Multiple Dimensions of Bilingualism

A theoretical overview

Dolores Siguezabal Rabanes

Telma Velez

HÁSKÓLI ÍSLANDS

MENNTAVÍSINDASVIÐ

Mutliple Dimensions of Bilingualism

A theoretical overview

Dolores Siguezabal Rabanes

Telma Velez

Multiple Dimensions of Bilingualism: A theoretical overview

Ritgerð þessi er 10 eininga lokaverkefni til BA-prófs við Uppeldis- og
 menntunarfræðideild, Menntavísindasviði Háskóla Íslands.

Abstract

In this thesis we explore the multiple dimensions of bilingualism to challenge conventional understandings that can stigmatize and marginalize non-conventional bilinguals. There is no agreed upon definition of bilingualism from researchers or linguists, and this has resulted in important aspects of the psychological and sociocultural contributions to bilingualism being overlooked. As a consequence, it is often assumed that bilingualism refers only to linguistic phenomenon thus ignoring other important and influential dimensions of the term.

Our thesis is structured to first provide a theoretical overview of the multiple dimensions of the term bilingualism. In the first section, we discuss the positive and negative impacts of bilingualism on cognitive development. We then explore the relationship between bilingualism and psychological and socio-cultural factors. Skutnabb-Kanggas (1981) and Grosjean (1982) argue that bilingualism is indeed more than a linguistic phenomenon since the notion of an individual becoming bilingual is largely influenced by other aspects; namely, the psychological and sociocultural context. Li Wei (2002) further argues that struggles of identity are not the result of being bilingual but are "connected to social, economic and political conditions surrounding the development of bilingualism" (Baker, 2011: p.400).

We conclude that bilingualism is a multidimensional continuum that should be defined and investigated as such. Therefore, the way that the term is understood should reflect the reality of a world that is continuously evolving and affected by language, communication and culture.

Key words: bilingualism, bilingual, cognitive development, psychological and sociocultural factors

Table of Contents

Table of Figures

Preface

We thank all who have worked with us to make this paper a reality directly or indirectly, especially to our advisers who helped us with all their expertise, and to our families that unconditionally supported us through the process of writing this paper.

This thesis was written solely by us, the undersigned. We have read and understand the university code of conduct (November 7, 2003, http://www.hi.is/is/skolinn/sidareglur) and have followed them to the best of our knowledge. We have correctly cited to all other works or previous work of our own, including, but not limited to, written works, figures, data or tables. We thank all who have worked with and take full responsibility for any mistakes contained in this work. Signed:

Reykjavík, ____._____ 20__

_____   _____

1 Introduction

Globalization increases population movements, which has resulted in a growing number of multicultural societies. Often, mixed communities lead to multilingual families and children who identify themselves as belonging to more than one culture (Arnarsdóttir, 2012). Bilingualism is a "language phenomenon that indicates that an individual functions, in varying degrees of competence, in at least two languages" (Okurinmeta, 2013, p.117). However, we often assume that bilingualism only indicates linguistic phenomenon and ignore its non-linguistic dimensions, namely the psychological and sociocultural aspects. Our purpose for writing this paper is to unravel the different aspects of bilingualism, and the implications of these aspects towards bilingual speakers. In addition, the main reason that drove us to investigate the multidimensional aspects of bilingualism is the fact that we are bilingual speakers. We both came from bilingual backgrounds, and we believe that bilingualism is a concept that does not only imply to the linguistic competence of an individual. Instead, the concept comprises linguistic, psychological and sociocultural aspects that are interdependent with each other. For example, we experience bilingualism in our daily lives where we use one language at home, and another two languages at work and at school. We realize that every time we switch from one language to another, we are not only drawing on our language abilities but also revealing the cultural traits of the language.

In order to strengthen the argument that bilingualism has multidimensional aspects, we decided to review literatures that related to the term. In doing so we first start with the definitions of the term and concept of bilingualism. This paper will then move on to discuss the distinctions between bilinguality and bilingualism. In the final section of the thesis, we discuss research on bilingualism and cognitive development, and the implications of this research, before moving in to a discussion on the relationship of bilingualism, psychological and sociocultural factors.

Bilingualism is a controversial issue, and defining the term is as difficult as identifying who is or is not bilingual. Many researchers and linguists have attempted to give a concrete definition of the term, however, this is not a straightforward task since bilingualism may mean different things to different people, and there is not one specific definition. In other words, bilingualism "as a term has open- ended semantics" (Baetens-Baeardsmorés (1982) in Baker, 2011: p.1). As a consequence, Hamers and Blanc (1989; 2000) presented different dimensions of bilingualism in order to examine the term in a

broader perspective and to analyse how some factors may exert an influence over our perception of bilinguals and how they function.

Assuming that bilingualism is indeed composed of multidimensional aspects, we cannot deny that those aspects cause certain implications on cognitive development, identity formation, and language usage of a bilingual person. These implications can have negative and positive effects. In addition, some implications may initiate marginalization and certain assumptions. It is very important when defining bilingualism to critically consider certain factors such as: age, context of language acquisition and socioeconomic status of a bilingual person.

2   Definitions

There is no universal definition of bilingualism, however, each definition that has been given to this term shared the same interpretation. A person is bilingual if they are able to speak or use two languages, although the given definitions may vary in terms of language ability and language usage of an individual (Baker, 2003). If we define bilingualism according to the syllables of the word, this will simply mean: *bi-* means having two and *lingua* -derived from Latin, tongue or language. Therefore, bilingualism will literally mean "having two tongues or languages". However, this definition is too general and defining bilingualism is essentially ambiguous and ultimately impossible. As a consequence, defining who is or is not bilingual remains a hot topic of debate between researchers and linguists who study this concept. This situation drove a lot of researchers, namely Colin Baker (1993; 2003; 2011), Hamers and Blanc (2000), Bloomfield (1935), Macmara (1967), Grosjean (1982), Tritone (1972), Paradis (1986:x1), and Skutnabb- Kangas (1981) to propose different hypotheses on defining bilingualism.

Colin Baker (2003) stresses that the foundation of defining bilingualism is to examine the distinction between bilingual ability and bilingual usage (p. 15). In other words, a person may be able to speak two languages but uses only one language in practice, or an individual who uses two languages but the competence in one language may be limited. Hamers and Blanc (1989, 2000) propose that bilingualism can be defined in terms of language functions and language behavior. According to Hamers and Blanc (1989, 2000), when two different languages are in contact, it not only influences the use (language functions) in interpersonal and intergroup relations, but it also emphasizes the psychological state (language behavior) of an individual who uses more than one language (p. 6). In other words, language behavior does not and cannot exist outside the functions it serves (Hamers and Blanc, 2000) and when language is processed through an individual it always integrates with "cognitive and affective processes" (p. 8). After all, to some extent language is one of the variables, which defines culture (Hamers and Blanc, 2000).

On the other hand, Bloomfield (1935) described bilingualism as "native-like control of two languages" (p. 56), which means that a person has the capacity to use two or more languages at a native-like competence. However, this definition received criticism from other linguists including Macmara and Tritone. In contrast to Bloomfield, Macmara (1967a) (seen in Hamers and Blanc, 1989) proposes that a bilingual is an

individual who "possesses a minimal competence in one of the four language skills, as listening comprehension, speaking, reading and writing in a language other than the individual mother tongue" (p.6). In addition, Tritone (1972) (seen in Hamers and Blanc, 2000) defined bilingualism "as the individual´s capacity to speak a second language while following the concepts and structures of that language without paraphrasing his or her mother tongue" (p. 6).

As opposed to these extreme definitions that focus on native- like competence of two languages, or minimal proficiency of a second language, Grosjean (1982) defines bilingualism as the sum up of two monolinguals who have developed two distinct language abilities and behaviors where a person can function in each language according to given needs, context and different types of interlocutor (Bialystok, 2001, p.4). Moreover, Skutnabb- Kangas (1981) who defined bilingualism in relation to the definitions of Grosjean and Bloomfield stated that:

> "An individual who is able to function in two or more languages, either in monolingual or bilingual communities, in accordance with sociocultural demands made of an individual´s communicative and cognitive competence by these communities or by the individual herself, at the same level as native speakers, and who is able to positively to identify with both (or all) language groups (and cultures), or parts of them" (p. 90).

Her definition correlates to what Paradis (1986: xi) (seen in Hamers and Blanc, 1989) suggested by arguing "that bilingualism should be defined on a multidimensional continuum" (p. 7). He insisted that the fundamental focus on defining the concept should not be only on the linguistic dimension but also contemplate the other aspects, namely psychological and sociocultural factors since they also play a substantial role in the development of bilingualism. In fact, according to Ofelia Garcia (2000) (seen in Bialystok, 2001) when bilingual and multilingual speakers interact using two or more languages, the language and personal abilities are not only heightened, but there is also an opportunity of grasping cultural traits from that language. This is because languages are not only channels of communication, they also capture ideas, values, and frameworks, where speakers build their interactions and descriptions of their environment (Bialystok, 2001). This definition administered an inspiration to Hamers and Blanc to investigate factors that influences the development of bilingualism and bilinguality, which they called 'dimensions of bilingualism and bilinguality'. The next section of this paper is going to discuss different factors that will demonstrate the distinction of identifying who is or is

not bilingual. These factors will not only serve as a determinant of the concept of bilingualism, but also of how and why a person becomes a bilingual.

2.1 Dimensions of bilingualism and bilinguality

In an attempt to facilitate better understanding of bilingualism, Hamers and Blanc (1989, 2000) proposed dimensions of bilingualism on the basis of which different types of bilingualism can be distinguished. In doing so, they provide first the definition of bilinguality and bilingualism. According to them, the concept of bilinguality focuses on:

> "The psychological state of an individual who has access to more than one
> linguistic code as a means of social communication; the degree of access may vary
> along the number of dimensions, namely psychological, sociological, socio-cultural
> and linguistics." (p.6).

On the other hand, they distinguished the concept of bilingualism as follows:

"It refers to the state of a linguistic community in which two or more languages are in contact with the result that two linguistic codes can be used in the same interaction and that a number of individuals are bilingual (societal bilingualism), however, this can be also applied in the concept of bilinguality (individual bilingualism)" (Hamers and Blanc, 1989; 2000, p.6).

From the distinction between the concept of bilinguality and bilingualism, they suggested various dimensions that are relevant to or at least will support the claim that bilingualism is indeed multidimensional. The development of bilingualism and bilinguality influence language competence, but are also affected by psychological and socio-cultural factors, which will be further discussed in the next section. These influences are useful to help account for how bilinguals utilize and interact with the resources in the community. Dimensions of bilinguality that Hamers and Blanc (2000) and Colin Baker (2003) mentioned are: language competence, language use, cognitive organization, age of acquisition, sociocultural factors and cultural identity.

2.1.1 Dimensions of bilinguality

As discussed in the previous section of this paper, dimensions of bilinguality are different factors that have influence on determining if someone is bilingual. The first distinction is on the dimension of competence. This focuses on the relationship between the two possible linguistic competences of an individual, a *balanced* or a *dominant* bilingual (Hamers and Blanc 1989, p.8). *Balanced* bilingual refers to a person whose competence in both languages is well developed. This kind of individual has the capacity for using two

languages for different purposes, contexts, and different types of interlocutors (Baker, 2003). For example, a person may use one language at work that is different from the one used at home and in the local community. *Dominant* bilingual simply implies an individual whose competence in one language, more often his/her mother tongue (dominant language), is superior to his or her competence in the other language (Hamers and Blanc, 1989, p 8). In most recent studies, dominant bilingualism occurs when an individual prefers to master only one language. This depended on the context, usage and value of that language (Moradi, 2014). For example, a bilingual child tends to choose to learn their second language (L2) since it is more valued in the community and will help him to integrate in a new society. This occurs without losing the competence of his or her mother tongue (dominant language). There are certain factors that affect this balance of bilinguality, such as age, and context of language acquisition.

The second distinction is based on the dimension of cognitive organization. The language acquisition of an individual is greatly affected by the factors that mentioned above, namely the age and the context of language use. Research has explored the high interdependence between the age, and the context of acquisition, and cognitive organization. The focus of this distinction is to investigate how individuals organized and store their different linguistic codes during the process of language acquisition. This involves the difference between compound, coordinate and subordinate bilinguals (Hamers and Blanc, 1989). Compound bilingualism refers to a group of individuals who have the competence of two different linguistic codes, but only have one system of meaning for words. They used this system for both L1 and L2 (Moradi, 2014). For instance, a French- English compound bilingual, whose first language (L1) is French and English is the second language (L2), may have two distinct word labels or verbal expressions of the word *church* and *église,* but the underlying definition is similar across the two languages (Heredia and Cieslicka, 2014).
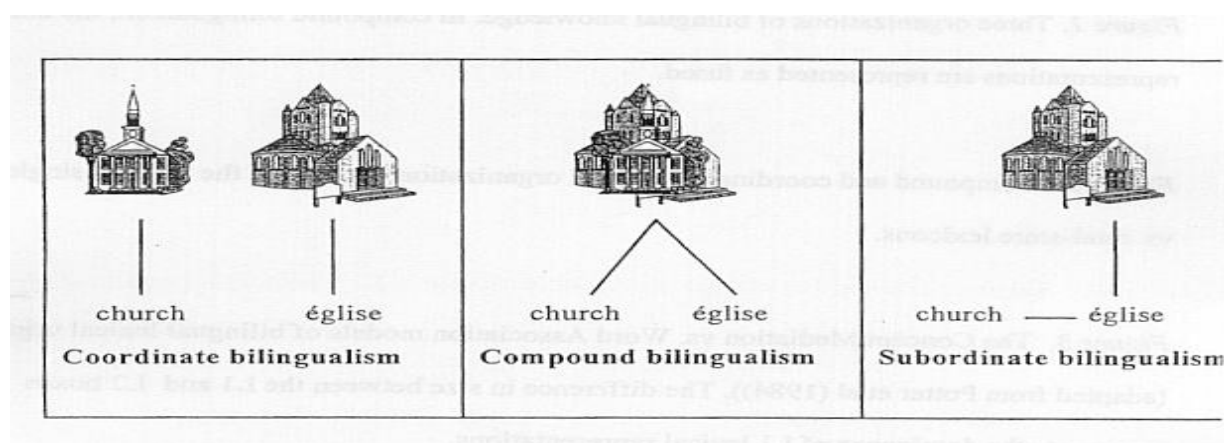

church	église	church	église	church ——— église
Coordinate bilingualism		**Compound bilingualism**		**Subordinate bilingualism**

Figure 1. Three bilingual cognitive storage representations. Based on Betram et.al 2005 (seen in Arnbjörnsdóttir, 2011).

On the other hand, coordinate bilingualism indicates that the linguistic codes of an individual are stored and organized separately in other words these bilinguals have two different systems of meaning for words, one for L1 and another system for L2. As it shows in Figure 1, even though the words *church* and *église* "represent meanings that are unique to each language, both definitions are associated with the information that is language-specific" (Heredia and Cieslicka, 2014, p. 13). Lastly, subordinate bilingualism refers to a group of individuals whose linguistic code of L2 is understood and interpreted through L1. They have two linguistic codes, but only one meaning unit, as it shows in Figure 1 (Moradi, 2014). In other words, L2 or other languages to be learned are solely developed through a translation of L1. These are crucial differences in the three systems. The more learning contexts, or different acquisition opportunities a bilingual has, the greater possibility that the two languages of a bilingual will be stored differently and independently (Heredia and Cieslicka, 2014). The distinction between compound, coordinate and subordinate bilingualism implies that the acquisition or learning context (for example home versus school), is a one of the crucial factors that can determine a bilingual´s language organization or the functional separation of language system into two codes (Hamers and Blanc, 1989; Heredia and Cieslicka, 2014).

In addition to the context of language acquisition, age of acquisition also plays a substantial role in bilingual development, and this is the third distinction. Age is one of the most important factors in language acquisition both in L1 and L2. In fact, according to Chomsky (1957, 1959) (seen in Peregoy & Boyle, 2008) there is a specific age frame (8 to 11 years old) where a child is able to learn two or more languages easily. Moreover, according to Hamers and Blanc (1989), age of acquisition plays a substantial role not only in "cognitive development but also in other aspects of a bilingual´s development, particularly in linguistic, cognitive, and sociocultural development" (p.11). Age of acquisition is usually interdependent with context of acquisition and the use of two languages. For example, early language acquisition commonly occurs in the same context of a family, while later acquisition of the second language usually happens in a school or other formal learning setting (Hamers and Blanc, 1989). This distinguishes early and late bilingualism.

Early bilingualism is divided in two types: (a) *simultaneous early or infant bilinguality* (Hamers and Blanc, 1989) - when a child´s acquisition of two languages occurs in the pre-adolescent phase of life or before adolescence. This usually occurs when a child is from a mixed-lingual family. While, (b*) consecutive childhood bilinguality* (Hamers and

Blanc, 1989) – refers to a child who acquires his second language after he achieved the basic linguistic competence of his L1 or the mother tongue. Late bilinguality mostly happens in a person who has already learned, or has a firmly established competence of his or her mother tongue (L1), and acquired L2 after the critical period, such as in adolescence or adulthood (Hamers and Blanc, 1989). Early and late bilinguals are distinguished based on their attainment of linguistic competence. Early bilinguals are often regarded as those who can attain native-like competence in both languages. This is in contrast to late bilinguals who are frequently assumed not to have the capacity of attaining the native-like competence in both languages. This claim was criticized by Mclaughlin (1992) when he presented different myths or misconceptions of children and adults second language learners.

In his research, he found "yes, children have the capacity to learn a second language faster than the adult, due to psychological and social factors" (p. 3). In most cases children are put in a certain situation where they are forced to speak the second language, for example in the school context. Moreover, children are more motivated to learn a second language than adults, and may have more exposure to the second language. For example, they play on the playground in the school and communicate using the L2. This is different from adults in their job, where they usually work or are with someone who speaks the first language (Mclaughlin, 1992). Nevertheless, in his experimental research McLaughlin showed that the adults or adolescents performed better in learning the second language than young children under controlled conditions (1992). However, young children performed better on the aspects of pronunciation than adults. McLaughlin concluded that children have the capacity to speak the second language without any accent, which is impossible for adults to attain (1992). This assertion was also supported by other researchers including Asher and Garcia (1969) and Oyama (1976) (seen in McLaughlin, 1992), where they suggested that the younger a child learns a second language, the higher the possibility for them to develop a native-like accent in that language. Another factor that affects the balance of bilinguality is the sociocultural context, wherein a person is required to learn another language, since it is necessary for a person to integrate or adapt into a new society.

This fourth distinction is based on sociocultural context, in which the individual is forced to learn a new language due to the circumstances such as migration, study abroad, and family fusion, etc. In regards to the cognitive development of the bilingual, the sociocultural environment plays a substantial role. In particular, this role can be affected by the relative status of the two languages in the community. According to Hamers and

Blanc (1989; 2000), if a society values both languages this will serve as a determinant of the type of bilinguality that a child will develop (p. 11). For example, if the two languages are both adequately valued in the child's environment, the child will procure maximum benefit from the bilingual experience. However, if one of the child´s languages is devalued it will cause delayed cognitive development or losing the language competence of one of his languages (Hamers and Blanc, 1989; Cummins, 1979a; Byliastok, 2001; Diaz,1985).

The impact of language status is defined by the terms additive and subtractive bilingualism (Hamers and Blanc, 1989). Additive bilingualism takes place when a child acquires L2 without losing the language proficiency of L1. For a child or a person to become an additive bilingual, it is necessary that the two languages which the individual learns or uses are both valued in the society where they belong. One of the authors of this paper is Cebuano- Filipino bilingual. She was raised in a family that uses two different languages; one language at home/community (Cebuano) and one language use in the school (Filipino). She concluded that both languages are valued in the community, where they share the same benefit in political, economic and social status. Positive family attitudes towards the two languages will influence or elevate the learning of L2 but in no case threaten to replace L1. This is because language 'valorisation' is one way to construct a certain notion of prestige that is bestowed by a society toward that language. As a consequence, it will facilitate positive values, which will motivate a child to learn or to use that language. Subtractive bilingualism on the other hand, is when learning L2 interferes with L1 acquisition. In other words, two languages are competing rather than complementing the existence of the other. Subtractive bilingualism can happen for instance, when a child´s formal learning or schooling takes place in his or her L2, "which is also the language that is more valued or dominant than L1" (Arnarsdóttir, 2012, p.23). One instance that can heighten the occurrence of subtractive bilingualism include when a child´s linguistic proficiency in L1 is not well-developed (Cummins, 1979a). For example, one of the author´s relative is an Icelandic- Filipino bilingual. Her proficiency in both languages is not well-developed compared to Icelandic monolingual and Filipino monolingual children in Iceland. As a result, she had difficulties achieving a well-developed proficiency in English. However, after receiving a formal education both in Icelandic and the Filipino language, her English competence also improved.

The fifth and final dimension of bilinguality can be distinguished in terms of cultural identity. This distinction is between the bicultural/monocultural bilingual, or also known as a second language acculturated bilingual and a deculturated bilingual (Hamers and

Blanc, 1989). A bicultural bilingual refers to a person who positively identifies himself as belonging to two cultural groups, and is recognized by each group as a member. However, not all bilinguals identify themselves with two cultural identities since a person can become fluent bilingually but remain monocultural and identify with only one cultural group (Hamers and Blanc, 1989). On the other hand, a second -language acculturated bilingual occurs when a person declaims the cultural identity of his mother tongue and adopts the cultural identity of the second language group. A deculturated bilingual is a person who renounces his own cultural identity, and at the same time fails to integrate into the L2 cultural group (Hamers and Blanc, 1989; Colin Baker, 2003; Bialystok, 2001). Having explored the five dimensions of bilinguality, in the next section we focus on the dimensions of bilingualism.

2.1.2 Dimensions of bilingualism

In contrast to dimensions of bilinguality, this section of our paper will focus on the socio-cultural factors that have a great influence on how and why a person becomes bilingual. Among the factors that Colin Baker (2003); Mackey (1962); and Weinreich (1953) propose, included are: language use of an individual, relative status between a language and a speaker, and the context where the two languages interact (Baker, 2003, Hamers and Blanc, 2000). Mackey (1962) and Weinreich (1953) suggest that there are certain bilinguals who specifically use two or more languages for certain purposes (Hamers ad Blanc, 2000; 20003), for example educational, political and employment demands. The concept of use means that a bilingual has the capacity to use either language with the minimal competence in both languages; in this way they can function effectively in a different context, with multiple interlocutors and for diverse purposes. In many instances, this type of bilingual usually has a 'preferred language' (Dodson, 1981) (seen in Hamers and Blanc, 2000), which is considered the language of choice in a particular situation. The situational language of choice of these bilinguals is a one of the basis of which different types of bilingualism can be distinguished. The distinctions are between territorial, elective and circumstantial bilingualism (Colin Baker, 2003; Hamers and Blanc, 1989; 2003).

Territorial bilingualism refers to a group of people who became bilingual because they reside in a multilingual or bilingual context. This context endorses the use of two or more languages in official domains, and both languages have their own official status in their own territory. In most cases, both languages are considered as national or official. An example of this is Canada, where French and English are both official languages. Other examples of territorial bilingualism can be found in Belgium, India, Spain and Switzerland

(Hamers and Blanc, 2003). Elective bilingualism on the other hand, refers to a person who chooses to learn a language for specific reason (e.g. school or work purposes). Most elective bilinguals tend to learn a second language in addition to their first language in order to integrate or function effectively in society. In other words, they have a choice to learn the second language; for example, children who choose to learn the second language in school, or someone who decides to learn the second language because their partner or people around them speak a different language. In contrast to elective or territorial bilingualism, circumstantial bilingualism implies learning a second language (often a community language) in order to survive because of a person specific circumstances (e.g. immigrants), and there is a need for speaking another language in order to function in society (for example, Latinos or Mexicans in the United States) (Colin, Baker,2003). Most often, circumstantial bilinguals replaced their first language with the second language because it was more valued in society and could facilitate prestige, and a higher status and power among fellow bilinguals (Baker, 2011).

Due to the complexity of defining bilingualism and identifying who is or is not bilingual, our aim in this section was to present the definitions of the term. In sections 3.1.1 and 3.1.2 the different dimensional factors that have influenced bilingualism were discussed. Our purpose was to provide a comprehensive overview of bilingualism and its multiple dimensions. Bilingualism is greatly affected by psychological factors, namely age of acquisition, language competence, cultural identity, and sociocultural factors such as language use of an individual, relative status between a language and a speaker, and the context where the two languages interact. Psychological and sociocultural factors play a crucial role in cognitive development and identity formation of a bilingual speaker. In other words, the occurrence of bilingualism is dependent on the psychological and sociocultural factors that surround a bilingual person. As Hamers and Blanc (18989, 2000) demonstrated: "language use does not and cannot exist outside functions itself" (p.6). Therefore, we understand bilingualism as multidimensional and it should be investigated as such, since there are certain factors that influence a person´s development towards to becoming bilingual.

Now that we have established an understanding of the terms, it is necessary to consider the positive and negative aspects of bilingualism, and their implications. In the next section of our thesis, we will discuss the implications of bilingualism on cognitive development, and the impact of psychological and sociocultural factors on bilingualism development.

3 Implications of bilingualism

There are several studies indicating that bilingualism can impact an individual positively as well as negatively. This section of our paper is going to focus on the positive and negative effects of bilingualism on cognitive and linguistic development, as well as the effect of psychological and sociocultural factors on bilingualism development. To some extent previous studies on the relationship between bilingualism and cognitive development appeared to suggest negative effects on child cognitive development. Researchers suggested that children who speak two languages can suffer linguistic confusion and not have the ability to attain native competence of either language. However, this assertion was amended in more recent studies, where researchers concluded that bilingualism can increase child metalinguistic awareness, and improve verbal IQ, and executive functioning, as well as the capacity to attain a high level of control or selective attention in problem solving. These issues will be discussed further in the section 3.1. The discussion on positive and negative factors suggests that psychological and sociocultural factors can have an impact on bilingual identity as well as the value individual puts on one of the languages. These implications will be discussed further on sections 3.2 and 3.3 of our paper.

3.1 Bilingualism and cognitive development

A number of studies have been published claiming that bilingualism had a "detrimental effect on children´s cognitive and linguistic development" (Colin Baker, 2011, p. 140) (this will be discussed further in the next section). However, with increasing importance on accuracy of the research methods, it was revealed that bilingualism undeniably has both positive and negative effects on bilingual speakers (Diaz, 1985; Bialystok, 2001; Barac and Bialystok, 2012; Hakuta, 1990; Arnarsdóttir, 2012). In the following section we will review different literature that covers the positive and negative impacts of bilingualism on child´s cognitive and linguistic development. Our purpose of this investigation is to challenge the standardized perception that bilingualism has negative impacts on a child´s cognitive and linguistic development.

3.1.1 The Period of Negative Impacts

There exists a period of studies on bilingualism that mostly focus on the relationship between cognition and intelligence. That is why most of the research conducted was based on psychometric tests of intelligence or IQ (Colin Baker, 2003; 2011). During those

periods of study, it was a frequently held belief that parents should not encourage or raise their children using two languages, as it could "lead to intellectual and cognitive disadvantages as well as linguistic confusion" (Arnarsdóttir, 2012, p. 3). This assertion was supported by evidence from a number of empirical research projects. However, today the results of these studies are not recognized as a valuable conclusion that bilingualism can cause negative impact on child´s cognitive development, due to methodological weaknesses in the research. Sær (1923) (seen in Baker, 1988, 2003, 2011) conducted research based on the comparison between bilingual children and monolinguals in an intelligence test, in particular verbal IQ tests in Wales. His research consisted of 1,400 children aged from seven to fourteen years old, and participants were from different backgrounds and linguistic groups. The first group was Welsh and English bilingual speakers that came from a rural background. The second group was English monolingual speakers mostly from non-rural backgrounds (Baker, 1988). The result of his study showed that in verbal IQ tests, monolingual English speakers were 10 points ahead of rural bilinguals (Baker, 2011). Moreover, on the Rhythm test it showed that bilingual children were two years behind monolingual English speakers. From this investigation, Sær (1923) concluded that "bilingual children were mentally confused and at a disadvantage compared to monolinguals" (Baker, 1988, p.11; 2011, p. 140). However, the result of Sær's (1923) research was criticized by Arnberg (1981) (seen in Baker, 1988). He argued the majority of verbal IQ tests were carried out on the bilingual´s weaker language (Baker, 1949). In addition, he stresses that it is more desirable to test a bilingual in their preferred language. For example, in Sær's (1923) research it would be fair to test Welsh-English bilinguals in the Welsh language, which is their dominant language.

Another research that implied the same results as Sær was a study undertaken by Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa (1976) (seen in Hamers and Blanc, 1989). Their research claimed that, "bilingual children fail to reach a monolingual proficiency in literacy skills in any language and might not able to develop linguistic potential" (Hamers and Blanc, 1989, p.52). Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa described bilingual children as suffering from 'cognitive or linguistic deficit', commonly known as 'semilingualism' or 'language handicap' (Hamers and Blanc, 1989; 2000; Baker, 2011; Diaz, 1985). Semilingualism or language handicap refers to a group of individuals who are often regarded as not having sufficient competence in either language (Baker, 1993, p.9). In addition, Skutnabb- Kangas (2000) and Hansegård (1975) (seen in Baker, 2011) described semilingualism in terms of deficiency in "displaying small vocabulary, incorrect grammar, consciously thinking of language production, unnatural and uncreative with each language and having difficulty of thinking and expressing emotions in either language" (p.10). As a consequence,

'language handicap or 'semilingualism' bilingual children will not only suffer from cognitive deficit but they can also be suffering from "increased social isolation, where they experience having difficulties identifying themselves with either language group" (Arnarsdóttir, 2012, p.3; Diaz, 1985).

The result of Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa´s study, was criticized by linguists and researchers including Cummins, Brent-Palmer and Troike. According to Brent - Palmer (1979) the notion of semilingualism is ill-defined and linguistic potential is unexplained; measuring it using psychometric test is absurd and unfair to the group being studied (Hamers and Blanc, 1989; 2000). In addition, Troike (1984) suggested that "socio-cultural factors are possibly responsible for poor linguistic achievement" of bilingual children (seen in Hamers and Blanc, 1989, p. 53). As Troike (1984) pointed out, if semilingualism or linguistic deficit is the outcome of a bilingual experience then, "Hispanic Americans, which were more socio-economically deprived than White Americans with Anglo- Celtic background and Black Americans, should perform worse than these two monolingual groups" (Hamers and Blanc, 1989, p. 53). However, this is not the case, since the Hispanic Americans perform better than the Black Americans but perform poorly compared to the White Americans (Hamers and Blanc, 1989). This assertion that Troike (1984) mentioned above implies that language proficiency alone is not the explanatory factor for the poor performances of bilingual children in psychometric intelligence tests or IQ tests.

As opposed to Brent-Palmer and Troike, Cummins proposed two hypotheses (threshold linguistic hypothesis and developmental interdependence hypothesis) (Hamers and Blanc, 1989, p. 53) in an attempt to point out the main reason for poor linguistic achievement of bilingual children in the IQ test. The first hypothesis suggests that the first language (L1) competence will serve as a function to the competence of second language (L2), at least at the beginning of exposure to L2 (Hamers and Blanc, 1989). As Cummins explains, if L1 competence is well developed, it will probably lead to good competence of L2 without detrimental competence in L1. The second hypothesis implies that the "first language competence threshold has to be crossed in order to avoid cognitive deficit, and that the second language competence threshold must be passed before a bilingual experience can constitute a positive influence on cognitive functioning" (Hamers and Blanc, 1989, p. 54). That is what makes competence with two languages balanced (Hamers and Blanc, 1989). This was supported by evidence from a number of empirical research studies. For example, Duncan and De Avila (1979), found that, "Hispanic minority school children in USA who possess well-developed competence of L1 and L2 performed better than monolinguals and other non-proficient bilinguals from the same

cultural sample on cognitive tasks" (seen in Hamers and Blanc, 1989, p. 54). Furthermore, research done by Hakuta and Diaz (1984), indicated similar results when they "found that fluent bilinguals performed better in cognitive tasks than to the non-fluent bilinguals" (seen in Hamers and Blanc, 1989, p. 54).

As we mentioned at the start of this section, results suggesting a negative impact associated with bilingualism were critiqued because of methodological weaknesses. Among the critics was Baker (2011). He suggested that the notion and use of intelligence is ill-defined. According to him, there are different forms and types of intelligence, for instance social intelligence, monitoring intelligence, military intelligence, musical intelligence, marketing intelligence and political intelligence. All of these forms of intelligence are not measurable only by a piece of paper or any IQ test. The second criticism is due to the language used when an IQ test is given to bilinguals. According to Valdés and Figueroa (1994) (seen in Baker, 2011), in the early studies, many verbal IQ tests were done in English only. As a result, bilingual children under-performed in the IQ test because they were tested in their weaker language (p. 142). However, the main methodological concern from the early studies was that the subjects in the research were not equal in terms of their language competence, socioeconomic status, gender, types of school attended and context (whether the groups came from a subtractive and additive environment as will be discussed in section 3.3) (Baker, 2011). Bialystok (2001) stresses that it is very important that both groups (bilingual and monolingual subjects) are equal in all of these aspects to avoid any type of bias. Early studies showed that monolingual subjects mostly came from a higher socioeconomic status, and bilingual subjects were mostly from a lower socioeconomic status (Baker, 2011). Therefore, the cognitive differences between bilingual and monolingual children, for example monolingual children being cognitively ahead of bilinguals (Baker, 2011), is not proven to cause by bilingualism. Other factors such as social status, socio-economic status, and the learning context of L2 are likely contributing factors to such a difference in performance. As well as reviewing negative impacts of bilingualism on cognitive and linguistic development, we also looked into the positive impacts of the term, which will be discussed in the next section.

3.1.2 The Period of Positive Impacts

As mentioned previously, modern studies imply that bilingualism has a positive impact on a child´s cognitive and linguistic development (Baker, 2011; Bialystok, 2001). In this section, we present literature that explores the positive impact of bilingualism in order to discuss the cognitive benefits of being bilingual.

The first turning point in the history between bilingualism and cognition was around 1962, based on research conducted by Canadian Researchers Peal and Lambert. The Peal and Lambert (1962) study underlined the essential role of a systematic approach of the research (Arnarsdóttir, 2012). Their study indicates that bilingualism did not cause any negative or detrimental consequences towards a child´s cognitive functioning. Instead, there is a high possibility that bilingualism can lead to cognitive advantages over monolingualism (Baker, 2003; 2011). For instance, the results of their study pointed out that bilinguals "performed significantly higher on 15 (including verbal and non-verbal aspects) out of 18 variables measuring IQ than monolinguals" (Baker,2011, p.44). However, in the three other variables (namely, Space, Perception, and a number of components in Mental abilities test) there was "no difference between monolinguals and balanced bilinguals" (Baker, 2011, p. 144). Therefore, they conclude that bilingualism can provide "greater mental flexibility; the ability to think abstractly, and more independently of words and providing superior in the concept of formation" (Baker, 2011, p. 144-145).

In addition, Peal and Lambert (1962) stress that a more enriched bilingual and bicultural environment can constitute positive advantage on IQ development, and a positive transfer between a bilingual´s two languages can facilitate the development of verbal IQ (seen in Baker, 2011). Furthermore, the results of the Peal and Lambert (1962) study suggest that bilingualism has a positive impact on a child´s cognitive development, and that being a bilingual is an asset rather a liability. As a result, whether a family is multicultural or not, parents should encourage their children to become a bilingual (Hamers and Blanc, 2004). Moreover, the result of their study draws a positive image of bilingualism, as it is often quoted in creating bilingual policies in different educational contexts (Baker, 2011).

Peal and Lambert´s (1962) research differs from the previous study because they investigated the relationship between bilingualism and cognition in a broader perspective, in the way that they also consider thinking styles and strategies (Baker, 2011), rather than just measuring cognitive ability through an IQ test. They also include various intelligence tests, as well as tasks on verbal and non-verbal abilities (Baker, 2003; 2011, Arnarsdóttir, 2012). In addition, unlike many other research projects, they consider factors that may influence the result of the study. This includes factors such as the level of competence bilingual children have in each language, and the socio-economic status of each participant.

After Peal and Lambert´s research had been published in 1962, many researchers conducted further studies, including: Bialystok (1999); Ianco- Worrall (1972); Bialystok

(1987a,1997, 2001a, 2001b) and Ben- Zeev (1997a, 1977b). Their studies imply the same results, specifically the positive effect of bilingualism on a child´s cognition. Most of these studies focus on the positive relation of bilingualism and metalinguistic awareness, as well as divergent or creative thinking (Baker, 2011). Furthermore, these empirical studies, provided evidence claiming that bilingual children have cognitive advantages compared with their monolingual counterparts, in particular on tasks or tests that required more cognitive flexibility (Bialystok, 1999).

A study conducted by Bialystok (1999) on cognitive complexities and attentional control supported (Arnarsdóttir, 2012) the assertion that bilingualism has a positive effect on cognitive functioning. De Caro and Beilock (2009) defined attentional control, also known as executive functioning, as "the ability to attend the most important information, while inhibiting irrelevant information" (p.51). In other words, an individual will have the capacity to choose what they pay attention to and what they ignore in order to complete the task given to them.

Bialystok's (1999) research was comprised of sixty children who were equally divided into two ranging from 3,2 to 6,3 years of age, and from two distinct linguistic groups. Half of the children were monolingual English speakers and the remaining half were bilingual speakers of English and Chinese. All bilingual participants had differing levels of English mastery, but were fluent in Chinese (Bialystok, 1999). The subjects of the study were alike in socioeconomic background, and attended the same school. The study was divided into two separate sessions, where children were given different tasks in each session, and each activity lasted about 15 minutes. In the first session, children were given PPVT –R (Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test-Revised), and Form and Visually-Cued Recall Task and the Moving Word Task and the Dimensional Change Card Sort Task, in the second session.

At the end of her research Bialystok (1999) concluded that bilingual and monolingual "children were shown to have equivalent levels of receptive vocabulary (PPVT-R) and comparable capacity for working memory (Visual Cued recall). Both these measures indicate a general equivalence of intelligence" (p.641). In contrast, on tasks with distracting information that required a more complicated solution, bilingual children showed better skills than monolinguals. The results of this study correlated to previous research and added more empirical evidence to the proposition that children who speak two languages are more capable of solving problems that are based on conflict and attention (Bialystok, 1999).

Another study by Ianco-Worrall in 1972 (seen in Baker, 1988) on the sound and meaning hypothesis, also supported the proposition of the positive effects of bilingualism on cognition. In the Ianco-Worrall research, data was gathered from 30 participants, Afrikaans-English bilinguals and two groups of monolinguals ranging from four to nine years of age (Baker, 1988). Both groups were matched on IQ, age, sex, school grade and social class (p. 27). The study was divided into two different experiments. In the first experiment, children were introduced to three different words: CAP, CAN, and HAT. Then they were asked typical question like: "Which is more like CAP: CAN or HAT?" (Baker, 2003; 2011, p. 151). Those children who answered that CAN is more like CAP appear to be making choices based on the sound of the word. That is, CAP and CAN contains two out of three letters that are similar. However, for those children who choose HAT, it appears that their choices were based on the meaning of the word. That is "HAT and CAP refers to similar object" (Baker,2011, p. 151).

The result of the experiment showed that bilinguals and monolinguals aged seven to nine years old had no difference in regards to their choices, as both groups chose the word HAT. This simply implies that children chose their answer to the question from the meaning of the word. On the other hand, children from four to six years old showed opposite results. Bilingual children based their answers from word meaning, while monolinguals more often chose the sounds of the word. From this investigation, Ianco-Worrall (1972) concluded that "bilinguals reach a stage of semantic development, as measured by our test, some two- three years earlier than monolingual children" (p. 1398 seen in Baker, 2011, p. 151).

In the second experiment Ianco-Worrall (1972) asked participants the question: "Suppose you were making up names for things, could you call a cow 'dog' and a dog 'cow'" (Baker, 1988, p. 28; 2011, p.151). The bilingual children responded that the two names could be interchangeable, which was opposite from what monolinguals answered, that the "names of objects such as cow and dog are not interchangeable" (Baker, 2011, p. 151). This implies that bilingual children are more aware than monolinguals that names and objects are separate, or there is a "non-fixed relationship between objects and their labels" (Baker, 2011, p. 151). Bilingual children appeared to be more flexible on this analytic task, likely because of their experience of having two languages where they had to regularly practice to analyse "two language systems with two different sets of construction rules" (Baker, 2011, p. 152).

Another important study was conducted by Ben-Zeev in 1977a, 1977b (seen in Baker, 1988; 2011). Ben-Zeev used a test called the Symbol Substitution Test to examine if

bilinguals are superior compared to monolinguals in analytic orientation tasks. This was compared using Hebrew- English bilinguals from Israel and the United States from ages five to eight years old. During the experiment, Ben- Zeev asked the participants to replace one word for another in the sentence. For instance, participants had to use the word 'macaroni' to replace the word 'I'. The sentence that participants had to say will be 'Macaroni am warm' instead of ´ I am warm´ (Baker, 2011). The participants had to avoid constructing a correct sentence, ignore word meaning, and avoid the intrusion of word replacement in order to do the task correctly. The result revealed bilinguals "to be superior on this kind of test not only with regard to meaning, but also with regard to sentence construction" (Baker, 2003, p. 134). Bilingual children appeared to have more cognitive flexibility than monolinguals on tests and tasks that involve problems with distracting information, or that required a high level of control or selective attention in problem solving. Based on the empirical studies presented above it is clear that bilingualism constitues postive impact on child´s cognition developement and that being a bilingual is not the reason that children who speaks two languages suffer from language confusion and semilingualism: rather other factors that surround the bilingualism developement are at play. In the next section of this thesis we are going to discuss other factors, namely psychological and sociocultural aspects that affect bilingualism developement. We are also going to discuss the relation between biligualism and psychological and sociocultural factors.

3.2   Bilingualism and Psychological Factors

The relation between language and identity is complex and diverse according to the country and the individual itself. Language is undeniably, one of the symbols and markers of belonging to a certain country, region, or group, and identifying oneself with a cultural or national identity. Since each individual differs in language usage, competence, and attitude, one might identify oneself as a Latino even without the ability to communicate in the Spanish language. Furthermore, recent changes in perceiving identity have surfaced, concluding that individual identity is not unalterable, acquired, or unitary; on the contrary it is developed through language negotiation of meanings and understandings (Baker, 2011). The perception of one's identity in relation to language and culture can vary due to cultural contact (Hall, 2002). With multiple cultural contacts, multiple identities may evolve and difficulties may arise for an individual to establish a coherent sense of Self (Block, 2007; Mills, 2004)

3.2.1 Hybrid and multiple identities

Since the world is globalizing and citizens of different countries have the opportunity to travel internationally, it has become common to encounter mixed language families. This movement of population can result in mixed language households where the simultaneous use of several languages is applied not only by the parents, but also by the children that grow up in a bilingual or even a multilingual home. A mixed language is the result of a fusion of usually two source languages, normally in situations of bilingualism. Other terms used in linguistics for the concept of a "mixed language" include "hybrid language", "contact language", and "fusion language", and in older usage, "jargon" was sometimes used in this sense (Meakins, 2013).

Garcia (2009b) termed the complex process of using of several languages simultaneously as "translanguaging", meaning the act of accessing different independent languages and their different linguistic features by bilinguals. Furthermore, Garcia (2009b) states that such ability it is transferred from bilingual language usage to observable practices in "order to make a sense of their multilingual worlds" (p.140). On the other side Gutiérrez and colleagues (2001) defined translanguaging as a "hybrid language use" that is a "systematic, strategic, affiliative and sense-making process…" (p.128), which is crucial in bilinguals and multilingual environments.

The majority of studies carried out in the area of hybrid practices are concern children of school years in bilingual classrooms, where children have a norm of floating through languages, especially code switching in personal conversations. Strategies of teaching using translanguaging in bilingual classrooms have been applied in recent years in Wales, with the goal of maximizing the use of two languages simultaneously so students can progress in both languages at the same pace (Williams, 1994, 1995). Nevertheless, in the majority of schools around the world code switching is not acceptable, as students are expected to use the mainstream language, and some argue that the use of code switching might result in stigmatization of the student (Garcia, 2009b).

Whether in society, home environment or classroom, bilingualism and translanguaging are a battle of two or more languages, where each language fights to get more power linguistically. Such negotiation is not always democratic since the main spoken language of the society and classroom might not be the main spoken language in the household. Such crossing of languages may evolve in a new set of multilingual identities, which can disrupt the construction of a balanced sense of Self on the individual as inherent tensions and conflicts may arise (Block, 2007; Mills, 2004).

One of the factors that can create the development of multiple identities is immigration (Dicker, 2003; Pavlenko, 2003b; Block, 2006, 2007, 2008a). Bayley and Schechter's (2003) research shows that, when arriving into a new culture, a child has to willingly embrace the new language and become part of the mainstream culture. Doing so helps with the integration into a new group, which is substantially important for the creation of the identity. Creating a bilingual identity in children is a complex process that covers the area of social contact and negotiation between the child and the formed relations around them (Cummins, 1996, 2000, 2003; Gregory, 2005; Lave & Wenger, 1991; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986). Furthermore, a child's perceived self-identity when belonging to a group will determine the connection the child has to more than one language (Duff, 2002, 2003, 2007; Lave & Wenger, 1991; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986).

A 13-year-old immigrant to Canada, Eva Hoffman, expresses the experience of multiple identities:

"I wait for the spontaneous flow of inner language which used to be my night talk with myself...Nothing comes. Polish, in a short time, has atrophied, shriveled from sheer uselessness. Its words don't apply to my new experiences… In English, words have not penetrated to those layers of my psyche from which a private conversation could proceed (Hoffman, 1989:107).

In this written diary piece one can observe how Eva lost a Self-inner voice. She does not feel she belongs to either the Polish identity or the developing English identity. Nevertheless, Eva has a crucial and active role when constructing her self- identity, which the heritage language has influenced substantially, even if the mainstream language is English (Bourne, 2001a).

Immigrants rarely conform with the host cultural identity. There is a negotiation of linguistic and identity that often produces new and versatile multiple identities. Where before there was identification with a mono-culture, now is born an identification with multiple identities as for example Cuban-American (Baker, 2011). Furthermore, Pavlenko and Lantolf (2000) suggest that there is a period of "reconstruction of identity" following adult immigration, where the individual goes through two stages: 1) the return of inner voice and first language attrition, 2) a period of recovery and transformation that goes through the stages of: appropriation of others voices, appearance of a new voice, reconstruction of one's past and continuous development into new perceptions. The existing language is not substituted by the added language; instead there is reinvention that accommodates both languages by creating a motional identity that is not chained to either language.

Nevertheless, we have to accentuate that such constructions of multiple identities, such as Cuban-American, are only formed and recognized in countries that have a history of large-scale immigration that transformed the society from a mono identity into a multiple identity culture. Countries such as Iceland still do not grasp the fullness of multiple identity when it comes to self-identity, since the phenomenon of immigration on a large scale is relatively recent on Icelandic soil. Anecdotal evidence suggests that children of mixed culture households, such as Icelandic-Portuguese, are often seen as only Portuguese. Icelandic identity is not recognized by the society, even though the child's perception of their own self-identity is either a multiple identity or mono Icelandic identity. In contrast, the opposite might occur as well when the child is identified as solely Icelandic, even though the child's self-perception of their own self-identity is multiple. As we will discuss in the next section, such labelling based on ethnicity and language may accentuate stereotyping and prejudices about minorities.

3.2.2   Stigma of being a minority

Being labeled as a member of a language minority can be seen as a negative connotation, since the word "minority" is many times perceived as negative and synonymous with being uncommon, rare, and on the edge of the mainstream society. Such labels, when perceived as negative, are usually quickly replaced by other labels in an attempt to change the identity of such groups into a more positive identity. For example, terms such as "language minority" are then replaced by "linguistically diverse" (Baker, 2011) or even "heritage language speakers" (Valdés, 2005).

As described above in the previous section, labels of self-identity are usually imposed on an individual even though they do not perceive their self-identity to be the one imposed. A minority child in Iceland can perceive him or herself as holding Icelandic identity, since he or she was born in Iceland and functions in Icelandic society, while the household identity is not Icelandic. Society will start labelling the child according to physical appearance followed by mainstream language skills, even though the child might want to be perceived by others as Icelandic, since being part of a minority group would bring stigma and unwanted differences regarding the mainstream society identity. As Blackledge (2006) states, power and status are difficult to attain when you are a part of a minority language group and long to maintain a separate identity from the mainstream social identity. With language barriers and stigmatization of minorities, difficulties can arise when it comes to accessing employment, housing, education, healthcare, and civil rights. However, in linguistics, such barriers can be positive, as barriers can also help

preserve the minority language identity and heritage language. Positive barriers and ethnic identity are based on several criteria (Allardt, 1979; Allardt & Starck, 1981):

a. Self-categorization as a distinct ethnic group.

b. Common descent and ancestry, be it real or imagined.

c. Exhibiting relatively distinctive cultural patterns, of which language may be the strongest example.

d. Well-established networking patterns for interacting within the group and separately with "outsiders".

To be a part of an ethnic group, members should identify themselves with one, or even with all four criterias (Allardt & Starck, 1981). Such criteria enhance the distinction between self-categorization and categorization by others, especially categorization by the mainstream group. Furthermore, Barth (1966) stresses that such categorizations determines an ethnic group.

If the individual chooses to self-categorize with the minority language then the mainstream society should provide the means to promote such self-categorization in coordination with social institutions such as minority language schools, more recently labelled as heritage language schools.

Heritage language schools supply classes to individuals that are part of minority groups and wish to study, maintain, and revitalize their heritage language (Valdés, 2005). Even though heritage language and L2 can be acquired and maintained in a school environment, Valdés and Figueroa (1994) make a distinction between bilinguals. Those that need to use more than one language to communicate on a daily basis are referred to as *circumstantial bilinguals/multilinguals*, and bilinguals that learn a second language in a school environment with few or no opportunities to communicate in the learned language are referred to as *elite* or *elective bilinguals/multilinguals.* Circumstantial bilingualism is usually a feature of minorities such as migrants, refugees, nomads, and exiles that occupy low status positions in certain social settings. In the next section of this paper some cultural factors that can promote circumstantial bilingualism will be addressed.

3.3   Bilingualism and Sociocultural factors

As mentioned previously, language carries the culture of a country within it, and language is an important element when acquiring a new identity. Colonies are forced to use the language of the colonial country with the intent of imposing the colony's culture. As the background experience of the authors of this paper demonstrates, even though each

experienced the opposite of the spectrum, one as the colonized and the other as the colonial. For example, in Timor after Portugal granted independence, it was not acceptable to speak Portuguese since Timor was invaded by Indonesia. Indonesia proceed to erase all cultural connections Timor had with Portugal, be they religious, linguistic, or cultural, in the pursuit of imposing their own culture and language. This led to a new generation that only spoke Indonesian.

3.3.1 Bilingualism as the fusion of many monolingual languages

Politicians and broader society have been debating if multilingualism generates a conflict of identity, social disoreintation, isolation and split personality (Baker, 2011). Li Wei (2001:4) contradicts this suggestion by affirming that such struggles in identity are not created by multilingualism, and such struggles are created by "social, economical and political conditions surrounding the developement of bilingualism". Furthermore, such conflicts tend to be rooted in economic power leading to social exclusion and discrimination (Baker, 2011).

Globalization has been influencing how bilingualism is perceived by societies and individuals; however this depends from country to country. As Heller (2000) describes:

> "What I think I see happening is that globalization, and the expansion of corporate capitalism, is placing an exchange value on bilingualism, that is to say commodifying it. But is also influencing what kinds of bilingualism are valued, and here I see an emphasis on bilingualism as two monolingualisms stuck together, a reproduction of the old nation-state emphasis on "whole" languages, but with a new twist. The celebration of "fusion" and "hybridity" may simply be a way of legitimating what actually multiple monolingualism, and the privileged position of those with the right kind of multilingual repertories" (p. 23).

In other words, bilingualism is valued in the present society, but not any kind of bilingualism or multilingualism. Society will value an individual that becomes monolingual many times over, and with each new language spoken the individual assumes a new identity linguistically and culturally. Such kind of bilingualism has a higher value in the economic world where usually English is the main language of trade. As Coulmas (1992: 66-67) suggested:

> "no Japanese businessman ever tries to operate on the American market without a sufficient command of English, whereas the reverse case, of American business people who expect to be able to do business in Japan without being proficient in Japanese, is not at all rare."

Alongside with English, other languages such as French, German, Japanese, Portuguese, and Spanish are used as main trade languages, although the list of trade languages is increasing at a fast pace. Even though English is undoubtedly one of the main languages of trade, the Nuffield Foundation Languages Inquiry (2000) in the UK admitted that English language is not enough to compete with the increasing linguistic market, leaving young Brits in a disadvantaged position when entering the work market.

As only relying on the English language as a trade language is becoming an disadvantage, minority languages also suffer the harsh reality of having little to none economic value, leading to an unseen pressure to become part of the mainstream language. In Iceland minority languages such as an immigrant language is often times connected to low paying jobs, such as in factories, nurseries, cleaning jobs, restaurants, and construction. Such jobs stand for the opposite of economic wealth and social status. Nevertheless, several companies are administrated through a heritage language when the majority of their employees are from the same minority language background. Many immigrants arrive to Iceland already with a higher education, but many times their education is not recognized by the Icelandic system, or their lack of Icelandic language proficiency leads them to low paying jobs, even though they are better qualified than a national Icelandic person, as in the example of the Ukrainian Citizen Liana Belinska that made headlines in November 2014 (Viktoria Hermannsdóttir, 2014).

Liana and her husband have by then living in Iceland for 11 years without a job that fitted their education, since both of them are doctors in the areas of gynecology and surgery. The Icelandic system failed to recognize their education, forcing them to seek low paying jobs. Liana as a kindergarten assistant and her husband as a kitchen helper in the University hospital. Furthermore, in case of an economic recession, such as in 2008, immigrants are the "scape goat" for the rising problems in society such as the lack of jobs, even though immigrants usually hold low paying jobs that are not usually taken by nationals. This approach to immigrants, minority languages, and bilingualism, leads to what Baker (2011) explains as monolingualism symbolizing higher status employment, and bilingualism with lower status employment, perpetuating the cycle of poverty and low status of immigrants in a society.

Baker (2011), stresses that small economic value tends to be associated with an indigenous minority language that is connected with unsustainable developments in rural areas. Companies move to undeveloped countries with the goal of hiring low cost labour, so higher profits are achieved. Low cost workers are usually from rural areas where the mainstream language is not spoken or barely spoken. Sometimes companies are

established in rural areas offering as well low paying jobs to bilingual minorities, while the managers either operate from a distance in the headquarters, or move to the rural area but do not integrate into the linguistic reality of the area. Furthermore, Morris (1992) argues that there is a social class division and a gap among the social class of the community. Morris (1992) suggests that having a minority language and managing to float between social classes may be a step forward towards resolving conflicts. As we will explore in the next section of this paper, such conflicts can lead to additive or subtractive bilingualism as we will explore in the next section of the paper.

3.3.2   Additive or subtractive bilingualism

The use of certain languages can symbolize high or low social status as we have suggested in the previous section. With globalization dictating the value of bilingualism and which languages have prestige value, the mainstream language will gain social and political power over a minority language, since a minority language is connected with low paid jobs, unemployment, and poverty.

Lambert (1974; 1977) suggests that the foundation of bilinguality is related to several aspects of the social psychological mechanisms involved in language behaviour, especially in the perception of the *relative social status of both languages of the individual.* Lambert (1974) continues by distinguishing the *relative social status of both languages of the individual* between an additive and a subtractive form of bilinguality. Additive bilingualism is developed when a child is encouraged by the society and family to give the same value to both languages, leading to a positive influence on a child's development. Subtractive bilingualism occurs when a competition is established between two languages, where usually the second language is understood as advantageous, since it is the language that holds the economic cultural power of the mainstream society, leading the individual to a loss of language and culture connected to the minority language. Furthermore, such subtraction will affect the intellectual and personality development of a child, since first developments are done through mother tongue.

O. Garcia (2009a) points out, such terminology, as additive bilingualism, is a 20th century concept that would be replaced by 21st century terms such as hybrid, overlapping and multilingualism. Such terms fit with the current reality of the world where languages and communication are in a constant relation that overlaps the terminology of merely additive bilingualism.

With the evolving of the world, and minorities feeling pressured to fit in the mainstream societies, minority languages change, and this results in a slow, upwards or downwards but never non existing language shift (Baker, 2011). There are many factors

that can lead to language shift or even loss, such as economic and social change, politics and power, or even maintenance of minority language. However, Baker (2011) stresses that the importance of these factors is still in continuous debate and one can never predict which languages are likely to shift. Conklin and Lourie (1983) created a list of factors that are associated with maintenance and loss of heritage languages, many of which have already been explored in this paper (see appendix A; p.53).

4   Conclusion

To sum up, we conclude that bilingualism is a vast concept with several dimensions, that is impossible to measure, and is very broad to tackle in this paper. Numerous researchers have attempted to define the term with no success because bilingualism is in constant development in line with processes of globalization. In this thesis we presented different dimensions of bilinguality and bilingualism in order to distinguish certain factors that might influence the development of bilingualism and bilinguality and to investigate if these factors can be used as a determiner to distinguish who is and is not bilingual. In this paper we could only shed light on a certain amount of aspects like the different hypotheses of definitions, distinctions of bilinguality and bilingualism, the implications of bilingualism on cognitive development, and the relationship between bilingualism and psychological and sociocultural factors.

In terms of cognitive development, various studies suggest that bilingualism affects both negatively and positively on children's language acquisition and cognitive functioning. Early studies suggested that bilingualism can cause negative effects on a child´s cognitive development, resulting in lower intelligence, cognitive deficit and linguistic confusion. For instance, Sær (1923) mostly revealed negative outcomes, where he concluded that "bilingual children were mentally confused" (seen in Baker, 2011, p. 140). In addition, Skutnabb-Kanggas and Toukomaa supported the Sær (1923) assertion. However, these assumptions received criticism from Cummins, Brent-Palmer and Troike due to methodological weaknesses.

With the publication of Peal and Lambert´s study in 1962, these assertions were reanalysed and methodological improvements were made. Peal and Lambert´s (1962) research offered an opportunity for other researchers to examine bilingualism in a broader perspective, where factors other than language competence were considered during the study. As a result, more recent studies suggest that bilingualism positively affects a child´s cognitive development. For instance, studies done by Ianco-Worrall (1927) and Been- Zeev (1997a, 1997b) reveal that bilingual children are more analytically oriented to language than monolinguals. This leads them to conclude that the improvement of analytic orientation and the attention control of bilingual children are due to bilingualism. Moreover, the research undertaken by Bialystok (1999) also showed positive effects of bilingualism, where she proposed that bilingualism can improve metalinguistic awareness and cognitive flexibility.

Although the cognitive side of bilingualism has been debated several times, the psychological and social economic dimensions of bilinguals have just recently started to become topics of investigation. We argue, that these factors are equally important. With the increase of immigration and globalization, multiple identities may evolve and difficulties may arise as for an individual to establish a coherent sense of Self (Block 2007: Mills, 2004).

Children that grow up in a bilingual environment may become hybrid users of languages, or what Garcia (2009b) refers to as "translanguaging", the act of accessing different independent languages and their different linguistic features by bilinguals. Many times hybrid language users tend to code switch in environments where it is not acceptable to do so, such as school environments, and where this can lead to stigmatization of the student.

Immigration is one of the main factors that develop multiple identities. Bayley and Schechter's (2003) research showed that a child has to willingly embrace the new language and for a child to do so, factors such as social contact and negotiation of relations have great importance. Nevertheless, to embrace a multiple identity, the host country needs to not only embrace minorities but also give them the choice of which identity they prefer without categorizing individuals by their ethnicity or language skills. Being labelled as part of a minority group may be seen negativity since such labels are synonymous with uncommon and on the edge of society. Power and status are difficult to obtain when an individual is part of a minority language, and language barriers are sometimes difficult to overcome leading to difficulties when it comes to accessing employment, housing, education, healthcare, and civil rights.

Globalization has a crucial role on how countries perceive who is bilingual and who is not. Trends push bilinguals to be monolinguals many times over. With language ability a new identity arises to fulfil the demands of each society. Such perceptions of bilingualism lead to a decline of the valorisation of minority languages, and a higher valorisation of mainstream languages such as English, and this equates language with power and status. Lambert (1974) suggests that the foundation of bilinguality is related to several aspects of the social psychological mechanisms involved in language behaviour, especially in the *perception of the relative social status of both languages of the individual.* The perception of status through language by an individual may lead to additive or subtractive bilingualism. Feeling pressured to fit the mainstream society can result in minority languages changing, resulting in a language shift (Baker, 2011). As we have shown in this

thesis, there are innumerous factors that can lead to language shift and loss, however Baker (2011) stresses that the importance of these factors remain in constant debate.

We conclude that bilingualism is a multidimensional continuum that should be defined and investigated as such. Therefore, the way that the term is understood should reflect the reality of a world that is continuously evolving and affected by language, communication and culture.

Bibliography

Allardt, E. (1979). Implication of the ethnic revival in modern, industrialized society. A comparative study of the linguistic minorities in Western Europe. *Commentationes Scientiarum Socialium* 12. Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica.

Allardt, E. & Starck, C. (1981). *Sprakgranser och Samhallsstruktur.* Stockholm: Almquist and Wiksell.

Baker, C. (1988). Key Issues in Bilingualism and Bilingual Education. 1st ed. Clevedon England: Multilingual Matters Ltd

Baker, C. (1993). *Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism.* 1st ed. Frankfurt Lodge, UK: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Baker, C. (2001). *Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism*. 5th ed. Clevedon [England: Multilingual Matters.

Baker, C. (2003). *Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism*. 5th ed. Clevedon England: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Baker, C. (2004). Biliteracy and tranliteracy in Wales: Language planning and the Welsh National Curriculum. In N.H. HORNBERGER (ed) *Continua of Biliteracy: An Ecological Framework for Educational Policy, Research and Practice in Multinglingual Settings.* Clevedon: Multingual Matters.

Baker, C. (2011). *Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism* (5th ed.). Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Barac, R., & Bialystok, E. (2012). Bilingual effects on cognitive and linguistic development: Role of language, cultural background, and education. *Child Development*, *83*(2), 413-422. doi:10.1111/j.1467-8624.2011. 01707.x

Barth, F. (1996). *Models of Social Organization* (Occasional Paper No.23). London: Royal Anthropological Institute.

Bayley, R., & Schechter, S. (2003). *Language socialization in bilingual and multilingual* societies. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Bialystok, E. (1999). Cognitive complexity and attentional control in the bilingual mind. *Child Development, 70 (3),* 636-644. Retrieved from <http://jstor.org/stable/1132150>

Bialystok, E. (2001). *Bilingualism in development: Language, literacy & cognition*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Birna Arnbjörnsdóttir. (September 9, 2015). The nature of bilingualism. PowerPoint slide. Retrieved from https://moodle.hi.is/15-16/course/view.php?id=149

Blackledge, A. (2006). "The Magical Frontier between the Dominant and the Dominated: Sociolinguistics and Social Justice in a Multilingual World". *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development 27* (1):22-41

Block, D. (2006). *Multilingual Identities in a Global City: London Stories. Language and Globalization.* Basingstoke Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

Block, D. (2007). *Second Language Identities*. London: Continuum.

Block, D. (2008a). Multilingual Identities and Language Practices in a Global City: Four London Case Studies. *Journal of Language, Identity and Education,* 7 (1), 1-5.

Bloomfield, L. (1935). *Language*. Great Britain, UK: Compton Printing (London) Ltd., N.1.

Bourne, J. (2001a). Discourses and identities in a multilingual primary classroom. *Oxford Review of Education* 27 (1), 103-114.

Boyle, O.F., &Peregoy, S. F. (2008). Reading, writing, and learning in ESL: A resourceook for teaching K-12 English learners, 5th edition. Retrieved from

https://moodle.hi.is/15-16/pluginfile.php/5467/course/section/941/SLA%20chapter%20PeregoyBoyle.pdf

Conklin, N. & Lourie, M. (1983). *A Host of Tongues.* New York: The Free Press.

Coulmas, F. (1992). *Language and Economy.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Cummins, J. (1976). The influence of bilingualism on cognitive growth: A synthesis of research findings and explanatory hypotheses. Retrieved from http://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED125311.pdf

Cummins, J. (1996). *Negotiating Identities: Education of empowerment in a diverse society.* Ontario, CA: California Association for Bilingual Education.

Cummins, J. (2000). *Language, power and pedagogy*: *Bilingual children in the crossfire.* Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Cummins, J. (2003). Bilingual Education: Basic principles. In J. Dewaele, A. Housen, & Li. Wei (Eds.), Bilingualism beyond basic principles (pp. 55-66). Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

DeCaro, M.S., Beilock, S.L. (2009). The benefits of Perils of Attention Control. Retrieved from https://louisville.edu/psychology/decaro/lab/publications-2/decaro_beilock_2010

Elin Arnarsdóttir. (2012). The importance of being bilingual: The effect of bilingualism on cognitive developement and the role of languge valorisation. Retrieved from http://skemman.is/stream/get/1946/11531/28650/1/Elin.Arnarsd.FinalProject.Bilingualism.pdf

García, O. (2009a). Bilingual Education in the 21st Century: A Global Perspective. Oxford: Blackwell.

García, O. (2009b). Education, multilingualism and translanguaging in the 21st century. In A.K. Mohanty, M. Panda, R. Phillipson, & T. Skutnabb-Kangas (eds) Multilingual Education for Social Justice: Globalization the Local. New Delhi: Orient BlackSwan.

Gregory, E. (2005). Playful talk: The interspace between home and school discourse. *Early years*, *25*, 223-235.

Grosjean, F. (1982). Life with two languages: An introduction to bilingualism. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Hamers, J. F., & Blanc, M. H. A. (1989). *Bilinguality and bilingualism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hamers, J.F & Blanc, H.A. (2000). *Bilinguality and bilingualism* (2nd ed.). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Hamers, J. F. (2004). A sociocognitive model of bilingual development. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology, 23,* 70-98. doi: 10.1177/0261927X03261615

Hakuta, K., Ferdman, B., &Diaz, R. (1987). Bilingualism and cognitive development: three perspectives. Retrieved from https://web.stanford.edu/~hakuta/www/research/publications/(1987)%20-%20BILINGUALISM%20AND%20COGNITIVE%20DEVELOPMENT%20THREE%20PERSPE.pdf

Hakuta, K. & Diaz, R. (1985). The relationship between degree of bilingualism and cognitive ability: a critical discussion and some new longitudinal data. In K. E. Nelson (Ed.), *Children's Language, Volume 5* (pp. 319-344). Hillsdale, N. J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Hakuta, K. (1990). Bilingualism and bilingual education: A research perspective. Retrieved from http://www.ncela.us/files/rcd/BE017493/Hakuta.pdf

Heller, M. (2000). Bilingualism and identity in the post-modern world. *sols*, *1*(2). doi:10.1558/sols. v1i2.9

Heredia, R., Cieslicka, A. B. (2014). Bilingual Memry Storage: Compound- Coordinate and Derivatives. Department of Psychology and Communications, 6, 11-20. doi: 10.1007/978-4614-9218-4

Hoffman, E. (1989). *Lost in translation: A life in a new language*. New York: Dutton.

Lambert, W.E. (1974). Culture and language as factors in learning and education. In F.E. Aboud & R. D. Meade (eds), *Cultural Factors in Learning and Education.* 5th Western Washington Symposium on Learning, Bellingham, Washington.

Lave, J., & Wenger, E. (1991). *Situated learning: Legitimate peripheral participation.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Li Wei, Dewaele, J-M & Housen, A. (2002). Introduction: Opportunities and challenges of bilingualism. In Li Wei, Dewaele, J-M & Housen, A.(eds) *Opportunities and Challenges of Bilingualism.* Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Mackey, W. F. (1962). The description of bilingualism. *Canadians Journal of Linguistics,* 7, 51-85.

Macnamara, J. (1967). The bilingual's linguistic performance. *Journal of Social Issues*, *23*, 58–77.

McLaughlin, B. (2002). Myths and misconceptions about second language learner: What every teacher needs to unlearn. Retrieved from https://www.usc.edu/dept/education/CMMR/FullText/McLaughlinMyths.pdf

Meakins, Felicity. (2013). *Mixed languages*. In Bakker, Peter and Yaron Matras (eds) *Contact languages: A comprehensive guide.* Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. pp. 159–228.

Mills, J. (2004). Mothers and mother tongue: Perspectives on self-construction by mothers of Pakistani heritage. In A. Pavlenko & A. Blackledge (eds), *Negotiation of Identities in Multilingual Contexts.* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Moradi, H. (2014). An investigation through different types of bilinguals and bilingualism. Retrieved from https://www.ijhsss.com/files/Hamzeh-Moradi_6813z4a4.pdf

Morris, D. (1992). The effects of economic changes on Gwynedd society. In L. Davis (ed), *Lesser Used Languages: Assimilating Newcomers.* Carmarthen, Wales: Joint Working Party on Bilingualism in Dyfed.

Muysken, P. (2003). Josiane F. Hamers and Michel H.A. Blanc, Bilinguality and bilingualism. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Nuffield Foundation (2000). Languages: The Next Generation: The Final Report and Recommendations of the Nuffield Languages Inquiry. London: Nuffield Foundation.

Okurinmeta, U. (2013). Bilingualism and linguistic in Nigeria: Examples from works of Achebe and Emecheta. Retrieved from http://www.ccsenet.org/journal/index.php/ijel/article/viewFile/29059/17323

Pavlenko, A. (2003b). The making of an American: Negotiation of identities at the turn of the twentieth century. In Pavlenko, A. & Blackledge, A. (eds) *Negotiation of Identities in Multilingual Contexts.* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Pavlenko, A. & Lantolf, J. P. (2000). Second language learning as participation and the (re)construction of selves. In Lantolf, J.P. (ed) *Sociocultural Theory and Second Language Learning.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Skutnabb- Kanggas, T. (1981). *Bilingualism or Not: The education of minorities.* Great Britain, UK: Robert Hartnoll Ltd., Bodmin, Cornwall.

Valdés, G., & Figueroa, R.A. (1994). *Bilingualism and testing: A special case of bias*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Valdés, G. (2005). Bilingualism, Heritage Language Learners, and SLA Research: Opportunities Lost or Seized? *The Modern Language Journal*, *89*(3), 410-426. doi:10.1111/j.1540-4781.2005.00314. x.

Viktoria, Hermanndóttir. (2014, November 28). Kvensjúkdómalæknir í vinnu á leikskóla í átta ár. *Vísir*. Retrieved from

http://www.visir.is/kvensjukdomalaeknir-i-vinnu-a-leikskola-i-atta-ar/article/2014711289859

Weinreich, U. (1953). *Languages in Contact.* The Hague: Mouton.

Williams, Cen. (1994). Arfarniad o Ddulliau Dysgu ac Addysgu yng Nghyd- destun Addysg Uwchradd Ddwyieithog. Unpublished PhD. Thesis Bangor: University of Wales.

Williams, G. (2005). *Sustaining Language Diversity in Europe: Evidence from the Euromosaic Project.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Appendix A: Factors Encouraging Language Maintance or Loss from Conklin and Lourie (1983)

Factors Encouraging Language Maintenance	Factors Encouraging Language Loss

4.1.1.1 A. Political, Social and Demographic Factors

Factors Encouraging Language Maintenance	Factors Encouraging Language Loss
1.Large number of speakers living closely together.	1.Small numbers of speakers well dispersed.
2. Recent and/or continuing in-migration.	2. Long and stable residence.
3. Close proximity to the homeland and ease to travel to the homeland.	3. Homeland remote or inaccessible.
4. Preference to return to homeland with many actually returning.	4. Low rate of return to homeland and/or little intention to return and/or impossible to return.
5. Homeland language community intact.	5. Homeland language community decaying in vitality.
6. Stability in occupation.	6. Occupational shift, especially from rural to urban areas.
7. Employment available where home language is spoken daily.	7. Employment requires majority language.
8. Low social and economic mobility in main occupations	8. High social and economic mobility in main occupations.
9. Low level of education to restrict social and economic mobility, but educated and articulate community leaders loyal to their language community	9. High levels of education giving social and economic mobility
10. Ethnic group identity rather than identity with majority language community via nativism, racism and ethnic discrimination.	10. Ethnic identity is denied to achieve social and vocational mobility; this is forced by nativism, racism and ethnic discrimination.

4.1.1.2 B. Cultural Factors

1. Mother-tongue institutions (e.g. school, community organizations, mass media, leisure activities).	1. Lack of mother-tongue institutions
2. Cultural and religious ceremonies in the home language.	2. Cultural and religious activity in the majority language.
3. Ethnic identity strongly tied to home language.	3.Ethnic identity defined by factors other than language.
4. Nationalistic aspirations as a language group.	4. Few nationalistic aspirations.
5. Mother tongue the homeland national language.	5. Mother tongue not the only homeland national language, or mother tongue spans several nations.
6. Emotional attachment to mother tongue giving self-identity and ethnicity.	6. Self-identity derived from factors other than shared home language.
7. Emphasis on education in mother tongue schools to enhance ethnic awareness.	7. Low emphasis on family and community ties. High emphasis on individual achievement.
8. Emphasis on education in mother tongue schools to enhance ethnic awareness.	8. Emphasis on education in minority language.
9. Low emphasis on education if in majority language.	9. Acceptance of majority language.
10. Culture unlike majority language.	10. Culture and religion similar to that of the majority language.

4.1.1.3 C Linguistic Factors

1.Mother tongue is standardized and exists in a written form.	1.Mother tongue is non-standard and/or not in written form.
2.Use of an alphabet which makes printing and literacy relatively easy.	2.Use of writing system which is expensive to reproduce and relatively difficult to learn
3. Home language has international status	3.Home language of little or no international importance.
4. Home language literacy used in community and with homeland.	4.Illiteracy (or a literacy) in the home language.
5. Flexibility in the development of the home language (e.g. limited use of new terms from the majority language).	5.No tolerance of new terms from the majority language; or too much tolerance of loan words leading to mixing and eventual language loss.