

METHODS IN THE STUDY OF BILINGUALISM:  
A LOOK AT SOCIO-CULTURAL MEASUREMENT

by

SARAH HARPER HARTWIG

B. A., Kansas State University, 1970

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Approved by:

  
Major Professor

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## DEDICATION

An Oasch, dem ich meine Zweisprachigkeit verdanke.

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## Chapter 1

### AN IDEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

According to U.S. Census figures (1971), nearly 25 million Americans born in the United States had "mother tongues" other than English. Additionally, over eight million people residing in the U.S. were foreign-born. Roughly one-sixth of the total listed their "current languages" as the same as their "mother tongues." Languages in the U.S. that qualify as "major languages," in order, are English, German, Italian, Spanish, Polish, and Yiddish (Ferguson: 1964).<sup>1</sup> In this country there are countless foreign language newspapers, radio stations, schools, ethnic parishes, and cultural organizations that serve to promote language maintenance; even as a mother tongue is replaced by English, ethnicity and cultural maintenance are more resistant to change and continue to influence an individual's life-styles and perceptions (Fishman: 1966). The U.S. is truly a multilingual society, and multicultural as well.

Because ethnicity is a barrier to societal integration (to acceptance of a predominant ethos), whose denial results in a waste of human talents in a democratic society which stresses individual responsibility, ways are being sought to use or highlight ethnic values rather than to suppress them. Schools offering foreign languages are extending training from secondary levels downward, or they are offering primary-

grade coursework in the dominant language (not necessarily in English).<sup>2</sup> Even "Sesame Street" has segments in Spanish to appeal to the largest non-English-speaking group. Universities throughout the country offer minority studies programs emphasizing African, Asian, American Indian, and Chicano cultural achievements. These groups themselves are directing new efforts toward language maintenance (or re-establishment). The trend in the U.S. seems to be away from the "melting pot" society toward one based on "pluralism."

## STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

### Definition of Terms

The title of this report is "Methods of Study in Bilingualism: A Look at Socio-cultural Measurement." "Bilingualism" here is to be understood as the knowledge of two (or with "multilingualism," more) alternate systems of language, with varying degrees of proficiency, by individuals. "Diglossia" refers to "one particular kind of standardization where two varieties of a language exist side by side throughout the community, with each having a definite role to play" (Ferguson: 1959, 325). The definition has been extended by Gumperz to include "functionally differentiated language varieties of whatever kind" (Fishman: 1971b, 540). The definition of diglossia excludes non-standardized variants (such as the so-called Standard American vs. regional speech), which differ basically in pronunciation, although these are

recognized as being factors of social mobility (cf. "register," chapter 3). It does describe alternating dialects of a language which has a standardized or defined "high" dialect (e.g. Schwyzerdtitsch vs. Hochdeutsch), as well as two distinctly separate languages (e.g. Flemish vs. French). Bilingualism is basically individual, while diglossia characterizes societal allocation of functions. If a group is bilingual, it means that all the members of the group are to some degree bilingual individuals.<sup>3</sup>

The two alternating languages or dialects are not simply two discrete but internally homogeneous systems. Each language or dialect is subdivided into varieties showing varying degrees of similarity to the other language or dialect (Gumperz: 1969, 243-44). Throughout this report, except where specifically stated, any reference to a "language" will also be valid for a dialect.

The socio-cultural context is here understood to mean the behavioral features of the bilingual and/or diglossic group. This behavior may be both linguistic and non-linguistic. It may reflect group attitudes and prejudices, group values and customs (Mackey: 1969, 8). In this context, the term bilingualism becomes associated with the term "biculturality." Wallace Lambert (1963, 144) states, "...by learning another social group's languages, he (the second-language learner) has made the crucial step in becoming an acculturated part of a second linguistic-cultural community. Advancing toward

biculturalism in this sense may be viewed as a broadening experience in some cases, or it can engender 'anomie,' a feeling of not comfortably belonging in one social group or another." Biculturalism and bilingualism interact, but biculturalism, or at least a certain "ethnism," may remain long after the stage with bilingualism has passed (Fishman: 1966, 399).

### Problem

One of the problems of lingering ethnicity in U.S. society, as in other mixed societies, is in trying to engender biculturalism rather than anomie. The individual who experiences anomie is an outsider and loses his sense of well-being and capacity for productivity, whereas the bicultural individual has the ability to draw from two sides and to pick the best from each.

## SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS

### Purpose of the Report

This report was undertaken in the hope of contributing to a promotion of biculturalism, if not bilingualism, as an alternative to unicultural dominance. Because language is closely associated with social involvement and with role perception, an understanding of the influence of linguistic forces could lead to enlightenment on the interaction among socio-cultural groups and on the practicability of programs designed to strengthen or change this interaction.<sup>4</sup>

While this underlies the motivation for the report, the external focus is necessarily more realistic. The study of language interaction and perception has been absorbed by various more formal disciplines and has been treated by sociologists, psychologists, and linguists, as well as by physiologists, audiologists, speech pathologists, and others. It is researched in conjunction with studies on neural processes, aphasia, anomie, language acquisition, child language, learning theory, etc. The treatment of this subject is scattered among disciplines, and it is difficult to collect information that treats bilingualism as central, as a field of inquiry in its own right.

For a concentrated study of cultural interaction in a multi-language context, the variables are difficult to locate and to measure. Whereas many authors touch briefly on this specific point in relation to other topics and stress the desirability of exploring it further by itself, few have done so, and they disagree on the methods to be used. The purpose of this report is to review what has been written on the study of cultural interaction in a language context, in order to obtain a general overview, and to apply this material toward development of a preliminary general methodology which would enable the author to collect workable reliable data in a bilingual bicultural environment for later evaluation.



### Vastness of Information

The amount of information touching on bilingualism, to the author's surprise, is vast, and every attempt to review the literature of the field has led only to the discovery of still more articles and books. In the general area of sociolinguistics, numerous authors reappear. Standard works on bilingualism by Uriel Weinreich (1953), Werner Leopold (1939-1950), and Einar Haugen (1953) have been supplemented in the last decade by those of Joshua Fishman, William Mackey, John Gumperz (ethnology), Wallace Lambert (psycholinguistics), Charles Ferguson, William Labov, and others.

### Limitation of Scope

A bibliography of Haugen's publications alone runs over twenty pages (Haugen: 1972). It is beyond the scope of such a report as this to read and interpret all that is written on bilingualism, but the direction of this study was toward a familiarity with various approaches (particularly Haugen's, Fishman's, and Labov's) and preparation for future formal application. The report itself is limited to a discussion of certain representative aspects and methods employed which have been adopted or adapted by others in the field, and to a verbalization of possibilities which have occurred to the author during this writing.

## Chapter 2

### SOCIO-CULTURAL MEASUREMENT

#### Bilingualism vs. Diglossia

As was mentioned earlier, a group may be both bilingual and diglossic. Any given member of the group may have a knowledge of two languages, and each of these two languages may be used in defined social contexts. Bilingualism exists only when it fulfills a socially required function or when the two languages are available or in contact. If one language is used by a prestiged class, and the prestige is lost, there is no demand to maintain the language. Therefore, most examples of bilingualism in a monolingual society are transitional--during the phase when a monolingual of one language learns the second language and acculturates. If an entire society is bilingual, and this bilingualism is stable rather than transitional, some definite roles are being fulfilled by each language. If this is true, the society is said to be diglossic (Ferguson: 1959).

A society may be diglossic but not bilingual, for instance, if a ruling class uses one language and a laboring class another. A certain sign of diglossia without bilingualism is the existence of a necessary corps of interpreters or in the limited use of a pidgin language (Fishman: 1971b, 546).

### Focus of Report

How does one select representative members of a bilingual/diglossic community to study, and what are the contexts of each language usage? As Fishman (1971a) has said, "Who speaks what language to whom and when?" What are the regularities in these individual choices, and how can one relate them to the patterns in the speech community as a whole (Fishman: 1971a, 585)? Those are the questions being asked by sociolinguists today.

### SELECTION FACTORS

Standard tools for a study of bilingualism are the interview and questionnaire, which are written and applied to the specific community. Before these can be created, one must first analyze the bilingual population and select representative members of the community as informants. Important factors in the selection are given on the following pages.<sup>5</sup>

### National Policy

What languages are recognized by the country, what kinds of languages are they, and what are their functions? Stewart (1968) has developed a typology for describing languages within a country, a short condensation of which is presented here.

Language types. Each type has a presence or absence of four attributes: standardization, autonomy, historicity, and vitality.

S	A	H	V	type	code	features
+	+	+	+	Standard	(S)	still has native speakers
+	+	+	-	Classical	(C)	has no native speakers
+	+	-	-	Artificial	(A)	not through natural historical development
-	+	+	+	Vernacular	(V)	may become S through codeification
-	-	+	+	Dialect	(D)	here, describes marginal groups
-	-	-	+	Creole	(K)	is a mother tongue
-	-	-	-	Pidgin	(P)	not a mother tongue

Fig. 1. Stewart's Language Types

Functions. A function is determined by the role the language plays in the national sphere. A listing of the functions is given in Fig. 2.

function type	code	features
Official	o	"national" language
Provincial	p	used in one area
Wider communication	w	a lingua franca within nation
International	i	internationally-used lingua franca
Capital	c	used in and around capital
Group	g	used within small groups
Educational	e	used in teaching
School subject	s	a course taught
Literary	l	
Religious	r	used in worship services

Fig. 2. Stewart's Function Types

Degree of usage. Ferguson (1964) has revised Stewart's degree of usage category by classifying the language as major, minor, and special status.

Maj: spoken as a native language by 25% of the population or by more than 1 million people, official language of the nation, and/or language of education of over 50% of secondary school graduates

Min: spoken as native language by no more than 25% and by either 5% or more than 100,000 people, and/or used as a medium of instruction above first year of primary school

Spec: widely used for religious purposes, widely used for literary purposes, widely taught as secondary school subject, used by a substantial number of people as a lingua franca within the country, and/or functions as a major language for an age-sector of the population

Fig. 3. Ferguson's Degrees of Usage

Using this typology, Switzerland, as an example, would be classified generally as follows:<sup>6</sup>

Switzerland      6<sup>+</sup> L = 2 Lmaj (S:Vopwielr, Sopwiel) + 1 Lmin (Sopiel) + 3 Lspec (Spe, Sigsl, Cslr), {V}

(S:V) indicates diglossia for one language,  
 ({V}) indicates an isolated linguistic "island,"  
 (#<sup>+</sup>) indicates additional isolated language(s)

Fig. 4. Sample Typology for Switzerland

A breakdown of the formula shows:

Switzerland has six languages with additional isolated languages. The two major languages are Schwyzertütsch (S:Vopwielr) and French (Sopwiel), the minor language Italian (Sopiel), and the three special status languages Romansch (Spe), English (Sigsl), and Latin (Cslr). Yiddish ({V}) is in use in isolated areas.

Additional information may indicate that Schwyzertütsch is diglossic with Standard High German by including in a breakdown the statement:

Maj 1 Schwyzertütsch S:Vopwielr (d: H=Standard High German)

This information was given in the original chart as (S:Vopwielr).

This type of profile formula is useful for describing a large area in general terms. It could also be adapted to describe a region, state, city, and so on. It does have the shortcomings, as mentioned by Ferguson, of failing to define the extent of dialect diversity, amount of bilingualism, the difference between indigenous and immigrant languages, and the nature of writing systems and degree of literacy of the populations. These factors are generally those which would be the subjects of research.

### Educational Systems

What is the function of the educational system in a bilingual community? An educational system can promote, discourage, or simply ignore bilingualism. Diglossia may be required for instruction (with students required to respond in the "high" language or prestige form, the subjects taught alternatively with both forms, etc.). The system may be standard throughout the area or limited geographically or stratificationally.

### The Bilingual Community

How do the languages appear to be used and by what groups of speakers? Certain institutions of the community (schools, churches, ethnic organizations, etc.) would draw from a bilingual population. This area is necessarily quite complex, but any sample to be taken for purposes of comparing segments of the population should ideally represent a cross-section of the entire population. It should include young and old, all the minorities and class groups in their proportions, and in a bilingual survey, all "levels" of bilingualism.

The sampling procedures suggested in this report are adapted from unilingual studies done in major U.S. cities. The techniques arise from the idea that a representative sample may be obtained through existing institutions in the society. These may include schools (Shuy: 1968), religious groups (Rayfield: 1970), even department stores (Labov: 1966). The institutions were chosen for their representative functions: schools in high-status and low-status neighborhoods, high vs. low prestige department stores, etc.

In order to adapt these techniques to bilingual studies, it is necessary to seek those institutions which promote or help maintain levels of bilingualism, including schools and churches, but also including specific language maintenance organizations, government agencies, etc. The following shows the simplest adaptations. Others are of course possible.

In Detroit, geographical boundaries represent socio-economic divisions (Shuy: 1968). For this reason, the city was divided into areas, and the informants were selected through the elementary school rolls in each area. However, this biased the sample toward parents of school-aged children.

Application in Europe could not be based on geographical factors (and therefore, not as easily evaluated on the basis of social class), since there is not the wide spread class segregation by neighborhood as in the U.S. However, a sample similar to the Detroit sample could be obtained in a country like Germany as follows:<sup>7</sup>

a). In parts of Germany, higher schools are divided into Volksschule, which goes through grade 9 or 10, Mittelschule, to grade 10 or 11, and Gymnasium, to the 13th year. The Volksschule is prerequisite to manual trades (Berufsschule), Mittelschule to business, and Gymnasium to university study. The decision must be made when a child is about ten years of age as to which school he is to attend. Much to the dismay of educators, a child's education tends to reflect the fixed social standing of his parents. The child of a manual laborer rarely goes beyond Volksschule, and the child of a college-degree holder is pressured to complete Gymnasium.

If one were to take a school-based sample in Germany, the method would be to obtain the names of parents of children between the ages of ten and fifteen, the federally-required minimum age for schooling, at each school, and to take the



sample from these names. This would have the same built-in bias of the Detroit study. For a bilingual environment such as Switzerland, this procedure could also be used, as the Swiss educational system appears to be quite similar to the German (McRae: 1964, 40).

b). A religion-based sample is also more feasible for Germany than it would be in the U.S. The circumstances in Switzerland are assumed to be similar, but would have to be attested. Religious preference in Germany is registered with the authorities, and a percentage of each wage earner's taxable income goes to the church listed by him. Furthermore, the number of sects is limited basically to Roman Catholic, Evangelisch, and Lutherisch (both Lutheran), and to small minorities in other churches represented in larger cities. It is therefore conceivable that samplings could be obtained through church rolls, if not through government sources. The advantage to this sample is that it includes those without school-aged children. The disadvantage is that it excludes people who are legally non-members, but this group is an extreme minority because of the church's function as a social force for marriage, burial, pre-school care, etc. It would also exclude a higher percentage of people with advanced degrees, who are apparently less inclined to be church members.

c). Federal census results sometimes include information about languages spoken and mother tongues, give neighborhood figures (percentage of homes with plumbing, television,

etc.), and give figures about class standings. Depending upon accuracy and depth, such a survey could suggest possible factors to include for a representative sample. In Germany, federal registration requirements would supply some of this information.

### The Bilingual Individual

Once a representative sampling has been made and the individual informants chosen, a measure must be made of factors involved in their bilingualness. A useful census of bilinguals should include the age of language learning, the persons from whom learned, the type of learning (oral, written, reading), the proficiency achieved, and the functions that are served (Haugen: 1956).

Individual usage. A first general overview of the individual's usage can be supplied by Weinreich's dominance configuration (1953, 74-80). A configuration using the author as an example would be:

<u>SCH:</u>	<u>function</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>German</u>
	Relative proficiency	+	
	Mode of use (visual)	+	+
	First learning	+	
	Emotional involvement		+
	Usefulness in communication	+	+
	Function in social advance	+	
	Literary-cultural value	+	+

Fig. 5. Weinreich's Dominance Configuration

The plus indicates a positive rating on a language at a certain point. The configuration shows the author's English to be dominant.

Language description chart. Mackey (1966) has gone into great detail with his language description chart. He defines the language used, age when used, environment, and interlocutors. In Table 1, a listing of contexts with additions by Gilbert (1970) is given, followed by a sample chart (Table 2).

Table 1. Mackey's Language Description Chart

Non-reciprocal language behavior (table 3.1):

1. Listening: classes (elementary school, high school, college, graduate student), radio television, cinema, theater, speeches, lectures, sermons, recordings,
2. Reading: newspapers, magazines, textbooks, handbooks, religious books, literature, non-fiction, journals,
3. Writing: diary, memos to self, note taking, reports, articles, fiction, verse,
4. Speaking:
  - 4.1. external speech: public speaking, play acting, group praying,
  - 4.2. internal speech: reckoning (counting), praying, cursing, dreaming,

comments

Reciprocal language behavior (table 3.2):

2.1. Reading and Writing:

Correspondents:

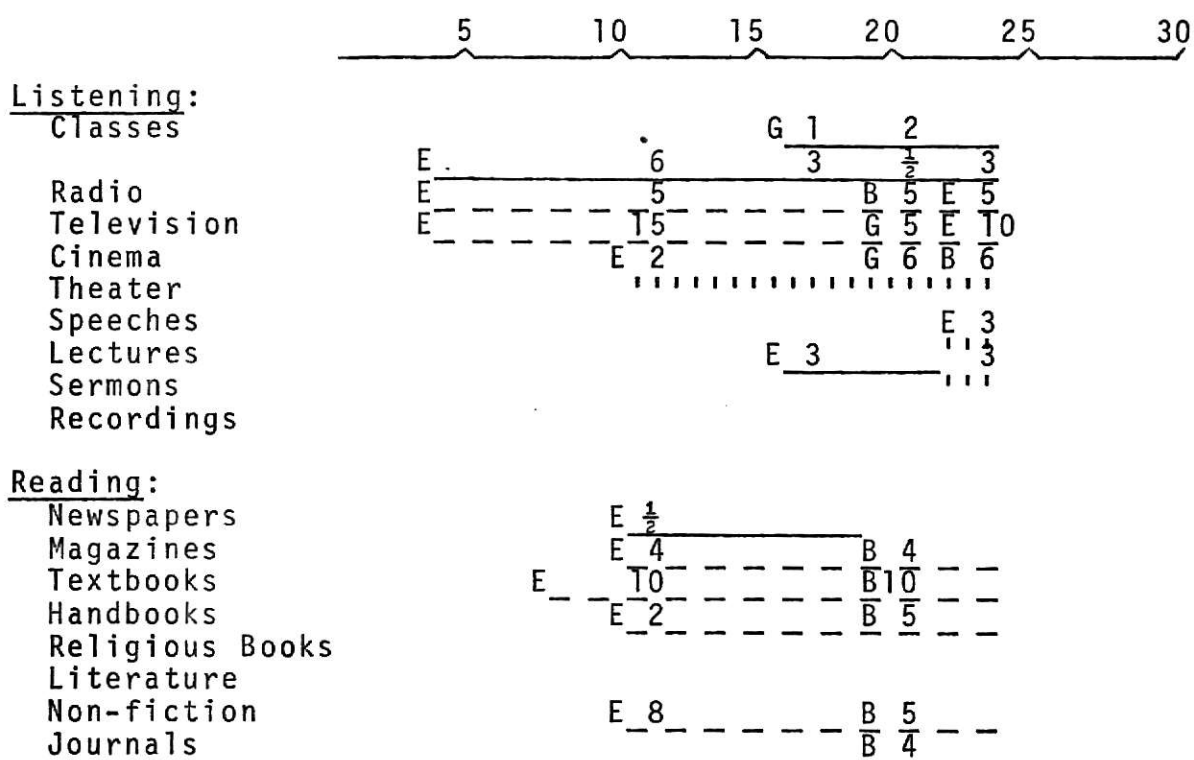
1. Personal letters: father, mother, sisters, brothers, grandparents (maternal), grandparents (paternal), uncles (maternal), uncles (paternal), aunts (maternal), aunts (paternal), spouse, mother-in-law, father-in-law, sons, daughters, schoolmates, college friends, college teachers, friends, acquaintances, others,

Table 1. Mackey's Language Description Chart  
(continued)

- 2. Business letters: customers, dealers,  
colleague-firms, inter-office,
- 2.2. Listening and Speaking:  
Interlocutors:
  - 1. Home and family: father, mother, sisters,  
brothers, grandfather (maternal), grand-  
father (p.), grandmother (m.), grandmother  
(p.), uncles (m.), uncles (p.), aunts (m.),  
aunts (p.), spouse, mother-in-law, father-  
in-law, brother-in-law, sister-in-law, son,  
daughter, son-in-law, grandchildren, domes-  
tics, roomers,
  - 2. Scholastic: teachers, schoolmates, tutors,  
others,
  - 3. Neighborhood: neighbors, landlord, tenants,  
milkman, grocer, baker, butcher, druggist,  
doctor, dentist, best friend, acquaintan-  
ces,
  - 4. Occupational: superiors, colleagues, under-  
lings, customers,
  - 5. Recreational: sports friends, club friends,  
hobby friends, gastronomic, service group,  
others.

A sample chart appears in Table 2, using the author's language experience. The languages are listed with capital letters (B=both), average duration of contact in hours with number superscripts, and frequency of contact as a line (daily \_\_\_, weekly \_ \_ \_, monthly ' ' ', quarterly ' ' ' , and yearly . . .). Age at which languages were spoken is given in numbers at the top of the chart.

Table 2. Sample Language Description Chart



The chart indicates, for example, that the author heard programs on the radio in English about five hours weekly starting at about 4 years. She heard both languages on the radio from age twenty to twenty-three, then only English, for the same average time per week.

In addition to the information presented above, it would be possible to include pertinent information on places of residency. This might give insight as to the sequencing of language environments, or other geographical influences upon the informant. It would appear on the chart as follows:

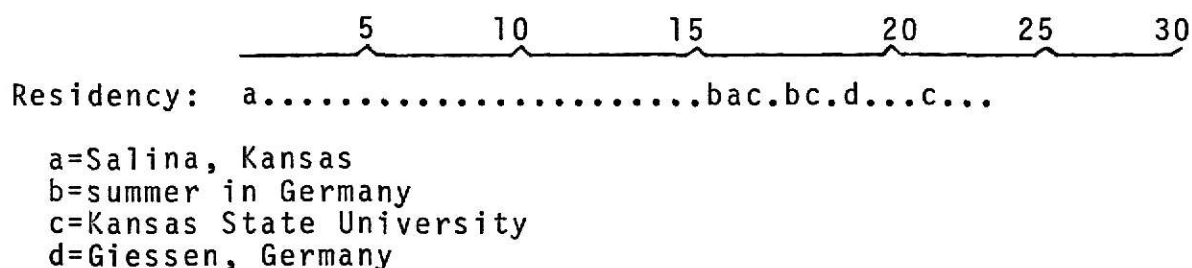


Fig. 6. Residency Description

Language proficiency. The preceding appears to be an adequate profile of language usage, but not of language proficiency (Haugen: 1956, 95). One scale for degrees of bilingualism has been proposed by Osgood (1953, 44). It describes eight levels of ability, delineated from simple to complex as follows:

1. A person can decode (comprehend) lexical information in context (but not get structure),
2. decode lexical and structural information (including grammatical tags, order, etc.; content becomes less important),
3. encode (produce) simple semantic units into context,
4. encode semantic and structural units,
5. internalize a new decoding and encoding system (thinking in the language),
6. discriminate fine structural distinctions,
7. discriminate fine semantic distinctions,
8. discriminate subtle situational contexts for lexical items.

Fig. 7. Osgood's Levels of Language Ability

These levels can be arrived at through various means, and they should be established for comprehension and production (decoding and encoding) with reference to phonemics, grammar, and basic lexicon, with perhaps a measure given for the total (Haugen: 1956, 76).

Fluency. A further suggestion for describing fluency is found in the "MLA Competence Ratings for Foreign Language Teachers" (Eriksson: 1964, 154). This gives minimal, good, and superior ratings for aural understanding, speaking, reading, writing, language analysis, cultural, and professional areas. Omitting the last three, the first areas seem to be a good indication of language competence generally, which could in another study be measured in greater detail. An outline of the first four competency areas is given in Table 3.

Table 3. MLA Competence Ratings

Aural Understanding:

Superior: can follow closely and with ease all types of standard speech, such as rapid or group conversation, plays, and movies,

Good: can understand conversation of average tempo, lectures, and news broadcasts,

Minimal: can get the sense of what an educated native says when he is enunciating carefully and speaking simply on a general subject,

Speaking:

Superior: can approximate native speech in vocabulary, intonation, and pronunciation (for example, can be at ease in social situations),

Good: can talk with a native without making glaring mistakes, and with a command of vocabulary and syntax sufficient to express one's thoughts in sustained conversation. This implies speech at normal speed with good pronunciation and intonation.

Minimal: can talk on prepared topics (for example, for classroom situations) without obvious faltering and use the common expressions needed for getting around in the foreign country, speaking with a pronunciation readily understandable to a native,

Table 3. MLA Competence Ratings  
(continued)

Reading:

- Superior: can read, almost as easily as in English, material of considerable difficulty, such as essays and literary criticism,
- Good: can read with immediate comprehension prose and verse of average difficulty and mature content,
- Minimal: can grasp directly (that is, without translating) the meaning of simple, nontechnical prose, except for an occasional word,

Writing:

- Superior: can write on a variety of subjects with idiomatic naturalness, ease of expression, and some feeling for the style of the language,
- Good: can write a simple "free composition" with clarity and correctness in vocabulary, idiom, and syntax,
- Minimal: can write correctly sentences or paragraphs such as would be developed orally for classroom situations, and write a short, simple letter.

The competence ratings as given here are purely qualitative, but a testing procedure could give quantitative scores for each area. If this were done for each language, one might find a relationship between the two languages reflective of Weinreich's dominance configuration (cf. p. 15).

Factors influencing proficiency. The prime factor influencing language usage (cf. p. 7, 8) is its usefulness in communication. Bilingualism exists only where different functions are fulfilled by each language. The dominance



configuration generally describes usage patterns. However, other factors influence the proficiency of an individual in both languages. Suggested below are factors influencing proficiency:<sup>5</sup>

Language aptitude--Aptitude refers to potential, not to mastery. When someone has a "gift for languages," one can say he has a high aptitude for languages. On the other hand, poor proficiency in both languages may be due to a low general aptitude for language learning. Aptitude for language seems to be based on four variables: 1). phonetic coding (mimicry, phonetic discrimination, etc.), 2). ability to handle "grammar" (ability to develop meanings inductively, to use function words, etc.), 3). rote memorization ability, and 4). ability to infer linguistic forms, rules, and patterns from new linguistic content itself (Carroll and Sapon: 1958).

The "switching facility" (Weinreich: 1953) may be another indication of aptitude. The ideal bilingual uses the appropriate language in the appropriate situation, does not mix languages, and has control over the switching from one language to another. At the other extreme is the person who uses the language as a mixture, switching codes without being aware of it.

Intelligence--Although one tends to equate intelligence with aptitude, this is not necessarily the case. Intelligence is but one important factor in aptitude.

Age of learning--One should expect greater proficiency in the language used in childhood. The language learned after adolescence will seldom be mastered to the proficiency level of the childhood language. However, a language not used after childhood will either fade completely or will never develop to the full capacity of the other language.

Method of learning--Direct learning is considered easier for sub-adolescents, while contrastive analysis of grammar with practice of forms is now thought to be more effective for adult learners. The method of learning a second language is the topic of much inquiry and the reason behind much disension among linguists.

Bilinguals are generally considered to be "compound" or "coordinate" depending on the processes of learning and using the language (Ervin and Osgood: 1954). The same types, with a stronger reference to acquisition contexts has additionally been called "fused" and "separated" (Lambert et al.: 1958). Weinreich (1966, 9-10) called members of the same types "subordinative and "coordinative."

The separated context occurs when one language is spoken in the home and the other exclusively outside the home, when one parent consistently used one language and the other parent a different language, or when one language was acquired in a particular national or cultural setting distinct from that in which the second was acquired.

Acquisition contexts were considered fused when both parents

used the two languages indiscriminately, when both languages were used interchangeable inside and outside the home, or when an individual acquired his second language in a school system stressing vocabulary drill and translation and when the first or native language was used as the medium of instruction, that is, when both languages were used with reference to each other (Lambert: 1958). The contexts can be considered separated or fused in areas of time, function, or culture (Lambert: 1963).

Within the individual, the languages A and B could be represented like this:

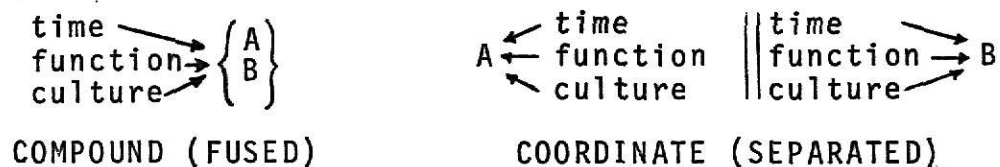


Fig. 8. Language Contexts

Language choice for such an individual has been described through the use of "mediating processes" between the languages (Ervin and Osgood: 1954, 140):

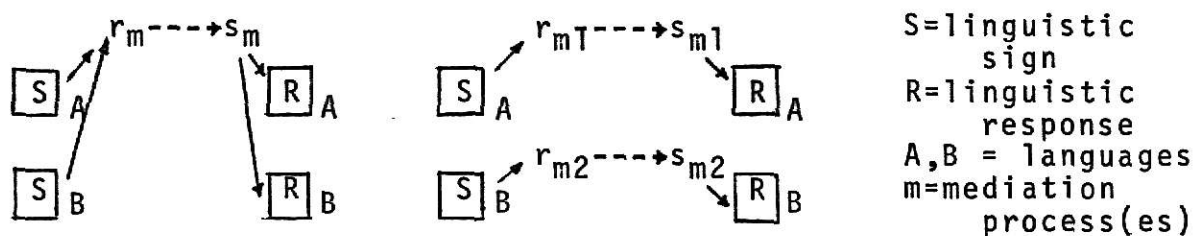


Fig. 9. Mediating Processes

For an individual sign, the following representation is suggested (Weinreich: 1953, 9):

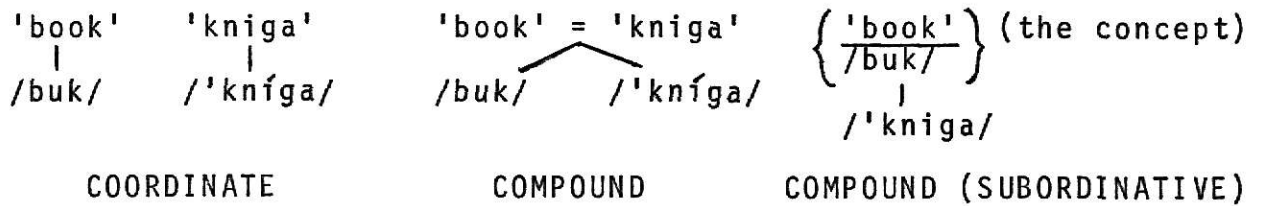


Fig. 10. Language Signs

Here the first is coordinate. The second indicates a compound situation, probably in terms of time or function. The last indicates a compound situation, probably in terms of culture.

Obviously, the direction from compound to coordinate is a continuum, but a person's place in this continuum will dictate to some extent his use of language within the community. For example, a simultaneous interpreter is necessarily basically a coordinate bilingual, while translators are more often compound. Teachers of second languages are usually compound, while workers in a community would probably be more likely to be coordinate. Another hypothesis is that stably bilingual communities would have a greater proportion of coordinate bilinguals than communities which are in transition from bilingual to unilingual. All these possibilities would have to be tested.

**Personality**--It is generally agreed that personality influences learning of the second language, but perhaps the influence could be said to be due more to "motivation" and necessity than to personality.

Qualities of the languages learned--If the two languages are in the same family, the first will probably make the learning of the second easier, but will lead to more interference later.<sup>8</sup> Some aspects of the learning will be facilitated (e.g. vocabulary), while others are hindered (e.g. syntax). If the languages are highly dissimilar, interference will be reduced, but initial learning may be more difficult. Cultures or experiences associated with the languages will similarly affect them. For example, highly similar cultures will produce increased interference in the languages (Ervin and Osgood: 1954).

### Chapter 3

#### RELATING THE BILINGUAL INDIVIDUAL TO HIS ENVIRONMENT

##### Language and Social Function

The purpose of any socio-cultural study of bilingualism is to relate the speech of the individual and the patterns of the group to the community as a whole. The patterns which are used within a group serve to reinforce the ties within the group as well as the language of the group. Furthermore, if a person, by virtue of his language habits, can be identified as a member of a certain group, there must be patterns used by him that are indicative of the group--and there must be elements of those patterns that distinguish one group's language from that of another (Labov: 1966, 8). These could be elements of pronunciation, vocabulary, syntax--or even the language used.

While the questionnaire and the interview format is not included in this report, they are recognized as the major tools in eliciting data for analysis of features. This section of the report concerns itself with the observations gained by means of questionnaires and interviews, and reviews factors that could be linked with differential language usage.

Labov (1966) has shown a definite link between language and social class in New York City, Shuy (1968) in Detroit, Fishman et al. (1971a) in Jersey City and New York.

It is generally agreed that the language usage of a person reflects his social standing and restricts his movement from one social class to another.

### Dialect vs. Register

At this point, a distinction should be made between "dialect" and "register" (Halliday: 1964). In dealing with one language, "dialect" refers to variations in the language according to the users. One speaker has two (or more) rather distinct variants of the same language, which he uses with different groups, such as with French (with non-Swiss speakers) and Patois in Switzerland. "Register," however, is the variation according to the usage. Different social situations require a different lexis, and to some extent a different grammar. In German, for example:

dialect	/wi. 'ge:ts.day.'oltn/
standard	Wie geht's deiner Frau?
standard, elevated	Wie geht es Ihrer Frau Gemahlin?

Register can be described as having three components: field of discourse, mode of discourse, and style of discourse. Field of discourse refers to the area of operation, e.g. politics, house cleaning, etc. Mode refers to the medium, e.g. spoken and written, with its subcategories advertising, conversation, sports commentary, etc. (Readings are considered by Halliday to be oral written not spoken). Style suggests the divisions colloquial and polite, or in the spoken mode, casual

and careful (Labov 1966), as a continuum with further possible arbitrary divisions (e.g. intimate, deferential, etc.).

Fishman (1971a) has further divided what is called the field of discourse into at least two distinctive elements. The domain is a "cluster of social situations typically constrained by a common set of behavioral rules," such as family, school, work, religion, and government. The social situation is a specific "encounter defined by intersection of time, setting, and role relationship." All these divisions are subsumed under Halliday's "register." Fishman's further division "language choice" would be included in the term "dialect."

In a bilingual situation, register is to some extent defined by dialect. The differentiation of social class, etc., is not characterized merely by alternation of lexis and grammar, but additionally by alternation of language or dialect.<sup>9</sup> In a survey of a bilingual community, one should expect regularities of language in a grouping (register) that are defined or characterized by the dialect. Thus, in German-speaking Switzerland, government jobs are held by those who have mastery of elevated Standard High German, although these individuals may speak Schwyzertütsch at home. People who are proficient in High German, but not the elevated "government-usage" variety, will be excluded from certain job opportunities. There are two dialects of German present, with certain registers characterized in part by each dialect.



## RELATING LANGUAGE USAGE TO THE WHOLE

The information presented later as "areas of language usage" has as its basis two lines of theory which do not occur in actuality. First, languages are not pure forms, but rather, a continuum. In a German-French community, some speakers may consistently keep the languages separate, while some may consistently use a conglomeration. Second, the division of alternants of patterns, while centered upon the "areas of usage," is also a cline without pure restrictions as to sex, geographic area, and so on.

To deal with these factors on what Fishman (1971a) calls a "macro" level, one must first observe the "micro" level of interpersonal interactions. This can be accomplished by inference or observation, by interview, and by questionnaire. Besides the information on lexis, pronunciation, and family background, that is frequently found in a basic interview and questionnaire, information can be gathered on each informant in a sampling as to why he uses this form with one speaker, but that one with another, spends time with certain people, and does certain "cultural" things. By the answers ("Because that is how one speaks to a friend," etc.) and their level of generality, one can begin to draw conclusions about the functions in society at large (Fishman: 1968).

Speech varieties are associated with levels and roles

in society. In order to be maintained, they must serve different functions and be associated with different values as well. If the different values expressed by the languages used can be identified, types of social interaction and values associated with them can be seen in terms of the language used.

By beginning with the more detailed interactions (as Fishman said, who says what to whom and when), one can move up to the larger areas of usage outlined previously. In defining the interaction on a small scale, one can isolate the alternant possibilities (open network) or the single possibility (closed network) of culturally-accepted responses (the dominant values in a given domain) on the larger scale. This gives the larger scale "macro" responses a certain predictability in terms of the smaller scale "micro" ones.

#### AREAS OF LANGUAGE USAGE

The purpose of a socio-cultural survey or study of a bilingual area is to describe the incidence of each language and to associate it with aspects of the culture. Presented here are some factors which could influence or account for bilingualism or diglossia.

##### Geographic Areas

*Dialects in Europe have long been associated with the region. Rivers, mountains, etc. often are effective geographic hindrances to the spread of language on a wide*

scale. Political boundaries are often effective hindrances today. Factors that speed language normalization or mix are the mass media, school systems, religious organizations, etc. To the extent that these are politically limited, the language will also be affected. The author observed recently that, while the suburbs of Chicago are politically limited, each suburb attracts specific ethnic groups. For instance, the population of Dolton is almost equally Irish and Polish, with the majority of its citizens being Roman Catholic. South Holland, nearby, has a Protestant German-background citizenry. To the extent that these factors affect spoken English, the differences will be shown geographically. Geographical borders in a bilingual population are also shown to some extent in Montreal. Even mixed French-English neighborhoods usually have a dominant (English) language used in public.

### Indigenusness

The length of time that the languages have been spoken in a particular community and their stability will be factors affecting language usage. A newly-immigrated language group may more quickly adopt the dominant language than a "language pocket" such as of French speakers in Maine and Louisiana, which has been in the area and resisted transition for many many years.

In northern Germany, Plattdeutsch was spoken for centuries, although High German was the dominant language. However, the large influx of refugees at the end of World War II reinforced the necessity of communication through the standard language, and Plattdeutsch has all but died out in certain areas.<sup>10</sup>

### Cultural or Ethnic Groups

This has been a major factor in the maintenance of foreign languages in the U.S. (Fishman: 1966). The cultural institutions include the family, press, schools, parishes, and ethnic organizations. These are also factors in the maintenance of German in areas of Denmark (Svalastoga and Wolf: 1969, 43). This heading has close ties with geographic areas, religion, and social status in many instances. Yiddish-speaking Jewish populations have at times been isolated by class and geography, as Spanish-speaking Roman Catholic populations in various parts of the U.S. are now.

### Race

This category is also linked to geographic area and ethnic group, but is an important factor by itself. Negro language patterns in U. S. cities are often more similar to each other than to white patterns in the same cities. The Bantus of South Africa have different native languages from the whites, but must learn English and/or Afrikaans in most cases for employment.

Racially defined language patterns exist where there is geographic or cultural segregation, and one would expect this category to overlap to a large extent with social status.

### Sex

When the author worked with Otoe, a Souian Indian language, during the summer of 1971, she learned that the verbal statement-of-fact suffix was /-ki/ for a woman speaker but /-key/ for a man. In South America, as to some degree in the U.S., the "machismo" of males allows speech which is inappropriate for ladies. The most widely quoted case for language differentiation as to sex is in Japanese. It is said that Japanese-speaking Americans who grew up fatherless were laughed at by the Japanese soldiers they interrogated, because they spoke only the "female Japanese" they had heard their mothers speak.

### Age

Perhaps the greatest difference in language patterns due to age is in the lexis. The influence of teenagers' slang in the U.S. as in other countries, is easily observed. A German-speaking child is addressed only with "du" until puberty, when the adult differentiation of formal-Sie vs. intimate-du begins to apply to him as well. Some countries require a second language as a medium of instruction, restricting the use of that language within the population to the young. Foreign language instruction in the U.S. is for the most part restricted to youth, while foreign language maintenance

is mostly restricted to the older generations.

#### Rural vs. Urban Population

This is tied to geographic area and to occupation in many cases, but not necessarily. When a lingua franca is in use in the city, as in parts of Africa, the city population may be bilingual and the rural population unilingual. Or there may be a higher incidence of a language among one group than another. Life-long residents of Munich speak a dialect that is recognizeable as "Münchner" to Southern Bavarians. Obviously, the lexis will vary greatly, with an abundance of agricultural terms among the rural speakers, etc.

#### Social Status

This is probably the single most important factor in language usage. Labov (1966) for instance, showed the pronunciation of English to be closely linked to social stratification as well as to other factors.

Social status can be seen as a composite of other factors, the two most important apparently being education and occupation. A third, such as income (Labov: 1966), type of housing (Shuy: 1968), residence area (Warner and Srole: 1945), or standard of living (Pipping: 1953) also plays a role.

## Chapter 4

### SUMMARY

Language is an integral feature of human personality and of human interaction. A society that is to some degree bilingual or diglossic can utilize the talents of its speakers to improve, or see its situation as a handicap. The study of language usage and bilingualism can lead to increased understanding of human behavior, and ideally, can lead to enlightened planning and practices in the institutions which affect the speakers' lives.

The study of bilingual populations is usually based upon interviews or questionnaires completed by representative members of a language community. This report has asked how these individuals can be selected to give a representative sampling, and what factors might be linked with the differentiated language usage found in the questionnaires.

In order to achieve a random sampling, one must first know something about the community and the individual potential informants. Stewart's typology (1968) adapted by Ferguson (1964), can be useful in establishing the general roles filled by certain languages on a national level. A survey of institutions in the bilingual community (schools, churches, ethnic organizations) can suggest sources for an adequate base sample of the population.

Weinreich's dominance configuration (1953) gives a

very basic indication of relative language status for the individual, while Mackey's chart (1966) gives in depth information in tabular form on language usage. Both Osgood (1953) and the MLA (Eriksson: 1964) have given guidelines for establishing relative language proficiency. Further criteria of individual language competence can be found in measures of aptitude, switching facility, intelligence, method and age of learning, personality (or motivation), and qualities of the languages themselves.

The data collected must be linked to factors that relate the bilingual individual to his environment and distinguish his social and language group from others.

The first step is in defining the dialects and registers. Which dialect or language type is used in what social situation, and what register (field, mode, and style of discourse) is used when speaking to different interlocutors? In other words, "Who speaks what language to whom and when?" (Fishman: 1971a). By observing these patterns on a "micro" level, on the level of interpersonal communication, and asking for generalities of why there are certain responses or actions by an informant, one can project a format of interaction to a group level and to an extent "predict" group language behavior (on the "macro" level) on the basis of normative values found in the individual.

Once group language patterns have been suggested, one



can describe their incidence and associate it with aspects of the culture, such as geographic area, indigenoussness of the group, existence of cultural or ethnic groups, race, sex, age, rural or urban population, and social status. Social status can be seen as a combination of education, occupation, and other factors.

The importance of such a study is in its application. If language performance is linked with social success, a factor in institutional planning should be to aid social mobility by providing language training.

A striking example of social stratification by language was cited by Labov (1966). He conducted a survey of three department stores in New York City, chosen on the basis of their relative prestige, with Sak's, Macy's, and Klein's representing high, middle, and low prestige stores. By asking directions of as many sales personnel as possible throughout the store that would elicit the response, "Fourth floor," (and by feigning that he did not hear the response, eliciting it again more clearly), and making a description of each respondent's work role and physical characteristics (sex, approximate age, skin color, etc) he was able to tabulate the use or non-use of final-r. He discovered that final-r was used more widely among Sak's personnel and among other employees in more prestigious roles (floor walker, supervisor, etc.), and least in the lowest status store and among lowest-prestige jobs (janitors, stock boys) in all the stores.

To the sales clerk who is looking for a job, pronunciation of "r" apparently makes a difference in the kind of store in which a job may be obtained. Perhaps preparation for such a position should include also language practice.

If bilingualism is to be promoted or thwarted, planning should occur in education and government. And when policies are made, their effect upon a bilingual population should be known or surmised.

A postscript to footnote 2 is in order here. While Massachusetts state law requires bilingual education, the practice has been rejected by the state supreme court in the past month as de facto segregation. The theory is commendable, but the practice was not. Because language usage is linked to social interaction, the two cannot be divorced from each other.

The research in this report has left unanswered the question of how results should be translated into practice. But perhaps, as Labov (1966) suggested, this is a question that should not directly concern one who calls himself a linguist. Rather, he should do the research and draw conclusions, in order to suggest applications, rather than to direct them.

## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Ferguson, former head of the Center for Applied Linguistics, gives as a minimum criterion for a "major language" that it be spoken by more than 25% of the population or by more than one million people. His listing takes into account those people who are bilingual as well as those who are non-English-speakers.

<sup>2</sup>Since 1968, eleven states have passed laws allowing bilingual instruction in public schools. Massachusetts state law now requires bilingual instruction for children whose first language is not English. With the Bilingual Education Act of 1965, the Federal Government officially changed from a one-language philosophy (Haugen: 1956, 107) by providing for financial assistance to bilingual, bicultural education programs (Kobrick: 1972).

<sup>3</sup>This definition agrees with that given by Coates (1966) who says, "Note that it is still possible to speak of a bilingual community, but in a sense more restricted than heretofore: a bilingual community is one in which every individual is bilingual."

<sup>4</sup>Shuy (1968, 1) has said, "Sociologists, psychologists, educators, and others have suggested a number of indices of social stratification, based on such factors as a person's occupation, education, attitudes, abilities, and the like. But to the linguist, none of these indices seems as significant as an index based on a person's use of the language, for not only does language underlie the very structure of communication, but it also frequently lies beneath the surface of consciousness."

<sup>5</sup>The major divisions of selection are suggested by Haugen (1956). Specific methods are attributed to other authors in the text.

<sup>6</sup>Information on the status of German, French, Italian, and Romansch are from McRae (1964). The inclusion of Latin, English, and Yiddish are not attested by figures, but are examples of possible treatment of special-usage languages.

<sup>7</sup>Elements of these samplings can be very complicated. School systems in Germany, for example, differ widely by state.

<sup>8</sup>The concept "interference" is actually applicable only insofar as the languages are considered to have "pure" forms, or standards. Or, using Labov's contrastive approach, interference occurs when an aspect of speech is considered to be inappropriate to the listeners, the situation, or the language used.

<sup>9</sup>An elevated social class, for example, may avoid the use of dialect altogether, and use exclusively a standard form.

<sup>10</sup>A young man of the author's acquaintance in Rendsburg, northern Germany, learned Plattdeutsch from a neighbor, although his parents had spoken it before his birth. He said he was losing his command of it, because he could find hardly anyone who would speak it.

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METHODS IN THE STUDY OF BILINGUALISM:  
A LOOK AT SOCIO-CULTURAL MEASUREMENT

by

SARAH HARPER HARTWIG

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## ABSTRACT

### Purpose

Language is an integral feature of human personality and of human interaction. A society that is to some degree bilingual or diglossic can utilize the talents of its speakers to improve, or see its situation as a handicap. The study of language usage and bilingualism can lead to increased understanding of human behavior, and ideally, can lead to enlightened planning and practices in the institutions which affect the speakers' lives.

The study of bilingual populations is usually based upon interviews or questionnaires completed by representative members of a language community. This paper has asked how these individuals can be selected to give a representative sampling, and what factors might be linked with the differentiated language usage found in the questionnaires.

### Procedure

In order to achieve a random sampling, one must first know something about the community and the individual potential informants. Stewart's typology (1968), adapted by Ferguson (1964), can be useful in establishing the general roles filled by certain languages on a national level. A survey of institutions in the bilingual community (school, churches, ethnic organizations) can suggest sources for an adequate base sample of the population.

Weinreich's dominance configuration (1953) gives a very basic indication of relative language status for the individual, while Mackey's chart (1966) gives in-depth information in tabular form on language usage. Both Osgood (1953) and the MLA (Eriksson 1964) have given guidelines for establishing relative language proficiency. Further criteria of individual language competence can be found in measures of aptitude, switching facility, intelligence, method and age of learning, personality (or motivation), and qualities of the languages themselves.

The data collected must be linked to factors that relate the bilingual individual to his environment and distinguish his social and language group from others.

The first step is in defining the dialects and registers. Which dialect or language type is used in what social situation, and what register (field, mode, and style of discourse) is used when speaking to different interlocutors? In other words, "Who speaks what language to whom and when?" (Fishman 1971a). By observing these patterns on a "micro" level, on the level of interpersonal communications, and asking for generalities of why there are certain responses or actions by an informant, one can project a format of interaction to a group level and to some extent "predict" group language behavior (on the macro level) on the basis of normative values found in the individual.

Once group language patterns have been suggested,

one can describe their incidence and associate it with aspects of the culture, such as geographic area, indigen-  
eousness of the group, existence of cultural or ethnic groups,  
race, sex, age, rural or urban population, and social status.  
Social status can be seen as a combination of education,  
occupation, and other factors.

### Importance

The importance of such a study is in its application.  
If language performance is linked with social success, a  
factor in institutional planning should be to aid social  
mobility by providing language training. And when policies  
are made, their effect upon a bilingual population should be  
known or surmised.