving here daily, a factor in strengthening
Spanish language maintainance. Another likely reason for the
wide use of Spanish by all social classes in our sample is that
SES is not related to number of generations in the United States.
We have hypothesized that most upper-class, Mexican-American
students would have fathers who were born in the United States
while lower-class members of this classification would have
fathers who were born in Mexico. Table IX indicates that this is
not so. While higher percentages of upper SES Mexican-American
student fathers were born in the U. S., the differences were not
statistically significant. Thus neither usage of a foreign
language or father's birth in the U. S. appeared to be related
to SES.

Language Loyalty and Use

How do social class differences among Mexican-American
students affect loyalty to Spanish language, loyalty to Mexican-
American customs and acknowledged degree of assimilation
problems? We had hypothesized that all of these would show
significant negative correlations. That is, with upper SES there
would be less loyalty to Spanish language and Mexican-American
customs and fewer assimilation problems. Table X indicates
results in this area. Loyalty to Spanish customs showed no
social class differences nor did loyalty to Spanish language.

TABLE VIII

Correlations Between Social Class and Selected

Variables in a Sample of Mexican-

American Students

Dependent Variable	Correlation	Amount of Variance Explained in the Dependent Variable
Use of English:		
a) at home		.0784
b) at school	+.07*	.0049
c) during recreation	+.05*	.0025
d) in contact with the environment	+.16*	.0256
e) at work	+.05*	.0025

*Not significant at the .05 level of confidence

TABLE IX

Percentage Social Class Distribution of a

Sample of Mexican-American Students at

The University of Texas at El Paso

By Birthplace of Father

Social Class	Birthplace	
	United States	Mexico
Lower-lower	21%	29%
Upper-lower	36%	38%
Lower-middle	29%	27%
Upper-middle	13%	4%
Lower-upper	1%	4%

p < .1251 Mann Whitney U Test.

Quite to our surprise, we found a positive significant correlation
indicating that the higher the SES the higher the degree of assimila-
tion problems. Perhaps a new ethnic pride encouraged by the recent
Chicano movement may help explain why there is no social class
differences in loyalty to Chicano language or customs in our sample.
Upper-class students had more assimilation problems than lower-class
peers perhaps because of being in more direct competition with Anglo
folkways and mores. The lack of SES correlation with loyalty to
Spanish language and Spanish customs seems to strengthen our thesis
that language usage is not connected strongly to social class and/or
assimilation in this geographical area.

TABLE X

Correlations Between Social Class and Selected

Variables in a Sample of

Mexican-American Students

Dependent Variable	Correlation	Amount of Variance Explained in the Dependent Variable
Loyalty to Spanish Language	.01*	.0001
Loyalty to Spanish Customs	.03*	.0004
Reported Degree of Assimilation Prob-lems	.15	.0225

*Not significant at the .05 level of confidence.

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D. ATTITUDES TOWARD REGIONAL LANGUAGE VARIETIES

There is an increasingly recognized area of interest in socio-linguistic study concerning attitudinal components of language. We in our study were tremendously intereseted in our Subjects' perceptions of Spanish and English skills and of regional language varieties.

In the literature of bilingualism the self-rating of language skills by individuals tends to correlate highly with reality. Let is be added that their performance in the linguistic elicitation indicated that Chicanos had generally rated themselves lower than their actual performances, at least in the language sample. It is obvious that they felt less confident in their English language skills than their monolingual peers. This would appear to provide a strong incentive for taking action on their part to upgrade proficiency. At the same time, an unfortunate corollary would also seem to be regrettable feelings of inadequacy regarding their ability to communicate. This has, of course, been compounded by deeply ingrained feelings of subservience and humility (as portrayed in movie and literary stereotypes). The story of discrimination and exclusion from desirable jobs in Southwestern history is now happily changing, too.

When it came to Spanish skills, however, a similar picture emerged, with 75 percent of Mexican-Americans reporting efforts to improve this language, and only 32 percent of Anglos so reporting. Obviously, Spanish for most Anglos does not carry with it the same motivation as does English for Mexican-Americans (Table XI).

The apparent concern with communication skills in our Chicano subjects is well worth further research along attitudinal lines throughout the Southwest. It would be relevant to ascertain to what extent English language skills are regarded as a function of success in formal education, as well as their comparative desirability vis-à-vis Spanish language ones. To what extent does English skill serve instrumental and Spanish skill,

TABLE XI

Students' Reported Efforts to Improve Language

	Anglos		Mexican-Americans		Total	
Efforts to Improve English*	#	%	#	%	#	%
Have made an effort	58	39	79	52	137	46
Have not made an effort	90	61	73	48	163	54
Totals	148	100	152	100	300	100
Efforts to Improve Spanish+	#'	%	#	%	#	%
Have made an effort	48	32	114	75	162	54
Have not made an effort	100	68	38	25	138	46
Totals	148	100	152	100	300	100

*$p < .05, > .02$ (Kolmogorov-Smirnov one-tailed test).

+$p < .001$ (Kolmogorov-Smirnov one-tailed test).

integrative aims, or vice versa, to employ Wallace Lambert's
notions? We have seen (Table VII) that English-language know-
ledge in our sub-sample correlated significantly with successful
grades. To what extent this correlation is true for the entire
sample and school remains to be discovered.

Endeavoring to ascertain our Subjects' perceptions of the
language varieties used in this area, we included several items
in the questionnaire for this purpose. Answers are shown in
Table XII.

As Table XII reveals, the students felt that all four varie-
ties are available in the Southwest. A mere 5 percent of the
Chicanos believed that the Spanish heard here was "Formal,
Educated Style," while no Anglos thought so. The most frequent
response was "Border Slang" since 51 percent of the Anglos chose
this designation and 31 percent of the Mexican-American students
agreed with them. The second most popular choice was "Informal,
Everyday" chosen by 37 percent of the whole sample. For this
category, nevertheless, Chicanos registered a higher percentage
(40 percent) than did the Anglos (32 percent). The remaining
students chose Southwest Dialect and again this was favored by
more Mexican-American than Anglo students (24 percent as against
17 percent). Again we found a statistically significant differ-
ence between our two groups at the .001 level of confidence.

One of the most interesting and relevant aspects of our surve
is that dealing with these attitudes toward Southwest Spanish
dialect or variety--a topic which has suffered terribly from all
sorts of over-simplifications as well as outright distortions.
Pejorative attitudes have prevailed among Mexican-American
and Anglos alike, in large part because of the relatively high
degree of English interference. It has been described in such
disdainful epithets as "Tex-Mex," "Border Lingo" and Pocho. As
a result any notion of according it any sort of legitimate status
as a vernacular for informal domains, despite its use, to some
degree by over five million persons has been rendered impossible
until recently. Parallels here with the status of Candian French
and such stigmatized varieties as Joual are obviously striking.

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TABLE XII

Students' Evaluations of Types of Spanish Used
in the Area

	Anglo		Mexican-American		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Formal, educated	0	0	7	5	7	2
Informal, everyday	46	32	62	40	108	37
Southwest dialect	24	17	36	24	60	20
Border slang	72	51	48	31	120	41
Totals	142	100	153	100	295	100

$p < .001$ (Kolmogorov-Smirnov one-tailed test).

Obviously, since even 31 percent of the Mexican-Americans rated Southwest Spanish as "Border Slang," there appears to be a great need for "re-education" of both Chicanos and Anglos as regards language attitudes. By contrast, the 35 percent terming it "Southwest Dialect" and 40 percent "Informal, Everyday" variety were quite realistic. By and large, the attitudes reflected by both groups (particularly the Anglos with 51 percent) typifying it as "Border Slang" would deter rather than facilitate programs and texts intended to utilize Southwest Spanish as a basis for approaching Standard Educated Spanish, as well as to examine it as

a legitimate informal language variety.

We also attempted to determine the students' own self-evaluation of the varieties of Spanish and English controlled by them. The results of these evaluations are shown in Table XIII.

Although most students believed that they were able to use formal, educated English more Chicanos than Anglos felt that their proficiency was of the informal, everyday style. This, despite the fact already noted, that tested English proficiency of the sub-sample was quite high.

Turning now to self-evaluation of the bilinguals, 87 or more than half, claimed "Informal, Everyday" language, 14 or somewhat more than 10 percent, "Southwest Dialect." A surprising 38, or about a third, felt that they could handle "Formal, Educated Style." The latter statistic is all the more surprising, since so few had characterized the general variety of regional Spanish so highly, while the tiny number of three respondents claiming only "Border Slang" is more reassuring than anything. Only one Spanish surnamed individual disclaimed ability to handle any variety! An important implication here is that lower self-evalustion of both their own lingual skills and the lower status or prestige of the language varieties controlled by them obviously puts the Mexican-Americans at an appreciable dis-advantage as contrasted with their Anglo counterparts. This may account in part for the heretofore poor representation of Chicano students in th: fields of science, thechnology, engineering, medicine, l...iness administration as well as such social science areas as sociology, psychology, political science and linguistics.

Our findings, of course, require a great deal more inter-disciplinary attention than we have been able to accord them thus far, as well as replication elsewhere. One of the implica-tions, moreover, that need more consideration is the relation-ship of the features of our particular sample to both the language situation and to "language policy" in the Southwest, as well as in the United States in general. As suggested by Ferguson and

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Dil although such issues have been taken for granted in the techno-
logically developed Western nations, recent militancy has demonstr-
ated the error of this attitude.

One needs to re-examine the literature of the subject, largely
dealing with the "emergent" nations for legitimate parallels,
including such earlier sources as The Study of the Role of Second
Languages in Asia, Africa and Latin America (Rice, 1962). Of more
recent date is, in this connection, Language Problems of Developing
Nations (Fishman, Ferguson and Das Gupta, 1968). In their intro-
duction they comment tellingly (p. 10):

> At a time when the major part of the human race
> is entrapped by such problems, most American
> linguists continue to be only marginally inter-
> ested in language development . . . and most
> sociologists and political scientists are just
> becoming aware of language as an aspect of
> societal and national functioning. At the
> same time sociolinguistics is still a very fragile
> flower, cultivated only at a handful of
> universities and focused primarily on micro-
> phenomena at the level of the speech act in
> face-to-face interaction.

Pedantic though this procedure may seem it is illuminating to
make a few additional comments on the above volume. In his essay
"Sociolinguistics and the Language Problems of the Developing
Countries," Fishman observes (p. 12):

> In general, the problems of disadvantaged
> populations might hopefully be seen in broader
> perspective if they were considered against the
> background of coterritorial languages dif-
> ferences more generally and of planned language
> shift in particular. The long experience of other
> countries in coping with home-school dialect dif-
> ferences of a major sort (e.g., in England, Germany,
> Italy) may be illuminating . . .

Also germane are the essays by Dankwart A. Rustow in
"Language, Modernization and Nationhood--An Attempt at Typology"
(pp. 187-106), Heinz Kloss' "Notes Concerning a Language-Nation
Typology" (pp. 69-86), which should be read bearing in mind
William A. Stewart's seminal essay, "A Sociolinguistic Typology
for Describing National Multilingualism."

Returning once more to our survey, we found that in essence
relationships needed to be pursued between the following sets of
factors: (1) Intra-linguistic variables, (2) Linguistic factors
with socio-educational and demographic ones, (3) Socio-educational
factors with one another or intra-socio-educational factors.

Very briefly, as a first step toward analysis through
"relational bilingualism," the writer has set up a global "correla-
tional matrix" with 21 of the 69 variables most relevant to language
issues plotted on the vertical and horizontal grids. (See Center's
publications.) This was basically to show at a glance whether there
is a positive or inverse relationship between any two variables
at least at the .05 level of confidence, or whether no relation-
ship exists at all. Crude though this be, the main advantage of
this procedure is that it aids the researcher in keeping some sort
of grasp on a frequently confusing abundance of detail involved.
In the matrix in question, one may for example, see at once with
which of the remaining factors the two variables of overall perfor-
mance in Spanish and English show correlations. Each of these rela-
tionships must then be analyzed.

At the same time, we do not believe that one should rely exclu-
sively on statistical detail, no matter how sophisticated, since
this is as much an extreme as reliance upon a purely anecdotal
approach. Hence we are seeking as full ethnographic documentation
as possible even including informal and hearsay material, which
must of course be clearly labeled as such.

This matrix is largely intended to help summarize our findings
in one compact chart so that the reader can see at a glance just
what is correlated with what, and to maintain some sort of per-
spective on the mass of detail here presented. We assume that the

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TABLE XIII

Students' Self-Evaluations of English and
Spanish Capability

| | English | | | | Spanish | | | |
| | Anglo | | Mexican-American | | Anglo | | Mexican-American | |
	#*	%	#	%	#**	%	#	%
Formal, educated	121	82	112	73	21	14	48	31
Informal, everyday	24	16	41	27	32	22	87	57
Southwest dialect	1	1	0	0	6	4	14	9
Border Slang	0	0	0	0	18	13	3	2
Cannot handle	1	1	0	0	69	47	1	1
Totals	147	100	153	100	146	100	153	100

*Figured without two respondents.
**Figured without three respondents.
p <<.05 >> .02 (Kolmogorov-Smirnov one-tailed test).
p <<.001 (Kolmogorov-Smirnov one-tailed test).

reader understands that correlations are general indicators of re-
lationships and the strength of these relationships is the square
of the correlation discovered. With a number of 151 at the .05
level of confidence ± .159 is an acceptable correlation. However,
± .159 explains only .026281 of our variance. Thus correlations are
useful devices for indicating where relationships are to be found
but are not necessarily indicative that they are powerful or defini-

tive. A further expansion of the matrix into other disciplines
might quickly indicate, for example, how political attitudes relate
to language proficiency and social class.

Socio-educational correlates of bilingualism/biculturalism,
then, have a vast possible number of implications. However, the
need for more ethnic field research for coping with much of the
turmoil in American education is highlighted by a group of Mexican-
American educators. In a recent manifesto, Adelante: An Emerging
Design for Mexican-American Education (1972), Dr. Simon Gonzalez
asserts:

> An educational philosophy for the instruction of Mexican
> Americans requires concerted attention to the area of
> research. The paucity of data regarding our ethnic group
> requires that we increase our demands that institutions
> of higher learning address themselves to this need and
> also provide opportunities for Chicano graduate students
> to gain vitally needed experience by participating as re-
> search assistants.

Probably the greatest value of the study as discussed thus far
has been the explicit attempt to probe interrelations of language
skills and social factors in a broader frame of reference than has
usually been the case for sociolinguistic studies.

Two parameters or issues emerge from the research being done
by our "team" on Mexican-American bilinguals. One of these, again
reminiscent of youth in the emergent lands, is the matter of relative
position or prestige of minority dialect speakers, part of whose
alienation from the mainstream is due to the stigmatized nature of
their language varieties, and their exclusion from higher paying
jobs because of inability to communicate in the standard educated
model of mainstream groups--in our case, English. We have seen that
our sub-sample rated their English capabilities significantly lower
than Anglos, even when some of their performance scores would just-
ify a higher self-image. Their evaluation of the kind of Spanish
used in this locality as well as their evaluation of the Spanish
they personally use is also indicative of a poorer self-image.
These may be compounded by feelings of inferiority brought about by

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ower SES position and poorer hourly wages paid to them.

These same students, however, reflect a high degree of loyalty
:oward Spanish language and Chicano customs as well as abundant use
)f this language in all but formal domains. Contrary to the findings
)f Grebler, Moore and Guzman (1970), the extent of use of Spanish and
ittitude to it, is not associated with SES. On the contrary, Chicanos
)f higher SES generally reported an abundant amount of Spanish usage,
levertheless, it is true that higher SES Mexican-Americans did
indicate a large amount of English use at home and in the "environ-
lent."

We therefore seem to be in the presence of a sort of incon-
istency or ambivalence that might well contribute to personality
raits. While on one hand there is a high degree of loyalty to
panish language and Mexican-American culture, on the other hand,
he lower ratings are accorded regional Spanish. This problem
eeds to be explored much more deeply.

Finally, this rather lengthy paper can be concluded by saying
hat a great deal of further research is mandatory before the findings
n this study can be satisfactorily confirmed. Not only are repli-
ative studies needed which might yield similar results, but also in-
estigations which might corroborate or reject our individual assump-
ions and conclusions. Our conviction is that the area treated still
ffers a number of challenging and significant research tasks. Hope-
ully both our study and future related ones can bring greater knowl-
dge of the intricate web of inter-ethnic relationships, and by the
ame token, better understanding among humans of one another.