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**TRANS-LINGUAL
A STUDY OF BILINGUALISM
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO
TRANSLATION**

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**For the submission of the higher degree
by research of Doctor of Philosophy**

**UNIVERSITY OF WARWICK
Center for British, Comparative and Cultural Studies**

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~ SUMMARY ~

The thesis attempts at connecting two areas, namely bilingualism and translation. Both areas are involved with the process of language transfer between L1 and L2 or SL and TL. The present research seeks to focus on the interplay between both ends of the continuum. It will be argued that the trans-lingual experience involves not only linguistic transfer but also cultural transfer, which appears a paramount dimension in both areas.

Bilingualism has long been denigrated and was thought to have negative effects upon intelligence. Similarly, translation was relegated to the role of secondary activity. Starting from the 1960's, bilingualism has been found to hold positive effects upon creative thinking and translation has been considered a form of creative rewriting. Both areas have travelled from a peripheral position to a central one, which addresses the role of attitude and questions the notion of norm.

The difficulty of adhering to a single definition of bilingualism and of describing the translating process stresses the problem of approach, and therefore suggests an interdisciplinary methodology.

Societal bilingualism is presented, though the main interest of the thesis lies in the characterisation of individual bilingualism in its various forms. The case of the bilingual author and self/translator American Francophile, Julien Green, serves an example.

Features of bilingual speech are presented and some of the functions of code switching are examined, showing that such bilingual linguistic forms carry elements of biculturalism, and above all, creative interaction.

~ LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS ~

- BE black English
CS code switching
DIH developmental interdependence hypothesis
IQ intellectual quotient
L1 language first learned
L2 language learned after the first language
MGT matched guise technique
SAE standard European languages
SAE* standard American English
SES socio economic status
SL source language
ST source text
TL target language
TS translation studies
TT target text

~ INTRODUCTION ~

This thesis attempts to present aspects of bilingualism, in particular relation to translation. Throughout it is suggested that the issues and problems raised by language transfer at large are of a degree of complexity such that further research is needed. One of the main concerns is to stress the importance of an interdisciplinary approach which offers complementary perspectives.

The phenomenon of language contact is considered on two levels. On the one hand, a major part of the thesis concentrates on individual bilingualism and on the other, reference is made to societal bilingualism. Since the emphasis is on language behaviour, the linguistic aspect is present throughout the various chapters. The incidence of culture over language structures is questioned, raising the issue of un/translatability. The Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis is found a starting point in translation studies, in which language is considered a "modelling system". Bassnett suggests that "language [...] is the heart within the body of culture and it is the interaction between the two that result in the continuation of life-energy"¹

¹ Susan Bassnett-McGuire, *Translation Studies*, Rev.edn (London: Routledge, 1991), p. 14.

In the present thesis the word culture is used in the broad sense and refers to "all socially conditioned aspects of human life" to use Snell Hornby's words.

Whether the bilingual individual is potentially a better translator than any other translator is still an open question.² Self-translator Julien Green, the illustration chosen for the purpose of this thesis, achieves greatness in both activities. And when looking at Green's selected self-translated pieces it might even be suggested that the bilingual author enjoys a certain advantage in preempting the needs of his readership, as far as cultural elements are concerned. In doing so, Green is concerned with "the various ways in which translated literature functions in the wider context of the target literature".³

The thesis also argues that bilingualism involves not only language contacts *per se* but also cultural parameters. The section on Francophony illustrates this point. The spiritual Francophone community is an organisation which shares a common language, but above all, a cultural community. And it is the locus of cultural contact, to use Weinreich's expression, which appears to be the crucial factor of mutual enrichment amongst bilingual Francophones. These bilinguals share a community of language into which they bring elements of the other tongue(s) they master, as well as cultural elements from their lands of origin. The polycentric space of francophony is a dynamic arena which involves simultaneously language and cultural contacts, as well as language transfer via, for instance, the phenomenon of code

² I find it a difficult task to refer to the translator who is not a true bilingual (ambilingual), in contrast to the translator who might be an artificial bilingual/ cultural bilingual/ or elite bilingual (see typology). Describing the artificial bilingual as a "normal translator" is somehow inferring that the true bilingual is an "abnormal" translator, which would lead to similar prejudiced conclusions mentioned in the section on the "bilingualism-intelligence dichotomy". Similarly, to describe such a translator as "ordinary", might suggest that the true bilingual translator is "extraordinary", hence potentially better at translating.

³ André Lefevere, "Beyond the Process: Literary Translation in Literature and Literary Theory" in *Translation Spectrum, Theory and Practice*, ed. by Marilyn Gaddis Rose (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1981), pp. 52-59 (p. 55).

switching, and numerous loans as well as borrowings. The linguistic and cultural plurality of the Francophone space is proposed as an example of societal bilingualism where "part of the creativity of users of languages lies in the freedom to determine what and how much linguistic difference matters"⁴

Manipulation appears as a key word. Indeed, during the 1920's and 1930's, linguists and psycho linguists manipulated public opinion about bilinguals who they suggested had their intelligence halved.⁵ Starting from the 1960's and 1970's scholars argued that duplicity of language of bilinguals doubled their potential. In the 1980's and 1990's, the example of Julien Green has shown that bilingualism can be a creative source of inspiration. The publication of two self-translated essays and the printing of a translator translated essay on Green's selected pieces are cases in point, which also disclose that linguistic duplicity may lead to creation. Such bilingual literature has been celebrated with Beckett's self-translations or bilingual author Rilke who once observed: "Several times I attempted the same theme in French and German, and to my astonishment it developed on different lines in the two languages".⁶

The question whether the self-/translated target text be considered a new source text in the target language is a contentious issue. If one agrees with the hypothesis that self-/translation involves not only language and cultural transfer but also a creative process, it

⁴ Dell Hymnes, *Foundations in Sociolinguistics. An Ethnographic Approach* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania University Press, 1981), p. 123.

⁵ It will be shown that most of these studies come from the United States or Wales. Their discourse is noticed to have strong correlation with the prejudiced ideology of the 1930's.

⁶ Brian Fitch, "Pourquoi Beckett écrit-il en deux langues?", *Revue Canadienne de Littérature Comparée*, 14:2 (1987), 223-238 (p. 33).

then appears that the target text thus produced may be considered a new creation in its own right. This hypothesis is supported by Block in the following quote: "Translation in the hands of gifted writers is not reproduction but creation, fully deserving of the same informed critical response as other modes of literary endeavor".⁷ In this light, translating becomes rewriting. And as the self-translator is free to transpose as s/he pleases, the target text may be edited, thus given a new shape in the body of a new language. On this point, Paris also suggests: "the translation may be considered as an equivalent of the original, and becomes in its turn another facet of the form, another facet which may even be able to modify, sharpen and deepen the first one"⁸ In this view, by looking away from the original, the translator is subsequently able to look back, the ST and TT then appear to have mutual influence.

It is worth noting that in Green's selected piece, chosen for the purpose of the thesis, the bilingual author remains "marble constant" to his source texts, as far as the form is concerned. As for content, both the French and English versions appear as an image and its reflection, whenever culturally compatible. When looking at Green's self-translation sample it might be suggested that his bilingualism proves to be an advantage. However, Green is an isolated case and would not suffice to suggest that bilingualism is a distinctive advantage for translators at large. It is quite obvious that a certain degree of mastery

⁷ Haskell M. Block, "The Writer as Translator: Nerval, Beaudelaire, Gide", in GaddisRose (1980), p. 125.

⁸Jean Paris, "Translation and Creation", in *The Craft and Context of Translation*, ed. by J. Biguenet and R. Schulte (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), pp. 57-67 (p. 63).

of the target language is required to translate.⁹ Yet on the translator's bilingual competence, Delisle argues that: "the translator's bilingualism is characterized above all by the ability to preserve the integrity of two languages in contact. Translation is the ultimate case of language contact".¹⁰ Thus, for the bilingual, the difficulty appears to be to keep separate two linguistic and cultural streams that in her/his brain have merge in a single flow. On this point, Mounin further suggests:

la traduction, donc, est un contact des langues, est un fait du bilinguisme [...] où la résistance aux conséquences habituelles du bilinguisme est la plus consciente et la plus organisée; le cas où le locuteur bilingue lutte consciemment contre toute déviation de la norme linguistique, contre toute interférence.¹¹

In other words, when self-/translating, the bilingual constantly needs to pass the frontier between bilingualism and monolingualism. Although s/he has knowledge of the two systems, isolating them consciously as belonging to one or the other might not be an automatic process.

In addition, the portrait of the self-translator is, in proportion, much rarer in critical literature, if not non existent, compared to the self-portrait of the translator. It can then only attemptively be suggested that the self-translator might find hazardous the paths that lead from bilingualism to monolingualism, and although both destinations might

⁹ I am aware of cases where the translator had very limited knowledge of the source language and yet transposed, I the source text. See "The translation - self-portrait of the translator" in *The Art of Translation*, ed. by K. Chutovsky (1984), pp. 18-43

¹⁰ Jean Delisle, *Translation and Interpretive Approach* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1988), p. 21.

¹¹ Georges Mounin, *Les problèmes théoriques de la traduction* (Paris: Gallimard, 1963), pp. 4-5.

present the appearance of being quite secure, the journey that connects the two might be slippery. This might be a plausible explanation for Green's selective production of self-translation which appears more "un exercice de style", to use a Queneau coined title, rather than a real inclination. During an interview in 1989 when asked whether he ever felt there was a kind of duality between his two languages, Green gave the following reply:

Cette dualité qui est la vôtre sur le plan de la langue et de la culture ne semble pas avoir été pur vous une source de conflit, mais une prodigieuse richesse.

On est pas la même personne en français et en anglais, c'est la une des découvertes les plus intéressantes de la psychologie. Une langue n'est pas seulement une façon de s'exprimer, c'est une manière d'être. Il y a une façon anglaise de penser un problème, et une façon française. C'est ce qui rend les traductions tellement difficiles, et quelques fois impossibles. ¹²

Green's suggests that a change of language infers a change of perspective, though it is more difficult to address the "in-between" involved in translating. How to make two discrete perspectives compatible is the heart of the matter. Bezier argues that bilingualism is a means of communication that precisely palliates the "in-between":

le bilinguisme est un double moyen nécessaire ou facultatif de communication efficace entre deux ou plusieurs "mondes" différents à l'aide de deux systèmes linguistiques [...] le terme suggère qu'entrer dans une autre langue, c'est aussi rentrer dans un autre univers, s'intégrer à une autre communauté, s'habituer à une autre manière de s'exprimer et de voir la réalité, et non seulement traduire ce qui est dit dans la première langue, non seulement se servir d'autres mots, ou d'autres phonèmes. Bilingue

¹² Michèle Raclot, "Interview de Julien Green réalisée le 31 août 1989 par Michèle Raclot", *Revue d'étude du roman du XXe siècle*, 10 (1990), 105-118, (p. 116).

signifierait dans cette optique 'adepte de deux horizons culturels au sens large' ¹³

According to Bezier translating is a subordinate activity which ensues from bilingualism, the primary function of bilingualism being a means of mediation between "cultural horizons". Thus, the bilingual may happen to translate, but this does not represent a necessary condition to fluctuate between her/his two discrete horizons. In sum, language is the bilingual 's passport for entry into two communities. Steiner argues differently when stating that "inside or between languages, human communication equals translation".¹⁴ For the latter every speech act is equated with translation. The precedence between bilingualism and translation remains to be explored. However, Hamers and Blanc 's remark proves pertinent: "What makes the translator or the interpreter here distinct from other bilinguals is neither his fluency in several languages, nor his bilingual competence, but his ability to use them in complex information-processing activities".¹⁵ This appears to corroborate the idea that it is the bridging which is complex, the overmapping of linguistic and cultural frontiers.

From the different issues raised in the connection between bilingualism and translation, it seems that one common denominator is the difficulty in finding homeostasis. Indeed, attempting to define the phenomenon of bilingualism is a vast task, which gives no

¹³ Monique Bezier and Mauritz Van Overbeke, *Le bilinguisme: essai de définition et guide bibliographique*, Cahiers de L'Institut de Langues Vivantes (Louvain: Université Catholique de Louvain, 1968), pp. 133-34.

¹⁴ George Steiner, *After Babel, Aspects of Language and Translation*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 47.

¹⁵ Josiane Hamers and Michel Blanc, *Bilinguality and Bilingualism*, 3rd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 254.

satisfactory single characterisation. One tangible reason might be that bilingualism deals with individuals or groups of individuals who are above all humans, each of them characterised by their singularities. Likewise, the middle ground between linguistic and cultural frontiers is *de facto* difficult to grasp, "the no man's land" that makes two worlds merge within the single mind or single group. Unless bilinguals and self-/translators can account for the mental processes involved in language contacts, the critic, in order to unveil the mysteries of trans-linguality, will be tempted to build up assumptions from the bilinguals' monolingual discourse, by for instance, comparing the ST or TT, or studying snatches of monolingual speech (L1 and/or L2), whereas, to understand trans-linguality, one needs to encapsulate both the point of departure and arrival on the bilingual/bicultural continuum, so that both ends meet.

It is suggested that monolinguals, who envision their linguistic position as nucleic, centrifuge at the periphery bilingual individuals who do not conform according their normative monolingual model. Hence, on the societal level, the majority-minority language dichotomy is often ambiguously used to describe not so much the number of speakers, but the power relationship involved between the two linguistic groups.¹⁶ The same monolingual attitude denigrates features of bilingual speech, such as code switching, relegating to the margins linguistic differences. Similarly, within bilingual societal contexts, this dichotomy is found to take on a social and political significance.

¹⁶ In the present thesis, the terms majority and minority languages are used to describe the proportional number of speakers.

CHAPTER 1

~ LANGUAGE AND CULTURE ~

1.1 World view and language

1.1.1 Language and culture

Throughout the writings of Sapir and Whorf, the main, recurrent claim is that the structure of a language determines the way in which the speaker of that language views the world. Language with regards to culture is: "A sort of logic, a general frame of reference and so moulds the thought of its habitual users" and "when a language and a culture develop together, significant relationships between aspects of grammar and characteristic are the culture as the whole".¹

From this, it may be presumed that Whorf makes connections between language, thought and culture, (hence the title of a collection of his writings, *Language, Thought and Reality*).² However, these connections seem to be dependent on the definition of the terms involved.

As regards language, thought and culture, Brown suggests that: in some respect "language is the chief evidence for the existence

¹ Roger W. Brown et al, *Language, Thought and Culture*, ed. by Paule Henle (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1958), p.1.

² *Language, Thought and Reality, Selected Writings of Benjamin Lee Whorf*, ed. by John B. Carroll (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press (1956), 1978).

and character of thought", however, one must admit that if the vocabulary is merely a list of words separable from thought, or else thought could be limited to the separable.³

In this light of this point, the problem appears to be the following how to determine the relationship between the mechanisms of language such as vocabulary, inflection, and sentence formation, on the one hand, and either perception and organisation of experience or the broad patterns of behaviour on the other.⁴

If the relationship between language, thought and culture is a deterministic one, such as expressed by Sapir and Whorf, then it would follow that different language speakers will view the world in a different manner depending on the language structure. Furthermore, the hypothesis would suggest that different speakers would have words for specific notions and objects and lack locutions for those with which they have fewer dealings. For instance, they might be: (i) ecological: how to describe a baobab in Lapland?, (ii) social: the French "Bon Appétit".

One might further ask whether there is a relation between vocabulary and perception and whether this connection is correlated with differences in environments. In the Eskimo and Scandinavian languages, there is a variety of lexical items for different states of snow. The Aztec language, on the other hand, offered the same word for "ice", "cold", "snow". As a consequence, it is argued by Brown that if vocabulary reflects the environment of a people as these examples seem to suggest, it would then mean that the culture of these peoples is subject on their environment.⁵ Language and culture would then be

³ Brown, p. 2.

⁴ Brown, p. 4.

⁵ Allan Paivio and Ian Begg, *Psychology of Language* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1981), p.258 raise a similar issue and suggest: " it might be

the effects of a common cause. Subsequently, this approach seeks to illustrate that the world appears different to a person using one vocabulary than it would to a person using another one. And perhaps language would call attention to different aspects of the environment in one case rather than in another.

It might be maintained that one perception of the world, hence one way of describing the world is dependent on linguistic availability. However, one might further question whether lexical availability is a sufficient parameter to maintain alternation of perception.⁶

The question that arises next is whether language influences culture or vice versa. Let us look at the example of colour terms in the Navaho language.⁷ In Navaho, three hues are available, that is white, red and yellow, besides a notion of darkness and light. From this, it would be unreasonable to conclude that the Navaho are colour blind, however, the vocabulary available tends to let Navaho speakers omit distinctions which other cultures and languages usually make. In this case, it is feasible to argue that the vocabulary availability influences the Navaho perception.

On this matter, Brown *et al* propose that every culture may be correlate with some aspects of language (syntactic, semantic, phonologic), but that there is not yet enough evidence to suggest cause and effect.⁸ The following quote illustrates this point:

interesting to determine whether English speakers have different ideas about femininity and masculinity than speakers of other languages".

⁶ See *Universal of Human Language* ed. by Joseph H. Greenberg (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1978).

and C. F. Hockett, "The Problem of Universals in Language", in *The View from Language, Selected Essays* (Athens, GA: The Georgia University Press, 1977), pp.163-186.

⁷ Brown, p. 23.

⁸ Brown, p. 23.

It seems very questionable in how far the restriction of the use of certain grammatical forms can really be conceived as an hindrance in the formulation of generalised ideas. It seems so much more likely that the lack of these forms is due to the lack of their need.⁹

At the opposite pole, it might be maintained that the conciseness of a language and clearness of thought (hence of language) of a people depends to a great extent upon the nature of their language. However, the fact that there are generalised forms of expression which are not used in language, does not prove the impossibility of forming them. It merely proves that the mode of life of the navaho people is such that these forms are not necessary and it is clear that they could develop if needed.

In another vein, Harris and Taylor express the view that languages are the: "instruments which enable human beings to achieve a rational comprehension of the world in which we live".¹⁰

This stance suggests that with Saussure's signified/signifier, every language is a complete semiological system. In that way, human beings are able to communicate linguistically with others who share the same system and think analytically about the world they live in. And *parole* (speech) is a reflection of *langue*, the external manifestation. This is to be understood in a structure itself which creates the units and their relations to one another. It is holistic, as the constituent parts do not exist independently of the whole. However, a language should not be confused with a nomenclature.

⁹ Franz Boaz, "Linguistic and Ethnology" in *Language in Culture and Society, A Reader in Linguistics and Anthropology*, ed. by Dell Hymes (New York: Harper International, 1966), pp. 15-26 (p. 18).

¹⁰ Roy Harris and Talbot Taylor, *Landmarks in Linguistic Thought, the Western Tradition from Socrates to Saussure* (London: Routledge, 1989), p. 177.

Linguists such as Jakobson have argued that language and culture are interconnected and that language should be taken as an integrative part of social life. Furthermore, it has been suggested that linguistics is linked to cultural anthropology. As Jakobson puts it: "language is the foundation of culture".¹¹ He also argues that linguistics has to learn from communication theory. Every communication act involves a message as well as four elements which are intrinsically linked to it there are: the emitter, the receiver, the topic of message and the code used. The relation between these four elements is variable and can be studied from various perspectives. Sapir studied the linguistic phenomenon principally from the cognitive point of view, but perhaps it is useful to consider that this is not the only possibility. It is also important to note that the essential issue for discourse analysis is the share of a common code for the encoder and receiver. And that communication is impossible if both interlocutors do not share preconceived possibilities, or prefabricated interpretations as in the *langue-parole* dichotomy. The verbal exchange, as in all forms of human relations, is a social act. It is from the code that the receiver can understand (decode) the message.¹² And in this sense, the main task for language is to "abolish the space" between the encoder and the decoder, to allow spatial continuity by using the same linguistic code (at the level of accent, regional dialect, syntactic/morphologic change as for instance between American and English). Distance appears to be greater when the code of encoder-decoder differs, as in the situation of code-switching¹³. But as indicated by Ruesch:

¹¹ Roman Jakobson, *Essais de linguistique générale* (Paris: Les Editions de Minuit, 1963), p. 28.

¹² Linguists call this process crypt analysis.

¹³ Code-switching is studied in detail in chapter 4.

The information that one can get depends on one's situation within or without the system. And if the observer is part of the linguistic system, the situation might vary, depending on whether one is the sender or receiver end of the continuum. When encoding the process is from the sound to meaning, from elements to symbol, but for the decoder the process is reversed hence the difficulty in homonymy situation.¹⁴

1.1.2 Culture and language universals

If we follow the hypothesis that language and culture are interconnected, then the next question that arises is the one posed by Landar of what might be universal in all human experience regardless of languages.¹⁵

Similarly, Whorf questions whether one can talk of universal concepts such as time and space, and whether these concepts are conditioned by the language involved. He suggests that time and space are experienced according to the nature of the language, (which includes its morphology and syntax). For example:

Navaho, like any other language, embodies an integral fashion of speaking on background linguistic system which partially determines not only how the people who speak it organise their experience conceptually, but also how they view the world and their relations to it. There is then a distinctive Navaho conceptual system and *Weltanschauung*-world view.¹⁶

¹⁴ *Toward a Unified Theory of Human Behaviour*, ed. by Roy R. Grinker (New York: Basic Books, 1967), p. 54.

¹⁵ H. Landar, *Language and Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966).

¹⁶ Landar, pp. 218-219.

Fearing remarks that the world of Whorf is presented in a "kaleidoscopic flux of impressions" which are unconsciously organised by linguistic process. But he nonetheless adds that "members of different cultures perceive as they have learned to perceive. Environments differ in the extent to which they force us to perceive in a certain way".¹⁷

Briefly then, language shapes ideas rather than merely expressing them. Furthermore, Whorf holds the view that all observers do not experience the same physical exposure to the picture of the universe, unless their background is identical. Sapir argues along the same lines:

Real world is to a large extent unconsciously build up on the language habits of the group. No two languages are sufficiently similar to be considered as representing the same social reality. The worlds in which different societies live are distinct worlds, not merely the same world with different labels attached.¹⁸

All this amounts to saying that discursive behaviour is influenced by the linguistic code involved. Subsequently, the idea that when the speaker talks s/he is free to express any idea appears to be an illusion. Instead, thinking occurs within the cultural and social frame of a language, and this process does not necessarily take place through the channel of words but is embedded in the speaker's consciousness.

However, Whorf recognises that a form of experience, irrespective of language, may be common to all men, a process that

¹⁷ F. Fearing, "An Examination of the Conceptions of Benjamin Lee Whorf in the Light of Theories of Perception and Cognition", in *Language and Culture*, ed. by Harry Hoijer, rev edn (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), p. 62, p. 64.

¹⁸ *Selected Writings of Edward Sapir*, ed. by G. Mandelbaum (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1949), p. 149.

could be prior to linguistic patterning. Hence the perception of the world could be described as an "apprehension" rather than a "conceptualisation". As to which came first between cultural norm and linguistic patterns, he argues that they have grown together, constantly influencing each other. Nevertheless, he also notes that the nature of a language is what influences at the most practicality. This implies that in order to obtain a new world view, one would need to develop a new language.

Hojjer answers that no culture is "wholly isolated, self-contained and unique", that there are resemblance between cultures and if this is not obvious on the surface level, cultures do share on the deeper strata "biological, psychological, and social characteristics, common to mankind".¹⁹

From what has already been said we must assume that the act of speaking *per se* means using a complex cultural organisation. Furthermore, Whorf argues that the "sense and meaning does not result from words or morphemes but from patterned relations between words or morphemes".²⁰ Words and morphemes are motor reactions but the factor of linkage between words and morphemes are not, they correspond to neural processes which are invisible and individually unobservable.

In a similar vein, Conklin explains how the Hanunoo language colour category differs from European languages, aiming at showing that colour perception is not a universal concept. In Hanunoo, the colour system is reduced to four basic terms and categories.²¹

¹⁹ *Language in Culture*, ed. by Harry Hoijer, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956), p. 94.

²⁰ Benjamin Lee Whorf, "A Linguistic Consideration of Thinking in Primitive Communities", in Hymnes (1966), pp. 129-41 (p. 130).

²¹ Hymnes (1966), p. 190.

- | | | |
|----|------------|--|
| 1- | (ma)bi:ru | relative darkness- blackness |
| 2- | (ma)lagti? | relative lightness- whiteness |
| 3- | (ma)rara | relative presence of red- redness |
| 4- | (ma)latruy | relative presence of light green-greenness |

On the basis of this observation of different colour categories Conklin concludes that:

this intracultural analysis demonstrates that what appears to be color "confusion" at first may result from an inadequate knowledge of the internal structure of a color system and from a failure to distinguish sharply between sensory reception on the one hand and perceptual categorization on the other.²²

This implies that difference in categorisation does not necessarily mean difference in perception. The colour system of the Hanunoo is defined in four categories but it does not follow that the language is not able to describe differences outside the frame of the four main hues. Although in Western cultures/languages the colour system would be defined in many more categories, each colour does not have a name even though difference can be noticed. Maerez and Paul report that English divides colour categories into 3000 entries.²³

In a similar manner, every language may be holophrastic from the point of view of another language. For instance, in the Eskimo language, the seal has numerous names depending on whether one wants to describe the animal in general terms or to describe a seal

²² Harold A. Conklin, "Hanunoo Color Categories", in Hymnes (1966), pp. 189-92 (p. 192).

²³ A. Maerez and M. R. Paul, *A Dictionary of Color* (New York: Mc Graw Hill, 1930).

basking in the sun or floating on a piece of ice, not to mention the names for seals of different ages and for males and females. Boaz suggests:

each language, from the point of view of another language, may be arbitrary in its classifications; that what appears as a single simple idea in one language may be characterised by a series of distinct phonetic groups in another ²⁴,

In other words, every language may be holophrasic from the point of view of another language, yet it does not suffice to conclude that a holophrasic language is more advanced because of its conciseness, or less advanced because of its incapacity to circumscribe complex ideas in a system.

For structural linguists, each language articulates and organises the world differently and therefore languages do not simply name existing categories but articulate their own. For Saussure argues that if language were simply a nomenclature it would be easy to translate. However, one example is sufficient to hypothesise the opposite. The French verb "aimer" has two meanings, one being "to like" and the other being "to love". Likewise, the English verb "to know" can be translated into French either by "connaitre" or "savoir"²⁵.

Furthermore, as mentioned earlier, as language is not a nomenclature, meanings (the signified) are not pre-existing concepts, but changeable and contingent concepts which vary from one language to another. In this sense, it might be concluded that there are no fixed universal concepts.

²⁴ Franz Boaz, "On Grammatical Categories" in Hymnes (1966), pp. 121-123 (p.122).

²⁵ Jonathan Culler, *Saussure* (Glasgow: Fontana /Collins Modern Masters, 1976), p. 22.

In another connection, Saussure provides some evidence that the signs (signified/signifier) which Chomsky equated at one point to competence/performance, are purely relational on different entities.²⁶ This statement implies that each language produces a different set of signifieds, that each language has its own arbitrary way of organising the world into concepts and categories.

It is useful to consider that within the Saussurian framework, such categories are not autonomous entities, but parts of a system and are defined in relation to other terms. For instance, the English word "sheep" is defined in opposition to the word "mutton". In contrast, in French there is only one word available "mouton" whether one wants to refer to the animal or to the meat.²⁷ Clearly, concepts are independently defined in each language, but dependent on one another within a same linguistic structure. However, Fishman reacts strongly to this stance, suggesting that:

since the languages of mankind differ widely with respect to their structural, lexical, and other characteristics, it followed that monolingual individuals speaking widely different languages should therefore differ with respect to their symbolically mediated behaviours.²⁸

²⁶ *Langue* is defined as: "la partie sociale du langage , extérieur à l'individu". And *Parole* is described as the individual aspect (in Saussure (1972) p. 31). In Chomsky's work *competence* refers to the individual aspect and with all social facts regarding language being related to the domain of *performance* in John E. Joseph and Talbot J-Taylor, *Ideologies of Language* (London: Routledge, 1990), p. 68.

²⁷ Culler, p.33.

²⁸ Joshua A. Fishman, "A Systematization of the Whorfian Hypothesis", *Behavioural Sciences*, 5 (1960), pp. 323-339 (p. 323).

1.1.3 Linguistic determinism and linguistic relativity

If one accepts the premises that the nature of the human language determines the nature of human mentality and thought, then it can be inferred that differences in languages cause differences in thinking so that the greater the differences between two languages, the greater the differences between the speakers of those languages in their conceptualisation of the world.

On the basis of this hypothesis, the question that arises is why some concepts are lexicalized and others are not. The obvious reason is that some concepts are frequently referred to in some cultures and others never needed. In addition: "When we want to talk about something for which no word exists we usually use a descriptive phrase. If we want to talk about a concept fairly often, we will coin a new word".²⁹ This view might be reinforced when looking at the number of new words describing recent technology such as "computers", "CD", and words such as "mouse" that have recently gained a new homonymic meaning. It is worth noting that whenever it is argued that there is no word for a concept, it has already been described.³⁰

Glucksberg suggests that linguistic determinism does not seem to operate at the level of individual concepts, as we can have concepts without names. The same author also argues that "thinking can be done in abstract codes that are neither verbal nor usual".³¹ For instance, the indication that the pictures and words represent the

²⁹ S. Glucksberg, "Language and Thought", in *The Psychology of Language*, ed. by R. J. Steinberg and E. E. Smith (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 214-241, (p. 217).

³⁰ See Fishman (1960), p. 335.

³¹ Glucksberg, p. 218.

same underlying concepts make it possible to read rebus sentences without difficulty. Such a hypothesis suggests that pictures do not have to be translated into words and into verbal code prior to understanding. Instead, they are understood directly, as words are, such as in:

She could identify the  by its colour³²

Miller claims, in line with this proposition, that "Thinking can proceed in terms of relatively specific words or in abstract or concrete imagery".³³

However, the suggestion that we can think of concepts outside words does not mean that the particular language we use has no effect on the way we think or what we think about. Furthermore, it is important to note that imagery can only be used for concrete and available concepts in a particular culture. In other words, even outside language, one is conditioned by one's available contextual and social concepts. If Glucksberg proves the point of linguistic relativity, it seems a insufficient condition to be able to suggest that thinking is independent of language, hence that whatever the language, alternative representation of the linguistic code is universal. The reason being that abstract concepts do not translate into pictures and that concrete concepts can only be understood if completely known. Within once own language, one can look at technical diagram but not be able to name or understand what is represented.

³² Glucksberg, p. 221.

³³ G.A. Miller, "English Verbs in Motion. A case Study of Semantics and Lexical Memory", in *Processes in Human Memory*, ed. by A. W. Meton and E. Martin (Washington DC: Winston, 1971), pp. 334-72.

But perhaps it is not enough to point out differences between languages (syntactic, semantic and phonologic characteristics) and assume that the users of these languages have different mental experiences. One language may have a word for a particular concept, another language may not. One language may have various words for different varieties of the same concept, another will have one, two or none. For instance, the nomadic people of the North African deserts are known to have more than 20 words for a camel, the English language has only one. Peruvian Indians have more than 50 words to describe varieties of potatoes, English has only one. In English, the word "potato" can only be modified with a noun, as in "red bliss potato", or add a qualifier as in "baking potato", however this does not change the word itself. One may wonder whether these differences in availability in lexicon in one language affect the ways of thinking about these concepts. It is argued that such hypothesis is difficult to test as it is usually difficult to separate language and culture.

As discussed earlier, the linguistic relativity hypothesis requires that differences in the lexicon be accompanied by differences in conceptualisation. Moreover, it postulates that the grammar of a language severely constrains expression of ideas and concepts.³⁴ For instance, gender is compulsory for nouns in languages such as German and French, but not in English: "die Sonne", "le soleil", "the sun". However, English may give gender to specific words such as "ship", "cat", "car".³⁵ Languages may also differ in the form of address. French and German have the choice of formal forms of address "Sie", "vous" and an intimate version "du", "tu". On the other

³⁴ Glucksberg, p. 232.

³⁵ A. Meillet also reflects on gender in "The Feminine Gender in the Indo-European Languages" in *Hymnes* (1966), p.124. His article seeks to define a logic of gender across languages and cultures.

hand, English has only one equivalent as far as personal pronouns are concerned and is obliged to use circumlocution to signal politeness or intimacy. Such examples raise the question of whether differences in grammatical forms infer differences in thought. Whorf noted grammatical differences between English and Nootka, and hypothesised a mode of thinking linked to these differences, namely that Nootka had no nouns and verbs and lacked conceptual differences between objects and action.³⁶ However, it might be questioned whether this observation is a valid reason for suggesting differences in world view. If this were the case, it would follow that this hypothesis would be true for languages/cultures as close as English and French. As a matter of illustration, let us look at greetings in these two languages. *Comment ça va?* literally means "how it goes?" as in the German *Wie geht's?*, which translates into English, into "how are you?". The fact that French and English speakers use different words and different grammatical forms to express the same intention does not necessarily mean that French and English differ in their ways of approaching interpersonal relations. It is argued that knowledge of these differences is not enough to pre-empt differences in perception and conceptualisation and only a demonstration outside language would enable such a conclusion to be drawn.

In a study carried out by Bloom, it has been maintained that differences in grammar between Chinese and English led to differences in thinking; namely that Chinese has no grammatical

³⁶ Whorf, pp. 233-45

device to express the counterfactual.³⁷ Chinese, unlike English, does not have a distinctive way of differentiating between implicational stations and counterfactual stations, such as : "Would I have gone in time, I would not have been late". In Chinese, one has to say: "If I am president, then I will think before I speak" instead of the English "If I were president I would think before I spoke".³⁸ Bloom tested this grammatical difference on Chinese and American subjects, who were presented with a story in their mother tongue, using counterfactual conditions. American readers understood the counterfactuals as indicated in the result of the multiple choice check (54 of 55 correct), however Chinese readers did not get the meaning of those counterfactuals. Only 8 out of a group of 120 native Chinese made the right choice after reading the story. From this result, Bloom concluded that grammatical differences could influence ways of thinking and that such differences could hamper understanding as linked to cognitive differences. This means that Chinese speakers would have to learn counterfactual reasoning in the "abstract" in order to comprehend and use it in English. This result was questioned and refuted by a native Chinese speaker, Au, who had no difficulty understanding the counterfactual either in Chinese or in English. Au's results were different from Bloom's, on the basis of the Chinese translation used. Au argued that Bloom's Chinese translation was not idiomatic, and therefore sometimes misleading to Chinese readers. Tests carried out on the idiomatic version showed that 97 per cent of

³⁷ A. H. Bloom, *The Linguistic Shaping of Thought, a Study in the Impact of Language on Thinking in China and the West* (Hillsdale: Erlbaum Associates, 1981).

See also Harry Hoijer "Chinese Versus English: an Exploration of the Whorfian Theses", in *The View from Language, Selected Essays 1948-74*, ed. by C. A. Hockett (Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press, 1977), pp. 53-69.

³⁸ T. Kit-Fong Au, "Chinese and English Counterfactuals, the Sapir-Whorf Revisited", *Cognition*, 15 (1983), 155-87.

the Chinese readers understood the counterfactual mode. Likewise, American monolingual readers faced with a non-idiomatic version of the story could make sense of the counterfactual this time only up to 60 per cent. Clearly, for Au the differences in understanding lay in the material used and not in the cognitive abilities *per se*. At present, it would seem that the debate is still open.

Steiffatt, on the question of whether language affects thought, discusses the view of linguistic relativity expressed in the work of Whorf and Hoijer.³⁹ Whorf suggests that the *Weltanschauung* is observable in the verb form of the Hopi language. Hopi unlike English has no way of making reference to time, as marked by the verb form. English on the other hand, has the past, present, and future tenses that permit: "smooth flowing continuum... [...] proceeding at an equal rate, out of a past, through a present into a future", yet Hopi is able to account for all observable phenomena of the universe like English.⁴⁰ While English translates time into different tenses, Hopi distinguishes between the manifested and the manifesting. The manifested includes what is past as well as what is present in the physical universe, the manifesting describes what there is at present and to come in manifestation of time and space as a whole.

Taking the example of colour naming again, it has been suggested by Hoijer that because different languages classify colour differently, it follows that thought about colour is different for speakers of different languages. Experimentally it has been shown that memory for colour varies according to the availability of terms for

³⁹ Thomas M. Steiffat, "Linguistic Relativity, Towards a Broader View", in *Language, Communication and Culture, Current Directions*, ed. by Stella Sting Toomey and Felipe Korzenny (Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publication, 1989).

⁴⁰ Whorf, pp.57-64, p. 58.

the colour in a given language.⁴¹ As an illustration, the Dani of West New Guinea, studied by Heider and Olivier, are known to have two colour terms.⁴² They divide the colour spectrum on the basis of brightness and darkness rather than hue: Mili (cool) and Mola (warm). Yet there is no indication that the differences in naming structures for the two languages are carried over in a parallel fashion to the two memory structures. However, "we can say that mental visual images at least of colours like "perception itself" do not appear easily changed by language".⁴³ If two colour chips are present at the same time, it is easy to discriminate between the two for speakers of any language, regardless of the colour categories available to the language speakers. In their field research, Heider and Olivier showed Dani and American subjects a colour chip for 5 seconds and then for 30 seconds. In a second phase, they showed subjects an ordered arrangements of 40 colour chips including the first one shown. The result of the test showed that Americans made slightly less errors in recognising the correct chip. This result is thought to be due to the fact that American subjects had more experience in the discrimination task and had more varied colour vocabulary available. However, it is important to note that the kind of errors both subject groups made were very similar in their nature. For the purpose of this study, Heider and Olivier produced cognitive maps of the colour sets of both groups and found that they were very similar and concluded:

⁴¹ See also prior studies, carried through by Roger W. Brown and Eric H. Lenneberg, "A study in Language and Cognition", *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 49 (1954), 454-62.

Is also of interest the work of E. H. Lenneberg and J. M. Roberts, *The Language of Experience* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1956).

⁴² E. R. Heider and D.C. Olivier, "The Structure of the Color Space in Naming and Memory for two Languages", *Cognitive Psychology*, 3 (1972), 337-354.

⁴³ Heider and Olivier, p. 352.

Although they are linguistic variables which correlate with colour memory accuracy under certain conditions, the nature of colour memory images themselves and the way in which they structure the colour space in memory appear little influenced by language.⁴⁴

While Whorf's argument strongly advocates a relationship between language and thought, a causal relation has not yet been shown. Instead, a strong relationship of the metaphysics of the culture and structure of its language can be demonstrated. Similarly, it has been shown that language affects memory for colour, but not perception or cognitive organisation of colour. And it appears safe to suggest that cognitive abilities are closer to thought than memory.

In interpersonal processing, people may respond to the logic of the language they are speaking. Let us consider the sentence in Black English (BE) using double negation: "He don't know nothing". This clause means "he does know something" as the first negative nullifies the second. It is apparent that the logic of BE is different from Standard American English (SAE*). The problem that arises in interpreting this sentence is that one applies the logic of SAE* and not the BE one. As Labov points out: "what is termed logical in Standard English is of course the conventions which are habitual", whereas the use of "don't" to signal negation would be done by stress patterns.⁴⁵ Likewise, let us compare positively/negatively phrased questions for English and Japanese speakers. In either language, to a positively phrased question starting by "do you want...", the answer "yes" means acceptance. In English, however, to a negatively phrased question starting by "don't you want...", the answer "yes" means

⁴⁴ Herder and Olivier, p. 352.

⁴⁵ William Labov, "The Logic of Non-standard English" in *Language and Poverty: Perspectives on a Theme*, ed. by F. Williams (Chicago: Markham, 1970), pp. 153-159 and pp. 174-75.

acceptance and "no" reads as a refusal. Therefore, to the question "don't you want another piece of cake?" a negative answer express the idea that no more cake is desired. In contrast, Japanese retains consistency of propositional logic, rather than to situation and action. As a consequence, to the question "don't you want another piece of cake, the answer yes is considered as a refusal, which can also be phrased as "you do not want another piece of cake". One would not add another negative marker, to the already negative question. And if the guest does not want to taste of the cake any longer, the statement "don't you want a piece of cake?" becomes correct. And in all logic the guest answers "yes" meaning "yes, it is true that I do not want another piece of cake". At the opposite pole, the English speaker would say "no". It is important to note that in Japanese culture, one does not say "no", it is considered impolite to refuse an offer. In other words, in English one answers to the logic of the action/situation whereas in a language such as Japanese one responds to the logic of a sentence bearing in mind the cultural construct and constraint of politeness strategy.

1.2. Cultural focus and language transfer

1.2.1 Language and translation

Language permits translation but it might be questioned whether language transfer involves only a process of translation / replacement / transcribing / substitution / paraphrasing... Most literature on the theory of translation explains that in the process of translation the

message of the source language (SL) is translated into the target language (TL), in Catford's definition:

Translation is an operation performed on languages: a process of substituting a text in one language for a text in another.⁴⁶

This practice is to be seen as dynamic through the activity of the translator and static in its result once the text has been translated. It seems that the act of translating is a universal phenomenon, as hardly any society lives without translation.⁴⁷ There is considerable debate about translation strategies, with Mounin's "mot-à-mot ou les belles infidèles"⁴⁸, Nida's "formal and dynamic equivalence"⁴⁹ and Newmark's "semantic and communicative translation"⁵⁰, but nevertheless, it can be agreed that translation enables the reading of a text in the target language which is inaccessible either because of a lack of knowledge of the source language or availability. Translating is a process of transcoding, from one language to another. (decoding \Rightarrow transfer \Rightarrow recoding).

Linguistics has underscored theoretical problems such as the notion of translatability and untranslatability. Vinay and Darbelnet note that the translator starts looking at meaning in order to transfer semantics.⁵¹ Saussure considers that words are the "materiality" of

46 John Cunniison Catford, *A Linguistic Theory of Translation: an Essay in Applied Linguistics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 1.

47 Jean-René Ladmiral, "Théorèmes pour la traduction" in *Ecrire et traduire, sur la voie de la création*, ed. by J. Flamand (Ottawa: Les Editions du Vermillon, 1983), pp. 1-17.

See also *Traduire: Théorèmes pour la traduction* (Paris: Petite Bibliothèque Payot, 1979).

48 Georges Mounin, *Les problèmes théoriques de la traduction* (Paris: Gallimard, 1963).

49 Eugene Nida, *Towards a Science of Translating* (Leiden: Brill, 1964).

50 Newmark (1988), p. 31.

51 J.P. Vinay and J. Darbelnet, *Stylistique Comparée du Français et de l'Anglais*, Rev edn (Paris/Montreal: Didier et Beauchemin, 1977), p. 38.

meaning which have equivalence in every language. And in this sense, language is like a list of signifieds and signifiers, to use Saussure's notion. The world would be like a department store full of material or spiritual objects, labelled separately with a code which would have corresponding names in each language. Saussure's view supports the idea of universal equivalence of meaning, however the validity of this stance in translation practice might be argued. It is therefore difficult to consider Saussure's notion of meaning and words. If words were merely a list of terms corresponding to concepts and objects, then it would follow that there would be absolute correspondence of words and concepts in every languages. According to this view, languages would be mere directories and translation would become a simple "transaction", like currency exchange. Consequently, the meaning of a word would depend on the existence or non-existence of other words which deal with the reality of this word. For instance the meaning of the word "see" is delimited by the existence of others such as " look, spot, witness, watch...". What might be argued though is that words may not have the same conceptual surface in various languages. This point raises the philosophical idea of the Like and the Other, the target meaning is not the same as the source one, yet, it is not really another. There is obviously a need to stretch Saussure's concept of *Langue* to *Langue-culture*, a *périlangue*

Bloomfield, on the other hand, argues that meaning is intimately linked to context, every meaningful unit of discourse (and therefore intention of meaning) is dependent of the context in which the speaker is involved.⁵² Snyder argues in line with Bloomfield and claims:

⁵² See Leonard Bloomfield, *Language*, 12th edn (London: Allen and Unwin 1976).

There is no such thing in any language as an utterance without context... A lexeme cannot be translated without regard to its meaning in the particular context.⁵³

This notion of language is different from Saussure's in the sense that it reacts against the notion of "bags of words", Bloomfield's definition of meaning is not so much "mentalist" but rather "behaviourist", so that words and meaning are in a perpetual flowing movement. But if such were the case, our knowledge of the world would be so imperfect that we could rarely understand the content of discourse. And we might wonder about the possibility of translation as a science, if meaning via language is to be grasped through a perpetual movement of change. In this view, the knowledge of the world would be an on-going process to which humanity would aspire for ever. As for Halliday:

Every language is constantly renewing itself, changing in resonance with changes in its environment.⁵⁴

According to this view, language is seen as a "dynamic open system" interacting with the environment, thus producing perpetual changes. Within the process of change, language renews itself (updates itself) matching a new reality. This idea implies that no translation is eternally valid, as language constantly needs to encode a new reality, and so needs translation. Bassnett argues with the support of Paz that language is a translation itself of "the non-verbal world" and of "the signs and phrase", so that it does not really matter if language is

53 William H. Snyder, "Linguistics and Translation" in Gaddis Rose (1981), pp. 127-34 (p. 129).

54 M.A.K. Halliday, "Language and the Order of Nature", in *The Linguistics of Writing*, ed. by Fabb, Attridge, Durant and MacCabe (1987) quoted in Susan Melrose, "From 'Meaningful Unit' to Particles, Waves and Force Fields: Experience of the World and Languages" (unpublished papers, University of Warwick, 1991).

dynamic as it is already a translation of a translation and so on and so forth.⁵⁵ Bassnett also argues that the average life span of a translated text is, for instance in the theatre, 25 years at the most.⁵⁶ It is interesting that Bassnett suggests the period of 25 years, as this period of time is generally agreed to represent a generation. If we stretch the comparison, one could say that on the level of each generation new translations are needed for the text to survive, as babies are essential to ensure the continuance of the human species. And in this sense, it is possible to argue that each generation producing and reading a new translation is making the original perpetually anew.

Chomsky's transformational generative grammar attempts to produce a grammar that will predict all sentences which can occur in a language rather than a description of what has already occurred. Such grammar makes observations on the universality of the structure of language. If one accepts such a premise, it should be possible to derive rules for the transposition of the structure of one language to that of another. Mechanical translation such as the "transaction" mentioned earlier would therefore be possible. However, no word in a language stands alone, each one is related to the others so that its relationship with others defines and delimits its meaning. Furthermore, the "socio-cultural" dimension cannot be neglected. Hymes questions the limitation of the notion of "grammatical competence" within Chomsky's linguistics because it ignores this very "socio-cultural" context of language acquisition, and he points out:

55 Bassnett, *TS* (1991), p.38.

56 Bassnett, *Translating* (1991), p. 111.

The controlling image is of an abstract, isolated individual, almost an unmotivated cognitive mechanism, not, except incidentally, a person in a social world.⁵⁷

Hjelmslev gives the example of the concept "elephant"; for an Indian or African an elephant is a valuable and respected working tool, whereas for an American it is an animal which one sees in the zoo⁵⁸. So, in this case even if on the linguistic surface equivalents can be found, the words are not analysed objectively in the same way. Nida concludes:

It is obvious that insights from linguistic theory have provided important help for those interested in the scientific analysis of translation... the scientific analysis of translation may be recognized as a significant branch of comparative linguistics, providing a dynamic dimension with a focus upon semantics, a combination often lacking in past comparisons of languages.⁵⁹

1.2.2 Translation and context

According to Russel, "no one can understand the word 'cheese' unless s/he has a non-linguistic acquaintance with 'cheese'".⁶⁰ So, no one can understand the concept "cheese" unless, s/he is acquainted with the meaning (*signatum*) of the English word (*signum*). And yet it is believed that the acquaintance of the meaning alone cannot be grasped without the verbal sign. As Jakobson points out: "There is no

57 Dell Hymes, "On Communicative Competence", in *Sociolinguistics*, ed by J.B. Pride and J. Bernard (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972), p. 272.

58 Louis Hjelmslev, "La statification du langage", *Word*, 2,3 (1954), 163-88, (p. 175-76).

59 Eugene Nida, *Language Structure and Translation*, Essays Selected by A.S. Dil (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1975), p. 97.

60 B. Russel, "Logical Positivism", *Revue Internationale de Philosophie*, IV (1950), p.3, quoted in Roman Jakobson, "On Linguistic Aspect of Translation" in *On Translation*, ed. by Reuben A. Brower (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1959), p. 232-39 (p. 232).

signatum without signum".⁶¹ It has been argued before that formal equivalence on the linguistic surface is not enough so that the linguistic transfer can function. And so we are told:

Cette création [la traduction] est difficile parceque même lorsqu'elle est linguistiquement acceptable, elle ne l'est peut-être pas culturellement.⁶²

Therefore, it might be argued that a language is what the members of a particular society speak, but that nonetheless language and society are not independent and so the case of language and culture appears. It has been suggested that there is some kind of relationship between the sound, words and syntax of a language and the ways in which speakers of that language experience the world and behave in it. Culture here is used in the sense of whatever a person must know in order to function in a particular society. Consequently, culture in the frame of this chapter is understood in the same sense as in Goodenough's definition:

A society's culture consists of whatever it is one has to know or believe in order to operate in a manner acceptable to its members, and to do so in any role that they accept for any one of themselves.⁶³

This knowledge of a given culture referred to by Goodenough, is socially acquired, and does not come from any kind of genetic

⁶¹ Jakobson (1959), p. 232.

⁶² M. J. De Vriendt de Man, "Des sentences dorées ou la poussière de la sagesse populaire", in *Communicating and Translating/ Communiquer et traduire*, ed. by J. P. Van Noppen and G. Debusscher (Bruxelles: Editions de l'Université de Bruxelles, 1985), p. 46.

⁶³ Ward H. Goodenough, "Cultural Anthropology and Linguistics" in *Report on the Seventh Round Table Meeting on Linguistics and Language Study* ed. by Paul L. Garvin (Washington DC: Georgetown University Press, 1957), pp. 167-73, p. 167.

heritage. Culture, therefore, is in this sense the "know-how" that a person must get through the task of daily living.

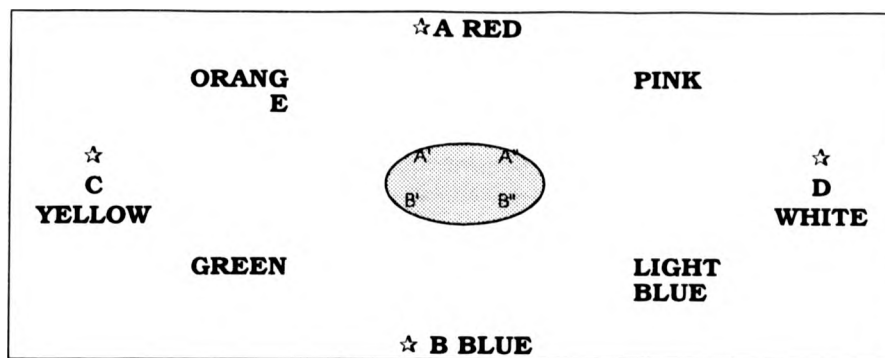
Subsequently, it could be assumed that if a person in a given language has a word expressing a concept, it is easier for that person to use that precise word than it is for a person of another language who might lack such a word. The classic example is the word "snow"; SAE languages have apparently only one word to describe the various states of white frozen water, Swedish on the other hand counts half a dozen terms: *snö* (snow); *modd* (slush); *blida* (melting snow); *skare* (frozen crust); *pudersnö* (light snow); *nysnö* (fresh snow); *snöglopp* (sleet).⁶⁴

Quite obviously, the basic meaning of the word "snow" is grasped in different languages, but the perception of the meaning differs widely from one language to another. We may wonder what happens in languages where the concept might be non-existent. Does the word simply not exist? Nida explains that in that case one would use a descriptive phrase instead of a single word, the fact that the concept is not identified by a single lexical unit does not mean that the concept is non-existent.⁶⁵ Some concepts might be more "codable", that is, easier to express in some languages though than in others. Such constraints show how much languages differ intrinsically from one to another and the difficulty they engender as soon as one is communicating across cultures. It might be questioned if formal correspondence in meaning is possible. Meaning cannot therefore be considered as universal, and Von Humboldt suggests that different languages never describe exactly the same world, so that practically

⁶⁴ SAE languages = Standard Average European languages, to use Sapir's terminology.

⁶⁵ Nida, (1975), p. 186.

formal correspondence in meaning is impossible. Mounin illustrates Van Humboldt's point with the diagram below.⁶⁶



Imagine an asteroid that can be seen from four different planets, the first one blue in the South (B), a second one red in the North (A), a third one yellow in the West (C) and a fourth white in the East (D). According to Van Humboldt, when inhabitants of these four planets talk of this asteroid they do not talk exactly of the same asteroid which they light by reflecting their own light. Inhabitants from planet A can describe what they see of the asteroid that is the half moon A' and A'' and so on and so forth, and none of these half moons coincide with any another one completely. So, the people of these four planets talk of the same thing but never from the same perspective. As a result, it might be questioned which perspective reflects "reality" more objectively. And Bassnett argues that: "the translator, therefore, operates criteria that transcend the purely linguistic, and a process of decoding and recoding takes place".⁶⁷

Culture and social context need to be taken into consideration. As Hatim and Mason suggest, the translator's motivations are bound

⁶⁶ Mounin (1963), p. 52.

⁶⁷ Bassnett, *TS* (1991), p. 16.

up with "the socio-cultural" context.⁶⁸ But as it appears, culture alone cannot be the only component, as the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis tends to suggest. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that translation moves towards a "cultural turn" that is, the account of culture not only as a method of translation (in such case culture would be privileged over linguistic structure), but rather as a guide how much "literal" translation and how much "free" translation are needed. This argument is put forward by Lefevere and Bassnett, who explain that it is not the word, nor the text, but the culture which becomes the operational "unit" of translation.⁶⁹ In this view, the aim is not so much to choose between literal and free translation but rather to give the translation a share of both according to the need. Indubitably, there is an "orientation towards cultural rather than linguistic transfer" and a turn towards "translation not as process of transcoding but as an act of communication".⁷⁰ The complexity being that not only meaning has to be translated but images of the meaning communicated via verbal signs, so that the translation can function. We have moved from translation as part of language to translation as part of language and as part of culture where: "The whole of our linguistic behaviour is best understood if it is seen as a network between people, things and events".⁷¹

68 Basil Hatim and Ian Mason, *Discourse and the Translator* (London: Longman, 1990), p.12.

69 André Lefevere and Susan Bassnett, "Proust's Grandmother and the Thousand and One Nights: 'The Cultural Turn' in Translation Studies", in *Translation History and Culture* ed. by Susan Bassnett and André Lefevere (London: Pinter 1990), p. 8.

70 Mary Snell-Hornby, "Linguistic Transcoding or Cultural Transfer? A Critique of Translation Theory in Germany", in Bassnett and Lefevere, pp. 81-82.

71 D. Kirlay, "A Role of Communicative Competence and the Acquisition-learning Distinction in Translation Training", in *Second Language Acquisition-Foreign Language Learning*, ed. by Bill Van Patten and James F. Lee (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1990), p. 211.

As shown earlier, language is characterised by a universality/diversity dichotomy. On one hand, it has been argued that there is a universal of language to a minimum level so that human communication is made possible. But on the other hand, through varieties of languages there are notions and concepts that are culture specific which seem to obstruct universal communication. Furthermore, it appears that languages are socially bound and in this manner they segregate rather than unify. Before being a tool that permits communication, language is defined by its diversity of linguistic codes. Another point is that language can never be looked at on the universal level, but can merely be experienced through one or more linguistic codes. Furthermore, within a language it is safe to argue that one is always faced with individual speech acts rather than languages. As expressed by Pergnier: "la langue elle même, dans ses actes singuliers affleure toujours comme un fait individualisé".⁷² In other words, a message is specific to the encoder, to the listener, time and space, and is designed for a particular receiver who will decode the message in a certain context. And in this way, one could say that speakers exchange messages rather than a linguistic code. In looking at the translation activity *per se*, it appears that it attempts to bridge cultures and languages. To put it differently, when translating one seeks to communicate despite the linguistic and cultural boundaries. And the mere existence of translation postulates the possibility of dissociation between message, as communication content (universal), and the linguistic code (as a social act). It also posits the very existence of language universal and transcends the social (cultural) specificity of various linguistic codes. But this poses theoretical

⁷² Maurice Pergnier, *Les Fondements sociolinguistiques de la traduction* (Paris: Champion, 1987), p. 22.

problems, in particular, it might be questioned on what level translation operates. If it operates on the language level (linguistic codes) it would mean that there are language universals, as claimed by the Chomsky school. At the opposite pole, if language diversity is not superficial but deeply embedded in the specificity of each linguistic code, then it appears that translation is bound to fail. It is denying the very possibility of transferring meaning across linguistic and cultural boundaries.

In this chapter the line of argument that postulates that transfer of meaning from one linguistic code to another is possible is chosen, bearing in mind that the social and cultural parameters sometimes lead to translatability difficulties. It is quite possible to argue that in order to explain the existence of translation, one need not maintain that all languages are moulded in the same model, escaping social and cultural specificities. What is needed for the translational act to take place, is that the message to be decoded can be universalised.

1.2.3 Translation and language in contact

A balanced bilingual speaker can chose to speak in either of her/his languages. They both fulfil communicative needs, though it might be questioned whether they give access to the same perception of the world. If each language leads to its own view of the world, one would expect that the mastery of more than one language would lead to discrete views of the world. If so, it might be assumed that a bilingual speaker would have a double vision and that the two languages would interact with each other. In a way bilingualism would enable her/him

to have richer view and to break the linguistic boundaries which rigidly determine the limits of thought. Then, it would be possible for a bilingual person, depending on the language in which her/his thinking is guided, to take different paths. For instance, a Swede living in England, may be able to remember the precise kind of snow that was falling on the day her/his mother died because s/he has specific words available for different types of snow, as mentioned earlier. If we stretch this idea to the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis, it would mean that the two languages of the bilingual would have two systems of thought which would divide up her/his reality in different ways. Macnamara suggests that the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis applied to bilingualism can lead to some sort of "confusion":

He might when using L1 or L2 always function cognitively in the manner appropriate to L1; he would then have great difficulty in understanding speakers of L2 or in being understood by them. Alternatively, he might always function cognitively in a manner appropriate to neither language and run the risk of understanding or being understood by nobody.⁷³

Chomsky, at the opposite pole, claims that bilingualism does not affect thought but rather that the mind has a set of unique faculties, one of them being language. His favourite metaphor is that language is an organ of the mind, as the stomach is an organ of the digestive system. In Chomsky's view, then, the acquisition of language consists in choosing among the alternative and pre-existing structures of languages for feeding information into the "machinery of

⁷³ John Macnamara, "Bilingualism and Thought" in *Bilingualism and Language Contact. Anthropological, Linguistic, Psychological and Social Aspects. Report of the 21st Annual Round Table Meeting on Linguistics and Language Studies, Monograph Series on language and Linguistics No 23*, ed. by James E. Alatis (Washington DC. : Georgetown University Press, 1970), pp. 25-45 (pp. 26-27).

thought".⁷⁴ In this view, the two languages of the bilingual would have separate channels into a machine code and bilingualism could not have much effect upon thought. Although Piaget and Chomsky diverge sharply on fundamental issues dealing with language development, Piaget argues in line with Chomsky on this point and attaches no special significance to bilingualism influencing the course of cognitive growth, hence language acquisition. For Piaget, the reason is that language is not a crucial factor in the development of knowledge, and for Chomsky, the reason is that language is autonomous from the rest of cognition. These two extreme views are commented upon by Hakuta:

In general, if one's orientation is toward the view that bilingualism influences thought, one will tend to believe that there are general capacities common to language and thought that are structured and influenced in the course of the development, and that development is influenced by external contingencies in the form of culture acting as midwife. On the other hand, if one believes that language and thought are autonomously structured and that the structures are biologically determined and that they actively (and selectively) absorb environmental factors, then one will find the influence of bilingualism on thought trivial.⁷⁵

Whether the bilingual has one or two systems of thought is still an open question. It would seem that the bilingual could have two views of the world, if we assume that a bilingual is bicultural. Susan Ervin illustrates this point in a sentence-completion test she designed for Japanese/English bilingual speakers:⁷⁶

⁷⁴ See Noam Chomsky, *Syntactic Structures* (The Hague: Mouton 1957).

⁷⁵ Kenji Hakuta, *Mirror of Language: The Debate of Bilingualism* (New York: Basic Books, 1986), pp. 84-85.

⁷⁶ Susan Ervin, *Language Acquisition and Communicative Choice* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1976), p. 18.

Jap: Most women/are two faced.

Eng: Most women/make excellent mothers and good wives.

Jap: Mothers/enjoyed their cherry-blossom picnic.

Eng: Mothers/are the best creation of God.

Jap: Responsibility/is only half-way liked.

Eng: Responsibility/must go hand in hand with freedom.

In these examples the completions vary widely from Japanese to English to the point that they could be thought of as different persons' productions. They account for the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, as the stimuli words suggest different thoughts in Japanese and in English. On the other hand, if we consider that the bilingual has only one channel of thought and that language and culture are independent, then language would be just a rational means of communication out of context. According to these two perspectives, a bilingual would be either a "perfect" translator endowed with a wider vision of the world (probably dual at times) and it would be assumed that bilingualism influences thought, or a "poor" translator because ignoring context and culture, and in this case bilingualism would have little influence.

Weinreich eschews such extreme explanations and opts for a "locus of contact" between languages. The bilingual speaks alternatively both languages which interfere with each other, they are in contact. Precisely because languages are in contact, there is translation, translation of the meaning in the language best equipped to express it. Consequently, the bilingual code switches incessantly, looking for the signifier that will best suit the signified. In doing so, s/he uses independent linguistic structures composed of two discrete existing ones. Yet this linguistic structure is not the sum of the two languages, it is rather a partial absorption of the two which is intrinsically linked to experience in these two languages (See Code

switching in chapter 5). In other words, the behavioural situations are quite different depending on whether the translator maintains compound or co-ordinate language in her/his nervous system and whether the translator operates to or from her/his dominant language. The bilingual speaker who has acquired languages successively (compound bilingual) will find her/himself in more or less the same situation as the second language learner and will experience features of inter language mentioned earlier. Mounin points out that the dominant language would influence the minor one in the process of translation:

Sans contestation possible non plus, l'influence de la langue qu'il traduit sur la langue dans laquelle il traduit peut être décelée par les interférences particulières, qui dans ce cas précis sont des erreurs ou des fautes de traduction.⁷⁷

Whereas in a situation where the bilingual speaker has acquired the languages simultaneously (co-ordinate bilingual), it could be assumed that (in the ideal case) the mastery of the two languages is in balance and they would not influence each other. However, Ervin notes that when translating in one direction only, from language A to language B, it could be predicted that the translator will progressively lose her/his abilities in language A⁷⁸. Similarly, if the translator is translating in both directions, the two-way process will transform the co-ordinate bilingual into a compound one, confusing her/him in the encoding and encouraging her/him to code switch. Although a co-ordinate bilingual can potentially express meanings in either language, a given language might be preferred, or

⁷⁷ Mounin (1963), p. 4.

⁷⁸ Ervin (1976), p. 19.

better experienced which would lead her/him to use that language in a certain situation. Martinet explains that only "professional" bilinguals, that is, speakers able to keep the two linguistic systems separate from interference, could be translating and he points out:

Le problème linguistique fondamental qui se présente à l'égard du bilinguisme, est de savoir jusqu'à quel point deux structures en contact peuvent être maintenues intactes, et dans quelle mesure elles influenceront l'une sur l'autre. Nous pouvons dire qu'en règle générale il y a une certaine quantité d'influences réciproques, et que la séparation nette est l'exception. Cette dernière semble exiger de la part du locuteur bilingue une attention soutenue dont peu de personnes sont capables, au moins à la longue.⁷⁹

Ervin suggests that the ideal bilingual translator accomplishes a translation of signs through a three person channel: a monolingual in A \Rightarrow being co-ordinate translator \Rightarrow and monolingual in B.⁸⁰ It seems that persons falling into this category are rare.

Very little has been written on the relationship between translation and bilingualism. Delisle however, dedicated a few lines to the matter and suggested that: "laymen often think that anyone who knows two languages can translate"⁸¹. It seems safe to argue that in order to translate, bilingualism is a necessary condition but not a sufficient one. And translation schools testify that translation is not just a gift but also a profession that needs training and reflection. However, one might further wonder how a translator differs from a bilingual speaker and by what criteria should the translator's

⁷⁹ André Martinet, "Structure of Language and Structural Linguistics", *Romance Philology*, 1 (1952), pp. 5-13 (p. 7).

⁸⁰ Ervin (1976), p. 20.

⁸¹ Jean Delisle, *Translation: An Interpretive Approach*, trans. by Patricia Logan and Monica Creery (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1988), p. 19.

bilingualism be measured. For bilingualism and translation are connected, as pointed out by Delisle:

Bilingualism and translation are closely related: both are products of the contact between languages that occurs when different linguistic groups communicate with each other. Unfortunately bilingualism like translation, cuts across many disciplines without really belonging to any of them. That is probably why bilingualism, again like translation, is still not fully understood. Psychology, sociology, linguistics, psycholinguistics, and sociolinguistics could all shed light on this multifaceted phenomenon.⁸²

In another vein, it might be argued that the translator may be tempted to improve the original text which "imposes both qualitative and quantitative restrictions". In this light, it appears that while the balanced bilingual can speak and understand both languages equally well, the translator needs foremostly to be bicultural before being bilingual. As pointed out by Thiery translation consists in "SAYING [or rather writing] WELL, IN A LANGUAGE THAT ONE KNOWS VERY WELL, WHAT ONE HAS UNDERSTOOD VERY WELL IN A LANGUAGE THAT ONE KNOWS WELL" [his capitals]⁸³.

So it appears that positive relationships between bilingualism and translation are not commonplace, except in a few gifted persons as mentioned by Mounin and Ervin. Steiner describes the translator as a warrior who "invades, extracts and brings home"⁸⁴, but in this perspective where is "home" for the bilingual? The dominant language might be suggested, yet both tongues belong to the same double/dual uniqueness.

⁸² Delisle, p. 19

⁸³ Christopher Thiéry, "Le bilinguisme chez les interprètes de conférence professionnels" (unpublished dissertation, Université de la Sorbonne Nouvelle Paris III, 1975), p. 8.

⁸⁴ Gorge Steiner, *After Babel, Aspects of Language and Translation*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992) p. 298.

1.3. Looking at both ends of the continuum

Nida has argued that one for the reasons of the open debate and the multiplicity of theories in the field of translation is due to the ancient practice of transferring from one language to another: "as early as the third millennium BC, bilingual lists of words - evidently for the use of translators- were being made in Mesopotamia, and today translating and interpreting are going on in more than a thousand languages- in fact, wherever there are bilinguals."⁸⁵ In this statement Nida posits the interconnection of translation and bilingualism, also referred to in this thesis as language transfer and language contact.

Komissarov postulates that "language and culture are obviously the two dominant factors which make translation an indispensable and most complicated kind of intellectual activity".⁸⁶ However, Komissarov questions the type of relationship that constitute the linguistic and cultural elements and whether there is a phenomenon of interdependence between the two. Although for Cassagrande, "one does not translate LANGUAGES but CULTURES" (his capitals), Komissarov is inclined to suggest the complementarity connection of language and culture.⁸⁷ This may imply that within language transfer, additions or/and omissions might be used as translational procedure, as a result of either language and/or cultural dissimilarities.

⁸⁵ Eugene Nida, "Theories of Translation" in *Language and Cultures in Translation Theories*, ed. by Canadian Association of Translation Studies, vol IV, I (Montreal: TTR, 1991), pp.19-32, (pp.19-20).

⁸⁶ V.N. Komissarov, "Language and Culture in Translation: Competitors or Collaborators? " in *Language and Cultures in Translation Theories*, ed. by Canadian Association of Translation Studies, vol IV, I (Montreal: TTR, 1991), pp. 33-47, (p. 33).

⁸⁷ J. B. Cassagrande, "The End of Translation", *I \ Jal* 20, 4 (1954), quoted in Komissarov, p.43.

Nonetheless, taking cognisance of the linguistic and cultural differences assumes that the translator is looking in both directions, towards the SL and towards the TL. Lefevere notes that in the West, the ST and TT have not equal status in our consideration. Lefevere claims this results from the western approach to translation studies and he says: "the Romans were deeply convinced of the superiority of the Greek, and students introduced to the Greek and Roman classics in the European Renaissance received that introduction from a teacher deeply convinced of the superiority of the source over target texts and cultures".⁸⁸ It seems that as long as the ST holds a prestigious position over the TT, the role of the translator will be envisioned as negligible. The translator is relegated to the role of messenger importing prestigious words to the target language and culture, and in this situation the focus is very much SL oriented. It might be questioned though how the bilingual text is esteemed, in particular when the original and translation have been written by the same author, as in the case of Julien Green. Although in the bilingual text, there is always an original, the focus is on the translational process rather than the source or target ends of the continuum.

It is now generally accepted that the translator is not a transparent intermediary but an active mediator, and as Mouloud puts it: "la science traductrice est tributaire d'une interprétation".⁸⁹ Indeed, the writer may know the interpretation s/he wished the reader to give to her/his words, whereas the translator is faced with several possible variant readings and as Jardin remarks translation:

⁸⁸ André Lefevere, "Translation and Literature, the Search of a Center", in *Language and Cultures in Translation Theories*, ed. by Canadian Association of Translation Studies, vol IV, I (Montreal: TTR, 1991), pp.129-44 (pp. 136-7).

⁸⁹ N. Mouloud, "Traduction et interprétation" in *Quelques essais sur la sémantique des langues formelles et des langues naturelles. Sémantique, codes, traductions* (Presses Universitaires de Lille: Lille, 1979), p. 85.

c'est un travail immense, angoissant, dévorant, jamais satisfaisant".⁹⁰ She compares translation to an actor's part who gives on stage an interpretation of the character in the play. The part of the mediator is a difficult one, giving the supporting role the responsibility of making public the words of the writer. Referring to translators Jardin affirms:

C'est à travers eux qu'un écrivain sera connu, reçu, compris ou définitivement rejeté. C'est une grave responsabilité. La liberté du traducteur littéraire est aussi une contrainte, un devoir envers une oeuvre. Cela s'appelle, je crois le respect. Si les expéditifs n'ont pas la patience de traduire, qu'ils écrivent, cela va plus vite... mais ils ne doivent pas oublier qu'ils risquent à leur tour d'être traduits...⁹¹

The translator, in making the author's text public in the TL, is somehow "appropriating" the text, to use Israël's terminology. In this "appropriation", the translator adopts the writer's ST but may also usurp a text which the translator does not own. Israël explains that most of the time, the phenomenon of "appropriation" is needed on the part of the translator simply for her/him to be able to reproduce in the TL a particular literary style combined to a particular thought. And in this respect sense and sound cannot be disassociated. The translator also appropriates the ST to make it compatible to the target language and culture. In the transfer, the SL goes through a process of acculturation in order to ensure adaptability to the target readership. However, the difficulty resides in the translator's ability to recreate without originating a completely different text. Israël notes; "C'est là sans doute l'un des aspects les plus délicats de sa mission et la raison pour laquelle si peu de grands écrivains sont de bons traducteurs:

⁹⁰ Pascale Jardins, "Vous avez dit liberté?" in *La Liberté en traduction*, ed. by M. Lederer and F. Israël (Paris:Didier, 1991), pp.1-20, (p.1)

⁹¹ Jardin, p.6.

plus fort est le penchant de créer, moins il est facile de se soumettre".⁹²

Looking at a bilingual self-translation often leads on the sinuous and dangerous path of evaluation. This is not the way forward on the trans-lingual itinerary. For evaluative comments does not inform about the differences/ similarities involved in self-translation but on the translator abilities. On evaluation Larose makes the following point:

Le choix du mode de traduction [...] n'est pas évaluable en soi. L'évaluation doit s'effectuer en fonction de l'adéquation entre le but du traducteur et celui de l'auteur, et non entre le traducteur et celui qu'aurait choisi l'évaluateur lui-même autrement à quoi servirait une évaluation, sinon à fustiger une traduction rebelle aux règles de traduction retenues par l'évaluateur ou, à l'inverse, à la louer, en cas d'adéquation entre la méthode du traducteur et les conceptions de l'évaluateur?⁹³

Yet it must be admitted that Larose's position encounters one difficulty, namely that the translator needs to be aware of the author's intention, which, unless in close contact with the author, might not be possible. If this evaluation between author-translator is conceivable, it appears to resolve into a negotiation between the author's intentions in the SL and the translatability possibilities that offers the TL. As far as the self-translator is concerned, Larose's suggestion seems adequate, as it is plausible to believe that the author-translator is cognisant of his/her intentions, even though not necessarily consciously. As Fitch suggests about the self-translator: "There is obviously little question of the original author's setting about the task

⁹²Fortunato Israël, "traduction littéraire: l'appropriation du texte" in *La Liberté en traduction*, ed. by M. Lederer and F. Israël (Paris: Didier, 1991) p. 64.

⁹³ Robert Larose, p.288.

of understanding his own work, and no question whatever of its constituting an object of interpretation for him".⁹⁴ The negotiation in this case, may range from precise reproduction to complete licence, the self-translator has unconstrained choices, "being his own translator, he can of course, allow himself more liberty than an ordinary translator can".⁹⁵ This seems a key point, the self-translator is an "extra-ordinary" translator. A crucial question concerning the self-translator is whether the TT be considered a new creation, a second ST in the TL, which in turn could give birth to another TT. For what is at stake here is the author's message beyond linguistic barriers, whether the ST and TT have autonomy as texts, or whether they are mirrors of a bilingual whole.

It seems here pertinent to attempt at describing what the term bilingualism encapsulates.

⁹⁴ Brian Fitch, *Beckett and Babel: An investigation into the Status of the Bilingual Work* (Toronto: Toronton University Press, 1988), p. 130.

⁹⁵ Martina Von Essen, "Examples of Different Levels of Meaning of Samuel Beckett's Translation of his own Work", in *Translation Studies in Scandinavia*, ed. by L.Wollin and H. lindquist (Lund: University of Lund Press, 1986), p. 80.

CHAPTER 2

~ DESCRIPTION OF THE PHENOMENON ~

2.1. Individual bilingualism:

2.1.1. Problems of definitions

Definitions are numerous. And as the list is continuously extending, it is not easy to start any discussion on bilingualism by positing any generally accepted definition of the phenomenon that will not be arbitrary. If people in the street were asked to define bilingualism, they would probably answer that it is the ability to speak two languages "perfectly". But unfortunately we cannot even describe exactly what speaking one language "perfectly" involves. No one speaks the whole of a language. Each of us speaks parts of our mother-tongue, and we can assume that the bilingual does too. S/he speaks parts of two languages and they rarely coincide in their contents. Nevertheless, a great many definitions exist, though none is satisfactory or exhaustive. As Skutnabb-Kansas points out:

Every researcher uses the kind of definition which best suits her own field of enquiry and her researcher aims. In this sense all definitions are arbitrary.¹

¹ Tove Skutnabb-Kansas, *Bilingualism or Not. The education of Minorities* (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1981), p. 81.

If one turns to a few of the definitions, which researchers and linguists have suggested in the past, their inadequacies become immediately apparent:

In... cases where... perfect foreign-language learning is not accompanied by loss of the native language, it results in bilingualism, native like control of two languages... of course one cannot define a degree of perfection at which a good foreign speaker becomes a bilingual: the distinction is relative., (Bloomfield, 1933).²

Bilingualism is understood... to begin at the point where the speaker of one language can produce complete, meaningful utterances in the other language. (Haugen, 1953).³

The practice of alternatively using two languages will be called here BILINGUALISM, and the persons involved BILINGUAL. Unless otherwise specified, all remarks about bilingualism apply as well to multilingualism, the practice of using alternatively three or more languages. (Weinreich, 1953). (his capitals)⁴

It seems obvious that if we are to study the phenomenon of bilingualism, we are forced to consider it has a something entirely relative. We must moreover, include the use not only of two languages, but of any number of languages. We shall therefore consider bilingualism as the alternate use of two or more languages by the same individual. (Mackey, 1962).⁵

The mastery of two or more languages -bilingualism or multilingualism- is a special skill. Bilingualism and multilingualism are relative terms since individuals vary greatly in types and degrees of language proficiency. (Encyclopædia Britannica, 1965)

From examining these quotations, the importance of the *relative* nature of bilingualism can be seen. Deciding whether a

2 Bloomfield, p. 55.

3 Einmar Haugen, *The Norwegian Language in America. A Study of Bilingual Behaviour*, 2 vols (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1953), p. 7.

4 Uriel Weinreich, *Language in Contact, Findings and Problems* (The Hague: Mouton, 1953), p. 5.

5 William F. Mackey, "The Description of Bilingualism", *Canadian Journal of Linguistics*, 7 (1962), 51-85, (p. 52).

person is bilingual, is rather an *arbitrary* decision. Bloomfield refers to "native-like control", whereas Haugen suggests "complete meaningful utterance in the other language". Needless to say that these two extreme views give little information on how well two or more languages need to be known in order for an individual to be called bilingual. Furthermore, these definitions do not take into account other criteria such as writing, reading or listening, but only speaking ability. The Encyclopædia Britannica mentions "a special skill", but it is hard to determinate what that special skill might be. The above illustration give an idea of how difficult it is to find a suitable and precise definition. Everybody gives true and coherent pieces of information which help in the understanding and explanation of bilingualism, but no one can give a adequate definition. As Harding and Riley point out:

In other words the problem is that of defining degrees of bilingualism. Bilingualism is not a black and white, all or nothing phenomenon, it is a more or less one.⁶

Probably one of the difficulties in studying bilingualism lies in the fact that it has involved various disciplines such as linguistics, psychology, sociology or pedagogy, and as a result, energies are spread widely across different area of research. It should be noted that the term bilingualism does not only apply to the situation where two languages are involved but is often used to describe cases of multi or plurilingualism. There is no evidence to suggest that the basic principles of language usage are different whether two or more languages are involved with the same speaker. The question is rather whether these principles change when more than one language is

⁶ Edith Harding and Philip Riley, *The Bilingual Family: A Hand Book for Parents* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 31.

used. Instead of continuing the search for an adequate definition this study will be carried out within the framework of a typology of definitions. In doing so, bilingualism will be observed from different perspectives, to avoid generalisation .

There are many ways of classifying the various definitions; some authors choose to present the different varieties of bilingualism without a specific order. Others, such as Bézier and Van Overbeke suggest a classification based on descriptive, normative and methodological aspects. Similarly, Skutnabb-Kansas distinguishes three main types of definition depending on which aspect of bilingualism is used as a criterion.⁷ In her typology, the chosen criteria are: competence, function and attitudes. This classification is interesting because of its clarity and the discussion that it puts forward, and will now be examined in closer detail.

2.1.2. Definitions based on competence, function and attitudes

Definitions based on competence are numerous and varied. They include a large scale of bilinguals, from the person able to utter a foreign word to the one who possesses complete mastery of two languages (see Bloomfield's and Haugen's definitions). Polh broadened the scope by including the initial stage of bilingualism where the speaker "understands the foreign language without being able to speak it".⁸ Others, like Macnamara, list four areas of linguistic ability: listening, speaking, reading and writing. According to Macnamara, a person is bilingual if s/he possesses one of the four

7 Skutnabb-Kansas (1981), pp. 80-93.

8 J. Phol, "Bilinguismes", *Revue Roumaine de Linguistique*, 10 (1965), 343-49.

skills, "even to a minimal degree".⁹ What could be argued about these definitions based on competence is that they are either too narrow or too broad, so that practically anybody or nobody can be called bilingual. Furthermore, we may wonder if it is enough to be proficient in one of the four skills mentioned. For instance, a perfectly bilingual child who is too young to read, or an illiterate bilingual adult are difficult cases. Fergusson argues that most of the world's languages are not read and written regularly.¹⁰ Either they have no written form at all, or they are only rarely written by a few people. If one tries to classify these two examples, one soon notices that judgement is based on comparison. It is also difficult to decide who could be considered as a basis of comparison in order to define a norm. The pertinence of "a norm" as a group of comparison, might be questioned as well as its validity. Native speakers have a different knowledge of their language, than non-natives. It is hard to decide what should be required in order to constitute an example of comparison.

Definitions based on function focus rather on the usage of the two languages by bilinguals. Weinreich's much quoted definition illustrates this idea: "the practice of alternatively using two languages will be called BILINGUALISM". And Mackay summarises the function oriented view of bilingualism :

Bilingualism is not a phenomenon of language, it is a characteristic of its use. It is not a feature of the code but of the message. It does not belong to the domain of *langue* but of *parole*.¹¹

9 John Macnamara, "How Can One Measure the Extent of a Person's Bilingual Proficiency? ", in *Description and Measurement of Bilingualism*, ed. by L. Kelly, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), pp. 79-97, (p. 82).

10 Charles A. Fergusson, "Linguistic Theory", in *Bilingual Education: Current Perspectives* (Arlington, VA: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1977), II, pp. 43-52, (p. 48).

11 William F. Mackey, "Bilingualism and Thought", in *International Dimension of Bilingual Education*, ed. by James E. Alatis (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 1978), pp. 25-45.

It can safely be said that the function oriented view of bilingualism is more practical than the theoretical competence oriented one. Competence opposes itself to performance, that is the concrete use of language. Chomsky explained that the task of formal grammatical analysis in transformational-generative grammar was to describe the rules the native speaker/hearer commands, as a proof her/his linguistic ability (that is to say competence).¹² Transformational-generative grammar stresses the creative aspect of language, that is the sort of original discourse a bilingual can perform with the set of rules s/he has in command. Obviously, the observation of this sort of speech involves sociolinguistic aspects, as well as psycholinguistic ones. In other words, the focus is not so much on linguistic competence but rather on communicative and cognitive competences. Definitions based on function have tried to broaden their scope so that language as such would not only be studied grammatically (linguistics), but also with its rules of language use (sociolinguistics). Communicative performance would then demonstrate the ability to use linguistic and communicative competencies, where grammar and rules of language use interact actively.

Definitions based on attitudes focus on the speaker's own view of her/his native context. They raise the question of whether the individual identifies her/himself with one or both languages, linguistic communities and cultures. Logically definitions should be written by bilingual speakers, sharing their own perception of the phenomenon. It has also been suggested, that other people's

¹² Noam Chomsky, *Syntactic Structures*, Janua Linguarum, Series Minor, 5 (The Hague: Mouton, (1957) 1966), pp. 10-11.

assessment of the speaker can be useful. If the speaker is accepted as a native speaker by both communities, then s/he can be considered as being bilingual. As Malberg puts it:

The speaker must not stand out from his environment when using the other language, i.e. he must be accepted as a native speaker.... [he must] act in both language groups without any disturbing deviance being noticed (we are not, of course, including here regional or individual features).¹³

This kind of definition raises the same difficulty as the definition based on competence, that is what kind of native speaker is able to judge if a potential bilingual sounds native or not. Once again, it is a matter of degree, and obviously it really depends on the quality of the language of the native speaker. As far as deviance is concerned, it is difficult to ascertain quite what Malberg means. Definitions by attitude involve measurements of the bilingual's linguistic ability (degree of competence), facility (communicative competence) and his/her psychological/sociological factor of identification. Needless to say, that these factors can vary according to the topic the speaker is engaged in and/or to the interlocutor. Consequently, great variations can be observed among judge and judged on the question as to whether a person is bilingual or not. Diverse elements of the three different types of definition can be summarised as follows:

A bilingual speaker is someone who is able to function in two (or more) languages, either in monolingual or bilingual communities, in accordance with the 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 positively to identify with both (or all) language groups (and cultures) or parts of them.¹⁴

¹³ Bertil Malberg, "Finns halvpråkighet?", *Dagbladet* 21-11-1977, pp. 133-36, p. 135, quoted in Skutnabb-Kansas (1981), p. 88.

¹⁴ Skutnabb-Kansas, (1981), p. 90.

Because different ways have been suggested to organise the various definitions dealing with bilingualism, a typology of bilingualism will now be presented.

2.2. A typology of bilingualism

Ambilingualism refers to: "[a] person who is capable of functioning equally well in either of his languages in all domains of activity and without any traces of the one language in his use of the other".¹⁵ Ambilingualism is also referred to as true bilingualism. True bilingualism seems extremely rare if not non-existent. It would require an experience of all activities in double, so that, the speaker would have an exact copy of her/his language storage. In practice language is tied to particular activities and it seems unlikely that a person would duplicate all her/his activities. Even a highly competent speaker, who could pass as a native speaker might seem to have different lexical availabilities in different languages, especially in very specific areas. Ambilingualism is not representative of a very large class of bilingual speakers. Nevertheless, it is certainly interesting from the psychological point of view to see how the functioning of two languages affects somebody's life.

What is called natural bilingualism can be described as the learning of two languages without formal teaching. They are used

16 Hugo Baetens-Beardsmore, *Bilingualism, Basic Principles* (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1986), p.7.

17 E. Blocher, *Zweisprachigkeit. Vorteile und Nachteile*, quoted in Mauritz Bézier and Monique Van Overbeke, *Le bilinguisme: essai de définition et guide bibliographique* (Louvain: Université de Louvain, 1968), p. 63.

daily as a natural means of communication. Blocher describes natural bilingualism in these terms:

Le bilinguisme naturel, c'est l'appartenance d'un individu à deux communautés linguistiques, sans qu'on soit à même de discerner avec quelle langue on a le plus de rapports, quelle langue est sa langue maternelle, quelle langue il parle avec le plus d'aisance, ou dans quelle langue il pense.¹⁶

In this sense, the word natural expresses the degree of proficiency. Natural bilingualism can be found amongst mixed language couples, immigrants, linguistic minorities or dialectal regions. The natural bilingual has not undergone any specific training in both languages and therefore s/he encounters some difficulties when interpreting or translating. Houston refers to natural bilingualism as primary bilingualism which would be opposed to secondary bilingualism, when a second language has been added to the first one via instruction.¹⁷ It has been noticed, that natural bilingualism can lead to momentary mental blockage. For instance, if a speaker expresses her/himself in one language and is suddenly required to use another one, s/he can find her/himself in a position where s/he has the mental image but cannot render the word in either languages. This can be explained by the conditioning of a specific language with a particular activity which impedes the ready availability of a term. Natural bilinguals are often under the pressure of acquiring both languages if they want to manage their life properly. In the case one language is used at home, and another one at work.

¹⁷ S.H. Houston, "Bilingualism: Naturally Acquired Bilingualism," in *A Survey of Psycholinguistics* (The Hague: Mouton, 1972), pp. 203-25.

Artificial bilingualism or school bilingualism is acquired by formal teaching. Unlike natural bilingualism, the learning of the second language is not vital, and does not need to be used as the only means of communication. In other words, it is considered as an extra, for pleasure or work.

Cultural bilingualism is fairly similar, it refers to adults who learn a foreign language for reasons of work , travel... It corresponds to the idea of being educated by learning "a language of culture." Natural and artificial bilinguals obviously have a different command of the two languages, and to a certain extent it may be questioned if it is really possible to talk of bilingualism as far as artificial bilingualism is concerned. Geissler illustrates these two opposite conceptions (natural and artificial) of the phenomenon, by distinguishing between *Erlebte Sprache* (lived language) and *Erlernt Sprache* (learned language).¹⁸

We can also find elite bilingualism and folk bilingualism. Elite bilinguals are highly educated people whose parts of their education has been in a foreign language (international schools, private foreign nannies, parents who had been temporarily abroad for business purposes...). Elite bilingualism has been described as: "The privilege of middle-class, well educated members of most societies".¹⁹ But to be fair, it should be mentioned that:

Teachers, soldiers, secretaries, business people, translators technicians and so on, who are now criss-crossing Europe

¹⁸ H. Geissler, *Zweitsprachigkeit Deutscher Kinder im Ausland*, quoted in Bézier and Van Overbeke (1968), p. 64.

¹⁹ Christina Bratt Paulston, "Ethnic Relations and Bilingual Education: Accounting for Contradictory Data", *Working Papers on Bilingualism* 6 (1975), 1-44, (p. 35).

are certainly privileged... but to talk about them as if they were rich with the implication that their riches can automatically solve their linguistic problems, is neither helpful nor accurate.²⁰

Elite bilingualism is usually the result of a voluntary choice and if such speakers fail to become bilingual, the consequences will be in no way catastrophic. Unlike elite bilingualism, folk bilingualism results from: "The conditions of ethnic groups within a single state who have to become bilingual involuntarily, in order to survive".²¹ In other words, folk bilinguals are subject to strong pressure to become bilingual, often on the part of their families. Like natural bilinguals, they have no other alternative than learning both languages perfectly in order to compete on the labour market. Folk bilingualism sometimes encounters problems as far as education is concerned, especially if it is not properly organised.

Equilingualism or balanced bilingualism occurs when a speaker's mastery of two languages is roughly equivalent. The speaker's ability is approximately comparable to the ones of the monoglot in each language providing it is not too specific. The fairly balanced knowledge of the two languages is what characterises equilingualism. It is argued by monoglots though that balanced bilinguals show signs of deviation. It has also been stated by Segalowitz and Gathbonton that the vast majority of cases are those of the non-fluent bilinguals.²² On the other hand, it is difficult to know how much the equilingual's language deviates from the monoglot's as the setting of the monoglot's norm is arbitrary. Equilingualism has

²⁰ Harding and Riley, p. 24.

²¹ Harding and Riley, p. 25.

²² Norman Segalowitz and Elizabeth Gathbonton, "Studies in the Nonfluent Bilingual", in *Bilingualism: Psychological, Social and Educational Implication*, ed. by Peter. A. Hornby (New-York: Academic Press, 1977), pp. 77-89.

some points of similarity with ambilingualism, in a lessened degree. The term is fairly flexible, as far as the acquisition is concerned. It could designate a "good" natural bilingual, as well as a highly proficient one.

Semilingualism describes a speaker who is able to acquire sufficient mastery of a second language in order to function adequately in that language. At the same time the semilingual fails to develop her/his first language because of isolation (physical) or lack of stimulation (mental). In Wales, this situation has been referred to as having "two second languages". It may occur amongst immigrants who are socially/physically isolated from the host community, and who at the same time forget their mother-tongue. If only one of the two languages is inadequate, then it cannot be referred to as semilingualism. But in case both languages are judged inadequate according to both language native speakers, then there is no confusion possible. The case of semilingualism is often the result of social circumstances, as illustrated by Skutnabb-Kansas and Tookomaa especially if the speaker lives isolated from rich linguistic environment of the host country.²³ On one hand, the home environment does not provide her/him with the necessary linguistic practice of the language and on the other hand it does not provide either a rich input of the home language, as it is only practised amongst the family. The case of semilingualism can have serious consequences on the speaker and lead to a life-long handicap to the psychological, social and moral development of the bilingual.

23 Tove Skutnabb-Kansas and Pertti Toukomaa, "Semilingualism and the Education of Migrant Children's as Means of Reproducing the Caste of Assembly-line Workers", *Tijdschrift van de Vrije Universiteit Brussel*, 21, 2 (1980), 100-36.

Functional bilingualism includes two different situations. In the first, the functional bilingual is able to handle a certain amount of lexical availability for certain activities, with a small variety of grammatical use and a limited vocabulary. This kind of bilingualism can be found in professional areas, which require a limited knowledge of a foreign language (i.e. haute-cuisine, chemistry...). Such linguistic knowledge is not difficult to acquire. It could be questioned though if a person, able to use a foreign language strictly in a professional environment, can be called bilingual? S/he might possess a good knowledge in a specialised field in two languages, in other words, s/he might possess a professional jargon, but might be completely unable to speak this precise foreign language apart from this peculiar circumstance. In the second situation, the speaker is able to conduct all her/his activities satisfactorily in two languages. However, the speaker will use patterns which will sound foreign. Furthermore her/his accent, lexis and grammar will show sign of interference (the phenomenon of interference will be dealt with in chapter 5). But on the whole, the speaker will be able to make her/himself perfectly understood and will not have any problem of communication.

Receptive bilingualism involves a person who understands a second language in its oral or written form, or both but is unable to speak and write it. Outsiders often perceive this as a refusal to speak and consequently assume that bilingualism is unsuccessful. Receptive bilingualism can be the result of language shift that is, when a group of speakers is using alternatively different languages. Language shift occurs for instance, when parents progressively forget the home/family language and switch to the "other" work/school language whenever they are looking for words. There is no doubt they could

speak perfectly well if they had regular contact with their native speaking peers, or if they went back to their country of origin the language would be re-activated. But for the children the situation is different, the only time they are in contact with the language is while with their parents. They might understand what they parents say but not feel comfortable enough to use the parents' native language, for purposes of communication. Receptive bilingualism can also be caused when parents speak one language with each other and use another one when addressing their children. The children understand the language being spoken but they never use it themselves; they are in a state of receptive bilingualism. Alternatively, a possible case of receptive bilingualism can occur when one of the parents does not speak but understands the language used between the other parent and the children. This is vital for successful bilingualism. Receptive bilingualism is also called passive bilingualism, one might dislike this term as it is felt that language decoding activity involves active neurological processes where the mind filters and organises sounds into meaningful words.

Productive bilingualism, the counterpart of receptive bilingualism, is the situation where the speaker not only understands but also speaks and eventually writes the other language(s). It does not imply that the mastery of the language is equal. For instance, the speaker could speak both languages very well but not write one or both of them. Biliteracy is not uncommon, especially in African nations and India. The term productive bilingualism is vague concerning the degree of competence in two or more of the four language skills (listening, speaking, writing and reading) in both languages.

Symmetrical bilingualism resembles receptive bilingualism with the difference that competence is equal (symmetrical) in both languages.²⁴ In contrast, asymmetrical bilingualism designates the situation when the languages involved are no longer spoken but are still read and written. This is the case of ancient languages such as ancient Egyptian. Asymmetrical bilingualism can be found when the person's ability to speak the language is better than her/his understanding of it. Baetens quotes the example of the modern language student going for a trip in a foreign country and who is unable to understand what s/he is being told although s/he can make her/himself understood.²⁵ Asymmetrical bilingualism is not rare when children's contact with the second language is restricted to one of the two parents. They may not understand once in the country of the second language, unused to a different accent, although they can express themselves without difficulty.

The various types of bilingualism presented so far do not specify how effectively a person needs to master one of the four skills in order to be considered bilingual. Rather, they present the relative nature of the concept. They are, however, different levels a bilingual speaker can reach.

²⁴ Symmetrical bilingualism coincides with the notion of productive bilingualism, quoted in J. Phol, "Bilinguismes", *Revue Roumaine de Linguistique*, 10, 343-49 (p. 347).

²⁵ Baetens-Beardsmore (1986), p. 17.

2-3 Different levels of bilingualism

Incipient bilingualism is what could be called the pre-bilingual state. Diebold explains the pre-bilingual stage as the moment when the individual is discovering the patterns of the language either at the decoding or encoding level.²⁶ So the pre-bilingual stage can lead to receptive and later to productive abilities. Language students can be considered as incipient bilinguals, in the sense that they could, if they developed their language skills, become bilingual to a certain extent. It could be said that the incipient bilingual is somewhere between becoming first a receptive and then, later a productive bilingual.

Ascendant bilingualism is what would qualify a speaker whose ability to function in a second language would increase with the use of the language. On the contrary, recessive bilingualism would describe a speaker who uses her/his second language less and less frequently and would feel more and more comfortable in understanding or expressing her/himself in that language.

Lambert describes additive bilingualism as the situation where the second language brings to the speaker a set of cognitive and social abilities.²⁷ It has been suggested that they do not affect the abilities acquired in the first language, but on the contrary the linguistic and cultural entities fuse together very positively. In contrast to additive bilingualism is subtractive bilingualism, where the second language is acquired at the expense of the first one. Furthermore, there may be competition between the two linguistic and cultural entities.

26 R.A. Diebold, "Incipient Bilingualism", *Languages*, XXXVII (1961), 97-112.

27 Wallace E. Lambert, "A Canadian Experiment in the Development of Bilingual Competence", *Canadian Modern Language Review*, 31:2 (1974), 108-116.

Subtractive bilingualism can be the result of a situation where the two languages have different socio-economical and cultural status. It can lead to disturbing effects on the development of the personality or even worse to social-political conflicts among members of the community.

Scholars have been very preoccupied with the language and meaning dichotomy. This relationship between signs and meaning was first studied by Weinreich and then later by Ervin-Tripp and Osgood.²⁸ Weinreich distinguishes three types of bilingualism: co-ordinate, compound and subordinate.²⁹ These three types of situation can be found when language systems are in contact.

"book"	"livre"	"book"="livre"
(A)	(B)	(C)
/buk/ /livr/	/buk/ /livr/	/buk/ /livr/

Type A illustrates what Weinreich calls co-ordinate bilingualism, where: "The signs of each language separately combine one unit of content".³⁰ Consequently, the individual has two functionally independent systems. Co-ordinate bilingualism is the result of learning two languages in totally differentiated circumstances, for instance, one language at home and one language outside home, or when the two languages are learnt in different cultural environments.

²⁸ Susan Ervin-Tripp and Charles Osgood, "Second Language Learning and Bilingualism", *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology Supplement*, 49 (1954), 139-46.

²⁹ Weinreich (1953), pp. 9-10.

³⁰ Baetens-Beardsmore (1986), pp. 21-22.

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²⁹ Weinreich (1953), pp. 9-10.

³⁰ Baetens-Beardsmore (1986), pp. 21-22.

Type B is the case of compound bilingualism: "The signs combine one single unit of content within units of expression, one for each language".³¹ This can be found when the individual grows up in an environment where two languages are spoken alternatively by the same persons in similar situations.

Type C is called subordinate bilingualism: "The meaning unit is that of the first language with its corresponding unit of expression and is the same for the equivalent unit of expression in the second language".³² This applies to individuals who are dominant in one language, as in the case when one has learnt a foreign language in a traditional school situation and via an intermediary of the first language. Ervin and Osgood have simplified Weinreich's classification and only distinguish between co-ordinate bilinguals (A) and what they also called compound bilinguals but which includes (B + C). The distinction would be that in the first case, both languages would be acquired in two separate contexts. Diller condemned this distinction, qualifying it as "conceptual artefact", and judged that a notion of absolute independence between the two languages, complete fusion, was artificial.³³ Lambert and Jakobovits extended this classification so that not only semantic elements would be taken into account but also lexical, syntactic, phonological, cultural and attitudinal aspects. The question that we may ask when examining Weinreich's classification is whether the bilingual has one or two systems.

It was assumed that bilinguals had two systems, one resembling the monolingual system, "the norm". But as sociolinguistic

31 Baetens-Beardsmore (1986), p. 22.

32 Baetens-Beardsmore (1986), p. 22.

33 K.C. Diller, "Compound and Co-ordinate Bilingualism. A Conceptual Artifact", *Word* 26 (1970), 254-261.

investigations were carried out and showed that bilingualism was a permanent phenomenon in many societies, old assumptions changed progressively. The earlier view was that there was a progression from monolingualism in L1 through bilingualism in L1 and L2 to monolingualism in L2. The concern was very much centred around monolingualism would it be in L1 or L2, bilingualism was only an intermediate stage between two monolingualisms. It was suggested for instance by Fishman or Gumperz, that there was "a single repertoire", one code, meaning bilinguals have a single linguistic system; accommodating both common ground between languages and the specific rules needed for each language.

In the preceding discussion on different types of mental process which may affect the bilingual's behaviour, age acquisition seems to be another important factor which plays a significant role. There is a great difference between early and late bilingualism. Early bilingualism is the acquisition of more than one language in the pre-adolescent phase of life, late bilingualism occurs when the first language is learnt before the age of eleven and other languages beyond this age. Early bilingualism has also been called infant bilingualism by Haugen,³⁴ late bilingualism is also known as achieved bilingualism after Adler.³⁵ It is accepted that early bilingualism has advantages over late bilingualism. Early bilingualism is associated with native or native-like pronunciation and positive linguistic competencies. When negative consequences are

34 Eimar Haugen, *Bilingualism in the Americas: A Bibliography and Research Guide* (Alabama: University of Alabama Press (1956) 1964).

35 Max A. Adler, *Collective and Individual Bilingualism: A Socio-linguistic Study* (Hamburg: Buske Verlag, 1977).

found they are usually attributed to social and psychological factors together with educational strategies not properly handled.

2.4. Societal bilingualism and diglossia

The tendency towards greater language contact in contemporary societies can be explained by numerous factors such as the role of international media, the rapidity of transport, the extent of migration, the need for unskilled or specialised labour, the general access to education. These situations of language contact can lead to plurilingualism, be it through the neighbouring of languages or geographical transplantation.

Fergusson was probably the first sociolinguist to refer to this kind of bilingual situation in 1956, and coined the word "diglossia" which he described as:

A relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation.³⁶

Jardel sought to explain the term in relation to the existing and known bilingual phenomena. He differentiated between bilingualism and diglossia, arguing that the former refers to the behaviour of the individual and the latter characterises a social situation.³⁷ Jardel explains that the term diglossia was first used by the French linguist and philologist Psichari who used it to describe the

³⁶ Chales A. Fergusson, "Diglossia" *Word*, 15 (1959), 325-340

³⁷ Jean-Pierre Jardel, "De quelques usages des concepts de "bilinguisme" et de "diglossie" ", in *Plurilinguisme: Normes, situations, stratégies*, ed. by G. Manessy and P. Wald (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1979), pp. 25-38.

socio-linguistic situation of Greece, where written and oral Greek differed.³⁸ Jardel notes that Fergusson had borrowed the terminology from Psichari as quoted in Fergusson's own words: "The term diglossia is introduced here on the French *diglossie*, which has been applied to this situation".³⁹

Gumperz and Fishman refined and extended the concept of diglossia, so that the term could be applied to plurilingual communities which officially recognise the usage of a L2 for internal communication, or where L2, L3..., dialects and linguistic varieties are coexisting with the official language. The importance of Gumperz and Fishman's characterisation of the term diglossia lays in the fact that it suggests that social variables appears to be indicators of language choice and variety.⁴⁰

Hamers and Blanc also have referred to diglossia, this more or less active/passive plurilingual practice, and described the phenomenon in *Bilinguality and Bilingualism* as follows: "a situation where two very different varieties of a language or two distinct languages co-occur throughout a *speech community* (q.v.), each with a distinct range of social functions" (their italics).⁴¹ This is, for instance, the case in France of Portuguese North African immigrants on the one hand, and of speakers of Corsican, Catalan, Basque, Alsatian, Occitan and Breton on the other. There are also diglossic French speakers of German, Dutch, Spanish or Italian living near the borders (and *vice versa*). Thus, in this example, three groups can be identified that correspond to Hamers and Blanc's description of diglossia: (i) migrant speakers, (ii) regional speakers, (iii) multilingual speakers living near borders. France is not an isolated case as pointed out by Macnamara:

Most nations of Europe- whether Western or Eastern, Northern or Southern, or Central- are multiethnic and as a result multilingual. As nation ideologies involve ever increasing proportions of their

38 J. Psichari, "Un pays qui ne veut pas sa langue", *Mercure de France*, vol.I-X (1928), 63-120.

39 Fergusson (1959), p. 330.

40 Language choice and code switching are studied in detail in chapter 4 entitled "Features of Bilingual Speech".

41 Josiane F. Hamers and Michel Blanc, *Bilinguality and Bilingualism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p.267.

populations in national processes, the proportions of these populations which become bilingual grows accordingly.⁴²

A glance at some European nations testify of the extent of diglossia, as summarised in Macnamara's following table :⁴³

European Nations	Plurilingual speakers
Spain	Catalan, Basque, Galician
France	Breton, Provençal...
United Kingdom	Welsh, Scots, Irish
Belgium	Flemish, Walloon
Italy	Valoise, Piedmontese, German...
Switzerland	Romansh
Holland	Frisian
Scandinavia	Lap
Former Yugoslavia	Italian, Hungarian, Slovene, Croatian, Albanian, Macedonian
Slovakia	German, Polish
Poland	German, Ukrainian
Bulgaria	Macedonian
Romania	Hungarian
Cyprus	Turk
Turkey	Greek

The contemporary use of the term diglossia has stretched and now refers to high and low forms of the same variety of language, opposing formal to casual communicative situations. The notion of diglossia can then, also be referred to in a monolingual situation, to express code variation. Berstein and Labov showed in their respective work that high and low varieties of the same language, namely English, vary greatly and the notion of diglossia is helpful when referring to this linguistic span.⁴⁴

⁴² John Macnamara, "Bilingualism in the Modern World", *Journal of the Social Issue*, 23, 2 (1967), 1-7.

⁴³ This table has been compiled and adapted from Macnamara's article (1967), pp. 1, 2. This list is in no way exhaustive, Macnamara notes "these are merely the most obvious bilingual populations in Europe", p. 2

⁴⁴ Basil Berstein, and William Labov "Social Class and Linguistic Development: a Theory of Social Learning" in *Education, Economy and Society*, A.H. Halsey, J. Floud, and C. A. Anderson (Glencoe: Free Press of Glencoe, 1961).
William Labov, *The Social Stratification of English in New York City* (Washington DC. Center for Applied Linguistics, 1966)

However, as soon as we refer to high and low varieties of the same language we introduce a normative stance. And in reference to varieties of languages, the notion is very thorny. The normative (or majority) stand point suggests the existence of a centre surrounded by a periphery, symbol of deviation (or minority). A parallel could be drawn with a model of urban organisation, where the upper level of the social ladder lodges in the centre and the lower in the periphery. Yet it must be born in mind that this is merely a model, and needless to say there are discrete existing models of urban planning. Let us consider the one where the centre is synonymous with of poverty and the suburb residential. This Parallel seeks to illustrate the fact that the standard (or majority) language is not necessarily the norm, nor does it represent reality.

The question that arises next is, how (or whether at all) one can speak of norm (or centre) within a bilingual community. Furthermore we may wonder whether the norm can be described as being the language most spoken and/or the language enjoying most social prestige. In addition, it is useful to consider that a language enjoying social prestige or representing the larger number of speaker is only valid in a particular communicative situation.

In the light of Fergusson's characterisation of diglossia quoted above, it appears that the mentioned "superposed variety" describes the High variety of language (H), whereas the "primary dialect" represents the low variety of language (L). Perhaps more important than terminological clarification is to note that the use of the (H) or (L) varieties depends on the communicative situation. And in some situations they will be overlapping. For instance, during a Translation Studies seminar, the speaker will read Shakespeare in the source language, s/he will be using the (H) variety, while commenting on the

verses s/he will be using (L) one. In addition, when s/he will be reading the translation in the target language s/he will be using the (H) form, that we may call (H₂), and will comment either in (L₁) or (L₂). In some ways, it could be said that in this example there is a double equation, that is to say, code switching from (L₁) to (L₂) on the one hand, and diglossia from (H_{1/2}) to L_(1/2) on the other.

An interesting point is to observe which domains of language belong to which variety. Romaine makes us appreciate this question in the following tables:⁴⁵

SITUATION FOR HIGH AND LOW VARIETIES IN DIGLOSSIA		
SITUATION	HIGH	LOW
Sermon in church or mosque	+	
Instruction to servants, waiters...		+
Personnel letter	+	
Speech in Parliament, political speech	+	
University lecture	+	
Conversation with family, friends, colleagues		+
News broadcast	+	
Radio soap opera		+
Newspaper editorial, new story	+	
Caption on political cartoon		+
Poetry	+	
Folk literature		+

So, it appears that in a diglossic situation, there is what we could call "compartmentalisation" of the high and low varieties of language usage. For instance, the Southern Italian may speak Neapolitan at home but Italian at university and will probably switch between Neapolitan and Italian when speaking with friends depending on the topic and seriousness of the conversation. And the ability to switch between the (H) and (L) varieties is often a good indication of the mastery of a language. Many of us could narrate

45. Suzanne Romaine, *Bilingualism* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), pp. 32-33.

anecdotes in which the comic aspect is based on using the wrong variety of language in the wrong context.

What is however worth mentioning is that the High variety of language is most of the time considered the norm (standard), as in the case of Switzerland, where Swiss German is regarded as the (L) variety, and High German the superior standard. Yet the preferred consideration for the High variety of language does not always reflect language usage as in the case of Classical Arabic, where the High form of the language is merely used in religious and formal situations. The fact that Classical Arabic is the language of the Koran, endows the (H) variety with special significance, perhaps making sacred the high form. This is not comparable to the example of Swiss German.

Fishman also refined Fergusson's initial description of diglossia. According to the author, four cases might be distinguished.⁴⁶

- (i) The High and Low varieties of language might be "genetically" related, where the High variety is the classical form of and the Low form the vernacular as in the example of Classical Arabic mentioned earlier.
- (ii) The High and Low varieties might not be "genetically" related as in the case of Textual and Hebrew and Yiddish.
- (iii) The High form as written/formal spoken variety of language and the Low as vernacular are not "genetically" related as Spanish and Guaraní in Paraguay.

⁴⁶ Joshua Fishman "Bilingualism and Biculturalism as Individual and Societal Phenomena", *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 1 (1980), pp. 3-17.

(iv) The High variety as written/formal spoken language and Low as vernacular are genetically related. This is the case of Urdu and spoken Punjabi.

In Fergusson's characterisation of diglossia, it was assumed that the (H) and (L) varieties were issued from the same language. Whereas for Fishman, the two varieties need not be "genetically" related to use the author's terminology. It appears that today the notion of diglossia is understood to refer to either situations. On the basis of previous research, the concept of diglossia has been stretched to characterise different situations. It is illuminating to look at contexts where the concept of diglossia can be applied.

Fasold has described broad diglossia, the situation where three languages coexist for different purposes, such as in the case of Tunisia, where Classical and Tunisian Arabic are used as well as French.⁴⁷ Gumperz showed that in Indian, Hindi and the local languages are in diglossic situation and that within each category each variety can be compartmentalised into the (H) and (L) forms. In the Khalapur dialect, these are referred to as *Moti Boli* (gross speech) and *Saf Boli* (clean speech).⁴⁸ Fasold qualifies this situation of double-nest diglossia.

Platt has described polydiglossia a context where a variety (H or L) of language is used according to domains.⁴⁹ There could be a subtle spectrum between the two varieties affiliated to the social situation and conversational topic.

We could also mention literary diglossia, as the functional distribution of written languages, which touches upon the

47 Ralph Fasold, *The Sociolinguistics of Society* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1984)

48 John J. Gumperz, "Linguistic and Social Interaction in Two Communities", *American Anthropologist*, 6,2 (1966), 137-53.

49 J.Platt, "A Model for Polyglossia and multilingualism (with Special Reference to Singapore and Malaysia), *Language in Society*, 6 (1977), 361-379.

diglossia/dominant ideology dichotomy.⁵⁰ For instance, Occitan has long been dependent *vis-à-vis* dominant French writing, considered as the norm, and in the last century, when written Occitan was born, its writing was based on the aesthetic values of French. Perhaps this "enculturation" no longer made Occitan a *vulgaris* but rather the bourgeois reflection of what was once the language of the people. Similarly, according to Giordan, the so-called French "regional literature", such as works of Daudet, Giono, or Pagnol, is concerned with rendering local flavours but not realism, depicting regionalism from the dominating (French) point of view.⁵¹ In order to palliate to this convex image of regionalism, a corpus of literature(s) issued from local educational institutions and publishing houses is needed to put an end to this literary diglossia. In this way, as in the case of France, Breton, Occitan, Corsican might become literatures on their own and not marginal and subordinated works.

So far diglossic situations concomitant with bilingualism, have been considered. However suggestions can be made in respect to the possibility of diglossia without bilingualism. This is the case when two or more languages cohabit under the same government. Various states such as Canada, Belgium or Switzerland fall under this category. Within such states, integration might be encouraged through bilingual educational programs, bilingual geographical planning or individual initiatives. But as pointed out by Romaine: "There is institutional protection for more than one language at the federal level, though in individual territories there is widespread monolingualism".⁵² In other words, there might be bilingual policies

50 William F. Mackay, "The Description of Bilingualism" in *Readings in the Sociology of Language*, ed. by Joshua A. Fishman (1968), pp.554-84.

51 H. Giordan, "Écriture française et écriture minoritaire", *Pluriel débat*, 5 (1977), 1-11.

52 Romaine, p. 35.

on the federal level, but in practice the situation is different. For instance, Montreal is a bilingual city in the French province. But in effect the city is mainly anglophone, the preferred language for business, although the second francophone city world-wide.

There are also instances where bilingualism might transform into monolingualism. Australia is a good example, where the Aboriginal languages were swept away and replaced by English. In turn, English is now in competition with languages such as Italian, German, Chinese. Perhaps the shift in Australia is more easily achieved because English has only been rooted in the country since 1770, when the first penal colonies were settled after Dutch exploration.

However, there is evidence to suggest that the reverse situation, that is bilingualism without diglossia can also be found. Although officially monolingual, England's ethnic minority tongues are given some attention. Some administrative documents are printed multilingually, as in the case of the former poll tax documents. For integration purposes, numerous ethnic minority speakers often do not wish/manage to remain bilingual in a non diglossic context and, as a consequence, language shift occurs.

Lastly, there are countries where neither bilingualism nor diglossia can be found. Portugal, Cuba, Norway where little immigration has taken place, are illustrations of this possibility. In sum, four discrete combinations can be found in the bilingualism/diglossia relationship, as presented in Fishman's table⁵³:

53 Table reproduced from Romaine's, p. 36.

DIGLOSSIA		
B		
I		
L	BOTH DIGLOSSIA	BILINGUALISM
I	AND	WITHOUT
N	BILINGUALISM	DIGLOSSIA
G		
U		
A	DIGLOSSIA	NEITHER
L	WITHOUT	DIGLOSSIA NOR
I	BILINGUALISM	BILINGUALISM
S		
M		

The model permits a distinction between countries commonly called "bilingual". It also embraces the notion of variety of language such as dialect and regional languages. In this sense, it recognises existence of so-called minority languages, regional languages, dialects without categorising them as low varieties of language. In this model, it is interesting to note that countries usually considered monolingual may fall into the category "diglossic without bilingualism".

Fishman's distinction is also interesting in so far as it stresses the fact that sociolinguistic situations can be very discrete if defined from the social status point of view, the idioms involved and consequently the functions attributed to such language varieties. Moreover, it stresses that the social dynamic can lead to transitional situations when a language variety is promoted to the High variety. Finally, the term "diglossia" is useful as it adds a sociological dimension to the bilingual phenomenon, in this way linking language and society.

As a case in point we may look at the bilingual and diglossic situation of Brittany. The Brittany situation could be described as a linguistic frontier between the Francophone Haute Bretagne to the

east and the *bretonnant* Basse Bretagne to the west. Timm summarises the linguistic situation of this region: "Breton in Basse Bretagne appears to be surviving in islands strung throughout a widening sea of French speakers".⁵⁴ Indeed, bilingualism in Basse Bretagne is hardly alive, the number of Breton speakers is estimated to be less than 10 per cent and aged over 70.⁵⁵ This is only an estimate since the French census does not record the number of citizens having a non-French mother tongue. Government authorities have participated in discouraging the survival of Breton; examples of public statements and regulations are numerous aiming at discriminating against the Breton regional tongue. For instance, in 1925, the minister of public instruction insisted that "pour l'unité linguistique de la France, il faut que la langue bretonne disparaisse".⁵⁶

Military conscription, instituted in 1875, alongside compulsory primary education, from 1885, constituted a solid armour against Breton, as they both ensured that French was learned by the age of adulthood. Indeed, by the turn of the century most *bretonnants* (Breton speakers) could supplant their mother tongue with French. Children were punished when found *in flagrante delicto* speaking Breton. Pupils would be made to wear *le symbole* a small object, around their necks as a sign of denigration. During the school day, *le symbole* would be passed on to "offenders" and the last pupil guilty of speaking his/her mother-tongue would be kept late and made to conjugate French verbs dozens of times. There were reported cases

54 L.A. Timm, "Bilingualism, Diglossia and language Shift in Brittany", *International Journal of Language*, 25 (1980), 29-41(p.29).

55 J. Gwegen, *La langue bretonne face à ses oppresseur* (Quimper: Nature et Bretagne, 1975)

56 S. Pop, *La dialectologie. Aperçu historique et méthodes d'enquêtes linguistiques. Seconde Partie: Dialectologie non-romane* (Louvain: chez l'auteur, 1950).

where pupils were beaten up or made to clean the school latrines. And it is hardly surprising that such pupils were not inclined as adults to teach Breton to their own children, for "at best Breton might be considered an obstacle to social advancement, at worst a terrible stigma of inferiority".⁵⁷

Since World War II, citizens of Brittany have been French monolingual or have a passive knowledge of Breton and due to the small number of bilinguals, very few have taught Breton to their children. An interesting phenomenon though, is the one of the *néo-bretonnants*, French Breton bilinguals who have learned Breton at university. The *néo-bretonnants* strongly feel that Breton should be kept alive. This revival of the language is not only due to fervent individual convictions, but also to efforts on the part of authorities to promote the ethnic language on a regional basis as well as centrally. For instance, free Breton courses are offered at community centres throughout the Basse Bretagne. The most "successful" *néo-bretonnant* initiative is the Celtic departments at the universities of Rennes and Brest, Gwegen reports, as a proof of success, that "ils parlent en Breton entre eux dans les couloirs"⁵⁸. The author calls this group the "avant garde pionnière" of *bretonnants*. Usually, they are located in cities in contrast to the "arrière garde routinière". The first group is constituted of militant defenders of Breton who make a conscious effort to speak only Breton to their children, while the second one speaks the language through force of habit rather than by design. The urban *néo-bretonnants* appear to constitute the best hope for the future, as regards the survival of the language, although the Breton of the books or *Léonais* is different from the spoken variety.

⁵⁷ Timm, p. 30.

⁵⁸ Gwegen, p. 122.

As far as diglossia is concerned, Timm recalls the sociolinguistic adage which states that "no group of speakers needs two or more linguistic codes for all the same purposes". So that there would be a "division of labour" between the two languages and in this way the High code would cover the domains of education, administration, the courts, established religions and other formal contexts. While the Low code would be used for friendship, recreation, intimacy....⁵⁹ Under this distinction it is easily assumed that French could be associated with the High code, while Breton with the low one. Further distinction can be made between the H form and the L form of Breton, that is, the written and spoken varieties of the language (*Léonais* as opposed to spoken Breton). Penalosa refers to this situation as complex diglossia.⁶⁰

Breton is spoken mainly in senior citizen's groups, agricultural work, cafés and families. However, agricultural industry is modernising, and the fate of the Breton language seems uncertain. The coming generation who will join the senior citizen's group is monolingual in French and at the most has passive knowledge of Breton. In a similar vein, customers in cafés are often agricultural workers and the number of jobs in this domain is decreasing considerably. The family appears to be the only environment where Breton can survive, yet it seems that the younger generation, apart from the *néo-bretonnants*, will not ensure that Breton is passed on.

In sum, despite vigorous efforts of language promotion, few native *bretonnants* seem to participate in activities such as language courses, summer camps, Breton as an option at school.... Moreover,

⁵⁹ For illustration of domains, see Romaine's chart (footnote 18).

⁶⁰ F. Penalosa, "Chicano Multilingualism and Multiglossia" in *El lenguaje de los chicanos*, ed by E. Hernandez-Chavez, A.D. Cohen, and A.F. Beltramo (Arlington, VA: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1975), pp. 164-169.

the industrialisation of the region brings in immigrant labour (mainly Portuguese and Algerians), and for these groups, French is already the second language to be acquired and quite obviously, Breton is not of prime necessity. Finally, literary Breton which is taught at university is of a different variety from spoken Breton, the language of the native speaker. And with a small literature corpus, that is with the absence of a richly varied written tradition, Breton is in a difficult position to arouse the interest of researchers. Moreover, the high illiteracy rate of *bretonnants* has discouraged artists and intellectuals from expressing themselves in Breton.

In the light of this example of diglossic context, it might be argued that motivational attitude parameters are of prime importance. Attempts are being made by the *néo-bretonnants* to keep the language alive, though, it is only made possible by constant use and study of the language. It should also be noted that the "intellectual" approach of *néo-bretonnants* to give Breton an afterlife, is somehow distorting the nature of the regional language. If Breton speakers of former generations were illiterate, it then appears paradoxical that the regional tongue is now transmitted via university education, and a dead language could be taught.

In a different vein, it is interesting to look at verbal behaviour of bilingual speakers in terms of social characteristics, cultural backgrounds and ecological properties of the environment in which they interact.⁶¹ One aspect of this three dimensional relationship is language usage of specific groups. When speaking, "ultimately it is

61 see D. Hymes, "The Ethnography of Speaking", in *Readings in the Sociology of Language*, ed. by Hymes (The Hague: Mouton, 1968), pp. 99-139. See also S. Ervin-Stripp, "An Analysis of the Interaction of Language, Topic and Listener", *American Anthropologist*, 6, 2 (1966), 86-102.

the individual who makes the decision, but his freedom to select is always subject to restraints" And it seems safe to maintain that the more we know about a particular community in terms of language, culture, social convention, the more efficiently we can communicate.⁶² Social etiquette and grammatical rules are usually learned together, in other words, they are part of the communicative equipment. As Berstein eloquently puts it "between language and speech, there is social structure" so that social interactions will dictate the set of social etiquette and grammatical rules to be used.⁶³

Verbal repertoire can be characterised both in linguistic and social terms and "as a linguistic entity it bridges the gap between grammatical systems and human groups". Gumperz suggests that it is the language distance between speech varieties rather than specific phonological and morphological structure of specific varieties that depict the social environment.⁶⁴ In other words, Gumperz assumes that language does not stand apart from social phenomena, on the basis that languages are not homogeneous systems. Applied to the bilingual and diglossic situation, this assumption infers that it is the mains in which L1/L2 or the H/L code are used that are of prime importance and that determine language choice. This approach treats linguistic behaviour as a form of social behaviour and linguistic change as social permutation.

In a similar vein, MacRae stresses the importance of territoriality, by which "the rules of a language to be applied in a given situation depend solely on the territory in question".⁶⁵ And the

62 Gumperz (1966), p.138.

63 Basil Berstein, "Elaborated and Restricted Codes: their Social Origins and Some More Consequences", *American Anthropologist*, 6, 2 (1966), pp. 55-69.

64 Gumperz(1966), p. 151.

65 Kenneth D.MacRae, " The Principle of Territoriality and the Principle of Personality in Multilingual States", *Linguistics*, 158 (1975), 33-54 (p. 33).

principle of personality by which "the rules will depend on the linguistic status of the person or persons concerned". In other words, the principle of territoriality involves the application of language rules according to territorial units, and the principle of personality according to linguistic status and thereby to the person(s) involved.

This division of principles may serve as a point of departure. It is clear in MacRae's principle of personality that the concern is linguistic equality versus linguistic minority. As the Canadian Royal Commission on Bilingualism and biculturalism noted in 1967 there are two broad categories of bi/multi-lingual states:

One type provides special language rights for its national minorities; a second type attempts to place two or more national languages on a relatively equal footing before the law. In practice one finds few borderline cases which are difficult to classify one way or the other.⁶⁶

The first group, mentioned by the Royal Commission, is fairly large as many states have linguistic minorities to whom it has been granted a certain number of rights and privileges. on the other hand, the second is far less substantial and perhaps it is there that the term minority group is best suited. Especially for economically and socially underprivileged, the state's concern is *their* adjustment into a dominant linguistic and cultural environment.

The case of Belgium may serve as a convenient illustration of the question of bilingualism and diglossia. Linguistically speaking, Belgium is divided into four groups, with a Netherlandic majority in the north of the country of approximately 56 per cent of the population and a group of French speakers in the South, in Wallonia,

⁶⁶ Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, *Report*, Book I (Ottawa, 1967), p. 42.

who represents 32 per cent of Belgium. There is also a very small German minority in the East. The capital, Brussels, situated in the centre is officially bilingual (French-Netherlandic) and comprises 11 per cent of the population.⁶⁷ There are also several mixed areas where one of the three national languages enjoys official status. The 1991 Year fact book, the most recent figures available, give similar proportions than the ones quoted by Baetens-Beardsmore.⁶⁸ It is interesting to note that Beardsmore's percentages, although 11 years older, are still identical today. It then appears safe to suggest that the language division of Belgium is stable.

However, it is worth noting that in the capital, although officially bilingual, French seems to have *de facto* overall supremacy. This multilingual cohabitation is, explains Baetens-Beardsmore, not without friction: "it is the hybrid situation of the geographically bilingual areas which is the major source of political tensions in the country at present, though an increasing awareness of cultural identity amongst the monoglot regions is also exacerbating dissension".⁶⁹ However, it should be pointed out that even within the official monoglot areas, there is heterogeneity since a large number of dialects represents the vehicular language of a large proportion of the population, regardless of its social background. So, if diglossia within the three languages of Belgium is common, it cannot be said the same as far as bilingualism is concerned. It has been mentioned earlier that the officially bilingual capital is mainly Francophone. Although there is no reliable evidence, it is generally agreed that about 75 per cent of the Brussels' population speak French and that the remaining 25 per

67 Hugo Baetens-Beardsmore, "Bilingualism in Belgium", *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 1, 2 (1980), 145-155 (p. 145).

68 *The World Factbook* (Washington DC: Central Intelligence Agency, 1991), p. 28.

69 Baetens-Beardsmore (1980), p. 146.

cent speak Netherlandic.⁷⁰ However, the percentage of Franco-Netherlandic bilinguals is not known. The reason being that all questions pertaining to language were abolished from census questionnaire after the refusal of a large number of local authorities to distribute them.

With reference to Fishman's diagram, it appears that in this context too "diglossia is a regular feature of the Belgian linguistic landscape where many speakers generally speak a dialect variant of a language but may use a standard form for official contacts or communication outside their immediate geographic environment"⁷¹

What is important to remember is that diglossia and bilingualism are determined by socio-economic and cultural pressures as well as attitudinal and motivational parameters.⁷² This makes it easier to understand that on the whole, Netherlandic speakers are keener to learn French than Francophone speakers are to learn Netherlandic. Furthermore, French is spoken world-wide which gives Netherlandic speakers a professional motivation.

Baetens-Beardsmore also undertook a survey in the Belgium capital and the Marolles, a working class district in the heart of Brussels.⁷³ The distribution of languages were the following:

(i) More or less "standard" French spoken by an unilingual and educated population. Such speakers are rare among the Marolles area.

70 Baetens-Beardsmore (1980), p. 149.

71 Baetens-Beardsmore (1980), p. 146. Fishman's diagram on bilingualism and diglossia is reproduced in this chapter, see footnote 18

72 See R. C. Gardner and W. E. Lambert, *Attitudes and Motivations in Second-language Learning* (Rowley MA: Newbury House, 1972).

73 Hugo Baetens-Beardsmore, "Aspect of Plurilingualism Amongst Lower Level Social Groups", in *Aspects sociologiques de plurilinguisme*, ed. by L. de Coster et al (Bruxelles-Paris: Aimav-Didier, 1971), pp.76-91.

(ii) Monolingual French group exposed to Flemish through family connections or repeated occupational contacts with bilinguals. This second group of French speakers concerns mainly young people who use a type of French marked with interference features (syntactic, morphologic, phonologic, rhythmic).

(iii) Bilinguals belonging to the lower middle class and working class. Within this group the degree of bilingualism depends chiefly on variable factors such as: "home circumstances, employment, intellectual level, emotive attitudes towards the second language...".⁷⁴ Baetens-Beardsmore notes that the majority of bilinguals are of the type local Flemish dialect/local variant of standard French. Both languages influence each other in terms of accentuation, intonation, phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics. Within the bilinguals, two groups can be distinguished:

(i) Those that keep the two languages separate, using alternatively French or Flemish depending on the circumstances.

(ii) Those who mix both languages fairly indiscriminately, operating code switching (see chapter 5).

An interesting point of Baetens-Beardsmore's inquiry is that it stresses the social function of language usage. For instance, Baetens-Beardsmore notes that speakers of predominantly Flemish would rather speak French to people they show some difference to rather than standardised Flemish. It is even more surprising to note that such speakers would not be comfortable conversing with Dutch from the Netherlands. According to the author, this evidence supports the idea that social prestige factors are noteworthy. Predominately Flemish bilinguals would rather speak French than standard Dutch, for French has a well established social prestige which progressively

⁷⁴ Baetens-Beardsmore (1971), p. 79.

replaced Flemish in the officially bilingual capital. Furthermore, the lower social group which used Flemish dialect in the past had no other high variety of language available but French, since it did not know Dutch and had no contact with it., whereas French had always been the upper level language in Belgium. Dutch, for the bilinguals in question, appears to be another language because of this separation of high and low variety of the same language. Baetens-Beardsmore illustrates this ideas:

In the marked diglossia situation that prevails in Brussels (and in other parts of Belgium) it is probably easier for the lower level Flemish speaker to seek stylistic variation by changing from Flemish to French than it would be for him to change from Flemish to accepted "southern" Dutch, since if a person never hears good Dutch around him it is impossible for him to speak it whereas this is not the case for French.⁷⁵

He argues that rural populations on each side of the political border (as in Germany and Holland) often understand each other better than more geographically distant variety of their own language.⁷⁶

Within the Brussels and Marolles communities two more groups can be characterised.

(i) A Flemish elite made up of immigrants from other parts of Belgium, who speak cultured southern Dutch. They constitute a small group and are not belonging to the lower social group of the Marolles.

(ii) The unilingual Flemish speakers who use the *Brabançon* variety of Flemish. Yet this group mainly populated of the older generation is declining in number since the younger generation

⁷⁵ Baetens-Beardsmore (1971), pp. 81-82.

⁷⁶ See Andreas von Weiss, *Hauptprobleme der Zweisprachigkeit* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1959), p. 32.

belongs to the French monolingual group or the group that has acquired knowledge of local Flemish and regional French.

As far as the Walloon group is concerned, it has no incidence on the linguistic situation of Brussels, as the Walloon immigrants are already bilingual (Walloon dialect/regional French) and when in Brussels adapt to regional French.

2.5. Julien Green's bilingualism

This chapter has suggested that bilingualism exhibits extremely varied patterns and that bilingual individuals live in a variety of linguistic situations. This section examines whether the theoretical hypothesis in the field of bilingualism, exposed earlier, might be supported when applied. The case of the bilingual author, Julien Green, will serve as empirical evidence.

Different periods of Green life's have given different patterns of language dominance. It would be too ambitious to attempt to characterise the author's bilingualism throughout his life, though key periods have appeared to be significant. In 1926, in an interview with Treich, Green declared:

Il y a sur moi un malentendu incessant. J'ai souvent passé aux yeux des Américains pour un Français, je passe aux yeux des Français, mais avec plus de raison pour un Américain. On s'étonne que j'écrive en français, un éditeur m'a demandé si j'écrivais d'abord en anglais pour traduire ensuite en français, j'écris en français, parce que j'ai reçu une éducation française et que le français, est devenu pour moi une habitude de l'esprit.⁷⁷

⁷⁷ Léon Treich, "Julien Green", *Oeuvres Complètes*, by Julien Green, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 6 vols (Paris: Gallimard, 1972), I, pp. 1019-20. This article was first published in *L'Avenir* on 23 April 1926.

2.5.1. Phase I

Julien Green was born in France and received his primary and secondary education in Paris. His birth certificate was registered in the seventeenth district of Paris. Between 1908 and 1917, he attended the prestigious Lycée Janson de Sailly situated in a residential area of the capital. At school teacher called him Julien, at home his mother referred to him as Julian, "A la maison j'étais dans la de mes parents. Au Lycée, j'étais en France".⁷⁸ On Green's American passport, one can read the following name *Julian Hartridge Green*. English was spoken at Green's home and nicknamed "mon petit français" by his mother.⁷⁹ He is said to have spoken spoke his "mother-tongue"(Mrs Green's) with a French accent until the age of fourteen⁸⁰: "Jusqu'à là je parlais l'anglais avec un accent français".⁸¹ Likewise, his mother spoke French with an American accent as Green recollects: "ma mère parlait le français avec un souverain mépris de toute règle grammaticale et se servait des genres au petit bonheur".⁸² Green, then aged six, did not fully realise she spoke with a foreign accent. For the young boy it was his mother's ways of speaking. This is a common feature amongst bilingual children who assume the home language (L1) or the host language sometimes spoken by the family with a foreign accent (L2) is a kind of secret language or the parental way of addressing their children. Young Green too believed that Mrs Green 's accent was part of his mother. Once, while at the circus, the

⁷⁸ Julien Green, *Jeunes Années, autobiographie, 2 vols* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1984), I, p. 77. Further references to this work will be given under the abridged title "JA I".

⁷⁹ Green, *JA I*, p. 36.

⁸⁰ Saint Jean, *Julien Green par lui-même* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1967), p. 12.

⁸¹ André Rousseau, "Un quart d'heure avec Julien Green" in *Oeuvres Complètes*, by Julien Green, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 6 vols (Paris: Gallimard, 1972), I, p. 1025.

⁸²J. Green, *JA I*, p. 57.

child was very distressed when he heard a clown mocking an American accent, to the delight of the audience: "Ils se moquent de ta voie Maman".⁸³ He knew English was not a secret language, yet considered this language to be specially connected to his mother along with the Protestant education she gave him. He seemed to recognise that speaking English was part of his difference, like being an American: "Chez nous, je rentrais dans un autre monde qui était celui de Maman, un monde qui n'existait que grâce à des paroles étrangères, à des souvenirs, à des allusions, alors qu'au lycée je me trouvais au beau milieu de la France".⁸⁴ So, it seems that the meta-language operated at the level of the mother-son relationship, and Mrs Green's foreign accent was not connected with her foreign citizenship. Mrs Green's American accent was literally Green's mother tongue, she spoke with an accent and so did he until aged fourteen. Fourteen appears to be the age that psychologists and applied linguists agree to be a sensitive period after which it might be more difficult to acquire native like competence in a second language.⁸⁵ So, until the age of fourteen, it could be said that Julien Green was involved in a situation of unbalanced bilingualism, where the input of French was superior to the input and exposure to English. To use Fishman's notion of domains, it might be suggested that French belonged to the domain of school and friends while English was connected for Green to the domains of the family, home and religion.⁸⁶

⁸³ Saint Jean, p. 35.

⁸⁴ Green, *JA I*, p. 82.

⁸⁵ Hamers and Blanc, p. 223.

⁸⁶ Joshua A. Fishman, "Who speaks What Language to Whom and When", *La linguistique*, 2, (1965), pp. 67-68.

It has been argued that parents who are bilingual themselves will opt for bilingualism as "the only natural and sensitive thing to do".⁸⁷ But Green's family cannot be described as a bilingual family proper. His parents, by the nature of their coming to France, had to learn the local language, but seemed to use French exclusively outside the home. The language his parents were speaking to one another was perhaps the first determining factor with regards to his bilingualism.

Green's parents, by using the English language at home which was not that of the outside community, had to be ready to accept the consequences of running a "foreign home". It seems that Green's mastery of the French and English languages were dependent on his exposure to the languages concerned. As Harding and Riley point out: "Establishing a bilingual home is very much about sharing the children's education fully between both parents, and we are talking as much about walks, baths and bedtime stories as about concerning what school the child will attend".⁸⁸

The degree of commitment of Green's parents to the idea of a bilingual home and their attitudes towards their own language is of foremost importance. It is important to realise that once the decision had been taken of educating Julien Green bilingually, it was impossible to reverse it. Close contacts with the family members were important, as they helped the child realise that people other than his parents spoke French. As Harding and Riley explain: "The language used becomes, as it were, a definition of the relationship and the respectable of all common knowledge and experience which is shared. Changing the language feels like a denial of the past, like starting again from scratch with a stranger"⁸⁹

⁸⁷ Harding and Riley, p.72.

⁸⁸ Harding and Riley, pp. 72-3.

⁸⁹ Harding and Riley, p. 76.

However, before the age of 19 and his first stay at the *Lawn*, the family property of his Virginian father, Green had little contact with other members of his family. On his first visit to America, while at the theatre, Green recollects in his autobiography that the English he was used to at home differed greatly from the American English he then was exposed to:

De tout le premier acte, je ne saisis pas un traître mot. J'eus l'impression que les acteurs *me parlaient une langue étrangère*, tant leur accent différait de celui auquel j'étais accoutumé, mais vers le milieu de la pièce mon oreille s'étant faite à ces intonations nasales et à ce débit rapidissime, je commençai à comprendre et mon inquiétude se calma, car je craignais par dessus tout d'avoir l'air d'un bête qui oblige le monde à répéter chaque phrase et je redoutais que ce ne fût la figure que j'allais faire *dans ce pays qui, après tout, était le mien*. (my italics).⁹⁰

The italics reflect the nature of the author's bilingualism. It could be suggested that the language taught at home was itself a "translation" of an original language, which the parents had left behind, when emigrating to France. This quote also testifies that Green's parents had developed a meta-language, perhaps due to their isolation from their home land, and that the host language had imposed speed and phonological interference, so that the English, spoken in Paris among the family members, did not have the dynamic nature as that spoken amongst other fellow natives.

2.5.2 Bilingual strategy used by the Green family

⁹⁰ Julien Green, *Jeunes Années, autobiographie*, 2 vols (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1984), II, p. 12. Further references to this work will be given under the abridged title "JA II".

In general, bilingual children learn in one of two ways: either the languages are learned at the same time, (simultaneous bilingualism) or one language is learned after the other (successive bilingualism). It has been argued that the age of three is used as a cut off point for distinguishing simultaneous and successive bilingualism.⁹¹

Most studies on simultaneous acquisition of two languages by children are based on "linguistic diaries" such as the classic case of Leopold, a professor of German at an American university who described the language development of his German-English daughter, Hildegard, over a period of more than ten years.⁹² One of the earliest strategies to be analysed is the one person-one-language strategy, used by Ronjat in 1913 with his French-German son.⁹³

Another strategy consists in the usage of one language in the home and the other outside. Often, the minority language (the one less spoken) is that of the home; parents may have different languages and one of the parents' language may be the dominant language of the community.⁹⁴ They may choose this solution in order to balance the dominating influence of the majority language from the outside environment. This seems to resemble the case of Julien Green with English spoken in his home and French spoken outside the family circle. Neither of his parents had native ability in the host/dominant language

⁹¹ L. Arnberg, *Raising Children Bilingually: The Pre-school Years* (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1987), p. 66.

⁹² Werner F. Leopold, 1939-1949, *Speech Development of a Bilingual Child: A Linguist's Record*, 4 vols (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1967).

⁹³ Louis Ronjat, *Le développement du langage observé chez un enfant bilingue* (Paris: Champion, 1913).

⁹⁴ In this chapter, we will call for convenience majority language the language most spoken either within the family circle, or in the outside community. The term bears absolutely no value judgment as far as the language it self is concerned. Minority language will therefore designate the language less spoken in terms of number of speakers.

An alternative pattern is where two languages are used interchangeably in and out of the family, letting such factors as topics, situations, persons and places dictate which language should be used. This to a certain extent, applies to Green as well, who tell us that certain topics were exclusively dwelt upon in English (such as religion). It is probable that French may have become dominant when he started his schooling. Nevertheless, the maintenance of both languages for a successful development of bilingualism is essential. In that respect, Julien Green's proficiency in both languages perhaps started to be unbalanced with the beginning of his formal education. The author recollects: "A la maison, j'étais dans la patrie de mes parents. Au lycée, en France".⁹⁵

The question then arises as to, whether bilinguals such as Green, have similar patterns of development to monolinguals. Arnberg explains that: "researchers suggest that the development of each of the bilingual child's languages follows the pattern of monolingual children's development who have this language as their only language."⁹⁶ Nevertheless, the bilingual child has more to learn about language than the monolingual child, however this knowledge facilitates him/her to learn other tongues, as Green mentioned: "J'apprenais les langues étrangères avec une facilité qui étonnait mes professeurs".⁹⁷

Although the patterns of development in the bilingual's two languages may be similar to those of the monolingual child, the various phases of development may not be. Simultaneous bilinguals differ from monolinguals in that bilinguals have the task of learning to separate the two languages. Many research findings suggest that

⁹⁵ Green, *JA I*, p. 77.

⁹⁶ Arnberg, pp. 67-68.

⁹⁷ Green, *JA I*, p. 77.

bilinguals' separation of language is a gradual process. As young bilinguals become more aware of the presence of two languages in their environment, the languages progressively separate. Volterra and Taeschner distinguish three phases in the child's separation of language.⁹⁸

Successive bilingualism is frequent in homes where both parents speak the minority language. The majority language will be learned at a later stage when the child is placed at school outside the home. Quite clearly this reflects Green's situation. However, it has been suggested that:

When we learn a first language, we use it to acquire the notions, ideas and concepts which help us to think. When we learn a second language, those notions and thoughts are already there and, for better or worse, are going to come between the learner and the new language. You cannot learn a first language twice.⁹⁹

It is important to note that language learning and bilingualism are ongoing processes. In other words, the parents' may need to develop a long-range perspective with regard to their children's bilingualism. Arnberg distinguishes three family goals regarding degrees of bilingualism: passive, active, and absolute bilingualism.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ V. Volterra and T. Taeschner, "The Acquisition and the Development of Language by Bilingual Children", *Journal of Child Language*, 5 (1978), 311-26.

⁹⁹ B. McLaughlin, *Second Language Acquisition in Childhood*, 2nd edn, (Hillsdale: Erlbaum, 1984), p. 206.

¹⁰⁰ Arnberg, pp. 97-101.

"A passive bilingual approach suggests that an understanding of the minority language is good ground on which to build more active skills at a later stage when the child becomes more motivated on its own." The parents speak the minority language to the child on a consistent basis, although the child may not respond in this language. One advantage in the passive bilingualism approach is that it makes maximal use of the child's and the parents' motivation. The child will speak when s/he is motivated. On the other hand, children who are exposed to the minority language only passively may not have the same grasp of the language as children who use the language actively.

On the 27th December 1914, his mother died, and Green had to bury his "mother-tongue" (Mrs Green's) together with the concept of motherhood. It would seem possible to suggest that Green stopped displaying a foreign accent in English in connection to the passing away of his mother.

In 1915, Green was consumed by religious doubts after he had been introduced to the Roman Catholic Père Crété. After the death of his mother, he was not exposed to religion in the same way, and in his autobiography he noted "Quand à ma religion, elle se réduisait à la prière que je récitais le soir, à la lecture d'un chapitre de la Bible chaque jour [...] Cependant s'opérait en moi une transformation intérieure dont je prenais conscience".¹⁰¹ Every Thursday afternoon, Père Crété would take over Mrs Green's religious duties and read pages of the catechism with the young boy. The topic of religion was gradually transferred from English into French and Latin, as Green's faith progressively moved from Protestantism to Catholicism. On the

"An active bilingual approach during the early years assumes that some degree of use of the minority language during early childhood benefits later proficiency in this language". In active bilingualism the child is expected to use the minority language more actively. The advantage of this approach is that it provides greater assurance than with a passive approach that the child will be proficient in the minority language. Similarly, the child's active use of the minority language may stimulate the parents to use the language.

"An absolute bilingual approach, of course, assures that the child will be bilingual at a later age. "The adjective" absolute" is to be understood with nuance, as is has been mentioned previously that cases of absolute bilingualism (ambilingualism or true bilingualism see chapter 2) are extremely rare. Aside from the many positive aspects of being bilingual, bilingualism might be a necessity for some families. For instance, they may be undecided about which country they will live in the future.

In the single-language family, that is, in immigrant or minority group families the situation is not so different from the mixed-language family. Often the majority language becomes the child's dominant language. However, it is less likely that passive bilingualism will result, rather it is expected that the child will become an active bilingual due to the fact that in most families the minority language is used exclusively at home. In the single-language family, the choice is mainly between active and absolute bilingualism, for the mastery of the majority language is often a question of survival. The choice of the goals with regards to the child's degree of bilingualism is up to the family. This choice is largely dependent on the total input in each language available in the family and outside the home.

¹⁰¹ Green, *JA I*, pp. 179-80.

29 April 1916, Julien Green abandoned Protestantism. So that, at the age of sixteen he experienced two major events in his adolescent life, the death of his mother and consequently of his Protestant education in English and the birth of his Catholic faith in French.

2.5.3. Phase II

The second phase of his bilingualism began with his voluntary enrolment in the American Field service and the American Red Cross, where he had contacts with native speakers of English. For the first time, he found himself amongst other Americans. This second phase is noticeable in the author's autobiography. Indeed, the second part of the first volume of the Green's autobiography, entitled "Mille Chemins Ouverts", starts with his enrolment. Furthermore, it can be noticed that in this second part loan words, such as "boy" "kid" noted in italics, appear in the French text.

In 1919, Green left Paris for Charlottesville, Virginia, where he studied for three years. He proudly remarks that he studied at the same university as Poe: "Je n'ai quitté Paris que pour faire trois années d'études à l'université de Charlotsville (Virginie) où Poe a été étudiant".¹⁰² Once in America, English acquired another dimension, as he explains: "Ce n'est qu'en Amérique, à vingt ans que j'ai pris goût de l'anglais et que m'a été révélé la littérature anglo-saxonne."¹⁰³ The years 1919-1922 were a turning point, as English became his first

¹⁰² Michel Dard, "Visites. M. Julien Green", 21 March 1929, in *Oeuvres Complètes*, by Julien Green, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 6 vols (Paris: Gallimard, 1972), I, pp. 1026-30 (p. 1027).

¹⁰³ Frédéric Lefèvre, "Une heure avec Julien Green romancier", *Les Nouvelles Littéraires*, 16 April 1927, in *Julien Green Oeuvres Complètes*, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 6 vols (Paris: Gallimard, 1972), I, pp. 1022-25 (p.1025). Further reference to this work will be given under the abridged title "OC I".

language. He was now an American speaking English. It is worth noting that his first published work was in English. His short story, *The Apprentice Psychiatrist* was published in the *Virginia Quarterly Review* in 1920.

This stay in Virginia had made a great impact on his relationship with the English language, which acquired a new reality and as a result both languages came to cohabit in his mind, in a new way. Green recalls:

Depuis mon retour des Etats Unis en 1922, j'ai continué à lire les écrivains anglais, mais je me suis remis à la littérature française avec autant de goût qu'auparavant. Quand je me suis mis à écrire moi-même, c'est en français que je l'ai fait tout naturellement. Faut-il parler à ce sujet de choix, de préférence? Je ne crois pas. Il s'agit plutôt, pour moi de dispositions profondes, d'une véritable nature qui résulte de ma formation française. Ecrirai- je jamais un livre en anglais? Pour le moment je n'y pense même pas. Cela ne me vient pas à l'esprit et je ne crois pas que ce me serait possible.¹⁰⁴

In 1927 Green had very little confidence he could write in English, yet he had studied in English, wrote essays in the same language, and after all was bilingual. The above statement discloses a precious piece of information, which in the field of bilingualism is of prime importance, Green had been educated primarily in French, "d'une véritable nature qui résulte de ma formation française", and French was probably the language he felt more comfortable in. For Green, the written medium was best suited to French at that precise time of his life. Likewise, it would be possible to suggest that English was his dominant language during the Virginian years. In sum, Green

¹⁰⁴ Lefèvre, *OC I*, p. 1025.

went through two language dominance shifts, first between 1919 and 1922 and then again after his return to France.

In 1929, ten years after his departure to Virginia, he declared:

Vraiment il ne me vient pas à l'idée de me demander si je suis français ou non. Lors de mon voyage en Amérique, en visitant différentes villes et contrées, je me sentais, bien entendu étranger. Par contre, en arrivant au pays de mes parents, j'y ai retrouvé ce quelque chose qu'on nomme "esprit de famille".¹⁰⁵

Although holding American citizenship, Green felt like an alien in America, until he went to his parents' homeland and discovered the "esprit de famille", the familiar, of his, then, unknown land. This is also clear in: "J'avais tout à coup devant mes yeux la patrie de ma mère [...] je reconnu cette image. En quelques secondes je compris tout, [...] si attaché que je fusse à la France, je me rendis compte qu'une partie de moi même n'avait d'autre origine que la terre où je me trouvais maintenant".¹⁰⁶ Green was discovering the South, "la patrie de sa mère", my mother country, as he likes to describe it.

These two quotes might suggest that prior to his trip to America, Green felt "French" and writing in French as quoted above was not a question of choice or preference, but rather of predilection. Green had been educated in Paris and it felt natural to write in the local language, as suggested in the expression "dispositions profondes".

2.5.4. Phase III

¹⁰⁵ Julien Green, "Quelques mots sur *Léviathan*", in *Oeuvres Complètes*, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 6 vols (Paris: Gallimard, 1972), I, pp. 1030-31 (p. 1030).

¹⁰⁶ Julien Green, *Terre lointaine* (Paris: Grasset, 1966), p. 115.

His second language, as one speaks of second nature, is perhaps the appropriate term to describe English after Green's return to France in 1922 and, later, after the Second World War. His work from then on, was to be exclusively in French, apart from the autobiographic work *Memories of Happy Days* and some translations of Charles Peguy.

During the Second World War, Green fled to America, near Baltimore, to stay at Blythewood with his cousin Mrs. George W. Williams: "J'étais en Amérique quand la guerre éclata. Je revins en France, où je restais jusqu'au lendemain de l'armistice. A ce moment, je quittais l'Europe".¹⁰⁷ Back in America, Green seemed able to write in English. And this stay appears to be an echo of the years spent in Charlottesville, where he wrote his first published work. This appears to be symbolic, that as an American his first acknowledged work was in English. During his stay in Baltimore (1935-1945), Green felt transported back in time, he writes:

Avec beaucoup de curiosité et un peu d'inquiétude, je me demande ce que je vais avoir à écrire dans ce nouveau carnet, américain celui là...j'aurai quarante ans dans un peu plus d'un mois et je me trouve à peu près dans les mêmes circonstances qu'à vingt ans.¹⁰⁸

The notion of space is paramount. Once in America, the author felt compelled to write in English: "je suis écrivain français et ne peux plus vivre en France pour le moment tout au moins par conséquent il faut que j'écrive en anglais".¹⁰⁹ It is important to note that the use of

¹⁰⁷ Julien Green, *Journal (1928-1958) un volume* (Paris: Plon, 1961), p. 347.

¹⁰⁸ Julien Green, *Journal III Devant la porte sombre (1940-1942)*, *Oeuvres Complètes*, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 6 vols (Paris: Gallimard, 1975), IV, p. 519. (21.7.1940). Further reference to this work will be given under the abridged title "Devant la porte sombre".

¹⁰⁹ Green, *Devant la porte sombre*, p. 519.

"il faut que j'écrive en anglais" does not appear to be here the result of inspiration but rather an obligation brought on by the war.

His writing in English was conditioned by his spatial location. In 1942, Green produced *Memories of Happy Days*, and in the same year, he undertook to promote Peguy's work in America, by translating selected pieces from *Trois Mystères/ Basic Verities*. The anthology that came out in Green's translation was quite popular and successive translations followed: *Men and Saints*, *The Mystery of the Charity of Joan of Arc*, and *God Speaks*. Anne, his sister assisted him with the prose translation.¹¹⁰ Also during this third phase that Green translated some of his own work which was published in two bilingual editions: *Le langage et son double* and *L'homme et son ombre*.¹¹¹

This third period in France could be described as unbalanced bilingualism, where French was the dominant language: "J'écris en Français parce que j'ai reçu une éducation française et que le Français est devenu une habitude de l'esprit"¹¹², although, he was reading both French and English: "Je connais assez bien Dickens et Balzac, mais au vrai, la grande lecture de toute ma vie fut la Bible, la Bible en Anglais".¹¹³

Four years after the author's return to France, at the time when *Mont Cimère* was being published, some members of the reading

¹¹⁰ Charles Péguy, *Basic Verities*, trans. by Julien Green (London: Kegan, 1943). Charles Péguy, *Men and Saints*, trans. by Julien Green (London: Kegan, 1943). Charles Péguy, *The Mystery of the Charity of Joan of Arc*, trans. by Julien Green (London: Hollis and Carter, 1950).

Charles Péguy, *God Speaks*, trans. by Julien Green (London: Hollis and Carter, 1950).

¹¹¹ Julien Green, *Le langage et son double* (Paris: Editions de la Différence, 1985).

Julien Green, *L'homme et son ombre* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1991).

¹¹² Robert de Saint Jean, "Une heure chez M. Julien Green, Une découverte de l'Amérique", *L'Avenir* on 3rd November 1926, in Julien Green *Oeuvres Complètes*, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 6 vols (Paris: Gallimard, 1972), I, pp. 1020-22 (p. 1020).

¹¹³ Lefèvre, in *OC I*, p. 1025.

public wondered how an American could write in French. Once, the foreign resonance of the author's name made an absent minded person declared "I do not like translation, I will read *Mont Cimère* in its original language"¹¹⁴

2.5.5. Memories of Happy Days

In America, Green missed France tremendously and most of all Paris. His diaries *Devant la porte sombre* (1940-43), and *L'Ouragan* (1943-45) abound with remarks related to the lost paradise of being in Paris.¹¹⁵ Remembering the happy days spent in Paris, Green remarked on the 7th August 1940: "je vivais comme un aveugle, heureux, ne prévoyant rien, *a fool's paradise* sans doute".¹¹⁶ In exile, he held a romantic view of Paris "relu mon journal de 1928 à 1939, en quoi j'ai eu grand tort. Cela m'a attristé au delà de ce qu'on pourrait croire. Dix ans de bonheur dans la plus belle ville du monde."¹¹⁷. Perhaps, the following words are even more emotionally loaded:

Quand je pense à la couleur de la Seine par une belle matiné d'hiver, ou aux cris des enfants dans les jardins du Luxembourg, tant de souvenirs s'éveillent en moi qu'il me semble que je suis là-bas et que je crois n'être ici que par l'effet d'une sorte d'hallucination. Peut-être y-a-t-il du vrai dans cette impression, peut-être suis-je là-bas plus qu'ici. Que veut dire la présence physique? Là où est le trésor, là aussi est le coeur.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁴ Robert de Saint Jean, "Une heure chez M. Julien Green, Une découverte de l'Amérique", p.1021.

¹¹⁵ Julien Green, *Devant la porte sombre*.

Note that the French word PAR[AD]IS contains the capital city Paris.

Julien Green, *L'oeil de L'ouragan (1943-1945), Oeuvres Complètes*, Bibliothèque de La Pléiade, 5 vols (Paris: Gallimard, 1975), IV.

¹¹⁶ Green, *Devant la porte sombre*, p. 526.

¹¹⁷ *Devant la porte sombre*, p. 545.

¹¹⁸ *Devant la porte sombre*, p. 553.

Green did not really feel confident writing in English and noted in 1940, two years before his English bibliography was published: "la langue anglaise ne provoque jamais en moi ce désir de perfection linéaire que me donne le français et j'ai le sentiment de l'écrire d'une main qui tremble toujours de faire dévier la phrase".¹¹⁹ This seems to reveal some features about his bilingualism. French had been overall his dominant language and even more so at the beginning of his five year stay in America. Writing in English appeared as the result of constant effort: "dans un livre [...] que j'écris en anglais et où je parle de mes débuts littéraires, je fais un petit portrait d'un pauvre garçon que je croyais insignifiant, et qui l'était peut-être, mais il est extraordinaire de voir à quel point les êtres les plus pâles et les plus effacés prennent du relief et représentent de choses dans l'éclairage du souvenir".¹²⁰ Green mentions the language he uses when writing in English which seems evidence to suggest that writing in this language represents for the author a trans-lingual experience. But when the author persevered in writing "continué mon livre de souvenir en anglais"¹²¹, the subject matter of the books brought him back to France and rekindled longing for his home town "il me semble q'une main etreint mon coeur, j'étais trop heureux, évidemment..."¹²². In other words, the American in America wrote in English about France, whereas the French writer, in France, wrote about America.

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¹¹⁹ *Devant la porte sombre*, p. 521.

¹²⁰ *Devant la porte sombre*, p. 553.

¹²¹ This is to be found in Green's diary, *Devant la porte sombre*, on 26 June 1940, p.590. Green refers here to his English autobiographic novel *Memories of Happy Days*.

¹²² *Devant la porte sombre*, p. 590.

¹²³ See for example *Moira* (Paris: Plon, 1950) and the play "Sud" (Paris: Seuil, 1953) also published in English, "South" (London: Boyars, 1991).

Writing *Memories of Happy Days* permitted him to be transported emotionally to France "ma façon à moi de retourner à Paris".¹²⁴ The autobiographic recollections were the "one [book] composed in the language his mother wished his son would make his own".¹²⁵ Indeed, it is written in his "mother's tongue" (Mrs Green's), but not his own. Ziegler adds:

Green's assumption of the mother-tongue is used to deconstruct the character, to write as he has not himself, to convey what he became. The English speaking little boy that his parents had created uses English to rewrite the plot which then makes him Parisian. As the author of his own life's text, Green is able to affirm he is not a vessel of other's traits.¹²⁶

Unlike *Devant la porte sombre (1940-42)* which narrates his Parisian life, his other diaries, do not describe the mental process and feelings that operated in exile. During those years, Green was physically, emotionally and intellectually remote from "the familiar". The importance of the physical displacement, as an influencing language choice factor, need to be stressed. Distances and location are very much at the heart of the author's view of the world, this is recurrent in numerous titles of his novels as, for instance, in *Les Pays Lointains*, *Sud*, *La bouteille à la mer*, *L'expatrié*, *Les étoiles du Sud*.¹²⁷

¹²⁴ *Devant la porte sombre*, p. 527.

¹²⁵ Robert Ziegler, "Authored Child, Fathered Text: a Reading of Julien Green's *Memories of Happy Days*", *Essays in French Literature*, vol 24 (1987), 51-60 (p. 51).

¹²⁶ Ziegler, p. 59.

¹²⁷ Julien Green, *Dixie I, Les Pays Lointains*, 2 vols (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1987), I.

Julien Green, "Sud" (Paris: Seuil, 1953)

Julien Green, *Journal X, La bouteille à la mer (1972-76)*, (Paris: Plon, 1976)

Julien Green, *Journal XIV, L'expatrié (1984-1990)* (Paris: Les Editions du Seuil, 1990)

Julien Green, *Dixie II Les étoiles du sud*, 2 vols (Paris: Les Editions du Seuil, 1990), II.

It could be argued that Green did not belong to either place, but lived in images of the places that shaped his imagination. He was able to see Paris and feel Parisian only when in America. This is most apparent in a comment in his diary on the 4th January 1942: "lu avec un plaisir mêlé de tristesse quelques pages d'un guide de Paris, un 'guide bleu' ".¹²⁸ This longing became obsessively romantic almost to the point of being fetishist as in "dans un moment de grande tristesse, j'ouvre mes tiroirs et j'y cherche je ne sais quoi, un souvenir de Paris, quelque chose que j'aurai oublié et qui sera là pur me consoler un peu."¹²⁹ With fragments of memories of his Parisian life, Green built up an image of the city: "La pente de mon esprit aboutit à une sorte de *no man's land* entre deux mondes, le reel et l'imaginaire..."¹³⁰

A parallel could be drawn between the spatial image and the *dédoublément* of Green's language and feeling of belonging.¹³¹ At times, he feels French and denigrates Anglo-Saxons, as "neurasténiques aux joues roses".¹³² He even expressed patriotic feelings towards France:

A droite de l'estrade sur laquelle il y avait un drapeau français, un drapeau français, fabriqué ici, au bleu trop pâle, mais dont la vue m'a serré la gorge. Aimer la France aujourd'hui, c'est porter en soi une blessure qui ne se referme pas. Ce que les nations ne savent pas encore, ce qu'elles sauront, je l'espère un jour c'est que dans notre monde la France est indispensable. Nous ne pouvons pas nous passer d'elle.¹³³

¹²⁸ *Devant la porte sombre*, p. 634.

¹²⁹ *Devant la porte sombre*, pp. 660-61.

¹³⁰ *Devant la porte sombre*, p. 525.

¹³¹ The French term "dédoublément" will be used instead of the English dual/split personality for the thesis attempts at showing that being bilingual involves parallel linguistic and cultural systems rather than split ones. The French word "dédoublément" encapsulates the idea of the double which seems appropriate in the case of Julien Green.

¹³² *Devant la porte sombre*, p. 580.

¹³³ *Devant la porte sombre*, p. 562.

While in America, the author develops an irrational identification with Paris. And this point is important Green felt Parisian, not French, in *Memories of Happy Days*, the author recollects:

I always felt proud of Paris, because Paris is my home town. Each walk I took through its streets seemed to create a new tie which bound me to its stone. I have seen pictures of this city painted by American artists, and some of them are extremely pleasing, but I cannot help thinking it takes a Frenchman to give a really good *likeness* of the place.¹³⁴

This quotation illustrates his appropriation of Paris. What is seen of Paris is the reflection of an American artist's perception, thus a translated image of the place. This play of reflected images is recurrent in Green's work.

It has been suggested that bilinguals may favour the host language and culture to their own in order to assimilate. If this hypothesis applies for Julien Green, it would follow that Green would have strived to become French, yet Green never denied his Americanness. The author rejected Protestantism and converted to Catholicism, which might be perceived as being an integrative element, part of being educated in France.

The next chapter will expand on bilingualism as part of education, and factors that lead to bilingualism and biculturalism.

¹³⁴ Julien Green, *Memories of Happy Days* (New York: Harper, 1942), p. 235.

CHAPTER 3

~ THE PROBLEM OF APPROACH ~

3.1. The origins of bilingualism

Grosjean argues that groups of peoples become bilingual for three major reasons: (i) political, social, or economic factors, (ii) political federalism and/or nationalism, (iii) cultural and educational factors.¹ This tripartite division enables him to approach bilingualism from an historical, political, social and cultural perspective, and for the purposes of this thesis Grosjean's methodology will be followed. Furthermore, research on bilingualism suggests that it is not only a linguistic phenomenon but also a multi-disciplinary field. This thesis suggests that bilingualism and translation need to be studied conjunctively, to shed light upon the processes involved in both areas.

3.1.1 Political, social and economics factors

One reason for population movements has always been military invasion and colonisation. The Romans, Greeks, Arabs, Spaniards, Britons and French extended their territories by means of military conquest. Alexander the Great and his armies spread Greek

¹ F. Grosjean, *Life in Two Languages* (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 1982), p. 30.

throughout the Middle East, the Roman Empire extended from Britain to North Africa and the Middle East, whereas Arabic expanded throughout the Mediterranean North Africa and the Iberian Peninsula. The Spanish and Portuguese conquest of the New World brought those languages to most of central and South America. English and French came to be used in large parts of Africa and Asia. One of the outcomes of movement of peoples in such cases, may be the establishment of bilingualism.² Cooper suggests that bilingualism as consequence of military conquest survives because of two factors: a period of stability after invasion (when the invader's language is used as a *lingua franca*) as well as a recognition on the part of the invaded, that is the invader's tongue should gratify the inhabitants' social, political, educational, or commercial opportunities.³

Social or economic migration can also result in bilingualism. The Irish Potato Famine in the nineteenth century resulted in massive migrations to the United States, where Gaelic speakers had to learn English to ensure their passage to the "promised land". More contemporary migrations taking place in Western Europe involve poor people from Portugal, former Yugoslavia, Algeria and Turkey looking for better jobs in another environment. This may lead to bilingualism as the immigrant worker has to learn the language of the host country in order to work, or simply because the host country, such as Sweden, may enforce assimilation policies. (In that case, the foreign speaker may have to go daily to language classes in order to be able to work at all; alternatively s/he will work part-time and study the host language

2. William F. Mackey, *Bilingualism as a World's Problem* (Montreal: Harvest House, 1967).

3 R. Cooper, "The Spread of Amharic in Ethiopia" in *Advances in the Study of Societal Bilingualisms*, ed. by Joshua Fishman (The Hague: Mouton, 1978).

the rest of the time.) In other host countries, such as France or Germany immigrants do not necessarily need to speak the language of the country as it often happens that they will be working together with nationals of their own country. Bilingualism in this case is, necessarily, a slower process altogether, as interaction with the monolingual society might be limited.

Political and/or religious migration may also result in bilingualism as well. For instance, the 1917 Revolution led to a massive exodus of Russians to Europe and America. So did the flight of Cubans to the US after the revolution of 1959. Many South Vietnamese settled in France and in the US after the reunification of the country in 1975. Similarly, contemporary events in former Yugoslavia and the former USSR are forcing people to leave their countries. Those who will manage to build a better life, will probably need a new language.

Religion has contributed to bilingualism also. For instance, Latin emerged with the spread of Christianity, like Arabic with the expansion of Islam, and Sanskrit with the increase of Buddhism. As early as 1685, Huguenots left France for Russia, England, Holland and the US, suffering from religious bigotry. More recently Jews from Germany, Russia and Poland fled to the United States and Israel. Persecuted monolinguals, once settled in the country of exile can become progressively fluent in the language of the host country and thereby bilingual. In other instances, a religious language constitutes a reason for bilingualism as it is not spoken on all occasions of public life or with individuals outside the religious community. In this case, the pattern of bilingualism is civil language/religious language, and "

it has been said that the Wars of religion were largely wars of language".⁴

These movements of people for political, economic or religious reasons, in some cases, lead to intermarriages which in turn can lead to bilingualism.

3.1.2. Political federalism and nationalism

It is only since the nineteenth century that national identity and linguistic identity have fused into the concept of what is known as nationalism. Before discussing issues of nationalism, it may be useful to look more closely at the question of national and official language. Mackay has stressed that there is often a world of difference between the official *de jure* bilingualism of a country and the actual *de facto* bilingualism of its inhabitants and the author has further observed:

In fact there are fewer bilingual people in the bilingual countries than there are in so-called unilingual countries. For it is not always realized that bilingual countries were created to promote bilingualism but not to guarantee the maintenance and use of two or more languages in the same nation.⁵

On the basis of this assertion, a state like Canada might be mentioned, where French and English are national languages but where there is only an estimated 13 per cent of "true" bilingual speakers. However, Tanzania illustrates a converse case where Swahili is the official language, but coexists *de facto* with English, the ex-colonial language, and, within each region, with local languages.

⁴ Mackay, p. 45.

⁵ Mackay, p. 11.

A number of nations, such as Canada, Israel, Finland, Ireland, to quote only a few, have two official languages and thus are officially bilingual. The constitutions of these countries give full equality to the two languages for public administration, debates in parliament, publication of laws and any matter dealing with public interest. Acceptance of bilingualism appears to depend on the strength of nationalistic feelings in the country involved. Fishman in his book *Language and Nationalism* quotes Davies who supports the idea of one nation, one language: "A people without a language of its own is only a half nation. A nation should guard its language more than its territories... its a surer barrier, a more important frontier than fortress or river".⁶ One possible outcome of such a view is that the national language prevails over regional ones (patois, dialect, accent...). The life of regional languages depends upon government policies. For instance, in France regional languages such as Breton, Corsican, Alsatian are slowly disappearing as they have been given no real importance in schools and public life. It is apparent that if government policies forbid the use of regional languages, bilingualism is likely then to disappear and most inhabitants of these regions would ultimately become monolingual in the national language. The Breton dialect illustrates this. According to LeRoy, in 1886 there were about 1 322 300 Breton speakers and almost a century later, in 1983, they were estimated to be between 500 000 to 700 000 from which 300 000 use Breton actively.⁷ These figures reflect the government policies enforced in France in the late nineteenth and twentieth century *vis-à-vis* the use of regional languages. In 1925, the French

⁶ Joshua Fishman, *Language and Nationalism*, (Rowley, MA.: Newbury House, 1972), p. 49. Fishman refers to Thomas Davies , *Essays and poems with a Centenary Memoir* (Dublin: Gill, (1885) 1945).

⁷ M. LeRoy, "La langue bretonne : aperçu historique", *Les Langues Modernes*, 4, (1983), 381-388.

Education Minister, Monzie, was still arguing that Breton was a threat to national unity, and so it remained on the government agenda until 1951 when the Deixonne law was enforced. The Deixonne law enabled limited use of Breton as well as other regional languages within the educational system. Since then, a Breton movement has grown and has been promoting its regional language through reviews such as *Al Liamn* or *Brud Nevez*, and in particular since 1977 through the Diwan Breton schools. In 1985 it became possible at university level to take a degree in Breton as well as a teaching qualification (CAPES). It is of interest to note that in 1982, 324 students took a degree in Breton and 60 passed an MA. All the same, in 1986, 3 756 children were taking Breton language classes, and the Diwan schools had an estimated 400 children in attendance.⁸ One may notice this small but notable revival of regional languages such as Breton, yet one should bear in mind that it has only been made possible by recent political tolerance of language diversity within the state.

However, if language policy is more moderate and one of political federalism, a permanent state of bilingualism may be maintained. African nations are good examples of political federalism. African states are constituted of ethnic groups who, in turn, speak different tribal tongues as well as the diverse languages in which inhabitants of Tanzania, Kenya, Senegal, and Cameroon are bilingual at least in one *lingua franca*.⁹ The acceptance of bilingualism in official bilingual states depends on the proportion of each language being spoken. In Canada, French is the minority language whereas

⁸ Dennis Ager, *Sociolinguistics and Contemporary French*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 72.

⁹ See G. Mansour, *Multilingualism and Nation Building*, (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1993).

English is the majority one, a situation which creates ethnic and linguistic tensions. Although the country is officially bilingual, the practice is often monolingual for one group and bilingual for the other one, which builds a sense of pressure and expropriation of the minority identity. As a result, the French speaking province of Quebec has demanded separation from the rest of the state. In other bilingual countries such as the Philippines, the division is not so much horizontal, that is, the language is proportionate to the number of speakers, but rather vertical. All Filipinos speak English, the official language, but for school and public life, that is impersonal matters, whereas Filipino is spoken on casual occasions and private concerns.

It is also interesting to note that a linguistic group may not be contained within a single country (as is the case for Breton in France, Navajos in the US). There are cases where a linguistic group within a geographical region has been divided among several countries and consequently the different parts of the group are bilingual. This is the situation of the Kurds who are divided between Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Syria and the former Soviet Union.

Bilingualism in official multilingual countries depends on government attitudes towards multi-ethnicity and the idea it presupposes of the nature of a nation. For followers of an elitist idea of nation, bilingualism is obviously a limitation to the achievement of a nation. It could be argued, on the contrary, that bilingualism is a source of richness created by linguistic and cultural diversity.

3.1.3. Cultural factors

The Romans were bilingual in Greek and Latin not only for translational purposes but also through their education and mainly for this reason.¹⁰ In fact, "no Roman who did not know Greek could claim to be educated".¹¹ For centuries, thereafter, Latin and Greek became signs of erudition, as suggested by Mackay: "during the Middle Ages, and into the Renaissance, nearly all writing of importance was done in a second language, Latin by people whose native languages included all the tongues of Europe".¹² In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, French was the diplomatic language throughout Europe and the language of the court in Russia and Prussia. Today, English is the language of commerce, science and technology. A lot of people are educated in a language which is not their native tongue, as Mackay notes:

there has been proportional increase in the number of people taking up residence abroad, especially those who go to study in a country where one of the majority languages is spoken- English, French, German or Russian- [...] There are thousands of such bilinguals today in countries like the United States, the United Kingdom and France and their number is increasing every year.¹³

This is particularly true in developing countries, where students may be taught either in the language of the ex-colonial empire (French and English in Cameroon) or study abroad. Students of developed countries, without denying their native tongue also seek foreign

10 See E.Glyn Lewis' survey: "Bilingualism and Bilingual Education, the Ancient world to the Renaissance" in *Frontiers of Bilingual Education*, ed. by B. Spolsky and R. Cooper (Rowley, MA.: Newbury House Publisher), pp. 22-93.

11 Mackay, p. 24.

12 Mackay, p.22

13 Mackay, p.26.

education that will hopefully give them status. In both cases bilingualism means education.

In the three instances previously mentioned bilingualism is the outcome of colonisation, immigration, political federalism or elitism, yet one may further question whether linguistic multiplicity is consonant with the concept of nationalism.

3.2 Language and Nationalism

3.2.1 Language and Nation/State

The connection between language and nationalism has often been noted, for language is an indicator of group identity. In the history of nations, the survival of a nation's language has been equated with the continued existence of the nation itself. Examples from history show that within the state, the nation's majority language is often imposed on the minority language(s). The systematic suppression of Welsh in Wales, or the case of Alsatians turned into convinced Germans after the Franco-Prussian War corroborate this assertion. It would appear that language is a key element in the nature of a nation, however it will be of interest to investigate whether language unity is necessary for the building of a nation.

With respect to language and nationalism Fasold declares: "Multilingualism works against nationalism".¹⁴ It might be argued that the idea behind this claim is that a rootless being does not exist, one is the product of a part of national history, part of a tradition, part of a culture/race. Fasold seems to be expressing similar ideas to the

¹⁴ Ralph W. Fasold, *The Sociolinguistics of Society* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1984).

new humanist and eighteenth century German philosopher, Herder, who strongly reacted against the rationalism of the Enlightenment, in particular to the works of Voltaire.¹⁵ Herder became the theoretician of the "Volksgeist", that is, an organic and community concept of what is a nation, which is expounded in his *Über den Ursprung der Sprache*. This *Volksgeist* is against the principle of universality by which man is a citizen of the world. This principle transcends the idea of nation and tradition. Herder considers that language is an immanent part of the development of individuals and groups that speak it. Language therefore expresses the consciousness of a people and constitutes the most important possession of its speakers. Language is the mirror of a nation. In France, the Jacobins at the time of the French Revolution advocated the supremacy of French over other regional languages with the motto "one nation, one language". It followed, that the word nation came to describe the people or the citizenry of a country. The word was also used to describe a state. Nowadays, the word is the subject of dispute of terminological precision. Indeed, the practice of using *nation* and *state* interchangeably is common even amongst acknowledged scholars. It is very difficult to give an exact definition of a nation. The meaning of the word is defined by its limits, that is by knowing what does not belong to it, we assess what does belong. Kamenka adds that nationalism came as "an extraordinary complex of economic, political, social and intellectual development".¹⁶

Connor's views on nationalism shed light on this terminological imprecision. According to Connor the most fundamental error has

¹⁵ See also Fichte and Humboldt.

¹⁶ Eugene Kamenka, "Political Nationalism, the evolution of an Idea" in *Nationalism, the Nature and Evolution of an Idea*, ed. by Eugene Kamenka, 2nd edn (Cambera: Australian University Press, 1973), pp. 2-21, p.7.

been the tendency to equal nationalism with a feeling of loyalty to the state. With respect to the nature of a state, Connor suggests that it can be defined as "the major political subdivision of the globe".¹⁷ It can therefore be conceptualised in quantitative terms. For illustration, "Peru can be described as the territorial political unit consisting of the sixteen million inhabitants of the 514.060 square miles located on the West coast of South America, between 69° and 80° West and 2° and 18,21° South".¹⁸

Defining the nation is much more difficult because the essence of a nation is intangible. The word "nation" springs from the Latin, derived from the past participle of the verb "nasci", meaning to be born, hence the word "nationem", suggesting breed or race. The word "sens" was also used, and it has been suggested that it was only at the end of the Middle Ages that the term "natio" both in Latin and newer European languages acquired a practical meaning.¹⁹ In its first use the word conveyed the idea of common blood ties. The essence is a psychological bond that joins a people together as well as differentiates it from all other people in a most crucial manner. It has been described as "the idea of a common government whether as a reality in the present or past, or as an aspiration of the future".²⁰ It is also referred to as "a social group which shares a common ideology, common institutions and customs, and a sense of *homogeneity*...there is also present a strong group *sense* of belonging associated with a

17 Walker Connor, "A nation is a Nation-State, is an Ethnic Group is a...", *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 1 (1978), 377-40, (p.379).

18 Connor (1978), p. 379.

19 Benjamin Akzin, *State and Nation*, (London: Hutchinson University Press, 1964). See in particular Ch3 "The Phenomenon of the Nation" pp. 29-38 and ch.5 "Nationalism", pp. 46-75.

20 *Nationalism: A report by a Study Group of the Royal Institute Of International Affairs*, (London, 1939) in E.K.Francis, "The Nature of the Ethnic Group" in, *The American Journal of Sociology*, vol.LII, 5, (1947) pp.393-400, p.393.

particular territory considered to be peculiarly its own".²¹ In other words, a nation can be described as a defined social organisation limited in time and space and sharing that feeling of sameness. It is the extension of the sense of the group (ethnic group/ethnicity) with the desire for governmental autonomy. On this point, Smith suggests:

National identity and the nation are complex construct composed of a number of interrelated components -ethnic, cultural, territorial, economic and legal-political- They signify bonds of solidarity amongst members of communities united by shared memories, myths and traditions that may or may not find expression in states of their own but are entirely different from the purely legal and bureaucratic ties of states. Conceptually, the nation has come to blend two sets of dimensions, the one civic and territorial, the other ethnic and genealogical, in varying proportions in particular cases. It is this very multidimensionality that has made national identity such a flexible and persistent force in modern life and politics and allowed it to combine effectively with other powerful ideologies and movements without losing its character.²²

The question then arises whether we can differentiate a nation from other human collectivities. "Sense" and "idea" are the key words used in the above quoted definitions, other authorities speak of "feeling or intuition" yet such definitions remain vague and do not engage in the discussion whether kinship and blood ties are determining factors. Since it is a self-defined rather than an other defined grouping, it seems safe to argue that the common belief concerning the group's singular origin need not accord with factual data of genetic heritage. Indeed, national psychology appears to be the main component and in this light, a nation is *a priori* an emotional

²¹ J.C. Plano and R. Olton, *The International Relations Dictionary* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1969), p.119

²² Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1991), p. 15.

rather than a rational conviction. As Weber puts it: "The sense of solidarity revolves around and is aroused and sustained by, particular factors, mainly those which we have described as constituting consciousness, mores, social communication, religion and political goals".²³

As regards a nation-state, it can be described as a political territorial unit, that is a state, whose border coincide with the territorial distribution of a national group, naming a nation. The terminology nation-state has come to be applied indiscriminately to all states. Thus, Halle has stated that "a prime fact about the world is that it is largely composed of nation-states".²⁴ With the concepts of nation and state often ambiguously used, nationalism has come to mean identification to the state rather than loyalty to the nation. Clément opposes this confusion of identification, according to him, it emphasises similarity rather than complementarity of ethnic traits where political and ethnic unity are indistinct:

La communauté de langage elle même est sans rapport avec la société politique, accepter de définir la nation comme un état nation c'est-à-dire comme la légitime conscience d'une unité ethnique et d'une unité politique c'est par le fait même sanctionner le principe des nationalités, reconnaître l'état nationaliste et légitimer la politique nationaliste. Agir ainsi, c'est aller contre le droit naturel car c'est fonder la société politique non plus sur sur la *complementarité* de familles qui ne peuvent être de nationalité et de classes diverses, mais sur la *similitude* religieuse, ethnique, linguistique ou culturelle. (His italics).²⁵

The militant nationalism found in Germany and Japan during the 1930's and 1940's illustrates this equation of state and nation.

²³ Max Weber, *Economy and Society* (New York: Bedminster Press: 1968), p. 922.

²⁴ L.J. Halle, *Civilization and Foreign Policy* (New York: Harper and Row), p. 10.

²⁵ M. Clément, *Enquête sur le Nationalisme* (Paris: Nouvelles Editions Latines, 1957), pp. 206-7.

"Nationalism becomes synonymous with intolerance, inhumanity and violence" as suggested in *Nationalism* by Adler.²⁶

3.2.2. Ethnicity

An ethnic group is another concept which is often equated, with minority groups. This fact is underscored by American sociologists who describe ethnicity as "a group with a common cultural tradition and a sense of identity which exists as a subgroup of a larger society".²⁷ It should be noted however, that the ethnic group need not be a subordinate part of a political society but may be the dominant element within the state. (the Chinese are a good illustration, on the other hand an ethnic group can be found in several states as it is the case of Arabs). As suggested by Akzin, the ethnic group needs to be in a position of "objective recognition":

Ethnic group, the members of which exhibit sufficient similarity and coherence among themselves and sufficient differences from members of other groups to warrant objective recognition as such is a well high universal fact of history since the beginning and even antedates written history.²⁸

Nonetheless, one should not equate in turn national group to ethnic group, as sometimes an ethnic group does not have the potential size of becoming a national group, as is the case of the Amerindians. The word "ethnicity" (ethnic group) is derived from *Ethnos*, the Greek word for nation, which now refers to a "basic

²⁶ Peter Adler, *Nationalism*, trans. by Stuart McKinnon-Evans (London: Edward Arnold, 1989), p.5.

²⁷ G.Theodorson and A.Theodorson, *A Modern Dictionary of Sociology* (New York: Thomas Crowell and Co., 1969), p. 135.

²⁸ B. Akzin, p. 46.

human category" or "people" and not a subgroup. The major difference between a nation and an ethnic group being that the former is defined by others whereas the latter is self-defined. This description is consistent with a definition suggested by Weber:

We shall call "ethnic group" those human groups that entertain a subjective belief in their common descent... this belief must be important for the propagation of group formation: conversely, it does not matter whether or not an objective blood relationship exists. Ethnic membership (*Gemeinsamkeit*) differs from the kinship group precisely by being a presumed identity.²⁹

Having attempted to clarify the concepts of nation, state, nation-state and ethnic group, we shall now proceed in distinguishing between national sentiments and patriotic feelings.

3.2.3. Nationalism and patriotism with regards to bilingualism

Smith claims that the origins of the term "nationalism" are obscure. According to him the first reference to the term appeared in Leipzig University during a religious and scholastic dispute involving Bohemian and non-Bohemian "nationes". The next reference appeared in Herder's writing distinguishing between advantageous and excessive national borrowings: "Mann nennt Vorurteil! Pöbele! Eingeschränkten Nationalism".³⁰ Smith further suggests that the term "nationalism" differs in meanings between England and the Continent. According to the author, the term holds a fairly "neutral sense" in England, whereas the French and Germans equate the term

²⁹ Weber, p. 389.

with "chauvinism" and "exaggerated xenophobia" Smith also gives the following referents to the term:

- 1- National character or "nationality"
- 2- An idiom, phrase or trait peculiar to the nation
- 3- A sentiment of devotion to one's nation and advocacy of its interests
- 4- A set of aspirations for the independence and unity of the nation
- 5- A political programme embodying such aspiration in organisational form
- 6- A form of socialism, based on the nationalisation of industry
- 7- The doctrine of divine election of nations
- 8- The whole process of the formation of nation in history

In this connection, it should be noted that national sentiments are different from patriotic feelings. This distinction is due to slightly divergent historical developments. Between the sixteenth and the nineteenth centuries, countries such as France and England became nation-states, whereas in Germany and in the Slavic regions to the east, it is more appropriate to talk of a *Kulturnation*. Indeed, the *Volk* is the basic form of organisation and not the result of historical/political process (the *Staatsnation*). And it is the *Vaterland* not the *Nation* which is the central idea of absolutism and national loyalty. Adler comments on the differences between the political and cultural nation.

The political nation centres around the idea of individual and collective self-determination and derives from the individual's free will and subjective commitment to the nation. [Whereas], the spirit of community that obtains in a cultural nation is founded upon seemingly objective criteria such as common heritage and language.³¹

³⁰ Anthony D. Smith, *Theories of Nationalism*, 2edn (New York: Holmes and Meiers Publishers, 1983), p. 1667.

³¹ Adler, p. 14.

These main differences help to distinguish patriotic and nationalist feelings. However, Kamenka suggests that:

concepts like nationalism express and act as ideologies, they hold together disparate logically separable beliefs and attitudes, weld them into unity, often by reference to something outside themselves. Nationalism, even modern political nationalism is thus a complex phenomenon, which will contain elements of varying degrees of generality and specificity. We will find in comparatively general atemporal elements, such as in-group loyalty, xenophobia, insecurities *vis-à-vis* amore powerful and impressive culture, the will to power and domination etc. though each of those will be associated with specific temporal material.³²

For Breuilly, nationalism refers to political movements seeking or exercising state power and justifying such actions with nationalistic arguments, which he describes as: "a political doctrine built upon three basic assertions: (i) there exists a nation with an explicit and peculiar character, (ii) the interests and values of this nation take priority over all other interests and values, (iii) the nation must be as independent as possible. This requires at least the attainment of political sovereignty".³³

In sum, patriotic feelings appear to be more concerned with tradition, whereas nationalistic ones are interested in the integrity of the national unity and the protection of a social service state (that is ethnocultural unity and desire for self-control).

³² Kamenka, p. 18. Kamenka also refers to Hans Kohn and quotes the following passage : " [nationalism is] a state of mind , permeating the large majority of a people, and claiming to permeate all its members, it recognises the nation-state as the ideal form of political organisation and the nationality as the source of all creative, cultural energy and economic well being. The supreme loyalty of man is therefore due to its nationality, as his own life is supposedly rooted in and made possible by its welfare." p.174.

³³ John Breuilly, *Nationalism and the State* (Manchester: The University of Manchester Press, 1985), p. 3.

As far as a diglossic context is concerned, as exemplified by bilingual/multilingual states such as Belgium or Switzerland to quote only two, whenever conflicts occur between communities, the cause seems to derive from two *Volksgruppen* defending their *Kultur*. On the other hand, in a multilingual situation, a nationalist attitude can be the basis of discord, that is, fear of finding the collective interest and ambitions being fragmented. Skutnabb-Kansas notes that with the emergence of the nation state, bilingualism was disapproved of, this view was largely dictated by the one nation-one language ideology which can be found for instance, in the early decades of this century. A glance at the literature in Germany in the 1930's can tell us a lot about how language could be used as a tool in support of ideological views.³⁴ For instance, the titles of Rohr's works need no comment: *Tille Bedrohung unseres deutschen Volkstums*, 1931 (A Stealthy Threat to our German Nationhood); *Vor der seelischen Schädigung durch Zweisprachigkeit*, 1932 (On the Psychological Damage Done by Bilingualism); *Muttersprache im Selbsterhaltungskampf*, 1932, (The Mother tongue in the Struggle to Preserve Identity); *Deutsche Sprache als Träger deutscher Geschichte*, 1933, (The German Language as the Conveyer of German History).³⁵

Claims such as Fasold's have strong ideological consequences that go beyond linguistics and sociology, and deal rather with ethics. There is a middle way on the continuum which claims on one end the principle of "universality" of philosophers and on the other end the "Volksgeist", nationalistic principle of difference, a middle way

³⁴ Skutnabb-Kansas, p. 68.

³⁵ See *Sprachwissenschaft und politisches Engagement. Zur Problem- und Socialgeschichte einiger sprach-theoretischer, sprachdidaktischer und sprachpfliegerischer Ansätze in der Germanistik des 19 und 20 Jahrhunderts*, ed by G. Simon (Weinheim: Beltz Verlag, 1979), pp. 203-204.

between universality and peculiarity. Coulanges' distinction between nation and homeland (*Vaterland*) proves useful here :

Ce qui distingue les nations n'est ni la race ni la langue. Les hommes sentent dans leur coeur qu'ils sont un même peuple lorsqu'ils ont une communauté d'intérêts, d'affections, de souvenirs et d'espérances. Voilà ce qui fait la patrie. La patrie, c'est ce que l'on aime.³⁶

And perhaps to this quote, one could travel in time and context with Kristeva's words which also contribute to the universality/peculiarity dichotomy: "for only strangeness is universal".³⁷

When dealing with individual bilingualism, one should rather imagine a being of two mother-tongues and two father-lands. The bilingual is, in a sense, a citizen of the world, who has a wider spectrum than a single nationalist interest, yet belongs to two cultures (perhaps more to one than the other). For Renan being a citizen of the world did not mean a great deal but rather that: "Avant la culture Française, la culture Allemande, la culture Italienne, il y a la culture humaine".³⁸ The bilingual speaker is also likely not to have a sense of belonging to a single nation. There is not the search for the original as in Ficht's view. In his *Addresses to the German Nation*, Ficht claims that the German language is superior because it is original, whereas a language like French is inferior because it has adopted foreign elements such as Latin. However, in the case of bilingualism, there is no such thing as a unique culture/language of origin but rather a balanced or unbalanced share of the two. And the

36 Fustel de Coulanges (1864) in "Les Mésaventures de l'Homme Absolu" ed. by J.C. Guillebaud, *Le Nouvel Observateur*, 23-29 January 1992, pp. 46-51.

37 Julia Kristeva, *Nations without Nationalism*, trans. by Léon S. Roudiez (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), p. 21.

38 Ernest Renan, *Qu'est ce qu'une Nation?*, *Oeuvres Complètes* (Paris: Calmann-Levy, 1880), p. 900.

bilinguals' duplicity of origin has often pushed them to the political, social, or cultural margins.

One might wonder how the close proximity of ethnic groups affects the consciousness and positive evaluation of belonging to a given nationality. According to Akzin the process is developed either: (i) by assimilation, when one group tones down its identity in favour of the dominant group, also referred to as integration.³⁹ Or (ii) by inter-ethnic tension which slows down the integrative process to the point that one might become antagonistic.

Furthermore, it appears that negative attitudes towards bilingualism are not only due to bilingualism itself but also to the languages involved. It should be noted that some languages enjoy more status than others, and that bilingualism, as the result of the duplicity of its origin is somehow denigrated, in a Darwinistic manner, as a kind of "mongrel". In looking at this type of discrimination, aimed at bilingual descendants of intermarriages or resulting from immigration, three factors may be involved: (i) race, (ii) ethnic traits, (iii) socio-economic background. Race is *given* by nature, whereas ethnic traits are *acquired* (via religion, family, cultural historicity...) and a socio-economic background is *obtained*, in the sense that it is first given, then acquired, and finally is either accepted or rejected.

These three factors shed light on the idea that prejudices evoked are not themselves an explanation for rejection, but rather stereotypes. "They are primarily images within a category evoked by the individual to justify either love-prejudice- or hate".⁴⁰ It is an exaggerated belief associated with the category (here race, ethnic

³⁹ Akzin, p.49.

⁴⁰ Gordon W. Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice* (Cambridge, MA.: Addison-Wesley, 1954), p. 189.

group, and socio-economic situation) which justifies a favourable/unfavourable attitude. This suggestion does not attempt to describe the origin of prejudice but rather comments on its form.

On the other hand, a far more positive attitude would be to recognise the enriching experience of bilingualism, which helps people to learn about the nature of language as well as other cultures. Bilingualism is not a static condition and through its development involves, at times and too often, discrimination there is hope for assimilation.

3.3 The role of attitude

When examining the origins of bilingualism and the factors involved in becoming bilingual, it is soon apparent that there is nothing deviant about it, although bilingualism has often been associated with a number of negative phenomena. Whether bilingualism results from education, culture, intermarriage (choice) or economic, racial, political, religious migration (necessity), the outcome is the same, that is, one is able to function in two linguistic codes. Whether by choice or by necessity, both situations result in people speaking a tongue which is foreign, alien to the one culture, at times dual, at times collateral. Mastering two languages is similar to being able to function, for example, in a numerical system as well as a literal one. This possibility is either a capacity, an interest, or a necessity, but remains as such. It has so far, never been attempted to prove that functioning in a numerical system is a handicap. This anecdotal illustration aims at showing that bilingualism is nothing more than usual and nothing less than normal. It is a gift rather than a stigma. To put it

differently, it is the attitude towards bilingualism that determines its acceptance, hence whether a state encourages linguistic plurality. This attitude towards bilingualism is defined according to Hoffmann by (i) the two languages involved, (ii) bilingualism itself.⁴¹

3.3.1 Language status and attitude

In Europe, there is a great diversity of languages and several countries are officially bilingual/multilingual: Ireland, Belgium, Finland, Greenland, Switzerland, as well as former Yugoslavia, and the former USSR. In some others, official status is granted to one or more linguistic minorities such as the Netherlands (Frisian), Italy (German), Germany (Danish). Yet bilingualism does not appear to be encouraged and some of these European countries seem to accept this state of linguistic multiplicity rather than promote it. In France-Breton, Alsatian, Corsican and Provençal- in Spain -Catalan, Basque and Galician- and in the UK-Welsh, Scots Gaelic- are slowly dying away as their use is not considered of prime importance. Similarly, bilingualism among Indian and Pakistani communities in Britain or among Portuguese and North African Communities in France, is not as encouraged as German in Italy and English in Greenland. One might ask the reason for this. A plausible explanation for this variance in attitudes towards bilingualism might be that the phenomenon used to be and still is often associated with poverty, powerlessness and subordinate social position. One may further question the origin of this belief. The hypothesis would claim that not

⁴¹ Charlotte Hoffmann, *Introduction to Bilingualism* (London: Longman, 1991), p. 3.

all languages enjoy the same status. Most of the time, it has nothing to do with the proportion of speakers involved, but rather with the socio-economic and cultural background such languages suggest. Since these languages and cultures suffer from prejudices, it follows that bilingualism is disregarded when such languages are involved. Porter notes: "not all cultures have equal claims on our moral support".⁴² Bearing Porter's quote in mind, it is possible to suggest that bilingualism as a result of immigration may suffer from discrimination compared to elite/cultural bilingualism and multilingualism of intermarriage which generally speaking (and providing the languages involved are "recognised") is praised. In the former case, bilingualism is a transition from monolingualism in the low status minority language to bilingualism with dominant little regarded minority language, to bilingualism with dominant high status majority language, to a final monolingualism in the majority language. This situation is referred to by Skutnabb-Kansas as linguicism which she describes as follows:

Linguicism can be defined as ideologies and structures which are used to legitimate, effectuate and reproduce an unequal division of power and resources (both material and non-material) between groups which are defined on the basis of language (on the basis of their mother tongues).⁴³

The social function of a language plays an essential role, and on this point Pride argues that what bilinguals think about their languages is the most important functional criterion as it influences

⁴² John Porter, "Ethnic Pluralism in Canadian Perspective", in *Ethnicity: Theory and Experience* ed. by Nathan Glazer and Daniel M. Moynihan, 4th edn (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1975), pp.267-304, p. 300.

⁴³ Susan Kansas Skutnabb and James Cummins, *Minority Education* (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1988), p. 13.

their behaviour.⁴⁴ However, what they will think of their languages seems in turn highly influenced by what the majority group thinks of the very languages. And the important question that comes to mind is the following: Why do monolingual speakers react to bilinguals' languages as they do? The "why" seems more of interest than the "how". Nevertheless, this point is interesting in so far as it summarised any kind of relationship where one language is dominant and the other one dominated as in the case of dialect, sociolect, and sexiolect. This is why the study of bilingualism is important for the study of language as a whole.

This is a key issue concerning bilingualism which ought to be developed further, but has often proved difficult to approach as the issues involved becomes easily emotionally loaded. One may wonder how this negative attitude towards bilingualism might be changed.⁴⁵

44 J.B. Pride "Sociolinguistics" in *New Horizons in linguistics*, ed by J. Lyons (Harmondworth: Penguin, 1970), pp. 287-301, p. 291.

45 The attitude towards bilingualism as a whole can only be changed, if social barriers against rejected languages are denounced and in a similar manner if social prestige enjoyed by some languages denounced. Indeed, it appears that there is a Eurocentric attitude towards certain languages, known as "languages of culture" (naming: French, English, Italian, German). It seems also safe to propose that Latin and Greek are still viewed as the *nec plus ultra* of a western European's education. This type of bilingualism is referred to as elite bilingualism. At present, there is the dichotomy: cultural/elite bilingualism versus immigrating bilingualism which brings a great deal of uneasiness. Traditionally, social psychological theory advocates that attitudes towards bilingualism results in specific behaviour. For instance, in a situation of inter language (use of two languages) competition, the attitude of the most powerful language speaker (that is the speaker of the majority/praised language) might change and this change might lead to a greater motivation to learn the Other language.

In the light of this comment, the question which immediately comes to mind is the following: If motivation does not trigger linguistic and social change, could law change attitude? For the sociologists Spencer and Sumner, law can never move ahead of the custom. Legislation which is not rooted in the folkways is doomed to failure, whereas the ultimate solution lies in the heart of men. And in Sumner's words "Stateways cannot change folkways" (W. G. Sumner, *Folkways* (New York: The American Library, 1906). In sum, attitudes should change first and then legislation may follow, which will hopefully reflect this change in attitude. Some social scientists such as Allport (1954), J. Colombotos ("Physician and Medicare: A Before-after Study of the Effects of Legislation on Attitudes", *American Sociological Review*, 34 (1969), 318-334), Daniel J. Bem (*Beliefs, Attitudes and Human Affairs* (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 1970) and E. Aronson (*Reading About the Social Animal* (San Francisco: W.H. Freeman, 1972) have questioned this traditional cause-effect

The question then arises as to how to measure change in language attitude. Generally, two theoretical approaches are distinguished in the study of language attitudes. The first is the *behaviourist* view, according to which behaviour is studied by observing reactions to certain languages during interactions. The second and the one which is most adhered to by scholars in the field of language, is the *mentalist* view, which considers attitude as a mental state which may give rise to certain forms of behaviour. Fasold describes it as "Intervening variable between a stimulus affecting a person and that person's response".⁴⁶ Nevertheless, a mental state cannot be directly observed but has to be inferred from behaviour or to be accounted for by self-reported data.

3.3.2. Response to language

In the fundamentalist approach, two methods are used for investigating response to languages, that is the matched guise

relationship and come to the conclusion, that if a person, for whatever reason, behaves contradictorily to her/his own attitudes, then the person's attitude will change to become consonant with the behaviour. Law in that case could be a positive force in initiating social change. If an A speaker, prejudiced against language B, is forced through legislation to use B, then the person might be led to reconsider his/her dissonance. The A speaker could refuse to speak B, but since speaking B would be enforced through legislation, the only alternative would be a change of attitude towards language B and its speakers, as well as, the prospects of speaking B. Nevertheless, it could well happen that the A speaker may have been forced, prior to the legislation, to change his/her attitude and as a result became even more resistant. Alternatively an A speaker may also use language A for external (legislation) rather than internal (self-motivation) causes. These two possibilities may lead to a backlash, such that negative attitudes become even more firmly entrenched. It then appears that "one of the most effective ways to change the hearts and minds of men is to change their behaviour" (Bem, p.54).

⁴⁶ Fasold, p. 147.

technique (MGT) and questionnaires, which will not be discussed here for lack of space.

The MGT was first put forward by Lambert and his associates in the 1950's and 1960's in Montreal. Lambert was interested in investigating inter-ethnic attitudes in Montreal, how French and English people perceived each other. The MGT consists in playing tapes made by perfect bilinguals (balanced bilinguals), reading prose in both of their languages. Subjects rating the recording are not aware whether each speaker has been recorded only once. Subjects are asked to rate the personality characteristics of the speakers on a semantic differential scale. One can find for example in the scale opposite extremes of certain traits such as: intelligent/dull; friendly/unfriendly; kind/cruel; aggressive/timid. Since the subjects might not recognise two fragments being read by the same speaker, their rating could reveal underlying language attitudes. The procedure is built on the assumption that speech style triggers a certain social categorisation which will lead to a set of group-related trait interferences.

In Lambert's original study, the judges were French and Anglo-Canadian students. The two dominant features of the results were the following: English Canadian listeners judged speakers of their own ethnic group more favourably in half of the traits qualifying the speakers. And French Canadian listeners favoured the "out group" over their own on approximately two third of the qualifying traits. The value of this initial study lies in the fact that it shows the importance of language in impression formation. It also highlights the notion of group denigration and language prejudice. The first study gave rise to series of projects by Lambert and his associates on the importance of language in social evaluation, introducing variants

such as race, ethnicity, bilinguality, gender, among groups of Blacks, French, Jewish communities in the US, Israel and the Philippines.⁴⁷

Edwards, on attitudes towards language variation, points out that speech style adjustment reflects: (i) Intrinsic linguistic superiorities or inferiorities, (ii) intrinsic aesthetic differences and (iii) social convention and preferences.⁴⁸ However, we may question *how* can intrinsic linguistic superiorities or inferiorities be assessed and *who* is entitled to assess language varieties. Similarly, aesthetic differences appear to be value judgements which can prove difficult to pin point without subjectivity. In a study carried out by Trudgill and Giles, it has been shown that listener-judges, rating unknown linguistic varieties and being unaware of their social status, rated these foreign tongues without attention to aesthetic criteria, although they seem to differ, on these grounds, from their own speech communities.⁴⁹ It seems therefore, that linguistic inferiorities/superiorities together with aesthetic differences play a minor role if we consider their pertinence at all, whereas social conventions and preferences appear to be a more valid parameter. Indeed, a listener can chose to upgrade or downgrade a different linguistic code on traits relating for instance to solidarity or social attractiveness. Hog, who looked at the case of Switzerland, found that judges rated High German and Swiss German on solidarity traits.⁵⁰ However, Gallois described the converse case amongst white

47 W.E. Lambert, "A Social Psychology of Bilingualism", *Journal of Social Issues*, 23, (1967), pp.91-109.

48 J.R. Edwards, "Language Attitudes and their Implications among English Speakers", in *Attitudes Towards Language Variation, Social and Applied Contesst*, ed. by E.B. Ryan and H. Giles (London: Arnold, 1982), pp.20-33.

49 P.Trudgill and H.Giles, "Sociolinguistics and Linguistic Value Judgments: Correctness, Adequacy and Aesthetics", in *The Function of Language and Literature Studies*, ed.by F. Coppierties and D. Goyvaerts, (Ghent: Storia Scientia, 1978).

50 F. Hog *et al*, "Diglossia in Switzerland? A Social Identity Analysis of Speaker Evaluations", *Journal of L anguage and Social Psychology*, 3, (1977), pp.185-196.

Australians and Aborigines. White Australians downgraded female Aborigines but upgraded male ones and depicted them as being trustworthy, gentler and friendlier than white Australians.

Today, the basic method of the MGT is still widely utilised, introducing subtler variants, as a useful means for collecting data on language attitude amongst inter ethnic communities.

3.3.3. Bilingualism as a norm

In dealing with a phenomenon such as bilingualism, it appears that attitude (hence behaviour) to linguistic multiplicity is a central issue. By linguistic multiplicity, we mean cultural bilingualism and bilingualism resulting from immigration.

There are far more bilingual people than monolingual claims Oksaar, yet bilingualism as approached from the monolingual point of view is often considered as the norm.⁵¹ Yet bilingualism is present in most countries, in all classes of society and all age groups. Lewis argues in line with Oksaar and says: "bilingualism has been and is nearer to the normal situation than most people are willing to believe".⁵² And it might be questioned to what extent we can speak of nations and societies that have developed in isolation with little contact with other peoples, other languages and therefore, other cultures. Bilingualism is a natural outcome of the state of affairs of 'Old Europe' and the rest of the world, because nations have not been

51 Els Oksaar, "Psycholinguistics Aspects of Bilingualism" *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 10,1 (1989), 33-46 (p.33).

52 Glyn E. Lewis , "Bilingualism and Bilingual Education: The Ancient World to the Renaissance", in, *Bilingual Education: An International Sociological Perspective*, ed. by Joshua. Fishman (Rowley, MA.: Newbury House, 1976), p.151. Also published in *Frontiers of Bilingual Education*, ed. by Bernard Spolsky and Robert Cooper (Rowley MA. : Newbury House, 1977), pp.22-93.

built in isolation. They have established links - whether friendly or not - with neighbouring communities. There is, to use Weinreich's well known expression, "a locus of contact".⁵³ Centuries of political, economic and cultural interaction have resulted in bilingualism, hence bilingualism is a normal situation for many people, a reality of the world today.

One way of approaching bilingualism has been suggested by Mackay, who compares the number of languages in the world to the number of countries.⁵⁴ According to Mackay, if there were as many languages as nations then, it would prove that bilingualism is an uncommon phenomenon. But such is not the case, as it appears there are an estimated 5000 tongues and 150 countries into which to fit them.⁵⁵ An arithmetical calculation would probably be too rational and removed from reality to prove that the planet is bilingual but one can clearly recognise that there are specific geographical and political areas where language groups are concentrated. Approximately 95 per cent of the world's population are speakers of the 100 most frequently used languages, the five numerically most spoken languages being, according to Grosjean, Chinese, English, Spanish, Hindi, and Russian.⁵⁶ Some languages such as English, Spanish, or Portuguese are spoken natively in several countries, some others such as Icelandic or Basque are spoken only in a very restricted area. Not all languages have the same numerical importance or the same geographical distribution but nevertheless, most countries host a number of different languages. For instance, Luxembourg has three languages: French, German, and Luxembourgian, and in the island of

53 Uriel Weinreich, *Languages in Contact* (The Hague: Mouton, 1953), p. 1.

54 Mackay, (1967).

55 Ronald Wardhough, *Languages in Competition Dominance, Diversity and Decline* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987).

56 Grosjean, p. 4 .

New Guinea, 700 different languages have been recorded among those French, English and Russian, for only three million inhabitants. India, a larger country in geo-spatial terms, hosts about 200 languages.⁵⁷ So, it can be concluded that "Bilingualism is a normal requirement for daily communication and not a sign of particular achievement".⁵⁸ This is an important point: there is nothing particular about being bilingual and as Romaine at the beginning of her study claims "It would certainly be odd to encounter a book with the title monolingualism".⁵⁹ Monolingualism is considered as the norm, yet we may wonder who decides what the norm is, as well as the validity of a normative starting point. In India, for instance, bilingualism is the norm whereas in Iceland the situation is the opposite. It seems that this notion of norm has an ideological dimension which can be shown in the bilingualism-intelligence dichotomy.

3.4. Mediation and creation in self/translation

It is only recently that translating has been understood as an act of communication or rewriting⁶⁰. Scholars in Translation Studies have claimed that communication of meaning is possible between the SL and TL. As Snell-Hornby points out the important component for Translation Studies is: "the *usability* of the method, the *potential* within a concept, and this must be broad enough to have a general

57 Grosjean, p. 4.

58 Hoffmann, p. 3.

59 Susan Romaine, *Bilingualism* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), p. 1.

60 In the thesis, the term "rewritng" is applied to translation, while "re-writng" applies to self-translation.

validity and flexible enough to be adapted to the individual- and often idiosyncratic- text."⁶¹

Within the transaction of messages there is a gap that does not prevent communication, but which is not measurable in terms of loss or gain of information. However, the gap contains the infinite possibility of transformation between the message sent and the message received. In other words, as the message travels from the sender to the receiver there is a phenomenon of variance in progress.

If the variance hypothesis is valid for monolingual communication, one may assume that inter-linguistic and inter-cultural communication operates in a similar manner, that is to say, communication might be difficult but not impossible. With regards to translating the question is not so much the potentiality of translatability, but rather the minimising of this phenomenon of variance, bearing in mind linguistic and cultural differences. Jakobson, for example, argues with pessimism that messages are adequate interpretation but that however there can be no full equivalence.⁶² The question then arises as to what makes a viable translation. Theorists such as Nida suggest working frameworks and although rigid, these frameworks may help the translator in her/his task.⁶³ When trying to define what makes a translation workable, recent Translation Studies Scholars have tended to focus on the Target Language rather than the Source Language, hence to

61 M. Snell Hornby, *Translation Studies, an Integrated Approach* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins publishing Company, 1988), p. 3.

62 Roman Jakobson, "On Linguistic Aspects of Translation" in *On Translation*, ed. by R.A. Brower (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1959), pp. 232-9.

63 See Eugene Nida, *Towards a Science of Translating with Special Reference to Principle and Procedures Involved in Bible Translating* (Leiden: Brill, 1964) J.C. Catford, *A Linguistic Theory of Translation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965)

Peter Newmark, *Approaches to Translation* (Oxford: Pergamon, 1981).

focus on the reader rather than the author, which leads the discussion to the notion of the status of the translator and her/his readership.

A translation, as an end product, will vary greatly depending on how the translator views her/his readership. If a translator views the task like a missionary or messenger of knowledge, s/he may tend to position her/himself above her/his readership. The question of readership may not always be considered when translation is not understood as a communicative process, departing from the author, travelling via the translator to its final destination, the reader. And if the translator views her/his position as being at the end of a translational continuum, then the translation might suffer and not be adapted to its readership. Between author and reader, the translation is a necessary stop, but not the end of the journey. When the translated text does not have an afterlife, it may be that the translator feels s/he owes responsibility to the author rather than to her/his readership. And the translator, out of esteem for the original, feels indebted to the author of an "faithful" translation instead of an "free" one.

A source text emphasis on the part of the translator tends implies a vertical relationship, where at the top of the scale, the author dominates with the reader at the bottom. I would like to think that the relationship is rather horizontal, where the translator, as a mediator, shares her/his responsibility between the author, the sender of the message and the reader, the receiver. As Bassnett points out: "the translator cannot *be* the author of the SL text but as the author of the TL text has a clear moral responsibility

to the TL reader."⁶⁴ As claimed in this quote, it can be argued that there is no such tripartite relationship, author- translator-reader, but rather a translator- reader connection. In this sense, the translator becomes author of the TL text, without however appropriating the authorship of the SL text. There is a change of perspective when the translator transforms her/himself from intercessor to creator. But in a similar vein, the translator, however creative, is negotiating between the ST and the TT and her/his role (when dealing with translation proper) is to mediate. In this dynamic process of communication the translator stands in the middle looking towards the SL text and towards the TL language and culture. As Hatim and Mason argue: "The translator is first and foremost a mediator between the two parties for whom mutual communication might be otherwise problematic."⁶⁵

In this process of mediation the translator stands as a privileged reader and as has been suggested, unlike the ST or TT reader, the translator reads to produce. Her/his reading may seem therefore more dynamic than other readings, as if, once read, the text were to revive for thereafter.

It might be argued that reading is a two way process. On the one hand the reader brings her own set of assumptions, and predictions are made about the likely development of the text. On the other hand, the reader decodes the text lexically and syntactically within a cultural framework. And the task of the translator appears to be to transpose this two way process, by decoding and encoding. An interesting investigation would be the

64 Susan Bassnett- McGuire, *Translation Studies*, rev. edn (London: Routledge, 1991), p. 23.

65 B. Hatim and I. Mason, *Discourse and the Translator* (London: Longman, 1992), p. 223.

case where the reader, as future translator, is also the author of the ST. In other words, the issue of self-translation might be questioned.

Where the author and translator are one and the same, it appears that the translator is no longer the negotiator, as there is direct communication between the sender of the message and the receiver. However, the question arises as to whether the communication involved in such a relation is of a similar type to the monolingual author-reader connection. Although the author and translator are embodied in the same person, it seems safe to argue that the translation process needs to be carried through; namely the decoding-encoding process is still necessary for the TL text to be called a translation.

It is also important to pose the question of how self-translation differs from other types of translation. It seems safe to propose that the SL text would be clear to the translator, as s/he is the author. It would also seem reasonable to assume that the problem of communication is reduced to its minimum as the SL text, in order to take its TL shape, does not travel any longer distance than in the self-translator's brain. Therefore, the self-translator is in full power to transform and manipulate the ST as s/he wishes. Once more, the translator is author, but also creator. And here lies the ambiguity.

How do TL readers distinguish a self-translated version of the SL text? And is a self-translation to be considered as re-writing or translation? For obvious reasons the self-translator can re-write, reshape the SL text in the TL without betraying the author. Such a situation should ensure optimum communication. Debates

concerning faithfulness and translatability are irrelevant, as the ST necessarily has a kind of TL shape in the self-translator's mind. For the TT reader, the self-translator's crossing over the mental bridge s/he erects between two tongues and two cultures, offers a myriad of mysteries. The transfer needs to be carried through, although the message presents no enigma to the self-translator. This may lead to the open question of whether self-translation is not best called re-writing rather than transcoding. The self-translator might proceed like any translator to decode and encode, but since the content of the message is not unknown, s/he could focus on style rather than content, reworking the SL text in the shape of the TL text, perhaps extending the original. It is tempting to suggest that the self-translator might improve and rewrite the SL text in the TL because of the difficulty of distancing her/himself from her/his own text. It might be argued that the translator does not feel the same involvement between a text s/he has produced and a text s/he translates. This feeling of appropriation towards the text might progressively fade as the text ages, so that the longer the text has been written, the less the author will feel attached to it, perhaps even to the point when s/he would be surprised to read her own text again. As a result, the self-translator may find it easier to translate the SL text as if it were an alien text, because it does not belong to the author in the same fashion as when just put down on paper.

Similarly, the self-translator's level of mastery and/or affectivity to the TL can influence her/his attitude towards the original. In the case where the self-translator is not equally fluent and immersed in both languages and cultures (unbalanced bilingual), s/he might give more attention to the translation process *per se* and detach her/himself from the text as being her/his

creation. In another connection the self-translator's attitude towards the TL is an important factor which determines how the translational process is carried through, and whether s/he is translating towards the language s/he feels most emotionally connected to or vice versa.

It remains an open question whether, in the case of self-translation the TL text is an echo of the SL text, a re-written piece with a new strength and shape, or whether the TL text is a mirror of the SL text. Whether balanced bilingualism is an advantage for self-translation is also an issue, Brewer argues that: "translators must be alive in two cultures before they attempt to build any bridge between them, they must keep in mind the principle of readability in the new language, while they attempt to reflect accurately."⁶⁶

3.5. An approach to the bilingual text

Fitch has argued that Beckett never relished the work of translating, which he always considered to be a chore, whether he was translating his own work or other people's. His aversion for translating is interesting, given his continuing work as translator and self translator. He said in a letter on the 30th July 1957 addressed to Mc Greevy: "Sick and tired I am of translation and what a losing battle it is always. Wish I had the courage to wash my hands of it all"⁶⁷. There had to be a motive that incited him "to

⁶⁶ J.T. Brewer, "The Role of Culture in Successful Translation" in *Literature in Translation, From Cultural Transference to Metonymic Displacement*, ed. by P Talgeri and SB Verma (Bombay: Ropular Prakashan, 1988), pp. 21-26 (p. 26).

⁶⁷ Deirdre Bair, *Samuel Beckett: A Bibliography* (Picador: Pan Books, 1980), p. 410.

dwell in the Wastes and wilds of self-translation" for weeks and months at the time.⁶⁸ As for Green, the general public remains unaware of the author's status as a bilingual writer. Yet it is surely its bilingual and bicultural character that distinguishes his work from that of so many other writers⁶⁹ and poses the problem of self-translation with a particular pertinency.

When comparing two versions of self-translated texts, the objective is not, it should be stressed, to pass judgement on the author's skill as a translator nor to evaluate the author's bilingualism. Instead, attempts will be made to try to define the author's bilingualism and to question whether it influences his self-translation.

The nature of Green's bilingualism raises the issue of two different reading publics, Anglophone and Francophone, who read his work in their own language. As a result, there emerges Green I and Green II, that is Green, the Anglophone, and Green the Francophone. It is plausible that the Anglophone and Francophone readerships are not aware that the author they read also writes in another language. It would be challenging to put the two circles of readers together and discover whether Green's literature is appreciated on similar criteria. In other words, whether Green's literary specificity is recurrent in both languages. As a pragmatic starting point, there is some purpose in asking ourselves what would have been the situation if these translated versions were not by Green but were the work of another translator which is the case for some of his novels. As Fitch rightly puts it:

⁶⁸ Fitch (1988), p. 10.

⁶⁹ Fitch (1988), p. 11.

since direct discussion or even mention of self-translation is virtually non-existent in writing on theory of translation, the only feasible procedure is to examine how best to consider self-translation in relation to the main distinctions or principles that emerge from the writings in question⁷⁰

3.5.1. The question of the original in self-translation

One of the particularities of self-translation lies in the fact that the self-translator who translates her/his own work writes in a language that is not her/his own. Indeed, the self-translator does not possess a mother tongue, but "a mother and a father tongue" in some cases, or as for Green, home and outside-the home languages. Whether simultaneous or consecutive, the bilingual writes in two original languages, quite obviously with different degree of mastery.

Within the process of translation, the human intermediary, who transfers from an original language to a target one, might choose to aim at invisibility, interfering with the original as little as possible, yet transposing in the target culture with most adequacy.⁷¹ Straight has suggested that "Most translations seek some middle ground wherein the foreign aspects of the original are preserved without making the reader feel that it was the product of an alien mind".⁷² Since the locus of contact between both languages and cultures operates at the level of the translator's mind, this could suggest invisibility. It then might be questioned whether the self-translator would walk in the foot steps of his own creative writing

⁷⁰ Fitch (1988), p. 21.

⁷¹ We are aware that scholars such as Lefevere, Gentzler and Venuti emphasise the role of the translator and focus on her/his visibility and power. This issue will be dealt with in chapter 5.

⁷² Stepen H. Straight, "Knowledge, Purpose and Intuition: Three Dimensions in the Evaluation of Translation" in Gaddis-Rose (1981), pp. 41-51 (p. 43).

leaving no traces or whether the self-translator might decide to walk on parallel paths and leave new foot prints on the virgin snow of the target language.

Another distinction that emerges from McFarlane's essay on translation concerns the two aspects of literature: its production and its reception. A fundamental choice that the translator is faced with is either to attempt to reproduce for her/his reader the creative process that produced the original or to seek to reproduce the effect of the latter on the reader. And in the former: "the act of translation consists in repeating the genesis of the utterance with the substitution of one linguistic medium for another"⁷³. However even if the self-translator wanted and was able to reproduce for her/his reader her/his *own perception* of the original, her/his situation would still not be the same as that of the translator who is not the author of the original.

However, one must also consider the idea that the target-text constitutes a commentary on an interpretation of the source text. Carne-Ross observes that translation acts as a commentary on the original.⁷⁴ Interpretation and reading appear to be tied together and to the extent that it is the substance of the translator's reading of the original that will cast form and body in the shape of the target-text, thus becoming a creative replica or interpretation of the latter. It seems that the self-translator, by carving out a replica of the original in another language would not be able to produce an interpretation of that original in the same way as the translator and at least not in the sense of a commentary on the latter, but instead

⁷³James McFarlane, "Mode of Translation", in *Durham University Journal* XIV, no.3 (1953), 89-90 (p. 90).

⁷⁴D.S. Carne-Ross, "Translation and Transposition" in *The Craft of Translation*, ed. by William Arrosmith and Roger Shattuck (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1961), pp. 3-21 (p. 6).

sculpt another original piece of art. In other words, it might be suggested that self-/translation constitutes a creation. However, this does not preclude the reader to consider the second self-translated version as a commentary on the first to use Carne-Ross' terminology.

The distinction between overt and covert translation made by Gaddis-Rose⁷⁵ might be useful. In the case of overt translation, the reader knows that the translation is a translation and recognises it as belonging to the source culture, as in literature and didactic texts such as sermons, political speech. Covert translation, on the other hand, is a translation that may not be recognised as such, as with commercial, scientific, and diplomatic documents. This notion of overt and covert translation, would shed some light on the process of self-translation, for readers might assign the text to a category depending on their knowledge of the background of the author. It would be interesting to investigate whether Green's works in French and in English have developed as separate works, and whether there has been an autonomous development of two bodies of critical writings devoted to his work, one in English and one in French. It seems that critical writing in English on Green's work is in inverse proportion to his production in French (see bibliography). The MLA international references displayed on CD ROM indicates that 83 works have been published.

It is interesting to note that in Green's bilingual editions, it is not clearly pointed out whether the French/English text is the original or its "double" in the other language. This might suggest that each version of the bilingual work tends to assume the

⁷⁵ Marylin Gaddis-Rose, "Translation Types and Conventions", in Gaddis-Rose (1981), pp. 31-40.

character of an original. Indeed, in Green's bilingual editions of *Le langage et son double* and *L'homme et son ombre* the French text is displayed on the right hand-side and the English one, in italics, on the left hand-side. However, in the two essays mentioned, since the original texts were written either in French or in English, the positioning of the two versions, does not give the reader any indication on which text to be considered the initial version. In another bilingual version of Green's work, this time translated from French into English by Underwood, the English text is adjacent to the French text, in the reverse order to Green's bilingual edition. This clearly illustrates two discrete publishing conventions of bilingual texts. Fitch commenting on Beckett's bilingual work proposes that

[...] the production of "twin" texts by the author who systematically translates his own works creates a situation in which "he may well be tempted by the hypothesis of the existence of a Ur-text underlying the English and the French texts without, however attending them, the later being like two version of something situated somewhere *behind* them".⁷⁶

Instead of perceiving the target text as a kind of "reflection" of the source text in another language, the two texts will be considered equal -an equality suggested by their having the same creator- The second version would boomerang the reflection of the first version, and they will both reflect the same "thing"

Schlegel wrote in 1796, "It is easy to demonstrate that objective poetic translation is true writing, a new creation"⁷⁷ and

⁷⁶ Fitch(1988), p. 32.

⁷⁷ Quoted in Lefevere, *Translating Literature: The German Tradition from Luther to Rosenzweig*, Approach to Translation Studies (Amsterdam: Van Gorcum, 1977), pp. 67-89, (p. 54).

Humboldt took an opposite stance when he declared twenty years later that "no writer would have written the same thing in the same way in another language, exception made for science and physical objects"⁷⁸ These opposed quotes seek to unveil whether one can address the question of self-translation without characterising the unity or duplicity of the original text. Perhaps the answer lies in the *Kopftheater* of the self-translator. The bilingual poet Rilke wrote, "several time I attempted the same theme in French and German, and to my astonishment it developed on different lines in two languages"⁷⁹

3.5.2. Translation and Self-translation

It is a vexed question whether the text produced by the process of self-translation possesses its own distinctive status and features. The obvious answer is that there is a difference but perhaps more problematic is the characterisation of it. Fitch has argued that the French have tended to treat the French text an original French-language work, and their American counterparts to do the same with the English text. However both the French and American readers do not acknowledge the foreign language factor. This seems an important element as regards the status of the self-translated text upon which Fitch makes the following comment:

If the non-original works- those with their origin in another language had come into being thought the activity of another writer going under the name of "translator", then one can be certain that some account would have been taken of the

⁷⁸ Quoted in Lefevere, (1977), pp. 42-3.

⁷⁹ Quoted in McFarlane, p. 91.

difference of status between the two groups of texts and the fact of their difference readily acknowledged⁸⁰

Green self-translated some of his works, and it appears that the self-translated text "...is in stark contrast to the dependency that translations normally suffer in relation to their originals".⁸¹ It might be questioned whether Green's self-translated text is any different from an external translator's translation.⁸² The writer-translator may be described as having been in a better position to recapture the intentions of the author of the original than any other translator, for those intentions were in his own mind. Consequently, both the French and English versions could appear to share a common *authorial intentionality*.

However, it could be argued that a self-translated text in terms of its intrinsic composition, would be indistinguishable from any other translation of a literary work. In which case, given a certain competence on the part of the translator, there should not be identifiable elements that would make any translation discernible by the reader from any other work.

Self-translation- as opposed to translation which is reading-writing based (rewriting), could be described as a writing process (re-writing). In other words, it may be characterised as a repetition of the act of writing which produced the original text, but accomplished in a different language, allowing in the process, differences between the "universe evoked".

The first stage of the translator's activity, the reading of the original, necessarily involves a process of understanding, which in

⁸⁰ Fitch (1988), p. 125.

⁸¹ Fitch (1988), p. 125.

⁸² In this section, the process of self-translation is examined rather than the product. .

turn, is inseparable from the process of interpretation. In that sense, the self-translator can never be a reader of the original in the same fashion as another translator. A self-translation follows a different process from that of any other translation. Yet there would be some temptation to consider translation as the "reproduction of a product" (the original), and self-translation, in contrast, the "repetition of a process" (translation).

3.6. Language transfer as metaphor.

Metaphors often prove difficult to translate. Newmark has characterised the metaphor as "the figurative expression: the transferred sense of a physical word, the personification of an abstraction, the application of a word or collation to what it does not literally denote, to describe one thing in term of another"⁸³ and argues that "the main and one serious purpose of metaphor is to describe an entity, event or quality more concisely and in a more complex way that is possible by using literal language".⁸⁴

According to Newmark, the difficulty involved in translating a metaphor is the ability to judge whether the area of sense is positive or negative, connotative or denotative. And unless prior recognition of the areas of sense and of the type of metaphor, the transfer might prove complex and as pointed out by Davidson "there is no instruction for devising metaphors, there is no manual for determining what a metaphor 'means' or 'says'"⁸⁵ The metaphor intends, as an

⁸³ Peter Newmark, *A Textbook of Translation* (London: Prentice Hall, 1988), p.104. Further reference to this work will be given under the abridge title "a Textbook".

⁸⁴ Peter Newmark, *Approaches to Translation* (London: prentice Hall, 1988), p.84. Further reference to this work will be given under the abridge title "Approaches".

⁸⁵ Davidson, p. 145.

alternative form of communication, to give "praise and abuse, prayer and promotion, description and prescription".⁸⁶ Newmark identifies six types of metaphors: dead, cliché, stock, adapted, recent and original and characterised seven possible ways of approaching and translate metaphors.⁸⁷

1. Reduce the same image in the TL
- 2 Replace the image in the SL with a standard TL image
- 3 Translate the metaphor by simile
- 4 Translate a metaphor by simile plus sense
- 5 Convert metaphor to sense
- 6 Delete
- 7 Same metaphor combine to sense. ⁸⁸

It should be pointed out that these categories are the criteria of a scholar in isolation. Newmark's metaphors and possible ways of transferring them will be used as a framework, which will be tested in situation of self-translation. A sample of Green's self-translated text will serve as an example.

Green's self-translated works, *Le langage et son double* and *L'homme et son ombre* were published respectively in 1985 and in 1991. These two books present a collection of essays originally written either in French or in English. Their bilingual editions offers both texts side by side, on even and odd pages, so that the reader is

⁸⁶ Davidson, p. 146.

⁸⁷ Dead metaphors describe the situation where "one is hardly conscious of the image, frequently relate to universal terms of space and time, the main part of the body, general ecological features and the main human activities". Cliché metaphors are defined as "metaphors that have perhaps temporarily outlived their usefulness, they are used as a substitute for clear thought, often emotively, but without corresponding to the facts of the matter" and an original metaphor has been "created and quoted by the SL writer", Newmark, *A textbook* (1988), pp107-11.

For further reference on "metaphor" see G. Lakof and M. Johnson, *Metaphor we live by* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), Ortony, *Metaphor and Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), and Ricoeur P. *La métaphore vive* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1975)

⁸⁸ Newmark, *Approaches* (1988), pp. 88-91.

exposed to an original and its translation, each text mirroring each other.

On the cover of *Le language et son double*, the title and its reflected image are presented, so that they produce a reverse script. Perhaps, the future reader is to take this design as a hint that the edition is bilingual, as no written mention of this point is apparent on the front cover. However, on the first page of the essay, one may read *le language et son double* below which and separated by a line is *The Language and its Shadow*. The layout of the original title separated by a horizontal line, from its translation recalls the title of the front cover and reinforces the idea of reflected image, of shadow.

Another interesting detail regarding the publication of *Le language et son double*, is the insertion of a page prior to each extract, giving a brief comment on the dates of the original and its self-translation as well as further publication details. This is important piece of information, as not only does the reader know prior to reading the extract when the piece was written, but also is aware of the source and target languages. The reader is pre conditioned to the maturity of the work, and also to which text may hold to be the original.

The cover of *L'homme et son ombre*, gives no hint as far as the bilingual edition is concerned, the title stands on its own and its literary nature gives the impression of a novel rather than an essay. Not even the metaphor of the title could be considered informative, as numerous titles by Green contain similar connotations. Unlike in *Le language et son double*, the title of *L'homme et son ombre* has not been translated nor are translation details given in a separate section, but in the notes. This is a very different process of editing of a bilingual text, as it considers both texts as a single entity. It also

permits readers to unveil the mysteries of translation on their own without imposing a hierarchy between the source text and target text. In this way, both texts have equal status, they can both be read as originals.

The table of contents of both essays, although bilingual, are situated at the end. It is possible that this was imposed by the publishing houses which follow French publishing procedures. However, upon reading through the tables, it becomes apparent that the selected extracts were originally written in two periods, the 1920's and the 1940's.

Studies such as Hamers and Blanc have observed the socio-cultural context of bilingualism, the psychological aspect of intercultural communication, the neuro-psychological and cognitive developments of bilinguals, to quote but a few perspectives, but perhaps not much attention has been given to the correlation and mutual influences of spatial displacement and bilingualism.⁸⁹ Often, the spatial element is used as an argument for explaining socio-cultural displacement.⁹⁰ However, the spatial factor is not often analysed to have incidence on the linguistic behaviour of the bilingual. Green seems a case in point, as can be seen on the chart below his self-translated work dates from the two American periods.⁹¹

⁸⁹ J. F. Hamers and M. Blanc, *Bilinguality and Bilingualism*, 3rd edn. (Cambridge University Press, 1992).

⁹⁰ See, T. Skutnabb-Kansas, *Bilingualism or Not* (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1981), in particular chapter 11.

⁹¹ For convenience, the years Green spent in America while studying (1919-22) and the years of exile during the war (1940-45) will be hereafter referred to as the American periods. Consequently Period I will refer to the first stay, while period two to the second.

Original Text	Date of Original	Target Text	Dates of translation	Genre
<i>Le langage et son double</i>				
William Blake	1923	William Blake Prophet	1923	Essay
Christine	1924	Christine	1925	Short story
Memories of Happy days	1940	Souvenirs des Jours heureux	1943	Autobiography
On keeping a diary	1941	Tenir un journal	1953	Lecture
An experiment in English	1941	Une expérience en anglais	1943 and 1983	Essay
Translation and the "Field of Scripture"	1941	La traduction et le «champ des écritures»	1941	Article
My first book in English	1941	Mon premier livre en anglais	1943	Essay
Life and Death of a Poet	1942	Vie et mort d'un poète	1944	Introduction of <i>Basic verities</i>
A steamer Letter	1945	Lettre écrite de la cabine d'un navire	1946	Letter
Fragment of a Personal Record	1948	Pages de Journal	1948	Diary
Jeunes années	1962	When I was Small	1966	Autobiography
Mon premier jour à l'université	1975	First Day at University	1975	Article
<i>L'homme et son ombre</i>				
How a novelist begins	1941	Le romancier et ses créatures	some years later	Article
Where do Novels Come from?	1941	D'où viennent les romans?	1991	Lecture
Eight lectures on Novel Writing	1941	Exercices pour délier les doigts ou le roman sans peine	1991	Lectures
Coup d'oeil en arrière	1941	As I Look Back	1941	Essay
Quelques Ombres	1944	Writers I have Known	1944	Lecture
Paris	1943	On Paris	undated	Text for Exhibition
Souvenir de Passy	1943	Passy	1943	Article
L'honneur d'être français	1942	The honour of being French	1942	Article
The Apprentice Psychiatrist	1920	L'apprenti psychiatre	1976 in coopted Eric Jourdan	Article

Prior to examining in more detail the metaphorical language of Green's bilingual work "Souvenir de Passy", it should be stated that every sentence in the ST has an equivalent within the TT. Where such equivalence does not occur, it becomes interesting to discuss the strategies employed by Green which called for change in the translated version. Yet it appears difficult to discuss those changes with objectivity, attempted comments are merely personal and unverifiable. Additions or /and omissions may be "materially verifiable", changes are a visible confirmation of self-translator mediation. Ficht comments on the question of subjectivity in the following words:⁹²

As for the rest of divergences commented on in my analysis, it should be noted that they are not quantifiably or materially verifiable, although this does not, in itself, make them less significant. But as far as they are concerned, one is obliged to enter the realm of interpretation, which raises the problem of the reader-critic's subjectivity (but to a greater or lesser extent, it should be added, as the case may be).⁹³

In looking at "Souvenir de Passy", the abundance of metaphorical language is immediately apparent. Green appears to have had two main approaches to the use of metaphors.

The first most apparent is the personification of a certain number of elements of Parisian life:

The chestnut tree: "ses petites mains avides", "c'est un petit Parisien précoce et farceur"

The Trocadero: "le Trocadéro s'est envolé en ne nous laissant que ses ailes"

The square: "elle donna un grand coup d'épaule"

⁹² Brian Fitch, *Beckett and Babel: An investigation into the Status of the Bilingual Work* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1988), p. 59.

⁹³ Fitch (1988), pp. 59-60.

The cypress trees: "on apercevait une rangée de cyprès noirs qui parlaient de l'au-delà"

The rue Franklin: "La rue Franklin est une boiteuse qui descend en clopinant....elle se hausse sur la pointe des pieds....son regard....elle lance un bref coup d'oeil...."

The street lamp: "un neurastenique bec de gaz"

The sheep: "les moutons écorchés chastement ceints de tabliers blancs"

The coal: "chantier à charbon ...aux flancs éclaboussés d'argent"

The river Seine: "la Seine libérée coulera de nouveau entre ses rives heureuses"

The second strategy is a comparison of elements of Parisian life with concrete objects that are remote in their nature from the elements they are associated with but close in shapes as in:

The chestnut tree: "dans un peu de temps il aura ses chandelles... tout son feuillage et ses lampions"

The basquets: "les collisions des paniers dont les panses se heurtent comme les poupes des galères hostiles"

The gutter: "la belle nate liquide que tresse le ruisseau le long du trottoir"

The coal: "je veux regarder les pyramides noires"

In addition, a certain number of dead, original and cliché metaphors might be identified, to use Newmark's terminology. Among the dead metaphors, one might note:

Spring: "au seuil du printemps"

Cemetery; "à la hauteur du cimetière"

Cellars: "dans les profondeurs de cave"

Feet: "la pointe des pieds"

Balcony: "des hauteurs d'un balcon",

Davidson suggests that "in its context a word once taken for a metaphor on the hundredth hearing, while a word may easily be appreciated in a new literal role on a first encounter. What we call

the element of novelty or surprise in a metaphor is a built-in aesthetic feature we can experience again and again"this can be seen in:⁹⁴

Piles of cakes: "les ciels de tes pâtisseries:
 Coal: "paysage lunaire"
 Wood: "stères de bûches à l'architecture babylonienne"
 Sheets: "à broder des chiffres sur la neige des draps"
 Candles: "les flammes des cierges palpitent"

Finally, Green also employs cliché metaphors:

Trees: "les marronniers du Trocadéro se mettent à reverdir"
 The dead: "... et séparaient des vivants les ombres"
 Laurel: "les guirlandes des lauriers"
 Bus: "des omnibus qui roulent à fond de train"
 Passers-by: "...n'écrasent pas le bout d'un seul orteil"
 Memories: "cette rue où nous croiserons les gentils fantômes de nos premières années"
 Blind: "la brodeuse se crève les yeux à broder"

Having identified certain metaphors of "Souvenir de Passy", I would like to examine the result of language transfer operated by Green's self-translation and discuss whether the strategies used by the bilingual match Newmark's seven "translation principles" quoted above. When looking at the English version of "Souvenir de Passy", "Passy", it may be noticed that the strategy of personification has been generally maintained. However, this process may appear not to have been carried through in the same proportion as in French. Indeed, the possessive adjective present in "its... hungry little hands" and "its wings" referring to the chestnut tree and the Trocadéro square indicate that the referents are still to be compared as material things and not persons. However when referring to the rue Franklin, the feminine noun "une boîteuse", Green maintains the gender and

⁹⁴ Davidson, pp. 252-53.

personification process and translate it as "the rue Franklin is a lame old lady" Other metaphors (the street lamp, the shop, the coal, the river) have been conveyed without mentioning their gender as "the Seine shall flow once more between happy banks" ..

The French words "chandelles" and "lampion" are difficult vocable to translate into English. On the one hand, the term "chandelle" has a certain emotional connotation, the word is often used in the phrase "dîner aux chandelles" (candle light dinner). On the other hand as indicated by the plural form of the noun (les chandelles), the candles are to be imagined on a branched candle stick. Hence Green's mental picture of the chestnut tree branches holding its flowers as a candle stick would hold its candles. Unlike the word "chandelle", the noun "bougie" is neutral and refers to any candle, ranging from decorative objects to domestic utilities. More specifically the word "cierge" hold a strong religious connotation and is only used to describe candles in churches. When translating the French word "chandelle" by "candle" ("soon it will put forth its flowers which are like candles"), Green did not keep the shape of the branched candle stick image resonant in the word "chandelle". However, the phrase, "candle-shaped flowers" mentioned further down shows that some of the idea has been retained. Green has extended the image of the chestnut flowers on their branches like candles and, as a painter who has finished a sketch and begins to stoke with hues , he lays on colour on the chestnut tree flowers to make them look like "lampions". As suggested by Davidson: "in metaphor, certain words take on a new, or what often called 'extended meaning'".⁹⁵ When looking up the literal translation into English of "lampion" one find "Chinese lantern", and if translating back into

⁹⁵ Davidson, p. 248.

French, the Collins dictionary offers the words "lanterne vénitienne".⁹⁶ The word "lampion" may connote in French festive thought, such as outdoor balls celebration on the national day or summer garden parties. In "Souvenir de Passy", the comparison of the chestnut tree flowers to "lampions" can be understood as the celebration of spring. It is also arguable that the colour element plays an important role. In France, Chinese lanterns are often red, precisely like the chestnut tree flowers. Green chooses to translate "lampion" into "colored candles". As far as sense is concerned, "lampions" are a type of candles. However it is not the candle which is coloured but a kind of paper shade. So here is a case where sense has been more or less preserved but not the image.

Another example is provided by 'la belle nate liquide que tresse le ruiseau le long du trottoir'. The metaphor has been kept and transfers in English as "the beautiful liquid braids tressed by the streamlet in the gutter". However, "braids" is in the plural form, and Green has chosen to use the verb "to tress" rather than "to plait" or "to braid". It might be possible to argue that there is some degree of transparency involved in choosing the verb 'to tress' (though to "tress" is literary and change the register of the phrase).⁹⁷ Furthermore, the translation of "in the gutter" for "le long du trottoir" shows that sense has been privileged over form (despite the similar sound pattern gutter/trottoir). In other words, Green has used the device of transferring the same metaphor combined to sense.

⁹⁶ Le Robert Collins Dictionary, rev. edn (London/Paris: Collins/ Le Robert, 1993)

⁹⁷ Newmark in *A Textbook* (1988), p.285 describes a transparent word when "an SL word "shines through" in the TL, owing to its form, etymology, etc.... Therefore usually a non *faux-ami*, a faithful friend. Used also of SL compounds whose components translate literally into the TL, sometimes referred to as semantically motivated words".

As far as Newmark's dead metaphors are concerned it is apparent that some translate without difficulty and that the same image may be rendered in the TL, such as "qui arrive au seuil du printemps"/ to cross the threshold into spring"; "sur la pointe des pieds"/ "on tiptoe"; "des hauteurs d'un balcon vertigineux"/ "the heights of a dizzy balcony". However, "la hauteur d'un cimetière" has been translated as "as she passes the cemetery", a case where clearly the metaphor has been converted into sense.

Original metaphors are for obvious reasons more difficult to transfer. Indeed as they are the author's own creation, they need to be the translator own creative transfers, as the TL will not provide set phrases. It is therefore more demanding, on the part of the translator. Hence, "les ciels de tes pâtisseries" becomes in English "the allegorical ceilings of your patisseries", it is apparent that Green translated the metaphore by simille combined with sense, yet some of the SL cultural flavour has been retained when using the word "pâtisserie", instead of the word "cake shop". Green uses the same translational device for "les stères de bûches à l'architecture babylonienne" which he renders as "the corded wood stacked in Babylonian terraces". However, "la brodeuse se crève les yeux à broder des chiffres sur la neige des draps" is an interesting example where Green has reduced the image in the TL and also replaced some of the SL image with a standard TL image. Indeed, for the noun "la brodeuse" Green opts in English for "the embroidery shop" and not "the embroideress". Furthermore, the words "les chiffres" are adapted and translated as "initials". And the original metaphor "sur la neige des draps" is transposed to a dead metaphor "snow-white linen sheets", where linen is an added element to the TL. Another example of transposed metaphor is the following one " les flammes des cierges

palpitent", which Green translates as "the candles tremble". The word "candle" was held earlier to be a more generic term in English than in French, however within the content of the sentence it is understood one is dealing with a church candle. Nevertheless, the word "flamme" has been deleted in the English version, perhaps suggesting that it is commonsensical that it is the flame that quivers and not the candle itself. More interesting is the rendering of "palpitent" by "tremble". An alternative translation could suggest a verb such as "quiver", on the other hand, the word "tremble" echoes the French verb "trembler", synonym of "palpiter". Davidson's words seem here appropriate: "we can explain metaphor as a kind of ambiguity: in the context of a metaphor, certain words have either a new or an original meaning, and the force of the metaphor depends on our uncertainty as we waver between the two meanings"⁹⁸

Names of streets and places have been kept intact, such as Trocadéro, rue Franklin, rue de Passy, unless there is already a standard translation, such as the Eiffel Tower. However, more information is given when the cultural reference might not be straightforward for an Anglophone public, as in "Grotto of Lourdes". Names of shops have been translated except when they, according to the writer and translator, hold a particular local colour, such as the "Chirurgien-Dentiste".

Proper names remain the same in both versions except for "Bonhomme Franklin", a friendly form of address, literally meaning "good old Franklin" or "old chap/ sport /lad/ pal/ Franklin". This appears a successful translation as "Ben" is homophonous to "Bonhomme" it is also adding some information, namely which Franklin, Green alludes to.

⁹⁸ Davidson, p. 249.

Some elements have been added in the English version, as in the sentence

Then for a moment she looks down into the cellar-like depths, of the gardens and walks where the shadows stalk even at high noon; at the end of the rue Le Tasse she glances swiftly toward to see if it is still there, and then, abruptly, she makes haste between the tobacco shops and the curio shops, down to the carrefour Delessert, where a dejected street light at the entrance of the to the rue de Passy, preside over **the meeting of several streets.**⁹⁹

Son regard plonge un moment dans les profondeurs de cave des jardins et des allées où l'ombre rôde en plein midi puis elle lance au bout de la rue Le Tasse un bref coup d'oeil vers la Tour Eiffel pour voir si elle est toujours là et brusquement elle descend plus vite entre les débits de tabac et les marchands de bric-à-brac jusqu'au carrefour Delessert que surveille un neurasthénique bec de gaz à l'entrée de la rue de Passy.

Green appears to have added this bit of text because of the choice of the verb "preside over" which needs a direct object complement. However, added text might not be a necessary grammatical requirement in the phrase:

Rue de Passy - my childhood-

Rue de Passy (ô mon enfance, je te revois!)

where the French version is more emotionally loaded. This can be seen in the exclamation "ô", through the added information "je te revois!" and the expressive punctuation .

Added text might just be adjustment as in the following:

⁹⁹ The added text has been highlighted in bold characters.

I look upon the black pyramids with their sides splashed with silver and the corded wood stack in Babylonian terraces: I take pleasure in breathing there the immemorial fragrance of wood, anthracite and coke, and when I have left the coal yard through which I have been wandering, sleepwalking with my thoughts, it is a pleasure to find myself again in the little street **which leads to the door of a simple** village church.

Je veux regarder les pyramides noires aux flancs éclaboussés d'argent, et les stères de bûches à l'architecture babylonienne; il m'est agréable de respirer là l'odeur immémoriale du bois, de l'anthracite et du coke, et, quittant l'entrepôt où j'ai promené des rêves de somnambule de me trouver dans la petite rue que termine une église de village.

Adding or deleting information in the SL or TL may act as a form of censorship:

There is so much sadness in our city and I cannot smile to you as gaily as I would like, but take patience, the day will come when the Seine shall flow between happy banks

Il y a trop de tristesse dans notre ville pour que je puisse te sourire aussi gaiement que je le voudrais, mais patience, le jour viendra où la Seine **libérée** coulera de nouveau entre ses rives heureuses,

Young, in a study of Beckett's bilingual post-war, prose comments on the omissions and additions of the self-translator as follows:

It is easy enough to find instances in which words in different languages indisputably mean different things, but virtually impossible, outside the fields of commercial and scientific terminology, to find instances in which they indisputably mean the same. If one accepts that there is no such thing as total semantic equivalence, then even the translation of *chair* as *chaise* must be accounted a substitution, and it is precisely within the sphere of degrees of approximation, for which there

exists no objectively calibrated scale, that a translator's choice are significant. (His italics)¹⁰⁰

This section on a selected piece of Julien Green's bilingual literature has provided an example of re-writng. It has been shown that self-translation is a specific feature of bilingualism that may differ from translation *per se*. Others features of bilingual discourse, may also involve a translational process, which can be manifested through the shape of code switching. This is the object of study of the next chapter.

¹⁰⁰ J.T. Young, "The Second Treason: Self-Translation in Samuel Beckett's Shorter Post-War Prose" (Unpublished master's thesis , University of Warwick, 1990), p. 6.

CHAPTER 4

~ FEATURES OF BILINGUAL SPEECH ~

4.1 Factors for language choice

In our daily interactions with others, we constantly change varieties of language.¹ Ervin-Stripp writes: "A speaker in any language community who enters diverse social situations normally has a repertoire of speech alternatives which shift with situations".² In other words, we adapt our variety of language according to certain factors. Grosjean distinguishes four of them: the setting, the participants, the topic and the function.

4.1.1. The setting

It has been suggested that when a certain language enjoys a certain prestige, bilinguals tend to speak this language although it might not be their dominant one. Of course the formality of the situation plays

¹ For instance there are many ways to ask for a glass of water:

- I want a glass of water.
- Give me some water.
- I'm thirsty.
- Water, please.
- Could I please have a glass of water?
- Would it be possible to have a glass of water?
- May I have a glass of water?
- I'd like a glass of water.

² Susan Ervin-Tripp, "An Analysis of the Interaction of Language, Topic and Listener", *American Anthropologist*, 66 (1964), 86-102, (p. 88).

an active role in the language choice. If the situation is informal, then the prestigious language will not be chosen. The presence of monolinguals or bilinguals is a variable in language choice. The bilingual speaker out of politeness will speak the language spoken by the monoglot, even if s/he is the only one. On the contrary, the bilingual speaker may choose to exclude the monoglot and will continue to speak the monoglot's unknown language with her/his peers.

4.1.2. The participants

The participants in the interaction may choose to speak a particular language with one another simply because they always have done so even if one or both have become more proficient in the other language. It is rare to find bilingual friends or relatives who do not impose a particular language. Age, sex, origin, ethnicity, occupation, socio-economic status, also play a role in the language choice. The degree of intimacy is important as well. Bilinguals may use one language for business and another one for the home and family. In this case, the business language may embody a rise in status. Its role in relationships is also of great importance, the variety of language changes in situations such as employer-employee, wife-husband... In some cases the bilingual speaker may choose to create a social distance with her/his native language, so as to be differentiated from the majority group.

4.1.2.1. The case of bidialectalism in the United States:

There are many children in the United States who do not go to school speaking Standard English (SE) but a dialect known as Black English (BE). Some teachers have complained that there is a problem of communication with speakers of BE. They claim that speakers of BE are more likely to fail at school, and consequently build expectations about the academic potential of BE speakers. Boseker reports that there had been prior assumptions that poor academic results of BE speakers were the consequence of poor home environment (no father present, very little communication/stimulation with the mother, and no books available).³ This concept was known as Verbal Deprivation Theory. Some proponents of the Verbal Deprivation Theory⁴ went as far as suggesting that BE children uttered sounds that were "merely emotional accompaniments to a here and now situation"⁵. And Jensen made the very debatable claim that black children had shown no sign of improvement in enrichment programmes on the basis that they were genetically inferior.⁶ The Verbal Deprivation Theory is representative of the studies that focused on the "handicap" of the speakers rather than on the cause of the problem, namely that SE school are not adapted to BE children. Verbal Deprivation Theory and the inferiority theory appear to be devices that separate people

³ Barbara J. Boseker, "Bidialectalism in the United States" in *Bilingualism and the Individual*, ed. by A. Holmen et al (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1988), p. 134.

⁴ See M. Deutsch et al, *The Disadvantaged Child* (New York: Basic Books, 1967);

see also, C. Bereiter and S. Englemann, *Teaching Disadvantaged Children in the Preschool* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1966).

⁵ See B. Bernstein "Social Structure, Language and Learning", in *School Children in the Urban Slum*, ed. by J.I. Roberts (New York: Free Press, 1967), pp. 134-53.

⁶ See A.R. Jensen, "How much can we Boost IQ in Schoolastic Achievment?", *Harvard Educational Review*, 39 (1969), 1-123.

into classes and justify segregation. In this way, language difference is used to denote prestigious and non-prestigious groups, and bidialectalism becomes then a political instrument, (as was the case in the 1920s with intelligence tests that discriminated against bilinguals).

In 1979, the Ann Arbor Decision was a step forward in the legitimisation of BE.⁷ It was recognised that BE impeded educational progress and that teachers failed to take BE into account when teaching the essentials of reading. It was also recognised that BE was a distinct version of SE that has its language patterns, syntax, grammar and history. And it was finally declared that BE was not an acceptable mode of communication in the educational, commercial, art/science worlds, or among professionals. It became clear that BE speakers needed some assistance to learn SE and that staff had to be trained to recognise BE speakers and learn teaching methods that would take into account the home language, rather than discriminate it against. The court decided that BE was not a language but a dialect, probably Creole based, and although not "inferior" or "substandard" not acceptable in American society and especially in the educational arena. It was claimed that the dialect was spoken by lower-income blacks. The Ann Arbor trial was the forum that made BE recognised as a social fact and gave research work, such as Dillard's *Black English* its full recognition.⁸

The example of Black English has taken us to the realm of language/culture attitude and the right to difference. It stresses the

⁷ Attorneys for Michigan Legal Services in Detroit filed suit in U.S. District Court on behalf of eleven black children who lived in the Green Road Housing Development project of Ann Arbor, Michigan and attended the Martin Luther King, Jr., Elementary School, a public school, in Boseker (1988), p.135.

⁸ See J. L. Dillard, *Black English: Its History and Usage in the United States* (New York: Random House, 1972).

power of motivation of both minority and majority groups. In this connection, Valdés questions the effects of the various learning contexts and whether different levels of motivation might be related to socio-economic background.⁹

This case of bidialectalism is illuminating in so far as it highlights the vexed boundaries of language varieties, language status, and ideological manipulation. It also stresses the right to linguistic difference.

4.1.2.2. Language mobility

It has been argued that prestige or lack of prestige of majority/minority languages is an influencing factor leading to code switching and, in extreme cases, to language shift. The problematic in the domain of language shift/dominance is to define the nature of language prestige. Several reasons have been evoked, namely, the attitude to the language in question, the number of speakers, the international popularity, the socio-economic connotation, to quote but a few.

Amastae, in a study of Spanish-English bilinguals of the Rio Grande Valley demonstrates that language choice is connected to socio-economic status and says: "Those respondents whose parents are of higher socio-economic status are generally more likely to have used English first and less likely to have used Spanish first, even if the

⁹ Guadalupe Valdés, "Bilingualism in a Mexican Border City: A Research Agenda", in *Bilingualism and Language Contact, Spanish, English, and Native American Languages*, ed. by F. Barkin, E. A. Brandt, J. Ornstein-Galicia (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1982), pp. 3-17, (p. 13).

parents were educated in Mexico."¹⁰ Clearly, in this case, language status is enjoyed by the English language over Spanish regardless of prior education in Spanish. The study further reveals that income is also an indicator of language choice, where "increasing income as measured by father's income correlates with decreasing likelihood of Spanish as first language".¹¹ However, it is important to note that when considering the mother's income, the trend reverses itself at the higher income level. Mothers therefore, appear to influence slightly more towards Spanish, towards the Mother-tongue as it were. The author concludes that though there is evidence for a shift from Spanish to English, speakers show no evidence of total shift to English, that is the language that enjoy most status in the region. The shift appears to be rather of a balance of both languages depending on the domain and socio-economic context involved.

In Floyd's work the factor evoked for Spanish shift or loss is connected with the age factor.¹² It has been observed that "Spanish was not being maintained by successive generations of Spanish-speakers who are members of a cultural minority in an English-dominant society."¹³ According to Floyd, it would seem that the Spanish language is being lost rather than maintained among members of the younger generation of the traditionally Spanish-speaking population of Colorado. This assumption corroborates findings undertaken among Chicanos in the Southwest.¹⁴

¹⁰ Jon Amastae, "Language Shift and Maintenance in the Lower Rio Grande Valley of Southern Texas", in F. Barkin *et al* (1982), pp. 261-277 (p. 270).

¹¹ Amastae, p. 270.

¹² Mary Beth Floyd, "Spanish- Language Maintenance in Colorado" in Barkin *et al* (1982), pp. 290-303.

¹³ Floyd, p. 290.

¹⁴ See A. Hudson-Edwards and G. D. Bills, "Intergenerational Language Shift in an Albuquerque Barrio" in *A Festschrift for Jacob Ornstein*, ed. by E. L. Blansitt, Jr., and R. V. Teshner (Rowley MA.: Newbury House, 1980).

Language maintenance/shift is also reported to be dependent on the spatial dimension. Early studies have shown differences in language use related to urban or rural background of the speakers involved. Greater maintenance of Spanish was evidenced among rural Atascosa county households, as compared to the urban area of San Antonio, although the effect of rural origin is not as great as the one of generation.¹⁵ It would appear that for Spanish to be revived and sustained among younger and/or urban speakers, bilingualism need to be encouraged on the part of the school/work and home environments so that young and/or urban bilinguals may use actively Spanish as well as pass it on to future generations.

Aguirre suggests that in order to understand linguistic dominance and language use as part of an explanatory framework for the association between language loss and social assimilation, further investigation is required, in particular on (i) residential patterns and location, (ii) degrees of bilingualism in the neighbourhood of the speakers, (iii) general attitude towards bilingualism and (iv) language use in general and choice of language.¹⁶

4.1.3. The topic

The topic or content of discourse has been evoked as a factor in language choice. Some topics may be better handled in one language by bilinguals because of language preference or language proficiency.

¹⁵ See R. L. Skrabaneck, "Language Maintenance Among Mexican-Americans", *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, 11 (1970), 272-282.

¹⁶ Adalberto Aguirre, Jr., "Language Use Patterns of Adolescent Chicanos in a California Border Town" in Barkin *et al.*, (1982), pp. 279-289.

It may also be that some topics are experienced/studied/read in one language rather than the other and dictates language availability.

4.1.4. The function

The function or intent of the interaction is the last major factor influencing language choice. Request, offering information, greetings, thanks, apologies may suggest a form of speech. It should be noticed that the choice is made rapidly and automatically. If someone initiates a conversation in a particular language, others usually answer in that language. However, in case of non reciprocity - that is when speaker A starts with language X and speaker B answers in language Y - a rapid adjustment follows, with one of the two languages predominating, but at times the conversation may continue in both languages. Researchers such as Labov, Fasold, Wolfram and Gumpers in their sociolinguistic enquiries have tried to describe and predict changes of language varieties. According to them, social and psychological factors (such as the four mentioned above) are responsible for change of language varieties. Similar situations are found among bilinguals; not only can they choose, like their monolingual counterparts among different varieties of language, but when speaking to other bilinguals, they can choose between different languages. Fishman paid particular attention to language choice and conducted a study: "Who speaks what language to whom and when?" in which he differentiated between different domains. They are: the family, the playground and street, the school, the church, literature, the press, the military, the courts and governmental administration. On domains Fishman suggests:

Domains are defined, regardless of their number, in terms of institutional co-occurrences. They attempt to designate the major clusters of interaction situations that occur in particular multilingual setting. Domains enable us to understand that language choice and topic are related to widespread socio-cultural norms and expectations.¹⁷

A bilingual rarely asks the conscious question "which language should I be speaking?" The bilingual will go through her/his daily life quite unaware, in the act of speaking, of the many psychological and sociolinguistic factors that interact with one another to help her/him to choose one language over another. We shall now observe linguistic elements such as code switching and interference, which make the bilingual's speech different from the monoglot's.

4.2 Code switching: a specific linguistic system

Code switching has been much studied since the 1970s. Many outsiders regard code switching as linguistic decay; though in fact switching is not a isolated phenomenon, but a central part of bilingual discourse.' It can be studied from different aspects. Appel and Muysken suggest three sources of discussion:

From a sociolinguistic point of view: *why* do people switch between languages? from a psychological point of view: *what* aspects of their language capacity enable them to switch? and from a linguistic point of view: *how* do we know that they are really switching and have not simply

¹⁷ Joshua Fishman, "Who Speaks What Language to Whom and When?" in *Sociolinguistics, Selected Readings*, ed. by J.B. Pride and J. Holmes (Hardmondsworth: Penguin, 1972), pp. 15-31.

introduced another element from another language into their linguistic system? 18

4.2.1 Code switching: attempting a definition

So, what is code switching (C.S)? Baetens-Beardsmore tells us: "Bilingual code switching consists of using elements of a second language in context where a monoglot speaker would not do so".¹⁹ Baetens gives a flexible definition; according to him, C.S can range from the introduction of a sound (alien to the monoglot speech) to a complete change of language. Di Pietro defines it even more vaguely: "The use of more than one language by communicants in the execution of a speech act".²⁰ And Valdes Fallis refers to it simply as "the alternation of two languages".²¹

Once again definitions are abundant, but not all of equal help because of their overgeneralization. In a language class, pupils speak alternatively in two languages and yet it cannot be referred to as C.S. Monolinguals have long had a negative attitude towards C.S. And in some cases they still regard it as a mixture of languages, a verbal salad. Grosjean explains with the diagram below that C.S is not use at random.²²

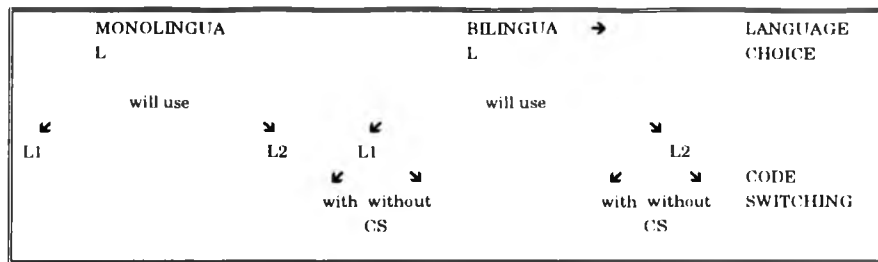
18 René Appel and Pieter Muysken, *Language Contact and Bilingualism*, 4th edn (London: Arnold, 1990), p. 117.

19 Baetens-Beardsmore, (1986) p. 110.

20 Robert Di Pietro, "Code Switching as Verbal Strategy Among Bilinguals", in *Aspects of Bilingualism*, ed. by Michel Paradis (Colombia: Horbeam, 1978), pp. 275-282, (p. 275).

21 Guadalupe Valdes Fallis, "Social Interaction and Code Switching Patterns; a Case Study of Spanish/English" in *Bilingualism in the Bicentennial and Beyond*, ed by G. D. Keller *et al* (New-York: Bilingual Press, 1976), pp. 53-85, (p. 53).

²² Diagram adapted from François Grosjean, *Life in Two Languages, an Introduction to Bilingualism* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1982), p. 129.



Three types of switches can be distinguished:

4.2.2. Tag switches

Tag switches which involve exclamation tags or a parenthetical in another language than the rest of the sentence: "OYE (listen), when I was a freshman I had a term paper to do".²³

Poplak has called this kind of switching, emblematic switching, it reveals the speaker's identity in a monolingual sentence.²⁴ The switch expresses a feature of the speaker's entity which is to belong to another culture. The switch does not bear any real information as far as the communication content is concerned, but gives details about the speaker.

²³ Appel and Muysken, p. 117.

²⁴ Shana Poplak, "Sometimes I'll start a sentence in Spanish Y TERMINO EN ESPAÑOL: Toward a Typology of Code switching", *Linguistics*, 18 (1980), pp. 581-618.

4.2.3. Intra-sentential switches

Intra-sentential switches occur in the middle of a sentence: "Les femmes et le vin NE PONIMAYU".²⁵ This kind of switching is also called code mixing. Intra-sentential switching includes also triggering which can be found when a word, similar in both languages, makes the speaker continue in the second language: "Donne moi encore des Cornflakes".²⁶ Triggering is apparently less conscious than the previous example of code mixing. It seems natural that the bilingual speaker would pronounce the words "Corn flakes" in English rather than with a French intonation pattern. In doing so, the speaker maximises and externalises her/his knowledge of the two languages. To behave differently would be surprising and would actually prove the speaker's unbalanced level of bilingualism.

4.2.4. Inter-sentential switches

Inter-sentential switches, on the contrary, happen between sentences:

Secretary: Do you have the enclosures for the letter, Mr Gonzales?

Boss: Oh yes, here they are.

Secretary: Okay.

Boss: Ah, this man William Bolger got his organisation to contribute a lot of money to the Puerto Rican parade. He's very much for it. TU FUISTA A LA PARADA?

Secretary: Si, yo fui...²⁷

²⁵ L. M. Timm, "Code switching in *War and Peace*", *The Fourth LACUS Forum* (1975), pp. 239-47.

²⁶ Edith Harding and Philip Riley, *The Bilingual Family: a Hand Book for Parents*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 58

²⁷ Jean Ure, "Code Switching and Mixed Speech in the Register System of Developing Languages", in *Proceeding of the 3rd AILA Congress*, Copenhagen, ed. by A. Verdoodt (Heidelberg: Groos 1974), 222-239, (p. 233).

This example shows the psychological and affective aspect of code switching. The Puerto Rican boss and secretary speak English, their working language until their home language is recalled to them in the conversation. At this point they change register (less formal), and feel united by the experience of sharing the same language. Auer explains:

... they treat language choice as an interactional issue related not only to the further development of the conversation but also to its preceding sequential context whose language bears on the present speakers.²⁸

Three different kind of switches, which can take form of a word, a phrase, and a sentence have been listed, the reasons why bilinguals switch will now be discussed.

4.3. Functions of code switching

4.3.1. Referential

Switching can have a referential function. For instance when a speaker lacks some specialised vocabulary or feels uneasy in a language on a special topic. When asked why they switch, bilinguals usually answer that they do not know the word they are looking for in the language they are speaking or that the language concerned does not seem to have a satisfactory way of expressing that particular idea,

²⁸ J.C. Auer, *Bilingual Conversation* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1984) p. 30.

there is simply no word for it. Scotton gives an example from a student in Kenya, who switches between Kikuyu and English:

ATIRIRI angle NIATI has INA degree eighty NAYO this one INA MIRONGO ITATU. KUGUORI, if the total sum of a triangle NI one-eighty RI it means the remaining angle INA NDIGIRII MIRONG MUGWANAYA.²⁹

4.3.2. Directive

Switching often serves a directive function in that it involves the hearer. Either it includes the hearer or at the opposite it excludes her/him. For instance children can use switching as a marker of "solidarity". Leopold gives the example of his daughter Hildegard who once said:

PAPA, WENN DU DAS LICHT AUSMACHST (Daddy when you switch off the light), then I'll be so lonely.³⁰

4.3.3. Exclusive

In some cases switching is used to exclude somebody from a conversation, though it does not always indicate a negative attitude, as this example shows:

(Emily is sitting at the table with her friend Anne.)

29 C. M. Scotton, "Code Switching as a "Safe Choice" in Choosing a Langua Franca", in *Language and Society, Anthropological Issues*, ed. by W. C. McCormack and S.A. Wurm (The Hague: Mouton, 1979), pp. 71-87. Also in Appel and Muysken, p. 119.

30 Leopold is quoted in Harding and Riley, p. 59.

- Mother to Anne: Tu reprendras un peu de ça? (would you like some more?)
- Emily to her mother in Swedish: JAG TROR INTE ATT HON TYCKER OM DET(I don't think she likes it.).³¹

Similarly, some parents try to speak another language when they do not want their children to understand the conversation. If they do this too often, they may find that the children have learnt the secret language as well, or make up a language on their own in order to exclude the parents.

Switching can also express a change in tone, this has a phatic function. Gumperz and Hernandez-Chavez have called it metaphorical switching. Appel gives the example of the stand up comedian who tells a joke in standard variety, but brings the punch line in a vernacular type of speech.³² When such fragments are inserted, it highlights the information conveyed as in this Jamaican/English conversation:

A: I mean it does take time ge?? in 'to n..find the right person

B: Let me tell you now, wiv every guy I've been out wiv, it's been a...? UOL IIP A MWONTS before I move wiv the nex'one.³³

³¹ Harding and Riley, p. 59.

³² John J. Gumperz and Eduardo Hernandez-Chavez, "Cognitive Aspects of Bilingual Communication" in *El Lenguaje de los Chicanos*, ed. by Eduardo Hernandez-Chavez et al (Arlington: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1975), pp. 54-64.

³³ Appel and Muysken, pp. 119-20.

4.3.4 Direct speech /indirect speech

Switching can occur as well when a bilingual quotes in direct speech. In doing so s/he conveys not only the person's words, but also the style of the speech, the intonation...

The shop assistant said "MADAME?" and mummy said "UNE LAITUE ET..."(a salad) and I said "ET UN MALABAR" (a kind of sweet) and they all laughed.³⁴

For quotation of indirect speech bilinguals usually use the dominant language and/or the language they use with the person they are speaking to. Another use of C.S, is to qualify a message, in order to amplify or emphasise something being said: "Now it's really time to get up. LEVE TOI."³⁵ The switch from English to French repeats and underlines the request. In other words, it signals to the child that the mother is getting angry.

4.3.5. Status

C.S can be a way of expressing a rise of status and giving one added authority or expertise. Scotton and Ury give the example of a bus passenger in Nairobi, speaking to the conductor in Swahili:

Passager: NATAKA CHANGE YANGU. (I want my change.)

Conductor: CHANGE UTAPATA, BWANA. (you'll get your change mister.)

Passager: I am nearing my destination.

Conductor: Do you think I would run away with your change?³⁶

34 Harding and Riley, p. 58.

35 Grosjean, p. 154.

36 Grosjean, p. 156.

The change of language expresses a change of role, from one equal status to a higher status, to make sure he will obtain his change back. English is the language of the elite in Kenya and functions here as a mark of authority.

4.3.6. Poetic

Bilinguals can use C.S with puns, poetry or jokes... expressing subtle feelings by the change of language or showing witty usage of diverse linguistic systems. One specific aspect of the poetic function can be illustrated by this poem:

it's so strange in here
 todo lo que pasa
 is so strange
 y nadie puede entender
 que lo que pasa aqui
 isn't any different
 de lo que pasa allá
 where everybody is trying
 to get out
 move into a better place
 al lugar where we can hide
 where we don't have to know
 quienes somos
 strange people of the sun
 lost in our own awareness
 of where we are
 and where we want to be
 and wondering why
 it's so strange in here 37

37 Pedro Ortiz Vasquez, "Quienes Somos", *The Bilingual Review/La Revista Bilingüe*, 2 (1975), pp.293-94. See also Susan Bassnett, "Bilingual Poetry: a Chicano Phenomenon", in *International Studies of Tomás Rivera*, ed. by Julián Olivares, *Revista Chicano- Riqueña*, vol.13 (3-4), (Houston: University of Houston Press, 1985), pp. 137-147.

Western literature also provides examples of C.S, notably Tolstoy's *War and Peace*, where conversations are partly in French and partly in Russian. It should be noticed that this type of switch bears a socio-ideological dimension, and is accessible to a limited number of readers. Forster points out that :

Phenomena of this kind have been attested since the Middle Ages in literature produced in Germany, France, Britain, the Low Countries and elsewhere reflecting sociolinguistic phenomena that can be attested outside the literary sphere in thriving bilingual communities all over the world.³⁸

One aspect to keep in mind is that C.S. has a different function within each community, therefore Puerto Ricans in New York may code switch, but for a different reason than Flemish in Brussels.

4.3.7. Social function

Scotton and Uri hold the hypothesis that code switching occurs "because at least one speaker wishes to redefine the interaction by moving it to a different social area".³⁹ And in this sense there is a connection between the linguistic code used and the social meaning of the interaction. Different types of switch might be identified. Two switches are of particular interest, both situational, naming shift of topic and shift for emphasis (metaphorical).

³⁸ J. Foster, *The Poet's Tongues, Multilingualism in Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970).

³⁹ Carol Mayers Scotton and William Ury, " Bilingual Strategies: the Social Functions of Code Switching", *Linguistics*, 193 (1977), 5-20, p. 5.

Situational switching depends on the societal consensus of using a particular variety of language for particular domains, contexts, or persons. While metaphorical switch depends on social agreement of the allocation of code, it is used to draw attention or to emphasise.

These two classifications are useful as they describe "when" and "how" switching occur. However they do not tell us why a speaker decides to code switch. To explain why a speaker code switches, equates explaining components such as the connection between the subject of discourse, the participant of the interaction and the societal norms which give a language choice its meaning.

According to Scotton and Ury, there might be two main reasons for code switching. The first one reflects the social uncertainty of the speaker *vis à vis* the interlocutor s/he is addressing to. In this way, each social arena dictates a certain linguistic behaviour which the speaker is expected to identify and express in her/his interactions. The advantage of looking at code switching as holding social function is that it permits to consider code switching as a dynamic, explanatory, and descriptive model.

The authors also suggest that code switching is to be considered as a "response". Indeed, it occurs and is meaningful only in reference to other participants in the interaction. In this sense, code switching is a response to one participant's initial language choice which, in turn, is a response to the conception of the social arena into which the interaction falls. In response to a code switch the interlocutor may reciprocate and use the same new linguistic code, thereby accepting the initial speaker's notion of social appropriateness. Or s/he might attempt at redefining the notion of social congruency and initiates a new code switch.

In an attempt to verify their hypothesis, Scotton and Ury challenged this relationship of code switching and the redefinition of the social arena in which the code switch occurs. Subjects were asked to point spontaneously at code switch as symbols of a redefinition of the interaction, while listening to recorded everyday life material containing code switches. The implication of the hypothesis was tested among the Luyia of Western Kenya.⁴⁰ The language in use in the Luyia country are the local dialect of the vernacular as well as English and Swahili. The Luyia speak up to 16 dialects, a few of which are not mutually intelligible, a use of one's own dialect signals solidarity. A local dialect is the normal means of communication amongst kin or neighbours. Swahili and English are also spoken. 70 subjects, 50 men and 20 women, were interviewed by a local Luyia man. Four tapes with local actors and topics were played to each subject. The tapes were conversations which might have appeared "real" as close versions of them had been heard in Kenya. After listening to the four conversations the subjects were asked the following question: "From just listening to these people talk, what can you tell me about what is happening in the conversation?"⁴¹ Interviews were conducted in the language of the subject's choice, that is in English, Swahili or Luyia. The answers collected from the survey appeared to indicate that: "most subjects did connect the code-switch with an attempt on the part of one or more speakers to redefine the interaction".⁴² Yet the problem that might occur with this kind of data is the one of interpretation of the subject's answers. Further

⁴⁰ The Luyia ethnic group represents 14% of the ethnic divisions, amongst others, it might be of interest to note that there are 21% Kikuyu, 13% Luo, 11% Kalenjin, 11% Kamba, 6% Kisii, 6% Meru, 1% Asian, European and Arab. Data have been collected in *The World Fact Book* (Washington DC: Central Intelligence Agency, 1990), p. 167.

⁴¹ Scotton and Ury, p. 7.

⁴² Scotton and Ury, p. 8.

investigations were needed, and for this purpose subsamples were studied in order to determine whether the construct used had validity. Result of this close analysis showed that the role of code switching as social interaction can be defined in terms of interchange within three social arenas: (i) the identity arena, (ii) the power arena, (iii) the transactional arena. Within one arena the degree of social distance may differ from one interaction to another depending on the topic, participants, purpose.... So that when the speaker initiates an interaction, s/he takes a role when choosing the language and the intended social arena. If the speaker decides to switch, s/he redefines the interaction as taking place in a new arena., and the social distance that goes along the change. The interaction may then be regarded as an "ongoing negotiation between participants about the nature of the interaction".⁴³ This process can be described as meta-interactional.

4.4. Constraints of code switching

C.S is governed by strict rules, and does not occur at random. A great deal of literature has dedicated time to study the reasons for C.S, but very little has been written about the constraints of C.S. Research about those constraints has gone through three stages. First of all, researchers focused on grammatical constraints specific to particular constructions, then, attention was turned to universal constraints and finally, in the present stage, there is a search for new perspectives such as "alternative mixing strategies."

⁴³Scotton and Ury, p. 14.

Early C.S studies (1970's) were carried out from conversations of Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans, recorded by Gumperz and Hernandez Chavez. They found that only particular cases of code switches were possible:

4.4.1. Between a head noun and a relative clause :

as in the following quote: "... those friends are friends from Mexico QUE TIENEN CHAMA QUITOS (that have little children)".

4.4.2. Between subject and predicate in a copular construction:

can also be found, as for example in "An' my uncle Sam ES EL MAS AGABACHADO (is the most Americanised)".⁴⁴

Timm suggests a more systematic treatment of switches: Subject and object pronouns must be in the same language as the main verb and that an auxiliary and a main verb, or a main verb and an infinitive must be in the same language.⁴⁵ Lipski adds that it is difficult to switch inside a propositional phrase, and it is impossible to switch between the article and the noun.⁴⁶ We should keep in mind that these studies combined two methodologies, that is to say, recorded conversations and grammatical judgements. These studies, carried out in the 1970's, provide a large body of analysed data with a number of generalities on the types of constraints C.S requires, but they lack theoretical perspectives and that is what the studies of the

⁴⁴ Gumperz and Hernandez-Chavez, pp. 54-64.

⁴⁵ Timm, pp. 239-47.

⁴⁶ J.M. Lipski, " Code Switching and the Problem of Bilingual Competence", in Paradis, pp.250-260.

1980's have tried to contribute. Universal constraints dictate that switching from one language to another in a middle of a sentence is only possible if the linear order of the sentence in both languages is preserved. On that matter Poplack explains: "Code switches will tend to occur at points in discourse where juxtaposition of L1 and L2 elements does not violate a syntactic rule of either language, i.e. at points around which the surface structures of the two languages map onto each other". Here is an example that illustrates Poplack's view.⁴⁷

En.:	I	told	him	that	so	that	he	would	bring	it	fast.
	↓	↘	↙	↓	↓	↓	↓	↙	↓		
Sp.:	(Yo)	le	dije	eso	pa'	que	(el)	la	trajera	ligero.	
C.S:	I	told	him	that	pa'	que	la	trajera	ligero		

The vertical arrows indicate where word order in both languages is equivalent, and hence, where a switch is possible. Where there are oblique arrows switches are impossible. Woolford reformulates Poplack's equivalence theory.⁴⁸ He argues that when the phrase structure rules, that specifies word order of both languages is identical, then C.S is possible; otherwise it is not. Finally, Sobin points out that when there are semantically relevant word order contrasts within a given language, it is impossible to switch at that point.⁴⁹ These theories can rely on a fixed principle, but what they share in common however, is that the linear order of the elements determines what is an allowable switch.

⁴⁷ Poplack, p. 586.

⁴⁸ E. Woolford, "Bilingual Code Switching and Syntactic Theory", in *Linguistic Inquiry* 14 (1983), 520-36

⁴⁹ N. J. Sobin, "On Code Switching within NP", *Applied linguistics* 5 (1984), (p. 124).

4.4.3. Dependency approach

A different approach is the one of dependency. The basic principle in this approach is that there cannot be a switch between two elements if they are lexically dependent on each other. Di Sciullo, Muysken and Singh developed this restriction in terms of government (a traditional grammatical notion which has received formulation within the theory of Government and Binding of Chomsky.)⁵⁰ Let us take the example of the idiom "to wait for somebody". The verb to wait and the preposition cannot be parted. This theory suggests that ungoverned elements such as tags, exclamations, interjections which are governed elements, can easily be switched. Clyne, independently of linearly and dependency constraints, distinguishes two types of switching: externally conditioned switching and internally conditioned switching.⁵¹

4.4.4. Universal principles

Finally, the last stage in the study of C.S started in the mid 1980's, and results from universal principles as well as aspects particular to each C.S situation. For instance Crama and Van Gelderen examined a situation when a word is phonetically identical or very similar in both languages.⁵² This phenomenon is called "homophonous diamorphes". They give an example such as the following: "WEET JE (do you know)

50 A. M. Di Sciullo, P. Muysken and R. Singh, "Government and Code Mixing", *Journal of Linguistics* 22 (1986), 1-24.

51 Michael Clyne, *Perspectives on Language Contact, Based on a Study of German in Australia*, (Melbourne: Hawthorn Press, 1972). See also Michael Clyne "Constraints on Code Switching: How Universal are They?", *Linguistics*, vol. 25, 4 (1987), 239-64.

52 R. Crama and H. Van Gelderen, "Structural Constraints on Code-mixing" (University of Amsterdam, Institute for General Linguistics, 1984), quoted in Appel and Muysken, p. 126.

what she is doing?" "What" in English and "wat" in Dutch have a very similar pronunciation so that both words are interchangeable.

4.5. Interference, loans and transfers

4.5.1. Interference

Very similar to C.S is the phenomenon of *interference*. According to Weinreich, interference is: "Those deviations from the norms of either language which occur in the speech of bilinguals as a result of their familiarity with more than one language."⁵³ Such a definition suggests some ambiguity as far as the term "deviation" is concerned. Departing from the norm does not seem very positive here. Could it be that contact with different languages affects the standard of our speech? Originally: "Interference referred to the use of formal elements of one code within the context of another".⁵⁴

It can take the form of phonological, morphological, lexical or syntactic elements. However, researchers have recently widened their scope of enquiry beyond purely linguistic elements and turned to other features such as the social implications of language choices. For instance, a bilingual in communication with another bilingual, who shares the same linguistic background, may feel free to use both languages for the sake of nuance expressiveness. And in this case we cannot consider that interference impairs either language, as was traditionally thought. On the other hand, the same bilingual speaker in conversation may a monolingual speaker may try to avoid

⁵³ Uriel Weinreich, *Language in Contact, Findings and Problems*, 9th edn (The Hague: Mouton, 1979), p. 1.

⁵⁴ Baetens-Beardmore (1986), pp. 39-40.

interference as much as possible and attempt to align with monoglot norms of speech. Clearly the bilingual speaker may adapt her/himself to the interlocutor.

Baetens-Beardmore defines interference as follows: "Any feature in a bilingual's L2 which differed from features found in unilingual speech and were attributable to the linguistic structure of L1".⁵⁵

It has been noticed that bilinguals may avoid using certain constructions in L2 which they feel no need to use or with which they feel uncomfortable. These rejection patterns are called *negative interference*, and what the bilingual uses in such a situation is her/his strategy competence which helps the speaker to find correct alternative constructions. It has been pointed out that the bilingual from early childhood is less prone to interference manifestation than the late bilingual. However, it seems impossible for most bilinguals to keep the output of the two languages completely free from influences, and therefore from interference, which marks it off from bilingual speech. As Diebold claims:

Even with a speaker's conscious efforts to offset interference... Greek-English co-ordinate bilinguals cannot switch to one language in the context of the other without incurring phonemic interference... This suggests to me that the need to review our still imperfect notions of what is involved in the separability of two language codes in the same speaker.⁵⁶

It is not always easy to distinguish what is interference from other phenomena. Is it possible to talk of interference when an

⁵⁵ Baetens-Beardmore (1986), p. 110.

⁵⁶ A. R. Diebold, "Code Switching in Greek/English Bilingual Speech", *Monograph Series on Language and Linguistics* (1962), 53-62, (p. 59).

element alien from monoglot norms is constantly present in bilinguals' speech? It should rather be referred to as *integration* being: "The regular use of material from one language in another in the form of an established loan, particularly when no alternative "non foreign" element is known or used".⁵⁷ Baetens-Beardsmore gives the example of the French word "blasé" in English. Integration should then be described as a loan rather than interference, but of course such words were first considered as interference before their use became integrated in the language. Baetens-Beardsmore further explains that the difference between integration and interference can be recognised by the phonological and morphological shape of the term under examination. If the term has been assimilated to the patterns of the host language, it can be considered as integrated. He suggests the French word "liqueur"[likær] can be pronounced [lik'jua] in English.⁵⁸ If the term has not been completely integrated, then we can talk of interference. Consequently, it can be said that integration is a question of degree: the more a foreign word is used, the more it is integrated. In terms of interference and integration, the language which is undergoing the borrowing is called the *recipient language* while the other one is the *source or donor language*. Most studies of lexical interference, such as the one by Haugen (from source language to recipient language) revealed that nouns are most easily transferred from one language to another, whereas function words are less easily transferred. After nouns, it has been suggested that it is verbs, adjectives, adverbs, prepositions, and interjections which are transferred in decreasing scale in the order listed, with pronouns and articles showing the greatest resistance. When transfer occurs, nouns

⁵⁷ Baetens-Beardsmore (1986), p. 43.

⁵⁸ Baetens-Beardsmore (1986), p. 44.

may retain their source language shape in the recipient language, whereas function words are less likely to do so, probably because of factors such as linearly constraints. Haugen calls these transfers or interferences, *loanwords*. They are classified according to the degree or manner of integration of a particular element (loanwords can be divided into different groups: unassimilated, partially assimilated and assimilated loans). He defines loanwords as an item that shows no morphemic of substitution.

4.5.2. Loanwords

When only part of the morphemic shape of the transfer is imported, loanwords are called *hybrid loanwords* or *loanblends*. Loanwords differ from integration in the sense that there are alternative words in the recipient language but bilingual speakers still use words borrowed from the source language. Baetens-Beardsmore reports that in Brussels French darts are called "vogelpik" whereas the word "fléchettes" is the appropriate French one.

Loanwords should not be confused with *loanshifts*/ *loantranslation*/ *calques* in which morphemic substitution occurs without any importation from the source/donor language, i.e. "skyscraper" has been imported into French as "gratte ciel".⁵⁹ The term loanshift is also used to describe a semantic change that occurs when a native term is applied to a new cultural phenomenon that has been imported and is referred to in the recipient language by an existing term. Such is the case reported by Baetens-Beardsmore, of the word "pêso" which

⁵⁹ Baetens-Beardsmore (1986), p. 46 and Einar Haugen, *The Norwegian Language in America, a Study of Bilingual Behaviour* (London: Bloomington, 1969), p. 390.

means "weight" in Portuguese, but in its American Portuguese (Brazilian) use means "dollar".⁶⁰

Another illustration of transfers can be found in the studies of Valkhoff.⁶¹ He introduced the notion of loans of convenience and loans of necessity. *Loans of convenience* are determined by affective associations connected with transfer rather than any inadequacy in the recipient language. The transfer occurs from a less prestigious language to a more prestigious one so that the low prestige of the donor language adds expressiveness to the disparaging association implied in the use of the transfer. Baetens-Beardsmore gives the example of the French in Switzerland borrowing terms of German origin to derogatorily designate women, thereby increasing the pejorative association connected with the use of the transfer⁶². A *loan of necessity* is "a transfer used when no precise equivalent exists in the recipient language", and usually designates culture-tied phenomena, for instance, it has been suggested that Welsh imported words of Latin origin when Roman influence on the British Isles brought a novel institution such as the church (Latin "ecclesia" became in Welsh via transfer "eglwys").⁶³ It could be argued that Valkhoff's loans of necessity are very similar to Baetens-Beardsmore's integrations. They both justify the existence of transfer because of the lack of precise equivalence in the recipient language. One difference is that loans of necessity are more culture-tied, in other words, the term does not exist in the recipient language, because there is no such notion of this term in the country of this language. In case "the borrowing from another language leads to enrichment and

⁶⁰ Baetens-Beardsmore (1986), p. 47.

⁶¹ M. Valkhoff, *Les mots français d'origine néerlandaise* (Amersfort: Valkhoff & Cie, 1931), p. 9.

⁶² Baetens-Beardsmore, pp. 48-49.

⁶³ Baetens-Beardsmore (1986), p. 49.

reinforcement of the recipient language's lexical stock"⁶⁴, it is referred to as *positive transfer* whereas *negative transfer* has the opposite effect. But what is considered to be an enriching language's lexical stock or, in contrast, what may impair it might be debatable. Obviously this value judgement should be handled with great care.

An example of how bilingualism can affect semantics is the bilingual's perception and designation of colours. Welsh, for instance, has two terms for distinguishing shades of green : "gwyrdd" which is in English green and "glas" which can be either blue or green for natural objects. In practice the Welsh monoglot uses two words to describe what the English monoglot calls green.⁶⁵ What about the Welsh-English bilingual? It has been noticed that the bilingual speaker would tend to use both adjectives blue and green when speaking English, to coincide with the semantics of the equivalent Welsh term.

The bilingual speaker will adapt her/himself according to the interlocutor, and to a certain extent the bilingual can control her/his language as far as interference are concerned. But probably the most difficult area of all for the avoidance of interference is that of phonology. Lenneberg argues that there is a critical age situated around 11 for the development of language ability. Beyond this age the speaker would reproduce sounds of L2 according to the pattern of L1, hence bringing about *phonological interference*.⁶⁶ According to Lenneberg, decrease of the plasticity of the area of the brain utilised in phonological processing would be the source of the phenomenon. Phonological interference can take the form of *under-differentiation*;

⁶⁴ Baetens-Beardsmore (1986), p. 49.

⁶⁵ Baetens-Beardsmore (1986), p. 51.

⁶⁶ E. H. Lenneberg, *Biological Foundations of Language* (New-York: Wiley, 1967).

that is, when two sounds of L2 are confused because they are not distinguished in L1. On the contrary, *over-differentiation* occurs when distinctions are imposed on L2 because of L1 although unnecessary. Haugen calls these two phenomenon diaphone.⁶⁷ On the other hand, *re-interpretation* takes place when the bilingual pronounces phonemes of L2 by recognising features of L1. Finally, *phone-substitution* describes the situation when two phonemes are identified as identical across two languages and are pronounced similarly, where in fact their production are different. Weinreich argues that it is on the phonological level that interference is mostly felt (foreign accent) as he points out: "It requires a relatively high degree of cultural sophistication in both languages for a speaker to afford the structural luxury of maintaining separate subphonemic habits in each".⁶⁸

Interference, as has been discussed earlier, can occur at any level of language structure or function (phonetic, lexical and grammatical). It could be said that interference is an indication of language dominance, but according to domains of interest and experience, it is not necessarily the same language that is always dominant. The dominance of the speaker's repertoire may not coincide with any chronological order of learning. Although there might be similarities between interference and code switching. It would seem that "interference is determined by internal linguistic factors, whereas code switching is determined by extra-linguistic factors".⁶⁹

67 Einar Haugen, *Bilingualism in the Americas: A Bibliography and Research Guide*, 26, (Alabama: Publications of the American Dialect Society, 1956), p.45.

68 Weinreich (1979), p. 24.

69 Baetens-Beardmore (1986), p. 64.

In other words, we understand that code switching is controlled and not a "verbal salad" that impairs both languages as has been suggested. Fishman argues that language choice in multilingual speech communities is far from being a "random matter" of momentary inclination or "inadequacy" and that "proper" usage indicates that only one language will be chosen by particular interlocutors on a special occasion or a particular topic.⁷⁰ Thus certain elements extraneous to a particular language may be used consciously and skilfully. The bilingual marked speech patterns are determined by a complex set of factors, some are linguistic, social, psychological... which lead to interference or code switching and sometimes one overlaps the other.

It has been noticed in Ellul that: "The "theory of translation" with its frequent references to the graphological level, deals primarily with the written form of the language. However much of what it postulates can be easily applied to the bilingual speech event and therefore it can throw quite a few rays of light on code switching"⁷¹ It is further suggested that the theory of the restricted and rank translations can be applied to bilingual utterances which may be unacceptable syntactically in the target text. Let us consider the following examples:

1. "U AJMA, these you don't like them you?"
2. "You are alone, or there is Sabrina with you?"
3. "Good, the soup!"

⁷⁰ J. Fishman, (1972), p.15.

⁷¹ S. Ellul, *A case study in Bilingualism Code Switching between Parents and their Pre-school Children in Malta* (Cambridge: Huntingdon Publishers, 1978).

4. "You won't come with us in the car?"
5. "You want to sing?"⁷²

For the reader of English these examples are not acceptable syntactically, yet the Maltese reader may recognise the particular word order. It is apparent that the English is a restricted translation of Maltese as can be seen in example 3 above:

3. "Good, the soup!"
"TAJBA S-SOPPA"

In Maltese the verb is understood and as a result in the English word-for-word translation the verb is omitted. Examples 4,5, illustrate the absence of "do" in Maltese, as well as the omission of the inversion transformation in the question forms.

Examples 6 and 7 refer to action that will take place in the (immediate) future, however one may notice that the English does not contain any marker of the intended tense as the use of "will" or "shall" does not exist in Maltese.

6. EJJA I show you
Come and I'll show you
EJJA NURIK.
7. MELA ISSA I throw it on the floor
I'll throw it on the floor
MELA ISSA NITFAGHHA FL-ART ISSA.

The English used seems present only as far as the lexis is concerned, the syntax is quite obviously calqued from Maltese and even at this

⁷² Ellul, p. 13.

level it has been noticed that interferences are operating as in the following example:

- 8 Do you want me to change you,
HANINI?"
Do you want me to change your
swimsuit,
darling?
TRID INBIDDILLEK, HANINI

In the above English production, it is interesting to note the use of the word "change", the English verb is treated as if it carried the same semantic meaning as the Maltese "inbiddilek."

Examples 1-7 of code switching between Maltese and English mirror the point that code switching focuses on the content rather than the form. For the bilingual speaker, it is significant to convey information and whether this embarks into crossing over languages is not of prime concern. It is predicted that the bilingual speaker will use the language that is most suited for qualifying/conveying the message." This choosing between various sets arises from a genuine desire to convey" (the functions of CS have already been shown).⁷³ Most significantly, it appears that in the case described by Elull code switching shares similar pattern behaviours with translation, as shown in the syntactic calques. This might be evidence for comparison of the two phenomena.

It has been assumed by linguists that it is the very existence of a system of distinctive and non-distinctive features which causes interference when the speaker of one language attempts to learn another language in which the phonological system is composed of partially similar and

⁷³ Ellul, p. 2.

completely different distinctive and non-distinctive features.⁷⁴

Parallels can be drawn between the study of language acquisition and language switch. In both cases the speaker will have to operate with a set of distinctive features, even though some might overlap, as mentioned by Briere. For both, the language learner and the bilingual, in particular the subordinate bilingual, phonic interference may take place, (commonly known as foreign accent). Troubetskoy summed up this process quite clearly:

Le système phonologique d'une langue est semblable à un crible à travers lequel passe tout ce qui est dit... Les sons de la langue étrangère reçoivent une interprétation phonologiquement inexacte, puisqu'on les fait passer par le "crible phonologique" de sa propre langue.⁷⁵

Many speakers will have experienced reading a word presupposing it is to be read in language A and realising instantly it was in fact to be done in language B.

To this point, the concept of response dominance has stimulated numerous research among psychologists and led to put onto contact the fields of language learning, bilingualism and verbal behaviour. In order to define the response dominance subjects have to read list of words without prior notification whether they are from L1 or L2, some words are similar in the written form to both languages however, they might be phonologically discrete.

⁷⁴ E.J. Briere, *A Psychological Linguistic Study of Phonological Interference* (The Hague:Mouton, 1984), p. 15.

⁷⁵ N. S. Troubetskoy, *Principe de Phonologie*, trans. by J. Cantineau (Paris: Librairie Klincksieck, 1980), p. 54.

4.6. Code switching and government

4.6.1. The role of propaganda

Various types of propaganda can often be held responsible for motivating people consciously/unconsciously to do or say things which are not characteristics of them. Motivation plays an important role in language choice, and speakers who are consciously motivated have evaluated the facts at their disposals, and chosen the particular way of action of speech.

For a state like Malta, it is possible to argue that bilingualism is "a birthright" of every Maltese person.⁷⁶ It is clear that the Maltese people are motivated in cultivating their national language, but it is equally evident that they wish to participate to the international scene which can be achieved with the learning of English (the official language). As a result, it could be said that in Malta, children will be considered educated when bilingual. In turn, several factors ought to be considered, this wishful linguistic "ideal" may imply a particular type of bilingualism, most probably compound, that code switching might be a linguistic reality, and that it is affecting performance in both languages.

The mixing of languages might be perceived as a problem in a monolingual society, therefore CS should be given attention as a social behaviour.

⁷⁶ Maltese ethnic groups are defined as a "mixture of Arab, Scicilian, Norman, Spanish, Italian, and English" in *The World Fact Book* (1990), p. 196.

4.6.2. Theory of language maintenance and language shift.

Attempts have been made at characterising linguistic patterns in multilingual states, and three possible linguistic outcomes of the prolonged contact of ethnic groups: has been evoked in the literature of the field: (i): language maintenance, (ii) bilingualism, (iii) language shift.

4.6.2.1. Language maintenance

Catalonia represents a case of language maintenance, Catalan, a Romance language is spoken in Catalonia in the North-eastern part of Spain.⁷⁷ It is also spoken in Valencia and in the Balearic Islands, part of Sardinia, in the Rousillon area of France and in Andorra, where it is the official language. Paulston suggests that the case of Catalonia is unique:

It is well known that when a politically and strong language exists alongside a minority and, hence, weaker language in the same region, a language hierarchy known as diglossia is usually produced. In Catalonia, however, the social; stratification of the two languages is unique. In relation to Spanish, Catalonia is a minority language, hence weaker and in a subordinate position. But at the same time, it is the language of the large part of the economic and intellectual middle class, as well as the language of the local political power. Spanish, on the other hand, is the language of immigrants and the lower strata of the population. That is, even if Spanish is, the language is,

⁷⁷ Castilian Spanish is mostly spoken, however, the second languages include 17% Catalan, 7% Galician, and 2% Basque, data collected in *The World Fact Book*, (1990), p. 289.

in principle, the strongest language from certain perspectives, it is also the less prestigious.⁷⁸

It is useful to remember that in 1716 Philip V of the new Bourbon Dynasty forbade the use of Catalan which was politically repressed until the death of General Franco in 1975.⁷⁹ However, Article 3 of the 1978 Spanish Constitution declared Castilian and the regional languages to be both official within their community, this appear to be evidence according to Paulston, that Catalan is "doing well". it might be questioned why there is no unity of language within the same nation-state. On this point, Paulston argues that "Catalan represents not a case of ethnicity but of geographic nationalism which in combination with a strong economy accounts for centuries of persecuted language maintenance with bilingualism".⁸⁰

Tanzania, represents a case of successful choice and implementation of a national and official indigenous language in Africa.⁸¹ Swahili is a Bantu language used as a *lingua franca* for about 25 million ethnically diverse people living in East Africa. Besides Tanzania, Swahili is a national language in Kenya and is also spoken in Uganda, Burundi, Rwanda, Zambia, Somalia, Mozambique and Zaire. Paulston postulates the theory that the success of Swahili in Tanzania is due to "a historical accident of the coming together of

⁷⁸ M. Siguan, "Bilingual Education in Spain", in *International of Bilingualism and Bilingual Education*, ed. by C. B. Paulston (New York: Green Wood Press, 1988), p.

4.
⁷⁹ During the second Spanish Republic, between 1931 and 1939, Catalan use was then permitted.

⁸⁰ Christina Bratt Paulston, "Linguistic Minorities and Language Policies, Four Case Studies" in *Maintenance and Loss of Minority Languages*, ed by William Fase *et al* (Amsterdam: John Benjamin Publishing Company, 1992), pp. 55-79, (p. 58).

⁸¹ Swahili and English are official languages in Tanzania, English is the primary language of commerce, administration and Higher Education, while Swahili is widely understood and generally used for communication between ethnic groups. Primary education is generally carried through in Swahili. First language of most people is a tribal language.

many factors", namely that (i) there was an indigenous language available with a long tradition as a lingua franca, (ii) the language was already standardised and had been used by missionaries and the German colonial administration with positive attitude as a language of instruction. (iii) Swahili is a Bantu language and belongs to the same family as approximately 130 other languages spoken in Tanzania, which makes Swahili easily learned, (iv) Swahili stands as a symbol of nationalism and freedom of oppression, (v) Swahili was not the dominant language of any of the 130 tribes, so that its adoption is non-conflictual, (vi) there is a high proportion of intermarriages between tribal members, in particular in urban centres, and Swahili appears to be an adequate language for children of intermarriages. Language shift is nevertheless said to be appearing.

The case of Tanzania might be contrasted with that of Sweden. Since the 1960's this part of the world has experienced immigration, though, Sweden has been until now homogeneous in culture and language. The 1975 Parliament Bill permits immigrants and ethnic minorities equality, cultural freedom of choice and solidarity between Swedes and ethnic minorities. And in 1977, the Home Language Reform made it the responsibility of the municipalities to provide home language instruction, if desired. However the situation of the Finns, the second largest immigrant group in Sweden, is not exactly easy. The freedom of choice gives the option for individual immigrants to choose how much they want to maintain their ethnic boundaries or how much they want to embrace Swedish culture. And it appears in the case of the Finns, that they do not wish to maintain ethnic boundaries but rather "extended nationalism". In this light,

nationalism involves the rights of the group rather than the choice of individuals. And this is a type of situation where political issues overlap with the ones of language choice/rights. And Paulston summarised the situation quite clearly when saying "equal treatment does not constitute equal opportunities."⁸² However, the Finns appear to have made the most of bilingual education, as it is reported that of Liljegren's Finnish 9th graders, 53 per cent speak Swedish always, (36 per cent) or often (17 per cent) with their parents.⁸³ These figures seem to give evidence that there is a wish of language shift on the part of Finnish students. It is important to note that the demand for home language tuitions comes from the families, parent's group or immigrant organisations rather than from the students themselves. Mother tongue instruction makes it possible to recognise the values of the old country which are dear to older generations.

It has been valuable to compare these observations as they highlight that maintained group bilingualism is unusual. Furthermore, a common pattern appears to be that prolonged contact with a nation-state, the subordinate language shifts to the language of the dominant group. The process might take up to a few generations. Where the shift does not take place, there are identifiable reasons such as lack of incentive or lack of availability. Exogamy, voluntary migration, continued access to a cultural prestige L1, sacred language, ethnic persistence are other factors amongst others that might influence the process of language shift in one way or the other.

⁸² Paulston (1992), p. 67.

⁸³ T. Liljegren and L. Ullman, *Elever med annat Hemspråk än Svenska som Gick ut Grundskolan 1979*, Delrapport 4 (Stockholm: National Swedish Board of Education, 1982).

4.6.2.2. Language shift

If knowledge of a particular language or particular social/geographical variety of language does not "sell" well it can be expected that this language or variety might become a minority language and might progressively give way to the majority language or type of language. This shift from the minority language to the majority language may happen in regards to (i) to the minority language function or/and (ii) minority language skills.

A language shift can be described as " a process which starts with monolingualism of some type and concludes with a new type of monolingualism after a period of bilingualism" The following formula represents language shift:⁸⁴

$$A > Ab > AB > aB > B$$

In this formula A represents the minority language, that is the language which is dominated socially, politically or numerically and B stands for the majority language, in other words, the dominating language, in a bilingual/multilingual society. It has been noted earlier that a language shift might be related to competence as well as function. The table below illustrates the different possibilities resulting from language shift:⁸⁵

⁸⁴ Eimar Haugen, *The Ecology of Language* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1972), p. 334.

⁸⁵ Marika Tandefelt, "Some Linguistic Consequences of the Shift from Swedish to Finnish in Finland" in *Fase et al* (1992), pp. 149-167, (p.150).

		FUNCTION 1.1	TOTAL SHIFT 1.1.1 (NO FUNCTION IN A) PARTIAL SHIFT 1.1.2 (MORE FUNCTIONS IN B THAN IN A)
	SOCIETY 1		
		COMPETENCE 1.2	TOTAL SHIFT 1.2.1 (NO SPEAKERS WITH ACTIVE OR PASSIVE COMPETENCE IN A) PARTIAL SHIFT 1.2.2 (MORE SPEAKERS WITH A BETTER COMPETENCE IN B THAN IN A)
LANGUAGE SHIFT			
		FUNCTION 2.1	TOTAL SHIFT 2.1.1 (NO FUNCTION IN A) PARTIAL SHIFT 2.1.2 (MORE FUNCTIONS IN B THAN IN A)
	INDIVIDUA L 2		
		COMPETENCE 2.2	TOTAL SHIFT 2.2.1 (NEITHER ACTIVE NOR PASSIVE COMPETENCE IN A) PARTIAL SHIFT 2.2.2 (PASSIVE AND SOME COMPETENCE IN A)

One needs to distinguish between partial shift and total shift, partial shift involves a shift in progress, whereas total shift indicates a point of no return. It is interesting to note that the macro level (language shift concerning societal bilingualism) is very similar in behavioural linguistic patterns than the micro level (language shift concerning individual bilingualism). A decreasing function means that the domains of the minority language is being taken over by the majority language (1.1.2 and 2.1.2) and a decreasing competence means that the language gradually ceases to operate as a first

language and becomes a minority language (1.2.2 and 2.2.2). This situation is also referred to as language loss, the extreme case can be described as language death (1.2.1).

From this theoretical frame, it might be concluded that it is not so much "the degree to which the two languages are used which distinguishes the language maintainer from the language shifter, but rather the benefit which competence in two languages brings to the first mentioned".⁸⁶

To illustrate this model, let us take a look at the case of Morocco. In Morocco, language shift from Berber to Arabic might occur as Arabic is felt to "give an opening to the outside world", and "allows communication with everyone".⁸⁷ However, while French as part of the bilingual education programme was set up during the protectorate, it became widely used even outside the educational arena, operating another language shift. Consequently, the following model of language shift appeared:⁸⁸

Speakers with Berber	→ speakers with	→ speakers with
as	Arabic as L1	French as L1
L1		

Bentahila *et al* report that:

[the language shift] seems readily accepted and not regretted in the community concerned, probably because it is not felt to affect identity which is secure before and after the shift. The attitude to the abandoned language seems to be highly pragmatic, the language are not considered as

⁸⁶Tandefelt, p. 165.

⁸⁷ Abdelai Bentahila and Eirlys E. Davies, "Convergence and Divergence: two Cases of Language Shift in Morocco", in W. Fase *et al* (1992), pp. 197-210 (p. 201).

⁸⁸ Bentahila and Davis, p. 205.

symbols, but simply as tools to be maintained just as long as there are needed.⁸⁹

The word "attitude" seems in this quote of paramount importance. The examples of various forms of bilingual discourse (code-switching and Green's bilingual literature) have illustrated the creative aspects involved in language contact and transfer. However, the following chapter will show the manipulative power of attitude. And within a particular historical context, how it may be used to exclude, on the ground of differences.

⁸⁹ Bentahila and Davis, pp. 209-10.

CHAPTER 5

~ THE BILINGUALISM-INTELLIGENCE DICHOTOMY ~

5.1. A prejudiced start

Research into bilingualism reveals that this field of study had a very slow start. It was not until the 1920's that European and North American psychologists and linguists examined the effects of bilingualism on intellectual maturing and the social adaptation of the bilingual. Until approximately the 1960's, common belief among researchers in the field was that bilingualism probably had detrimental effects on intelligence.

5.1.1. American and Welsh studies

Starting as early as 1921, collective tests were developed principally in two focal geographical areas, that is, in Wales and North America which helped to enlighten the bilingualism-intelligence dichotomy. These studies comparing the performances of bilinguals with monolinguals suggested that bilingualism impaired mental aptitudes.

Perhaps the first problem in the bilingualism-intelligence dichotomy, is that there is no consensus on what bilingualism is. There is no single definition but rather a multiplicity of definitions,

which makes bilingualism a multi-faceted phenomenon. As Baker puts it, the notion of bilingualism hovers somewhere "between the notions of complete bilingualism and complete monolingualism".¹ Distinguished scholars in the field such as Haugen, Mackay, Baetens-Beardsmore, or Weinreich² do not describe the phenomenon in the same manner. Similarly, intelligence cannot be observed directly but rather has to be inferred from behaviour or verbal and non-verbal acts. Moreover, in the bilingualism-intelligence dichotomy, it appears that the person who judges and devises intelligence tests does it from her/his cultural which is often monolingual perspective. The obvious danger seems then to be that this reinforces mainstream culture.

However, the earliest attempts to find measurable capacities linked to intelligence were made in the area of physical characteristics which, not surprisingly, proved unrelated to mental capacities. Binet, professor of psychology at the Sorbonne, devised a test which included levels of complexity, known as the Binet Test. Standards were calculated according to the possible results of average ages, and an observation of the results of such tests was meant to enable a general assessment of mental age. The test included exercises such as counting, naming abstract ideas, repeating sentences, noticing missing parts, arranging pictures / letters / objects, but it was argued that such tests lacked a sound theoretical basis. Nevertheless, Terman, professor of psychology at Stanford

1 Colin Baker, *Key issues in Bilingualism and Bilingual Education* (Multilingual Matters: Clevedon, 1988), p. 2 .

Einar Haugen, *Bilingualism in the Americas: A Bibliography and Research Guide*, 2 vols (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1953).

William F. Mackay, "The Description of Bilingualism", *Journal of the Canadian Linguistic Association*, 7 (1962), 51-85.

Hugo Baetens-Beardsmore, *Bilingualism: Basic Principles* (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1986). Weinreich, (1953).

University, was a strong advocate of such tests.³ He extended the Binet Test to include older children as well as adults and refined the method for determining the intelligence quotient, known as IQ. The Stanford-Binet Test included exercises such as multiple choice ones and sentences in which incoherences were to be noticed. During the years 1910-1912, Terman et al applied the Stanford revision of the Binet Scale to 1000 non-selected children. In this test Terman questioned the relation of intelligence to social status. For that purpose, the children were classified by their teachers into five categories, that is, "very inferior", "inferior", "average", "superior", "very superior". Readers may note this terminology with surprise today and wonder how one might have felt at belonging to the "very inferior" category. Terman's results showed that there was a difference of 14 points in the median IQ between the superior group (IQ = 107) and the inferior group (IQ = 93). The author reported that the difference, at the age of seven, amounts to one year in mental age and consequently, at the age of fourteen, to two years in mental age. The usual assumption for differences in intelligence in relation to social status has been that such correlation was the artificial product of environmental influence. Terman rectified this assumption and suggested that the difference was due to "an actual average superiority in the endowment of better class children"⁴. Such is also the view of Pressey and Ralston, who found a direct correlation between the economic and sociological status of bilingual communities (in Wales) and the intelligence of its people, as measured in its school

³ L.M. Terman and M.A. Meril, *Measuring Intelligence* (Boston: , Mifflin, 1937). See also L.M. Terman, *The Measurement of Intelligence* (Boston : Houghton, Mifflin, 1919)

⁴ Lewis M. Terman *et al*, "The Stanford Revision of the Binet-Simon Scale and Some Results from its Application to 1000 Non-Selected Children", *Journal of Educational Psychology* (1915), 551-562, (p. 560).

children. By postulating that mental ability is hereditary, Pressey and Ralston showed in their study that the occupational group who scored in percentage above the median for their age was highest for better class children. Indeed, 548 unselected school children (of 10 to 14 inclusive) were classified into four groups, according to their father's occupation. These occupations could fall into four groups, depending on whether the father was a professional, an executive, an artisan or a labourer. Children undertook four tests which may be briefly described. The children had first to reorganise the word order of 25 sentences crossing out an extra word in each of them. Secondly, they were asked to cross out an unrelated word in series of five, then to cross out an inadequate number in series of 25. Finally, they undertook a vocabulary and moral discrimination test where, in a list of 25 moral terms, the worst thing was to be crossed out. This vocabulary and moral discrimination test was a "good" example of precisely manipulative discrimination. The authors' results coincided with their assumption, that:

the children of professional parentage test as superior while the children of day labourers test as relatively poor in mental endowment. Apparently, there is a direct correlation between occupation and mental ability.⁵

To corroborate this, hereditarians such as Brigham came along with the idea that native intelligence was unmodifiable: "Intelligence tests measured native intelligence, and nothing not even unfamiliarity with the language."⁶ Brigham assumed that test-taking was part of intelligence. Indeed, the hereditarian view on bilingualism

5 S.L. Pressey and R. Ralston, "The Relation of the General Intelligence of School Children to the Occupation of their Fathers", *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 3 (1919), 360-373, p. 369.

6 C.C. Brigham, *A Study of American Intelligence* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1922).

emphasised the genetic quality of groups who happened to be bilingual, and according to this concept, intelligence is based on heredity, and is therefore against the principle that poor performance in intelligence tests reflects language handicap.

It seems that the idea of the genetic superiority of monolinguals stigmatised bilinguals and was developed from the 1920's until the 1940's, as found in the studies of Smith⁷ or Saer⁸ in Wales in 1923 and Pintner⁹ in New York about a decade later. Such surveys proposed that bilingualism was a source of 'language handicap' or, at the extreme, of 'mental confusion'.

Saer published a case study in 1923 in which he interviewed 1400 children, in Wales, tested yearly from ages 7 to 12, from rural and non-rural backgrounds. When comparing the bilingual group to a monolingual one, Saer came to the conclusion that bilingual children, from rural backgrounds, were inferior in the verbal and non verbal scale of Stanford-Binet to monolingual ones. However, there was almost no difference when children came from the city. The monolinguals' "considerable superiority" over bilinguals, according to the author, was seen to persist in students at university level.¹⁰ Moreover, Saer suggested that "the mental confusion" noticed in bilinguals was due to a "certain form of the old language [which] remain as permanent characteristics of the new".¹¹ In addition, Saer

7 Frank Smith, "Bilingualism and Mental Development", *British Journal of Psychology*, 13 (1923), 271-82.

8 D. J. Saer, "The Effect of Bilingualism on Intelligence", *British Journal of Psychology*, 14 (1923), 25-38.

9 Rudolph Pinter, "The Influence of Language Background on Intelligence", *Journal of Social Psychology*, 3 (1932), 235-40.

¹⁰The test revealed the following I.Q.'s:

	URBAN	RURAL
MONOGLOTS	99	96
BILINGUALS	100	86

¹¹ Saer (1923), p. 25.

attributed this confusion to differences in intelligence amongst the two groups, as well as differences in results of his test. The test included comparisons of the bilinguals and monolinguals' IQ in the Stanford Binet Scale, comparison of vocabulary, composition, rhythm and dexterity. As expected, all results were in favour of monolinguals (preferably urban ones), and in this way Saer attempted to prove their "considerable superiority". From this study, Saer concluded that:

the greatest influence on the mental confusion occurring in bilingualism is exerted by the language used by bilingual children in their play and in their free association with youthful companions when that language is not also that in which they are first taught at school.¹²

Much could be said about the content and the methodological quality of the test but as Balkan tells us, Saer's work was nevertheless important in so far as it presented, for the first time on a systematic basis, the problem of bilingualism.¹³

Smith conducted a study at the same time and in the same place, as Saer, his test consisting of dictation, a mutilated passage test, sentence forming, word forming, and a free composition. All results were also in favour of monolinguals, sometimes by a scarcely noticeable difference, yet Smith declared: "Bilingualism may yet be shown to be no intellectual disadvantage in the young; but the tests described ... clearly support the view that under present methods it is a positive disadvantage".¹⁴

¹² Saer (1923), p. 38.

¹³ Lewis Balkan, *Les effets du bilinguisme français-anglais sur les aptitudes intellectuelles* (Bruxelles: Aimav, 1970), p. 11.

¹⁴ Smith (1923), p. 281.

5.1.2. The first attempts

While the bulk of studies of the time pointed out the mental handicap of bilinguals, Bere wondered about this idea of inferiority of bilinguals as a permanent defect versus the possibility of restricted opportunities of the latter group in the land of origin, asking whether studies on intelligence tests and bilingualism had found any relationship between intrinsic mental capacities and birthplace. In addition, he questioned the differences in results between the two groups and challenged opposite possibilities. Bere is perhaps one of the first researchers of the time who states the problem so clearly: Are differences to be attributed to disparity in mental capacities or to contrasts in economic opportunities? The author also noted that, in order to carry out rigorous comparative research, there was a need for equal samples in both groups, that is on a national and not regional representation basis. This is an important notion especially when the study of bilingualism involves an immigrant population, as is the case in studies conducted in the United States, since remarks concerning an immigrant bilingual group in a host country do not permit generalisations on its people as a whole. Generalisation is precisely what Bere reproached in the Binet Test which categorised bilinguals as inferior, perhaps simply because the test was not adapted to an unselected population. To put it differently, children -bilingual or not- needed to have a certain average mental capacity before scoring positively in the Binet Test. Therefore, we can conclude that certain test norms were more representative than others, and it seems pertinent to suggest that the Binet Test was from the start designed in favour of monolinguals . (Whether it was deliberately or unconsciously done is an open debate) Bere commented on such tests:

This body of evidence from different parts of the United States, obtained by various methods of approach, will serve its greatest purpose when its implications result in a rational attitude towards the newcomer to the United States.¹⁵

On the basis of this comment, it is apparent that "rational attitude" seems to be the key phrase. Yet, most studies of the time were "rationally" discriminating against bilinguals, who in a large proportion, were immigrants in the US. Goodenough's study illustrates this very clearly. The author, when approaching reasons of differences in intelligence testing between monolinguals and bilinguals, suggested potential possibilities which seemed quite unfamiliar in the 1920's. Among those, she referred to linguistic handicap, poor environment and bad physical conditions. However in her report, she preferred to attribute these differences as linked to "squalid social and hygienic conditions" for some bilinguals. Goodenough also accredited the inferiority of bilinguals to their persistent use of their own language as a cause of maladaptation in America. This persistence of some foreign language use was presumed to vary with intelligence. Based on a study of Brown's¹⁶, Goodenough published a chart revealing how capable different nationalities were in learning a new language, a new culture and a new way of life, in relation to their IQ. and concluding that: "A more probable explanation is that those nationality groups whose average intellectual ability is inferior do not readily learn the new language".¹⁷ From this statement, one has the impression that

15 May Bere, *A Comparative Study of the Mental Capacity of Children of Foreign Parentage* (New York: Teacher's College Columbia University, 1924), p. 99.

16 See G. Brown, "Intelligence as Related to Nationality", *Journal of Educational Research*, 5 (1922), 324-27.

17 Florence L. Goodenough, "Racial Differences in the Intelligence of School Children", *Journal of Experimental Psychology*, 9 (1926), 388-397 (p. 393).

Goodenough accepts the hereditarian view on bilingualism, inferring that genetic intelligence differences are the cause of social and hygienic maladaptation. The author, referring to the immigrant bilingual actually declared "his children inherit his mental characteristics" which would have us believe that bilinguals are a lost cause who will reproduce in their debility for ever.¹⁸ The so-called mental characteristics can be observed in the chart of distribution of Intelligence Quotients by Racial Stock, quoted by the author who stated that the rank-orders of the various racial groups correspond very closely to other investigators using verbal tests. What is most striking in this research is that the arguments Goodenough first advanced to explain the differences in results in intelligence testing between monolinguals and bilinguals are precisely the ones that were to be put forward in the 1930's. Although her study only confirmed old explanations, it should be noted that this was a timid attempt at introducing an alternative rationale.

To elucidate this point it might be useful to consider the fact that as a direct consequence of the World War I, the United States during the 1920's reversed its traditional immigration policy. Prior to World War I the New World had been proud to be a place of asylum for the Old World. The nation needed cheap labour and therefore welcomed those who were ready to build a new life as well as new roads and new factories. Restrictions on immigration were enforced, firstly through the Literacy Act of 1917, which claimed that immigrants needed to know how to read and write a language whether English or not to be able to enter the country. Then, as it appeared that "the world was preparing to move to the United States"

¹⁸ Goodenough (1926), p. 391.

measures were taken.¹⁹ It was declared in the Emergency Quota Act of 1921, that three per cent of the number of each nationality resident in the US according to the 1910 census would be allowed to immigrate, that is approximately 357 000 annually. Finally, the Quota Act of 1924 lowered the number of immigrants to two per cent but this time the percentage was to be calculated on the basis of the 1890 census and not the 1910, which came to 164 000 annually. As a result of such policies, the number of "new immigrants" (Eastern and Southern Europe) was reduced and the number of the "old immigrants" (Northern and Western Europe) increased. The old immigrants were believed to assimilate more easily into American culture. This idea seems to corroborate Brown's chart in which it is suggested that German and Danish resisted American linguistic and cultural adaptation respectively at 20.1 per cent and 31.6 per cent, whereas Italian and Slovak resisted respectively at 86.4 per cent and 88.4 per cent. It would seem that studies carried out in the 1920's in the United States were influenced by the national policies on immigration quotas.

In Europe, in Wales for example, it would appear that the prejudice against bilinguals can be described as a combination of the English/Welsh question as well as a more general tendency throughout Europe for nationalistic sentiments linked with economic agitation towards the end of the 1920's.

Similar findings appeared in studies such as those of Rigg²⁰ in 1928, in America or Jones and Stewart²¹ in Wales in 1951 which

19 J.A. Krout and A.S. Rice, *United States since 1865* (New York: Barnes and Noble Books, 1977), p. 149.

20 M. Rigg, "Some Further Data on the Language Handicap", *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 19 (1928), 252-56.

21 W.R. Jones and W.A Stewart, "Bilingualism and Verbal Intelligence", *British Journal of Psychology*, 4 (1951), 3-8.

indicate that monolinguals performed better than bilinguals in both verbal and non verbal tests of intelligence. All these studies generally disclosed a number of problems; they proposed that bilinguals were behind at school, retarded in measured intelligence and socially adrift. In sum, common belief was that two linguistic systems within one brain divided a person's cognitive resources and reduced her/his efficiency of thought. In 1890, Laurie, in a lecture on language and linguistic method, had corroborated this view quite clearly:

If it were possible for a child to live in two languages at once equally well, so much the worse. His intellectual and spiritual growth would not thereby be double, but halved. Unity of mind and character would have great difficulty in asserting itself in such circumstances. ²²

However, in order to understand these results, it is useful to consider that the studies previously mentioned did not rigorously control equal balance of parameters such as age, sex, socio-economic status (S.E.S) in the experimental groups (bilinguals) and control groups (monolinguals). Most important of all, no attention was paid to the type of test used and no account taken of the languages involved. Since the tests were mainly verbal, they implied understanding and use of the test language which would be the monolingual's mother tongue but might not be the bilingual's. Furthermore, the level of bilingualism was either inadequately or not at all controlled. The question then arises whether the low scores obtained in these tests by bilinguals be attributed to bilingualism per se, or whether it was the uncontrolled variables which account for differences between the groups.

²² S.S. Laurie, *Lectures on "Language and Linguistic Method in the School"* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1890), p. 15.

It would be idealistic and wrong to pretend that all groups regardless of their sex, age, race, nationality, SES, have the same IQ. However, it seems fair to say that IQs vary from person to person, and not from (sub)group to (sub)group.

5.2. Towards methodological progress

Other tests, which still aimed at showing that bilingualism had detrimental effects on intelligence reported however, that bilinguals scored better or as well, on performance/non verbal tests. These findings include the works of Pinter and Keller²³ as early as in 1922, Darcy²⁴ in 1946 to quote but two. These studies seem very important pieces of evidence supporting the idea that bilingualism itself has no detrimental effect, but rather that faulty methodology can suggest the converse case.

5.2.1. Starting to reverse the trend

Pinter and Keller's study clearly exemplifies this. In 1919-1920, the authors conducted a survey in Youngstown, Ohio in three schools in which they asked the child's name, address, age, birth date, as well as the father's name and nationality. The nationality of the mother, if different from the father's, did not seem to matter, although we can

23 Rudolph Pinter and Pruth Keller, "Intelligence of Foreign Children", *Journal of Educational psychology*, 13 (1922), 214-222.

24 Nathalie T. Darcy, "The Effects of Bilingualism upon the Measurement of Intelligence of Children of Preschool Age", *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 37 (1946), 21-44.

infer that the mother's tongue plays a crucial role in the survey as she would probably be the one spending most time conversing with the child bearing in mind the time factor. All children were then classified on a chart stating their nationality and calculated IQ according to the Stanford Revision of the Binet Test. What is striking is that this chart listing the IQ of 18 European peoples and 7 North American and Anglo-Saxon ones speculates on various peoples' IQ on a very irregular basis. For instance, the IQ of Italians is calculated from a sample of 313 whereas the IQ of the French is accounted for from a unique specimen; by chance this unique case was found to be the cleverest of all peoples with an IQ of 125. White Americans scored only 95, so how representative a so-called cleverest person might be, need not even be discussed. Furthermore, it appears from the results of the study, that the Binet Test rated unfavourably specific nationalities among the listed bilinguals (Greeks, Italians and Eastern Europeans), nationalities forming the "new immigrating" population of the US, thought to adapt culturally and assimilate linguistically over a longer period than the "old immigrants" of Northern and Western Europe. Indeed, we are told that the test required "a minimum knowledge of English" or else "those children who hear a foreign language in their home may suffer a serious handicap when tested only by the revisions of the Binet Test".²⁵ We may wonder how extensive the child's knowledge of English had to be to enable him or her to be tested in equitable conditions. Therefore, it seems safe to propose that the child could have the opportunity to undertake the Binet Test or tests of this kind in the language s/he feels more comfortable (be it L1 or L2). Being bilingual, (as was

²⁵ Pinter and Keller, p. 222.

discussed in chapter 2), does not necessarily mean having perfect equal knowledge of the two languages.

Indeed, in the Thirties, researchers began to question previous intelligence tests and came to the conclusion that they were often inadequate. Sanchez found that the Stanford Binet Test was based on a eight-year-old-middle-class-American-population, and not surprisingly, in the test, 114 words were unknown to Mexican children, which showed that it was inadequate for children from a different social/linguistic background than the Americans.²⁶

In 1937, Seidl noticed that monolinguals scored better than bilinguals in verbal tests, but in performance tests, bilinguals scored better (Grace Arthur Scale).²⁷ It could be noticed that the experimental group came from a slightly better socio-economic background which could explain the results. The survey was carried out with the help of a questionnaire with children of the same age/sex. Needless to say, it is very difficult to analyse a mental process, especially when one has to analyse one's linguistic mastery, and perhaps it is even more so the case for children (In order to make it easier the child's speech should be completed with a witness' observations, and in the case of bilingualism the evolution would be used for each language as Skinner said for each "verbal behaviour").²⁸ But is there a fundamental difference in the sharing of capacities? Can we see a difference in bilingual production once a certain level of linguistic mastery has been reached? Furthermore, was the Stanford-Binet test a good means of showing such a difference?

26 G. I. Sanchez, "Scores of Spanish-speaking Children on Repeated Tests" in *Journal of Genetic Psychology* 40 (1932), .223-31.

27 J.C. Seidl, "The Effect of Bilingualism on the Measurement of Intelligence", (Unpublished Thesis, University of Fordham, New-York, 1937).

28 B.F. Skinner, *Verbal Behaviour*, (New-York: Appleton-Century Crofts, 1957).

In the same year, Arsenian used the Hoffman Bilingual Schedule, a questionnaire in which the person received points according to the level of contact s/he had with the foreign language spoken at home or in her/his surrounding.²⁹ The questionnaire was composed of 37 questions. One third approximately was dedicated to the usage history of the foreign language by the person and the rest dealt with her/his family and surroundings. In the first study Arsenian examined a sample of 469 Jewish school children, born in the US who had contacts during pre-school years with children whose mother-tongue was English. The 20 per cent with the best scores were the German-English bilinguals. And therefore:

La conclusion lui parut s'imposer qu'il n'y avait pas de rapport nécessaire entre le degré de bilinguisme et les scores obtenus dans les tests d'intelligence.³⁰

In a second study, Arsenian took 1152 children born in the US but of Italian origin, as well as 1196 Jewish children. Once more he used the Hoffman Bilingual Schedule (H.B.S.), and again no important correlation was found between the degree of bilingualism and scores reached in the intelligence tests. We are told:

Bref la conclusion de l'auteur fut que l'acquisition d'une seconde langue n'a pas d'effets facheux apparents sur la capacité comme sur le développement de l'intelligence³¹

What can be noted is that the H.B.S. did not measure bilingualism but rather the *contact* that the person had with another language than English.

²⁹ Seth Arsenian, *Bilingualism and Development*, 712 (New York: Teach. Col, Columbia University, 1937).

³⁰ Balkan, p. 20.

³¹ Balkan, p. 20.

The same year, Pinter and Arsenian conducted another study in which they analysed the relation of bilingualism to verbal intelligence and school adjustment. According to the 1930 Fifteenth Census of the United States 75 per cent of the school population aged 4-20, were native born of native parentage, which left 25 per cent of students of mixed or foreign parentage. In other words, one school child out of three was somehow bilingual or bicultural and perhaps it was this important figure which pushed the authors to state once again that: "it is concluded that bilingualism in this particular population bears no relation to verbal intelligence and school adjustment as measured by the tests employed".³² We may wonder whether this conclusion was the result of appropriate methodological testing or whether this new trend was attributed to the imminent number of immigrants, populating the US, who in 1937 were not considered as constituting a domestic threat any longer.

5.2.2. A body of evidence

In 1938, Jones also wondered about bilinguals being relegated to educational and social margins. In Wales, immigration did not seem to be a motive of resentment against bilinguals, it appeared rather that it lay in the fact of being linguistically different. Jones and his followers opposed that view contending that:

There are many parts of Europe where the peasants do speak two (languages), and are on that account generally remarkable for their intelligence. Nay, by knowing a second

³² Rudolph Pinter and Seth Arsenian, "The Relation of Bilingualism to Verbal Intelligence and School Adjustment" *Journal of Educational Research*, 31 (1937), 255-263, (p. 262).

- language a man is at once in some degree educated, and is twice as much an intellectual being"³³

Welsh peasants as we are told, may speak an additional tongue to their native language but also numerous are Europeans who belong to elite bilingualism (see chapter two), and speak another tongue as a result of foreign education/tuition. Such bilinguals were not discriminated against in the literature of the time even though they represented, as did Welsh speakers proportionally, a small ratio. Jones' work is interesting in so far as it brought practical criticism of previous tests, mainly Saer's use of the Binet Test. Jones criticised the Binet Test on the basis that no probable error was calculated on the difference of the results between both groups. Furthermore, Binet, did not measure intelligence but school performance, and bilinguals compared to monolinguals did "show a retardation not so much in intelligence as in scholastic or linguistic attainment, or perhaps in both".³⁴ In addition, Saer accorded "mental confusion" to bilinguals on the basis of two negative test results out of four, which Jones argued was insufficient to confer mental handicap. Moreover, Jones noted that in Saer's study urban bilinguals had learnt English in their play before entering school, whereas rural bilinguals had no knowledge at all of English when entering school. This parameter could explain differences in results among bilinguals alone and in comparison of monolinguals whose out of school language was not different from the language used at school as was the case for bilinguals. So, if there were mental confusion, it was not due to early bilingualism but rather to premature use of English as a medium of instruction, as the bilinguals had no knowledge of English when

33 William R. Jones, "Bilingualism and Intellectual Development", *Higher Education Journal*, 6 (1938), 10-19, (p. 17).

34 Jones (1938), p. 17.

starting school. Anastasi and Cordova also felt differences in intelligence test results depended on type of bilingualism.³⁵ When one language is learned at home and the other at school, the authors qualify this situation as "linguistic bifurcation". In such cases certain areas of linguistic knowledge are limited to an environmental sphere. However in a situation of "language parallelism", no such disadvantages are found. This context is nevertheless rarer. To this, Anastasi and Cordova added that verbal and non verbal tests have a different function; and perhaps monolinguals develop verbal expression while bilinguals are more detached from language itself and expand spatial expression. As is suggested in Christophersen, bilinguals excel in thinking in the "inarticulate", that is outside language.³⁶ To illustrate this assertion Christophersen noted:

But there is no reason to believe that he [the bilingual] is intellectually handicapped, and undoubtedly, as regards the particular technique of learning foreign languages, he enjoys a certain advantage, because he is established in a central position- in the inarticulate- from which he can branch out into any language he has occasion to learn.³⁷

Such statements imply that the bilingual's mother tongue is only an instrument which s/he uses for communication, one of many possible ways of exploring reality, hence the possibility of expressing her/himself in an added language. The bilingual's mental process is not immediately linked to either of his/her languages, each linguistic utterance involves a choice which in turn may be triggered by the linguistic context, the speaker, the place, etc. (See chapter 4 on Code Switching)

³⁵ Anne Anastasi and Fernando A. Cordova, "Some Effects of Bilingualism upon the Intelligence Test Performance of Puerto Rican Children in New York City", *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 44 (1953), 1-19.

³⁶ Paul Christophersen, *Bilingualism* (London: Methuen, 1948).

³⁷ Christophersen, p. 5.

The results of the studies reviewed in this chapter confirm the fact that they cannot be considered as very precise, as far as intelligence is concerned. In contrast, we should note the emergence of a positive attitude towards bilingualism which is new for this period. There is no question that intelligence tests in the 1930's were common, yet it is hard to consider intelligence testing a science, if it is essential for a science to have a rigorous methodology, measurement, and quantification. Also, it must be admitted that:

The debate centred almost exclusively on whether differences among individuals and groups of these measures reflected heredity or experience and not whether the measures themselves were adequate and equivalent for all the individuals tested.³⁸

Most of the research carried out before 1940 did not show a significant difference in the intelligence tests between experimental groups (bilinguals) and control groups (monolinguals). The difference lay more in the fact that bilinguals often belonged to an inferior socio-economic background and had late schooling in the language of the country. Therefore this group could not integrate with the dominant culture and succeed in the intelligence tests which were made according to the standards of that culture. The way bilingualism and intelligence were understood did not yet enable researchers to show or prove whether or not bilingualism was positive. Smith concluded in the *British Journal of Psychology* :

Bilingualism may yet be shown to be no intellectual disadvantage in the young, but the tests described in this

38 Kenji Hakuta, *Mirror of Language. The Debate on Bilingualism* (New-York: Basic Books, 1986), p. 28.

paper clearly support the view that under present methods it is a positive disadvantage.³⁹

It seems therefore reasonable to propose that such studies were not concerned with the phenomenon per se, but rather rejected bilingualism as an explanation of intelligence preferring instead to attribute differences in scores to different issues such as racial and ethnic origins.

When looking through four decades of intelligence testing, it seems that the statistical results of these intelligence tests have been a focal point, whereas the potential interpretation, or even manipulation, of these findings is more crucial to the overall attitude to bilingualism. Such results, as an outcome of defective methodology, seem to have been utilised ideologically against bilinguals, categorising them as linguistic and cultural minorities. Hence the erroneous equation that bilinguals' brains were divided as much as their blood and culture, of mixed origins, producing a blend not an original.

³⁹ F. Smith, "Bilingualism and Mental Development", in *British Journal of Psychology* 13 (1923), pp 270-282, (p. 281).

5.3.A new light on the approach

Research suggesting that bilingualism had neutral effects on intelligence was of interest for a short period, but was nevertheless important as it stressed the inadequacies of early studies. Studies include Jones in 1959 on Welsh-English bilinguals, who suggested that bilingualism was not a source of disadvantage in non-verbal IQ tests, providing parental occupations were taken into account.⁴⁰

5.3.1.Moving away from verbal and performance tests

Measuring the intelligence of bilinguals exposes many difficulties and we might wonder if this does not condemn verbal and performance tests. The effect of bilingualism on intelligence, positive or negative, reflects the methodology used. When bilinguals came from a lower socio-economic background, then negative effects were found. On the opposite pole when bilinguals came from middle-class backgrounds, positive effects were found. Such was the argument of Peal and Lambert. In 1962, they shed new light on the "language handicap of bilinguals". They argued that most studies had failed to take into account the fact that bilinguals and monolinguals came from different social backgrounds, and therefore bilinguals did not have equal chances in intelligence tests. Peal and Lambert also drew a distinction between balanced bilinguals and pseudo-bilinguals, the latter not being proficient in both L1 and L2, which could explain results of former studies, and claimed:⁴¹

40 William R. Jones, *Bilingualism and Intelligence* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1959).

41 L1 = primary linguistic system, L2 = secondary linguistic system.

The pseudo-bilingual knows one language much better than the other one and does not use his second language in communication. The true (or balanced) bilingual masters both at an early age and has facility with both as means of communication.⁴²

In other words, Peal and Lambert suggested that one of the problems of the early studies lies in the fact that monolingualism and bilingualism are not clearly defined so that pseudo bilinguals were included in tests that perhaps influenced results negatively. (On that point, Morgan already suggested in 1957 that bilinguals ought to be classified in a distribution according to the level of the speaker's bilingualism.⁴³ This classification would comprehend ten different levels ranging from a percentage of 0 to 100. In this manner, it would be possible to observe the diverse results of intelligence testing, at the different levels of bilingualism, in comparison to the monolinguals.) Peal and Lambert further observed that in such cases, problems of standardisation of translation might be another cause of poor scoring among bilinguals. Peal and Lambert's study was conducted with ten-year-old Anglo-Canadian bilinguals and monolinguals who came from a French school in Montreal. Peal and Lambert's work was methodologically advanced, in so far the experimental and control group were matched. The study did not concentrate only on IQ tests but also on cognitive abilities. Being bilingual, they argued, may give greater mental flexibility, superiority in concept formation, a more enriched bicultural vision of the world as well as a positive transfer between languages which benefits IQ. Peal and Lambert sought to

42 Elisabeth Peal and Wallace E. Lambert, "The Relation of Bilingualism to Intelligence", *Psychological Monographs: General and Applied*, 76, 546 (1962), 1-23, (p 16).

43 E. R. Morgan, *Bilingualism and Non-Verbal Intelligence. A Study of Tests Result* (Aberystwyth: University of Wales, 1957), p. 7.

control the many factors that could artificially produce differences between bilinguals and monolinguals. Both groups were subjected to verbal and non verbal measures of general intelligence. The aim of the survey was not to determine the IQ of both groups, but rather to explore the effects of bilingualism on intellectual functioning and to examine the relation between bilingualism and school achievement, as well as the student's attitude towards the L2. The tests included the Lambert Word Association Test (from a French/English word stimulus one is asked to write as many words as possible in the same language), the Lambert, Havelka and Gardner Detection Test (detecting English/French words in a long word string), the Peabody Picture Test (naming pictures of common English objects) and Subjecting Self-Rating Score (in the four skills, naming: reading, writing, listening, talking). And unlike previous studies, the bilinguals performed better. On closer statistical analysis, it could be said that the bilinguals were "superior" to the monolinguals in concept formation and in tasks that required mental or symbolic flexibility. The authors explained that the balanced bilingual with her/his two languages had two symbols for a referent, subsequently the balanced bilingual has a conception of the environment without relying on linguistic symbols which is favourable in symbolic reorganisation type tests. The instigators concluded that instead of suffering from mental handicap, bilinguals were profiting from a "language asset"⁴⁴ and that it was "more fruitful to compare and contrast the intellectual capacities of the bilingual and monolingual than to focus on the question of which group is intellectually superior

⁴⁴ Peal and Lambert, p. 15.

or inferior".⁴⁵ This was the starting point of the new claim that bilinguals enjoyed a certain advantage in cognitive flexibility over monolinguals. Despite the challenge their findings went through and the bulk of critics they faced, such as Macnab⁴⁶ and Macnamara⁴⁷, Peal and Lambert's work pioneered the additive qualities of bilingualism. Peal and Lambert's study also marked a turning point, in so far as their studies led to further ones which introduced the notion of divergent thinking to replace intelligence testing. Divergent thinking is a creative imaginative open-ended product, a free thinking skill in which fluency, variety, originality, and elaboration are taken into account. In 1973, in the Canadian St Lambert immersion project, Scott questioned the relationship between bilingual education-divergent thinking and the view that divergent thinking promotes bilingualism and vice versa.⁴⁸ The next question that arose was whether bilinguals might be less bound by words and more elastic in thinking. Leopold, in his 1939-49 diary, collected pieces of information on his bilingual English-German daughters and acknowledged the looseness of the link between word and meaning which, he explained, could be attributed to a positive consequence of bilingualism.

Another attempt to address the methodological problems was conducted by Diaz and Hakuta in 1984, who tried to look at the problems of bilingualism within a group of bilinguals.

45 Wallace E. Lambert and Elisabeth Anisfeld, "A Note on the Relationship of Bilingualism and Intelligence", *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Sciences*, 1,2 (1969), 123-128, (p. 127).

46 J. L. MacNab, "Cognition and Bilingualism: A Reanalysis of Studies", *Linguistics*, 17 (1979), 231-255.

47 John Macnamara, *Bilingualism and Primary Education* (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press, 1966).

48 S. Scott, *The Relation of Divergent Thinking to Bilingualism: Cause or Effect?* (Unpublished Research Report, Department of Psychology McGill University, 1973).

We reasoned that if bilingualism has a positive effect on measures of cognitive ability, then they should be able to show that those who are more bilingual do better on these measures than those who are less bilingual⁴⁹

Their sample included more than 300 Puerto Rican elementary school children in the New Haven public schools. All subjects were extremely poor and were more proficient in Spanish than in English. The result of the study showed that: "Bilingualism might have an effect on non verbal intelligence but less of an effect on metalinguistic awareness"⁵⁰ The two authors considered that in the future, as they followed these students, English would be related to education and Spanish to metalinguistic skills, then these two skills would converge. "What the study reveals, in essence, is that the way in which sampling is conducted and the way in which bilingualism is defined are going to determined much of the pattern results"⁵¹

Despite this comment, Vigotsky, in 1962, had already experimented on flexibility by asking bilinguals to make up names for things.⁵² Results already showed that bilinguals had a better ability to seize above or outside language. The bilinguals' metalinguistic awareness helped them to realise the arbitrary nature of names. This evidence is supported by Ianco Worrall⁵³ in 1972 and Cummins⁵⁴ in 1978. Such studies investigated the way monolinguals and bilinguals analyse languages and in particular their awareness of the specific nature of a language as a system. Similarly, Ianco Worrall carried out

49 Kenji Hakuta and Raphael Diaz, "The Relationship Between Bilingualism and Cognitive Ability. A Critical Discussion and Some New Longitudinal Data", in *Children's Language*, edited by K.E. Nelson (Hillsdale, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1984).

50 Hakuta (1986), p. 40.

51 Hakuta (1986) p. 41.

52 L. S. Vigotsky, *Thought and Language* (Cambridge MA.: MIT Press, 1962).

53 A.D. Ianco Worrall, "Bilingualism and Cognitive Development", *Child Development*, 43 (1972), pp. 1390-1400.

54 James Cummins, "Bilingualism and the Development of Metalinguistic Awareness", *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 9 (1978), 131-149.

an experiment in South Africa on sound and meaning among 30 three-to-nine-year-old Afrikaans/English bilinguals in respect of age, sex, socio-economic opportunities and intelligence, asking questions such as: Which of the two words "can" and "hat" most resemble the word "cap"? Ianco Worrall came to the conclusion that at an early stage of language development bilinguals are more sensitive to simulation of sound than meaning. Such findings are consistent with those of Ben Zeev, who in 1977 conducted an illusion test among 98 Hebrew/English and 188 Spanish/English bilinguals. In this test bilinguals and monolinguals played different language games involving substituting words for other words and answering questions but preserving the meaning of the old word.⁵⁵ This kind of test requires an ability to treat sentence structure analytically and to be linguistically flexible. Ben Zeev found that bilingual speakers were more sensitive to the content of verbal stimuli than monolingual ones; bilinguals interpreted rather than hypothesised. The author assumed that the findings that the bilingual children have a better developed awareness of some properties of language developed as a consequence of bilingual children's attempts to keep their two languages apart, to avoid interference. In sum, it appeared that children had the ability to learn that the words of two languages are characterised by different sound representations for a given idea. This ability frees representations for later more abstract structural analysis, and facilitates the understanding that names are arbitrarily assigned to

⁵⁵ Here is an example of word substitution found in Sandra Ben Zeev, "Mechanism by Which Childhood Bilingualism Affects Understanding of Language and Cognitive Structure", in *Bilingualism*, ed. by Peter Hornby (New York: Academic Press, 1977), pp. 29-55.

-This is named a plane, right? (experimenter holds up toy aeroplane)
 -In this game, its name is turtle .
 -Can the turtle fly? (correct answer: yes)
 -How does the turtle fly? (correct answer: with its wings)

things. Segalovitz corroborated Ben Zeev's findings and suggested that the internalisation of two languages rather than one, results in a more complex, better equipped "mental calculus", enabling the child to alternate between two systems of rules in the manipulation of symbols.⁵⁶ Vygotsky's comment on bilingualism illustrates some of the positive responses found on bilinguals' cognitive development. According to him bilingualism enables the child: "...to see his language as one particular system among many, to view its phenomena under more general categories, and leads to awareness of his linguistic operations".⁵⁷

Ben Zeev pondered about potential results coming from diverse background opportunities as well as discrepancies between experimental and control groups in parameters such as degree of bilingualism, the size of the sample, the difference in age, sex, etc.

5.3.2. Reverse findings in perspective

Whether metalinguistic awareness and contrasts in linguistic systems aid in the development of general conceptual thought, only future research will be able to substantiate. Moreover, the new trend of the 1960's and 1970's in research helps us to reflect upon the positive legacy of becoming bilingual. Further research is needed in order to investigate the potential deficit/benefit attributable to bilingualism. Yet Cummins, who was intrigued by the pre-and-post 1960 studies argued that there might be a bit of truth in both opposite results.

56 N. Segalovitz, "Psychological Perspectives on Bilingual Education", in *Frontiers of Bilingual Education*, ed. by B.Spolsky and R. Cooper (Rowley, MA.: Newbury House, 1977).

57 Vygotsky, p. 110.

Because more recent studies have measured the degree of both language skills, there might be thresholds levels of bilingual proficiency that bilingual children must achieve to avoid detrimental effects on cognition and to allow positive effects. This assumption is known as the Threshold Hypothesis. According to Cummins, the attainment of the lower level threshold of bilingual proficiency is sufficient to avoid negative cognitive growth, which would explain the early findings of negative results. In these early studies, the minority language speakers failed to develop sufficient level of proficiency in the majority language in order to benefit from the bilingual experience. The threshold hypothesis makes it very clear what will be the cognitive effects according to the bilingual's language proficiency. As a result, it makes it easier to predict the consequences of the phenomenon and to act accordingly to maximise chances for success. Let us look at the chart.⁵⁸

58 Chart adapted from James Cummins, "The Influence of Bilingualism on Cognitive Growth: A Synthesis of Research Findings and Explanatory Hypothesis", *Working Paper on Bilingualism*, 9, (1976), 1-43, quoted in Tove Skutnabb-Kansas, *Bilingualism or Not? The Education of the Minorities* (Multilingual Matters: Clevedon, 1981), p.223.

<i>Type of bilingualism</i>	<i>Cognitive effects</i>	
Proficient bilinguals high levels in L1 & L2.	Positive cognitive effects.	Higher threshold level of bilingual competence
Dominant bilinguals native-like level in either L1 or L2.	Neither positive nor negative effects.	Lower threshold level of bilingual competence
Semilinguals, low level in both languages.	Negative cognitive effects.	

On this notion of level proficiency Cummins also advanced the Developmental Interdependence Hypothesis, which stated that bilinguals can attain high levels of competence in their second language if first language development is strongly promoted by their environment outside institutions such as school or work. In other words, a higher level of proficiency in the first language makes a similar level possible in the second language. Cummins' model is relevant in so far as it attempts to explain apparently contradictory evidence. It is also useful for providing a model for bilingual education.

Research in Wales and in the US between the 1920's and the 1960's was mainly concerned with societal bilingualism as well as bilingualism resulting from immigration. It is only perhaps in the last 30 years that bilingualism resulting from mixed marriage has been seriously observed. Here again, much of the belief has been that such bilingualism may lead to feelings of alienation, self-hatred and

worthlessness, furthermore that it may prompt a tendency to be demoralised and disorganised. The child of mixed blood is the foreigner, the outsider. But for those that adopted healthier attitudes to bilingualism, such as Park, the phenomenon endows the individual with: " the wider horizon, the keener intelligence, the more detached and rational viewpoint... always relatively the more civilised human being"⁵⁹

Children of mixed marriages are expected to learn distinctive social and behavioural characteristics of the two cultures represented in their families. This demand may either create conflict or broaden and liberate the child.

Lambert and Aellen, in a questionnaire for French and English Canadians, examined the effects of a bicultural background as a consequence of mixed marriage.⁶⁰ They questioned whether biculturalism leads to anomie and feeling of alienation and inferiority or whether, in contrast, it promotes a sense of well being and a broader, more tolerant social outlook. Results showed that bicultural children identified with their parents as much as monocultural ones, and welcomed parental culture diversity.

Looking at European countries confirms that there is a growing acceptability of mixed marriages , yet one is obliged to admit that this acceptability depends of the languages involved. Bilingualism resulting from mixed marriages is welcome when the languages concerned enjoy high status. Bilingualism then becomes additive, and in this case multilingualism signals education and is generally viewed

⁵⁹ R. E. Park, *Race and Culture* (Glencoe, IL: The Free Press, 1964), p. 376.

⁶⁰ W. E Lambert and Aellen, "Ethnic Identification and Personality Adjustments of Canadian Adolescents of Mixed English-French Parentage", in *Language Psychology and Culture*, ed. by Wallace E. Lambert (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1972), pp. 26-284,(p. 268).

as enriching. Because the languages enjoy recognition, children are encouraged in both internal and external environments to maintain bilingualism. This input of both languages can result in reaching Cummin' necessary proficiency level for bilingualism to become positive.

At the opposite pole, when the languages involved do not enjoy high status, which is often the case of immigrant's tongues, "bilingualism is the gateway for assimilation" as Darbelnet puts it.⁶¹ Bilingualism is not then a sign of erudition but a social pressure of integration coming from both the external and internal linguistic environments. There, precisely, lies the risk of rejecting the minority language and culture at the expense of successful bilingualism. The bilingual speaker becomes progressively monolingual, and risks alienation, feelings of rootlessness and problems of identity. In the worse cases the individual does not acquire any language close to native level. The remaining choice is then to become monolingual in either of the languages to assure a living in the host country or back in the homeland. Needless to say that bilingualism, in this case, is subtractive (see chapter 3 on individual bilingualism).

Since the 1960's the general tendency has been to praise the effects of bilingualism on cognitive abilities. Cummins theorised the necessary thresholds of proficiency needed to benefit from bilingualism, Lambert, more practically, distinguished two opposite possible effects depending on the context, motivation and educational system. For Skutnabb-Kansas, education is precisely the prominent factor of change.⁶² Bilingualism itself is not alone, it is part of a socio-

61 Jean Darbelnet, "Aspects of Canadian French-English Bilingualism", *Bilingualism in the Bicentennial and Beyond*, ed. by Garry Keller et al, (New York: Bilingual Press, 1976), p. 7.

62 Skutnabb-Kansas, (1981). Chart adapted from Skutnabb-Kansas, p. 238

economic system of some kind, and it is the educational possibilities which are offered which determine how the phenomenon will be perceived. Through its representation in the educational system, and depending on the educational goals, bilingualism can be as successful as detrimental as summarised in this chart.

Educational aim	Educational method	Effect
Assimilation	Submersion	Subtractive
Segregation	Segregational	Subtractive
Maintenance	Language shelter	Functional
Enrichment	Immersion	Additive

In the light of this diagrammatic representation, it becomes clear that more recent studies do not want to seek positive cognitive effects at all costs. Skutnabb's synthetic view on the bilingual's possibilities linked to her/his type of bilingual education shows that only one situation is additive. In other terms, what this chart means is that the success of bilingualism, hence the potential effects in relation to intelligence/cognitive abilities, is dependent on the attitude of the environment dealing with bilingualism as well as the idea this context holds about the phenomenon. Previous studies (1920's-1950's) tried to approach bilingualism on a pseudo scientific basis and produced pseudo scientific results. More recent studies (1960's onwards) are perhaps less interested in dealing with the phenomenon "scientifically", but focus on the type and degree of bilingualism much more rigorously.

In the panorama of eight decades, a shift in the thought on the bilingualism-intelligence dichotomy can be clearly noticed. Much controversy has surrounded the question of whether a person's, particularly a child's, bilingualism can be considered an advantage or a disadvantage. Much of the writing on the subject during the first half of this century concentrated on what were seen as the detrimental effects of bilingualism. But more recently it has been shown that bilingualism can promote creative thinking and cognitive flexibility. The motivations of researchers as well as their methodologies have changed towards a more positive attitude. Fishman illustrates this idea:

My own socio-historical perspective (bias?) leads me to doubt that answers... can be found by better controlled experiments, which in essence, cannot explain shifts in social climate that take place across a decade or more. I would predict that every conceivable relationship between intelligence and bilingualism *could* obtain, and that our task is not so much the determination of *whether* there is a relationship between the two but of *when*. (i.e. in which socio-pedagogical contexts) *which kind* of relationship (positive, negative, strong, weak, independent or not.) obtains. (His italics).⁶³

In the light of this comment, it becomes equally significant that the social value and respect of both languages play a crucial part in each of the setting -naming the minority/majority linguistic contexts-. If the minority language adds a second, socially meaningful linguistic system, chances are that bilingualism will be praised and it will not be replaced progressively by the outside or majority language, as would be typically the case for Swiss-German-French or Welsh-English, who can develop a proficient level in both languages.

63 Joshua Fishman, "The Social Science Perspective", in *Bilingual Education: Current Perspectives*, vol.1 (Arlington, VA: Centre for Applied Linguistics, 1977), p. 38.

Lambert refers to this situation as additive bilingualism, where the second language brings a set of cognitive and social abilities.⁶⁴ In contrast, to additive bilingualism is subtractive bilingualism where the second language is acquired at the expense of the first one. Ethnic group immigrants, such as Puerto Rican-Americans, German-Turks or Swedish-Finns, because of national educational policies, or social pressure, subtract their culture and to a certain limit their language which are replaced by the national/host ones. This can lead to disturbing effects on the development of personality and in the worse case to socio-political antagonism among members of both communities.

In the panorama of eight decades, bilingualism has shifted from a denigrated handicap to a creative ability. However, this does not infer that bilingualism is now worldwidely accepted, nor that the languages involved in bilingual and/or diglossic situations have equal recognition. The next chapter examines how language contacts might still be discriminated against and considers the Francophone space as an illustration.

5.4. Linguistic and cultural imperialism

In the 1990's French colonisation could be said to have disappeared, yet it seems that it survives hidden under the "mask of pseudo-independence". Calvet claims that in order to fight neo-imperialism, one has to oppose linguistic imperialism. By linguistic imperialism, he refers to the phenomenon of Ethnocentrism which can be found in the

⁶⁴ Wallace E. Lambert, "The Effects of Bilingualism on the Individual: Cognitive and Sociocultural Consequences", in *Bilingualism*, ed. by Peter Hornby (New York: Academic Press, 1977), pp. 16-27, (p.19).

history of language when there is a "primitive" language/language of excellence dichotomy.⁶⁵ There is no evidence to suggest that "primitive people" are handicapped using their language within the community. This is not to deny that there are differences and various levels of complexity among languages which are dependent of the social and cultural tradition as well as the technical development of the states speaking those languages. On the other hand, there are languages regarded as "models" for reasons such as aesthetics, religion, search for an original language. It seems reasonable to propose that language should not be valued on the basis of the political and economic influence of its speakers. It is not reasonable either to rank languages on the basis of the number of speakers. At present, it seems that it is not possible to rate the quality of languages on linguistic terms nor to evaluate the aesthetic, philosophical, literary, religious and cultural nature of world languages. In other words, although we are fully aware of the equality of languages in the sense that they all aim at human communication, and despite their differences, there is the idea of civilised languages versus "jargons".⁶⁶ Calvet refers to this position as a phenomenon of "glottophagy", which generates racism and colonialism.⁶⁷

During the eighteenth century, there was the belief that jargon could be changed into civilised language via colonisation. In other words, the West would come to the jargon speakers and transform the primitive languages into tongues of excellence. In doing so, this approach sought to indicate that the status of a language, hence its worth, was dependent on its historical development. This assumption

⁶⁵ Terms used in David Crystal, *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language*, Rev. edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 6-7.

⁶⁶ As used in Jean-Louis Calvet, *Linguistique et colonialisme, petit traité de glottophagie* (Paris: Bibliothèque Scientifique Payot, 1974).

⁶⁷ Jean-Louis Calvet (1974), p. 31.

implies that all peoples of Europe had been "savages" and that only time and history have civilised them, allowing jargon to reach the status of language. This idea is based on Condillac theory of sensation and reflection which suggested that original languages were basic and took an elaborated form through the ages with the development of thought, an assumption that came to equate the history of language to the history of thought.⁶⁸ Maupertuis took a similar position when declaring:

Toutes les langues étaient simples dans leur commencement. Elles ne doivent leurs origine qu'à des hommes simples et grossiers, qui ne formèrent d'abord que le peu de signes dont ils avaient besoin pour exprimer leurs premières idées.⁶⁹

This is consistent with a suggestion made by Rousseau while comparing "primitive" languages and "contemporary" languages that: "elle [the contemporary French language] ressemblait à la langue chinoise à certains égards; à la grecque à d'autres, à l'arabe à d'autres".⁷⁰ The implication of this statement is clear, traces of jargon can be found in contemporary languages, (it follows that they became contemporary jargons).

In the nineteenth century, comparative linguistics tried to prove links between Sanskrit and Latin, Greek, French, German... attempting to treat languages from a "technical" point of view. There was a growing interest in etymology and grammar. Schlegel suggested a typology of languages based on the relative productivity of roots, which included comprehended: (i) isolating languages (in which units are unchangeable as in Chinese), (ii) agglutinating

68 E. B. de Condillac, *le Traité des Sensations* (Paris: Fayard, (1754), 1984)

69 Pierre Louis Moreau de Maupertuis, *Réflexions philosophiques sur l'origine des langues et la signification des mots*, (1748), quoted in Calvet (1974), p. 32.

70 Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Essai sur l'Origine des Langues* (Geneva, 1781), p. 507.

languages (in which units are made up of radicals and grammatical affixes as in Turkish) and (iii) flexional languages (in which affixes are not separable as they are amalgamated as in Latin).⁷¹ Bloomfield simplified Schlegel's typology and contrasted synthetic languages and analytical languages.⁷² This classification appears to emphasise normative and eurocentrist attitudes towards languages of the world. Flexional languages are regarded as the most developed languages, hence as models. They also happen to be the Indo-European languages. On the basis of this classification, it is apparent that during the colonial period in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the motive was no longer to compare Indo-European languages among themselves but to prove some kind of superiority of these idioms over the rest of the world. This idea is summarised in Cuq's words:

Au début de l'époque coloniale, les choses étaient perçues, en fin de compte, de façon relativement simple, même chez la majorité des gens cultivés, il y avait les civilisés ou évolués, c'est à dire les européens et les autres dont l'étrangeté des comportements réels ou supposés ne pouvait faire ressortir, comme chez les barbares de jadis, que la sauvagerie.⁷³

Gobineau corroborated this belief and tried to demonstrate the superiority of the Aryan race on the grounds of bio-physical elitism.⁷⁴ Gobineau attributed racial and/or social superiority to the Northern invaders over the South which would be in correlation with the superiority of the nobility over the masses. He held an ideology of race and class, which was also the ground argument of the Nazi ideology.

⁷¹ F. Schlegel, *Über die Sprache und Weisheit der Indien*, (1808), in *Oeuvres Complètes*, T.8 (Vienna: 1846), quoted in Calvet (1974), p. 34.

⁷² Bloomfield, p. 195.

⁷³ Jean Pierre Cup, *Le français langue seconde* (Paris: Hachette, 1991), p. 106.

⁷⁴ A. de Gobineau, *Essai sur l'Inégalité des Races Humaines*, dealt with in C. Guillaumin, *L'Idéologie Raciste*, (Paris: Fayard, 1972), p.56-57 and 65-66.

And it appears that the belief of the linguistic superiority of Europe is also equated to a racial one. This view is clearly laid out by Calvet:

La pensée européenne transforme les rapports de différences en rapport de supériorité. Celui du colonialisme actif, au cours duquel la description linguistique proprement dite fonctionne sur les bases de la théorie précédente et la conforte en même temps qu'elle conforte le colonialisme lui même.⁷⁵

Calvet makes the case where the theory of language has been utilised for the theory of colonisation, that is the theory of nomination, which indeed shows that imperialism is not only an economic phenomenon. The Greeks labelled as "barbarian" all those who did not speak their language. Similarly, Slavs called Germans "nemits", which meant originally to be numb, and in Mali, the Bobo people have been named in Bambara with an analogous description.

In a similar manner, the French word "cannibale" which designates the act of anthropology, is thought to have been borrowed from Spanish "canibal" which in turn comes from "caribe", term used in the Caribbean language, originally meaning "bold" and has come to designate its people. The term "cannibale" was first encountered in Columbus' sailing diaries, in which Columbus mistranscribed "caribe" for "caniba". Furthermore, confusion was added when the word was associated with the information that Caribbean ate human flesh. In 1580, Montaigne used the word again in his *Essais, Des Cannibales*, which were translated by a friend of Shakespeare, Giovanni Floro, in 1603. The term can be found in *The Tempest*, where Caliban (anagram of Cannibal) is a deformed character, slave of Prospero.⁷⁶ This use of an existing name and its negative transformation that

⁷⁵ Calvet (1974), p. 38.

⁷⁶ See R. F. Retamar, *Caliban, Cannibale* (Paris: Fayard, 1973)

followed shows how the indigenous outsider is viewed by the coloniser. The process of transforming an existing name "caribe" into "Cannibal" is different from giving the outsider a name different from his/her own. To some extent, different countries call their neighbour differently from their original names. British call their continental neighbour the French and not the "Français", and the French call the British the "Anglais/Britanniques". Although there is a phonic difference, it is not equated with resentment, as would be when two countries call each other by derogatory names such as "roast beef" and "froggies". The phonic differences are translations and not transformations as in the pejorative "blackie" or "paki".

An argument in defence of naming differently unknown people would be that the colonial invaders did not know the local language and so imposed their own. Calvet argues that at the beginning this phenomenon was independent of any ideology, but was instead the manifestation of a linguistic-power relationship. As described by Calvet, the Romans in 54 BC started to conquer England, expanding as far as Wales in 47 and stayed for 450 years.⁷⁷ During this military occupation, the country spoke Britanic while the upper-class, gathered around the military settlements, was bilingual. An estimated 600 words in modern Welsh testifies as the fact that this type of colonisation was not ideological in the same manner as were the following waves in the course of the sixteenth, and nineteenth centuries.⁷⁸ Bilingualism can be found in medieval England where people were judged in the court in Latin or Anglo-Norman, languages that most people did not understand. In 1386, a petition written in Middle English by craftsmen of London was addressed to Parliament,

77 A. Le Calvez, *Un cas de bilinguisme, le Pays de Galles* (Lannion, Editions du Nord, 1970), p. 14.

78 Calvet, (1974), p. 61.

prior to this date all official documents were written in Latin. This information suggests that the English/Latin bilingualism of medieval England was class related (this kind of bilingualism is referred to in the typology of chapter 2 as "élite bilingualism"). It seems reasonable to assume from this context that there is a relationship between the bilingual structure and the politico-economic structures.

In another connection, Stalin attempted to prove that there was no connection between linguistic code and class and furthermore that language was not a superstructure.⁷⁹ Yet, during the 1917 Revolution, Russia was involved in an infrastructural change where language remained the same. This fact is underscored by Calvet who points out that: "il n'y a pas de langue de classe mais un usage de classe de la langue".⁸⁰ During Feudal times in England, the masters spoke French whereas the people spoke English. Stalin claimed in his article that speaking French was a "engouement", but according to Calvet, the argument which suggests that language is a medium of communication between human being in society is inadequate as in medieval England or in the nineteenth century colonies, language was not a medium of communication but a means of oppression. Furthermore, it is difficult to admit that there is no linguistic structure and class relationship where only 2 or 3 per cent of a colonised country speaks the coloniser's tongue, the dominating tongue. It will be of interest to note that in colonised countries, in particular Black Africa, official posts were and still are available providing one speaks the dominating language(s), the official

⁷⁹ Term used by Calvet to describe bilingualism based on the dominating-dominated languages relationship.

J. Staline, "A propos du marxisme en linguistique", in *Cahiers Marxistes Leninistes*, 11-13, p. 32

⁸⁰ Calvet, (1974), p. 62.

language(s).⁸¹ In the light of this fact, it is difficult to ignore the power relationship between dominating-dominated tongue.

Barthes in his work *Comment parler à Dieu*, suggests in his "spirituals exercises" that when addressing God one ought to be outside "anterior languages".⁸² Attempts have been made to apply this to the colonial situation. The question that arises next is no longer how to address God but how to address the capital in France or the metropolis in the colonies? The national tongue is viewed as the norm, but this call into question regional tongues, and the indigenous languages of the colonies. In both contexts, there is a form of linguistic imperialism as existing languages are excluded together with the power of these languages. People who do not learn the dominating language are not given access to powerful positions. The dominating language becomes an exclusive language, Calvet describes this kind of bilingualism as superstructure, I refer to it as colonial bilingualism. Not only did the colonisers imposed their tongue as the norm but also imposed their culture, as if the indigenous populations were living in a cultural vacuum prior to colonisation.

In sum, in the colonisation development there is a vertical structure, where bilingualism takes the form of a social structure and in which the dominated languages are equated with powerlessness, whereas the dominating tongue, the official language, is adopted by those close to the colonial power and those who work in one way or another directly for it (servants, merchants, writers, poets...). On the other hand, there is also an horizontal structure where differentiations will occur among different classes and also in

⁸¹ We are using the term Black Africa here as we refer to these countries of the colonial period, though they are more generally referred to today as Subsaharian Africa.

⁸² Roland Barthes, *Sade, Fourier, Layola* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1971)

geographical terms, that is the city vs. the countryside. The city tends towards monolingualism and on the other end the countryside is bilingual. In this structure the upper class has forgotten the dominated language whereas the lower class who only speaks the dominated language is progressively learning the dominating language. In the first case, there was a bilingual class in power and a monolingual mass (diagram 1). In the second one, the reverse situation occurred, there was a ruling monolingual upper-class city and a rural bilingual people (diagram 2).

In the second phase, the dominating language is associated with modern economy and the dominated rural people with archaic production. These two phases can be summarised in the diagrams below:

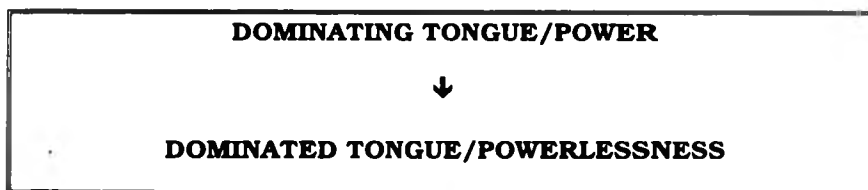


diagram 1

UPPER	→	LOWER
CITY	→	COUNTRYSIDE
MONOLINGUAL	→	BILINGUAL
DOMINATING LANGUAGE	→	DOMINATED/ING LANGUAGES

diagram 2

To use Calvet's words there is a successful "glottophagy" when "la mort de la langue dominée est définitivement digérée" by the dominating language.⁸³ Most of the time this phenomenon of

⁸³ Calvet (1974), p. 79.

glottophagy is not complete, and depends on the resistance power of the dominated language/culture /economy... This is not only true for the colonial situation but also for the minority vs. majority language situation of bilingual countries. We may wonder about the relevance of the belief that the right to exist of a language depends on its number of speakers. For instance, Icelandic is a small language compared to French but in turn French is a small language compared to Spanish.... As regards Calvet's notion of glottophagy and on the basis of what has been mentioned earlier, it appears that there are three levels of factors participating in this phenomenon: (i) the economic factor where the coloniser has power over the colonised; (ii) the official factor where power is enforced by using the coloniser's language in administration, school or for any other public life matters and institution; (iii) and finally the ideological factor which justifies colonisation and its power relationship.

The colonial discourse on language and culture illustrates very well the three factors mentioned above. Some studies have proposed that when tradition and culture have been respected by the coloniser it is because the colonisers judged the colonised local population too backward to benefit from the colonisers' civilisation. The colonisers' culture and language are, regarded as the only standard one whereas the indigenous population can only speak jargon. Two opposite views are being expressed: the first suggests that the colonised have benefited from the imported language which enables them to understand civilisation and the modern world. In other words, this stands argues that the colonisers gave the colonised the tool (language) to apprehend modernity and progress. And in the light of this argument it seems safe to conclude that language is understood as a necessary instrument to understand the world. The second view,

on the other hand, proposes that indigenous languages could not express modern notions and scientific concepts, and moreover, that such languages could not be teaching research or culture languages. This position appears to hint that glottophagy is desired by the colonised themselves to access to the modern world. The colonial discourse on language downgrades the language of the "other" trying to prove that the colonised tongue is a lesser language, incapable of spreading and inadequate to grow with science, culture, research, education hence the need to adopt the coloniser's tongue. In doing so this view seeks to assert that the indigenous language cannot translate the modern world. In point of fact it is interesting to note that the speakers of these so-called modern languages have loaned words to languages of the colonised. For instance, the borrowings between French and Spanish and Arabic, as Calvet observes, should these borrowings be understood as proof of inferiority of two romance languages? Moreover, these so-called "dialects" or indigenous languages are believed to be able to incorporate modern notions. For instance, Breton with the verb to fly (*nij*) builds *karr-nij*, (car-fly) for air-plane. Bambara with its roots *so* (horse) and *nε gε* (ion) constructs *nε gε s* (ion-horse -> bicycle).

Indigenous languages may be considered lesser languages on the ground that they do not have a written form. However, it has been argued that colonial administrators refused to transcribe such tongues.⁸⁴ Swahili which did not use to be a written language 150 years ago is now the official language of Tanzania. But the coloniser treats the colonised language and culture as a vacuum.

There is a superstructure (colonial bilingualism) where a power relationship is put to play between dominating and dominated

⁸⁴ Calvet (1974), p. 128.

language. Colonies, for the most part are now independent officially, yet it can be said that there is still imperialism when there is cultural, linguistic and economic domination. In the 1960's France gave independence to most of its colonies; cultural and linguistic independence were however not issues then considered. Consequently, the linguistic problem occurred years after independence. Intellectuals suddenly found themselves as "cultural hybrids" as the language they were educated in during the colonial period was the dominating language in which they were no longer recognised. Nor were these intellectuals recognised in the dominated language as they did not write in it. At the same time they still needed the dominating language for publishing purposes. Malagasy students in 1972, had the following motto "French, language of the slaves".

Benoit refers to a translation of Langevin in Wolof by Cheihh Anta Diop as an example but explains that liaisons with the mass are not easy.⁸⁵ It is believed that there is no after-independence if linguistic problems are not addressed, and dominated languages are not "liberated". This quotation illustrates this idea very clearly:

Cela signifie que toute libération nominale qui ne s'accompagne pas d'un bouleversement de la superstructure linguistique n'est pas une libération du peuple qui parle la langue dominée, mais une libération de la classe sociale qui parlait et qui continue de parler la langue dominée.

⁸⁵ Yves Benoit, *Idéologie des indépendances africaines* (Paris: PUF, 1969), p.414.

5.5. Challenges and problems

Francophony has been compared to the Commonwealth, yet Bruguire claims that this is a false symmetry.⁸⁶ Perhaps it is because, the presidents Senghor of Senegal and Bourguiba of Tunisia first initiated the idea of a cultural Francophone community, around 1965, that some would like to think that it was a last attempt of restoring the French ex-colonial empire. But the Commonwealth does not represent the Anglophone world, as the US do not belong to it, nor does the French ex-colonial empire reflect Francophony, as the French language expands beyond the boundaries of the former colonies. This is the case of Switzerland, the former colonies of Belgium (such as Zaire, Rwanda, Burundi) or former British colonies where French has survived (Mauritius, the Seychelles). Other countries such as Algeria do not wish to participate in such a "spiritual" community.

Many critics agree that the aim of a Francophone community is based on cultural exchange and understanding, that the mere fact to be able to communicate and to be answered is a chance for peace. Yet if the possibility to share a similar language does not ensure to work towards solutions to economic and political problems of today, it would appear that so-called Francophony is only a myth. Francophony, according to Leger, is the expression of a natural solidarity, a spiritual kinship which invites communities to exchange and co-operate culturally and technically.⁸⁷

⁸⁶ Michel Bruguire, *Pitié pour Babel: un essai sur les langues* (Paris: Nathan, 1978), p. 93.

⁸⁷ Jean -Marc Leger, *La francophonie, grand dessein, grande ambiguïté* (Quebec: Nathan, 1987), pp. 37-38.

The reality of Francophony is a complex combination of traditional, cultural, social and economic levels, Bruguire expresses this idea with clarity:

C'est là sans doute la principale chance d'un système préférentiel de relations, où voisinent des contrées dont ni le climat, ni la religion, ni le régime politique, ni la couleur de peau ne sont semblables, mais où l'on trouve de Genève à Québec à Port-au-Prince ou Ouagadougou, tous les niveaux possibles de la richesse au sous-développement.⁸⁸

France is particularly cautious not to act for a position of interference or indifference. Others, such as Leger, although favourably involved in Francophony, are clear-sighted about the idealistic view of such movement. Leger's position is that:

Selon les uns, entreprise utile mais mineure au regard des problèmes et des mutations de l'époque, efforts parfaitement vains sinon dérisoires pour certains qui veulent y voir un combat d'arrière garde, utopie somptueuse enfin, pour d'autres qui y trouvent prétexte à considérations nobles et mélancoliques.⁸⁹

Indeed, the Francophone world is polycentric. In approaching Francophony it is also of interest to note that the space is unbalanced both economically and socio-culturally. It is not wise to envision the Francophone regions according to the developed/developing countries paradigm, as this stance tends to ignore psycho-sociocultural aspect. In contrast, Leger prefers to consider a classification that takes into account cultural, religious, and economic factors.⁹⁰ A possible way of looking at the Francophone world is the following: (i) industrialised countries, which include Europe and America, (ii) Africa and the West Indies, (iii) the Arabic world including the countries of the Maghreb

⁸⁸ Bruguire, pp. 96-97.

⁸⁹ Leger, p. 27.

⁹⁰ Leger, pp. 44-45.

and Near East. This approach to the Francophone world is interesting as it takes into account the idea that sharing a "universal" language does not give a universal way of looking at the world. It follows that the same vehicle does not carry the same culture and ideology. In the light of this observation, it is also worth mentioning that the so-called "universal" French perhaps only travels across borders in the mind, and that there is not an epicentric French but instead varieties of French. And perhaps it is also time to consider that dialogue with this polycentric space starts by admitting the satellite effect undertaken by the language of a great culture of a time. This remark is consistent with the one of Lamaison:

Il est bon que la francophonie ait des ailes mais elle ne pourra faire qu'on élève de la même façon tous les oiseaux de la création sous prétexte qu'ils ont généralement en commun la capacité de voler.⁹¹

Etiemble, stresses that the prestige of a language should not encourage competition in economic terms on national production, nor should it encourage the borrowing foreign words for the sake of fashion, as is the case among the younger generation.⁹² In Francophone contexts, for instance, it is popular to use idioms such as: night-club (for *boîte-de-nuit*), design (for *esthétique industrielle*), cool (for *sympa / à la mode*), pins (for *épinglette*), hard (for *dur*)...

Loan words are also to be found among populations in contact with another linguistic code, such as in Quebec. The document below, a copy of working instructions in a garage of Quebec, supports this hypothesis⁹³.

⁹¹ Didier Lamaison and Tshisungu Wa Tshisungu, *Discours sur l'universalité de la Francophonie* (Paris: Agence de Coopération Culturelle et Technique, 1985), p. 30.

⁹² Etiemble, *Parlez-vous Français?* (Paris: Gallimard, 1973).

⁹³ Bruguire, p. 101.

CEDULE JOURNALIERE

MECANIQUE

DESCRIPTION DE TRAVAIL

- 1- Ajuster shear & verifier cylindre de cisaille a la sortie
- 2- Verifier pressure board de shear a la sortie; trop bas
- 3- Poser cage avec ouverture triangulaire & lames droites sur roues
- 4- Position # 21 & 24 et, prendre patron
- 5- Verifier patrons des roues position # 4,9, & 12
- 6- Meuler la table de soudeur a l'entree
- 7- Verifier cylindres du work roll a l'entree; opere par coup
- 8- Verifier blower # 3, grit, moteur tire trop d'amperes
- 9- Inspection & reparation des 24 roues d'apres feuille instruction
- 10- Prendre patron roues pos. # 6, 3, 14, 7, 16, 18, 2, 10 & 19
- 11- Changer kit cylindre peeler blade entree up & down (coule)
- 12- Inspection de la ligne d'apres feuilles
- 13- souder dans shot & grit
- 14- Reparer coulisse hydraulique
- 15- Clompeter reparation elev. #1, cab. # 1, shot
- 16- Commencer reparation elev. #1, cab. # 2, shot

From this document, it is apparent that the French used is not standard, but specific to that linguistic contact with English. Some words are left in English (pressure board, shear, work roll, blower, peeler blade, up & down, shot & grit), although they have a French equivalent. It is also interesting to note that accents are omitted on the "e"s and "a"s, despite the fact the document is written in a telegraphic style. It is worth mentioning as well the use of calque, such as: "cedule" (instead of *emploi du temps*), "inspection" (instead of *vérification*). Finally, there is grammatical confusions such as "opere" which is not the infinitive of the verb (*opérer*) as would be consistent with the rest of the document (*ajuster, poser...*), neither is the imperative form in the second person plural (*opérez*) as would be expected from such a schedule. Furthermore, the article "les" has been left out, in "Inspection de la ligne d'apres feuilles" and in "Poser cage

avec ouverture triangulaire & lames droites sur roues". This omission is either due to the telegraphic style, or it is a calque from English where the article is omitted in the plural form (as in "inspection of the lignes according to files"). Moreover, "Description de travail" is not standard French ("Description du travail" would be), but perhaps particular to Quebec French.

Attempts to control or restrict the importation of words from English have been undertaken, France found it necessary to establish agencies to control the effects of English on the language of the state, even to "purify" it and to encourage the use and development of that state language. For that purpose, in 1967, the *Académie Française Internationale* was created and the Association of French Terminology amongst other bodies and the *Bureau des Traductions*, in Ottawa. For instance, the words "hardware and software" were terms difficult to render in French or to accept as such in English. Computer scientists finally introduced the translation "matériel et logiciel" which works as a translation in the target language. Ironically, these terms were in turn translated back in English in the US and the term "logistics" is replacing the original "software".

There is a growing concern about French being in competition. Wardhaugh takes a similar position to Etienne and suggests that:

French while not a threatened language is struggling to maintain its former glories as a world language and even to preserve its integrity within France itself! However the efforts the French are currently making may be quite unsuccessful. The international linguistic tide has turned in favour of English, and French is in danger of being left high and dry in the shore along with all over contenders as a world language.⁹⁴

94 Ralph Wardhaugh, *Language in Competition* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987), p. 128.

One of the reasons suggested for French being "in danger of being left high and dry in the shore" is that English is associated among young people with ideas of progress and modernity. This view becomes pertinent when looking at areas such as the sciences, technology, media, international business, banking, trade, tourism, and research in which English dominates. As Fishman points out, "English is less loved but more used, French is more loved but less used".⁹⁵ Lamaison takes a similar position in the following lines:

L'anglais se transporte d'une culture à l'autre avec autant de facilité que le latin à travers le monde dans les premiers siècles de notre ère.⁹⁶

In conclusion, Francophone space in modern times would appear to be polycentric and plural. It seems pertinent to describe it as plural, primarily due to its diversity but also because it is engaged in the process of borrowing and being borrowed. It has been maintained that only this exchange permits language survival and that there is no pure language. In order to understand the Francophone world today, it is useful to consider that borrowing from other Francophone centres is needed. And on the basis of this view it appears that French can remain on the international scene only if it conjugates with Francophone tongues and cultures. Farandjis corroborates this view :

La Francophonie que nous aimons, c'est la poly-francophonie, puisque du Québec à l'Afrique en passant par la Wallonie, la langue française se recrée chaque jour dans un jeu complexe où le respect de certaines règles de syntaxe notamment s'allie à la liberté d'inventer, puisque de la Martinique à l'Océan Indien en passant

⁹⁵ Fishman (1983), p. 20.

⁹⁶ Lamaison *et al.*, p. 33.

par la Normandie, cette même langue française peut véhiculer des mythes, des images, des thèmes divers avec des rythmes et des mélodies divers; puisque de l'Ontario à la Tunisie en passant par le Vietnam ou le Cameroun, cette même langue française tend à vivre de plus en plus en convivialité linguistique avec d'autres langues souvent maternelles et même nationales.⁹⁷

Furthermore, it is important to oppose the idea of hierarchy amongst languages, classifying some as merely utilitarian, while others are considered vehicle of cultures. In a similar manner, it appears wise to support the observation that the objective is no longer unity and uniformity of the French language (as in Gregoire's and Rivarol' times) but rather Francophone plurality. This approach seeks to illustrate that one language can convey different cultures providing it is integrative and not restrictive. As Farandjis remarks:

Si nous opprimons la langue corse, la langue bretonne, la langue occitane, si nous opprimons les langues parlées par nos travailleurs immigrés, si nous fermons aux langues du monde dans nos écoles ou à la télévision, si un enfant, à la fin de sa scolarité obligatoire, n'a jamais entendu parler de Goethe, Cervantes, Tolstoi ou Dante, alors on n'a pas le droit de diffuser la langue française dans le monde.⁹⁸

It has been argued that language contact and transfer permits creativity and plurality. The final section seeks to show that language transfer might be "manipulative", and exerts the power of liberation and subversion.

97 Silvio Farandjis, *Textes à Propos de la Francophonie* (Brussels: Centre Richelieu de Paris, 1986), p. 99.

98 Farandjis, p. 71.

5.6. Bilingualism and translation: liberation and subversion

Some translation theorists have been concerned with "boxes and arrows"⁹⁹, concentrating either on the source and target languages, on gain and loss, faithfulness or betrayal, and/or other dichotomies. However, in recent years there has been an increasing interest in looking at the "no man's land", in-between two language frontiers. Consideration has been given not only to the source language but also to the target language, no longer in a one way process, but between the continuum.

The last section proposed Francophony as an example of situation of language contact, where bilingualism or multilingualism and language transfer (including code switching) overlap constantly and changing linguistic codes serve numerous social function. Mehrez, extends the social function of language contact/transfer to the ideological.¹⁰⁰ Choosing and/or changing code, in post colonial Maghreb, is significant. In her context, as a Muslim woman and post colonial writer, each "borrowed" language acts as a gesture of insubordination and liberation. Here the measurement of one's bilingualism does not operate horizontally but rather vertically. Mehrez discusses Khatibi's multilingualism, a trilingual author, and suggests that he "hierarchies the language layering in his childhood: the Moroccan dialect spoken at home, classical Arabic barely mastered at the Koranic schools for Muslim

⁹⁹ André Lefevere "Inaugural Lecture of the 1994 Warwick Conference on Translation" (Unpublished paper, University of Warwick, 1994).

¹⁰⁰ Samia Mehrez, "Translation and the Postcolonial experience: the Francophone North African Text" in *Rethinking Translation, Discourse, Subjectivity, Ideology*, ed. by Lawrence Venuti (London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 120-38.

children, and the imposed French language of the colonizer learned at the French lycée".¹⁰¹ Yet Khatibi chooses to write in French, the language of the ex-coloniser, to cry freedom and also to confront. Mehrez claims that such texts, often referred to as "hybrid" or "métissés" and written by bilingual authors do not function as translated texts, precisely because they lie in the "in-between". She says:

For these texts written by post colonial bilingual subjects create a language "in-between" and therefore come to occupy a space "in between". In most cases, the challenge of such space "in between" has been double, these texts seek to decolonize them selves from two oppressors at once, namely the western ex-coloniser who naively boasts of their existence and ultimately recuperates them and the "traditional", "national" cultures which short-sightedly deny their existence and consequently marginalize them.¹⁰²

The interest of these "in-between" texts lies in the fact that they take from both the ex-coloniser's culture and the traditional, they fuse cultural and linguistic elements of both environments. They also make demands on readers who need to fluctuate in between as well in order to interpret the subtext, and when code switching occurs, translate from the languages concerned. In this way readers play a dynamic role, participating in the language and culture transfer.

The reasons why post colonial writers of the Maghreb wish to maintain their bilingualism might be questioned. Mehrez suggests that belonging to the French literary tradition does not permit total access whereas opting for bilingualism

¹⁰¹ Mehrez, p. 121 discusses Abdelkebir Khatibi, *La mémoire tatouée* (Paris: Denoël, 1971)

¹⁰² Mehrez, p. 121.

allows post colonial writers to "contest all forms of domination, and all kinds of exclusion within their own "native cultures and their "host" cultures as well".¹⁰³ Bilingualism, or "radical bilingualism", to use Khatibi's coined expression, allows double accomplishment: confrontation and self-liberation. She further suggests that this double accomplishment is made possible by means of language transfer: "The 'maternal' language is always at work in the foreign language. Between them occurs a constant process of translation, an abysmal dialogue, very difficult to bring to the light of day".¹⁰⁴ There is constant migration between the linguistic and cultural frontiers, importing and exporting (bringing along on each side) elements of the foreign.

Some translation theorists, have tented to concentrate on the linguistic and cultural aspect of language transfer, however Jacquemond, amongst others, propounds that other parameters need to be taken into account:

Translation is not only the intellectual, creative process by which a text written in a given language is transferred into another. Rather like any human activity, it takes place in a specific social and historical context that informs and structures it, just as it informs and structures other creative processes. In the case of translation, the operation becomes doubly complicated, since by definition, two languages and thus two cultures and two societies are involved.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ Mehrez, p. 123.

¹⁰⁴ Marc Gontard, *La violence du texte*, préface by Khatibi (Paris: l'Harmattan, 1981), p. 8, quoted and translated by Mehrez p. 138.

¹⁰⁵ Richard Jacquemond, "Translation and Cultural Hegemony: the case of French Arabic Translation" in *Rethinking Translation, Discourse, Subjectivity, Ideology*, ed. by Lawrence Venuti (London: Routledge, 1992), pp139-58, (p.139).

I would suggest "doubly enriching" rather than "doubly complicated", but it ought to be pointed out that translation theory, until the birth of Translation Studies, focused mainly on European linguistic and cultures which rely on fairly similar linguistic and cultural structure patterns, compared to non-European systems and/or colonial and post colonial contexts.¹⁰⁶ Most certainly, in a post colonial context such as Francophony, the role of the translator is a more debatable one than the European one. The translator, imports into the dominating language and culture not only native alien elements but also elements of the dominating system that have been integrated in the dominated one and pass to this day to be part of the post colonial system. These very elements, although once part of the dominating system might appear now to be part of the source one. In other words the circle is complete and transfers have operated both ways.

Jacquemond distinguishes two "ideal types of translation in two successive moments of the cultural encounter, namely the colonial and post colonial one. In the colonial moment the translator acts either as "servile mediator" or "authoritative mediator" depending whether the translation operates from the hegemonic language-culture to the dominated one or *vice versa* while in the post colonial moment:¹⁰⁷ the act of translation

¹⁰⁶ See Susan Bassnett "From Comparative Literature to Translation Studies", in *Comparative Literature, a Critical Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwells, 1993), pp. 138-161, for a recent description of the birth of Translation Studies.

¹⁰⁷ Jacquemond distinguishes "two ideal types of translation in two successive moments of the cultural encounter, namely the colonial and post colonial one.

In the colonial moment, the opposed paradigms of translation can be defined as follows: (1) In translation from a hegemonic language-culture into a dominated one, the translator appears as a servile mediator through whom foreign-made linguistic cultural objects are integrated without question into

"filters" and determines possibilities of integration from the hegemonic language-culture into the dominated one. Similarly, translation might be the means that permits the import of "the alienatic dialectics of exoticization-naturalization of the other", as well as the exportation of Western canons to non-western systems.

In a different vein, translation might signal dominance, for within the Canadian context, translating from English to French is significantly different than translating from French into English. Federal laws impose bilingualism (see chapter on individual and societal bilingualism) and by extension translation. However, according to Simon, one ought to distinguish between translation as *replacement* and translation as *supplement*. Whereas the first type fulfils legal requirement concerning bilingualism, the second "seeks to integrate the

his own dominated language-culture, thus aggravating its schizophrenia. (2) in translation from a dominated language-culture into a hegemonic one, the translator appears as the authoritative mediator through whom the dominated language-culture is maintained outside the limits of the self and at the same time adapted to this self in order for it to be able to consume the dominated linguistic-cultural object.

In the post colonial moment, this double paradigm is put into question (1) the resistance of the dominated language culture to neo-colonial linguistic-cultural hegemony leads it eventually to situate translation within the framework of "Occidentalism" [...] which works (a) before translation, as a filter by which it determines, according to its specific needs and priorities, the condition of validity of the importation of Western intellectual production and (b) within the process of translation itself, as an act of appropriating the hegemonic linguistic cultural object by the translator in order to naturalize it in the dominated language-culture. (2) Within the hegemonic language-culture, the growing weight of the cultural minority's eventually precipitates the emergence of (a) a critique of the ideological and institutional apparatus which frames our representation on non-western cultures, especially within translation processes, in the alienating dialectics of exoticization-naturalisation of the other and (b) a critique of the exportability of Western sciences and humanities -including translation theory- to non-western commodities, is good for us, i.e., relevant to Western societies, it is not by necessity "good for them, i.e. relevant to Third World Societies. Such a critique is bound to lead ultimately to a critique of "universality" which, because of the very nature of the act of translating, should be a priority for translation theory", pp. 155-56.

alterity of the text into the receiving culture, to expand its repertoire".¹⁰⁸ Perhaps the difficulty lies in the unbalanced proportion of translation of replacement and translation of supplement, where translation is felt as a legal obligation rather than a means of intellectual and cultural communication. As suggested by Simon "we recognize now that conceptions of cultural difference all through Canadian history were shaped by a kind of internal colonialism, which made the officially equal union of ten provinces [...] seem to Quebec much more like the empire of one Canada over the other".¹⁰⁹

Language contacts have been presented as the vector of liberation and mediation. Lefevere suggests that language transfer may also contain elements of manipulation. He divides the Western history of translation into three categories, namely authority, patronage and expertise. However, he also recognises the existence of alternative situations, "in-between situations", such as the case of the Romans: "Romans translated, but they did not really have to. Educated Romans could just as well have gone on reading Greek literature and philosophy in the original, since they were bilingual anyway. Moreover, the percentage of educated Romans was relatively small when compared to the total population of the empire, or even the city of Rome".¹¹⁰ This seems to suggest that bilingualism did not

¹⁰⁸ Sherry Simon, "The Language of Culture Difference: Figures of Alterity in Canadian Translation" in *Rethinking Translation, Discourse, Subjectivity, Ideology*, ed. by Lawrence Venuti (London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 159-76, (p. 161).

¹⁰⁹ Simon, p. 162.

¹¹⁰ André Lefevere, "Translation: its Genealogy in the West", in *Translation, History and Culture*, ed. by Susan Bassnett and André Lefevere (London: Pinter, 1990), pp. 14-27 (p. 15)

prevent translation to occur, and if a necessary minimum degree of bilingualism is needed when translating, a higher degree of proficiency will not become a substitute, so that "translation, then, is encouraged and commissioned, resisted and rejected".¹¹¹ To put it differently, what is engaged in the process of translation, according to Lefevere, is not so much the language than the culture, ideology and poetics. However, the carrying over may represents a threat to the identity of culture. Indeed, language, as the "vehicle for the exchange of thought", may also "dress" the same thought in different languages, so that there is a possibility of manipulation.¹¹² In this case, the translator not only dresses the thought with another language, but can disguise it. In this light, translation becomes subversion. This issue is well illustrated by Kuhiwczak's case on Kundera. Kundera's novel, *The Joke*, amongst other texts, has "been misinterpreted, mistranslated and misunderstood" and published in a "mulated" form for simplification sake.¹¹³ However, Kuhiwczak stresses the importance of combating such translational manipulation in the following words: "there are readers with sufficient taste and intelligence to cope happily with the complexities of Kundera's novels, and who do not need to resort to culturally simplified editions."¹¹⁴

¹¹¹ Lefevere (1990), p. 16.

¹¹² Lefevere (1990) p. 17.

¹¹³ Piotr Kuhiwczak, "Translation as Appropriation: the Case of Milan Kundera's *The Joke*" in Bassnett and Lefevere, pp. 118-130 (p. 122).

¹¹⁴ Kuhiwczak, p. 129.

~ CONCLUSION ~

In Genesis there is a tale that explains the origin of language diversity, the Tower of Babel fable. At a time when "the whole earth was one language and one speech" men decided to build "a city and a tower whose top may reach into heaven", so that they would make a name for themselves and not be scattered all over on the earth. The Lord Jehovah came to see the city and tower that those men had build and was concerned that men might usurp his omnipotence, so in his infinite wisdom he proceeded to "confound their language, so that they may not understand one another's speech. They were no longer able to cooperate in the building of their tower and were scattered abroad upon the face of all the earth. (Genesis II: 1-9).

The tower of Babel fable represents the diversity of language as a curse. Linguists like to think more positively and offer an alternative to the fable. Men were not scattered abroad because they could not understand one another, they diversified their language because they were scattered. Time and distance are factors believed to make languages differ, as is learned anew by each individual in every generation. The dynamic process of language is a factor that incites monolingual individuals in verbal situations to language accommodation, and bilinguals to language contact. In both cases, Otherness is encountered. Haugen points out that language contacts range "from neighbourly tolerance to rigid

isolation, and from eager acceptance of a new language to brutal suppression of its speakers".¹ Such has been the case of bilinguals, long classified as the people "talking differently".

The aim of this thesis has been to attempt to examine the bilingualism phenomenon beyond purely linguistic parameters and to look at its connections in particular in the field of translation. Language contact is a widespread occurrence which involves a large and growing percentage of the population of the planet.² And as pointed out by Hamers and Blanc; "it is a complex phenomenon which requires several levels of analysis and hence several disciplines"³. My approach has been also interdisciplinary in so far as I examined the phenomenon of language contact in relation to another discipline, translation studies, and endeavoured to study how they interact with one another. Languages in contact and bilingualism has been considered, in the present thesis, in the broadest sense and have been applied irrespectively to languages, as well as varieties or dialects of the same language.

It is oxymoronic to address the question of language contact without considering the cultural component. Therefore, a discussion on the interdependency of language and culture as part of national identity has been presented, examining the issue of language attitude and language dominance. However, the main purpose of the thesis has been to examine the extent to which cultural elements have incidence on translatability, that is the interplay

¹ Einmar Haugen, *Blessings of Babels, Bilingualism and Language, Problems and Pleasure* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1987), p. 3.

² Language contact is used in this thesis according to Weinreich's definition: "two or more languages will be said IN CONTACT if they are used alternatively by the same persons. The language-using individuals are thus the locus of the contact"(his capitals), in *Languages in Contact. Finding and Problems*, 9th edn (The Hague: Mouton, 1979), p. 1.

³ Hamers and Blanc (1992), p. 4.

of language and culture and its interdependency. The question of the suitability of the bilingual individual as self-translator has also been considered, and for this purpose, it appeared paramount to clarify what is understood by bilingualism. Therefore, universals of intercommunicational behaviour has been identified when two languages are in contact, in order to circumscribe the multifaceted phenomenon. This has been undertaken at the individual and societal level, though it must be pointed out that the main interest of the thesis has been more individual specific. Particular attention has been given to describing different bilingual patterns, in order to show the vast range of possibilities of bilingual competence. The material has been organised in the shape of a typology as far as individual bilingualism was concerned. Societal bilingualism has been dwelt with more briefly and I concentrated mainly on the issue of diglossia.

In the expanding field of bilingualism, little attention has been given to the bilinguals themselves. An enormous body of literature has sought to explain the linguistic and psychological behaviour of bilinguals, though the individuals concerned have not often had the chance to voice their particularities. Numerous diaries on bilingual children have contributed to the understanding of the different stages of language development and acquisition.⁴ Yet few accounts by bilinguals have exposed the specificities of exploring life through the lenses of two languages and cultures. Consequently little is known about the skills and weaknesses of bilinguals, in particular as regards transferring from one

⁴ Such as J. Ronjat *Le développement du langage observé chez un enfant bilingue* (Paris: Champion, 1913)

W. F. Leopold, *Speech Development of a Bilingual Child* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1939-49)

L. Arnberg, "A Longitudinal Study of Language Development in Four Young Children Exposed to English and Swedish in the Home" in *Linköping Studies in Education*, Report 6 (Department of Education, University of Linköping, 1981)

A. Fantini, *Language Acquisition of a Bilingual Child* (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1985)

language/culture to another. Yet bilinguals are continuously exposed to linguistic and cultural duplicity. It then appears surprising that there has been so little exploring the connections between bilingualism and translating. Some scholars in the field of translation have dwelt extensively on translational procedures, and have articulated principles and theories according to which linguistic transfer could be tackled. Others have been concerned with the manipulative processes involved in translating. However, the new discipline of translation studies has tended not to focus on the actual translational process, because it is not an easy task to unveil the intricate mysteries of the translator's mind at work. In this light, what happens in the bilingual's mind seems equally opaque. This is admittedly a methodological obstacle, as there are hardly any accounts of bilinguals or translators exposing the perspectives and limits involved in transferring text and culture, for it leads to an emphasis on what is being transferred rather than how it is being transferred. In doing so, another methodological quandary arises, namely how to look at the transference of texts and cultures without passing judgement on the abilities of the bilingual/translator. Attempts have been made to consider some of the different psychological processes involved in translation with the necessary bilingual skills. Therefore, elements that may be attributed to the bilingual specific have been pointed out. To illustrate the point of locus of bilingualism and translation, the bilingual author and self/translator Julien Green has served as an example.

The thesis has also attempted an investigation of the state of the art of the issue of language contact. Recurrent dichotomies of majority/minority and source/target languages, present in both the discourses of bilingualism and translation involve a notion of linguistic manipulation, which may serve the purpose of a given ideology. This is particularly developed in the American and Welsh literature on bilingualism dating from the early decades of this century,

which endeavoured to build an ideological theory on the bilingual's intelligence. A review of the literature has been presented, focusing on the chronological changes in attitude. In doing so I have attempted to connect the methodological approach employed to the ideological bias of the 1930's. The same question involving another type of language contact, namely that of the post colonial period has been examined. The issue of linguistic and cultural imperialism has been dwelt upon. The discussion concentrated on the Francophone space and has considered how the connection between bilingualism and translation, in the post colonial context, may act as an alternative mode of communication.

An analysis of bilingual communication within monolingual or bilingual space has attempted to show that bilinguals are not the sum of two monolinguals, but a unique kind of communicative beings. The coexistence and interaction of the bilingual's languages creates a linguistic system in itself, distinct from that of the monolingual speaker. Ludy and Ry put forward the view that language contacts generate a specific linguistic and cultural dynamic:

il ne suffit pas d'additionner deux langues autonomes ou deux schématisations de la réalité pour caractériser la compétence bilingue-biculturelle. Au contact de l'une et de l'autre, elles se modifient à tel point qu'il en résulte quelque chose d'original, de nouveau. Dans cet ordre d'idée, on ne peut éviter de comparer la variation entre deux et plusieurs langues à la variation intralinguistique et de considérer la compétence bilingue comme un cas limite de 'polylectalité' ⁵

Features of bilingual speech, such as code switching encapsulate a common bond in the linguistic and cultural transfer, which is present both in bilingualism and translation. However, as rightly pointed out by Weinreich:

⁵ G. Ludy and B. Ry, *Etre bilingue, parler bilingue, Actes du deuxième colloque sur le bilinguisme Université de Neuchâtel le 20-22.9.1984* (Tubingen: Niemeyer Verlag, 1987) p.49.

- Despite the flourishing of anthropological interest in contact problems, particularly in the United States since World War I, studies of language contact and culture contact have not enjoyed extensive co-ordination, and the relation between the two fields has not been properly defined. While each discipline is entitled to its own methodology, there are certain inescapable parallels in the two domains⁶

Code switching as a translational and communicative bilingual skill, on the one hand, enables the individual to be language and culture specific, and on the other, eschews translational difficulties. Furthermore, in looking at the features of bilingual speech, I have also addressed the issue of manipulation of language and suggested reasons for code switching to occur. It has been shown that the two languages often represent two discrete social networks and associated value systems, and the choice of a language takes a political stance.

In future, it is hoped that "bilingualism at the societal level will no longer be viewed as a stigma but as a resource worth developing, since it can produce individuals with a unique set of languages, cultures and experiences that should be of value to a multicultural world".⁷ As language contacts and transfers lie precisely in the realm of polycentres and plurality, celebrating a festival of differences.

⁶ Weinreich (1979), p. 5.

⁷ Hamers and Blanc, p. 258.

APPENDIX A:
~ A LIST OF DEFINITIONS OF BILINGUALISM ~

YEAR	AUTHOR	DEFINITION
1926	AUCAMP	Bilingualism is the condition in which two living languages exists side by side in a country, each spoken by onenational group, representing a fairlylarge proportion of the people. ¹
1933	BLOOMFIELD	In the case where the perfect foreign language learning is not accompanied by loss of a native language, it results in bilingualism, native-like control of two languages. ²
1937	BRAUN	By polyglossy, one should understand an equal, complete and active mastery of two languages or more, independently from the mode of acquisition. We can only call polyglots, those who are able to speak two or more languages fluently, that is easily, but also who can use them perfectly. In other words, those who respect the genius and stylistic rules intrinsic to each of them. ³

1 A.J. Aucamp, *Bilingual Education and Nationalism*, in M. Bezier and M. Van Overbeke, *Le Bilinguisme essai de définition et guide bibliographique*, Cahiers de L'Institut de Langues Vivantes (Louvain: Université Catholique de Louvain, 1968), p. 113.

2 L. Bloomfield, *Language*, 12th edn (London: Allen and Unwin, 1976), p. 55.

3 M Braun, (my translation), in M. Bezier and M. Van Overbeke, *Le Bilinguisme essai de définition et guide bibliographique*, Cahiers de L'Institut de Langues Vivantes (Louvain: Université Catholique de Louvain, 1968), p. 115.

1939	LEOPOLD	Bilingual: speaking two languages interchangeably. The ideal form of bilingualism is when both languages are spoken equally well for all purposes of life. In practice only approximations to this ideal can be expected. Bilingualism is a fact, even when one language is spoken much better and much more extensively than the other, as long as both are regularly employed as media of intercourse. ⁴
1948	CHRISTOPHERSON	Bilinguals are commonly imagined to be people who can at will and without the slight difficulty, turn on either of two languages. ⁵
1952	HALL	We might perhaps say that bilingualism does not begin until the speaker has at least some knowledge and control of the grammatical structure of the second language, as opposed to acquaintances with nothing but individual items of vocabulary. ⁶
1953	HAUGEN	Bilingualism... is understood... to begin at the point where the speaker of one language can produce complete meaningful utterances in the other language. ⁷
1953	WEINREICH	The practice of alternatively using two languages will be called here bilingualism and the person involved bilinguals. ⁸
1957	MACKAY	Bilingualism, we are forced to consider is something entirely relative. we must moreover include the use not only of two languages, but of any number of languages. We shall therefore consider bilingualism as the alternate use of two or more languages by the same individual. ⁹
1959	WEISS	Bilingualism is the direct use, being active or passive of two languages of the same speaker. ¹⁰

4 W. Leopold, *Speech Development of a Bilingual Child. A linguist Record Vol.1: Vocabulary Growth in the First Two Years* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1939), p.5.

5 P. Christopherson, *Bilingualism* (London: Methuen, 1948), pp.1-2.

6 R.A. Hall Jr., "Bilingualism and Applied Linguistics" in *Zeitschrift für Phonetik und allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft*, 6 (1952), 13-30 (p. 16).

7 E. Haugen, *The Norwegian Language in America: A Study in Bilingual Behaviour*, 2 vols (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1953), p. 7.

8 U. Weinreich, *Languages in Contact. Findings and Problems*, 9th edn (The Hague: Mouton, 1979), p. 5.

9 W.F. Mackay, "The Description of Bilingualism", in *Journal of the Canadian Linguistic Association*, (1957), 51-85, (p. 52)

10 A. Von Weiss, *Hauptprobleme der Zweisprachigkeit* (Heidelberg: Gross Verlag, 1959), p. 20.

1959	LAMBERT, HAVELKA AND GARDNER	The closer an individual approaches bilingual balance, the more he will be able to perceive and read words in both languages with similar speeds, to associate in both languages with similar fluency, to make active use of his words in both languages and to be set to verbalise in both languages. ¹¹
1961	DIEBOLD	[considers that] a type of bilingualism has even commenced when a person begins to understand utterances in a second language without being able to utter anything him or herself. ¹²
1962	ENCYCLOPAEDIA BRITANNICA	The mastery of two or more languages - bilingualism or multilingualism- is a special skill. Bilingualism and multilingualism are relative term since individual vary greatly in types and degrees of language proficiency.
1966	OKSAAR	Bilingualism is the ability of a person to use here and now two languages as a means of communication in most situations and to switch from one to another, if necessary ¹³ .
1969	MACNAMARA	I will use the term bilingual of persons who possess at least one of the language skills even to a minimum degree in their second language. ¹⁴
1972	VAN OVERBEKE	Bilingualism is an optional or obligatory means for efficient two-way communication between two or more different "worlds" using two different linguistics systems. ¹⁵
1974	OESTREICHER	Complete mastery of two languages without interference. ¹⁶

11 W. Lambert *et al.*, "Linguistic Manifestation of Bilingualism", *American Journal of Psychology*, 72 (1959), 77-82 (p. 81).

12 A.R. Diebold, "Incipient Bilingualism", in *Language* XXXVII, (1961), 97-112 (p. 110)

13 E. Oksaar, "Psycholinguistics Aspects of Bilingualism", *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, vol.10, 1, (1989), 33-46 (p. 34).

14 J. Macnamara, *Journal of Social Issues*, vol.XXIII, 2 (1967), pp.59-60.

15 M. Van Overbeke, *Introduction au problèmes du bilinguisme* (Paris: Nathan, 1972), p. 123.

16 Oestreicher, "The Early Teaching of Modern Language, Education and Culture", *Review of the Council of Cultural Cooperation of the Council of Europe*, 24 (1974) pp. 9-16 (p. 14)

1976	THIERY	A true bilingual is someone who is taken to be one of themselves by the members of the two different linguistic communities, out roughly the same social and cultural level. ¹⁷
1977	MALBERG	The speaker must not stand out from his environment when using the other language i.e. he must be accepted as a native speaker [he must be able to] act in both language groups without any disturbing deviance being noticed. ¹⁸
1981	SKUTNABB	A bilingual speaker is someone who is able to function in two (or more) languages either in monolingual or bilingual communities in accordance with the sociocultural cognitive competence by these communities or by the individual herself, at the same level as native speakers, and who is able positively to identify with both (or all) groups (and cultures) or parts of them. ¹⁹
1982	BAETENS BEARDSMORE	Bilingualism- must be able to account for the presence of at least two languages within one and the same speaker, remembering that the ability in these two languages may or may not be equal, and that the way the two or more languages are used plays a highly significant role. ²⁰
1988	SAUNDERS	Bilingualism means having two languages (and bilingualism is often used in the Literature to mean the same as multilingualism, that is having more than two languages). Bilinguals can be ranged along a continuum from the rare equilingual who is indistinguishable from a native speaker in both languages at one end to the person that has just begin to acquire a second language at the other end. ²¹

17 in F. Grosjean, *Life in Two languages, an Introduction to Bilingualism* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1982), p. 232.

18 Malberg, (1977), p. 135.

19 T. Skutnabb-Kangas, *Bilingualism or not* (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1983), p. 90.

20 H. Baetens Beardsmore, *Bilingualism: Basic Principles* (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1986), p. 3.

21 G. Saunders, *Bilingual Children: From Birth to Teens* (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1988), p. 8.

APPENDIX B

~ FRANCOPHONE SPACE IN PERSPECTIVE ~

Chirac suggests : "La France est un espace pour notre temps"¹ indeed, French is spoken on five continents which is a rare privilege shared only with English. Yet a distinction needs to be made between two types of Francophone areas. The first refers to a context where a francophone community existed or has been existing and the second qualifies parts of the world where a francophone community is living in a country where French is not the national language.

There has been a some confusion over how to number francophones. In the course of the nineteenth century, the number of speakers was calculated by adding French citizens and francophones together. It is argued that this approach does not give a realistic picture of the actual number of "genuine" speakers². Then, one proceeded to add speakers in the states where French is one of the official languages and areas of strong French tradition which is thought not to be representative either as far as the linguistic reality was concerned. The mere fact of speaking the language might not qualify for being called francophone. Likewise, speakers of French origins, those that had a few years of French schooling/ French classes, readers of French literature and press and French radio/television listeners might not have a knowledge of the language that extend to the point of being francophone, but Francophile at best. However, a new discipline called demo-linguistics, which has been developed in Canada and the

¹ Deniau, p.25.

² Didier de Robillard and Michel Beniamino, *Le français dans l'espace francophone* (Paris Champion, 1993).

US., was introduced in France in 1979 in the Institut de Recherches sur l'Avenir du Français. This area of research evaluated in 1981 the number of francophones as 301 974 000 among whom 105 937 000 would be effective speakers³. In 1985, according to the *QUID* the number of francophones amounted to 151 000 000, and the same year an editorial of *Le Monde* (21.6.1985), suggested the figure of 135 000 000. On the other hand, in 1986, De Broglie advanced 140 000 000. And according to the Encyclopaedia of Language the francophone speakers would have developed and reached in 1991 the score of 220 000 000⁴. A comparison the top twenty languages puts that figure into perspective.

MOTHER TONGUE SPEAKERS*	OFFICIAL LANGUAGE POPULATION
1 Chinese 1,000	1 English 1,4000
2 English 350 0	2 Chinese 1,000
3 Spanish 250	3 Hindi 700
4 Hindi 200	4 Spanish 280
5 Arabic 150	5 Russian 270
6 Bengali 150	6 French 220
7 Russian 150	7 Arabic 170
8 Portuguese 135	8 Portuguese 160
9 Japanese 120	9 Malay 160
10 German 100	10 Bengali 150
11 French 70	11 Japanese 120
12 Punjabi 70	12 German 100
13 Javanese 65	13 Urdu 85
14 Bihari 65	14 Italian 60
15 Italian 60	15 Korean 60
16 Korean 60	16 Vietnamese 60
17 Telugu 55	17 Persian 55
18 Tamil 55	18 Tagalog 50
19 Marathi 50	19 Thai 50
20 Vietnamese 50	20 Turkish 50

(* ,in thousands)

Scattered around geographically, francophones are also socially and culturally diverse, hence it appears that the francophone world is polycentric.

³ Broglie, p.31.

⁴ Crystal, (1991), p. 287.

In order to grasp the extend of the francophone space, it is useful to consider its geographical space in correlation to political events. Space will not allow consideration for a comprehensive description, however an overview by continent might prove useful.

I. America

Canada

France's first overseas empire began in the sixteenth century with settlement in Canada. The first presence in Canada dates from 1534⁵ with Jacques Cartier, but the first settlement was really with the foundation of Quebec in 1608 by Samuel de Champlain.

In 1763, through the Treaty of Paris, Canada was transferred to Britain, and the English had no intention of authorising French to continue to be used as a language in the area and officially prohibited its use. As Ager points out, "Problems between Canadians and *Canadiens* existed therefore from the beginning of the settlement"⁶. After diverse regimes, Quebec was integrated in the Canadian Confederation constituted by the British North America Act which in 1867 created the Canadian Confederation, that is Canada as an independent state, and the provinces.

The Act of 1867 stipulated bilingualism in Quebec, and English was the only official language in the rest of Canada. After the Royal Commission on bilingualism and Biculturalism, Canada became officially bilingual (after the "Quiet Revolution") in 1969 through the Official Language Act. It is of interest to note that 85.4% of the francophone living in Canada live in Quebec, the French

⁵ Xavier Yacono, *Histoire de la Colonisation Française*, (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France), p. 7.

⁶ Ager, p. 98.

province⁷. It is precisely in Quebec that the *Parti Québécois* took power⁸ and in 1977 passed Law 101, the Charter of the French Language. In 1988, the Supreme Court found some parts unconstitutional. And as a reply, Law 178 was passed ensuring that signs outside shops and building were strictly in French. It appeared then already clear that Quebec yearned for separation. This view is consistent with a suggestion made by Wardaugh:

Quebec, then is a kind of organised rearguard action to preserve French, one which has had both success and failures, but one from which the French can speak no respite⁹.

The links between France and Canada were sealed in 1965 with cultural agreements and the share of the responsibility in language. It is perhaps also illustrated with the trip of Charles de Gaulle in 1967.

Acadia

The first settlement in Acadia is thought to be around 1604¹⁰ led by de Monts and Champlain and throughout the seventeenth century, French and British colonists were fighting for this part of Canada. The British were finally victorious in Canada and in Europe which was to be confirmed in 1713. Indeed, The Treaty of Utrecht of 1713 gave the territories to the English in spite of the strong French settlement. Yet as Acadians did not want to give up their traditions, religion and language, the decision was then made, by the British crown, that they would have to be deported. As a consequence, from 1755-63 the *Grand Dérangement* took place, in other words the deportation of 15000 Acadians to Louisiana. (It is believed that 7000 died before arriving)

In the British North American Act of 1867, Acadians were not guaranteed linguistic rights. A century later, French still appeared to be the most important

7 Ralph Wardaugh, *Languages in Competition* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987), p. 226.

8 The *parti Québécois* was in power between 1976 and 1985.

9 Wardaugh, (1987), p. 221.

10 Auguste Vialette, *La Francophonie* (Paris: Larousse, 1968), p.37.

language in the province of Acadia. And since 1969 both languages are official languages.

Louisiana

In 1682 Robert de la Salle, while descending the Mississippi River took over Louisiana named after Louis the Fourteenth. But it was only in 1731 that Louisiana became a colony of France. The West part of Mississippi was given to the Spaniards with the Treaty of Fontainbleau in 1762, and in 1763 the Treaty of Paris gave the East part of it to the English. In 1800, Spain returned the territory and in 1803 Bonaparte sold a portion to the US. Louisiana was populated by Cajuns (the name given to the Acadians) from 1755 onwards, by Creoles since 1730 and mainly in New Orleans, and of mulattoes who were slaves that had escaped Toussaint l'Ouverture in Haiti and what is now the Dominican Republic.

The constitution of Louisiana of 1865 stipulated French as a second language. This was not approved in the constitution of 1921, currently enforced, which forbade French Language education. The current policies however, encourage French as a second official language of the state through diverse texts of the Codofil¹¹ (Council for the development of French in Louisiana). Today, it is thought that 15 per cent of Louisiana's population is francophone.¹²

Haiti

Haiti was discovered by Columbus in 1492. The western part of the island was allotted to the French by the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697. In 1790 the island obtained an autonomous constitution, but the slave revolt of 1791 and that of Toussaint l'Ouverture contributed to its independence in 1803. The official,

11 Acts 409, 407, and 256 of the Codefil promote the French language by requiring French language and culture to be taught at school, as well as requesting French to be alongside English in official publications; in Deniau, (1983), p. 36.

12 J. Henry, "La Louisiane francophone. Une renaissance culturelle", *Université*, (sept 1984), p.2-6.

working language is French, though French (spoken by 10 per cent of the population)¹³ is in competition with Creole which has a recent appeal

2. West Indies

The islands of the West Indies were shared between the English, Spanish, Dutch and French. The French presence goes back to 1635; Guadeloupe and Martinique became French in 1653 and are together with Guyana overseas departments and treated as integral parts of the country.

In the other countries of the West Indies such as Grenada, Saint Lucia, Dominica Saint Vincent, Tobago, Trinidad where English is the official language, very few French speakers remain. These places are creolophone which through their dialect keep an individual relation with the French.

3. Asia

Far east

India

India was part of the first wave of colonisation and five "comptoirs" were witness of French presence: Mache (ind. 1721), Karikal (Ind 1763), Yanaon (ind. 1759), Chandernagor (ind. 1686), Pondicherry (1677)¹⁴. Today there is a small francophone community in Pondicherry, hence Nehru's comment: "Pondichéry, est une fenêtre ouverte à l'Inde sur la France et je serai heureux que le reciproque fut vrai aussi".¹⁵

Near east

¹³ Ager, p. 93.

¹⁴ Viatte, p. 86.

¹⁵ Viatte, p. 86.

Lebanon, Egypt and Syria

In the Near East, Lebanon is the country where French is most spoken. Indeed, the reason for this lies in the fact that France was protecting the Christians with the alliance made between France and Soliman le Magnifique. In 1860 when Maronite Christians were persecuted by the Druzes, they obtained, with the help of France, autonomy for the region called "little Lebanon"¹⁶, as part of the Ottoman Empire.

However, in 1920 the Ottoman empire lost Lebanon with the Treaty of Sèvres, and remained under French protection, as given by the League of Nations, until 1941 the date of independence. Arabic is the official language of the country together with Syria, a former French mandate. The French language is still in use but is now in competition with English.

Egypt although never was part of the French empire, is experiencing the same phenomenon.

South-east Asia

Indo-China

In Indo-China, Cambodia was under French rule starting in 1863, becoming independent in 1953 and was of French tradition until 1973. Laos (protectorate from 1893-1953) and Vietnam are still francophone although very few in numbers.

The troubled political situation in the area means that the sociolinguistic situation is unable to provide any practical internal role for French.

¹⁶ Cuq, p. 29.

4. Indian Ocean

In 1665, Bourbon was colonised (it became La Réunion in 1793), and the Seychelles in 1742 by Mahé de la Bourdonnais. La Réunion is an overseas department where French is subsequently the official language, though, Creole is widely spoken.

The Seychelles (92 Islands) came under English domination in 1814 and was granted independence in 1976. French and English are official languages and Creole is the national one.

Ile de France, now Mauritius (1715-1815) was given to the British with the Treaty of Paris, though the Napoleonic Code and the legislative language in French have persisted. Although the official language is English, French (spoken by 5 per cent)¹⁷ and Creole are also very much spoken. the coexistence of the official language ,its pidgin version, French as a second language and Creole render the linguistic situation complex.

In Madagascar (colonised between 1643-1674 and again between 1895-1960), French was the only language of education until 1951, now available as a second language but with Malgache as the vehicle. Although French is still spoken by the intellectual élite and is the language of administration, Malgache is spoken by the most of the population, 80 per cent as reported by Ager.¹⁸

The Comoros protectorate in 1886-1909, became an overseas territory (as Mayotte) in 1958 and independent in 1975. The official language is now Arabic.

5. Pacific Ocean

The New Hebrides

17 Cuq, p. 27.

18 Ager, p. 94.

The New Hebrides were administered jointly by the French and the English (condominium) between 1887-1979, it is now the independent state of Vanuatu where both languages have an official status.

New Caledonia

New Caledonia was colonised in 1853 and became an overseas territory in 1946. The population is made up of French settlers opposed to independence and represent about 40 per cent of the people and the Melanesians, about 45 per cent of the community, who look forward to separation¹⁹. A referendum for auto determination will be held in 1998. The French language is official and Kanak and other languages are spoken informally.

French Polynesia

French Polynesia (Tahiti) was a protectorate in 1843 and was annexed in 1880 to become part of France in 1958 with overseas status. However the linguistic situation is undergoing difficulties, as French is in competition with English and Polynesian languages. Immigration of Chinese and English speakers are rendering the linguistic context multilingual.

Wallis and Futuna, a former protectorate (1886) were granted the same status as Tahiti in 1959.

6. Africa

¹⁹ Ager, p. 95.

North Africa

The three countries of the Magreb have retained a French-based educational system but all three of them wish in different proportion to defend the Arabic language and culture. Arabic is the official language of the three states though French is omnipresent in the media, commerce, science and technology.

Algeria was a colony between 1830-1954 and was part of French territory. In 1962, it became autonomous with the Accords d'Evian, after a bloody war of independence while for Tunisia and Morocco the access to freedom was less painful. Tunisia was a protectorate in 1881 and became independent in 1956, the same year as Morocco which was also a protectorate starting from 1911. In all three countries, Arabic is the official language, with Classical Arabic as the language of religion. French is the language of the past and élitism yet at the same time it is the language of commerce, science and technology. As Ager puts it:

Language attitudes are therefore still ambiguous: French is useful as a window on the world and the links with France are strengthened by emigration, by commercial links, and by history; but French is still regarded as the language of military and cultural oppression. ²⁰

In all three countries, the process of Arabisation has been put in place. Algeria, after more than a century of French control, was the first to decide on such a procedure. The country was emotionally rejecting the language of the oppressor and also intended to uniform the linguistic panorama. Subsequently, as soon as possible, schooling was conducted in Arabic. Morocco started this reform in educational system as well but in a lesser proportion, while the Tunisian school system is still similar to the French one.

Mauritania was a protectorate in 1903, became a colony in 1920 and gained independence in 1960.

²⁰ Ager, p. 90.

Sub Saharian Africa

What is characteristic is the permanent of the numerous avatars from 1560-1827. In 1859, Libreville in Gabon was founded by freed slaves. The end of French expansionis took place around the turn of the century. Belgian colonisation brought French to three countries: Zaire, Rwanda and Burundi. In the Portuguese colonies, due to a preference in the metropolis for French, the colonisers brought knowledge of the language. In Lusophone countries namely Angola, Mozambique, Guinea, Bissau, Green Cape, São Tome and Principe. French is still an official language as can be seen in the chart below, spoken in conjunction with English but mostly with tribal tongues.

COUNTRIES	DATES OF INDEPENDENCE	OFFICIAL LANGUAGE	NATIONAL LANGUAGES
BENIN	1.8.1960	FR	
BERUNDI	1.7.1962	FR	Kirundi
BURKINA	5.8.1960	FR	
CAMEROON	4.3.1960	FR+ENG	24 major Afr. lang.
CAR	4.3.1960	FR	Sango
CHAD	11.8.1960	FR	
CONGO	15.8.1960	FR	
GABON	17.8.60	FR	Fang, Myene, Bapounou, Eschira, Bandjabi, Bateke
GUINEA	2.10.1958	FR	
IVORY COAST	7.8.1960	FR	over 60 AFR lang. Dioula mostly spoken
MALI	22.9.1960	FR	Banbara + AFR lan.
MAURITANIA	20.8.1960	FR+ARABIC	Arabic, Toucouleur, Fula, Wolof
NIGER	3.8.1960	FR	Hausa, Djerma
RWANDA	1.1.1962	FR+KINYARWANDA	Kinyarwanda
SENEGAL	20.8.1960	FR	Wolof, Pulaar, Diola, Maudigo
TOGO	30.8.1956	FR	Erve, Mina, Dagamba, Kabye + AFR lang.
ZAIRE	20.6.1960	FR	Lingala, Swahili, Kingwana, Kikongo, Tshiluba

Cia, Cuq, Deniau²¹

²¹ Chart compiled with *The World Fact Book*, (Washington: Central Intelligence Agency, 1991), Cuq, (1991), p.30, Deniau, (1983), p.40-41.

As can be seen French is the official language of all the former colonies of Sub-Saharan Africa. Indeed, it is the language of education, but it is interesting to note that there is a great discrepancy between the number of speakers that have undergone French-language education and the actual number of speakers. There is a complex linguistic situation, as most of these countries are at least bilingual if not all multilingual, and it can be safely concluded that monolingualism is not a normal situation in Africa. Descamps-Hoquet²² conducted a survey in Senegal and came to the conclusion that out of 115 speakers, 11 were monolingual, 30 bilingual, 34 trilingual and 40 used more than three languages.

7. Europe

Belgium

Lost from Napoleon's empire and annexed to Holland in 1815, new Belgium was constituted in 1830 of Wallonia and Flanders with French as the official language and as Wardaugh puts it:

French was an important European language, French culture was highly regarded and French was there language of the opportunity. Dutch had none of the same attractions"

However, Flemish became one of the two official languages in 1898.

In 1935, each zone recognised a linguistic code but since 1962-63 the country has been divided into four linguistic areas: the French zone (including Hainaut, Namur, Limburg, Liège), the Dutch/Flemish zone (including West and East Flanders, Antwerp, Limburg, Brabant), the German zone including 9 communities of the Liege region and the Bilingual zone including Brussels and its

²² M Descamps-Hoquet, "Communication en milieu plurilingue", *Cahier de l'Institut Linguistique de Louvain*, 14, 2, (1988), pp. 211-15.

19 communities. The 1971 constitution confirmed these linguistic zones, yet it did not help to solve the ethno-linguistic antagonism which some feel shows that the federal state is ready for separatism.

According to Wardhaugh,²³ in 1987, 56 per cent of the population were living in the Dutch part of the country whereas 32 per cent were part of the French and a small 11 per cent in bilingual Brussels.

Luxemburg

Since 1130 teaching in Luxemburg has been bilingual. In 1236 the Thionville Charter which enfranchised Luxembourg was already written in French and not in Latin. Attributed in 1815 to Holland, it became independent in 1890. French is the official language together with German and Luxemburgish.

It is believed that German is spoken more in rural areas, and that the three languages coexist peacefully in the cities where most people are trilingual.

²³ Wardaugh (1987), p. 204.

Switzerland

United in 1815, and unlike Belgium, French has never been in competition with other languages of Switzerland but rather complementary. Linguistic planning is organised as follows: French is the official language of three cantons (Geneva, Vand, Neuchâtel), three other cantons are bilingual French-German (Friburg, Valais, Bern), Italian and Romansh. In 1987, most Swiss were German speakers with, according to Stevenson²⁴, an estimated 65 per cent of the population. French is spoken by 18.4 per cent and Italian by 9.8 per cent. Romansh is also spoken but in a much lesser proportion, as only used by 1 per cent of the Swiss speakers.²⁵

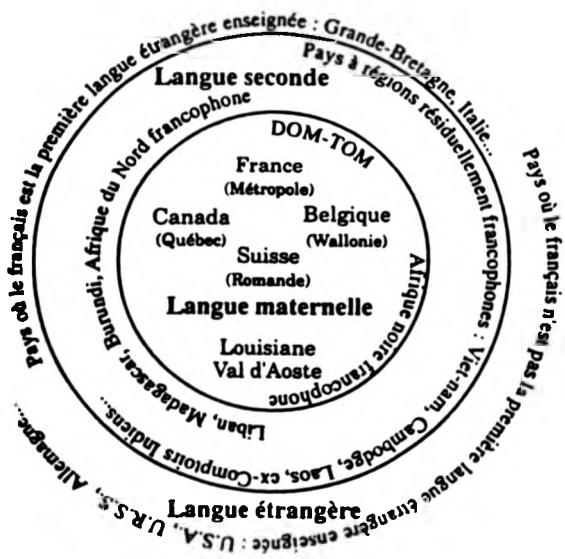
It is interesting to note that French coexists peacefully with the three other languages and that unlike Belgium no ethno-linguistic problems are apparent. It is also of interest to note that the Swiss are proud of "Schwyzertutsch", the Swiss dialect of German, although standard German is used in the media, education and public life. Swiss German is therefore widely used in domestic life and on semi-official occasions. In contrast, French Swiss is not so highly regarded by French speakers and Parisian French tends to be considered as standard.

Aosta Valley

In the North-west of Italy between Valais and Savoy, this autonomous region has been bilingual since 1948 in French and Italian especially in public life. French is nevertheless a minority language as 90% of the population takes higher education in Turin and many commute and work in Italy.

24 Patrick Stevenson, "Political Culture and Intergroup Relations in Plurilingual Switzerland", *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 2:3, (1990), pp.227-255.

25 Ager, p.86.



cuq (1991) p. 39

APPENDIX C
~ ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS:
THE BILINGUALISM-INTELLIGENCE
DICHOTOMY~

A SELECTION FROM:

F. GOODENOUGH, "RACIAL DIFFERENCES IN THE INTELLIGENCE OF SCHOOL CHILDREN", *JOURNAL OF EXPERIMENTAL PSYCHOLOGY*, 9 (1926), 388-399.

1. PERSISTENCE OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE COMPARED WITH INTELLIGENCE
2. DISTRIBUTION OF INTELLIGENCE QUOTIENT BY RACIAL STOCK INTELLIGENCE TESTS OF FOREIGN CHILDREN
3. INTELLECTUAL ABILITY OF AMERICAN SCHOOL CHILDREN BY RACIAL STOCK
4. GRAPH I AND II

TABLE I
PERSISTENCE OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE COMPARED WITH INTELLIGENCE

Nationality	Foreign Language Ratio	Median IQ
German	20.1 to 100	102.3
Danish	31.6 " 100
Roumanian Jew	39.7 " 100	98.0
Norwegian	49.2 " 100	103.8
Swedish	53.1 " 100	101.9
Bohemian	76.9 " 100
Austrian	77.8 " 100	99.5
Russian Jew	79.7 " 100	98.0
Italian	86.4 " 100	77.5
Slovak	88.4 " 100	85.6
Finnish	97.4 " 100	90.0

TABLE II
DISTRIBUTION OF INTELLIGENCE QUOTIENTS BY RACIAL STOCK

IQ	American	Armenian	Italian	Spanish-Mexican	California Negroes	Southern Negroes	Hoop Valley Indians	Jewish	Chinese	Japanese	Germans	Portuguese	English and Scotch	French and Swiss	Danish, Swedish and Norwegian	Assyrian, Slavonian and Serbian
160	1		1	1												
150	2		0	0	1											
140	11	1	1	0	0	1		1	1	1	1				1	
130	22	1	3	4	0	1		4	1	4	1					1
120	44	2	15	12	3	8		5	4	1	5				1	1
110	75	13	27	27	5	19		14	2	7	6		1		5	5
100	103	20	58	45	4	52		11	7	8	4		4		5	5
90	116	33	100	73	10	84		13	4	10	7		4		7	7
80	69	29	115	93	17	104		5	4	8	4		3		5	3
70	44	16	98	68	17	125		3	2	3	3		2		1	4
60	11	9	34	35	10	155				1	1				1	1
50	2		4	3	2	51										1
40						11										
30						2										
Total cases	500	123	456	367	69	613	79	55	35	42	29	11	14	14	31	29
Mdn	100.3	91.8	87.5	87.3	82.7	76.5	85.6	106.3	103.1	99.5	98.8	93.3	99.5	92.8	104.5	94.5
Mean	101.5	92.3	89.1	88.5	85.8	78.7	85.6	106.1	104.1	101.9	101.1	94.5	100.2	94.5	103.5	94.8
S.D.	18.3	15.6	16.0	17.5	18.7	17.5	14.1	16.2	18.0	18.0	19.3	16.5	16.8	19.6	17.8	18.8
Coeff. of var.	18.0	16.9	18.0	19.8	21.8	22.2	16.5	15.3	17.2	17.7	19.1	17.5	16.8	20.7	17.3	20.3

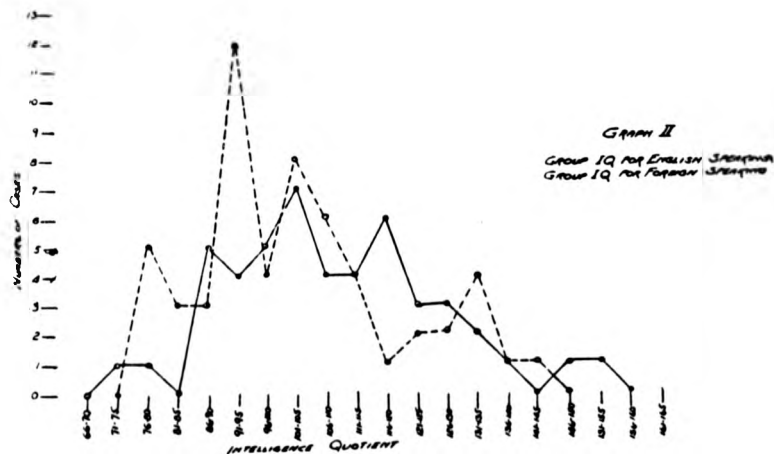
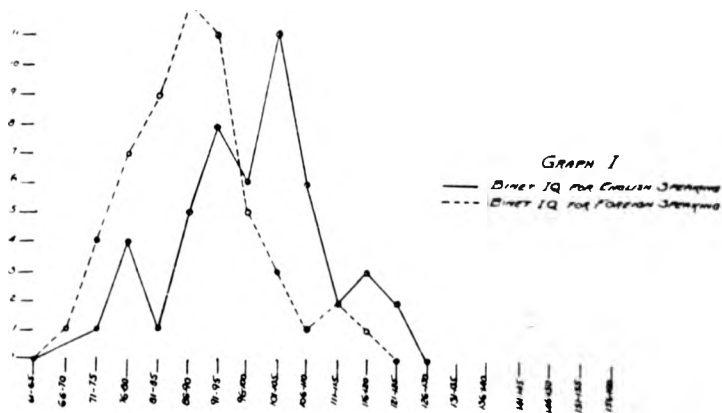
FLORENCE L. GOODENOUGH

RACIAL DIFFERENCES IN INTELLIGENCE

INTELLECTUAL ABILITY OF AMERICAN SCHOOL CHILDREN BY RACIAL STOCK

FLORENCE L. GODDENOUGH

Racial Stock	Reported by	Cases	Test used	Result
White American	Pfister and Keller (58)	549	Stanford-Binet	Mean IQ 95
White American	Sheldon (54)	100	"	104
White American	Dickson (6)	49	"	102
American Negro (Ohio)	Pfister and Keller (58)	71	"	88
American Negro (Tennessee)	Peterson (57)	All children 8-10 yrs. in several schools	Frenchy	75
American Negro (Arkansas)	Jordan (18)	87	N.I.T.	14-77. Negroes equal to 10-17% whites
American Negro (Northern)	Thornhill (49)	349	I.E.R.	Ch. 4 per cent. Negroes scored below median
American Negro	Seane (16)	Over 1,000	N.I.T. and Myers	Some grade 1-2 yrs. below for whites (mental age)
English	Pfister and Keller (58)	24	Stanford-Binet	Mean IQ 97
English	Brown (4)	90	"	101.8
Italian	Pfister and Keller (58)	115	"	84
Italian	Dickson (6)	25	"	84
Italian	Young (45)	Several hundred	Army Alpha and Beta	about 85
Italian	Brown (4)	51	Stanford-Binet	77.5
German	Pfister and Keller (58)	37	"	91
German	Brown (4)	67	"	100.3
Jewish	Pfister and Keller (58)	79	"	95
Jewish	Mirbeck (54)	Several hundred	Frenchy	Jews approx. equal to 4-5% whites
Chinese (San Francisco)	Young (44)	109	Stanford-Binet	American Median IQ 97
Chinese (Hawaii)	Symonds (58)	515	Pfister non-language	Mean IQ 99
Spanish-Mexican	Sheldon (54)	100	Stanford-Binet and Colby-Vincent	85
Spanish-Mexican	Dickson (6)	37	Stanford-Binet	78
Portuguese	Young (45) (Quoting unpublished data by Roll)	119	Stanford-Binet	86
Portuguese	Dickson (6)	23	"	84
Norwegian	Brown (4)	34	"	103.8
Swedish	Brown (4)	187	"	101.9
Austrian	Brown (4)	38	"	99.5
French	Brown (4)	199	"	95.4
French	Brown (4)	226	"	90
Swedish	Pfister and Keller (58)	150	"	85
Swedish	Pfister and Keller (58)	99	"	89
Indian (Michigan)	Pfister and Keller (58)	268	Goddard-Binet	Only 5.8 per cent. of Indians tested at age or above
Indian	Huaster (17)	711	Otis	Whites excel Indians by 1.6 P.E. of letter, Correl'a bet. degree of white blood and score = .51 ± .017



Intelligence Tests of Foreign Children

English speaking			Foreign speaking		
Number of cases	Nationality	IQ	Number of cases	Nationality	IQ
249	American (white).....	95	313	Italian.....	84
71	American (colored).....	88	130	Slavish.....	85
24	English.....	97	99	Hungarian.....	89
3	Canadian.....	89	37	German.....	91
3	Scotch.....	88	18	Roumanian.....	97
3	Irish.....	92	12	Greek.....	83
7	Welsh.....	93	11	Polish.....	85
			10	Russian.....	89
			7	Lithuanian.....	87
			5	Croatian.....	86
			4	Syrian.....	80
			4	Gypsy.....	74
			4	Finnish.....	94
			3	Austrian.....	94
			3	Swedish.....	104
			2	Spanish.....	93
			1	Indian.....	93

APPENDIX D
~ GREEN'S 'LE VOYAGEUR SUR LA TERRE'
OR THE FARCE OF THE TRANSLATOR ~

An American in Paris

People are often mistaken, even friends of the author have been disconcerted, about Green's dual specificity of being an American in Paris. For years, the Nobel Prize winner, Gide, was unsure about the bilingual author's nationality: 'Gide est mort avec cette idée que j'étais né à la Nouvelle Orléans. Je l'avais débarassé de celle qui me faisait naître au Canada.'¹ To such confusion, Green would answer: 'mon acte de naissance est enregistré à la mairie du XVII^{ème} arrondissement, j'ai fait toutes mes études dans le XVI^{ème}, à Janson-de-Sailly, et je n'ai posé le pied sur le sol américain qu'à dix-neuf ans, en 1919.'²

Indeed, the American Julian Hartridge Green, the son of the Virginian Edward Green (1853-1927) and of the Georgian Mary Hartridge (1857-1914), first saw the light of day at the turn of the century. Green's parents immigrated to France in 1893, to Le Havre, together with their five children (Edward, Eleonor, Mary, Charles and Anne). In 1897, the Greens, then increased with the birth of Relta and Lucy, moved to Paris where Edward Green took office as secretary in the American Chamber of Commerce. Julian, the last child of the family, was born on the 6th September 1900.

¹ Julien Green, *Journal en un volume (1928-1958)* (Paris: Plon, 1961), p. 980.

² Robert de Saint Jean, *Julien Green par lui-même* (Paris: Seuil, 1967), p. 7

Anne). In 1897, the Greens, then increased with the birth of Relta and Lucy, moved to Paris where Edward Green took office as secretary in the American Chamber of Commerce. Julian, the last child of the family, was born on the 6th September 1900.

The shadow

The portrait of the writer can best be observed in a mirror. Indeed, Julien Green and his reflected image are the two entities that create the author's unity, the American citizen and the French writer, Julian and Julien.³

Je est un autre, a text written for a radio programme, suggests that to understand Julien Green, one needs to search for the reflection of the Other.⁴ This is clear in the titles of the author's works, as for instance, *Si j'étais vous*, *L'Autre*, *L'Autre sommeil*, *Qui sommes nous?*, *Le Language et son double*, and *L'Homme et son ombre*, where Green seems to be followed by his ghostly shadow.⁵ The author recollects being haunted by the idea of spirits and ghosts during his childhood, and would frequently utter laments such as 'ils ont encore été terribles cette nuit'.⁶ While on holiday in Andresy, Julien, then aged ten, dreaded reaching his room in the darkness and would wait for his parents to retire and climb the stairs with him.⁷ Ghosts and darkness inhabited the child's mind; the shadow was already settling in.

³ Julien Green is one of the few foreign writers of the French Academy.

⁴ Julien Green and Eric Jourdan, 'Je est un autre', in *Oeuvres Complètes*, 5 vols, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade (Paris: Gallimard, 1973), II, pp. 1036-73.

⁵ Julien Green, *Si j'étais vous* (Paris: Seuil, 1947); Julien Green, *L'Autre* (Paris: Seuil, 1960); Julien Green, *L'Autre sommeil* (Paris: Plon, 1930); Julien Green, *Qui sommes nous?* (Paris: Gallimard, 1972); Julien Green, *Le Language et son double* (Paris: Seuil, 1985); Julien Green, *L'Homme et son ombre* (Paris: Seuil, 1992).

⁶ Saint Jean, p. 6.

⁷ Julien Green, 'Journal', in *Oeuvres Complètes*, 5 vols, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade (Paris: Gallimard, 1975), IV, p. liii.

The One or the Other in 'Le Voyageur sur la terre'

The short story 'Le Voyageur sur la terre', based on the theme of split personality, starts with this peculiar introduction:

il y a quelques années, l'auteur de la traduction qu'on va lire se trouvait dans une ville des Etats Unis quand le hasard d'une petite recherche littéraire lui mit entre les mains des documents d'un caractère si particulier qu'il s'amusa à les recopier tout au long [...] voici une traduction de ces documents.⁸

In the short story, the author narrates the unfortunate death of Daniel O'Donovan, a student at the university of Fairfax. Autobiographic elements, although numerous and fascinating, will not be discussed at length here. What is of interest, though, is the strategy used by Green to introduce the hero of 'Le Voyageur sur la terre.'

Green opens the short story by presenting the author of the translation that one will read. By stating in the opening sentence that the text is a translation, Green leads the reader to conclude that a human intermediary has operated between the writer and the reader. Furthermore, the use of 'l'auteur de la traduction' suggests the possibility that the narrator and translator are two different persons.

In addition, as the short story develops, the translator narrates the fate of Daniel O'Donovan from a manuscript left by the late character. In other words, as the short story unfolds, the reader discovers that the text written by Green appears to be a translation of the tale of the life of the character Daniel O'Donovan, which in turn is a transcription of a manuscript left by the hero before committing suicide.

⁸ Julien Green, 'Le Voyageur sur la terre', in *Oeuvres complètes*, 5 vols, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade (Paris: Gallimard, 1972), I, pp. 13-66 (p. 15). 'Le Voyageur sur la terre' was first published in *La Nouvelle Revue Française*, 27 (1926), 197-222.

However, as the reader engages in reading the short story, s/he discovers that the narrator and translator are one and the same person. Indeed, this becomes apparent through a shift from the third person in 'l'auteur de la traduction' to the first person in 'pour ce qui est de la relation de Daniel O'Donovan, je n'ai naturellement rien voulu retrancher de ses longueurs, ni corriger ses nombreuses maladresses.'⁹ At this stage, it is also interesting to note that the reader is made to understand that the source text, left by the main character, was written in English and that thanks to the narrator's having translated it into French, it has become possible to read the manuscript. As a result, the reader feels grateful to the writer-translator, indebted even, for having access to the text. With his translation, Green palliates the inaccessibility of the source text, thus giving the text special status. Pergnier states that this is the primary function of translation: 'on traduit pour rendre accessible un texte (oral ou écrit) à quelqu'un qui, en raison de la barrière des langues, ne pourrait y avoir accès directement: c'est la traduction au sens plein, celle dans laquelle un médiateur intervient entre l'émetteur et un (des) récepteur(s).'¹⁰

At this point, the status of the translated text appears to be a key element. The writer and translator have been united by the end of the opening section, becoming one and the same person. It has been argued extensively in the contemporary literature of Translation Studies that translation is not only an act of rewriting, but one of creative writing,¹¹ or creative transposition.¹² Contemporary works in Translation Studies suggest that the translator has an active role. S/he not only carries over texts from the source language into the target one, but also ensures that source texts 'are reborn, are given a new life, stimulated with new energy.'¹³

9 Green, 'Le Voyageur', p. 17.

10 Maurice Pergnier, *Les Fondements sociolinguistiques de la traduction* (Paris: Champion, 1978), p. 39.

'One translates to give access to a text (oral or written) to someone who could not have direct access because of language barriers: it is translation in its full sense, in which a mediator interacts between the sender and one of the receiver(s).' [my translation]

11 The term 'creative writing' can be found in Edwin Gentzler, *Contemporary Translation Theories* (London: Routledge, 1993).

12 Term used by Roman Jakobson, in 'On Linguistic Aspects of Translation' (1959), in Robert A. Brower, ed., *On Translation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966), pp. 232-39.

13 Gentzler, p. 34.

Hence, in 'Le Voyageur sur la terre', by translating the manuscript of the late Daniel O'Donovan, Green is resurrecting the hero of the short story. For, if the manuscript had not been translated, the reader could not have had access to it and the tragedy of the character would not have been narrated. Indeed, the translation is the medium that gives existence to the short story and an after-life to the hero. By doing so, it appears that Green, the French writer, reveals the mystery of the American citizen, and this is made possible by Green I (the French writer) translating Green II (the American citizen).¹⁴ In other words, Green I and Green II have become writer and self-translator.

As a matter of fact, Green's double image (Green I and Green II) can be observed in his writings, where his image and its reflection are visible. In 'Le Voyageur sur la terre', Green walks on converging paths. As Massara suggested, for the ancient, walking without a shadow was an eternal quest.¹⁵ It was believed that walking at noon in the open was the appropriate moment to 'kill' one's shadow, as no reflection could be seen on the ground. At other times of the day, the ghostly shadow would either run in front or follow the person in a demonic manner. However, it is interesting to connect this idea with the ancient belief in the 'demon of high noon.' The myth suggests that when the sun reaches its zenith and bathes material life with bright light, the demon might fall on you. Barba further explains: 'the ancients used to assert that when the demon of high noon passes by, the monk feels that his vocation no longer has any meaning; the knight dreams of the plough; the peasant yearns for a wandering life under arms.'¹⁶ In 'Le Voyageur sur la terre', the writer and translator progressively unite, the shadow and the human meet in a single persona, which permits the short story to be narrated. Green comments on the idea of shadow as follows:

14 The term 'Green I and Green II' is used by Saint Jean.

15 Pino Massara, doctoral seminar, the Centre for British Comparative and Cultural Studies, University of Warwick, spring 1994.

16 Eugenio Barba, 'The Third Theatre — A Legacy from Us to Ourselves', in *Kaosmos, the Ritual of the Door*, performed by the Odin Teatret, co-production Teatro Tascabile (Bergamo) and Nordisk Teaterlaboratorium (Hoslebro), 1994, pp. 24-36 (p. 25).

je voudrais dire ceci, qui est vrai, de tous mes livres. Il arrive un moment où de grandes brèches se forment par où passe quelque chose qui ne vient pas de moi, mais d'un autre dont j'ai parfois peur comme d'un moi plus impérieux, plus autoritaire et plus sûr de lui que le moi que je connais.¹⁷

And the author further asks: 'est ce que je ne m'appartiens pas? Est ce qu'il y a une partie de moi même qui est en dehors de ma portée?'¹⁸ Do I not belong to myself, asks Julien Green. This question leads the reader to ponder whether the French writer and the American citizen unite only when projected on paper. And when the twelfth stroke is heard, the writer's shadow ceases dancing. Green expresses this haunting feeling in the following words:

lorsque j'écris je dois obéir à l'homme qui me parle et dort, je ne distingue pas le visage si l'étranger s'obstine à se taire et que j'écrive malgré tout, alors ce que je fais ne vaut rien. Et si je demeure en panne, je connais un profond découragement, je souffre d'inaction et crains de n'avoir plus rien à dire, jamais.¹⁹

Saint Jean comments on Green's words in the following fashion: 'parler de pouvoir médiumnique, ou de dédoublement à propos de ce romancier s'impose à tout observateur objectif.'²⁰ 'L'homme qui me parle,' the man who speaks to me, seems to suggest that Green writes under the dictation of the Other, as if One were writing on paper the translation of the thought of the Other. It would be fascinating to be part of the audience in Green's bilingual 'Kopftheater' and observe whether it is the French

17 Green, *Journal 1928-58*, p. 1170.

18 Green, *Journal 1928-58*, p. 1170.

19 Quoted by Saint Jean, p. 151.

20 Saint Jean, p. 151.

writer translating the American citizen or the American citizen being rendered into French. In other words, is Julien Green, *l'Un ou l'Autre*? The One or the Other?

'L'étranger s'obstine à se taire.' The word 'étranger', as in Camus' novel, needs explaining. According to the 1990 *Oxford Dictionary*, *l'étranger*/the stranger, is 'a person in a place to which he or she does not belong, or a person one does not know.' However, the word 'étranger' in French may refer to either a stranger or a foreigner. So, Green's use of the word 'étranger' is ambivalent, and the sentence 'l'homme qui me parle [...] l'étranger s'obstine à se taire,' might refer either to the unknown other part of himself, or to the foreign one. Although the two meanings seem apparently very close (what is known might appear familiar) there might not necessarily be a correlation. In the light of this thought, it would be possible to argue that Green's 'étranger' refers to the unveiled part of the bilingual author, the unconscious; in this case, one could describe Green's work as automatic writing. On the other hand, it would also be possible to suggest that 'l'étranger' refers to the extra-dimensional cultural aspect of being bilingual. In this way, his writing encapsulates encoded messages belonging to both cultures, even as it plays with linguistic signs, such as loan words, and with code switching, which is most apparent in his diaries and autobiography.

The One and the Other/L'Un et L'Autre

The themes of the Other, the stranger, the reflected image are at the heart of Green's writing. In 1957, he noted in his diary: 'un roman [...] c'est un miroir dans lequel nous voyons la vie.'²¹ Saint Jean corroborates the novelist's point when he adds that the writer's task 'consiste à écouter de toutes ses forces la voie qui dicte de l'intérieur.'²²

²¹ Quoted by Saint Jean, p. 163.

²² Saint Jean, p. 163.

In this view, the novel becomes the translation of life and the transcription of the writer's experience of the world. On this point, Lefevere further comments: 'a society, a culture is the environment of a literary system. The literary system and the system of society are open to each other, they influence each other.'²³ In other words, 'a literary text does not exist in a vacuum',²⁴ to use Hornby's words, and it seems fair to suggest that Green's 'Le Voyageur sur la terre' reflects the bilingual author's Gestalt.

There is a duality in the writer's 'gaze' which can be seen in Green's characters. It has been suggested that 'dans les personnages même des romans, un véritable dédoublement s'accomplit, et *l'homme qui agit [...] n'est pas reconnu par l'autre homme qui en lui observe, et pourtant l'un et l'autre ne font qu'un*' [my italics].²⁵ Needless to say, Saint Jean's description of Green's novels may well be applied to the writer himself: 'l'un et l'autre ne font qu'un.' One could perhaps suggest the following formula: L'UN E(S)T L'AUTRE. And the question, 'Ah, pourquoi suis-je moi?', often found in the writer's notes, has been analyzed by Saint Jean as being the representation of the wish to escape reality and to search for unity.²⁶

In 'Le Voyageur sur la terre', Green plays with linguistic borders. By means of his translation, the author has crossed the linguistic border from the manuscript that the main character would have written in English into the short story written in French. Furthermore, later in the short story, the hero is said to have taken with him to the university town of Fairfax 'quelques traductions de livres français' and further along 'il s'informa ensuite de ce que je lisais, je lui tendis le livre: c'était une traduction d'un roman français.'²⁷ With such lines, Green acknowledges that the hero does not

23 André Lefevere, 'Why Waste our Time on Rewrites? The Trouble with Interpretation and the Role of Rewriting in an Alternative Paradigm', in Theo Hermans, ed., *The Manipulation of Literature* (London: Croom Helm, 1985), pp. 215-43 (p. 226).

24 Mary Snell-Hornby, *Translation Studies: An Integrated Approach* (London: Benjamins, 1988), p. 113.

25 Saint Jean, p. 167.

26 See Julien Green, 'Sud', in *Oeuvres Complètes*, 5 vols, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade (Paris: Gallimard, 1973), III, p. 1059.

27 Green, 'Le Voyageur', p. 39 and p. 41.

read French and that linguistic borders need to be crossed again from English into French.

Furthermore, within the short story, Green oscillates between the narration in the first person pronoun to the third, and between narrator and actor, thus 'pretending' to cross the linguistic border between French and English. Moreover, this device permits him to shift from Green, the American student that he once was, to Green, the French writer: from the man to his shadow. In other words, this change of pronouns allows the narrator to identify with his character and to include autobiographic elements, as in 'j'entendais la respiration égale d'un dormeur: c'était la miëne et je me voyais dans mon lit par un dédoublement inexplicable.'²⁸

Facsimiles of correspondence between the director of the *Fairfax Review* and witnesses commenting on the hero's death are inserted at the end of the story. Also included are parts of two other letters. By adding such facsimiles, Green enhances the ambiguity of the truth value of the short story. This gives the impression that the testimony is being given by different persons and from different perspectives. These letters also attempt to give a new tone to the account without changing the perception of the hero's fate. To put it differently, this correspondence displays several translations of the occurrence.

Another element worthy of mention is the author's editing of the correspondence: 'le reste de cette lettre est *sans intérêt* et n'apporte aucun élément à la relation de Daniel O'Donovan. Son auteur semble n'avoir écrit que pour le plaisir de raconter' [my italics] or 'nous interrompons ici le manuscrit d'Eliza Smyth pour donner le récit du docteur Thornton qui nous a paru *plus complet et plus précis*' [my italics].²⁹ The narrator/translator of 'Le Voyageur sur la terre', as an external mediator, feels that he has the right to shorten one letter because of its lack of interest and to insert another one because of its preciseness. Green poses here a fundamental

²⁸ Green, 'Le Voyageur', p. 42.

²⁹ Green, 'Le Voyageur', p. 55 and p. 58.

question on the role of the translator: is it the translator's responsibility to edit the text?

Meschonnic points out that 'la traduction aussi est production, non reproduction' and that 'traduire est donc dans la pratique et la théorie de l'écrire'.³⁰ In this way, the translator is playing a dynamic, communicative role where translation is a 'vehicle of a culture'.³¹ The rewriter may also decide not to adhere to the 'system's constraints' to use Lefevere's terminology. In this view, the rewriter may choose to edit if necessary in order to attempt to escape the canonized values, often dictated by patronage.³² This idea is also expressed by Popovic:

translation as a text does not come into being merely as a reflection of the original, it is rather determined by the relation of the translator as creator to reality. The meta-communicant (the translator) is related to the textual ontology of his own complex of experience. Both experience are inevitably projected into the textual activities of the translator.³³

Another important question concerns the status of the text thus produced. The idea that the target text provides a commentary or an interpretation of the source text is widespread. Carne-Ross observed that 'true translation is much more a commentary on the original than a substitute for it, like criticism, to which it is closely allied, its role is interpretative'.³⁴

30 Henri Meschonnic, *Pour la Poétique II* (Paris: Gallimard, 1973), p. 352. 'Translation is production, not just reproduction and translating is in the theory and practice of creative writing' [my translation]

31 Term used by Basil Haum and Ian Mason, *Discourse and the Translator* (London: Longman, 1990), p. 237.

32 See André Lefevere, 'The Power of Patronage', in *Translation/History/Culture*, ed. by André Lefevere (London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 19-25 (p. 19).

33 Anton Popovic, 'Aspects of Metatext', *Canadian Review of Comparative Literature/Revue canadienne de littérature comparée*, 3.3 (1976), pp. 225-35 (233).

34 D. S. Carne-Ross, 'Translation and Transposition', in *The Craft and Context of Translation*, ed. by William Arrowsmith and Robert Shattuck (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1961), pp. 3-21 (p. 6).

The next question is the following: what would happen if one were to decide to translate into English this piece of fiction originally written by Green in French? Several methodological difficulties would arise. For example: 'il y a quelques années, l'auteur de cette traduction se trouvait aux Etats Unis' would not make sense. For the document that is presented would no longer be a translation from English into French, but the reproduction of an English manuscript. The translator could alter the opening phrase 'l'auteur de la traduction' (the author of this translation) and replace it with something such as 'the author of this document/text/piece/story...'. However, an alternative strategy would be to translate without editing, and to explain in a preface or introduction that the source text was originally intended for a French readership. Consequently, the American manuscript written by O'Donovan had to be translated into French, which, in turn, would be now retranslated into English. As a result, the text would be a translation of a translation and, as Gaddis-Rose points out: 'we can translate back but not backwards.'³⁵ It would seem easier to find O'Donovan's manuscript, the only difficulty being that this document only exists in the realm of Green's imagination.

However, if one were to persevere in wishing to transpose this short story, the translator would have to choose whether to keep and rewrite the introduction, stating that the text is a translation (first paragraph of the short story), or whether to omit any elements referring to the text as being a translation, such as 'l'auteur de la traduction que l'on va lire. [...] Voici une traduction de ces documents.'³⁶

Why call this paper the farce of the translator? Quite simply because 'Le Voyageur sur la terre' has never been a translation from English into French, but is merely the translation of the writer's imagination. The reader has been fooled by the bilingual author. *The Green Paradise* is a self-translated work,³⁷ but the short story

35 Marilyn Gaddis Rose, 'Faith as an Act of Translation, the Case of Julien Green', in *The Comparatist Journal of the Southern Comparative Literature*, 6.1 (1982), 35-39 (p. 36).

36 Green, 'Le Voyageur', pp. 15-17.

37 Julien Green, *The Green Paradise: Autobiography (1900-1916)* (London: Boyars, 1993).

'Le Voyageur sur la terre', Green's farce, is yet another reflected image, the ghost of a translation that never was.

APPENDIX E
~ ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS
TRANSLATION AND SELF-TRANSLATION
OF JULIEN GREEN'S SELECTED PIECES ~

ORIGINAL EXTRACTS FROM

1. JULIEN GREEN, "SOUVENIR DE PASSY" IN *L'HOMME ET SON OMBRE*
(PARIS: EDITIONS DU SEUIL, 1991), PP. 22-29

2. JULIEN GREEN, "PASSY", IN *PARIS*, BILINGUAL EDITION, TRANS. BY
JOHN UNDERWOOD (LONDON: BOYARD, 1993), PP.190-97

It is at about this time of year that the chestnut trees in Paris, the chestnut trees near the Trocadéro in Paris, begin to grow green again. There is one of them which spreads its branches over a subway grating, thriving there innocently in warm and poisonous exhalations. Its young leaves open, reach out, like hungry little hands. Soon, it will put forth its flowers which are like candles and, if I remember rightly, those candle-shaped flowers will be red. It is a young tree. This precocious and high-spirited young Parisian likes the smell of the city. It is the first, with its foliage, its little colored candles, to cross the threshold into spring. In the days when that tree and I lived together in the same city, I called it the subway tree, I felt a special friendship for it, the friendliness which one has for trees only.

Ever since the Trocadéro — through a most curious phenomenon — flew away and left us only its wings, the aspect of the square has greatly changed. Some years earlier, it had pushed and shouldered its way toward the cemetery which thus had lost the graceful little stairway⁸² by which one reached the rue des Réservoirs; there were not many steps to the little stairway; when one stood on it and looked up, one saw a row of dark cypress trees announcing in terms of fixed convention the presence of the dead and separating from the living the shades of Marie Bashkirtseff and Édouard Manet. At the foot of the stairway, old Ben Franklin sat happily in the sunlight, watching the buses pass by — his bronze in-folios in a pile under his armchair. There was in all this scene a sort of incoherency which was attractive.

The rue Franklin⁸³ is a lame old lady hobbling down a hill to

C'est à peu près vers ce moment de l'année que les marronniers du Trocadéro se mettent à reverdir. Il y en a un, entre autres, qui étend ses branches au-dessus d'une grille du métropolitain et prospère innocemment dans de tièdes et méphitiques effluves. Ses feuilles naissantes s'ouvrent, puis s'écartillent comme de petites mains avides. Dans peu de temps il aura ses chandelles, et si j'ai bon souvenir elles seront rouges. Il est jeune; c'est un petit Parisien précoce et farceur qui trouve que sa ville sent bon et qui arrive le premier au seuil du printemps, avec tout son feuillage et tous ses lampions. Du temps que nous habitions, lui et moi, la même ville, je l'appelais le marronnier du métro et j'avais pour lui cette amitié particulière qu'on ne donne qu'aux arbres.

Depuis que, par un phénomène singulier, le Trocadéro s'est envolé en ne nous laissant que ses ailes, la place a beaucoup changé. Quelques années auparavant, elle donna un grand coup d'épaule dans la direction du cimetière qui perdit le charmant escalier⁸² par où l'on montait à la rue des Réservoirs; les marches n'étaient pas bien hautes; en levant les yeux, on apercevait une rangée de cyprès noirs qui parlaient de l'au-delà en termes convenus et séparaient des vivants les ombres de Marie Bashkirtseff et d'Édouard Manet. En bas, le Bonhomme Franklin regardait d'un œil satisfait passer les autobus, après avoir jeté en tas ses in-folio de bronze sous son fauteuil. Il y avait dans tout cela une sorte d'incohérence qui finissait par plaire.

La rue Franklin⁸³ est une boiteuse qui descend en clopinant

the rue de Passy. As she passes the cemetery she looks out over a wing of the Trocadéro and one may imagine that she is standing there on tiptoe looking for what she has mislaid between the Pantheon and the Invalides. Then for a moment she looks down into the cellar-like depths of the gardens and walks where the shadows stalk even at high noon; at the end of the rue Le Tasse she glances swiftly toward the Eiffel Tower to see if it is still there, and then, abruptly, she makes haste between the tobacco shops and the curio shops, down to the carrefour Delessert, where a dejected streetlight, at the entrance to the rue de Passy, presides over the meeting of the several streets.

Rue de Passy — my childhood — I can name by heart your little shops, the stalls in your doorways where they sell stockings, the signs with their faded gilt letters, the paintings on the marbles of your dairy shops, the allegorical ceilings of your patisseries — Coquelin's and Petit's and Bourbonneux's — and the oyster man standing among his baskets, with his black apron and his short knife, and the shoe shop where Lina^{MA}, my nurse, bought slippers with skyblue pompons, and the stationer's with the flies warming themselves in the sun on the covers of schoolbooks, and the austere hall of Nicolas the wine merchant, and M. Baudichon's pharmacy — he wore so wonderful a beard — and the huge gold letters which, from the dizzy heights of a balcony, proclaim the existence of the "Chirurgien-Dentiste," and the horse's head — it too was gilt — above the entry to the riding academy, and the clockmaker's where the proprietor, bent low over his work-bench, sits devouring a little watch, and the springsky scent of the first lilac branches — the flower girl with reddened fingers holds and shelters them in the doorway of number 93 — and the naked sheep, chastely girded with white aprons amid garlands of laurel in the butcher shop — the vermillion striped curtains solemnly billowing — and the delightful odds and ends in the perfume shops, and the jars at the herb vendor's, and the apprentices in the bakeries looking up out of their basement windows at the legs of the women shopping, and the dogs fighting in the street, and the carried baskets colliding against

vers la rue de Passy. A la hauteur du cimetière, ses maisons jettent la vue par-dessus une aile du Trocadéro et l'on dirait qu'elle se hausse sur la pointe des pieds pour découvrir ce qu'elle a perdu entre le Panthéon et les Invalides. Son regard plonge un moment dans les profondeurs de cave des jardins et des allées où l'ombre rôde en plein midi, puis elle lance au bout de la rue Le Tasse un bref coup d'œil vers la tour Eiffel pour voir si elle est toujours là, et brusquement elle descend plus vite, entre les débits de tabac et les marchands de bric-à-brac, jusqu'au carrefour Delessert que surveille un neurasthénique bec de gaz, à l'entrée de la rue de Passy.

Rue de Passy (ô mon enfance, je te revois!), je sais par cœur tes boutiques, tes marchands de bas sous les portes cochères, tes panonceaux dédorés et les peintures sur marbre et tes crémeries, et les ciels de tes pâtisseries, Coquelin, Petit et Bourbonneux, et le marchand d'huîtres au milieu de ses paniers et son petit couteau, et le magasin de chaussures où ma bonne Lina^{MA} achetait ses pantoufles à pompons azur, et la papeterie où les mouches se chauffent au soleil, sur les couvertures des livres de classe, et l'austère magasin de Nicolas, le marchand de vins, et la pharmacie de M. Baudichon qui avait une si belle barbe, et les grosses lettres d'or qui révèlent à tout le monde, des hauteurs d'un balcon vertigineux, la présence du Chirurgien-Dentiste, et la tête de cheval, dorée aussi, au-dessus de la porte du manège, et l'horlogerie où le patron, courbé en deux sur son établi, répare une petite montre, et les célestes effluves des premières branches de lilas que la fleuriste aux doigts rouges abrite sous la voûte du 93, et les moutons écorchés, chastement ceints de tabliers blancs, parmi les guirlandes de laurier de la boucherie, dans le gonflement solennel des rideaux rayés de vermillon, et la charmante camelote du parfumeur, et les bocaux de l'herboriste, et les regards que les mitrons lancent vers les mollets des ménagères, par les soupiraux des boulangeries, et les batailles de chiens, et les collisions de paniers dont les panses se heurtent comme les poupes de galères hostiles, et les cris, les rires, le fracas des omnibus qui roulent à fond de tram sur tout

each other like the prows of hostile galleys, and the laughter and the shouting and the rumble of the buses dashing at top speed through all this little world, and not crushing even a single toe, and the beautiful liquid braids tressed by the streamlet coursing in the gutter...

In the spleenless moments that come between darkness and dawn, sometimes I tread this impossible path again, and if, as in the past, it occurs to me to carry some books to the book binder, to my friend Desnaux, who lives not far from the rue Raynouard, and if I hesitate, as in the past, between taking the rue de l'Annonciation and the rue Jean-Bologne, almost always I choose the latter because of its coal yard whose inhuman beauty has the terrifying fascination of some landscape on the moon⁸⁵. I look upon the black pyramids with their sides splashed with silver and the corded wood stacked in Babylonian terraces; I take pleasure in breathing there the immemorial fragrance of wood, anthracite and coke, and when I have left the coal yard through which I have been wandering, sleepwalking with my thoughts, it is a pleasure to find myself again in the little street which leads to the door of a simple village church. We meet the gentle ghosts of our childhood in that street; let us follow it once again.

Run, little man, with your schoolbooks in the satchel bouncing against your shoulders at every step, cry out aloud, shout, shout for no reason at all, for the pleasure of being on earth, on your way glance once more at the antiquary's where the gray cat sleeps between the yatagans, the parasols and the delicate fans, hasten past the embroidery shops where they put their eyes out working initials on the snow-white linen sheets, run along past the bearded pedicure at his window observing the long deserted sidewalk, hurry to the bronze lion sentinels at the Villa Fodor gates. But you go so fast that I cannot follow you. Have you escaped into the church where the candles tremble before the Grotto of Lourdes⁸⁶? Are you galloping down the rue Raynouard where, in the old days, cab horses

ce monde et n'écrasant pas le bout d'un seul orteil, et la belle natte liquide que tresse le ruisseau le long du trottoir...

Dans les insomnies du petit jour, il m'arrive de refaire cette promenade impossible, et si la fantaisie me prend d'aller, comme autrefois, porter des livres à mon relieur, à mon brave Desnaux qui n'habite pas loin de la rue Raynouard, j'hésite entre la rue de l'Annonciation et la rue Jean-Bologne, et presque toujours je choisis cette dernière à cause de son chantier à charbon dont la beauté inhumaine a le charme horrifiant d'un paysage lunaire⁸⁵. Je veux regarder les pyramides noires aux flancs éblouissants d'argent, et les stères de bûches à l'architecture babylonienne; il m'est agréable de respirer à l'odeur immémoriale du bois, de l'anthracite et du coke, et, quittant l'entrepôt où j'ai promené des rêves de somnambule, de me retrouver dans la petite rue que termine une église de village. Suivons-la, cette rue où nous croiserons les gentils fantômes de nos premières années.

Cours, petit garçon avec ton cartable qui saute à chaque pas entre tes épaules, crie, crie pour rien, pour le plaisir d'être sur terre, jette en passant un regard à la boutique de l'antiquaire où le chat gris dort entre les yatagans, les ombrelles et les éventails, cours devant la boutique où la brodeuse se crève les yeux à broder des chiffres sur la neige des draps, cours devant le pédicure barbu qui surveille de sa fenêtre le long trottoir désert, cours jusqu'aux lions de bronze qui gardent l'entrée de la villa Fodor. Mais tu vas si vite que je ne te vois plus. T'es-tu sauvé dans l'église où les flammes des cierges palpitent devant la grotte de Lourdes⁸⁶? Dévales-tu la rue Raynouard où, jadis, les chevaux de fiacre prenaient le mors aux dents? Je ne courrais pas après toi, petit bonhomme, revenant de 1908. Il y

PASSY

*used to run away? I shall not pursue you, little man, little ghost
of 1908. There is too much sadness in our city and I cannot
smile to you as gaily as I would like, but take patience, the day
will come when the Seine shall flow once more between happy
banks*⁸⁷.

SOUVENIR DE PASSY

*a trop de tristesse dans notre ville pour que je puisse te sourire
aussi gaiement que je le voudrais, mais patience, le jour
viendra où la Seine libérée coulera de nouveau entre ses rives
heureuses*⁸⁷.

Passy

Rester assis sur les genoux du modèle qu'on se propose de peindre ne m'a jamais paru la position la plus favorable. Si peu de recul qu'on prenne, on y gagne. Aussi m'est-il difficile d'écrire une ligne sur Paris alors que je m'y trouve: il faut que je me lève et que je m'en aille. D'ici, de Copenhague, je le vois très bien. Des mouettes se laissent glisser devant ma fenêtre avec leur étrange petit cri d'enfant malade, et voilà que la brume se déchire autour des clochers vert amande.

De quoi Passy avait-il l'air? A bien y réfléchir, je ne sais plus très bien. J'y vais quelquefois, mais trop de souvenirs ys viennent à ma rencontre qui le transforment à mes yeux. J'ai assez peu d'attaches au vieux quartier que j'habite maintenant à Paris, le septième, et quand je me promène dans Passy, il me semble que j'erre à l'intérieur de moi-même, et je bute sans cesse contre mon enfance.

Passy

Sitting in the lap of the model you intend to paint has never seemed to me to be the ideal position. Step back even a pace and you gain by it. So I find it hard to write anything about Paris while I am there: I have to get up and go away. From here, in Copenhagen, I see it very clearly. Seagulls slide past my window, uttering their curious little cry, like a sick child's, and the almond-green bell-towers shred the drifting mist.

What used Passy to look like? Thinking about it, I can't really remember. I visit the place occasionally, but too many memories come out to meet me, changing the way I see it. I have few links with the old quarter in which I now live in Paris, the seventh district, and when I go walking in Passy I seem to be wandering around inside myself; I am constantly bumping into my childhood.

La frontière était au bas de la rue Raynouard. Il y avait là deux pentes si raides qu'on pouvait raisonnablement espérer y voir s'emballer les chevaux de fiacre, ce qui arrivait quelquefois, soit qu'ils descendissent au grand galop la rue que je viens de nommer, soit qu'ils prissent le mors aux dents sur les flancs vertigineux de la rue de Boulaivilliers. En face du pavillon où nous étions logés se voyaient d'inquiétants gazomètres, posés au bord du ciel comme d'immenses tambours noirs. Plus loin, de l'autre côté de la place, c'était Auteuil et les platanes de la rue La Fontaine, mais nous n'allions pas souvent de ce côté-là; nous étions de Passy. En soufflant un peu, nous remontions vers les hauteurs. J'avançaïs, un petit-beurre au poing. Sur la droite, les vieux hôtels s'épaulaient les uns les autres, arrêtés dans une glissade générale, et nous regardions, les joues prises entre les barreaux des grilles, des jardins merveilleux dont les lointains bleuâtres, comme dans un tableau, allaient rejoindre les rives de la Seine. Cela me paraissait aussi beau qu'un décor du Châtelet, mais mon ravissement était porté à son comble lorsqu'on nous permettait de descendre les marches qui menaient à la rue Berton. J'avais alors l'illusion de me trouver à la campagne. Comme tout Parisien né, je m'ennuie aux champs, ce qui n'empêche pas qu'à certains jours j'éprouve un violent désir de m'étendre sur de l'herbe et de respirer les bonnes odeurs de la terre, quitte au bout d'un petit quart d'heure à languir après mes rues et mes boutiques. Quoi qu'il en soit, à l'époque dont je parle, la rue Berton était encore une longue rue de village qui cheminait entre des murs couronnés d'arbres. On pouvait facilement s'y croire à une heure de Paris. Le silence y était profond et nos pas sur les grosses pierres rondes faisaient un bruit qui n'était pas le bruit qu'on entend dans les villes. Une lanterne se balançait au vent.

The border was at the bottom of the rue Raynouard. There were a couple of slopes there so steep that you could reasonably expect to see cab horses boiling, as they did occasionally, either hurtling down the aforementioned street at full gallop or being reined in hard on the dizzying gradient of the rue de Boulaivilliers. From the house where we lived you saw these disturbing gas holders, set down at the edge of the sky like great black drums. Farther off, on the other side of the square, was Auteuil and the plane trees of the rue La Fontaine. We didn't often go that way, though; we were Passyites. Puffing a bit, we would climb the hill, I with a biscuit clutched in one hand. To our right the old town houses stood shoulder to shoulder, checked in a corporate slide, and pressing our cheeks between the gate bars we used to gaze into marvellous gardens whose bluish distances, as in a painting, ran down to the banks of the Seine. To me that was as lovely as a stage set. My delight knew no bounds, however, when we were allowed to descend the steps leading to the rue Berton. I had the illusion, then, of being in the country. Like all native Parisians, I find the country boring, but that doesn't stop me experiencing a violent desire, some days, to be lying in the grass, inhaling the good odours of the earth — even if a mere quarter of an hour later I am pining for my streets and shops. Be that as it may, at the time I am talking about, the rue Berton was still a long village street running between tree-capped walls. You might easily have thought you were an hour's journey from Paris. Deep silence reigned, and the sound of our footsteps on the huge round stones was not like the sound you hear in towns. A street lamp swung in the

je le jure, et il y avait une borne marquant la limite des seigneuries de Passy et d'Auteuil. Cela me grisait de pouvoir me dire que je vivais dans la seigneurie de Passy. La nostalgie d'autrefois était chez moi si forte que ces simples mots suffisaient à me jeter dans une tristesse délicate. Passé la maison de Balzac et le parc de l'hôtel de Lamballe, la rue tournait à angle droit et continuait jusqu'à la Seine, alors qu'aujourd'hui elle cesse tout à coup d'exister et le tronçon qui en reste ne donne qu'une faible idée de l'exquise venelle du XVIII^e siècle. Ce qu'est devenu ce coin de Passy me paraît d'une laideur si morne et si banale qu'elle provoque, me semble-t-il, moins l'indignation que l'ennui et le calme désespoir dont parle Emerson. Par une journée d'hiver un peu sombre, avec une bise coupante sous un ciel bas, je ne vois pas de meilleur décor pour un suicide ou pour une exécution capitale. On demeure stupéfait de ce qu'un quart de siècle a pu faire pour priver de son charme cette partie de la ville. Je sais qu'il est inutile et ridicule de se lamenter sur la disparition des vieilles pierres, mais c'est un regard dépourvu d'indulgence que je tourne vers les immeubles à profil de forteresse qui dominent les hauteurs où je me souviens avoir vu des rangées de villas d'une élégance surannée et des jardins conservant comme un trésor leur silence et leurs chants d'oiseaux.

L'autre Passy, le Passy prospère, m'était en horreur alors même que j'étais enfant. Il existait une forme de richesse qui me donnait envie de pleurer par ce qu'elle avait de sévère et d'arrogant, avec ces balcons pleins de morgue, ces portes cochères qui disaient non, et ces luxueuses loges de concierge. Mais ce Passy-là n'était pas le vrai. Je faisais une distinction entre le seizième et la seigneurie de Passy, le vieux village de Passy qui dévalait au sud de l'ancienne Grand-rue qui s'appela (horreur!) after

wind, I swear it did, and there was a stone marking where the manors of Passy and Auteuil met. It gave me a great thrill to be able to tell myself I lived in the manor of Passy. Nostalgia for another age was so strong in me that the mere words sufficed to plunge me into a delicious melancholy. Past Balzac's house and the grounds of Lamballe House the road turned at right angles and continued as far as the Seine, whereas today it comes to an abrupt halt, and the short stretch that is left gives only a faint idea of the exquisite eighteenth-century ride. What has happened to this corner of Passy strikes me as so dismal and trite in its ugliness as to provoke, I think, not so much indignation as boredom and Emerson's 'quiet despair'. On a dull winter's day, with a sharp North wind gusting under a lowering sky, I can think of no finer setting for a suicide or an execution. It is quite astonishing how a quarter of a century has contrived to strip this part of the city of its charm. I know it is pointless and absurd to mourn the passing of old bits of stone, but there is certainly no indulgence in the look I direct at the fortress-like blocks of flats that now tower above the high ground where I remember seeing rows of villas, outmoded in their elegance, and gardens enshrining treasures of silence and birdsong.

The other Passy, the prosperous Passy, I loathed even as a child. There was a kind of wealth that made me want to weep because of a certain quality of severity and arrogance in those strutting balconies, unwelcoming carriage entrances, and sumptuous porter's lodges. But that was not the real Passy. I drew a distinction between the sixteenth district and the manor of Passy, the old village of Passy that tumbled down the hill to the south of the former high street, once named (ghastly thought!) after

rue Marat avant de s'appeler rue de Passy. De ce petit univers auquel je dois tant, on ne retrouve aujourd'hui que de pauvres débris. Gautier affirmait que le Paris de sa jeunesse était devenu méconnaissable. Pour ma part, lorsque je descends des hauteurs de Passy vers la Seine, je me demande parfois où je suis, et si je n'ai pas rêvé. Seules me consolent du désastre les profondeurs de l'avenue Henri-Martin encore intacte, quand, au début de l'été, la voûte opaque des marronniers veille sur un reste de fraîcheur et que, dans ce verdoyant tunnel coupé de raies lumineuses, je vois un cavalier oublié de son temps et qui fuit au galop vers Hier.

29

Marat before it became known as the rue de Passy. Of that world in miniature to which I owe so much, nothing is left nowadays but a few poor fragments. Gautier said that the Paris of his youth had become unrecognisable. When I walk down from Passy towards the Seine, I sometimes wonder where I am and whether I have not been dreaming. My sole consolation in disaster lies in the depths of the as yet intact avenue Henri-Martin when, in early summer, the impenetrable vault of the horse-chestnut trees protects a residue of coolness, and I spy, in this verdant tunnel lit by shafts of sunlight, a lone horseman, oblivious of his time, fleeing at full gallop in the direction of Yesterday.

APPENDIX F
~ CODE SWITCHING IN JULIEN GREEN'S
LITERATURE ~

FROM JULIEN GREEN'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY: *JEUNNES ANNEES I*
 "PARTIR AVANT LE JOUR" (PARIS: EDITION DU SEUIL, 1984)

Code switches	Type of text	Context
I'll cut it off p.21	quote	JG
Hello beaver p.23	quote	Mr Green
Our father....p.24	prayer	JG praying
Am I saved ? I love you you 're my little boy p.28	translation quote quote no translation	JG asks JG says Mrs Green
A burnt sacrifice p.30 A burnt sacrifice!	translation quote	JG asks
On the road to Mandalay Where the flying fishes play (Kipling) p.48	quote of Kipling	Lucy favourite songs based on Kipling's words
You black prot p.56	translation	Mary speaks
They make my life a burden p.58	translaton	JG says
There they go again Please, Edward, please! p.62	quote quote no translation	sisters say Mrs Green says
the body p.68	apposition	about Mrs Green
Torna a soriento ,Vedi'l mare quant è bello, Spira tanto sentimento...p.91 Tripoli me ne vado..	titles of a song	quotes songs from Amalfi and Naples that Mary plays on the piano

Drowned Song of the North six braw gentlemen p.92	title of a Scottish song title of album verse	Mary sings
Interesting wasn't it ? et je reponds: very p.107	quote of reported speech	English friend
Wiped out af fool of a book open wider! p.108	translation quote somebody reported speech	Irish godmother, Agnes Farley
My dear	quote sb	A.Farley
Tu es un very nice darling de m'avoir écrit...p.118	quote	Mr Farley
C'est ton darling p.119	quote	sisters about JG
Get up my ,little boy p.124	quote	mrs. Green
..si furieusement British p.127	adjective	about JG's brother in law
a destra del profeta Isaia p.135	title of post card	Mary sends a post card from Rome
Souther Cooton Seed Oil p.136	name of business	name of compagny Mr Green woks for
Yankee p.137	adjective, quote	Roselys an american friend of the family
Do you travel first or second? p.140	translation of quote	stranger in a train
Your humble servant p.149	quote, no translation	in residence / pension, aunt Kate
Mit Gott für Kaiser und Vaterland p.149	quote of a moto	on a German helmet
I declare Onkel Zeppelin p.150	quote from a speech. name	Mrs green family
Benedicta tu in mulieribus...p.151	prayer	Eleonor
Nunc animis opus, Ænea, nunc pectore firmo...p.173	quote, no translation	narrative
Hello , boy! I love you p.182	quote thought	Mr Green says JG thinks
Cur non scriberem tibi lingua latina p.190	letter extract	Père Crété
Tritiua sicut tineas p.193	quote read	Père Crété

Ceteri qui spem non habent... p.210	quote	Père Créte
Onward Christian soldiers!	title of cantics	memories of protestant cantics
Utinam! Festina! p.213	quote no translation	Père Créte
Jesu dulcis memoria p.215	prayer	Religious institution rue Cortambert
Me juvat te delectare Italiam...p.224	correspondence extract	Père Créte
Genua quae nominatur superba...	correspondence extract reported speech	Père Créte conversation with brother in law
they stick together p.229	translation	Mrs Kreyers, friend of family
So long! p.251	quote translated	stranger

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