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ABSTRACT

This paper on bilingualism defines the concept and its usage throughout the world. The various dichotomies that have evolved in the study of bilingualism are described: compound and coordinate, simultaneous and successive, additive and subtractive, and elite and folk. Balanced bilingualism, usually referring to an individual who has roughly equal ability in both languages, is also addressed. Studies that have examined advantages and disadvantages to children of bilingualism are reviewed and bilingual education, including cross-language transfer of skills, is addressed. (JP)

BILINGUALISM: AN INTRODUCTION

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What is Bilingualism?

It is not easy to formulate a generally accepted definition of bilingualism. Bilingualism means different things to different people. Bloomfield (1933:56) defined bilingualism as 'native-like control of two languages'. However, this definition excludes many people who speak more than one language but do not have 'native-like' control of one or both of their languages. A large number of people who use two languages regularly may not have 'native-like' control of one of their languages. It is clear that Bloomfield's definition of bilingualism needs to be modified if it is to reflect accurately the reality of people's ability to use languages.

The existence of large numbers of people who speak more than one language but who do not exhibit native-like control in both languages, raises the question of how proficient a person must be to be classed as bilingual. Haugen (1953:7) suggests that bilingualism begins 'at the point where a speaker of one language can produce complete, meaningful utterances in the other language'. Diebold (1961) has even suggested that bilingualism has commenced when a person begins to understand utterances in a second language, but is unable to produce utterances.

Bilingualism may be defined as having some ability to use two (or even more) languages. There can, therefore, be degrees of bilinguality – at one extreme there are those people who have

native-like control over two languages and at the other extreme are those people who have just begun to acquire a second language.

Degrees of bilingualism can be assessed in the individual's command of the four skills of listening comprehension, speaking, reading comprehension and writing in each language. Some children in immigrant communities, for example, have all four skills only in the official language of their country of residence while in their parents' language they have only the oral skills of listening comprehension and speaking. In addition, people who are bilingual in all four skills can have different levels of skill in each language. For example, a Vietnamese speaking child educated in English may have a better command of written English than of written Vietnamese, even if the child's spoken Vietnamese is better than his/her spoken English.

Grosjean (1982) points out that we need to consider a holistic view of bilingualism. The linguistic abilities of bilinguals have often been compared to those of monolingual speakers of the languages concerned. The bilingual, however, should not be considered as the sum total of two complete or incomplete monolinguals. The presence of two languages and their interaction in the bilingual produces a different but complete language system which responds to the individual's needs to communicate using one or other language or, in some settings, a mixture of both languages.

How common is bilingualism?

Bilingualism is present in most countries throughout the world, in all classes of society and in all age groups. However, the importance of bilingualism in the world is not widely recognized, particularly in countries which view themselves as monolingual. Lewis (1978) stated that 'bilingualism has been and is nearer to the normal situation than most people are willing to believe'.

In some border areas between two language groups, economic and social factors lead many people to use more than one language on a regular basis. Thus, in Europe people who live near in a

country like Belgium may live in a Flemish speaking area and work in a French speaking area. For people such as these, there is a practical need to speak both the language of the region in which they live and the region in which they work.

The pattern of bilingualism is different in different societies. For example countries with indigenous linguistic minorities may be bilingual, but bilingualism is normal only in the minority community. Thus native speakers of Welsh in Wales normally speak both Welsh and English and native speakers of Ainu in Japan usually speak Japanese as well as Ainu. However, few native speakers of English speak Welsh and few native speakers of Japanese speak Ainu. In some countries, bilingualism is more widespread through out the population. In Paraguay, for example most people speak both Spanish and Guaraní. In countries where many different languages are in contact, most people speak one or two of their neighbours' languages and often a lingua franca as well. Thus, in Papua New Guinea many people living in rural areas speak two or more languages often including a pidgin, such as Tok Pisin or Hiri Motu, which is used for communicating with people over a wider area.

Immigration can lead to the establishment of bilingual communities in the host country. Immigrants coming from countries speaking a language different from that of the country in which they settle need to acquire the language of their host country and so they become bilingual speaking both their own language and the language of the host country. These people may in turn transmit both languages to their children and ensure the survival of the bilingual community. This is a typical pattern of bilingualism in Australia. According to the 1986 census, 13.6% of Australians over the age of five speak a language other than English at home (Clyne 1988).

Types of bilingualism

The study of bilingualism has tended to develop dichotomies. Among the more commonly used dichotomies are the distinctions

between compound and co-ordinate bilingualism (Weinreich 1953), simultaneous and successive bilingualism (McLaughlin 1984), additive and subtractive bilingualism (Lambert 1975), elite and folk bilingualism (Skutnabb-Kangas 1981). These distinctions have had an important function in drawing attention to various aspects of bilingualism but at the same time they represent different approaches to the question of bilingualism.

Co-ordinate and compound bilingualism

Ervin and Osgood (1954) distinguished between *compound* and *co-ordinate* bilingualism according to differences in cognitive functioning. Compound bilingualism involves two sets of linguistic signs which become associated with a single set of meanings. Co-ordinate bilingualism involves a set of translation equivalents in the two languages which correspond to two different sets of representations (See Figure 1.1). The distinction between these two types of bilingualism involves a difference in cognitive organization of linguistic material in the brain – it does not in itself indicate a difference in competence. Co-ordinate bilingualism tends to be developed through an experience of different contexts in which the two languages are rarely interchanged, whereas compound bilingualism tends to be developed through contexts

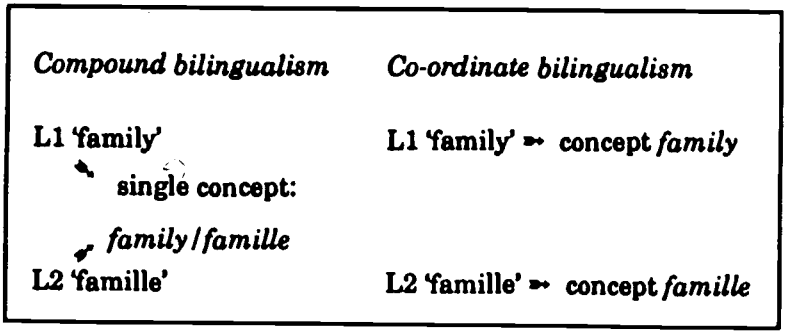

Figure 1 Schematic representation of the compound co-ordinate distinction. Adapted from Ervin & Osgood (1954)

in which the two languages are rarely interchanged, whereas compound bilingualism tends to be developed through contexts such as formal language learning in school or continual switching from one language to another.

Simultaneous and successive bilingualism

McLaughlin (1984) maintains that when a child learns two languages simultaneously it is inappropriate to talk about the child's first and second languages. Both languages are in effect first languages, although one may dominate in certain situations or with certain people. For McLauglin, simultaneous bilingualism could occur at any age less than a cut-off age of three years. Therefore, a 2 year old Portuguese speaking child who moves to Australia and begins to acquire English would be considered to be acquiring both languages simultaneously. McLauglin felt that below the age of three, the child's first language was not yet established but that after the age of three the child has had a considerable head start in acquiring one language and is establishing first language patterns. It can no longer be considered that the child is acquiring both languages simultaneously.

When a language is acquired after the first language is established, McLaughlin talks of successive acquisition. In this case, the first and second languages can be clearly differentiated and the added language is learned as a second language. Thus, a Tagalog speaking child who moves to Australia from the Philippines at the age of four and a half will already have acquired a large amount of Tagalog as a first language, when this child is exposed to English s/he will begin learning it as a second language.

Simultaneous acquisition of two languages is not necessarily superior to successive acquisition and both patterns of acquisition can lead to bilingual competence. A child's bilingual ability does not so much depend on how early a language is introduced as on

other factors such as the relative prestige of the languages, cultural factors and opportunities foruse. For example, a child who acquires two languages simultaneously may lose one of those languages when contact with that language is lost whereas a child who has acquired two language successively but has continued contact with both languages may become a balanced bilingual.

Additive and subtractive bilingualism

Lambert (1975, 1977) drew attention to the close association between bilingualism and the social psychological mechanisms involved in language behaviour. In particular, the relative social status of each of the bilingual person's languages and the person's perception of the difference in status has an important function in the development of bilingualism. Lambert distinguishes two types of bilingualism – *additive bilingualism* and *subtractive bilingualism.*

Additive bilingualism develops when both languages and the culture associated with them bring complementary positive elements to the child's overall development.

Subtractive bilingualism, however, develops when the two languages are competing rather than complementary. Such competition occurs when the minority language is being replaced by the more dominant and prestigious language of the majority group. Lambert (1977:19) states that the level of bilingualism achieved will 'reflect some stage in the subtraction of the ethnic language and the associated culture, and their replacement with another'. Subtractive bilingualism results, for example, when a child is educated in the more prestigious language without appropriate support for his/her home language in the education programme.

Elite and folk bilingualism

Skutnabb-Kangas (1981) uses a distinction between *élite bilinguals*, who acquired their second language through formal education with some opportunity to use the language naturally and *folk bilinguals* who acquired their second language through practical contact with speakers of that language.

Elite bilinguals typically become bilingual through a free choice to learn a language. Elite bilingualism has always been highly valued and considered a form of cultural enrichment and a mark of learning and intelligence. The risk associated with failing to learn the second language is small and is equal to the consequences of failing in any other area of curriculum. Students who do not excel in language studies are usually able to discontinue the area of study and concentrate their attention on other subject areas.

Folk bilingualism, however, has frequently been stigmatized and has often been associated with educational controversies related to the integration of minority children into thew majority society. It is not, however, the type of bilingualism or the way a language is acquired that are the cause of problems in education for folk bilingual children but rather a combination of social and other factors.

Folk bilinguals are typically members of linguistic minority groups and are subject to strong external pressure to learn the dominant language. As such, they are forced by circumstances to become bilingual in their own language and in the dominant language. Their home language is often unvalued in the wider community and usually has limited or no official status. Failure to acquire the dominant language adequately can have drastic repercussions for these children. A child whose second language skills are limited is usually excluded from further educational opportunities and will be unable to compete in the labour market with children who are fluent in the dominant language. Such a

child will face restrictions on his/her access to the life of the larger community.

Folk bilinguals may also suffer difficulties due to the education system's lack of support for speakers of non-dominant languages. These children frequently enter classes taught in a language they do not speak, and often find themselves in the same class as native speakers of the dominant language. Moreover, for many speakers of minority languages, general educational prospects for successful learning and for their acquisition of the dominant language are dependent to some extent on the continued development of their first language and of the conceptual basis they have already gained. If the education system does not assist children in this development, the result can be severe educational difficulties for these children

Balanced bilingualism

Balanced bilingualism has a range of meanings for different writers. For Haugen (1973) a balanced bilingual is an individual who has native-like competence in both languages. More frequently, however, the term is used to refer to an individual who has roughly equal ability in both languages. This would mean that someone whose performance was imperfect in both languages would still be a balanced bilingual if his/her skills in each language were about the same.

Most bilinguals are usually *dominant* in one language or the other, although they may not be dominant in the same language in all areas as the example of the Vietnamese speaking child given above indicates. Often, there are domains of language use in which people use only one of their two languages. For example, an Arabic-English bilingual in Australia may use only English at work or at school, but would normally use Arabic at home or with friends. As a result, this person would have a more developed vocabulary for work and school in English and a more developed vocabulary for domestic activities in Arabic. This person could be

better able to talk about work in English and better able to talk about cooking in Arabic.

Is bilingualism an advantage or a disadvantage?

The question of the advantage or disadvantage of bilingualism, particularly for children, has been subject to much controversy.

Much early writing on bilingualism has concentrated on what were believed to be the detrimental effects of bilingualism. For example, Jespersen (1922) maintained that the bilingual child hardly learns either language as well as such a child would have learned a single language. Moreover, he claims that the intellectual effort needed to master two languages diminishes the child's ability to learn other things.

These early studies were largely based on the intuitions of the writers concerned, but experimental studies were also produced which seemed to bear out such opinions. Saer (1923) surveyed 1,400 Welsh school children in five rural and two urban schools and concluded that bilingualism led to lower intelligence. However, Saer failed to consider other factors which may have contributed to his results, such as possible differences in social class between bilingual and monolingual students. In fact, Saer found that lower scores in intelligence tests applied only for children in rural schools and that bilingual students in urban schools scored slightly better on his tests than monolinguals.

It appears that in Saer's study, urban bilinguals had more contact with the second language, English, both in school and outside school than did their rural counterparts. The urban students would, therefore, be more balanced bilinguals than the rural students and could perform at a level similar to monolingual students on verbal intelligence tests.

In 1962 Peal and Lambert published the results of a study in which they aimed to overcome the flaws in research design which characterized earlier studies. Peal and Lambert surveyed 10 year old children in urban public schoos in Montreal, Canada. These

children were assessed on a range of cognitive, affective, and language use variables and profiles were developed which equated groups for factors such socio-economic group, parental education. Controlled groups of monolinguals and balanced bilinguals were then compared and the bilinguals were found to be significantly ahead of their monolingual counterparts in verbal and non-verbal reasoning, divergent thinking and subject matter attainment. Bilingual ten year olds also tended to be further advanced in the school system than monolingual ten year olds.

These findings have since been confirmed by a number of studies which have shown bilinguals to be more creative, cognitively more flexible and to perform better on tests of verbal and nonverbal intelligence.

In an important follow up study to Peal and Lambert (1962), Lambert and Tucker (1972) evaluated monolingual English speaking children enrolled in French language immersion classes in Canada and compared their findings with matched control groups of monolingual English speaking children instructed in English and monolingual French speaking children instructed in French. The children in the three groups were matched in kindergarten for social class variables and non-verbal intelligence and were evaluated for five consecutive years. At the end of this period, testing the three groups revealed the following:

1. Children in the immersion class did not suffer any impairment in their English language ability as a result of instruction in a second language and performed at the same level as monolingual English speaking children educated in English.
2. The immersion group matched the French speaking group in their performance in areas such as vocabulary, listening comprehension and knowledge of French concepts. They were, however, poorer at oral expression, in rythm, intonation and overall expression when retelling short stories in French, but these factors improved when they

were telling an original story in French. Overall, the immersion children had quite similar abilities to those of the French control group.

3. The performance of the immersion class in non-language subjects such as mathematics which were taught in French was at the same level as the French speaking group.

The findings of studies such as Lambert and Peal (1962) and Lambert and Tucker (1972) have prompted much research focussed on whether bilingual children have a greater ability to manipulate language or have a greater awareness of language than monolingual children. Ianco-Worrall (1972) conducted two experiments comparing South African bilingual English - Afrikaaner children with monolingual English or Afrikaaner speakers. In one of these experiments children were given a 'standard' word word followed by two 'choice' words. One of the choice words was phonetically related to the 'standard' word the other was semantically related. Bilingual children chose the semantic equivalent more frequently than monolingual children. In the other experiment a word substitution task was used to determine the extent to which children would accept the interchange of names for objects. These experiments revealed that bilingual children were aware of the abitrary nature of names at an earlier age than monolingual children and that bilingual children were more attentive to the semantic relationship between words than were monolingual children who focussed more on phonemic relationships.

Cummins and Mulcahy (1978) gave a test similar to Ianco-Worrall's to students in a bilingual Ukranian-English programme. They chose three groups: bilingual students who spoke Ukranian at home and were judged to be fluent in both languages, students who spoke little Ukranian at home and who were judged to be learners of that language and monolingual English speakers. The results of this test did not confirm Ianco-Worrall's finding that bilingual children were more semantically oriented than

monolingual children. In fact, they found that, at Grade 1 level, the children learning Ukranian as a second language were considerably more phonemically oriented than monolinguals. This difference was found to disappear at the Grade 3 level.

It is necessary, therefore, to account for the differences in findings between Ianco-Worrall (1972) and Cummins and Mulcahy (1978). It appears that at the initial stages of exposure to a second language phonemic features of words are more salient than semantic features, but as competence increases in the second language, phonetic discrimination becomes less of a problem and syntactic and semantic analysis is more necessary for understanding linguistic input. Ianco-Worrall's sample had been exposed to both English and Afrikaans in the home from an early age and appear to have advanced beyond the stage where phonetic discrimination was necessary and were concentrating more on semantic features. Cummins and Mulcahy's students, and in particular the second language learners, had not yet reached the same stage in their language development and were more dependant on phonetic information.

Research into bilingualism has also looked for evidence that bilingual children also show cognitive advantages over monolingual children in areas other than metalinguistic awareness. Landry (1974) reported cognitive enrichment as the outcome of elementary school language programmes in the United States. In this study, children were tested in first, fourth and sixth grades using the Torrance Test of Creative Thinking and were tested for figural and verbal flexibility, fluency and originality. Sixth grade bilingual children were found to perform significantly better on all tests than monolionguals, but the effect was less for fourth grade children and non-existant for first grade children.

Cummins and Gulutsan (1974) tested bilingual and monolingual children on aspects of memory, reasoning and

divergent thinking. They found that bilinguals demonstrated greater verbal ability, performed better on measures of concept formation and scored higher on tests of verbal originality than did monolinguals. Monolinguals performed better than bilinguals when recalling abstract words, but otherwise there was no difference in ability to perform memory tasks.

In another study, Kessler and Quinn (1987) compared bilingual and monolingual eleven year-olds who were involved in an inquiry-based science program during which they learned to formulate scientific hypotheses in a problem-solving setting. Bilinguals were found to perform better than monolinguals in both the quality of hypotheses. This was taken as an indication of enhanced cognitive creativity due to the bilingual language proficiency. Kessler & Quinn (1987) found that bilingual children demonstrated a much higher level of convergent thinking by making greater use of metaphors. Whereas divergent thinking entails generating a large number of possible solutions to a problem, convergent thinking involves focussing in on disparate objects and ideas, relating them to each other.

Research into bilingualism has also demonstrated social benefits which are connected to bilingualism. Lambert and Tucker (1972) indicate that children who learn a second language at school experience positive social development. These children tend to adopt a dual reference group maintaining anchors to the primary reference group of their original language and culture and at the same time developing anchors in the secondary reference group of the new language and culture. Children who learn a second language can, therefore, add to their existing social repertoire without compromising their existing social integration. Genesee (1987) has shown that children who acquire a second language tend to be more open-minded and more tolerant than their monolingual counterparts. Genesee (1987) also found that these children tend to have a better sense of their interlocutors'

communicative needs than do monolinguals.

It would be simplistic, however, to say that all bilingualism leads to cognitive and social advantages. Cognitive and social advantage from bilingualism is linked in particular to additive bilingualism. Under favourable social conditions where both languages are valued and reinforced, bilingualism may have positive effects on the cognitive process and on social attitudes. Under adverse social conditions in which the child's home language is under valued and is not reinforced through the education system, bilingualism may impede cognitive and social development.

Bilingual education

In the literature on *bilingual education* the term is used to describe a variety of education programmes involving two or more languages to varying degrees. In Australia's National Policy on Languages (lo Bianco 1987:155) bilingual education was defined as a programme in which 'two languages are used as media of instruction. The content of instruction includes some of the curriculum in both languages over time'. This definition insists on the use of two languages as media of instruction. It does not include curricula, such as those found in many Australian schools, in which a second language is taught as a subject, but is not used elsewhere in the curriculum. Second language instruction, however, is frequently a part of bilingual programmes.

Under this definition, bilingual programmes may be one of four types (see Hamers and Blanc 1989):

1. *transitional bilingualism* in which first language is used only to facilitate the transition to the second (official) language;
2. *mono-literate bilingualism* where the school uses two

languages for most of its activities but uses only one language (the second language) to introduce literacy skills;

3. *partial biliterate bilingualism* in which both languages are used for all four language skills, but in which academic subjects are divided in such a way that the first language is used for 'cultural subjects' such as arts, folklore, history and the second language is used for 'technical subjects' such as science and economics.
4. *total bi-literate bilingualism* in which all language skills are developed in both languages in all domains.

Bilingual education aims to foster the child's abilities in both languages. Recent research in the field of second language acquisition have shown that the first and second language are complementary rather than mutually exclusive. Research has shown that time spent on the first language does not detract from the development of the second language but rather that greater first language proficiency results in more efficient second language development. For example, in a study conducted over three years, Hakuta (1987) found a pattern of increasing correlation between Spanish and English vocabulary scores in several groups of Puerto Rican children in bilingual programmes. Cross-sectional studies also report high levels of correlation between children's abilities in both their languages (Cummins 1984, Snow 1987). The fact that older children are more efficient learners of language than younger children has been suggested as further evidence that strong first language skills result in better second language learning (Hakuta 1990b).

Cross-language transfer of skills

A fundamental assumption which underlies bilingual education is that skills and knowledge acquired in one language are easily transferred to another. Thus, a child who learns about a scientific

concept in Russian would be able to transfer this knowledge to English, or any other language, without having to relearn the concept, as long as he/she has access to the available vocabulary. Lambert and Tucker (1972) in their review of Canadian French immersion programmes observed that the high order skills such as reading and calculating which were developed exclusively through French seemed to be simultaneously developed in English. They also observed that this transfer of skills occurred very rapidly. However, transfer of lower level literacy skills may be more delayed when the transfer is between languages which have different scripts.

The notion of the transfer of skills is also supported by research in cognitive science. Goldman, Reyes and Varnhagen (1984) showed that bilingual children employ similar comprehension strategies when listening to the same stories in two languages. This study indirectly showed that higher order cognitive processes were independent of a specific language. Malakoff (1988) demonstrated that French-English bilinguals performed similarly on analogical reasoning tasks in each of their languages. In addition, much research into adult bilinguals' memory for lists of words has shown that in general content transcends language (Arkwright and Viau 1974, Gekoski 1980). In effect, when people learn a concept or skill, they form an understanding of the concept or skill that is independent of the specific language in which the concept is presented, even though the act of learning can draw on that language to regulate thinking.

Given that skills do transfer across languages it is possible that transfer could occur either on a specific skill-by-skill or concept-by-concept basis or it could involve the transfer of a entire structure of skills or concepts in a domain. Hakuta (1990a) taught first grade students in a bilingual programme concepts in the area of spatial and temporal relation in Spanish and assessed the extent to which the transfer of these concepts to English was

holistic or componential and concluded that the transfer of skills was holistic and depended on the child's general proficiency in his/her first language rather than on the specific set of skills which were taught.

From this brief overview, it can be seen that the large amount of research that has been done in recent years on bilingualism and bilingual education has led to a deeper understanding of bilingualism. It is obvious that bilingualism is appreciated as being a far more complex phenomenon which has social, intellectual and other dimensions. Bilingualism has come to be seen as a resource to be developed through education rather than as a problem to be overcome.

About this book

This book contains three papers on the processes and advantages of bilinguals which were collected as part of the Australian Second Language Learning Programme's Bilingualism Project in whichsome of Australia's experts in the field of bilingualism were requested to review the available research. Apart from these papers, the project has also produced two brochures which give brief overviews of the project. These brochures are:

Bilingualism: Some sound advise for parents which is intended for parents raising their children bilingually, and

Bilingualism: Who? What? Why? which is directed at teachers and educational decision-makers exploring and implementing bilingual programmes.

The chapter by Susanne Döpke, Tim Macnamara and Terry Quinn considers psycholinguistic aspects of bilingualism from (1) the perspective of individual psychology; in particular, it discusses aspects of the linguistic, cognitive, emotional and educational development of the bilingual individual; and (2) from the perspective of social psychology.

The authors demonstrate that, with respect to the linguistic development of bilingual children, the limited evidence so far does not support the popular view that bilingual children are delayed or disturbed in their linguistic development, but rather suggests that bilingualism *per se* is not causing any developmental delays which may exist.

They stress that there is no need for concern about language mixing. In part, language mixing is a function of normal language learning behaviour, also observed in monolingual children; in part it is due to mixed input. The former will sort itself out with time, the latter needs to be attended to by the bilingual speakers in the environment. If code switching is the norm in a particular bilingual community, then this needs to be regarded as a sociolect particular to and important for this community. Mixed output in the minority language may also be due to a developmental lag between minority and majority language, with the child getting used to substituting missing items in the minority language with equivalents from the majority language. Once this habit has settled in, it may inhibit the further development in the minority language.

It appears that bilingual children generally pass through similar sequences in the development of both their languages as do monolingual children. To what extent the separation of the two languages is due to psycholinguistic or sociolinguistic factors is not quite clear yet. The fact that language separation can be externally motivated, however, points towards the Independent Development Hypothesis.

George Saunders' paper examines bilingualism in relation to its social context and looks at both the linguistic and social factors which influence the attainment and maintenance of bilingualism.

The paper begins by looking at the languages other than English which are spoken in Australia and the ways in which the numbers of speakers of various language are either increasing or decreasing. Some communities are maintaining their languages well, other communities, however, are facing rapid shift to English.

There are a number of social factors which influence language maintenance and language shift. These social factors include the frequency of intermarriage between members of different linguistic communities, lack of information or misinformation about the influence speaking another language may have on their children's acquisition of English or their cognitive development, and people's awareness of the normal course of bilingual development. In addition, factors such as the nature of family ties and the cohesiveness of the linguistic community, the availability of a language at school, the international status of the minority language, the ability to read and write both the minority language and the dominant language and the availability of community language media all have a role to play in the maintenance or loss of a minority language.

Contact between minority languages and English in Australia leads to change in the form of the minority language spoken in Australian ethnic communities and this paper reviews some of the findings on language change. This paper stresses that language change is both inevitable and natural. The notion of language *transference*, or the influence one language has on another, (Clyne 1967) is a particularly important aspect of language change in Australia. Lexical, semantic, grammatical, phonological, prosodic, graphemic and pragmatic transference from English is present to a greater or lesser extent in the speech and writing of almost all speakers of languages other than English in Australia.

It is also natural for bilinguals to *code switch* or switch from one language to another for part of a sentence or conversation. Code switching is not a sign of linguistic incompetence and a wide body of research has shown that, in fact, the opposite is usually the case. Moreover, code switching normally occurs only in conversation with bilingual interlocutors and rarely impedes communication.

Marta Rado's paper focuses on bilingual education as an effective way of developing bilingualism. Much of the discussion,

therefore, is relevant to language teaching as such, whether it be English as a Second Language or languages other than English as first or second languages.

The paper discusses various bilingual education models implemented overseas, particularly in Canada, the United Kingdom and the United States and looks at the models used in the bilingual education scene in Australia.

There is currently much planning across the states in the language teaching field. There is an obvious need for planning to ensure the stability and continuation to higher levels of language learning/bilingual education programs and to encourage the integration of language programmes into school curricula. This will require a co-ordinated development of bilingual teaching methodology and the establishment support services on national and state levels for all language learning/bilingual education programme providers.

Some bilingual education programmes are also operative, but these are mostly in the primary as opposed to the postprimary sector. The lack of bilingual programmes in the post-primary sector is a matter of concern. If bilingual education is to be of lasting value, it must be supported throughout the whole language development period which reaches into post-adolescence.

An important contribution of this chapter is the presentation of rationales, guidelines, objectives and recommendations to show how educational authorities, tertiary institutions and members of the school community can enhance the effectiveness of language teaching and bilingual education throughout the whole period of schooling.

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