Bilingualism: A Cognitive and Psycholinguistic Perspective
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Module - 01
Part - 03
Lecture - 03
Who is a Bilingual?

Welcome back, we are in module one which is an introductory part of the lecture of this course on Bilingualism. So, in module one part one and module one part two, we have set the background of the course; background as in, in module one, we have seen how bilingual societies are created, typically arising out of language contact scenario.

And we also saw how different kinds of language contact can give rise to different types of outcome, bilingualism is one of that. And even within that, bilingualism is part of a continuum. So, there are many other possibilities that might happen after the society has become bilingual, ok?

And then second module also we carried on the narrative and as to how what are the hallmarks of a bilingual society, what are certain identifiers and how they work out in different combinations with different societies, with respect to language policies and so on.

So, today we will move on to the individual; so, from the society to the individual bilingual person, that is what is the focus of this part of the first module. So, who is a bilingual, that is what we will see. Is it enough to say that a person speaks two languages, so, hence, he is a he is a bilingual? Just as we saw that bilingual society is not a homogenous thing, societies can be bilingual given different kinds of background. So, either it is a bilingualism is fostered due to trade situation, bilingualism can also be a result of immigration, bilingualism can also be a result of colonialism and so on.

Now, each of these historical events will have slight different shade of bilingualism in the society. So, there are various different there are nuances even within social bilingual. So, similarly even a bilingual person just because he is by his speaks two language does not every bilingual is the same person; so, that is what we will see. So, we will basically try to parse the different aspects of a bilingual individual.

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So, first the basics, who is a bilingual? A very basic question if you ask, the answer will be a person who speaks, and understands of course, two languages. Now, this is another term for the same is polyglot, which was used which is still used in non-technical domains; polyglot is somebody who knows more than one language.

So, polyglots were highly respected at one point of time, remember we talked about some people might become bilingual due to their personal interests. Some scholars have been bilingual quite often in the historical, in history; so, polyglots.

Some people, sometimes may be specially talented, you must have seen all of you must be aware of somebody who picks up languages very easily. So, X speaks two or three languages, you know he just picked it up, he wherever he goes, he learns the local language and thereby he becomes a polyglot.

That is a kind of an exception people like that are an exception. More often than not, if somebody is a bilingual, chances are very high that he or she belongs to a bilingual society. So, social bilingualism entails individual bilingualism, the opposite may not be true, this is something we have seen before as well.

So, another important thing for a bilingual society or a person to be bilingual is again, more often than not, there are also of course, always exceptions. But there are the bilingual person belongs to the minority community; minority as in, in the social hierarchy, the bilingual in all probability will belong to the weaker section. So, weaker does not necessarily mean weaker in terms of numbers, that is also possible.

So, when we say a person is bilingual, chances are that he belongs to either one of these, one, he is part of a community which is numerically smaller and thereby it is dominated by a numerically stronger community, that is one. Secondly, the second language is the language of opportunity, that might be the language of education, that might be the language of jobs, that may be the language for any other opportunity for social mobility. So, these are possibilities, various possibilities; so, typically this is often the case.

Remember the members of the stronger community need not learn the weaker languages. So, Hindi-English bilingual is very common, but English-Hindi bilingual will be a case

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where somebody has taken an active interest in Hindi language, not because the social dynamics demanded, that is the point ok. So, somebody is a bilingual almost all the cases it will be he belongs to the weaker section, socially, politically, economically, numerically, maybe any or all of them together, that is often the case.

Sometimes the weaker language may not, whatever the L1 is, that is the first language is, may not be weaker in the sense that they lack political power or they lack financial power or they do not have the numbers. It is simply because in a particular context this is still the language is less powerful in terms of opportunity.

So, let us say Hindi-English bilinguals, Hindi language has a very large number of speakers, it is also the language of culture, it is also the language of music and so many other things; so, it is not really weak in that sense. However, compared to English, it often appears weaker.

So, in that case it will be considered Hindi will be considered with respect to English. But Hindi will not be weaker in terms of let us say Bhojpuri, when you compare Hindi and Bhojpuri, Bhojpuri will be considered a weaker language. So, that is how basically; so, ultimately it comes down to the context, ok?

So, these are some more examples of the same dynamics. So, Dimasa speaker in Assamese, Dimasa are a smaller group compared to the dominant Assamese groups. So, Dimasa speakers for all Dimasa speakers, Assamese language is mandatory. They need to learn Assamese, because Assamese is the language of education, job, this is the state official language. So, in any state the state official language is the most dominant language, all other languages will be comparatively weaker.

So, that is what is happening even in Assam and for that matter any other state, right? So, for all other purposes if you can club them together as language of social mobility, all Dimasa speakers will need to learn Assamese. People in the rural Dimasa areas if they do not speak, Assamese the opportunities will not come to them that is the situation. So, Assamese Dimasa situation if you take, Assamese is dominant, Dimasa is weaker.

Now, you take the same Assamese language and compare with English language and then the dynamics changes change again. So, if you are looking for opportunities, bigger opportunities for yourself in terms of financial security or whatever it may be, all kinds of

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upward social mobility outside of the state of Assam or even within the state of Assam, English is the language, English is the source through which you have to go there. So, just change the context and change the scenario and you get a different dynamic pattern there. So, basically ultimately it is about context, context of language use.

Now, this is how we would normal people, lay people will talk about bilingualism, that is understandable. But when it when it comes to experts, the idea is typically explained in terms of competence. Competence as in, how well you know a particular language. Now, as in all other fields, even here there has been lot of disagreements among scholars, as to what constitutes competence.

Now, language has four different aspects; speaking, hearing, reading and writing. Now, reading writing are, in terms of history, in chronologically speaking, they have come into existence much later than speaking and hearing. However, in the literature, you will find if you go back a little bit, you will see many scholars arguing that to be considered a fully functional bilingual, the person should have competence in all these four aspects of language, knowledge of language; so, speaking, understanding, reading and writing. Over a period of time of course, things have changed a bit; and now, we more or less there is an agreement that the two domains of speaking and hearing are good enough, er reading and writing would be an added qualification.

So, that brings us to that bilinguals should have 'native like competence' in both languages; this is something that has been believed for a very long time. For a somebody to be considered a bilingual, his second language competence should be like L1 speaker of the same language. So, what does that mean? That means for me to consider myself and Assamese Assamese-English bilingual, my English should be as good as that of a native speaker of English language, that is how the stand was.

There has also been another stand here which says that someone who has a minimal competence of a second language. Minimal competence as in, you may not be able to read the high-brow literature in the second language or you may not be able to deliver an academic lecture in the second language. However, if you can go around in a new city using your second language knowledge, that is also enough.

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So, you may not be able to carry out a lengthy conversation with a local person in the language, but if you can manage your one full day going about a in a new city, using your second language that is also fine; that is another. And of course, competence in all the four language dimensions, which I just mentioned.

So, these are some areas that different scholars have put more emphasis on, across time. Now, when we say knowledge of language in terms of the systems within a language, there are few things that are part and parcel of the structure of the language, which is phonology, morphology and syntax. So, phonology refers to the sound system of a language; morphology, the word processing, word generation process and syntax is the sentence structure.

Now, for any person to know a language, you must know at least all of these three. So, the sound system you must master, you also should know how words are formed and how they you know how to the permutations, combinations possible, how to create sentences; like declarative, from declarative to interrogative and so on. So, that is at the core of a language, your knowledge of language.

Now, any native speaker of any language has very high competence on all these three systems of his or her L1, first language. So, a native speaker of Hindi will know very well; in fact, knowledge here does not really mean externally created knowledge system this is something you grow up with.

So, you know this how the sound structure of your language is, you know what the how the words are formed and how even if you are not conscious about it, you are not really all the time aware ok, I am creating the word like this. So, sleep and then sleeping the that becomes a continuous tense, not like that, but native speakers simply know because they have acquired that language from birth; so, that is how it is.

So, native speakers have very high and almost all, more often than not, equal competence in all these three domains. How are they different from the second language speaker of the same language? Second language speakers, that is L2 speakers may not have equal level of competence in all these three domains.

So, a person might have better grip on the morphology of his second language, but not on the syntax of the second language, that that is quite possible and that happens quite often.

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However, he or she may have a manageable level of competence in order to be able to speak simple sentences.

One area which typically stands out when on second language speaker is concerned, is the pronunciation, which is where phonological aspect comes in. So, the sound structure, which is something you will automatically know, immediately know if a person is a native speaker of Assamese or somebody who is speaking Assamese as a second language. Because, the sound structure, you do not 'sound like' a native speaker. Native speakers will catch you immediately because the subtle very subtle nuances often is very difficult to master.

Another case where the differences are quite clear is the vocabulary size. So, L2 speakers may not have the equal amount of vocabulary in L2 as the L1 speaker of the same language, which is typically the case. So, my vocabulary in English language will not be as rich as that of a native speaker of English language; so, that is what we mean by.

So, there are these are the two most important areas where the differences are very clearly visible. One is the sound system, other is the that is the accent, what is popularly called 'accent', and then there is this vocabulary size, these are the two important things.

Now, there are interesting stories about this, that why do we not acquire the why do we not 'sound like' native speakers or is it totally impossible? It seems that it is not really impossible to 'sound like' native speakers. You know to master the phonological aspects of the new language; it is not entirely impossible.

The this has been found out with people who migrate into a new community and they have spent enough number of years in the host culture, they may ultimately, finally, end up speaking like native speakers, that is also possible. However, some authors have pointed out some very interesting angle to it, which is, sometimes speakers do not, knowingly, they do not use the native speakers accent.

They maintain their own L1 accent, because it sometimes may give you some added benefit, right? So, one is the French accent, which we mentioned in the previous part, that French accented English in America is considered somewhat sophisticated and you know exotic and so on, which is not the case with Asian accent for example.

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Similarly, there is a very interesting joke about Henry Kissinger, who all of you might be already familiar with; he was a very very powerful advisor to the American presidents and so on. Heavy very well learned man and very sophisticated man of letters and so on. Now, he migrated to, his family migrated to the US, when he was about 12/13 years of age.

So, he had enough number of years in the US to have mastered and in fact, he spoke perfectly fine American English in many cases. But in some cases, he had, he used his heavily heavy German accented English language and he himself says that 'maybe because I am I was too conscious in the initial year; so, my accent did not go'.

But some others jokingly say that Henry Kissinger wanted to sound like a German, because it sounds like a very profound European professor. So, language being a human and social thing, it has its nuances and it has it's humours as well.

So, anyways these are the some subtle aspects of what we call competence in terms of language. Now, when we talk about competence, there are primarily two aspects one of which we have already seen the grammatical aspect, meaning you need to know the morphology, need to know the syntax, you need to know the sound system; that is one aspect of competence.

Another important aspect of competence is what we call communicative competence. Communicative competence is equally important as far as language is concerned, because that is what helps you function in the L2 society. Because, languages have their norms, knowing the grammar is not enough, you should know what to speak, when and how and to whom; that is very crucial.

So, this basically takes you to the speaker's social meaning. I might utter a sentence which may have an implication which is also something that you need to understand. So, if I sentence like 'I guess the cook forgot to add salt to my soup' does not necessarily mean that you have to agree: yes or no.

Probably my intention is to ask you politely to pass the salt to me; so, that is the this kind of simple things, this knowledge is part of the communicative competence. A good example in Hindi would be the use of pronouns; so, what kind of pronouns to be used with whom, Hindi language has very strict rules, most Indian languages have very strict rules. In parts of Uttar Pradesh for example, the 'aap' pronoun is used for children which is not

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always the case in other parts of the country. Now, just knowing Hindi through grammar or having grammatical competence in Hindi, this will not be told to you, this is very difficult to learn. So, this is something you will learn through your interaction in the society and thereby developing your communicative competence, right?

Now, there are many other ways of looking at bilinguals, there are many other levels of differences within the bilingual society, that has been put forward. One of them is of course, the individual versus the social. So, individual, if we go by definition what is individual bilingualism? It is a psychological state of an individual who has access to two different codes, to serve communicative purposes.

Languages are ultimately a codified system of communication; so, you code your concepts into words and that is how it works; so, this is a psychological state of being. On the other hand, societal bilingualism or social bilingualism, both the terms are used, two languages are used in a community side by side ok; so, society by and large could be bilingual. So, for many purposes in the society, formal, informal many other purposes both languages can be used. So, languages live side by side, that is societal bilingualism, that is one kind of division that has been historically given.

Another way of differentiating among bilinguals is the idea as to whether a bilingual is a with this is called fractional versus the holistic view. The fractional view is also called monolingual view of bilingualism, Holistic is called the bilingual view of bilingualism.

So, basic idea is, the fractional view this basically takes the position that a bilingual is equivalent to two monolinguals put together. So, if I say I am an Assamese-Hindi bilingual; so, I am Assamese person and an Hindi person put together, that is the idea of fractional bilingualism ok. So, this basically entails equal parallel linguistic competence; so, that leading to parallel linguistic processing.

So, when I am processing, as in when I am either speaking or comprehending one language, the other language is not affected. So, there is no contribution or there is no give and take between the two languages, that is what is basically the entailment of this. So, this basically means that the bilingual has two separate and isolable components, isolable types of competency in terms of his or her two languages, that is what this theory entails.

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The reason why this view was very dominant for quite a long time, is that language studies started with monolinguals. Studies on language, studies on language structure usage or whatever, different kinds of studies involving language has always taken the monolingual as the 'normal' subject, as the normal population to study. And from there bilingual studies and bilingualism all of that emerged.

So, as a result monolingualism and the monolingual subject dominated and this is what gave rise to; so, from a monolingual you go to go and become a bilingual. So, basically you are creating some sort of a split personality kind of thing in terms of language. So, there are different languages and you have all fractions, you are broken into two, three pieces and each of them remains separate, right?

So, as a result monolingual speech and language has been used as a yardstick. So, when you take monolinguals as the starting point, when you take monolinguals as the normal population and bilinguals as some kind of a of an exception, then your yardsticks of judgment also will be from monolingual perspective.

So, if monolingual have a vocabulary size of this much, then how does a bilingual fare as compared to it? If a monolingual does this kind of judgment on morphological processes, how will the bilingual? So, basically the point of departure for fractional view of bilingualism has always been a monolingual person, ok?

So, another reason that some people have put forward of fractional view of bilingualism remaining dominant for some time, is that writing systems are always monolingual. We might be bilingual in our speech right; but, writing systems typically are monolinguals, you cannot, you do not, nobody really mixes two different scripts and writes. Its very unusual, it is quite unusual; so, writing systems are typically monolingual.

Hence all of these together given the historical perspective as well as these factors are responsible for the fractional view of bilingualism. Now, this has serious consequences, in terms of research, in terms of how we look at bilinguals and so on. So, bilinguals first and foremost bilinguals have been described in terms of fluency and balance in their two languages. Just as we say, we said in the beginning that a bilingual is like a native speaker of the language.

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So, you are as fluent as the monolingual in your L2, a monolingual in L2 would be bilingual must be fluent in that accordingly in that language similarly. Language skills of a bilingual is also apprised in terms of monolingual standards. So, in terms of vocabulary, in terms of knowledge of phonology, morphology, syntax, in terms of communicative competence, all of for all of these, the gold standard is the monolingual of that language.

And now keeping that as a yardstick, you compare the bilingual's performance on all of these; so, that is how it has been. So, contact between bilinguals' two languages is seen as accidental; as I said, all of these are considered accidental or exceptional. They are not the norm, they are just the exceptions.

So, again the research also on bilingualism is conducted in terms of the bilingual's individual languages. How a bilingual does in his L1 versus his L2, what are the, you know, various kinds of cues are used. So, how is the response in terms of cue to L1 versus the same cue and L2 like this; it is always dividing the languages as if treating the bilingual as a monolingual in different states of mental states.

This also has another, we would say unexpected result, from the bilinguals themselves. It has been found out that bilinguals themselves rarely view themselves as equally competent in both languages. So, bilinguals themselves think that, ok my L2 is not as good as my L1, again going back to the monolingual model of understanding bilingualism. So, that is the fractional view, fractional view as in, a bilingual is a sum of two monolinguals.

Now, the holistic view is the opposite view; this view understands that bilinguals integrate the knowledge of their L1 and L2. Basically, both the languages or if he is a multilingual, he combines and integrates the system and structure of all the languages and creates sort of a 'meta system' ok. There is an integrated system that a bilingual is, carries in his head; so, to say, right?

So, and that 'meta system' is greater than each of the languages, right. It is not a sum total of all the languages, but it is an 'overarching meta system' that is greater than the sum total of each of the languages. This is something, Grosjean gives an example in 2008, his 2008 book, where he says that the bilingual can be compared with some with a 'high hurdler'.

High hurdler is an athletic track and field type, it is an event, where you combine both sprinting and high jumping. So, a high hurdler is a different category of athlete altogether,

he cannot be compared either with a sprinter or with a high jumper. That comparison is completely out of the way, because this is not supposed to be, high hurdler is a category in itself. Similarly, one must look at bilingual as not in comparison with a monolingual in L1 versus a monolingual in L2.

Rather, we should treat him like an like a separate entity with a very different kind of mental makeup and mental structure, with respect to the languages, right? So, just as no expert in track and field will ever compare the performance of high hurdler with a high jumper or a sprinter, we should also not do the same with respect to bilinguals, this was one. So, there are many, as I said, there are many levels of comparison, there are many levels of understanding the nuances within the bilingual individual.

That brings us to another type of organization with respect to bilinguals; this has been around for quite some time. So, organization of the two languages in the bilingual mind takes us to three different kinds of bilinguals; one is called the compound, another is subordinate, another is co-ordinate.

While we talk about the, this particular segment, I am trying to give you the different ways of looking at bilingual individuals by a from different theoretical perspectives. So, there is it is not like they are all separate watertight compartments, there is a lot of give and take. So, when we talk about bilingual, division of bilinguals into compound, co-ordinate and subordinate bilinguals, we this is not entirely separate from the fractional versus holistic, which we will see when we discuss the experimental work.

But these are just different ways of dividing the group into categories, from various perspective, for the purpose of research. So, because not all bilinguals are same and how do in what are the ways we can divide them, they have changed. Across time, across depending on the point of departure, if you are looking at it psychologically, if you are looking at it linguistically, if you are looking at it in any other way, there are different kinds of names and standpoints given.

But in ultimately there are lots of give and take and there are lots of interaction between them. So, compound bilingual is somebody who has one semantic system for two language codes. So, your conceptual storage is one, ah, but your words are different; so, that is there is a conceptual storage at a super ordinate level and under at a subordinate level, you have

the language nodes, language codes, but the concepts remain the same. This is some somewhat similar to what the holistic view of bilingualism also says.

So, this is what I mean by different ways of dividing the bilingual individual into categories have a lot of interaction among themselves. So, compound view of bilingual says that that is a compound mental storage, compound semantic storage that both the languages of the bilingual can access. So, the language codes are different, but the system might be same, that is one, right?

The coordinate bilingual on the other hand has two semantic system for two language codes and this refers to the one who learns the languages in different contexts. If you learn both the languages in the same context, in keeping everything same, it is easier for you to create one semantic storage. But if you have learned two languages in two different contexts, let us say this happens in case of foreign language teaching for example.

So, you have learned your mother tongue or the first language at home, in the playground, with your friends, peer group, you know all the all of that, but you learn your foreign language, let us say French, in a classroom in a very different setup. So, it is not always possible that you will have an overlap between the concepts that is represented by your L L2 in this case, this is what the idea is. So, if you learn your two languages in two different contexts, chances are that you will have, you will end up having two different semantic storage.

And then subordinate bilingual is one whose weaker language is interpreted through the stronger language. So, you have your L2 is weaker and your L1 is stronger; so, you need to go via your L1 to interpret any given linguistic signal, that is another.

Yet another way of dividing bilinguals into groups is taking the sequence of learning into consideration. Sequence of learning as in, if you learn L2 after L1, that is when it is called the second language, because this is the language that you will learn **after** the first language, that is why it is second language; so, this is called successive bilingualism.

Most of us are successive bilinguals, because we learnt our L2 at home in our early childhood, ah L1 in at home in our early childhood, L2 we learnt a little later, when we went to school or sometimes when you have you know gone out of your home and the people are in the society people speak another language and you will learn your L2. But

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sometimes children can learn both languages simultaneously; simultaneous learning of two languages at the same time, it can happen in case of infant learners.

So, L2 successive learning typically happens at a later age, when you are no more an infant, you have grown up a little bit, at least you are even children can learn to second language a little later; so, that does not make them infant learners. So, that is the overlap; so, successive learners are more often than not adult learners. Simultaneous learners are infant learners, what do you mean by infant learners who are simultaneous?

For example, children growing up in a bilingual household, the both parents speak two different languages or sometimes the parents speak one language, but the care-givers speaks another language. So, from very early childhood, the infant is exposed to more than one language and he learns both of them simultaneously, that is the case when simultaneous bilingualism happens.

Yet another way of dividing bilinguals is that of calling them either balanced bilinguals or dominant. So, if your L1 and L2 proficiency are similar, then you are a balanced bilingual; so, your L2 proficiency is as good as your L1 proficiency, theoretically, it is possible to be a balanced bilingual.

On the other hand, a dominant bilingual is somebody for whom one language is dominant, compared to the other. All of these are interconnected ideas. So, more often than not, a simultaneous bilingual will be a balanced bilingual, a successive bilingual will be a will have one language dominant than the other.

So, after all of these, now let us move on to some recently developed ideas with respect to bilinguals.

This is the idea about bilingual bilingual's language mode. It was proposed by Francois Grosjean and he says that language mode is, a bilingual can have different language modes. So, the idea actually is not entirely his in his own new idea, entirely novel idea, the idea has been around in different names and in slightly different format. So, earlier there were ideas like 'language set' and 'language context' and so on, but he just he introduced a new idea with some modifications to this.

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So, what is language mode? Language mode basically refers to the activation, the state of activation of the languages of a bilingual. So, if a as a bilingual, how what is the state of activation of my of all the languages that I speak right now? So, right now I am speaking in only English language; so, I am in a monolingual mode, right? So, I am using because I am using only one language.

So, activation this activation is a continuum, as far as the scholar is concerned. This is that there this is not a you know very separate kind of compartmentalization is not possible. A bilingual may go back and forth between a monolingual mode to a bilingual mode through certain intermediate modes. So, there is a base language, base language is the language which is activated at that given point of time.

So, right now my base language is English; so, my Hindi language is not the activated one; so, this is Hindi somewhere in the background. As a result of which even though I am a bilingual, I, my base language is English and right now I am in a monolingual mode; so, this is what is this is the idea of language mode. So, what is language mode again? Language mode is the state of activation. They have you activated both the languages or you are activating only one language, that is what he basically talks about.

So, the base language chosen and the comparative activation level of the two languages, there is a lot of interaction between them, this is a dynamic thing. So, base language and the mode can change without changing the other. So, for example, right now I am speaking only in English; so, I am a Hindi-English bilingual let us say. So, I am speaking in Hindi to a Hindi monolingual and that given point of time I am in a monolingual Hindi mode.

If I change my language to English altogether right now, I am speaking in English; so, I am in a monolingual mode again. So, the base language changes from Hindi to English, but the mode remains the same right, this is possible. If the same person meets a Hindi-English bilingual and speaks in Hindi, but at the same time there is code switching between Hindi and English, then it is the other person will be considered to be in a Hindi- English bilingual mode.

So, Hindi if you are speaking only in Hindi, you are in a monolingual mode, you are speaking in only in English you are monolingual mode. But, if I am speaking to another

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fellow bilingual and I keep code mixing and code switching, then I am in a bilingual mode, this is the idea of language mode.

So, the stages of modes, the continuum starts, according to him, continuum starts at the monolingual mode where the bilingual is talking to or listening to monolingual cues. So, if I am talking to another person who knows Hindi and does not know English, I will not switch between languages. So, I will or if I am just listening to only one language cue, I will not be able to, I will not be shifting; so, that is the monolingual end of the continuum; so, as other languages are not to be activated at all.

Intermediate mode, what is intermediate mode? When the bilingual is exposed to a situation where the other person is also a bilingual. However, maybe either he is not proficient enough in the other language or he is not, for whatever reason, does not want to use the other language or mix languages. In that kind of scenario, it is called intermediate mode. Intermediate mode as in your other language, the base language is activated, the other language is in a slightly semi-activated mode. Because, it is not needed, because even if the other person is bilingual, that person does not want to mix, that is that is intermediate mode.

And bilingual, total bilingual mode will be when both are bilinguals and they are the at the atmosphere is bilingual and you are able to shift between the two languages, that is what is called a bilingual mode.

So, starting from the monolingual mode, through intermediate mode to bilingual mode this is the continuum.

So, this is how he shows it in his book, his 2008 book that is what; so, the darkened box here this shows activated, the language that is activated is the one that is base language and this language is not activated; so, this is almost white, ok and then this language is slightly darker. So, this is now in intermediate mode and then this is when you have total bilingual mode, because these two both of the languages are equally dark. So, the darkness of the boxes takes us to which is the one that is activated; so, from least activated to the most activated, while base language remains activated all the time; this is what the idea of language mode is.

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Now, what decides which mode you will be in, already you have seen that there are various conditions, various contexts that that makes a person shift from monolingual to intermediate to. So, this is how we can categorize them; one is of course, participants, participants in a conversation and their respective proficiency. So, if I am speaking to one person who knows only Hindi; obviously, there is no chance of activating the second language.

But, if I am speaking to somebody who knows less English, but does know a little bit of English. Then chances of intermediate mode is higher and then similarly if I am speaking to a proficient bilingual then bilingual mode. So, participants in a conversation scenario, with their proficiency in that language is a very important factor in deciding the language mode of a bilingual.

Similarly, the language mixing habits and attitudes, not all societies not all conversation scenarios or all cultural patterns allow mixing. So, if that is not the case, then bilingual mode will not be activated, even if people there are people who are bilingual. So, let us say it may not be very normal to code mix between Assamese and Hindi, but Assamese and English code mixing may be more welcome.

So, in a given context where it is not welcome even if I know all both the languages, it is still it will still not be activated. So, depending on the mixing habits and the attitudes in the society, remember we talked a lot about attitude in the previous part. So, attitude and habits of the society and the norms of the society, often turns out to be a deciding factor.

Similarly, usual mode of interaction, form and content of the message, let us say I did mention this before also that depending on the topic at hand. If we are talking about science and technology, chances of mixing English words are much higher as opposed to if you are talking about the weather, let us say, something like that. So, they depending on the topic of discussion then kinship relation and so on situation, all of these can change.

There have been some very interesting studies, I have just added some examples here to show how language mode can be activated, and does get activated, by modulating the background scenario. So, this is one example from by Poplak 1981, he was this study is basically recording of a 35 year old member of a particular Puerto Rican neighbourhood, situated in New York.

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So, this is in the English language setup and their community is Puerto Rican and she was recorded in four different language situation. One is the formal scenario; formal scenario is where she responded to a questionnaire, by given to her by a bilingual member of her community. So, it was like a very formal thing, in your questionnaire and then she is answering questions from there.

Then there was an informal scenario, where she had a conversation with the same person by a bilingual on topics of her own interest. So, it was not like a formatted questionnaire, she could go you know it was a free-flowing kind of a conversation, whatever interests are like that; so, this becomes as a result an informal scenario.

Then there was a vernacular scenario where she was doing errands and chatting with people in the neighbourhood. She was just going around doing things and talking to other people in her own neighbourhood.

And then last was informal non-group, in this case it was within the group, in the non-group informal scenario she was conversing with Spanish English bilingual who is not a member of her community.

Now, in this case, the language mode was not directly manipulated by it, but the social setting the kind of neighbourhood, the kind of participants in the conversation all of that changed and that, as a result, had an impact on the language mode. And this is where participant was considered to be at the bilingual end of the mode, when she was speaking in the informal and the vernacular setting, because that was a free-flowing thing.

So, she was talking to the same person from the a person from his her own community and there she was constantly code switching. The code when you code switch you are in a bilingual mode, because if you are you to be able to use words from both the languages, both languages should be active ..activated.

As a result of which, we see a lot of code switching in those cases. But in the other two cases, the formal and the informal non-group member, then there was very less code switching, showing that the mode was not bilingual this was a very old rather old study 1981.

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Another study in 1998, they explicitly examine the impact of language mode on language choice and switching, ok? So, this was done with the Turkish-German bilingual and this person was placed in three different con.. positions by manipulating the person with whom he was talking.

So, in condition one, he was speaking to a member to members of German community, German speaking family in Turkey who spoke very little Turkish. So, he had to speak mostly in German, even though they are living in Turkey, but they speak German. So, this person had to use only German with them. As a result he did not mix anything and in there was no language mixing.

In the condition two, he spoke to a Turkish-German bilingual, just like himself whom he did not know very well. This was the situation was in Germany, he was talking to somebody in Germany and the language, base language was also same in this context which is German and mixed language utterances also were not too much, not too many.

Condition three was the same person talked to a good friend who is also a bilingual in Turkey. The base language here was Turkish, but it was there was a lot of mixing, which means the condition three here is similar to the vernacular condition and the informal condition in the previous experiment. Where you are relaxed and you know that mixing is allowed, you are a good friend of the person and thereby you are in a bilingual mode.

So, even if you are talking to a bilingual that does not necessarily mean that bilingual mode will be activated. So, that is what both of these studies show; that it is not only when you talk to a monolingual, but also when you talk to a bilingual, but mixing is not expected, then you can be still in a monolingual mode; so, code switching basically is a good indicator of that.

Similarly, there was yet another study. This was a laboratory based study, where language mode of French English bilinguals were manipulated. The task was, here they used a storytelling task; so, the task was to tell a story to three different imaginary people, for two different imaginary persons. So, person A, he was referred to as a French person and he was he had just arrived in the US to do a postdoc, the person is not there ok?

So, this is an imaginary person. He is told that ok now you narrate this story to this person. And this imaginary postdoc could read and write English quite well, but had difficulty

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speaking it, his home language was French. Now, this was the whole or this entire narrative was built to tell him, that to put him in the monolingual mode.

Person B was described as a French who lived in US for 7 years and works for the French company. His children go to bilingual school, he taught French and organized French cultural events, he spoke only French at home although he was a fluent bilingual. This entire long narrative is given just to put the person in a proper set of mind.

So, basically you are explicitly putting the subject, the person who is under study in a in one of the three modes. So, in the first case it is a monolingual mode, in the second case the person knows in both the languages, he is also a bilingual, but he does not use it. So, he prefers to use French. Hence this creates an intermediate mode and then person C was described as a traditional immigrant and he lived in US for 7 years and he had French and American friends and spoke both languages. Now, this is, both languages at home means that you are, that person is constantly switching between languages. So, this also puts the subject in this case in a bilingual a mode. So, the results, as expected depending on the situation given, the code switching pattern also changed.

So, with all these studies basically show that there is this idea of language mode actually holds. A person even if he is bilingual can be in a monolingual mode given various kinds of conducive conditions, participants, their language preference, the attitude to bilingualism, attitude towards language mixing and so on. These experiments were all called production experiment, because the subject was expected to speak, to produce speech.

Now, we also have some perception studies, though the number of such studies are less. So, there was the study in 1987, one French English bilinguals they were asked to do a lexical decision task on two types of words. One group of words were pure words, that list was coming from only one language and the mixed list of course, had words from two languages.

The results showed that there was a difference of 36 milliseconds, which was considered to be significant; so, language mode does have an impact on your comprehension of words as well.

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Acquisition is another area language acquisition, as in language learning, that is another area that also has pointed towards existence of language mode. Typically, these studies deal with children who have parents who speak two different languages or they have, they prefer different language modes and so on. So, one particular study here that that recorded a Norwegian-English bilingual child named Siri and her interaction with her father and her mother is what they the they recorded.

So, the father's language preferences were a lot more open, in the sense that he did not mind language mixing at all and whenever Siri mixed between Norwegian and English, he responded similarly. So, the language of interaction between Siri and her father was almost of the time bilingual mode. However, the mother pretended as if she does not understand mixed language.

So, Siri was motivated to use only one language, pure for pure language, to talk to her mother. So, mixed she did not prefer mixing. As a result of this strategy there was the difference in result; so, Siri would mix a lot of content word while talking to her father, but not with her mother.

So, parental discourse this takes us to a very all different, entirely different plane, altogether, where we see their parental discourse patterns or strategies have also an effect of creating language mode in children. So, depending on whether you are whether it is encouraged or not, Siri showed different results with respect to her communication with both the persons, both her parents.

Similarly, from the domain of pathology, there were studies again in 1998 by Grosjean, that they manipulated language mode in a study that examines spoken language production in 8 French-German aphasic bilinguals. Aphasia is a language disorder where you have difficulty either in speaking or in understanding or both or different degrees of disability in speaking and understanding and so on; so, aphasia basically is a language disorder.

They had French in German bilingual aphasics and they had been given various tasks. So, many of these tasks, some of these are here. 'Place one of the several cards in a specified place on the board', these are basically games; so, put this card on that part of the board and so, on.

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Sometimes they had to describe a postcard in a well enough manner; so, that the other person finds the equivalent, the respective card. Then there was a taking part in a topic constrained discussion; so, given a topic you do not you cannot go outside of the topic and you have to discuss and so on. There were many such topics, they were also allowed to talk freely on a topic and so on.

Now, manipulation while all of these things were going on, how do you manipulate the language mode? It was done through the interlocutor, interlocutor as in the person with whom they were talking. The entire um task was carried out by an examiner; so, that was the interlocutor with whom they had to talk; so, that interlocutor changed. There were two interlocutors: one a French speaker who did not know German and the other was a French and German bilingual.

The result showed that 6 out of the 8 aphasics could still control their language output depending on the interlocutor. So, if they are talking to even an aphasics the why this study is interesting is that in normal circumstances, all of us modulate our language mode. We have been talking to a monolingual, we consciously go into a monolingual mode, with a bilingual we automatically go to a bilingual mode that is already seen.

But, even in case of language impairment, even in case of language disorders, we with this study finds out that depending on the interlocutors they change their language mode. So, if it is a bilingual language bilingual interlocutor they went to the bilingual mode, if it is a single with a monolingual interlocutor, they have switched to monolingual mode. Right?

So, this is a very interesting finding because of this kind of findings from both normal as well as language disorder studies.

So, language mode can be defined as the state of activation as we have seen. So, we can summarize this by saying by quoting him Grosjean and Li by language mode can be defined as 'a state of activation of the bilingual's two languages'. Right?

So, this is how they explain this. Again the darkened box is the one that is activated, the less darkened ones one is the one that is less activated. And if you and should the other

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language be brought in, if it is 'no', then this remains less activated, the l language B remains less activated which is in shown as a lighter color.

But if the question is 'yes', that the second language should also be brought in, in that case this is this gets a little darker. Meaning, the second language is getting activated ok; so, this is how the language activation in different scenarios work.

Yet another interesting idea in terms of individual bilingualism is the idea of bicultural bilingualism, this is quite interesting as we will see. So, now what is culture? Culture we are not talking about high brow culture here, we are talking about culture as a the entire social the set of beliefs, and values and you know traditions, etcetera so on and so, forth that one is part off. So, as let us say as a Bengali, now when we say Bengali culture what does it incorporate?

It incorporates many things from food, to dress, to behaviour pattern, to belief systems, to traditional way of celebrating things various things in life and so on. So, all together this is what creates a life to creates a culture. So, Bengali is have a culture, there is an Assamese culture, there is Tamil culture and so on. And also, we have an overall thing called Indian culture; so, that is the idea of culture in this course. We are not going into the finer aspect of culture here.

So, why we what these are called majority culture; so, important main cultures, bigger aspects of cultures. While you are being a while you are a part of let us say Bengali or Assamese culture, simultaneously all of us are also part of smaller groups, smaller levels of culture, smaller cultural aspects in society. So, they also called minor cultures as in part of a network; let us say, a sporting group or you know different kinds of hobby group, occupation dependent group.

So, as a teacher I am though I am part of the larger let us say language 1, language 2 community. But at the same time within that language community, I am also part of a minor culture of teachers. Something like this; so, these are called minor cultures and major cultures.

Then what makes you a bicultural? Does it mean that I am a bicultural because I am part of a larger Assamese culture, at the same time as a teacher community? Not really. What

the definition of biculturalism is that. A person who takes part in two major or distinct cultures is a considered a bicultural person; so, as a result they will adapt.

So, if you are part of two different cultures and you have you know access to and you can participate in two different cultures, the person can also adapt. In some parts their attitude, values, and behaviours etcetera to the to these distinct and mutually exclusive cultures ok. So, and also another yet another important aspect of bicultural is that they combine and blend aspects of these two different cultures.

So, we will see each of them separately; so, one example that they give is young Chinese people in Great Britain taking part in the life of their own Chinese community as well as that of the majority British community. Any immigrant community in any culture for that matter will qualify to be a bicultural.

Because while they maintain their bilingual Chinese language and culture, they also participate in the larger British culture; so, they are they have easy access to both. As a result of which we can say that they can take part in both the cultures. So, Bengalis living in Assam or Telugus living in Tamil Nadu you name it; so, this is called a bicultural person and bicultural person takes part in both the cultures, while maintaining their own distinctiveness.

So, a Bengali living in Assam does not become a less Bengali, there he may he or she maintains the Bengali culture, simultaneously also takes part in the Assamese culture. Now, as a result of this, it is human to combine to create a meta system; so, you adapt to certain you, you change yourself, you modulate your behaviour given the scenario.

So, biculturals, at least to some to some degree, they can adapt their attitude, behavior, language of the different to the different cultures when they participate in them. This is a dynamic system where they choose bilinguals, bicultural choose different aspects of life based on the situation they are in.

So, a Bengali behaves differently in a Bengali gathering versus Bengali behaving in an Assamese gathering or for that matter there are lots of Kannada there are lots of Tamils in Bangalore. So, those Tamil Tamilians when they are in a Kannadiga Kannadiga gathering they will behave slightly differently. In a more in tune with the Kannadiga gathering versus

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when they are in the Tamil gathering, they will behave more in tune in the Tamil gathering; so, that is called adapting.

Now, this of course, this is not possible if you do not know the cultures well enough, until and unless you know that in the subtle nuances, the nitty gritty of one culture you will not be able to adapt. So, being a bicultural automatically entails that one has very good grip on the not only the culture of his own, but also the other culture that he is taking part in.

And then the idea of combining and blending. This is understood as that bilinguals and biculturals tend to blend different aspects from given of the different cultures that and give it a very different kind of a blended, combined sort of a characteristic. So, body language of bicultural is one aspect of such blend; so, basically this is also very common human reaction to a number of stimuli.

So, when we tend to combine them and create a meta sort of an attitude that has aspects from all of these inputs that we have been receiving right. So, he proposes that a bicultural always carries the blended aspects with her and hence can never be a 100 percentage A or B, because this is somewhat like a bilingual. So, you were a bilingual you create, the holistic view says, that you create a meta understanding of language, meta you create a meta being which is superimposed; similarly, a bicultural.

So, you can neither 100 percentage, even if you are a Tamil living in you know in a Tamil set setup in Tamil scenario in Tamil society. But you still also have your Kannadiga knowledge system in embedded in you then you are never 100 percentage this or 100 percentage that; this is another aspect of what he says.

Now, many bilinguals are biculturals, what does that mean that? If you speak two languages and if you have access. Now, this depends on how you learnt your second language. If you have learnt your second language in a social way, in a way where you have access to the socio-cultural norms of that society that speaks your second language, chances are very high you will become a bicultural bilingual. Alright?

So, often as a result it is quite common for bilinguals to be bicultural. However, that does not mean all bilinguals will be bicultural, that is not always the case. So, for example,

Hindi, English bilinguals are not biculturals. Why? Because we learn English in the Hindi scenario only, we do not, except those who go to US to learn English language, then you have access to that culture.

But otherwise, we are living in a in one culture, but we are simply learning the English language without being part of the English culture. Hence Hindi-English bilinguals are not bicultural bilinguals. However, Bodo-Assamese bilinguals can be understood as bicultural bilingual, because they live both within the Bodo culture as well as within the Assamese culture.

There is a lot of interaction between the communities and hence the person can participate. So, remember the three aspects of being a bicultural; you have to you can take part, you can adapt, and you can blend. These things qualify and are Bodo-Assamese as a bicultural bilingual, but not a Hindi-English bilingual. Immigrants are often bicultural bilingual, because they have migrated into a host culture and the language.

So, which they have to understand, adopt and you know get used to, while they also maintain their own language. So, typically immigrants are, typically, there are also exceptions, but more often than not immigrants are bicultural bilingual. So, a lot of people in countries that are essentially bilingual, bicultural or bilingual are also bicultural.

Many this is true for Indians, even if there is no migration here and the people among ourselves, we are we have different languages and different cultures, but many of us are also bicultural. So, when we learn I am giving the example of Assamese-Bodo, Assamese-Bengali, similarly many other communities; so, there is a lot of participation in each other's language and culture, there is a lot of adaptation as well as a result of this and also naturally blending.

So, by it is quite common to find bicultural bilinguals in societies that are essentially bicultural bi or multilingual which is not the case in many monolingual countries or monolinguals or monocultural societies.

So, this is about biculturalism and what who are typically found to be bicultural. Now, differences also exist between biculturalism and bilingualism; he proposes that bicultural person can never deactivate the culture currently not in use. Even if I am, let us say, I am a Kannadiga and I am living in I living in live in Madras; so, I and I am entirely immersed

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in the Tamil culture, that does not mean I can deactivate my Kannadiga cultural aspects. That is not possible. So, this is where a crucial difference between biculturalism and bilingualism.

So, even though bilingualism and biculturalism sometimes go hand in hand, there are crucial differences as well. A bilingual, however, can deactivate his second language. How? By switching on the monolingual mode, but bicultural can never deactivate his other culture. So, this is a very crucial difference and this way we will see later on in the course when we talk about when we discuss experimental work taking all of these variables into account.

So, basically how does one become a bicultural? This is a bicultural by being in constant touch, from your childhood if you have access to a larger society outside of your home which is distinct. So, home culture is different from outside culture and so on. Migration and also sometimes.

So, these first three points are we have some something that we have already discussed. But the last point is also very interesting, because this can also happen when the third or fourth generation of immigrants' children suddenly rediscover.

So, sometimes when migrant populations, after a few generations they stop speaking their language, they stop following their culture. But if the scenario if the host culture has become more accepting of the difference, then often it happens that the youngsters want to go back to their own culture and own language and they rediscover and hence reactivate their cultures; that also is possible.

So, biculturalism can happen because of all of these various factors. So, we have seen by language mode, language, bicultural bilingualism and various other aspects how by on the basis of which bilinguals can be differentiated.

All of these have been utilized in bilingualism research.

Dominance is also another factor whether your L2 is dominant or your L1 is dominant, um depending on the scenario that you have been brought up in or your language use pattern and so on. So, these are roughly the variables. There will be many more which we will

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discuss as we go along. But this sets the tone of the course and gives you a basic understanding how what to expect in the later modules; so, we complete module one here.

Thank you.