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Trabajo Fin de Grado

THE PROPER PATH TO REACH BILINGUALISM

o en
Estud
ios

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RESUMEN

En este Trabajo de Fin de Grado se recorren diversos temas acerca de la adquisición del bilingüismo, una cualidad lingüística que dota a las personas de un cierto nivel de competencia en dos o más lenguas simultáneamente. A lo largo del proyecto se explicará el significado de ser bilingüe, los diversos tipos de bilingüismo que se pueden encontrar, las distinciones entre evoluciones léxicas dependiendo del tipo de bilingüismo al que se someta cada persona y posibles repercusiones que tiene este en el lenguaje de cada niño, así como el cambio de lengua repentino, la traducción literal de palabras entre idiomas, la diglosia o la interferencia entre ambas lenguas.

Además, se presentarán diversas estrategias para complementar el aprendizaje de los idiomas al mismo tiempo que múltiples métodos escolares para el desarrollo de diferentes idiomas en niños. Finalmente, se añadirá una conclusión tratando los temas de este proyecto desde un punto de vista más personal.

ABSTRACT

In this Final Grade Project, several topics about the acquisition of bilingualism will be analysed, being bilingualism a linguistic skill providing people with a certain proficiency level in two or more languages simultaneously. Throughout this project, the significance of being a bilingual will be explained along with various bilingual types we can find, children's evolution distinctions according to those types and possible repercussions children may get along the process such as code-switching, calques or loan-transition, diglossia or the overlapping of languages.

Therefore, multiple strategies will be presented in order to complement language learning, so will multiple schooling methods involving the development different languages in children. Eventually, a conclusion will be added dealing with all topics explained in this project from a more personal point of view.

Key words: Bilingualism, code-switching, calque, loan-transition, diglossia, overlapping of languages, language learning, schooling methods, language learning.

1. INTRODUCTION

Many people are concerned about the importance bilingualism has nowadays, as languages are extremely important when dealing with professional spheres. However, a big amount of people does not contend the intrinsic difficulty reaching a bilingual status has. In fact, parents and teachers play a crucial part in the development of this linguistic skill, as they are the ones taking the lead on the process and providing the necessary input to imbue children with vocabulary and syntactic structures, making them assimilate some of the language expressions and normalize them.

The process of acquiring a native competence in more than a language at a time is not a simple one but a really involute procedure requiring plenty of time and patience to be afforded, yet do we really know what being bilingual means? Is it just a linguistic matter or, by contrast, does it involve something else? Researches and linguists like Bhatia and Ritchie (2004) have inquired into this quandary:

The investigation of bilingualism is a broad and complex field, including the study of the nature of the individual bilingual's knowledge and use of two (or more) languages as well as the broader social and cultural consequences of the widespread use of more than one language in a given society. (Bhatia and Ritchie, 2004:5)

A point worth considering is highlighted in the quote above, being bilingual does not only involve linguistic skills but also non-linguistic ones such as social and cultural knowledge. Reflecting upon this statement, the idea of bilingualism should now be posed as a much broader concept including diverse aspects rather than just the ones related to vocabulary and grammar. As the concept must be analysed in depth before getting into the matter, we will now consider what bilingualism is.

2. DEFINITION OF BILINGUALISM

The definition of bilingualism tends to be considered a straightforward one due to the generalized idea people have of it. Nevertheless, assuming bilingualism is a crystal clear concept is by far the most amiss thought one could have. A point worth considering when dealing with bilingual research is to take into account that there are multiple varieties inside the general term. Neither could all bilinguals be considered the same nor should we presume this

is a unidirectional process, for bilingualism can be divided into many distinct categories.

The first common error which can possibly be committed at the time of defining bilinguality is to consider only the linguistic factor, which includes the formation of sentences, the grammaticality of speech constructions, the dominance of syntax, listening and speaking skills etc. Bilinguality does not only involve those skills but also non-linguistic ones: “On the other hand, these definitions refer to a single dimension of bilinguality, namely the level of proficiency in both languages, thus ignoring non-linguistic dimensions” (Blanc and Hammers, 1989:7)

When highlighting those non-linguistic factors, we refer to sociological aspects as well as cultural ones. Becoming a true bilingual includes much more than just a proper knowledge and usage of a given language, moreover, it involves many other dimensions determining the type of bilingual a given child may be. For instance, one of the dimensions we may encounter is the relative competence, which makes reference to the relative nature of bilinguality, that is to say, the relationship between our linguistic competences in both languages. As a consequence, we may be able to discern a difference between balanced bilinguals and dominant ones, the former being those who have the same competence in both languages and the last being more competent in one of the linguistic codes.

On the other hand, a non-linguistic dimension also affecting the process is socio-cultural status. It is extremely important to consider that the acquisition of bilinguality may be different in children depending on their socio-cultural context, in other words, a culture in which both languages are spoken at the same level can imbue the child with a balanced competence in both of them, whereas, a child living in a country where a language shows paramount importance and the second one is only used for official matters may be a victim of diglossia and, consequently, may end up being a dominant bilingual or a subtractive one.

2.1 VARIETY IN BILINGUALISM

It is important to keep in mind that bilinguals have been classified according to their distinctions in fluency, competence and L2 language learning differences considering multiple factors. Among these we may find: age, manner of acquisition, context and their language processing mechanisms which, at the same time can differentiate them into: early and late bilinguals, simultaneous and successive ones, balanced and dominant, folk and elite, acquired and learnt, additive or subtractive and compound, subordinate and coordinate bilinguals.

2.1.1 EARLY AND LATE BILINGUALS

Proceeding with the analyses of bilinguality types, the distinction among early and late ones is one of the commonest and most reckoned contrast. Although both of these types are contemplated as examples of “true bilinguals” some experts do categorize the early ones as the most competent.

Beardsmore (1986) states that early bilinguals are mainly regarded as attaining native-like linguistic competence in both languages. Nevertheless, he compares early bilinguals to late ones as the latter are considered non-native speakers of the L2 language as a result of not being able to attain the expected competence as evidenced in structural grammatical inadequacies and certain inability to detect linguistic ambiguity.

Swain (1972) does also support Baetens’ idea by commenting on how early bilingualism manifests as a native language and thus, the late one is simply a mere attempt to reach a native-like competence but never accomplishing nor achieving early bilinguals’ level regarding their acquired competence.

However, the age factor is a much debated theme in second language acquisition and has some other experts who disagree with Beardsmore (1986) and Swain (1972) ideals. While some argue that the lower the age at which a L2 is learnt, the greater the long-term proficiency gained in that language is, some others pose that older children and young adults learn a language more efficiently and quickly than young learners do. Indeed, Singleton (1989) provided a review of this area summarizing five ideas related to the age factor and language acquisition.

In first place, Singleton explains that Younger second language learners are not more nor less efficient than older learners in L2 acquisition but that there are many factors intervening regarding age and language learning.

In second place, Singleton affirms that those who start learning a language in childhood are more likely to gain a better proficiency level in their second language than those learners who start the process after childhood. Anyway, the factors involved in this distinction reside in societal matters, therefore, young learners seem to assimilate the phonology of the L2 much faster than elders.

Thirdly, it is stated that older learners in formal classrooms tend to assimilate concepts faster than younger learners. However, the length of exposure to that language is extremely important when it comes to learning another language and, as young learners may attend the schooling for more time, the proficiency they will finally get will also be higher.

As for the fourth idea, Singleton compares elementary school to early schooling years arguing that for young learners, the second language learning process is realized in an interactive manner where teachers try to grip students to the situation by creating funny activities whereas at elementary school, teachers tend to focus on grammatical and formal matter of the language instead of finding an appealing way to teach it so both, interaction and curiosity, eventually decrease as well as productivity and willingness to learn.

The last statement, puts an example in the United States where the pressure is for immigrant children to learn English as fast as possible. Some people claim, with no research justification, that ages from three to seven are the best ones to start learning a language, before the onset of puberty.

Nevertheless, recent studies of adult and adolescent L2 learners' proficiency of an L2 language differ from the premises the CPH supports. Muñoz states that "an alternative account has been put forth, which highlights the importance of the learners' first language (L1) phonological system and their stage of L1 phonological development when they start learning the TL (target language), rather than neurophysiological maturation" (2006:41). In other words, Muñoz expresses that the development velocity and the acquisition of a high proficiency does not depend on age but rather on the actual knowledge a learner has of his L1.

Therefore, some other researchers such as García-Lecumberri and Gallardo (2003) also commented on the importance exposure to the TL had to obtain results. According to them, L2 immersion contexts are decisive to learners at the time of acquiring their L2 as the input is utterly necessary for a better assimilations and understanding of the language usage. Yet as a conclusion, even recent studies reject the CPH being the determinant cause of adults' lack of proficiency in the TL or the CPH being the reason why adults encounter much more difficulties than children do.

Some theories argue that the reason why competence varies depending on the age of acquisition resides on the impact the Critical Period Hypothesis (CPH) has in late bilinguals. This hypothesis states that there is a period of time (sometime between the age of 5 and puberty) in which language acquisition occurs in a rapid and accurate way. However, after that time lapse, language acquisition turns into a much more complex process ending up being less successful. This hypothesis was first proposed by two neurologists, Wilder Penfield and Lamar Roberts, in 1959. As related to this hypothesis, older learners of a L2 experience far more difficulties than toddlers or young children at the time of learning a second language and children tend to only achieve native-like fluency when exposed to a L2 from birth.

Nonetheless, what newer reviews state is that the evidence for the assumption

of a critical period is minimal so the CPH should not be considered as a real factor affecting the learning process of late bilinguals.

“The evidence for a critical period for second language acquisition is scanty, especially when analysed in terms of its key assumptions. There is no empirically definable end point, there are no qualitative differences between child and adult learners, and there are large environmental effects on the outcomes. [...] The view of a biologically constrained and specialized language acquisition device that is turned off at puberty is not correct” (Hakuta, 1999:11-12).

Taking this into consideration, many inquiries concerning the existence of the CPH appear, namely, those comparing the learning process of young learners or children to the one of adults. Anyway, the answer resides in the assertion that “While there are no critical periods of language learning, there are advantageous periods. Early childhood and school days seem two advantageous periods” (Baker, 2011:111). This affirmation portrays an alternative option explaining why children and teenagers tend to learn a second language faster than adults do. Nevertheless, there are nuances complementing this theory supported by Hakuta and Baker, as adults learn a second language to varying degrees of fluency. While some find it impossible to acquire a good fluency level in the second language, others manage to acquire a basic level and, just a few of them become functional bilinguals.

Yet comparing adults to children may always result the same way, children will learn a L2 faster due to those advantageous periods and probably, they will also become more proficient when using the second language.

However, children are not necessarily bound to be better bilinguals than adults even with the presence of CPH or advantageous periods. Modern research has stated that, although these two periods affect adults' learning process, slowing down their learning velocity, adults are totally capable of becoming bilinguals although a bigger effort must be made in the learning process. This overthrowing idea striking down the previous hypothesis which states children may be the only ones capable of becoming true bilinguals, is supported by experts such as Hoffman (1991:37).

Another point worth considering is that early bilinguals can also be divided into two different subtypes including simultaneous early bilinguals and successive ones (Grosjean, 2010). By simultaneous bilinguals we make reference to children who are exposed to both of the languages at the same time from birth. This exposure will cause a strong adaptation to both codes resulting in a complete dominance of both. As argued by Grosjean (2010:178)

“Simultaneous bilinguals are far less numerous than children who acquire their languages successively (certainly less than 20 percent of bilingual children)”. Simultaneous bilingualism occurs when, for instance, the father uses Spanish while the mother uses English or when parents use one language and other caretakers use another language. This results in a dual linguistic input that children will assimilate until they acquire both linguistic codes.

On the other hand, successive bilingualism, which is also studied by Grosjean (2010:184-190) include those children who have partially acquired a L1 and, sequentially, start learning their second language. This is a very common situation in children moving from one place to another where the dominant language is not their native one. They both may show complete dominance upon both of the languages although successive learners will take some more time to acquire the same competence as simultaneous ones.

2.1.2 BALANCED AND DOMINANT BILINGUALS

From Peal’s and Lambert’s point of view (1962), this distinction is formally based on the relationship between the fluency and proficiency of the respective languages which bilinguals master. In other words, individuals may be completely competent in both languages no matter which role they fulfil, yet the main difference is that while balanced bilinguals show the same competence level in both of the languages, dominant (or unbalanced) ones may show a higher proficiency level in one of the two languages.

A connection can also be established between these two bilingual types and the previous ones developed in section 2.1.1. When dealing with early bilinguals, it must be contemplated that they do learn languages from birth, their proficiency level is close to the balanced concept. The reason for this is because they may have an input of both linguistic codes almost simultaneously resulting in a balanced control of L1 and L2. By contrast, late bilinguals may encounter the situation of having a L1 development and, afterwards, start to learn the L2. This leads to a context in which children may have a total competence in L1 but, as they have that first language as their previous one, every input and proficiency development they do achieve in the L2 must have been by relying on the L1. This will cause an unconscious assignment of languages’ importance rank for the rest of their learning process being L1 the paramount one and L2 a mere linguistic code depending on the former to be understood and produced.

Actually, the opinion experts have had on this classification has been evolving throughout decades. As an example, Fishman (1971) states a point worth considering arguing

that it is highly unlikely to find people being equally competent across all situations, as they may speak a language more than the other in certain situations. Exemplifying this, if an employee tends to use English at work and Spanish at home, then he will feel more comfortable and competent in English when being in a conference or a work reunion. Thus, even though that person has a high proficiency level in both languages, his specific level of English will be better in terms of vocabulary, speaking or any other skill related to his duties at work.

In this sense, Fishman would indirectly reject these classifications distinguishing among balanced and dominant bilinguals as, for him, there is no possibility of a person being equally competent in both linguistic codes for every single situation but each language would take a paramount role in a given paradigm.

Notwithstanding, the differentiation between balanced and dominant bilinguals is found to be a diffuse one due to the fact that various nuances have to be taken into consideration. Indeed, Baker shows a totally opposite thought to Fishman about these two types of bilinguals and supports the balanced-dominant classification stating that “Someone who is approximately equally fluent in two languages across various contexts may be termed and equilingual or ambilingual or, more commonly, a balanced bilingual” (2011:20).

To complement and explain why the distinction is rather blurred, Baker also proposes some problems related to the previously mentioned term, balanced bilingualism.

Firstly, he explains that a balance between two linguistic codes can exist at a low competence level so, a child who is capable of speaking two different languages, both at a low complexity level, must also be considered a balanced bilingual. Baker clarifies that while this is the literal meaning of balanced bilingualism, it is not the way in which researchers understand it.

In fact, one of the first assumptions that are required when considering somebody a balanced bilingual is that they are competent enough to demonstrate they can fully understand, for instance, a classroom activity in each language or realize an activity with no struggle no matter the language in which they do it.

I personally believe there is always a language which you control better in certain situations as Fishman stated. A bilingual person can be perfectly competent in both linguistic codes but if just one of both, let's say English, is used in a specific situation such as school matters, then a given bilingual may feel more comfortable with the use of English at that specific moment than he would feel using Spanish. That does not mean that a bilingual would not be capable of using Spanish but rather that he would feel awkward using a given linguistic

code in a situation in which he is not used to. Thus, the perspective Fishman shares portrays a reality in which bilinguals cannot be balanced in all situations but rather in general conditions.

2.1.3 COMPOUND, COORDINATE AND SUBORDINATE BILINGUALS

Some experts define these terms as: “Compound, coordinate and subordinate distinctions deal with the properties of how two or more linguistic codes are organized and stored by individuals.” (Weinreich, 1953:35).

Comparing the first two concepts, compound bilinguals store all lexis in the same meaning unit. This means they do only have one system of meaning ruling over both linguistic codes, L1 and L2. This first sort of bilingualism includes those children learning two linguistic codes in the same environment and, thus they assimilate more than one verbal expression to the same notion. On the other hand, coordinate bilinguals store each language in separate meaning units so that they end up having two different systems of meaning for words, one concerned about L1 and the other about L2. The following figure can help clarifying both concepts:

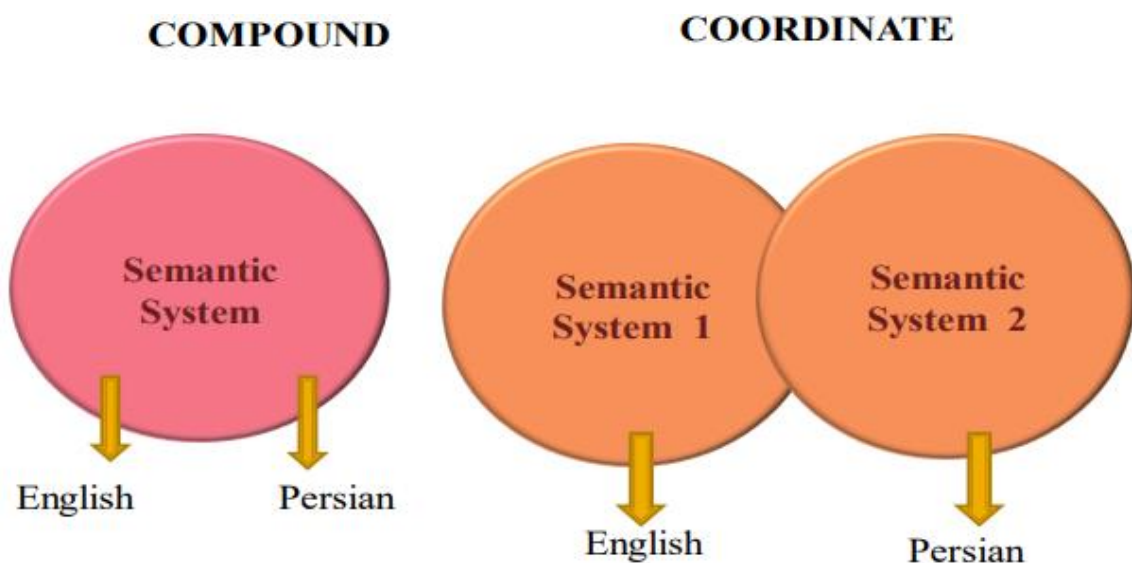


Figure 1. Compound and coordinate bilinguals. Karimganj, (2014:150)

Apart from these two bilingual types, we may find a third one, namely subordinate bilinguals. This has a close relationship to dominant bilinguals (section 2.1.2) because as dominant ones based their L2 on a L1 so do subordinate bilinguals. Their L2 is assumed to be interpreted and understood, as well as produced following L1’s syntactic

structures and grammatical norms. Although they are considered to have two separate sets of linguistic codes, only a meaning unit is presented, being this one accessible through their L1.

These three classifications of bilinguals can be extrapolated to some other observations or categorizations included in the Integration Continuum by Cook (2003:6), among which three new models are proposed: The Separation model; The Integration model and The Interconnection model.

The concept of Integration Continuum refers to the process through which more than a language gets assimilated and lodged in a bilingual mindset lexicon. It also regards the interactions among linguistic codes and the manner in which both languages get stored through mental processes. All three models presented above reside within this Integration Continuum Concept and try to explain different paradigms and forms in which languages could be integrated in a human brain. In fact, these models are part of an imaginary line, represented by the Integration Continuum process.

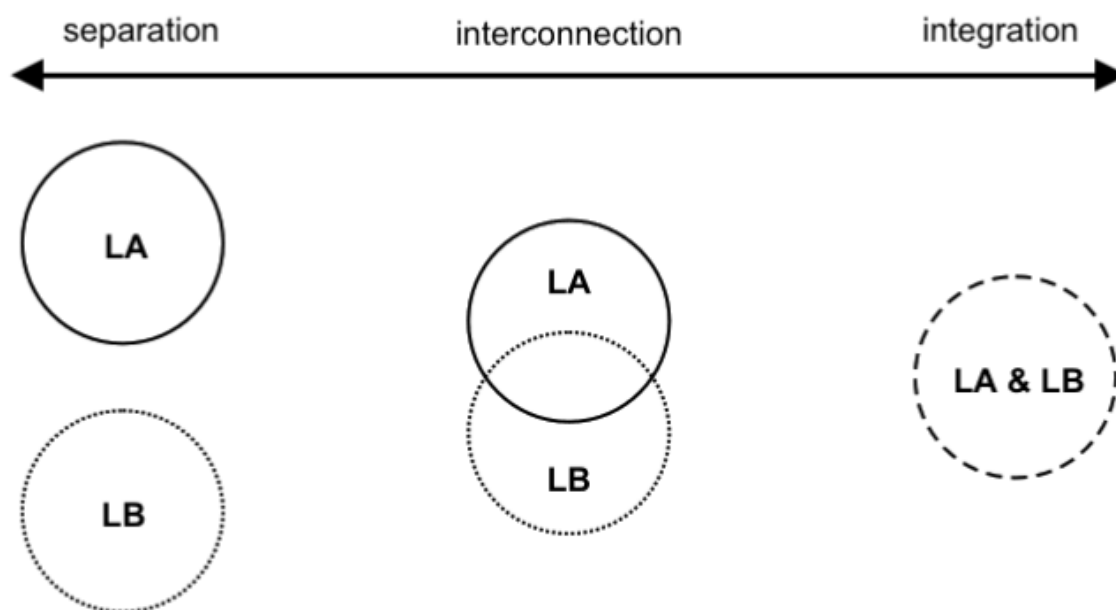


Figure 5. The Integration Continuum concept and its bilingual models. (Cook, 2003:9)

The first model, The Separation one, supports the possibility that languages are stored in different watertight compartments and a given bilingual may decide which language to use in an independent manner having no connection with the other language. This theory is akin to Coordinate bilingualism associated with Weinreich (1953). Indeed, the Separation model was asserted to be true by the early SLA research controversies about the natural order in which bilinguals acquire a language. The realization of this research involved researchers

such as Dulay & Burt (1980) and affirmed “a separation model in which the L2 interlanguage developed without drawing on the L1 to any extent” (Cook, 2003:6).

As this new model emerged, so did new methodologies relying on teaching ways which avoided references among languages and discouraged the use of one of them inside the classroom. The intentionality of these actions were making students build up a language which had no links to the other, resulting in two separated linguistic storages.

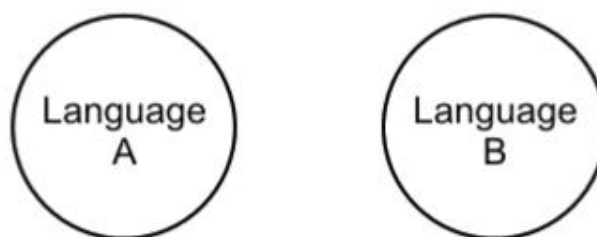


Figure 2. Representation of the Separation model. Cook, (2003:7)

In second place, contrasting to the Separation model, the Integration one, also called interconnection model, takes place. A unique linguistic system is contemplated in this second model and, inside this system, languages A and B share a mental lexicon. There is an immense similarity between the Integration model and Compound bilingualism as users of both store the lexis of L1 along with the lexis of L2. Regarding phonological issues, bilinguals following the Integration model do not have a phonetic system for each language either but a mingled one in which phonetic nuances from both languages, L1 and L2, can be found.



Figure 3. Representation of the Integration model. Cook, (2003:7)

However, Cook rejects these two models to be absolutely true: “Clearly neither of these two models can be absolutely true: total separation is impossible since both languages

are in the same mind; total integration is impossible since L2 users can keep the languages apart.” (2003:8)

Finally, in between these two extreme models, many different degrees and interconnection types can also be found such as: Linked Languages model or Partial Integration model.

The Linked Languages model considers the idea of two language systems, which in essence are separated, influencing each other and it is found as a variant of the Separation model. Although both languages are placed in an individual watertight storage, they both interact and have an influence on each other at the time of using just a L1 or a L2.

Nevertheless, the second variant, the Partial integration model, considers that there is a sort of overlapping between the two languages in the same mind and, what is more, “It does not distinguish between languages in the areas of overlap but shows how the single conjoined system differs from monolingual versions of either language.” (Cook, 2003:8). Bilinguals under this specific model will not be aware of whether the lexis in the overlapping zone is from the L1 or L2 but they are capable of distinguishing both linguistic codes when focusing on general terms.

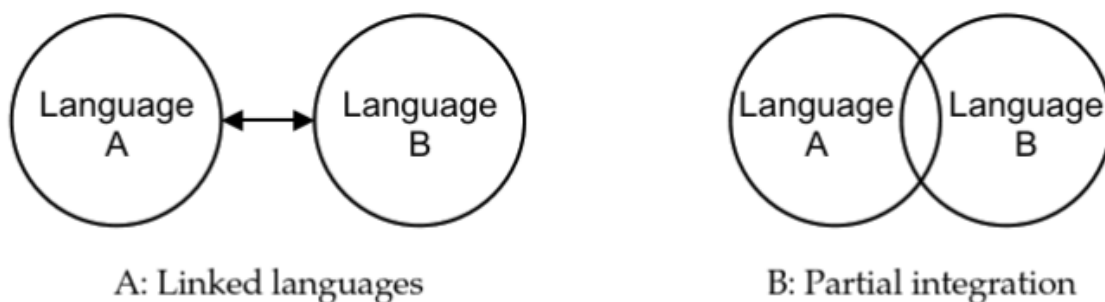


Figure 4. Representation of the Linked Languages model and the Partial Integration model.

(Cook, 2003:8)

The Integration Continuum process may also be part of the learning process in children as it is related to different stages of L2 development. When children are learning more than a language at a time, they may move from an integrated single lexicon, which involves both languages but assimilating them as a single one, to a more separated double lexicon, in which languages start to be independent from each other.

2.1.4 FOLK AND ELITE BILINGUALS

The classification of bilinguals depends on variables such as language usage or cultural identity, so social factors can also be found as actively affecting the sort of bilingualism. Besides, focusing on the social status of a given language, a new division can be proposed, separating folk and elite bilinguals.

Language users considered folk bilinguals are often speakers of a minority language community which is not relevant in the paramount language society they inhabit. By contrast, elite bilinguals take the role of those speaking the predominant language in a given community, as well as those who can speak any other language providing them some extra values and benefits within the society. Although these terms were coined by Fishman (1997), some other researchers such as Valdés and Figueroa (1994) preferred to coin them as circumstantial (as for folk bilinguals) and elective (as for elite bilinguals).

2.1.5 ADDITIVE AND SUBTRACTIVE BILINGUALS

It was Lambert (1974) who developed the notion that according to how somebody's L2 influenced the retention of one's L1, bilinguals could also be classified into additive or subtractive frames.

Additive bilinguals are considered to be those language users that may improve their L2 without losing any minimal detail of proficiency in their L1. On the other hand, subtractive bilinguals are those who develop their L2 at the cost of losing a certain grade of competence in their L1. These two situations are conditioned by the importance the L1 and L2 have in a specific society. Namely, if the community in which these two languages are being learnt does not compel L2 to interfere with L1 learning or usage, then the result would be an additive bilingual.

Nevertheless, the situation may be different and a given society can heighten L2 above L1 causing a direct overthrow of L1 usage and, consequently, forcing the speaker to become a subtractive bilingual, that is, losing his/her L1 competence while improving his/her L2 one. This subtractive bilingualism concept is also mentioned by Baker who states that "In particular, children from language minorities (indigenous and particularly immigrant children) are sometimes at risk of losing their minority language [...] Language loss in children is a reality in the United States" (2011:105). Research by Hakuta and D'Andrea (1992) show how strong the dominance of English is in the United States society, pressuring language minority students

to acquire English at young ages and, furthermore, to replace their minority language with English.

The research mentioned above also found that in the US, early exposure to English language could mean for some children a shift from Spanish to English but also a potential loss of Spanish for others. Baker rejects the morals of this minority languages loss by stating that “In such subtractive situations, the ideal of early bilingualism meets a challenge due to a societal ethos that does not favor bilingualism.” (2011:105).

Many additional classifications could be considered, as studies are still describing the bilingual paradigm. Nevertheless, some of the most common types in which bilinguals have been classified are the ones mentioned above. There is no need to say that, as the matter is so extensive, this project mounts around a general framework, covering those aspects being the most supported by experts or the ones being the commonest.

3. BILINGUAL ACQUISITION PROCESS

Notwithstanding all varieties and differences in the learning process children may incur, the morphosyntactic development in bilingual children is quite similar to the one monolingual ones incur as stated by J. F. Kroll and A. M. B. De Groot (2009:209): “Apart from the fact that bilingual children can communicate in two languages and monolingual children just in one, the acquisition process appears to be very similar in the two populations”

There is a huge importance on the parental discourse used as a linguistic input for children when adapting to a linguistic code no matter if it is monolingual or bilingual. Döpke (1988), focused on parental communication strategies in English - German bilingual families in Australia and he posed the hypothesis that linguistic styles used in the parental communication which facilitated monolingual development did also affect positively to bilingual upbringing. Enquiries into parents’ discourse techniques towards their children’s language mixing have been considered resulting in the comprehension that code-switching in multilingual children is utterly normal. Nevertheless, it must be taken for granted that each and every child develops a linguistic competence at his single pace, thus multiple variations may take part in each child’s learning process.

Yet, as it happens at any scientific study, there are many disagreements among researchers when considering the question of how do children's brains adapt to a bilingual situation. Some of them are in favour of the Separate Development Hypothesis (SDH) whereas some others consider the Fusion Development Hypothesis (FDH) as the most accurate one.

3.1 FUSION AND SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT HYPOTHESIS (FDH & SDH)

One of the biggest dilemmas researchers encounter (Genesee, 1989; Houwer, 1990; Taeschner (1978); Meisel, 2001) when facing bilingual language acquisition is the question of code separation. Expressed in some other way, they reflect on whether children can distinguish between both of the languages from the very beginning or, by contrast, they do only know one single language mingling both codes in it. This controversy involves every level of a language including semantic, morphosyntactic, lexical, social-pragmatic knowledge and the communicative competence.

A point worth considering is that all studies regarding this question have rekindled the affirmation that bilingual children tend to miss elements from their two languages, although researchers are taking opposite sides towards the explanation of this phenomenon.

The former hypothesis, Fusion Development Hypothesis (FDH) in Meisel's terms (1989:37) or Unitary Language System Hypothesis (ULSH) in Genesee's point of view (1989: 164), suggests that children start out with a unique fused system containing lexis from both languages whereas the second hypothesis, Separate Development Hypothesis (SDH), contemplated by Houwer (1990:66), or the Differentiation Hypothesis, considered by Meisel (2001), rejects the previous idea and poses that children have two distinct linguistic systems from the very beginning, with syntactic and lexical differences.

Taeschner (1978:311) proposed a three-stage model to portray early bilinguals' development. In the first stage children would have just one lexical system comprising words from both languages. Following this one we would find the second stage in which a child could distinguish two different lexicons but would apply the same syntactic rules to both of the languages. Eventually, the child would be able to speak two languages distinguishing lexicon and syntax yet each language would be associated only to the person with whom he uses it.

Therefore, Cook (2003:6) argues that early bilinguals incur an Integration Continuum process by which they do only have a single storage in their minds including the lexis from both languages but, as they evolve and start assimilating the vocabulary and distinctions among L1 and L2, the overlapping of both linguistic codes starts to separate, eventually converting to two individual watertight storages which work independently. Finally, those early bilinguals who started with a mingling of linguistic codes will assimilate both languages and separate them in their minds, being totally conscious of the usage of each of them.

However, these two theories have not come to an end as experts are still studying the topic and proposing new modern alternatives to explain, in the most accurate way possible, the procedure by which children achieve the perfect competence in multiple languages at a time.

3.2 THE GAVAGAI PROBLEM IN CHILDREN

When children try to identify the meaning of words through their auditory input, they need to link specific sounds to specific referents to create a clear idea of what a given piece of speech means in the tangible world. This referential process was propounded as a hypothesis under the name of The Indeterminacy of Translation in 1960 by an analytic philosopher named W. V. Quine.

This hypothesis described a paradigm in which phrases, sentences and a language in general terms could not be understood in isolation, in other words, a language can't be interpreted without cues or references because the interpreter has no manner in which to determine which is the meaning of the word being heard. This hypothesis tends to be easily illustrated by using the example of the word "gavagai", uttered by a native speaker of an unknown language when seeing a rabbit. A Spanish speaker, or a speaker of any other language could not interpret what "gavagai" means without having a cue or a physical reference of that word. On the other hand, if a reference is taken in a situation such as watching the native speaker point to a rabbit when uttering "gavagai", then the range of possible meaning narrows. This example is the reason why the hypothesis is better known as The Gavagai problem.

It happens the same with children having a linguistic input for the first time, they hear speech units but need a reference to link with the sound. In contrast, adults do not experience this as they can take their L1 as the reference.

3.3 CHILDREN INPUT ASSIMILATION

At the moment of analysing and assimilating all the input children receive, unconsciously, they follow an instinctive learning method, by means of which, they associate references, symbols and referents. These three terms constitute the basis of semiotics, the study of signs and sign-using behaviour defined by Ferdinand de Saussure in the 19th century.

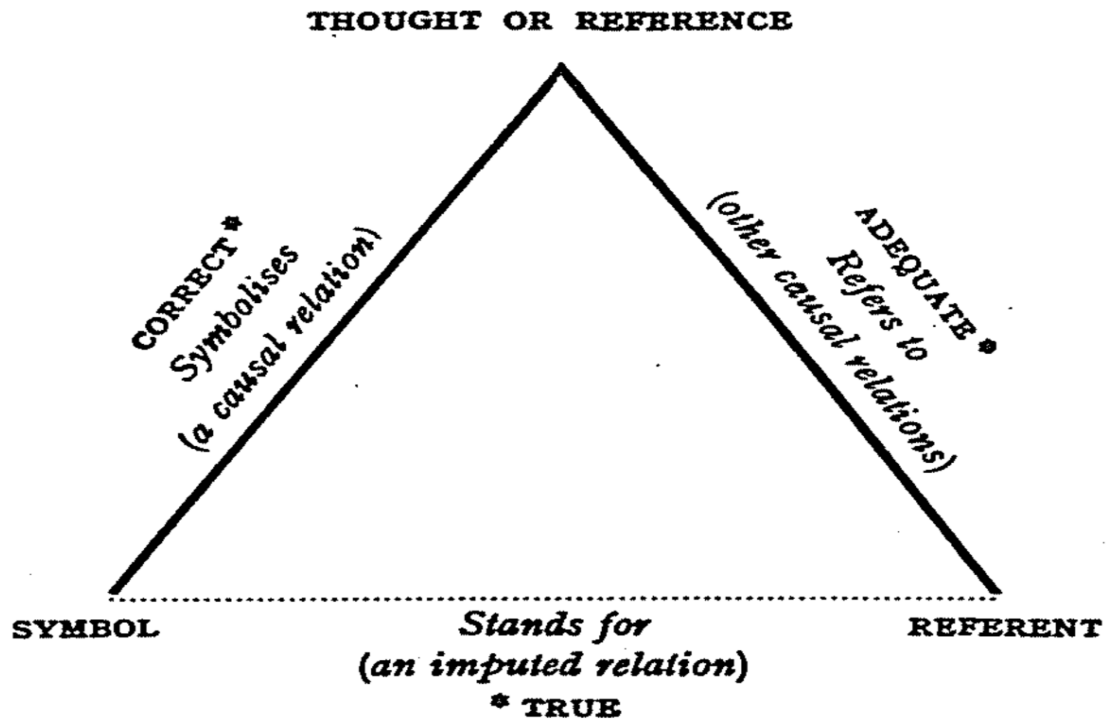


Figure 5. The Semiotic Triangle. General Linguistics Course by Saussure.¹

Firstly, children make use of joint attention mechanisms which refer to the perception children have about what other people are paying attention to when talking. Consequently, they redirect their own attention towards the same stimulus to link both, referent and reference (Kaplan, Oudeyer and Bergen, 2008). These mechanisms allow children to use any kind of visual cue to create that linkage. Researchers agree that bilingual children pay a much closer attention to their environment than monolinguals do as the first ones would hear two different speech units to refer to the same thing. Namely, in the case of a Spanish - English bilingual child, he would have two references (dog and *perro*) for the same referent (a dog).

In second place, beyond paying heed to environmental cues, they do also consider language intrinsic ones. This means toddlers pay attention to specific aspects of the objects or items they have encountered some other time before that one. An investigation carried out by Booth, Waxman and Huang (2005), exposed that 18-month olds focused on shapes when learning words for some objects but also on texture when learning words for others. These findings show how children differentiate between objects type from an early age having a sort of classifying brain set to categorize type of items and, in that way, link referents

¹ Image retrieved from: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Triangle_of_reference#/media/File:Ogden_semiotic_triangle.png (25/11/2021).

and references in a more accurate way.

Eventually, children may be conscious enough about speech units and their linked referents and they will start discriminating between sound differences in similar references. This is by far the most challenging process they need to undergo when building up this mental semiotic triangle because they need to start distinguishing minimal pairs. Minimal pairs are two or more words which differ just in one sound, e.g. but /'bʌt and bat /'bæt/ or know /'nəʊ/ and now /'naʊ/. Children take slightly more time to learn the differences between these special kinds of pairs and it is not until being 20 months old that they are prepared enough to notice those slight differences in speech.

Personally, after having inquired into the matter, the minimal pairs distinction among bilinguals and monolinguals is one of the many differences causing the former, bilinguals, to have more complications at the time of being capable to notice sound differences. Due to the wider range of sounds to which bilinguals need to pay heed to, it turns into a more complex process than the one monolinguals undergo. Thus, the difference in complexity among bilinguals and monolinguals at certain moments of the learning process, establishes a dissimilarity in their linguistic acquisition pace and, as a result, bilinguals need to take some more time to achieve a complete competence of L1 and L2 than monolinguals do for their L1.

4. LINGUISTIC PHENOMENA AFFECTING BILINGUALISM

For decades, a great deal of mistakes was considered to be made by bilinguals when speaking a given language, namely, those related to linguistic codes' mingling such as code-switching, translanguaging, calquing or the overlapping of both codes L1 and L2. These strategies were branded as common errors affecting the proficiency and competence bilinguals had in their languages. Notwithstanding, these old-fashioned considerations were struck down by modern linguists supporting the idea that the above mentioned strategies are simply intrinsic in the path to become bilingual. In other words, children go through these phenomena as part of the process until they reach the proper proficiency level.

Within the procedural phenomena children make use of we may find many distinct sorts of strategies bilinguals make use of until they complete their learning process regarding both linguistic codes.

4.1 CODE-SWITCHING

Code-switching is an age-old practice which is not only linked to bilinguals but also to Black people in the United States ages ago. Rather than an exclusive bilingual strategy, we might deem it a phenomena Black communities made use of to avoid the apartheid repercussions in the USA some decades ago. Anyway, for the time being, we will just focus on the effects it has on bilingual education.

Code-switching is a term coined in 1954 by the sociolinguist Einar Haugen to describe languages alternations and the mixture of two or more languages or dialects. Furthermore, it has led to the creation of terms such as Hinglish (Mixture from Hindi and English), Spanglish (mixture from Spanish and English) and others. Nevertheless, it is currently defined as “The shifting that occurs between two or more languages simultaneously or interchangeably within one conversation” (Grosjean, 1982:145). Far from being a negative aspect inside the bilingual process, it represents the correct path in which any toddler should be going onwards to reach their purpose. The interchangeability among languages shows that the child is able to think in both languages at the same time and, consequently, his domain of both linguistic codes can be regarded as appropriate.

Various terms have been used in order to describe the switch of languages in the middle of conversations. Although code-switching is the general term referring to this linguistic paradigm, some other terms such as “codemixing” have been used to describe the interchangeability between linguistic codes at the level of words. Some other concepts are presented by Baker C. (2011) including Language borrowing or Language interference.

When describing the concept of Language borrowing, Baker explains that “It has been the term used to indicate foreign loan words or phrases that have become an integral and permanent part of the recipient language.” (2011:114). All languages borrow words from each other with which, at some point of the history, have had any sort of contact. Eastman suggested that code-switching and loans are not two different things but form part of a continuum. He also stated that “efforts to distinguish code-switching, code-mixing and borrowing are doomed” (1992:1).

Apart from Language borrowing, the term “Language interference” was associated with those people who acquired a second language and then mixed their L1 and L2. Many bilinguals consider this a negative issue but even children when they start to learn a second language need to mix their linguistic codes before assimilating them and separate both languages’ lexicon. S. Smith (1989) coined the terms “transfer” and “cross linguistic influence” to refer to Language interference avoiding those negative perceptions bilinguals had of it.

Nevertheless, code-switching embeds structures from both linguistic codes respecting the syntactic and grammatical rules of each. Furthermore, it lodges some subtypes within itself:

→ Intersentential switching (L. Wei, 2000)

◆ This variety of code-switching happens when there is a linguistic code change affecting different sentences or clauses. Indeed, every single clause would be perfectly uttered in a given language while the second one would use the remaining linguistic code. For instance, this example can clarify the subtype: “*Mom can you come, please? Tengo miedo.*” As you may appreciate, there are two independent clauses making use of each language.

→ Intra-sentential switching (L. Wei, 2000)

◆ This subtype refers to sentences in which both linguistic codes are mingled together. This is the most controversial subtype as it creates hybrid grammar structures that need to be explained to be fully understood. Intra-sentential switching creates portmanteau sentences; it is the name sentences receive when they have a combination of languages. An example of this subtype can be: “*My tío came yesterday a casa to see me.*” Both linguistic codes appear mingled in the same sentence.

→ Tag-switching (Winford, 2003:126-167)

◆ This is a quite common subtype in South American languages and consists in the switching of either a word or a phrase from one language to another in the same sentence. They are frequent in intra-sentential switching sentences and can be exemplified as: “*Ayer fuimos al parque y estuvimos hablando como siempre, you know*”.

→ Intra-word switching (Myers-Scotton, 1989:333-346)

◆ This particular subtypes occurs within a word itself, such as at morpheme boundary, a prefix or a suffix. To exemplify this specific subtype, we could refer to a Shona-English switching: “*But ma-day-s a-no a-ya ha-ndi-si ku-mu-on-a.* (“*But these days I don't see him much.*)”

Social and political factors also affect the usage of code-switching in situations of language minorities or inter-groups relations in the same community. To explain the different reasons why code-switching can be used, Baker C. considers twelve code-switching purposes (2011:115-117).

1. To emphasize: He explains that code-switching can be used in order to emphasize a given point in a conversation in terms of stressing, information prominence or to highlight the most relevant and important utterances.
2. As a substitution: When there is a gap of knowledge in one of the two languages and a given bilingual needs to switch linguistic codes to accomplish a proper communicative function. In other words, the speaker may change the language by substituting specific words he does not know in the other one. This can happen to subtractive bilinguals or people who tend to use just one of the language at specific fields, such as at work.
3. To express a concept with no equivalent: Sometimes we can find false friends between languages, referring to words which are similar but do not mean the same. In these situations, one can codeswitch to use a word meaning exactly what he tries to explain, that is to say, “to explain a concept that has no equivalent in the culture of the other language” (Baker, 2011:115).
4. For reinforcement: Another purpose can be to reinforce a request. This purpose can take place in various situations, for example, in a classroom a teacher may repeat the same request in both languages to reinforce the assimilation of L1 or L2 sentence meaning. Another situation would be a societal one in which we find a majority and a minority language and the majority one can be used to reinforce its dominance over the minor one.
5. For clarification: The repetition of a sentence in another language to clarify a point. Also used in classrooms by teachers.
6. To communicate friendship: Code-switching can be used to communicate friendship or family bonding, as a way to show reliability or confidence.
7. In relating a conversation: To report a conversation held previously. For instance, two Spanish people speaking in Spanish when an English monolingual arrives so they translate the conversation they were having for him to join in.
8. As a way of interjecting: When a person tries to interrupt a conversation he may use another language to stop the current conversation being held and start a new one.
9. To ease tension and inject humour: When there is a rising argument in the middle of a conversation then, the introduction of a second language may imply a change in the tune being applied.
10. For a change in attitudes or relationships: In a societal community where a majority and a minority language can be found, two people from a minor language community may start introducing themselves in the dominant language but, after realizing they both form

part of the same community, a narrower relationship may emerge by the usage of their minor language as a common symbol for both of them.

11. To exclude people: Code-switching can also be used to exclude people from a conversation. This may result in impolite behaviour but two people can change the language being spoken to start a private conversation if the third participant does not know the second language.
12. Regarding topics: In certain bilingual situations one language or another may be used according to the topic being discussed. This happens due to the fact that some speakers may dominate one language more than the other at certain fields.

Apart from the variety considered in Baker's classification (2011:115-117), there are many other nuances and factors affecting the extent to which children and adults switch between languages (Romaine,1995). Nevertheless, code-switching is a highly used strategy on which many bilinguals rely on and one of the most reckoned ones.

4.2 DIGLOSSIA

Diglossia is a term referring to a situation in which two languages are found in the same community. This concept has incurred considerable evolution as it has been defined by many different experts and, although it has been refined and broadened in recent years, it was originally a Greek word meaning bilingualism. Nevertheless, the evolution continued and a specialized meaning was given to this term "two forms of the same language" (Rhoides, 1885).

Practically, communities in which the usage of two distinct languages happens, both of them cannot be applied to the same situations. As a result, there is every likelihood the community uses one of the languages for certain situations and functions and the other for different ones.

One of the first descriptions of diglossia was proposed by Ferguson (1959), defining it as two varieties of the same language which were spoken. This definition states an immense similarity between diglossia and dialects and was not really accurate to distinguish diglossia from other concepts as the one mentioned before, dialects. Therefore, Ferguson's description also distinguished between a high language (called H) and a low language variety (called L) within a country. He added that each language was used in different situations.

Context		Majority Language (H)	Minority Language (L)
1.	The home and family		✓
2.	Schooling	✓	
3.	Mass Media	✓	
4.	Business and commerce	✓	
5.	Social and cultural activity in the community		✓
6.	Correspondence with relatives and friends		✓
7.	Correspondence with government departments	✓	
8.	Religious activity		✓

Figure 6. Uses of low and high varieties by Ferguson. (Baker, 2011:57)

Notwithstanding, the term's definition was expanded by Fishman (1972) who added that the concept of diglossia referred to the usage of two different languages existing side by side within a geographical area.

Regarding the distinction among high and low variety languages, the suggestion of one of the languages being more prestigious than the other appeared. The majority language would often be perceived as the most important and educative one whereas the minor language would suffer a process of devaluation.

Another point worth considering is the fact that diglossia can be examined alongside the concept of bilingualism, as originally they referred to the same thing. Fishman (1978), combined both terms, bilingualism and diglossia, to share four different language situations in which bilingualism and diglossia may exist with or without each other.

		DIGLOSSIA	
		+	-
INDIVIDUAL BILINGUALISM	+	1. Diglossia and Bilingualism together	3. Bilingualism without Diglossia
	-	2. Diglossia without Bilingualism	4. Neither Bilingualism nor Diglossia

Figure 7. Relationship between diglossia and bilingualism. (Baker, 2011:58)

The first situation portrays a community containing both, individual bilingualism and diglossia. People from this community would be able to use both languages, the major and minor one, each for certain situations and functions. Exemplifying this, the high language variety would be used in the government while the low variety would be used at home.

The second situation includes diglossia without bilingualism which creates a context where two languages would exist in the same community but each group of inhabitants would speak one of both languages. Therefore, fluent bilinguals would not be easily found but they might be the exception rather than the rule. When it comes to official status, both languages would be put on a par although in most situations, the ruling power would be using the high language with the larger less powerful group, who would speak the minor language variety.

Considering the third situation, a case of bilingualism without diglossia is found. Most people in this situation would be bilingual but languages would not be restricted to specific situations but both of them could be used at any situational context. However, Fishman (1980), considers those communities within this third classification unstable and in a process of change but, eventually, one of the languages would gain more prominence than the other one resulting in a case of bilingualism plus diglossia (first situation).

The last situation portrays a community with neither diglossia nor bilingualism. All monolingual communities are within this last classification and some of them have historical causes making them result in a monolingual society. For instance, in Cuba or the Dominican Republic, native languages have been exterminated and, as a direct result, the communities in those places converted to monolingual ones where the high variety language took the power.

Baker states that “the boundaries that separate one language to another are never permanent” (2011:60) and, even with the territorial principle which refers to a language being given official status in a specific geographical area, low and high languages status may change through an evolutive process within communities. In contrast to the territorial principle we encounter the personality principle which refers to a situation in which status to the language is given to individuals wherever they travel in a country (Paulston, 1997). To exemplify this, we find francophones having the right to use French in Canada wherever they are.

4.3 BORROWING

According to Grosjean (2010:58): “Another way in which bilinguals bring in their less activated language is by borrowing a word or short expression from that language and adapting it

morphologically (and often phonologically) into the base language”. There is a great difference between code-switching and borrowing as the first one refers to the alternate use of two distinct languages whereas the second refers to the integration of one of those languages into the other.

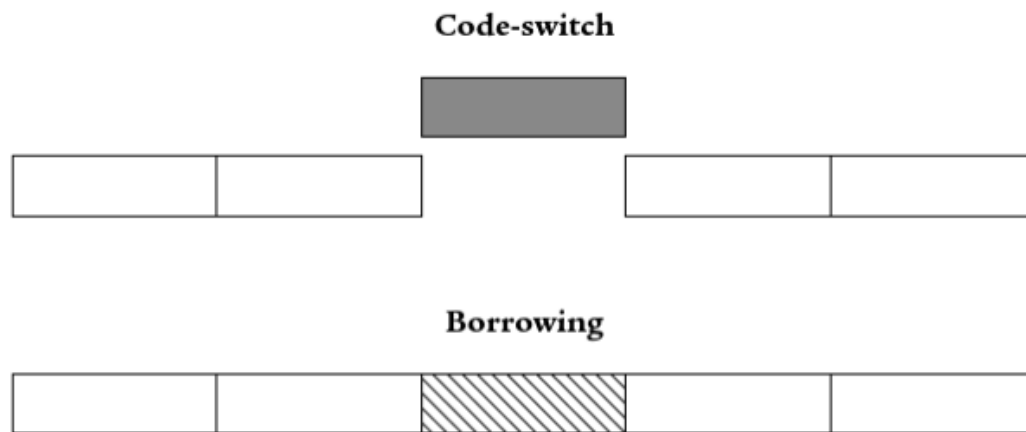


Figure 8. Difference between code-switching and borrowing. (Grosjean, 2010:58)

In code-switching situations, we find that speakers may be using English, for instance, but, at a given point, they may change the language in order to deliver a meaningful message. In fact, a language shift is found in code-switching as the speaker goes from one linguistic code to another.

On the other hand, borrowing integrates a unit from one language into the other one but the speaker maintains the linguistic code even though he uses a given word or expressions from another language

When describing the concept of borrowing, two forms are found to be the most frequent ones. One of the forms occurs when both, form and content of a word are borrowed producing a loanword or nonce borrowing. One example of this regarding French - English bilinguals could be the following one: “Ça m’étonnerait qu’on ait *code-switché* autant que ça” meaning “I cannot believe we *codeswitched* as often as that” (Grosjean, 2010:59).

The integration of borrowings is a much researched topic about which there is still controversy concerning phonological adaptations which argue whether original phonetics should be maintained in the second language or whether phonology should change along with the process of adaptation.

The second common type of borrowing is called loan shift. This specific type occurs when “the speaker either takes a word in the base language and extends its meaning to correspond to that of a word in the other language, or rearranges words in the base language

along a pattern provided by the other language and thus creates a new meaning” (Grosjean, 2010:60). Words affected by this kind of borrowing tend to incur a morphological change as well as a meaning one and loan shift are commonly called false friends as they are words similar to one in another language but with different meanings. Taking the example of Puerto-Rican Spanish, the word *soportar*, which means to endure, got a new meaning in the English language being now written as “support”, which means to give assistance to somebody.

The reason why bilinguals borrow certain words from one language to use them in another one is because they need to use the right word to mean exactly what they want to mean. It has been found that immigrants tend to use borrowed words from their host country’s language when using their native tongue because overnight, they find themselves in a completely different reality from the one they experienced in their country. As they find so many new things they need to use borrowed words to explain them even while using their native tongue.

4.4 CALQUING

Calquing is a linguistic process by means of which a word or phrase is borrowed from one language into another by literally translating word-for-word. The clearest example of this is the word “skyscraper” in English, which was calqued into Spanish as *rascacielos*.

Some subtypes of calquing can be found depending on the manner and units they translate:

→ Phraseological calques (Fowler, 1999)

- ◆ This variety refers to a word-for-word translation of idiomatic expressions with a figurative meaning, for instance idioms. An example we can find of phraseological calques is the English expression “*it goes without saying*” which was calqued by the French language as “*Ça va sans dire*”.

→ Syntactic calques (Gillot, 2008)

- ◆ It is focused on the grammatical relations existing among constituents in a sentence and their functional status. Those syntactic functions or constructions are mirrored in the target language. To illustrate this concept with an example, if the base language was English using a sentence like “*My head hurts a lot*”, the imitated version in a target language, for instance Spanish, would be “*Mi cabeza duele mucho*”. The imitated sentences in the target language does not

sound natural as Spanish people would say something like “*Me duele mucho la cabeza*”, changing the position of almost all sentence constituents.

→ Semantic calques (Durkin, 2009:212-215)

- ◆ They are also called semantic loans and involve all additional meanings of the source word when calqued in the target language. The noun phrase “*computer mouse*”, is originally English but many other languages calqued it extending their own native word to refer to mouse to include “*computer mouse*”.

→ Morphological calques (Gillot, 2008:97)

- ◆ This particular subtype regards the calquing of inflections from words. In linguistic morphology, inflections are considered a process of word formation in which words get modified by some additional units determining their gender, case, tense, mood and some other aspects. Words being morphologically calqued are separated in inflections and the root so every single unit can be translated individually into the target language. For instance, the English word “*immoral*” can be divided into a prefix and the root (im-moral) and when translated into Spanish we get the same number of inflections but adapted to the language rules “in-moral”, meaning not moral.

Bilinguals may use this technique when encountering a situation in which they do not remember a given word in both languages so they may just calque it from one language into the other one. Therefore, all these linguistic aspects are common in bilinguals’ experiences as they modify their learning as well as the type of bilinguals they may eventually become.

5. SCHOOLING METHODS TO DEVELOP BILINGUALISM

The methodology described in this part of the project has the intention of functioning as a guide to get oriented towards the education of children in a bilingual manner.

Instead of being a straightforward process, bilingualism is a truly complex one which depends on multiple factors and variables. Thus, a proper knowledge on the topic must be achieved by parents as children becoming bilinguals require constant input and stimulus to acquire a higher level of proficiency in one than a language simultaneously.

The education children receive regarding bilingualism can be delivered in many distinct manners and using many different educational models. Cazden & Snow (1990) thought that bilingual education was a simple label for a complex phenomenon because it involves

plenty of educational models, strategies, varieties of bilingualism, teaching methods and many other ideas affecting in one way or another the manner in which bilingualism may be acquired that a simple label as bilingual education cannot involve every aspect within a L2 acquisition process.

5.1 VARIETY OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION

Considering the different methods realized by schooling contexts, we find a detailed classification of bilingual education by Mackey (1970) who describes 90 different bilingual schooling patterns regarding: the languages of the home; languages of the curriculum; languages of the community and others. Afterwards, it was Hornberger (1991) who added two new terms in accordance with educational patterns: transitional and maintenance bilingual education. The former had the purpose of shifting childrens' home language, which tended to be the minority one, to the dominant language or majority one. Yet, maintaining bilingual education tries to foster the minority language of children and strengthen their sense of cultural identity, also supporting them to affirm the rights of ethnic minorities within a nation.

At the same time, maintenance bilingual education was divided into two different varieties considered by Otheguy and Otto (1980): Static maintenance and developmental maintenance. The first concept aimed to maintain a low level of proficiency in a L2 without really getting fully competent in the language. The idea was to develop linguistic skills at the level of a child entering school. This model attempted to avoid losing the home language but not improving its skills. Nevertheless, developmental maintenance tried all the opposite, to develop a student's L2 skills to a complete control and proficiency plus also developing their literacy skills to reach biliteracy. "Static maintenance attempts to prevent home language loss but not to increase skills in that first language. Developmental maintenance has a goal of proficiency and literacy in the home language equal to English" (Ortheguy & Otto, 1980:351).

Notwithstanding, the patterns described above are just focused on the grade of development a home language has according to the different educational methods. Nevertheless, the actual forms of education for bilingualism are divided into two groups consisting of weak forms (whose aim in language outcome is either monolingualism or limited bilingualism) and strong ones (whose aim extends to Bilingualism and Biliteracy).

5.2 WEAK FORMS OF EDUCATION FOR BILINGUALISM

This section provides different bilingual education models regarded as minority language forms of education. This label highlighting the fact that these models are regarded as minor ones is due to the aim in language outcome that majority and minority educational forms have.

Concerning minor models, the goals or expectations in language outcomes are to reach a monolingual paradigm or a limited bilingualism context so children would not be totally bilingual in proficiency but they would be prepared to use the basics of the L2. Various models are explained within this section, showing the vast optionality that can be found in these models organization.

5.2.1 SUBMERSION EDUCATION

This first educational model can be portrayed by means of a metaphor Baker makes use of when describing the submersion model:

“A swimming pool metaphor is present in the idea of submersion education. Rather than a quick dip into a second language in mainstream education, submersion contains the idea of a student thrown into the deep end and expected to learn to swim as quickly as possible without the help of floats or special swimming lessons.” (Baker, 2011:208)

In this metaphor Baker uses, the figure of the pool would be the majority language (e.g. Spanish in Spain) and not the home language of the child being thrown (e.g. French). The result of this idea is that children would be learning the majority language any time as they would be living in a country where their L2 is the major one. Thus, being surrounded by native speakers of that L2 plus the use of only the major language in the classroom would make students sink, struggle or swim.

Submersion education describes an educational model in which a child's L1 is a minor language and he is placed in a mainstream education system. Therefore, the experience of submersion education can be found in other models such as “Structured Immersion” programs. These programs are made just for minority language children conducted in the majority language, who will replace their minor language with the major one. However, the structured immersion program differs from the submersion model in some aspects. For instance, the structured immersion program tends to use a simplified version of the major language and the teacher shows tolerance with those children using their minor language in class when

answering any kind of question although, according to August & Hakuta (1997), there is no native language support for those children.

Baker (2011) explains that there are various criticisms about this specific educational model as language minority children get lost during the first months of schooling because they do not know the major language yet. Therefore, teachers are unlikely to help those new students because of their lack of experience in ESL methodology and their inability to adapt their teaching methodology to anomalous circumstances. Apart from this, the evolution children have in language knowledge may often cause problems in teaching and class management for teachers. Another point worth considering is that “Alongside problems of language, there are likely to be problems of social and emotional adjustment for language minority children in submersion education [...] It is not just the child’s home language that is deprecated but the identity of the child, the parents, the home, the community and the culture [...]” (Baker, 2011:209).

5.2.2 SUBMERSION WITH WITHDRAWAL CLASSES

The submersion model may occur with or without the addition of withdrawal classes (also called pull-out classes), to teach the majority language. Language minority children who are in a mainstream schooling may withdraw for compensatory lessons helping them with the language as a manner to keep them in the submersion educational system assuring a progress in the language learning.

We may find another variation within this model which is called Sheltered English or Sheltered Content Instruction (SDAIE). In this variation, minority language students are taught using a simplified version of the majority language and purpose-made materials to reinforce their learning and also help them start progressing fast enough to follow the class pace. All purpose-made materials are consciously made in this model to adapt to the current proficiency of students and, moreover, the Sheltered Content Instruction contains curriculum content knowledge, understanding of the major language and the acquisition of certain linguistic skills and its objective.

In contrast, Sheltered Content Teaching may involve a temporal segregation between those who have already started to learn the language and students who currently have a certain proficiency level. Consequently, Echevarria & Graves (1998) highlight that the segregation among students have multiple advantages:

1. Greater opportunity for students to participate as rivalities and comparison between first time learners and experienced students would not occur anymore. This would also help first time learners avoid feeling awkward or shy to participate even though they do not control the language yet.
2. Teachers would feel more comfortable in a homogeneous classroom with a balanced group of students. Therefore, teachers could show greater sensitivity towards linguistic, cultural and educational needs the learner could require.
3. The creation of a collective identity among students as they find each other in the same situation as themselves. This may also improve the atmosphere in the classroom and help feeling comfortable when learning.

5.2.3 SEGREGATIONIST EDUCATION

This model of education is totally focused on minority language children because of the discrimination they suffer by majority language schooling and programs. Some of the major educational activities forbid minor language children to access their teaching lessons, which can only be attended by majority language users.

Some instances of monolingual education in a minority language can be found in situations concerning apartheid, where colonial people would be educated just in their home language. However, the ruling elite focuses on an education using the minor language to maintain subservience and segregation between elite and colonials. Those language minorities “do not learn enough of the power language to be able to influence society or, especially, to acquire a common language with the other subordinated groups, a shared medium of communication and analysis” (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981:128). Segregationist educational model tends to force a monolingual language policy based on the relatively powerless, in other words, the main purpose segregationist educational model has is to maintain the apartheid and highlight, by means of linguistic actions, the superiority of one community over another.

5.2.4 TRANSITIONAL BILINGUAL EDUCATION

This method is one of the commonest types of bilingual education in the United States and, at the same time, it is the most supported form by Title VII funds. These funds are the main economic help in California schools as each local district receives at least \$3,000 in order to

support the creation of after-school programs, early childhood education, tutoring and dropout prevention.

Concerning educational purposes, this method is focused on teaching through a process of assimilation. In contrast to the submersion method, children are permitted to use their home language for certain periods of time and some lessons are also delivered in the minority language to engage students and create a more comfortable atmosphere in the classroom. When students are thought to be proficient enough to control the majority language, lessons will be delivered approaching the mainstream current in which only the majority language will be used. Nevertheless, transitional bilingual education is a brief learning process because it only occurs until students are competent enough. As a result, the main goal of this educational method is to increase the usage of the majority language in the classroom while decreasing the usage of the minority one.

Ramirez & Merino (1990) considered that the term Transitional bilingual education (TBE) could be divided into two different major types, early exit and late exit. The latter type, late exit TBE, allows up to a 40% of the teaching lesson in the students' mother tongue until the 6th grade, yet the former concept permits code-switching in the middle of the lesson to create a sympathetic link between teacher-students. The creation of this friendly atmosphere helps children rely on their teacher while "bilingual teachers may become valuable allies or Trojan horses for the learning of the majority language" (Baker, 2011:212).

On balance, the purpose of the transitional bilingual education is still the same as in the others, to decrease the use of minority languages and shift children's home language to the major one. Notwithstanding, the form in which this last method is realized is much more respectful to children and their cultural identity as they are allowed to use their home language until prepared enough to leave it behind.

5.2.5 MAINSTREAM EDUCATION (WITH FL TEACHING)

In the United States, Canada or Australia, apart from many other European countries, most majority language schools deliver their classes using the home language. However, there are some situations in which a second foreign language teaching occurs which in Canada receives the name of core program while in Wales it is called drip-feed language program.

Critiques against this educational model are common to be found and LeBlanc posed a critical question on this model portraying his skepticism towards the true functionality of a mainstream education:

“We all know how much our country [Canada] invests in second-language training. We are talking in terms of millions and millions of dollars. All these students are taking second-language courses and, once they have finished, should normally be able to function in the second language. But what happens in reality?” (1992:35)

Furthermore, Baker does also support the skepticism of LeBlanc and comments on the problems students may undergo when being in a mainstream educational model: “” The problem in some countries (e.g. USA, England) is that relatively few second language students blossom. Where children receive a half an hour second language lesson per day for between five and 12 years, few students become functionally fluent in the second language”. (2011:213).

Apparently mainstream education rarely produces children with a proficient and competent level of a second language but with low fluency and dominance of the L2. Thus, as lack of functionality and results are seen in this model, the reputation of mainstream schooling shows it is not one of the best options to make students blossom.

5.2.6 SEPARATIST EDUCATION

This language minority education model shows a predisposition towards children learning of the minority language and culture following a monolingual and monocultural context, which reinforces the learning and provides a different vision of the importance minority languages have.

Schermerhorn (1970) coined the term secessionist movement to refer to an educational method in which a language minority tries to unbound from the majority language, pursuing an independent prevalence. In this manner, the minority language stops being threatened by the ruling power of the major language. According to Baker (2011), this educational model needs to be organized by the language community to seek for its own survival and self-protection.

5.3 STRONG FORMS OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION

While the previous section analysed the different models within minority language education methods, this one examines the variety within strong forms of bilingual education. These strong forms have a totally different aim in the language outcome. While weak forms were oriented

towards a monolingual or limited bilingual outcome, strong educational models are made for a bilingual outcome by students, who will have complete dominance in both language, minor and major ones.

5.3.1 IMMERSION BILINGUAL EDUCATION

The origin of this educational method derives from Canadian experiments which started in St. Lambert, Montreal, in 1965. The stated aims of this model are for students to become competent to speak, write and read in a L2. Apart from this, students are expected to reach normal achievement levels throughout the whole curriculum and also expected to eventually appreciate the lore and culture of the L2 community.

The immersion model contains some subtypes within as it is an umbrella term. The variety of programs residing inside this label differ in some aspects, which create distinction among the subgroups.

Some of these factors consider the age at which students commence the program, which differentiates between early immersion (infant stage), middle immersion (from nine to ten years old) and late immersion (secondary level).

On the other hand, the amount of time spent in the immersion programme does also distinguish among some other subtypes: Total immersion (when the programme commences with a 100% immersion in the L2 and that immersion decreases with time) and Partial immersion (which provides a 50% immersion in the L2 throughout infant and junior schooling).

Nevertheless, the most popular subtype of immersion is the Early Total Immersion type which is common in Canada by the Canadian Education Association (1992).

Furthermore, the functionality of the model was approved by the St Lambert experiment, which suggested that the educational aims were achieved. Tucker and d'Anglejan summarized the outcomes in the language education by posing that:

“The experimental students appear to be able to read, write, speak, understand and use English as well as youngsters instructed in the conventional English manner. In addition, and at no cost they can also read, write, speak and understand French in a way that English students who follow a traditional program of French as a second language never do” (1972:19).

5.3.2 MAINTENANCE AND HERITAGE LANGUAGE BILINGUAL EDUCATION

Alongside the immersive education model, the maintenance and heritage language bilingual education constitutes another type within educational strong forms. This model is focused on children with minority languages achieving a complete bilingualism without the loss of any of both languages. Many researchers (Blachford, 1997; Cantoni, 1996; Caldwell & Berthold, 1995; Harris & Murtagh, 1999; Lin, 1997; and others) have highlighted examples of this educational method being applied in countries such as the USA, Ireland, New Zealand, China and others.

While the type of education is the same, two terms are used to describe this methodology, maintenance and heritage language education. Public schools in the USA call it maintenance or developmental maintenance bilingual education, however, Canada refers to it as heritage language education. The reason why the same concept is called differently is because in the USA, the term heritage has a connotation pointing to the past and not the future and the idea they want to transmit is that this educational model mounts around the community language in general, not the lore nor historical tradition. Nevertheless, Canada does not consider the term heritage to be arbitrary nor confusing.

According to Baker, the maintenance and heritage language bilingual education “occurs when language minority children use their native, ethnic, home or heritage language in the school as a medium of instruction and the goal is full bilingualism”. (2011:221)

5.3.3 DUAL LANGUAGE BILINGUAL EDUCATION

This model receives many different terms to be described: two way schools, two-way immersion, two-way bilingual education, developmental bilingual education, dual language education, bilingual immersion, interlocking education and double immersion.

As a point worth considering, this method occurs when approximately equal numbers of language minority and language majority learners are sharing the same classroom. The aim pursued with this idea is to create a balance among languages and obtain a retroactive influence between students by means of which everyone can have a proper input of their L2 (being the minority language for majority language speakers or the opposite).

Lindholm-Leary (2001) supports and agrees with the idea that classrooms will have a complete balance between languages and states that biliteracy may be acquired in both languages this way. Moreover, “the growth of such programmes has been considerable with the

oldest dating back to 1963 in Date County, Florida, and developed by a US Cuban community” (Baker, 2011:225).

However, although there has been an immense growth in this methodology usage, some imbalances can occur, breaking the language compensation between minor languages and major ones. When this imbalance occurs, an increment in the number of minority language students is suggested as the major language may have a stronger influence everywhere outside schools. Thus, in this manner, the imbalance created in class can be reduced, although not totally eradicated.

The procedure used by teachers is to only use one language for a whole day, expecting children to answer using the same linguistic code. Every code-switching act is utterly forbidden in class so students force themselves into one of both languages.

On balance, evaluations of the effectiveness these dual language schooling processes have, indicate that there is a relative success but not an assured one (Cazabon et al., 1993; Lindholm-Leary, 2001).

In the following graphic, there is a representation of the rise dual language schools have incurred in the United States. It shows an exponential increasement on dual school’s creation and the number of schools using this method in a time progression from 1963 to 2000.

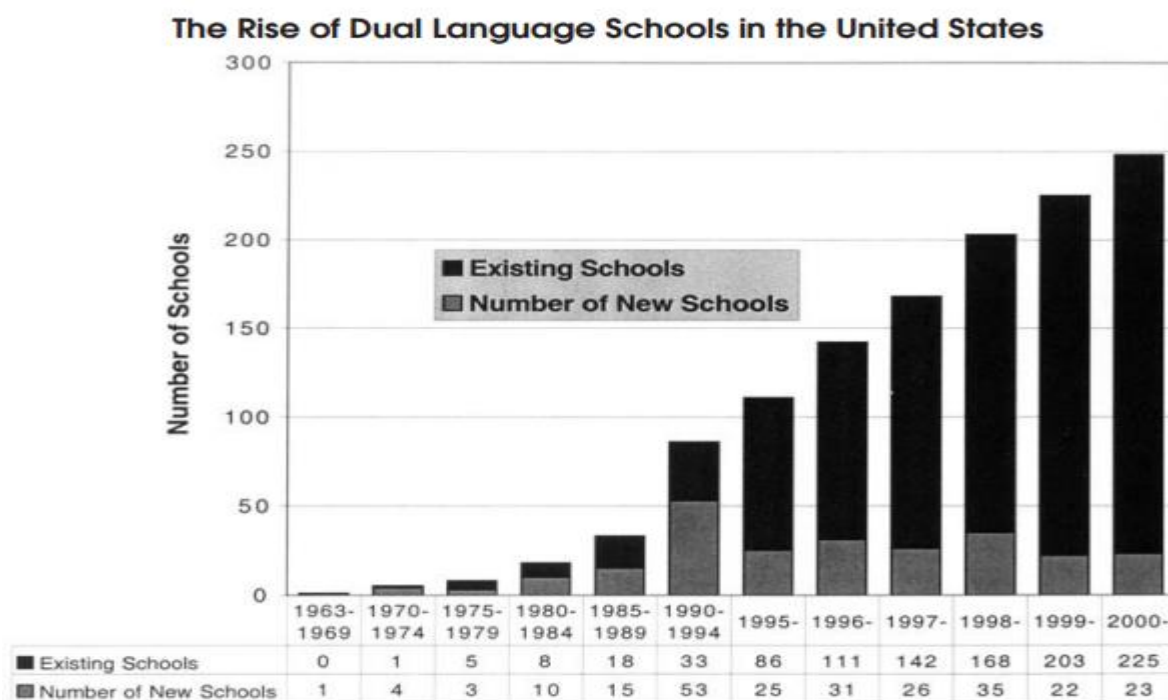


Figure 8. Representation of dual language schools increasement. (Baker, 2011:232)

On the other hand, the proportion of students learning two or more languages at schools by using a dual language method in Europe is represented in the graphic underneath. Indeed, Spain, which can be found in the 10th position from the right, is the 6th European country with lower proportion in dual language schooling, whereas most countries have a developed schooling plan which involves the usage of two or more linguistic codes.

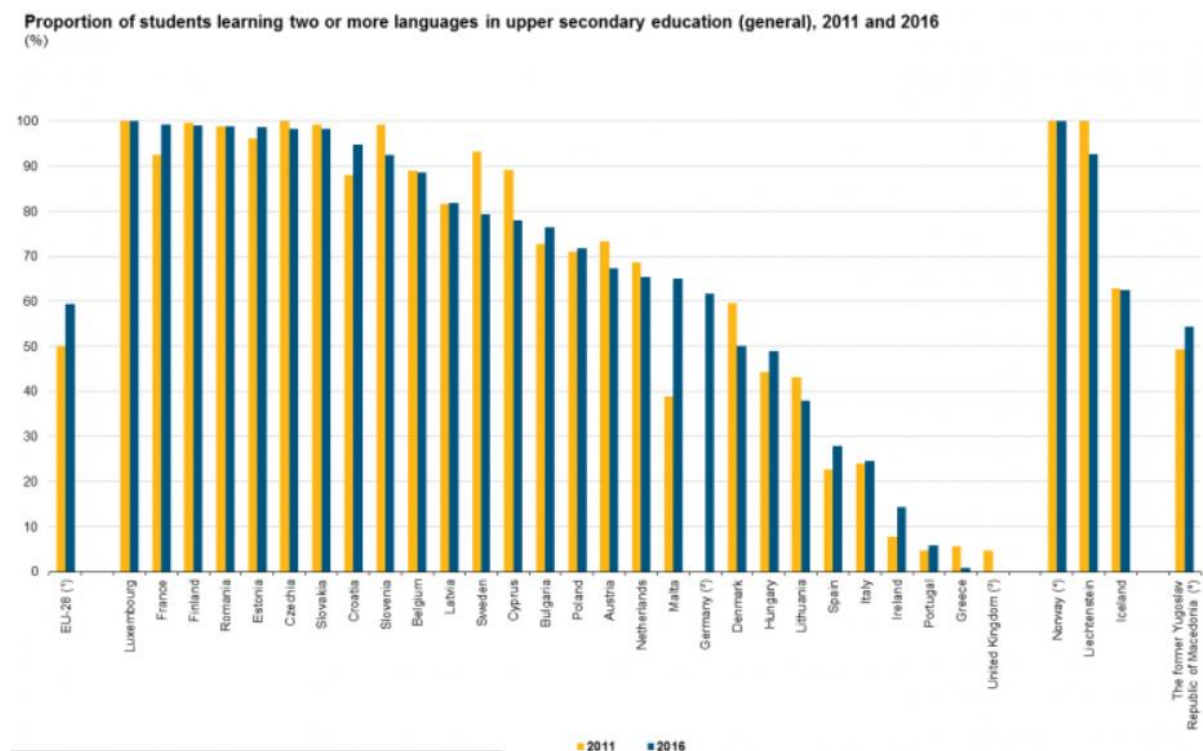


Figure 9. Representation of dual language schools in Europe retrieved from Eurostat.2

5.3.4 MAINSTREAM BILINGUAL EDUCATION IN MAJORITY LANGUAGES

This term comprises the fusion of two or more majority languages used in a single school. The aim pursued by this method is a full bilingualism or multilingualism plus biliteracy and a cultural pluralism. A curious statement is that most of the schools functioning with this method are placed in countries where people are already bilingual or multilingual, for instance, Luxembourg.

² This graphic has been retrieved from: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=File:Proportion_of_students_learning_two_or_more_languages_in_upper_secondary_education_%28general%29,_2011_and_2016_%28%25%29_ET18.png (01/12/2021)

Met (1998) argues that a communicative approach to a L2 teaching results in an attempt to achieve an authentic communication where interpreting and expressing meanings is the main purpose. Therefore, the constructivist theory, which states that active learning enables students to build their own knowledge in a more efficient manner, stresses that whereas traditional learning relied on teachers to transmit a given knowledge which students would eventually integrate into their actual knowledge, mainstream education using major languages helps students store information in networks and create stronger connections among information chunks.

Some of the objectives this methodology has are the following:

1. To give students a sense of confidence in their cultural identity as well as supporting them at any cultural problem they may encounter.
2. To provide a sound education which should be based on a broad range of subjects from low to high linguistic levels.
3. To develop high speaking and writing competence in both, mother tongue and two or more foreign languages.
4. To provide a high-quality teaching through the schooling process to assure students are linguistically prepared enough when finishing the schooling time.
5. To foster tolerance, communication, cooperation and concern for others no matter the differences among students.

All models presented, including weak and strong ones, present a high rate of effectiveness when considering their goals and the results achieved. However, this effectiveness can be affected by many societal factors that depend on the countries in which the methods are used. In this sense, if a country has a bilingual population, the result acquired through the use of an immersive schooling process will not be the same as in a monolingual country. Thus, the effectiveness of these models cannot be proved by comparing different countries' success.

The following chart is a summary of all models that can be applied in children breeding as a methodological resource to guide their learning process:

WEAK FORMS OF EDUCATION FOR BILINGUALISM				
Type of Program	Typical Type of Child	Language of the Classroom	Societal and Educational Aim	Aim in Language Outcome
SUBMERSION (Structured Immersion)	Language Minority	Majority Language	Assimilation	Monolingualism
SUBMERSION with Withdrawal Classes / Sheltered English)	Language Minority	Majority Language with 'Pull-out' L2 Lessons	Assimilation	Monolingualism
SEGREGATIONIST	Language Minority	Minority Language (forced, no choice)	Apartheid	Monolingualism
TRANSITIONAL	Language Minority	Moves from Minority to Majority Language	Assimilation	Relative Monolingualism
MAINSTREAM with Foreign Language Teaching	Language Majority	Majority Language with L2/FL Lessons	Limited Enrichment	Limited Bilingualism
SEPARATIST	Language Minority	Minority Language (out of choice)	Detachment/ Autonomy	Limited Bilingualism
STRONG FORMS OF EDUCATION FOR BILINGUALISM AND BILITERACY				
Type of Program	Typical Type of Child	Language of the Classroom	Societal and Educational Aim	Aim in Language Outcome
IMMERSION	Language Majority	Bilingual with Initial Emphasis on L2	Pluralism and Enrichment	Bilingualism & Biliteracy
MAINTENANCE/ HERITAGE LANGUAGE	Language Minority	Bilingual with Emphasis on L1	Maintenance, Pluralism and Enrichment	Bilingualism & Biliteracy
TWO-WAY/DUAL LANGUAGE	Mixed Language Minority & Majority	Minority and Majority	Maintenance, Pluralism and Enrichment	Bilingualism & Biliteracy
MAINSTREAM BILINGUAL	Language Majority	Two Majority Languages	Maintenance, Pluralism and Enrichment	Bilingualism & Biliteracy
Notes: (1) L2 = Second Language; L1 = First Language; FL = Foreign Language. (2) Formulation of this table owes much to discussions with Professor Ofelia García. This typology is extended to 14 types of bilingual education in García (1997, p. 410).				

Figure 10. Bilingual Educational models by Baker (2011:207)

6. FAMILIAR CONTEXT CONDITIONING BILINGUALISM

Children becoming bilingual is a responsibility that not only schooling must fulfil but also families. Parents need to adopt a specific approach to support their children in their bilingualism path and ease their process. There are some family strategies that need to be considered by

family members and other caretakers if their goal is to give a proper bilingual education to their children. Therefore, each strategy shows different aspects to be considered and different ways in which to orientate the education.

According to Grosjean (2010), the most prominent and paramount strategies promoting bilingualism in children are divided into five different methods: One person - one language; One language home - one language outside home; one-language-first strategy; language-time strategy; free-alternation strategy.

6.1 ONE PERSON - ONE LANGUAGE STRATEGY

In this actual strategy, the distribution of roles between parents is to assign one language to each of them, in other words, the father would speak a L1 while his husband or wife would speak a L2.

This model helps the child distinguish between linguistic codes as he will associate each language to each of his parents. In this sense, as children do not differentiate between languages when they are still in a low learning phase, an unconscious separation of both languages will be set, helping him to assimilate the existence of two different lexical systems.

Grosjean (2010) states that the one person - one language strategy is an extremely effective one for the first months of language development, helping children obtain a dual language input and produce sounds discriminating each language, as well as uttering syllables and words in both linguistic codes. Notwithstanding, some inconveniences may appear when the child grows up. In this situation, the minority language will start to lose its importance and most of the input the child receives will be from the majority language.

In addition, when he or she starts to know the outside world, everything he will hear and use will be the majority language, unless the family lives in a minority language community. Grosjean also adds that “Childhood expert Houwer conducted a large survey covering close to two thousand families and found that there was a one-in-four chance that children would fail to speak the minority language when this strategy was used” (2010:208).

Considering all aspects, the evidence highlights that this first strategy does not fully work when regarding those ages in which children start to receive input not only by parents and familiars but also by the community. Nevertheless, the importance of this method at early

learning phases is remarkable as it helps develop multiple skills that other strategies fail to focus on such as the distinction between linguistic codes.

6.2 ONE LANGUAGE HOME - ONE LANGUAGE OUTSIDE HOME

This strategy was also called by Grosjean “home-outside the home strategy” (2010:206), and it considers the idea that everyone speaks the minor language at home while the majority language is spoken by the community. Following this manner, the child will learn the minor language from birth and, when he ventures outside home he will start receiving input of the major language. This approach is the one used by many immigrants, who use their home language at home but utilise the community language everywhere else.

When parents consciously adopt this strategy for their strategy, they tend to realize it in a strict manner. In addition, Haugen supports this statement by commenting on his own experience: “[My parents] took the position that I would learn all the English I needed from my playmates and my teachers, and that only by learning and using Norwegian in the home could I maintain a fruitful contact with them and their friends and their culture” (1972:307)

In addition, this strategy, which was also coined by Grosjean as “the home - outside the home”, shows various inconveniences. Indeed, parents will need to agree speaking just in the minority language at home instead of using the community language and, furthermore, this desire should also be advised to visits coming home or any other familiar and caretaker visiting the children. Moreover, another point worth considering is that that minority languages will need a reinforcement which can be done with games, series or activities realized using the minor language.

The effort parents need to make by only using the minority language has to be extended from birth up to childhood and adolescence, if not, a progressive input decrease would appear and children would eventually abandon the usage of the minor language.

6.3 ONE-LANGUAGE-FIRST STRATEGY

The following strategy consists on using one language from birth for a certain period of time until the child reaches the age of five years old. Afterwards, the second language is introduced.

The most common thing according to Grosjean is that:

“Usually, the first language is the minority language, which the parents use exclusively. They make sure that every contact the child has taken place in that language. Once that language is established, then parents allow other languages to be acquired, and this often happens very fast.” (2010:207).

This approach is successful when families are able to provide a decent minority language input in all daily aspects to their child, as this language is the only one the child should get input from. Some difficulties may come if the surroundings of the child are not well established around the minority language because, in that case, the majority language would gain some importance, reducing the impact that the first linguistic code was having on the child.

This educational model is determined to start the linguistic education of a child from birth by just providing input of a language and leaving the rest of the work for the community, which will be the one giving the input of the second language. In addition, as schooling processes, along with societal relationships will be done using the second language, the velocity with which the child will learn this majority language will be faster than the one he had learning the minor language.

6.4 LANGUAGE - TIME STRATEGY

The similarity of this model with the code-switching strategy is rather peculiar as we could deem that language-time strategy is based on a sort of continuous code-switching. The manner in which bilingual education is delivered following this method is by using each of the languages at specific times, in other words, divide the day into time lapses in which different languages will take the predominance.

For instance, English could be the main language in the morning whereas the evening would be the time for Spanish language. Nevertheless, the changeability between languages can be done in the same day or in several days, where each language would be used each day. Grosjean (2010) argues that this method is not very successful because the division of languages into time lapses is rather arbitrary. Therefore, it is a strategy used in immersion and dual-language educational programs, and surprisingly, it is found to be highly successful in those environments.

One of the main problems is that of arbitrariness as there is not a clear cut distinction similar to a schedule about when to use each language. This fact can derive in an unconscious predominance of one of the languages and, indirectly, this would eventually lead to an unbalanced bilingualism in the child’s learning process. Considering these issues, we can

observe that while this strategy is not recommended in familiar environments, it is highly successful in schooling processes, thus, some strategies work differently depending on the manner and atmosphere in which they are used.

6.5 FREE ALTERNATION STRATEGY

The last used method is the one of free alternation, making reference to the idea of freely shifting the language anytime when talking to the child. This is one of the most used strategies and is regarded as “the default strategy” by Grosjean (2010). Although parents consciously decide to use this strategy, not much organization is required to provide a proper input according to the methodology this strategy follows.

Factors such as topics, people, situations or context are the ones determining which language to use. However, as this model does not have a clear guidance nor steps to follow, the majority language will eventually be the most used linguistic code which will result in a partial loss of the minor language. This method seems to be also based on a code-switching idea where parents shift between languages anytime. In contrast to the previous strategy, the language-time one where languages were assigned to determined daytimes, this last method allows a language shift even in question-answer sentences.

This may result in linguistic confusion for the child, who will not identify any of the languages at first but later he will realize that two different linguistic codes are being used in his familiar context. Furthermore, this method is not considered to be successful as linguistic shifts along with an indirect predominance of the majority language, will finally cause that the child keeps a low competence in the minority language.

7. CONCLUSION

On balance, bilingualism is an extremely complex process affected by multiple factors, variables and methodologies. Therefore, there is an enormous amount of bilinguals depending on when and how they acquire bilingualism. Each sort of bilingualism conditions children’s linguistic systems and development, as well as their final result.

For this result to be acquired, different acquisition processes can be used such as FDH or SDH (fusion and separate development hypothesis) which regard aspects involving the linguistic organization of linguistic codes. Therefore, children require a process of assimilation in which all the input received is comprehended for a later usage.

Another point worth considering is that there is not a time limit to become bilingual, as bilingualism does not require a perfect dominance of two languages but the capacity to at least understand and comprehend them properly. In this sense, the CPH (critical period hypothesis) was rejected by current researchers by arguing that it is not a conditioning factor in language learning processes. In addition, some studies suggest that the development of a L2 is faster in learners with a developed L1 than in those who have already started their language acquisition.

On the other hand, the diversity of linguistic phenomena affecting bilingualism is rather important. Phenomena including code-switching, calquing or borrowing are the ones used by learners when their dominance is not good enough, so they need to make use of the other language to clarify or express ideas properly. Apart from this, cultural factors do also affect this linguistic acquisition process. For instance, diglossia shows the importance of how languages are affected by the geographical areas in which they are used.

Children's learning process can also be determined by many situational issues and the multiplicity of guidance types they can get, yet some circumstances directly affecting bilinguals' development involve: the quality and quantity of input they receive, which needs to be good enough to make students' linguistic abilities blossom, the attitude each child has towards language, as not every child is equally prepared to reach the same proficiency levels as others, and the sort of interactional styles they experience, including colloquial styles, academic styles or a daily language usage. Each and every of these factors shows an enormous importance in childrens' evolution and any alteration they may incur will show a direct consequence in the final developed language.

Similarly, the different types of education utilized in schooling processes have different benefits as well as different disadvantages. Nevertheless, all schooling models reinforce the idea that there is not a unique manner to achieve results but many different methodologies to successfully become part of the bilingual community.

However, along with schooling, familiar contexts and the roles family members adopt when educating their children are highly important to deliver the sufficient input children require in their development. Different strategies may be used by parents, family members and caretakers, and thus different results may be acquired by children.

After having considered all aspects included in a bilingual education, my personal opinion is that children will always get positive results from any sort of education following bilingual principles, even though this education is realized in a proper manner or it fails at following a specific pattern. Bilingualism will not confuse children, wrongly alter their

linguistic abilities with permanent repercussions nor affect in any sense their first language, as the input they may receive is not only by parents or schooling but also by friends and the community of speakers surrounding him. Bilingual experiences will always be enriching attitudes for people and they will help the integration of linguistic codes in learners' mind-sets.

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