多文化環境におけるこどもの文化へのアイデンティティ
（自己同一性）と個々の二言語使用

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Cultural Identity and Bilinguality in a Multicultural Setting

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要　　旨　二言語環境で育ったこどもは単一言語環境で育ったこどもとは異なった文化へのアイデンティティ（自己同一性）を確立する。さらに二言語環境で育ったこどもは二つの独立したアイデンティティを確立しない。その代わりとして彼らは，二つの文化の特色が密接に結び付いたユニークなアイデンティティを確立する。この二つの文化の結び付きは，彼らが新しい文化へ順応する行為と新しい文化へ順応する際に古い文化の特色を失う行為とが互いに影響し合う結果と言える。二言語環境で育ったこどもの文化へのアイデンティティは，言語の発達のレベルによって決定される。だが同時に，彼らが生活する文化も彼らの二言語の発達に大きな影響を及ぼす。なぜならば，彼らの二言語を十分に発達させるためには，彼らが生活する社会が二言語の文化を受け入れる必要があり，さらに彼らにとって二つの文化が重要な意味を持たなければならないからである。その際，彼らがそれぞれの言語を話す機会を持つことは，彼らの異文化への考え方に大きな影響力を持ち，その言語の文化に肯定的な見方をするようになる。このことから，こどもの二言語使用の発達は彼らの生活する社会がどのようにその外国語の文化を理解しているかに影響される。本稿は，多文化環境における文化と個々の二言語使用の関係を考察し，なぜ個々の二言語使用が社会的認識と文化的行動様式の中で研究されるべきかを論じている。

Abstract

A child raised bilingually develops a cultural identity which differs from that of a monolingual. At the same time, it is important to understand that a bilingual child does not develop two independent identities. Instead, the two cultures are integrated into a unique identity in which aspects of both relevant cultures are closely linked. This linking is the result of an interaction between enculturation, acculturation, and deculturation processes. While the development of bilinguality shapes the development of the child's cultural identity, the reverse is also true, that cultural identity influences the child's bilinguality. In order for bilinguality to develop fully, the characteristics of cultural identity which are relevant to the acquisition of the two languages must be salient for the child's identity without being conflictual. Bilingual experience also influences ethnic attitudes and enhances positive perceptions of the other group. The way in which the bilingual is perceived by members of their own culture and by those of others depends on the existing relations between the different cultures. This paper examines the relationship between culture and bilinguality in a multicultural en-

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vironment and discusses why bilinguality has to be studied in relation to social perception and cultural behaviour.

Introduction

Language is an important component of culture along with other entities such as values, beliefs and norms, and is carried on from one generation to the next in the socialisation process. It also shapes our cultural representations. Language interacts with culture in ways other components do not. It is a transmitter of culture and it is the main tool used by the individual for the internalisation of culture.

All definitions of culture agree that language is an important component. Tyler (1873) offered that culture is a complex entity which comprises a set of symbolic systems, including knowledge, norms, values, beliefs, language, art and customs, as well as habits and skills learned by individuals as members of a given society. This definition remains unchallenged, although it has been elaborated on by many scholars over the years. Linton (1945), for example, maintains that culture is a representation of learned behaviour to which the symbolic meanings are attached. Moreover, the components of culture are transmitted by members of a society and shared among them. Obviously language would have to play an important role in the transmittance of the components. Segall, Berry, Dasen & Poortinga (1990) suggest that culture makes up the man-made part of the environment, including objects and social institutions regulated by laws, norms and rules. Again, the significance of language is obvious.

The relationship between language and culture has been the subject of much debate. Whorf (1956) first advanced the hypothesis that the structure and nature of the language used by a cultural group shapes the way in which its members think, attribute meaning and behave. This approach has for the most part been dismissed on the grounds that while it can be recognised that language sometimes shapes values and ideas, the reverse can also be said. Rather than a one-way causal relationship between language and culture there is much more likely to be a continuous interaction in which language can at times influence culture while at other times result from existing cultural values and behaviours.

What is cultural identity?

The integration of the complex entity that is culture into the individual's personality is called their cultural identity. Cultural identity should not be confused with social identity. Whereas social identity exists within the same society and helps the individual to define themselves in relation to the roles and the social groups in that society, one cannot become aware of one's cultural identity without having first become cognizant of the existence of other cultures in or outside one's own society. Because language is such an important feature of culture, it will be a prominent part of the individual's social cultural identity as well as a sociocultural identifier of group membership whenever two or more cultures come into contact. For this reason the development of bilinguality

has to be studied in relation to a more general approach to social perception and intergroup behaviour.

Cases of a person being brought up outside of a culture are rare: *Victor, the Wild Boy of Aveyron* (Lane, 1976) and *Genie: a psycholinguistic study of a modern-day "wild child"* (Curtiss, 1977) are such exceptions. If we agree with the blanket statement that all monolinguals belong to a culture, do bilinguals automatically belong to two cultures? The answer is no. As Haugen (1956) writes, bilingualism and biculturalism are not necessarily coextensive. Some people who use two languages on a regular basis are really monocultural. In countries with a lingua franca, such as Tanzania, Kenya and other African nations, one could argue that a bilingual really has only one culture: that of their ethnic group. A similar argument could be made for functional bilingualism in Luxembourg or Switzerland: people may be bi- or trilingual but monocultural.

On the other hand, a monolingual person may be bicultural. Some French-speaking Bretons or English-speaking Scots would argue that they are bicultural, in that they share the beliefs, attitudes and habits of two cultures. In the United States, where language shift takes place extremely quickly, one finds many English-speaking Native Americans and second- or third-generation immigrants who share two overlapping cultures. This can also be said for many English-speaking Italian, Japanese and Polish Americans.

What is binguality?

It is impossible to completely separate bilingualism as a societal and individual phenomenon, particularly when trying to understand certain aspects of bilingual behaviour like borrowing and interference. Hamers & Blanc (1989) propose the term 'bilinguality' to refer to individual bilingualism and reserve the term 'bilingualism' for societal bilingualism. Hamers (1981) defines bilinguality as the psychological state of an individual who has access to more than one linguistic code as a means of social communication. This access is influenced by a number of psychological and sociological dimensions, namely (1) relative competence; (2) cognitive organization; (3) age of acquisition; (4) exogeneity (by which a language is not used as a mother tongue but only as an official or institutionalized language in a speech community); (5) social cultural status; and (6) cultural identity. The concept of bilingualism includes that of bilinguality but refers equally to the state of a linguistic community in which two languages are in contact with the result that two codes can be used in the same interaction and that a number of individuals are bilingual.

Cultural salience

Smolicz (1979) in his model of *core values* puts forward the idea that certain cultural values will be particularly salient in the formation of their cultural identity by members of one particular group, while these same values will be relatively irrelevant for the development of cultural identity in another group. His model suggests that each culture has a set of basic characteristics which are essential for the transmission and maintenance of that culture; in other words, these core values

identify a given culture. When language is the core value of a cultural group, it may be an important factor in determining the members' cultural identity. In some cases it might even appear as the sole cultural core value, the Flemings in Belgium or the Quebecois in Canada, who built their national identity almost exclusively on the defense of their linguistic rights, being prime examples. Cases in which languages and cultures are in contact include the following:

(a) a person speaks one language in the home different from the language spoken in the community or society;

(b) a person speaks two languages in the home, one of which is the language of the community or society;

(c) a person speaks two languages in the home, which are both used in two communities in contact in the society;

(d) a person speaks two languages in the home, neither of which is used in the community or society.

These cases include children from bilingual homes as well as children from immigrant families who live in a society where two languages may or may not be in contact.

The development of cultural identity

If in a given society certain groups can be identified in terms of ethnic, cultural or linguistic characteristics, these will become salient features and perceived as such by the individual. Turner (1981) maintains that the individual will tend to use their own group characteristics as a standard by which to judge other groups (ethnocentrism). Similarly, Le Page & Tabouret-Keller (1985) state that the individual behaves according to the behavioural patterns of groups they find it desirable to identify with, to the extent that: '(i) he can identify the groups; (ii) he has adequate access to the groups and the ability to analyse their behavioural patterns; (iii) his motivation to join the groups is sufficiently powerful and is either reinforced or reversed by feedback from the groups; and (iv) he has the ability to modify his behaviour' (p. 182).

Although little is known about the processes at work in bringing about cultural identity, some studies suggest that they start at an early age and that by the age of six children have developed some form of cultural identity. According to Lambert & Klineberg (1967) children of varying ages and ethnic origins prefer to use categories such as being human, male or female, children or students, to describe themselves, while categories such as nationality and religion are used as identity markers to a lesser extent. Aboud & Skerry (1984) propose a three-stage model of development of ethnic attitudes. In the first stage, children learn to identify and evaluate themselves by comparison with other individuals who are different from themselves. In the second stage, they perceive themselves as members of a group and perceive others only as members of other groups. At this stage they emphasize within-group similarities and between-group differences. In the third stage, they become capable of focussing on themselves and others as individuals as well as group members.

The question then is if children are capable of developing cultural perceptions at an early age, do children who have an early bicultural experience develop specific cultural perceptions? A technique

that is often used for studying ethnic identification consists of asking preschoolers and young elementary school children their preferences for ethnic dolls or pictures that represent members of their own group as well as of different groups. In one such study conducted by Genesee, Tucker & Lambert (1978), the authors conclude that, at least for children from a dominant group, the cultural make-up of the home and surrounding community has a greater influence in shaping the child's cultural identity than does the language of schooling. In other words, primary socialisation appears to play a more important role in the process of cultural identification than secondary socialisation. In a separate study in which puppets were used to determine language preference among 5-to-12-year-old Franco-Ontarian children bilingual in French and English, Schneiderman (1976) observed that the children expressed a preference for the use of English. She concluded that preference for the majority language does not necessarily mean rejection of one's own cultural identity and that there is no one-to-one correspondence between linguistic assimilation and acculturation.

Although mastering the ethnic-group language is not a necessary requirement for ethnolinguistic membership awareness, it seems that bilingual competence does play a role in shaping ethnolinguistic identity. The decision taken by parents to raise their children bilingually has important implications for the children's development of identity.

Enculturation, acculturation, deculturation and assimilation

The processes of enculturation, acculturation and deculturation will play a significant part in determining one's degree of bilinguality and cultural identity. Enculturation refers to an aspect of the socialisation process by which one acquires the rules of behaviour and the values of their culture. Acculturation is the process used by an individual to adjust to a new culture. This usually includes the acquisition of the language or languages of that culture. Deculturation refers to the process by which a person adapts to a new culture at the expense of their first. And finally, assimilation refers to an extreme case of deculturation in which an individual acculturates to another group by losing their own culture and language.

Socialisation is a complex set of learning processes by which the child learns to become a member of society and through which they build social representations. In the socialisation process various psychological mechanisms relevant to language development are at work, including the evolvement of social, cultural or ethnic identity. According to Tajfel (1974), the child is enabled, through social-psychological mechanisms like social comparison, categorization and distinctiveness, to build their own social identity and define themselves as a member of certain social groups, distinct from others in terms of values and norms. When language, or certain aspects of language such as accent, are used as social markers, the child will regard these markers as part of their self-image and, therefore, as part of their own social, cultural or ethnic identity.

Enculturation is part of the socialisation process and begins with primary socialisation. Primary socialisation normally occurs in the family. In primary socialisation cultural forms for expressing basic social behaviour are internalized from the models of significant others (Mead, 1934) and

become *the* only conceivable world for the child (Berger & Luckman, 1967). It provides the child with so-called *scripts*, rule-governed and institutionalised programmes for everyday life. In secondary socialisation the child internalises institution-governed rules such as those found in schools and becomes aware of social structures and how they function. Secondary socialisation also plays an important albeit a less emotionally-charged role in shaping the child's identity. If a major change occurs, such as moving from one culture to an entirely new one, secondary socialisation is more greatly affected than primary socialisation.

Taft (1977) maintains that in order to become a member of society a child must be 'enculturated to the particular ways and general style of life that constitutes its culture and as a consequence becomes culturally competent.' In order to do this the child must acquire the means by which their behaviour becomes acceptable and meaningful to the other members of the society. In other words the child must learn how to communicate meaningfully.

If a child is socialised in a bicultural environment enculturation will take place within the two cultures. If, however, a child lives in a monocultural home which is different from that of the culture in the community, enculturation will begin in their first culture, the one in which most of the primary socialisation takes place, and the child will have to deal with enculturation in a second culture, including the language of that culture. This will also happen to an individual who immigrates to a country in which the culture is different from their own. When two or more languages coexist in the community and if the languages are valued differently, the child will internalise these differences in the forming of their own cultural identity. The child's self-perceptions and attitude toward language will have more or less value, depending on whether they perceive themselves as belonging to a more or less valued group.

When a child has already been enculturated and is confronted with a second culture, the child will have to adjust their behaviour when communicating with members of the new culture. The child will have to learn how to attach meaning to the other members' behaviour and to communicate in the new culture. In other words, the child will have to acculturate. Taft (1977) says that acculturation includes 'a combination of acquisition of competence in performing culturally relevant behaviour and the adoption of culturally-defined roles and attitudes with respect to that behaviour.' The more enculturated a person is, the more complex the process of cultural adjustment. An individual with bicultural identity acquires the cultural rules and language skills of the new culture and integrates them appropriately with their primary culture. An adult facing the challenge of adapting to a new culture must integrate new cultural elements, including language, into an already well-established identity and, for this reason, some researchers argue that the older the individual is the more difficult the acculturation process becomes.

When an individual adapts to a new culture and, in the process, loses their primary culture then deculturation has taken place. Deculturation is associated with psychological distress. If no assimilation into the host culture occurs, deculturation leads to anomie, a complex psychological state in which the sufferer feels alienated by and isolated in the society in which he or she lives. The extent

to which acculturation processes are responsible for deculturation is unclear. Extreme deculturation will result in assimilation, which is usually accompanied by first-language loss.

The type of bilinguality that develops in an individual is not independent of enculturation, acculturation and deculturation processes. Learning a new language to the point of fluency, while at the same time maintaining or forgetting one's mother tongue, play an integral part in cultural adaptation. In short, the processes of enculturation, acculturation, and deculturation have a profound impact in determining bilingual competence and the bilingual's cultural identity.

Bilinguality in a sociocultural context

Lambert (1974) first drew attention to the fact that different types of bilinguality may result according to the sociocultural context in which bilingualism occurs. He puts forth the idea that bilinguality is rooted in several aspects of social psychological mechanisms involved in language behaviour, particularly in the relative social status of both languages and the way in which language is perceived by the individual. He uses the terms *additive* and *subtractive* forms of bilinguality. In its additive form both languages and both cultures complement each other to bring positive elements to the child's overall development. This situation is made possible when both the community and the family value the two languages equally and when the learning of a second language (L_2) in no way threatens to replace the mother tongue (L_1). Subtractive bilinguality refers to a situation in which the child's two languages are competing with each other rather than complementary. This form will occur when a child belonging to an ethnolinguistic minority rejects their own cultural values in favour of those of an economically and culturally more prestigious group. The child's L_1 will tend to be replaced by the more distinguished L_2, as is often the case when a child whose L_1 is different from that of the community is schooled through an L_2 which is socially more prestigious than their own mother tongue. This subtraction will influence not only language development in the mother tongue but also intellectual development, personality and cultural identity.

Lambert's model asserts that the sociocultural environment plays an important role in the development of bilinguality at the cognitive level and agrees with a more general view of child development. For example, Bruner (1966) suggests that the cultural environment plays a major role in the child's growth once the symbolic stage is reached, after which culture serves as a catalyst for cognitive growth.[1] Therefore, it is of utmost importance to look closely at the cultural environment in which bilingual development takes place and to understand its role in the development of bilinguality.

Self-perception and cultural belonging

The counterpart to Lambert's idea of additive bilinguality at the cognitive level is a well-balanced cultural identity enriched by a bicultural experience at the psychological level. The development of additive bilinguality is dependent on social factors which valorize both languages and cultures. Similarly, the harmonious integration of two cultures into a child's identity requires a social setting that

admits dual cultural or ethnic membership. In order for a child to develop a cultural identity which includes this dual membership, the society must not regard these cultures as conflictual and mutually exclusive. In other words, the outcome of an early bilingual experience depends on the ideology of the society in which the child lives.

Studies indicate that bilinguality can be perceived as a cultural trait. Cziko, Lambert & Gutter (1979) found that Anglo-Canadian children educated through an immersion program attached less importance to language as a cultural marker than did their Anglophone peers schooled in unilingual English-medium schools. Taylor, Bassili & Aboud (1973), using a cultural distance technique known as a MDS[2] (multidimensional metric space), found that monolinguals from the two mainstream cultures in Canada saw themselves as closer to monolinguals of both cultures than to bilinguals of both cultures. In other words, a discrepancy between culture and language appears as a cultural distance from a monolingual who lacks experience in a second language and culture. Hamers & Deshaies (1982) obtained similar results using a MDS. They found that monolingual anglophone and francophone elementary and secondary school students in Quebec perceived language as the most important cultural trait, and bilinguality as a cultural trait distinct from language.

It seems not only that a child's early bilingual and bicultural experience is important for determining their cultural identity, but that parental cultural belonging can also be a factor. Not only can the parents transmit their own cultural attitudes, they are also in a position to make formal education decisions, including to what extent their children will be exposed to other languages and cultures. A study by Frasure-Smith, Lambert & Taylor (1975) using a MDS technique showed that monolingual anglophone and francophone parents in Quebec who opted to send their children to unilingual schools of their own culture identified more closely with their own cultural group than did monolingual parents of both groups who chose to have their children attend schools of the other language group. In other words, the latter group of parents perceived themselves closer to bilingual Canadians of both groups than did the first group of parents.

Conclusion

The relationship between cultural identity and bilinguality in the bilingual is complex and depends on a number of factors. However, from the limited experimental data available to date, it appears that early bilingual experience influences the development of cultural identity, that bilingual preference does not necessarily lead to a bicultural identity, and that the development of cultural identity results from psychological as well as sociological factors. The relationship between cultural identification and bilinguality is reciprocal: cultural identity influences bilinguality, which in turn influences cultural identity. Cultural identity is similar to language development in that it is a result of the socialisation process which the child experiences. And because language is such an important part of culture, it will be a salient feature of the individual's cultural identity. In order for a child to develop a cultural identity which includes dual cultural membership, the society must not see these cultures as being conflictual and mutually exclusive. Finally, it has been noted that parental cultural

belonging can also be a determining factor in shaping a child's bicultural and bilingual experience.

1) Bruner distinguishes three stages of cognitive growth: the echoic, the iconic and the symbolic. The symbolic stage is shaped by the cultural environment. Therefore, the role of the cultural setting in which the development of the symbolic stage takes place must be taken into consideration.
2) The objective of the MDS technique is to map a set of objects into a set of points in multidimensional metric space, such that objects which are similar are close together in the space and objects which are dissimilar are distant from each other in the space. This technique enables the researcher to measure perceived social distances between groups and between self and other groups, as well as to identify the relevant dimensions on which these perceptions vary.

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